

# **Encyclopedia of World Cultures**

**Volume VII**

**SOUTH AMERICA**

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD CULTURES

David Levinson  
*Editor in Chief*

North America  
Oceania  
South Asia  
Europe (Central, Western, and Southeastern Europe)  
East and Southeast Asia  
Russia and Eurasia / China  
South America  
Middle America and the Caribbean  
Africa and the Middle East  
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**Encyclopedia of World Cultures**  
**Volume VII**  
**SOUTH AMERICA**

Johannes Wilbert  
*Volume Editor*

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## MEASUREMENT CONVERSIONS

When You Know	Multiply By	To Find
<b>LENGTH</b>		
inches	2.54	centimeters
feet	30	centimeters
yards	0.9	meters
miles	1.6	kilometers
millimeters	0.04	inches
centimeters	0.4	inches
meters	3.3	feet
meters	1.1	yards
kilometers	0.6	miles
<b>AREA</b>		
square feet	0.09	square meters
square yards	0.8	square meters
square miles	2.6	square kilometers
acres	0.4	hectares
hectares	2.5	acres
square meters	1.2	square yards
square kilometers	0.4	square miles
<b>TEMPERATURE</b>		
$^{\circ}\text{C} = (^{\circ}\text{F} - 32) \div 1.8$		
$^{\circ}\text{F} = (^{\circ}\text{C} \times 1.8) + 32$		

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## Project Staff

---

---

### *Research*

Patricia D. Andreucci  
Timothy J. O'Leary  
Daniel Strouthes

### *Editorial and Production*

Victoria Crocco  
Elly Dickason  
Eva Kitsos  
Abraham Maramba  
Ara Salibian  
L. C. Salibian

### *Cartography*

Robert Sullivan  
Rhode Island College

## Editorial Board

---

---

Linda A. Bennett  
Memphis State University  
*Europe*

Fernando Cámara Barbachano  
Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia,  
Mexico City  
*Middle America and the Caribbean*

Norma J. Diamond  
University of Michigan  
*China*

Paul Friedrich  
University of Chicago  
*Russia and Eurasia*

Terence E. Hays  
Rhode Island College  
*Oceania*

Paul Hockings  
University of Illinois at Chicago  
*South, East and Southeast Asia*

Robert V. Kemper  
Southern Methodist University  
*Middle America and the Caribbean*

John H. Middleton  
Yale University  
*Africa*

Timothy J. O'Leary  
Human Relations Area Files  
*North America*

Amal Rassam  
Queens College and the Graduate Center of the  
City University of New York  
*Middle East*

Johannes Wilbert  
University of California at Los Angeles  
*South America*

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## Contributors

---

Kathleen J. Adams  
Center for Population Studies  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts  
United States

***Barama River Carib***

Jan-Åke Alvarsson  
Department of Cultural Anthropology  
University of Uppsala  
Uppsala  
Sweden

***Mataco***

Bernard Arcand  
Faculté des Sciences Sociales  
Université Laval  
Québec  
Canada

***Cuiva***

Kaj Århem  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Uppsala  
Uppsala  
Sweden

***Macuna***

Expedito Arnaud  
Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi  
Belém, Pará  
Brazil

***Anambé; Palikur***

Rinaldo Arruda  
São Paulo  
Brazil

***Rikbaktsa***

Stephen Grant Baines  
Universidade de Brasília  
Brasília  
Brazil

***Waimiri-Atroari***

Silvia Balzano  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California  
United States

***Chácobo***

Joseph W. Bastien  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Texas at Arlington  
Arlington, Texas  
United States

**Callahuaya**

Stephen Beckerman  
Department of Anthropology  
Pennsylvania State University  
University Park, Pennsylvania  
United States

**Bari**

Clifford A. Behrens  
Latin American Center  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California  
United States

**Shipibo**

Patrice Bidou  
Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale  
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et de  
l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales  
Paris  
France

**Tatuyo**

Luiz Boglár  
Revista Indigenista Latinoamericana  
Budapest  
Hungary

**Nambicuara**

José Braunstein  
Centro del Hombre Antiguo Chaqueño  
Las Lomitas  
Provincia de Formosa  
Argentina

**Maká**

Steve Brian Burkhalter  
Department of Anthropology  
University of South Florida  
Tampa, Florida  
United States

**Mundurucu**

Mario Califano  
Centro Argentino de Etnología Americana  
Buenos Aires  
Argentina

**Ayoreo; Mashco; Sirionó**

Robert L. Carneiro  
Anthropology Department  
American Museum of Natural History  
New York, New York  
United States

**Kuikuru**

Fernanda Carvalho  
São Paulo  
Brazil

**Terena**

Eduardo Viveiros de Castro  
Departamento de Antropologia  
Museu Nacional  
Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro  
Rio de Janeiro  
Brazil

**Araweté**



- Benhur Cerón  
Departamento de Geografía  
Universidad de Nariño  
Pasto  
Colombia
- Miguel Chase-Sardi  
Centro de Estudios Antropológicos  
Universidad Católica "Nuestra Señora de la Asunción"  
Asunción  
Paraguay
- Janet M. Chernela  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Florida International University  
North Miami, Florida  
United States
- Audrey J. Butt Colson  
Upper Througham  
The Camp, Near Stroud  
Gloucestershire  
England
- Edgardo Jorge Cordeu  
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras  
Universidad de Buenos Aires  
Buenos Aires  
Argentina
- François Correa  
Instituto Colombiano de Cultura  
Bogotá  
Colombia
- Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa  
Museu Nacional  
Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro  
Rio de Janeiro  
Brazil
- William H. Crocker  
Department of Anthropology  
National Museum of Natural History  
Smithsonian Institution  
Washington, D.C.  
United States
- Lydia Nakashima Degarrod  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Berkeley  
Berkeley, California  
United States
- Edson Soares Diniz  
Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências  
Universidade Estadual Paulista  
Campus de Marília  
Marília  
Brazil
- Awá Kwaiker**
- Nivaclé**
- Wanano**
- Akawaio**
- Chamacoco**
- Cubeo; Ka'wiari**
- Karajá**
- Canela**
- Araucanians**
- Makushi**

Gertrude E. Dole  
Anthropology Department  
American Museum of Natural History  
New York, New York  
United States

**Amahuaca**

Anani Dzidzienyo  
Department of Afro-American Studies  
Brown University  
Providence, Rhode Island  
United States

**Afro-Brazilians**

Gloria Miriam Fajardo Reyes  
Departamento de Antropología  
Universidad Nacional de Colombia  
Bogotá  
Colombia

**Ticuna**

Ruthbeth Finerman  
Department of Anthropology  
Memphis State University  
Memphis, Tennessee  
United States

**Saraguro**

Nancy M. Flowers  
Department of Anthropology  
Hunter College  
New York, New York  
United States

**Asurini; Campa; Cashibo; Chimila; Chiquitano;  
Chocó; Cocama; Emerillon; Gorotire; Guarayu;  
Jamináwa; Jebero; Mayoruna; Noanamá;  
Paï-Tavytera; Paresí; Piapoco; Puinave; Saliva;  
Shavante; Sherente; Tanimuka; Tapirapé; Witoto**

Nancy Fried Foster  
The Spencer Foundation  
Chicago, Illinois  
United States

**Wapisiana**

Ted L. Gragson  
Department of Anthropology  
Pennsylvania State University  
University Park, Pennsylvania  
United States

**Pume**

Thomas Gregor  
Department of Anthropology  
Vanderbilt University  
Nashville, Tennessee  
United States

**Mehinaku**

Françoise Grenand  
Institut Française de Recherche Scientifique pour  
Développement en Coopération  
Paris  
France

**Wayãpi**

Pierre Grenand  
Institut Française de Recherche Scientifique pour  
Développement en Coopération  
Paris  
France

**Wayãpi**

- 
- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| David M. Guss<br>Department of Sociology and Anthropology<br>Tufts University<br>Medford, Massachusetts<br>United States            | <b>Afro-Venezuelans</b> |
| Raymond Hames<br>Department of Anthropology<br>University of Nebraska<br>Lincoln, Nebraska<br>United States                         | <b>Yanomamö</b>         |
| H. Dieter Heinen<br>Departamento de Antropología<br>Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas<br>Caracas<br>Venezuela     | <b>Warao</b>            |
| Paul Henley<br>Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology<br>University of Manchester<br>Manchester<br>England                          | <b>Panare</b>           |
| Kim Hill<br>Department of Anthropology<br>University of New Mexico<br>Albuquerque, New Mexico<br>United States                      | <b>Ache</b>             |
| Silvia Maria Hirsch<br>Princeton, New Jersey<br>United States   | <b>Chiriguano</b>       |
| Catherine V. Howard<br>Department of Anthropology<br>University of Chicago<br>Chicago, Illinois<br>United States                    | <b>Wáiwai</b>           |
| Kristine Ivarsdotter<br>Bob-Dioulasso<br>Burkina Faso   | <b>Salasaca</b>         |
| Allen W. Johnson<br>Department of Anthropology<br>University of California, Los Angeles<br>Los Angeles, California<br>United States | <b>Matsigenka</b>       |
| Orna R. Johnson<br>Los Angeles, California<br>United States   | <b>Matsigenka</b>       |
| Mick Johnsson<br>Department of Anthropology<br>University of Uppsala<br>Uppsala<br>Sweden   | <b>Aymara</b>           |
| Carmen Junqueira<br>Pontífica Universidade Católica de São Paulo<br>São Paulo<br>Brazil   | <b>Cinta Larga</b>      |

Kenneth M. Kensinger  
Social Science Division  
Bennington College  
Bennington, Vermont  
United States

Waud Kracke  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Illinois at Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois  
United States

Jeffrey Lesser  
Department of History  
Connecticut College  
New London, Connecticut  
United States

David Levinson  
Human Relations Area Files  
New Haven, Connecticut  
United States

Esther Matteson  
Royal Oak, Michigan  
United States

Lynn A. Meisch  
Department of Anthropology  
Stanford University  
Stanford, California  
United States

Julio Cezar Melatti  
Department of Anthropology  
Universidade de Brasília  
Brasília  
Brazil

Betty Mindlin  
São Paulo  
Brazil

Jorge Morales  
Bogotá  
Colombia

Dolores Newton  
Department of Anthropology  
State University of New York at Stony Brook  
Stony Brook, New York  
United States

Ronald D. Olson  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
Dallas, Texas  
United States

Francisco Ortiz  
Departamento de Antropología  
Universidad Nacional de Colombia  
Bogotá  
Colombia

**Kashinawa**

**Kagwahiv**

**Asians in South America**

**Afro-South Americans; Europeans in South America;  
Jews of South America; Mennonites**

**Piro**

**Otavalo**

**Craho; Marubo**

**Suruí**

**Cuna**

**Krikati/Pukobye**

**Chipaya**

**Guahibo-Sikuani**

- Ximena Pachón  
Instituto Colombiano de Antropología  
Bogotá  
Colombia
- Michael Paolisso  
International Center for Research on Women  
Washington, D.C.  
United States
- Michel Perrin  
Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale  
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et de  
l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales  
Paris  
France
- Debra S. Picchi  
Franklin Pierce College  
Rindge, New Hampshire  
United States
- Donald K. Pollock  
Department of Anthropology  
Boston University  
Boston, Massachusetts  
United States
- Richard Price  
Martinique  
French West Indies
- Sally Price  
Martinique  
French West Indies
- Diego Quiroga
- Joanne Rappaport  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
University of Maryland, Baltimore County Campus  
Baltimore, Maryland  
United States
- Elizabeth Reichel  
Departamento de Antropología  
Universidad de Los Andes  
Bogotá  
Colombia
- Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California  
United States
- Juergen Riester  
Ayuda para el Campesino-Indígena del Oriente Boliviano  
Sante Cruz de la Sierra  
Bolivia
- Guambiano**
- Yukpa**
- Guajiro**
- Bakairi**
- Culina**
- Saramaka**
- Saramaka**
- Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador  
and Colombia**
- Páez**
- Yukuna**
- Desana; Kogi**
- Chimane**

Peter Rivière  
Institute of Social Anthropology  
Oxford University  
Oxford  
England

**Trio**

Ross Sackett  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California  
United States

**Saraguro**

Helmut Schindler  
Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde  
Munich  
Germany

**Karihona**

Anthony Seeger  
Office of Folklife Programs  
Smithsonian Institution  
Washington, D.C.  
United States

**Suya**

Annemarie Seiler-Baldinger  
Museum für Völkerkunde  
Basel  
Switzerland

**Yagua**

Alejandra Siffredi  
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras  
Universidad de Buenos Aires  
Buenos Aires  
Argentina

**Chorote**

Allyn MacLean Stearman  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
University of Central Florida  
Orlando, Florida  
United States

**Yuqui**

Edna Luisa de Melo Taveira  
Museu Antropológico  
Universidade Federal de Goiás  
Goiás  
Brazil

**Karajá**

Rodolpho Telarolli Junior  
Araraúara  
Brazil

**Terena**

Robert W. Templeman  
Urbana, Illinois  
United States

**Afro-Bolivians**

David John Thomas  
Rockville, Maryland  
United States

**Pemon**

Sheila C. Tuggy  
International Linguistics Center  
Dallas, Texas  
United States

**Candoshi**

Luis Guillermo Vasco Uribe  
Departamento de Antropología  
Universidad Nacional de Colombia  
Bogotá  
Colombia

**Emberá**

Lucia Hussak van Velthem  
Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi  
Belém, Pará  
Brazil

**Apalai**

William T. Vickers  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Florida International University  
Miami, Florida  
United States

**Siona-Secoya**

Lux Vidal  
Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas  
Universidade de São Paulo  
São Paulo  
Brazil

**Xikrin**

Peter Wade  
Department of Geography  
University of Liverpool  
Liverpool  
Great Britain

**Afro-Colombians**

Lise Waxer  
Urbana, Illinois  
United States

**Afro-Venezuelans**

Mary J. Weismantel  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Occidental College  
Los Angeles, California  
United States

**Cotopaxi Quichua**

Eugênio Gervásio Wenzel  
Araras  
Brazil

**Apiaká**

Norman E. Whitten, Jr.  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
Urbana, Illinois  
United States

**Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador and  
Colombia; Canelos Quichua**

Johannes Wilbert  
Department of Anthropology  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California  
United States

**Hoti; Lengua; Mocoví; Paraujano; Tunebo; Tupari;  
Yekuana**

Mary Ruth Wise  
Instituto Lingüístico de Verano  
Ministero de Educación  
Pucallpa  
Peru

**Amuesha**

Pablo G. Wright  
Buenos Aires  
Argentina

**Toba**

Robin M. Wright  
UNICAMP  
Campinas SP  
Brazil

**Baniwa-Curripaco-Wakuenai**

James A. Yost  
Latigo Ranch  
Kremmling, Colorado  
United States

**Waorani**

Mnislav Zelený  
Prague  
Czechoslovakia

**Huarayo; Yawalapiti**

Stanford Zent  
Taneytown, Maryland  
United States

**Piaroa**



## Preface

---

This project began in 1987 with the goal of assembling a basic reference source that provides accurate, clear, and concise descriptions of the cultures of the world. We wanted to be as comprehensive and authoritative as possible: comprehensive, by providing descriptions of all the cultures of each region of the world or by describing a representative sample of cultures for regions where full coverage is impossible, and authoritative by providing accurate descriptions of the cultures for both the past and the present.

The publication of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* in the last decade of the twentieth century is especially timely. The political, economic, and social changes of the past fifty years have produced a world more complex and fluid than at any time in human history. Three sweeping transformations of the worldwide cultural landscape are especially significant.

First is what some social scientists are calling the "New Diaspora"—the dispersal of cultural groups to new locations across the world. This dispersal affects all nations and takes a wide variety of forms: in East African nations, the formation of new towns inhabited by people from dozens of different ethnic groups; in Micronesia and Polynesia, the movement of islanders to cities in New Zealand and the United States; in North America, the replacement by Asians and Latin Americans of Europeans as the most numerous immigrants; in Europe, the increased reliance on workers from the Middle East and North Africa; and so on.

Second, and related to this dispersal, is the internal division of what were once single, unified cultural groups into two or more relatively distinct groups. This pattern of internal division is most dramatic among indigenous or third or fourth world cultures whose traditional ways of life have been altered by contact with the outside world. Underlying this division are both the population dispersion mentioned above and sustained contact with the economically developed world. The result is that groups who at one time saw themselves and were seen by others as single cultural groups have been transformed into two or more distinct groups. Thus, in many cultural groups, we find deep and probably permanent divisions between those who live in the country and those who live in cities, those who follow the traditional religion and those who have converted to Christianity, those who live inland and those who live on the seacoast, and those who live by means of a subsistence economy and those now enmeshed in a cash economy.

The third important transformation of the worldwide cultural landscape is the revival of ethnic nationalism, with

many peoples claiming and fighting for political freedom and territorial integrity on the basis of ethnic solidarity and ethnic-based claims to their traditional homeland. Although most attention has focused recently on ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the trend is nonetheless a worldwide phenomenon involving, for example, American Indian cultures in North and South America, the Basques in Spain and France, the Tamil and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, and the Tutsi and Hutu in Burundi, among others.

To be informed citizens of our rapidly changing multicultural world we must understand the ways of life of people from cultures different from our own. "We" is used here in the broadest sense, to include not just scholars who study the cultures of the world and businesspeople and government officials who work in the world community but also the average citizen who reads or hears about multicultural events in the news every day and young people who are growing up in this complex cultural world. For all of these people—which means all of us—there is a pressing need for information on the cultures of the world. This encyclopedia provides this information in two ways. First, its descriptions of the traditional ways of life of the world's cultures can serve as a baseline against which cultural change can be measured and understood. Second, it acquaints the reader with the contemporary ways of life throughout the world.

We are able to provide this information largely through the efforts of the volume editors and the nearly one thousand contributors who wrote the cultural summaries that are the heart of the book. The contributors are social scientists (anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and geographers) as well as educators, government officials, and missionaries who usually have firsthand research-based knowledge of the cultures they write about. In many cases they are the major expert or one of the leading experts on the culture, and some are themselves members of the cultures. As experts, they are able to provide accurate, up-to-date information. This is crucial for many parts of the world where indigenous cultures may be overlooked by official information seekers such as government census takers. These experts have often lived among the people they write about, conducting participant-observations with them and speaking their language. Thus they are able to provide integrated, holistic descriptions of the cultures, not just a list of facts. Their portraits of the cultures leave the reader with a real sense of what it means to be a "Taos" or a "Rom" or a "Sicilian."

Those summaries not written by an expert on the culture have usually been written by a researcher at the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., working from primary source materials. The Human Relations Area Files, an international educa-

tional and research institute, is recognized by professionals in the social and behavioral sciences, humanities, and medical sciences as a major source of information on the cultures of the world.

### *Uses of the Encyclopedia*

This encyclopedia is meant to be used by a variety of people for a variety of purposes. It can be used both to gain a general understanding of a culture and to find a specific piece of information by looking it up under the relevant subheading in a summary. It can also be used to learn about a particular region or subregion of the world and the social, economic, and political forces that have shaped the cultures in that region. The encyclopedia is also a resource guide that leads readers who want a deeper understanding of particular cultures to additional sources of information. Resource guides in the encyclopedia include ethnonyms listed in each summary, which can be used as entry points into the social science literature where the culture may sometimes be identified by a different name; a bibliography at the end of each summary, which lists books and articles about the culture; and a filmography at the end of each volume, which lists films and videos on many of the cultures.

Beyond being a basic reference resource, the encyclopedia also serves readers with more focused needs. For researchers interested in comparing cultures, the encyclopedia serves as the most complete and up-to-date sampling frame from which to select cultures for further study. For those interested in international studies, the encyclopedia leads one quickly into the relevant social science literature as well as providing a state-of-the-art assessment of our knowledge of the cultures of a particular region. For curriculum developers and teachers seeking to internationalize their curriculum, the encyclopedia is itself a basic reference and educational resource as well as a directory to other materials. For government officials, it is a repository of information not likely to be available in any other single publication or, in some cases, not available at all. For students, from high school through graduate school, it provides background and bibliographic information for term papers and class projects. And for travelers, it provides an introduction into the ways of life of the indigenous peoples in the area of the world they will be visiting.

### *Format of the Encyclopedia*

The encyclopedia comprises ten volumes, ordered by geographical regions of the world. The order of publication is not meant to represent any sort of priority. Volumes 1 through 9 contain a total of about fifteen hundred summaries along with maps, glossaries, and indexes of alternate names for the cultural groups. The tenth and final volume contains cumulative lists of the cultures of the world, their alternate names, and a bibliography of selected publications pertaining to those groups.

*North America* covers the cultures of Canada, Greenland, and the United States of America.

*Oceania* covers the cultures of Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

*South Asia* covers the cultures of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and other South Asian islands and the Himalayan states.

*Europe* covers the cultures of Europe.

*East and Southeast Asia* covers the cultures of Japan, Korea, mainland and insular Southeast Asia, and Taiwan.

*Russia and Eurasia / China* covers the cultures of Mongolia, the People's Republic of China, and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*South America* covers the cultures of South America.

*Middle America and the Caribbean* covers the cultures of Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean islands.

*Africa and the Middle East* covers the cultures of Madagascar and sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, and south-central Asia.

### *Format of the Volumes*

Each volume contains this preface, an introductory essay by the volume editor, the cultural summaries ranging from a few lines to several pages each, maps pinpointing the location of the cultures, a filmography, an ethnonym index of alternate names for the cultures, and a glossary of scientific and technical terms. All entries are listed in alphabetical order and are extensively cross-referenced.

### *Cultures Covered*

A central issue in selecting cultures for coverage in the encyclopedia has been how to define what we mean by a cultural group. The questions of what a culture is and what criteria can be used to classify a particular social group (such as a religious group, ethnic group, nationality, or territorial group) as a cultural group have long perplexed social scientists and have yet to be answered to everyone's satisfaction. Two realities account for why the questions cannot be answered definitively. First, a wide variety of different types of cultures exist around the world. Among common types are national cultures, regional cultures, ethnic groups, indigenous societies, religious groups, and unassimilated immigrant groups. No single criterion or marker of cultural uniqueness can consistently distinguish among the hundreds of cultures that fit into these general types. Second, as noted above, single cultures or what were at one time identified as single cultures can and do vary internally over time and place. Thus a marker that may identify a specific group as a culture in one location or at one time may not work for that culture in another place or at another time. For example, use of the Yiddish language would have been a marker of Jewish cultural identity in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century, but it would not serve as a marker for Jews in the twentieth-century United States, where most speak English. Similarly, residence on one of the Cook Islands in Polynesia would have been a marker of Cook Islander identity in the eighteenth century, but not in the twentieth century when two-thirds of Cook Islanders live in New Zealand and elsewhere.

Given these considerations, no attempt has been made to develop and use a single definition of a cultural unit or to develop and use a fixed list of criteria for identifying cultural units. Instead, the task of selecting cultures was left to the volume editors, and the criteria and procedures they used are discussed in their introductory essays. In general, however, six criteria were used, sometimes alone and sometimes in combination to classify social groups as cultural groups: (1) geographical localization, (2) identification in the social science literature as a distinct group, (3) distinct language, (4) shared traditions, religion, folklore, or values, (5) mainte-

nance of group identity in the face of strong assimilative pressures, and (6) previous listing in an inventory of the world's cultures such as *Ethnographic Atlas* (Murdock 1967) or the *Outline of World Cultures* (Murdock 1983).

In general, we have been "lumpers" rather than "splitters" in writing the summaries. That is, if there is some question about whether a particular group is really one culture or two related cultures, we have more often than not treated it as a single culture, with internal differences noted in the summary. Similarly, we have sometimes chosen to describe a number of very similar cultures in a single summary rather than in a series of summaries that would be mostly redundant. There is, however, some variation from one region to another in this approach, and the rationale for each region is discussed in the volume editor's essay.

Two categories of cultures are usually not covered in the encyclopedia. First, extinct cultures, especially those that have not existed as distinct cultural units for some time, are usually not described. Cultural extinction is often, though certainly not always, indicated by the disappearance of the culture's language. So, for example, the Aztec are not covered, although living descendants of the Aztec, the Nahuatl-speakers of central Mexico, are described.

Second, the ways of life of immigrant groups are usually not described in much detail, unless there is a long history of resistance to assimilation and the group has maintained its distinct identity, as have the Amish in North America. These cultures are, however, described in the location where they traditionally lived and, for the most part, continue to live, and migration patterns are noted. For example, the Hmong in Laos are described in the Southeast Asia volume, but the refugee communities in the United States and Canada are covered only in the general summaries on Southeast Asians in those two countries in the North America volume. Although it would be ideal to provide descriptions of all the immigrant cultures or communities of the world, that is an undertaking well beyond the scope of this encyclopedia, for there are probably more than five thousand such communities in the world.

Finally, it should be noted that not all nationalities are covered, only those that are also distinct cultures as well as political entities. For example, the Vietnamese and Burmese are included but Indians (citizens of the Republic of India) are not, because the latter is a political entity made up of a great mix of cultural groups. In the case of nations whose populations include a number of different, relatively unassimilated groups or cultural regions, each of the groups is described separately. For example, there is no summary for Italians as such in the Europe volume, but there are summaries for the regional cultures of Italy, such as the Tuscans, Sicilians, and Tirolians, and other cultures such as the Sinti Piemontese.

### *Cultural Summaries*

The heart of this encyclopedia is the descriptive summaries of the cultures, which range from a few lines to five or six pages in length. They provide a mix of demographic, historical, social, economic, political, and religious information on the cultures. Their emphasis or flavor is cultural; that is, they focus on the ways of life of the people—both past and present—and the factors that have caused the culture to change over time and place.

A key issue has been how to decide which cultures should be described by longer summaries and which by shorter ones. This decision was made by the volume editors, who had to balance a number of intellectual and practical considerations. Again, the rationale for these decisions is discussed in their essays. But among the factors that were considered by all the editors were the total number of cultures in their region, the availability of experts to write summaries, the availability of information on the cultures, the degree of similarity between cultures, and the importance of a culture in a scientific or political sense.

The summary authors followed a standardized outline so that each summary provides information on a core list of topics. The authors, however, had some leeway in deciding how much attention was to be given each topic and whether additional information should be included. Summaries usually provide information on the following topics:

**CULTURE NAME:** The name used most often in the social science literature to refer to the culture or the name the group uses for itself.

**ETHNONYMS:** Alternate names for the culture including names used by outsiders, the self-name, and alternate spellings, within reasonable limits.

### **ORIENTATION**

**Identification.** Location of the culture and the derivation of its name and ethnonyms.

**Location.** Where the culture is located and a description of the physical environment.

**Demography.** Population history and the most recent reliable population figures or estimates.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The name of the language spoken and/or written by the culture, its place in an international language classification system, and internal variation in language use.

**HISTORY AND CULTURAL RELATIONS:** A tracing of the origins and history of the culture and the past and current nature of relationships with other groups.

**SETTLEMENTS:** The location of settlements, types of settlements, types of structures, housing design and materials.

### **ECONOMY**

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The primary methods of obtaining, consuming, and distributing money, food, and other necessities.

**Industrial Arts.** Implements and objects produced by the culture either for its own use or for sale or trade.

**Trade.** Products traded and patterns of trade with other groups.

**Division of Labor.** How basic economic tasks are assigned by age, sex, ability, occupational specialization, or status.

**Land Tenure.** Rules and practices concerning the allocation of land and land-use rights to members of the culture and to outsiders.

### **KINSHIP**

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Rules and practices concerning kin-based features of social organization such as lineages and clans and alliances between these groups.

**Kinship Terminology.** Classification of the kinship terminological system on the basis of either cousin terms or genera-

tion, and information about any unique aspects of kinship terminology.

### **MARRIAGE AND FAMILY**

**Marriage.** Rules and practices concerning reasons for marriage, types of marriage, economic aspects of marriage, postmarital residence, divorce, and remarriage.

**Domestic Unit.** Description of the basic household unit including type, size, and composition.

**Inheritance.** Rules and practices concerning the inheritance of property.

**Socialization.** Rules and practices concerning child rearing including caretakers, values inculcated, child-rearing methods, initiation rites, and education.

### **SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION**

**Social Organization.** Rules and practices concerning the internal organization of the culture, including social status, primary and secondary groups, and social stratification.

**Political Organization.** Rules and practices concerning leadership, politics, governmental organizations, and decision making.

**Social Control.** The sources of conflict within the culture and informal and formal social control mechanisms.

**Conflict.** The sources of conflict with other groups and informal and formal means of resolving conflicts.

### **RELIGION AND EXPRESSIVE CULTURE**

**Religious Beliefs.** The nature of religious beliefs including beliefs in supernatural entities, traditional beliefs, and the effects of major religions.

**Religious Practitioners.** The types, sources of power, and activities of religious specialists such as shamans and priests.

**Ceremonies.** The nature, type, and frequency of religious and other ceremonies and rites.

**Arts.** The nature, types, and characteristics of artistic activities including literature, music, dance, carving, and so on.

**Medicine.** The nature of traditional medical beliefs and practices and the influence of scientific medicine.

**Death and Afterlife.** The nature of beliefs and practices concerning death, the deceased, funerals, and the afterlife.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A selected list of publications about the culture. The list usually includes publications that describe both the traditional and the contemporary culture.

**AUTHOR'S NAME:** The name of the summary author.

### *Maps*

Each regional volume contains maps pinpointing the current location of the cultures described in that volume. The first map in each volume is usually an overview, showing the countries in that region. The other maps provide more detail by marking the locations of the cultures in four or five subregions.

### *Filmography*

Each volume contains a list of films and videos about cultures covered in that volume. This list is provided as a service and in no way indicates an endorsement by the editor, the volume editor, or the summary authors. Addresses of distributors are provided so that information about availability and prices can be readily obtained.

### *Ethnonym Index*

Each volume contains an ethnonym index for the cultures covered in that volume. As mentioned above, ethnonyms are alternative names for the culture—that is, names different from those used here as the summary headings. Ethnonyms may be alternative spellings of the culture name, a totally different name used by outsiders, a name used in the past but no longer used, or the name in another language. It is not unusual that some ethnonyms are considered degrading and insulting by the people to whom they refer. These names may nevertheless be included here because they do identify the group and may help some users locate the summary or additional information on the culture in other sources. Ethnonyms are cross-referenced to the culture name in the index.

### *Glossary*

Each volume contains a glossary of technical and scientific terms found in the summaries. Both general social science terms and region-specific terms are included.

### *Special Considerations*

In a project of this magnitude, decisions had to be made about the handling of some information that cannot easily be standardized for all areas of the world. The two most troublesome matters concerned population figures and units of measure.

### *Population Figures*

We have tried to be as up-to-date and as accurate as possible in reporting population figures. This is no easy task, as some groups are not counted in official government censuses, some groups are very likely undercounted, and in some cases the definition of a cultural group used by the census takers differs from the definition we have used. In general, we have relied on population figures supplied by the summary authors. When other population data sources have been used in a volume, they are so noted by the volume editor. If the reported figure is from an earlier date—say, the 1970s—it is usually because it is the most accurate figure that could be found.

### *Units of Measure*

In an international encyclopedia, editors encounter the problem of how to report distances, units of space, and temperature. In much of the world, the metric system is used, but scientists prefer the International System of Units (similar to the metric system), and in Great Britain and North America the English system is usually used. We decided to use English measures in the North America volume and metric measures in the other volumes. Each volume contains a conversion table.

### *Acknowledgments*

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DAVID LEVINSON

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## Introduction

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This volume addresses the cultures of South America south of Panama. As the fourth-largest continent and the southernmost part of the New World land masses, South America encompasses 17,814,435 square kilometers. The continent is politically divided into twelve sovereign republics—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, Venezuela—and two dependencies—Britain's Falkland Islands (claimed by Argentina as the *Islas Malvinas*) and French Guiana (*Guyane Française*) (map 1). The estimated population of South America (1991) is 302,561,000 (United Nations 1992, 129). Three countries on the continent (French Guiana, Guyana, Suriname) have populations numbering less than 1 million each; three (Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay) each account for between 1 and 9 million; each of six countries (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela) has 10 to 49 million; and one (Brazil) has more than 100 million (World Bank 1989, 4).

The present-day cultures of South America fall into three general categories: (1) American Indian cultures of the descendants of the continent's original settlers; (2) African-American cultures of the descendants of African slaves; and (3) ethnic-group cultures of postindependence immigrants from Europe and Asia. The latter's descendants have maintained a sense of ethnic identity while living among the dominant earlier post-Columbian majority of Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) origin. Although concentrating primarily on American Indian cultures, the articles in this volume also consider African Americans in general and the African cultures of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela in particular. Also treated are ethnic-group cultures of Asians (Chinese, Japanese, Koreans), Jews, and Mennonites, as well as those of the dominant populations of colonial and postindependence Europeans.

On a continent where uncertainty about the identification of its inhabitants began with the basic misnomer "Indians," it is perhaps not surprising to find the problem of ethnic and cultural identity embroiled in chaotic confusion. The identity, especially of indigenous groups, is bedeviled by widespread ethnonymic and cultural clutter. Irrespective of the inconsistencies this policy entails, we retain, for purposes of primary ethnic and cultural identification, the names (autochthonous or given) suggested by the authors of the long summaries. For short cultural

summaries, the most commonly used nomenclature is employed, and for brief mentions we utilize Lizarralde's (1993) designations. Ethnonyms and alternate names are provided in the articles in the main body of the volume, in the ethnonym index, and in the appendix of Indian groups not covered in the main body of the encyclopedia. For special terms not defined in the text, the reader is referred to the glossary.

### *American Indian Cultures*

**Origin.** South America was settled by peoples whose ancestors had reached North America from Asia via Beringia. Whereas the Asiatic origin of the American Indian is fairly well established, archaeologists still disagree about the date when northern Eurasians first entered the Western Hemisphere and about the routes they may have taken. Conservative scholars maintain that the earliest migrants came to North America no more than 12,000 to 14,000 years ago, whereas a minority of more liberal scholars argues for 80,000 to 150,000 years ago or for an even earlier date. Most experts, however, agree that the first Americans reached this continent during the second half of the Wisconsin glacial period, or within the past 30,000 to 40,000 years (Kehoe 1981; Irving 1985).

From Alaska the newcomers traveled south across North and Central America, reaching the Panamanian gateway to South America sometime around 20,000 years ago. Persuasive archaeological evidence suggests that humans arrived in southern South America—probably via the Andean mountain chain—between 13,500 and 14,500 years ago (see Cardish 1978 for Patagonia, Dillehay et al. 1982 and Dillehay 1984 for Chile) and began penetrating the southern cone of the Pampa, Gran Chaco, Uruguay, and southern Brazil. By about 13,000 years ago they had distributed themselves across the Brazilian highlands and parts of the Atlantic coast. (For evidence of possible earlier human habitation in South America, see MacNeish et al. 1980 for southern Peru; Dillehay 1989 for southern Chile; and Bryan 1991, Guidon 1986, 1991, and Guidon and Delibrias 1986 for northeast Brazil; see also Wolkomir 1991.) Regions of more or less open country seem to have been better suited to the immigrants' preagricultural lifestyle than was the closed landscape of the Amazonian rain forest, which was probably first settled some 10,000 years ago.

**Population.** The size of the pre-Columbian population of South America and the Caribbean is unknown, as much of its decline took place before systematic censuses

were taken. Various subcontinental estimates (including the Caribbean) range from some 4,200,000 (Kroeber 1939, 166, who includes Panama and Costa Rica) to 7,080,000 (Rosenblat 1954, 102), to 10,190,235 (Steward and Faron 1959, 53), to between 18,000,000 and 24,000,000 (Sapper 1924), to a high of between 39,443,000 and 49,303,750 (Dobyns 1966, 415). After initial contact with Europeans, South American Indians—like Native Americans everywhere—suffered a steep decline in population. Among the principal causes of demographic destruction were the impact of Old World epidemic diseases on immunologically virgin populations, wars of conquest, slavery, and the similarly abusive practices of forced labor through kidnapping and subjugation (Crosby 1972; Hemming 1987; Taussig 1987; Lovell 1992; Stannard 1992).

Applying hemispheric depopulation ratios of 20 to 1 and 25 to 1 for a 130-year period (from initial contact to the onset of population recovery), Dobyns (1966) projects a total population of 90,043,000 and 112,554,000 American Indians respectively and an average rate of decline of 95 percent. Similarly, Borah (1962; 1964, 382), using a projection method based on European fiscal records and missionary reports, arrives at a hemispheric population of “upwards of one hundred million” and an attrition rate of 95 percent, albeit in the shorter time period of 100 years after contact. These figures also indicate an average depopulation ratio of between 20 and 25 to 1. Dobyns (1966, 415) suggests that at their respective nadirs Caribbean islanders numbered 22,150 individuals (in 1570), Andean highlanders 1,500,000 (sometime after 1650), and extra-Andean lowlanders 450,000 (at an undetermined date). Comparing widely ranging ratios encountered for various American Indian populations, Dobyns favors a standard depopulation ratio of 20 to 1. This is probably too high for the central Andes and too low for the tropical lowlands of America (Cook 1973; Denevan 1976, 212). Thus, for several regions of Greater Amazonia and the Caribbean, documentary evidence suggests a sharper decline rate of at least 35 to 1 (Denevan 1966, 212). (See also Snow and Lanphear 1989; Dobyns 1988, 1989; Butzer 1992; Verano and Ubelaker 1992).

Like the Caribbean islanders, many coastal, riverine, and open-lowland populations of South America, failing to recover from their most severe population losses, became extinct. In Amazonia, countless local populations declined and disappeared, and their number continues to diminish (Ribeiro 1957; Land and Nazareth de Almeida 1979, 340). Nevertheless, some extra-Andean survivors are nowadays increasing in numbers. Similarly, after overcoming a possible population nadir of 3 to 5 million in the mid-seventeenth century, Indians of the Andean highlands underwent a long period of recovery, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century their numbers had begun to increase at an accelerated pace (Mayer and Masferrer 1979). Lizarralde (personal communication) revised his earlier figure (1993, 10) for the contemporary (1976–1987) South American Indian population to 15,282,000, comprising 14,113,000 (92 percent) Andean Indians (Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru) and 1,169,500 (8 percent) lowland Indians. Excluding the central Andean (Peru, Bolivia) and northern highland (Ecuador, Colom-

bia, Venezuela) Indians, the combined population for South American lowland Indians totals approximately 1,261,000 if calculated according to the lower and 1,376,000 if calculated according to the higher figures given in the articles and the appendix of this volume. Both figures are only approximations and exclude fifteen groups listed in the appendix for which no population data were available. At the time of Lizarralde's study (1988) the total Indian population was roughly 6 percent of the national populations of South America and the Caribbean (World Development Report 1988; World Bank 1988). (For distribution maps of South American Indians, see Rowe [1951] 1974; CIMI 1985.)

### Language

**Linguistic Diversity.** South America is a continent of wide linguistic diversity, but the exact number of Indian languages, past or present, is unknown. Loukotka (1968), one of the primary classifiers, lists 1,492 language names (languages are often given several different names), attributing them to 117 language families and 44 isolates. The most recent classification (Greenberg 1987) enumerates some 567 South American Indian languages pertaining to one New World family, Amerind (several languages figuring under various names), and assigning them to 4 stocks, and 83 groups. Based primarily on overall classificatory agreements between postulations by Swadesh (1959), Loukotka (1968), Suárez (1982), and Greenberg (1987), Kaufman (1990, 31) classifies all South American Indian languages into 118 isolates and groups. Since the Conquest, whether through extirpation by royal decree (Torre Revelto 1962), outright genocide, or random attrition and assimilation, many languages have become extinct, and more of them are disappearing to this day. Despite the assaults sustained, however, about 260 to 300 languages (57 percent to 66 percent) of an estimated 454 known aboriginal languages are still spoken in South America (Kaufman 1986, 4; Urban and Sherzer 1988, 283). Since the mid-twentieth century, South American Indians have taken renewed pride in their mother tongues. They have demanded bilingual education for their children, and their languages serve as vernaculars in both Catholic (since Vatican II, 1962–1965) and Protestant liturgical services and religious instruction.

**Linguistic Classification.** Over the past 100 years, scholars, by inspecting random, topological, or standard vocabulary lists, have suggested a number of holistic classifications of South American Indian languages (Brinton 1891, Rivet 1924, Schmidt 1926, Mason 1950, McQuown 1955, Ibarra Grasso 1958, Swadesh 1959, Tax 1960, Tovar 1961, Loukotka 1968, Voegelin and Voegelin 1977, Key 1979, Suárez 1974, Greenberg 1956, 1987, Migliazza and Campbell 1982). These comprehensive groupings are based on impressionistic cognate sets the authors devised by superficial word comparisons of often fragmentary and mostly unphonemicized vocabularies. Despite methodological inconsistencies and the low quality of primary documentation, however, the classifications generated by the lexico-comparative method, especially narrow ones on the family level of linguistic affiliation, continue to be of ethnohistorical and sociocultural utility.

Continental maps illustrating such schemes accompany the works of Mason (1950), Loukotka (1968), and Suárez (1982). A useful ethnolinguistic map by Nimuendajú (1981) covers most of lowland South America. Maps for parts or all of South America may be found in Grimes (1988), Lizarralde (1993), as well as elsewhere (see Mason 1950, 169–172 and Wilbert 1968, 18).

In the late 1950s South Americanists began to apply the comparative-historical method used by nineteenth-century Indo-Europeanists (Meillet [1912] 1937). Earlier in the century Bloomfield (1925) and others had demonstrated the applicability of this method to North American Indian languages. As linguistically trained anthropologists and missionary-investigators of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) entered the field in unprecedented numbers, South Americanists began to dispose of detailed grammars, phonologies, and extensive phonemicized word lists, thus enabling them to apply the comparative-historical method to native South American languages as well. (According to the 1992 personnel directory of the SIL, 250 of its members are currently working on projects involving linguistics, translations, and literacy in ninety-seven South American Indian and creole languages.) Over the past thirty years, therefore, South American language classifications have been increasingly based on extensive phonemicized word lists, from which regular phonetic correspondences, protophonologies, and protolexica can be reconstructed.

Macrocomparisons on stock and phylum levels reach beyond presently established horizons of South American genetic language reconstructions, although results obtained through the reconstruction method lend themselves to the formulation of hypotheses in this direction. Similarly, broad classifications presented by Swadesh (1959) and Greenberg (1987) without the benefit of full-scale reconstructions have a low confidence level and are best considered as tentative linguistic hypotheses (see also Kaufman 1990; Matisoff 1990). Even though South American historico-comparative linguistics is still in its infancy, reconstructions of families like Arawakan, Gê, Panoan, Tacanan, and Tupian, which are notably well advanced, challenge several of the macrophyla schemes proposed by Greenberg (Davis 1966, 1968; Girard 1971; Key 1968; Lemle 1971; Payne 1991; Rodrigues 1958, 1985a,b; Shell 1965; Urban and Sherzer 1988, 295; Sherzer 1991; Urban 1992).

**Languages of Special Prominence.** Two South American Indian languages, Quechua and Guaraní, have attained unusual prominence in the modern nations of their distribution. The various speech forms of Quechua (Inga, Quichua, Runa Simi) are dispersed over a wide area of western South America, from southern Colombia in the north to northern Argentina in the south. Estimates for the number of Quechua speakers range from 8.5 to 11 million, thus marking it as the largest surviving Indian language in America. In the 1950s Bolivia officially recognized Quechua as a second national language, and in 1975 the military government of Peru issued an edict declaring Quechua a co-official language of that country.

The second language of national prominence is Guaraní. Besides achieving a wide distribution through its dialectal form, known as *Língua Geral* (Tupí, Nheengatú),

Guaraní is spoken by more than 4 million people in Paraguay and in contiguous border areas of Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia. Thanks to certain historical circumstances, Guaraní attained equal standing with Spanish throughout Paraguay, where it is recognized as an official language and where many citizens are bilingual (Sorensen 1973, 318–321).

Mention should also be made of Aymara, which is spoken by at least 2 million people, mostly in Bolivia.

**Multilingualism.** Because Quechua and Guaraní, like other South American Indian languages (e.g., Aymara, Mapuche, Tucano, Tupí-Guaraní), developed into *lingua francas*, multilingualism is a widespread phenomenon among South American Indians, although it assumes different combinations of languages in different areas. Speech communities maintain their native languages even as their members also become conversant in contact languages of European or Indian origin.

When a particular European language combines with an Indian language to create national bilingualism—for example, Spanish with Quechua or Guaraní—coequality in bilingual practice is conventionally considered a developmental phase marked by instability, transience, and gravitation toward a one-language, one-culture society. To begin with, bilingualism on a national scale exists in countries where a particular ethnic population survives in strength. The European language tends to be the major one, with the Indian language becoming a minor partner. Then, as in Paraguay and in the Andean republics of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, the Indian language is spoken by rural populations, whereas the European language is more prevalent in urban centers. The Indian language tends to prevail in intimate and private circles of interpersonal and family interactions, but the European language is spoken in the public and official contexts of national and governmental functions. Through the rural-urban continuum of autochthonous and foreign languages, the rural Indian language becomes identified with lower- and middle-class people, and the urban European language with upper-class citizens. Finally, in bilingual countries the cultural patterns associated with the national language, nowadays strongly aided by the media of radio and television, begin to eclipse the indigenous patterns maintained by the native language. The former language supplants the latter, establishing a single-language, single-culture nation (Steward and Faron 1959, 334; Sorensen 1973, 321; Albó 1977; Rubin 1968; Urban and Sherzer 1988, 298). In this respect, the dispersal of Quechua by the military conquests of the Inca resembles the spread of European languages through immigrants from the Old World. Many conquered speech communities were transformed into bilingual sections of the empire. In other areas, overshadowed by the official language and culture of the conqueror, Quechua gradually replaced the original languages of the vanquished (Rowe 1946).

Although such is the conventional wisdom regarding the course of institutionalized multilingualism, South American linguists have recently suggested that the ideological value of an Amerindian partner language to the state in which it is spoken is the determinant of the ultimate fate of such languages. Thus, owing to differential



historical antecedents, the ideological value of Guaraní to Paraguay is based on alliance and partnership, whereas the value of Quechua to Peru is based on dominance and oppression. Accordingly, the fate of Guaraní is hypothesized to be one of enduring stability, whereas that of Quechua is suggested to be one of transitional instability tending toward a one-language, one-culture future (Urban 1991).

The one-language, one-culture situation does not prevail in central-northwestern Amazonia, where autochthonous multilingualism is a pervasive pre-European tradition. It has been institutionalized by prescribed linguistic-group exogamy among more than twenty culturally homogenous but linguistically highly heterogeneous Tucanoan societies, each speaking its own language. The individual identifies primarily with his or her father's patrilineal and patrilocal sociolinguistic group. Although the father's tongue predominates in the resident longhouse community and in other communities that belong to his group, the mother's language nevertheless is spoken within her social ambit as she associates with coresident women of her own linguistic group or visits with her relatives. The bilingual exposure of family members thus establishes the basic conditions for multilingualism in the individual. All members of the core Tucanoan societies on the middle Vaupés speak, in addition to their parental languages, Tucano and two or three other indigenous languages they have heard in their multilingual communities, as well as Spanish or Portuguese. The latter choice depends largely on residence, either in the Colombian or the Brazilian section of the binational territory.

Other multilingual patterns appear among Indian and non-Indian settlers in the general Vaupés region. All communities continue to practice, although in modified form, the traditional pattern of multilingualism, using several indigenous languages in addition to *lingua francas* like Tucano, *Língua Geral*, Spanish, and Portuguese. Only Tucano, the original *lingua franca* of the region, is coextensive with the entire distribution area of these highly multilingual groups. The above-mentioned sociolinguistic characteristics and unqualified general approval of multilingualism are regarded as integral to the traditional pattern. Contact with non-Indian settlers and with the Spanish and Portuguese languages occurred around 1900. Thus, conditions prevailing in northwestern Amazonia—predominance of the Indian component, personal identification with a specific sociolinguistic group, perpetuation of group exogamy, and tolerance of other languages—seem to be requisite to a model of sociolinguistically pluralistic multilingualism (Sorensen 1967, 1973, 1985; Jackson 1974, 1983; Chermela 1983; Grimes 1985; Urban and Sherzer 1988, 297).

Several regions of Peru and Bolivia are trilingual, owing either to Aymara-Spanish bilingualism's overlap of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, or perhaps, as in Puno, to an ancient Aymara-Quechua bilingualism to which Spanish was later added (Sorensen 1973, 323). Trilingualism—*Língua Geral* and either Portuguese or Spanish and an Arawakan language—has also been reported from the Río Negro region and adjacent territories in the Orinoco drainage. Carib populations of the Guiana highlands are said to be conversant in English and Spanish, and Carib men in the Guianas, along the northern continental fringe, and the Lesser Antilles used a pidgin based on Carib (Cariña)

in their men's houses and on trading expeditions. This men's language was carried into the Caribbean by Carib warriors who conquered the Arawakan Igneri (Eyeri) of the Lesser Antilles, taking the women of the vanquished as wives. In the seventeenth century these so-called Island-Carib were found to speak the Arawakan language of the Igneri, among whom they had settled. Among themselves, however, the men spoke the Cariban-based pidgin language their ancestors had brought from the mainland, retaining it as a symbol of their origin that set them apart from the Arawakan-speaking women (Taylor 1977, 26–27; Taylor and Hoff 1980). Thus Carib multilingualism was based on sex differences rather than on descent and marriage rules, as among the Tucanoan tribes of northern Amazonia (Sorensen 1973, 323).

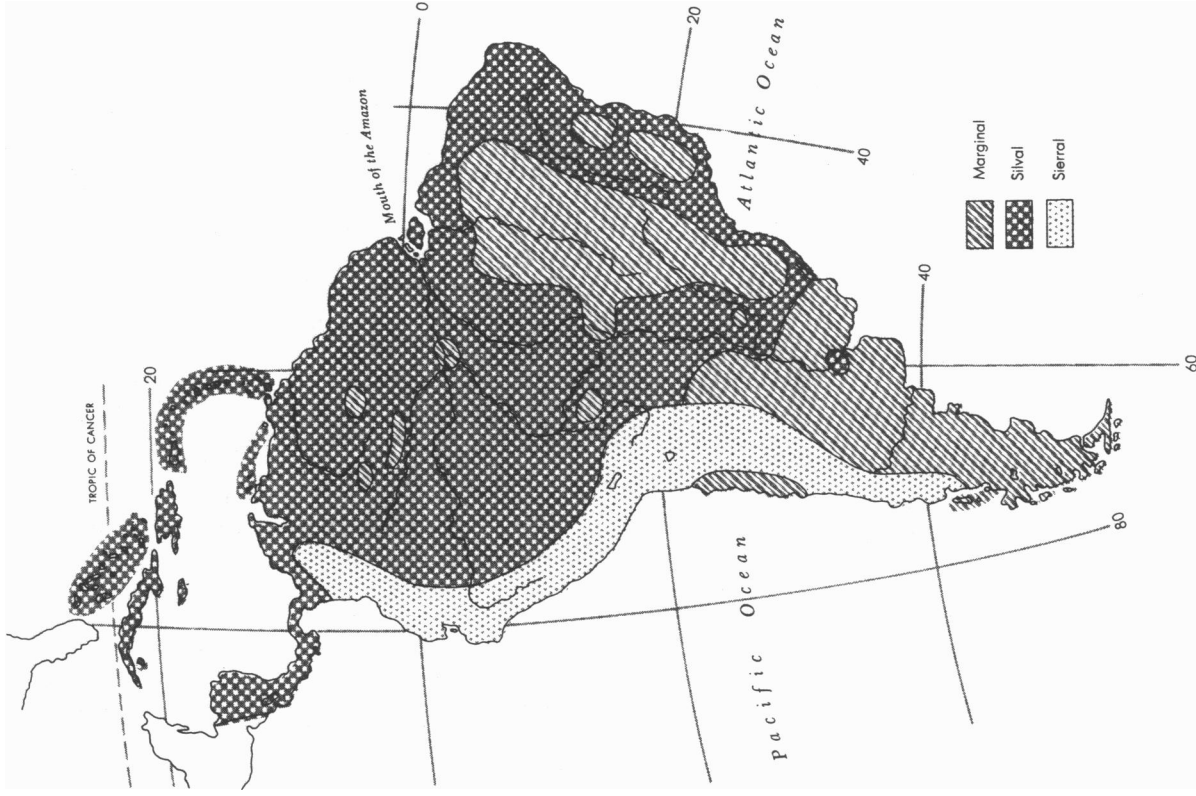
### Culture Areas

In this volume, South American Indian cultures are surveyed on three different levels: 93 are described by long cultural summaries; 58 in short summaries; and 187 are covered briefly in the appendix. The combined number of indigenous cultures treated in this volume is 338. Discounting the Andean campesino communities included in the sample, the 151 cohering lowland groups described account for roughly 40 percent of some 350 to 400 extant extra-Andean Indian societies. The editor drew up a list of groups he considered representative of the major regions and subregions of the continent. Long summaries were written by scholars solicited on the basis of their firsthand field experience; short summaries were furnished by the volume editor and other writers, including staff members of the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF), on the basis of archival and library holdings. Although some regions receive more extensive treatment than others, together the summaries provide good coverage of extant South American Indian cultures. Extinct cultures were not considered.

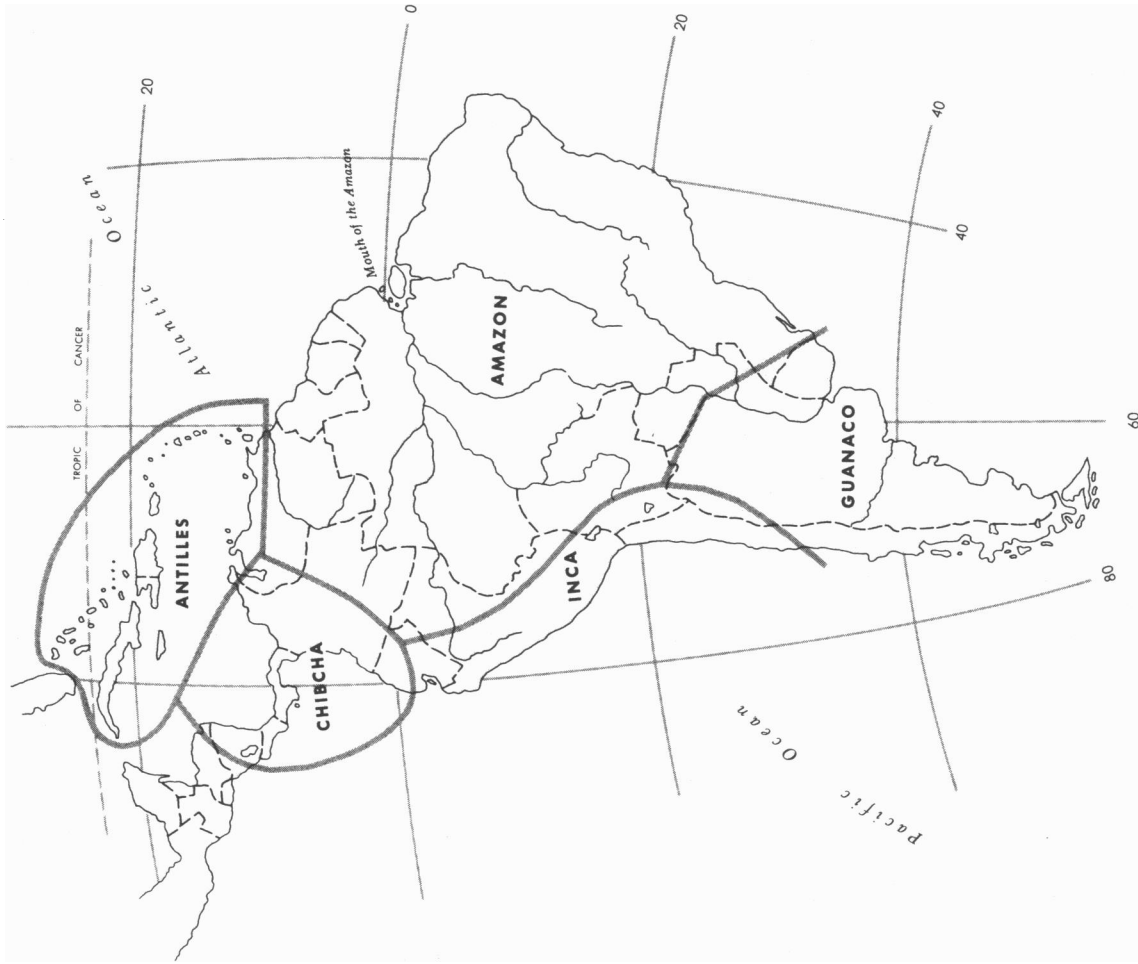
Five centuries of ever-increasing contact with the outside world have revealed South America as a continent of imposing native cultural plurality. Since the early 1900s anthropologists have repeatedly attempted to reduce this complex diversity to a semblance of meaningful order. Continentwide and regional classifications were made on the basis of similarity and dissimilarity of cultural inventories, grouping multitudes of local cultures into a reduced number of smaller units.

As their classificatory principle, most taxonomists espoused the culture-area concept: that is, they sought to group contiguous societies in a given geographical area according to shared sets of distinguishing traits. This idea was sometimes coupled with the age-area concept: that is, some taxonomists tried to localize centers of cultural distribution from which traits and trait clusters could be traced through space in order to deduce time sequences. The antiquity of a trait was inferred by its distance from the center: the closer, the newer; the farther, the older. Other anthropologists classified native cultures according to the culture-type concept: that is, they used the combined product of a culture core (consisting of traits clustering mainly around socioeconomic activities), its level of sociocultural integration, and adaptive ecocultural organization.

To some extent the three approaches are correlative



**Fig. 2.** Culture Areas of South America  
After Cooper (1942)



**Fig. 1.** Culture Areas of South America  
After Wissler ([1917] 1938)

and have produced classifications that resemble one another in outward appearance. They differ, however, in terms of the underlying theoretical agenda and the choice of taxonomic principle (Kroeber 1931, Ford 1954). Other discrepancies among classifications are owing to the relative completeness of the ethnographic record at the time of their formulation.

Culture areas provide panoramic overviews of the content and distribution of large numbers of local cultures. Like all surveys, however, they are compressed generalizations achieved at the expense of detail. Proper appreciation of the culture area as a taxonomic tool presupposes familiarity with its ethnographic particulars and understanding of the concept's theoretical significance as well as of its limitations.

For example, culture areas are impressionistically derived etic constructs devoid of psychological reality for the peoples to whom they refer. When attention shifts from broad patterns to small-scale particulars of its constituent cultures, the culture area tends to disappear as a cohering unit. Subjective and ephemeral boundaries of culture areas are accordingly less unequivocal and solid than their appearance on maps would seem to suggest. Then, as geographically determined units, culture areas appear to be co-extensive with a particular culture type, which they most commonly are not. Sometimes culture areas include disparate culture types, and sometimes a culture type is found in more than one culture area. Furthermore, marginal enclaves surrounding a dominant culture type are often erroneously considered less "ideal" than the core type they supposedly seek to emulate. In actuality, however, both types may represent adaptations to subareal environmental exigencies. Finally, as the end results of historic interactions and culture change, culture areas are synchronic snapshots, simulating a cultural stasis that does not exist (Herskovits 1960, 408-410).

Caveats such as these are intended to preclude uncritical employment of the culture-area approach more than to negate its practical usefulness. Thus, the lack of psychological reality does not preclude culture areas from cohering by virtue of perceived cross-cultural similarity. For instance, long-term mutual borrowing among cultures under similar ecological conditions effects a leveling of cultural differences, producing the similarity among cultures characteristic of culture areas. Good examples of the result of these joint ecologically adaptive and acculturative forces are the three major aboriginal culture areas that characterize the three natural or environmental zones of South America: that is, the savanna, the forest, and the mountain adaptations. As will presently be explained, this tripartite cultural-geographical division was proposed by several taxonomists, whereas others, from a less distant perspective, subdivided each of the three major culture areas into a smaller or larger number of subareas.

Wissler's ([1917], 1923, 1926) classification of New World culture areas was a pioneering systematic treatment of the culture-area concept. His aim was to produce relative histories of whole continents and of the world at large. The distribution of what turned out to be predominantly technological and economic cultural elements led him to propose five culture areas for South America and the Caribbean: the Chibcha area of the continental northwest

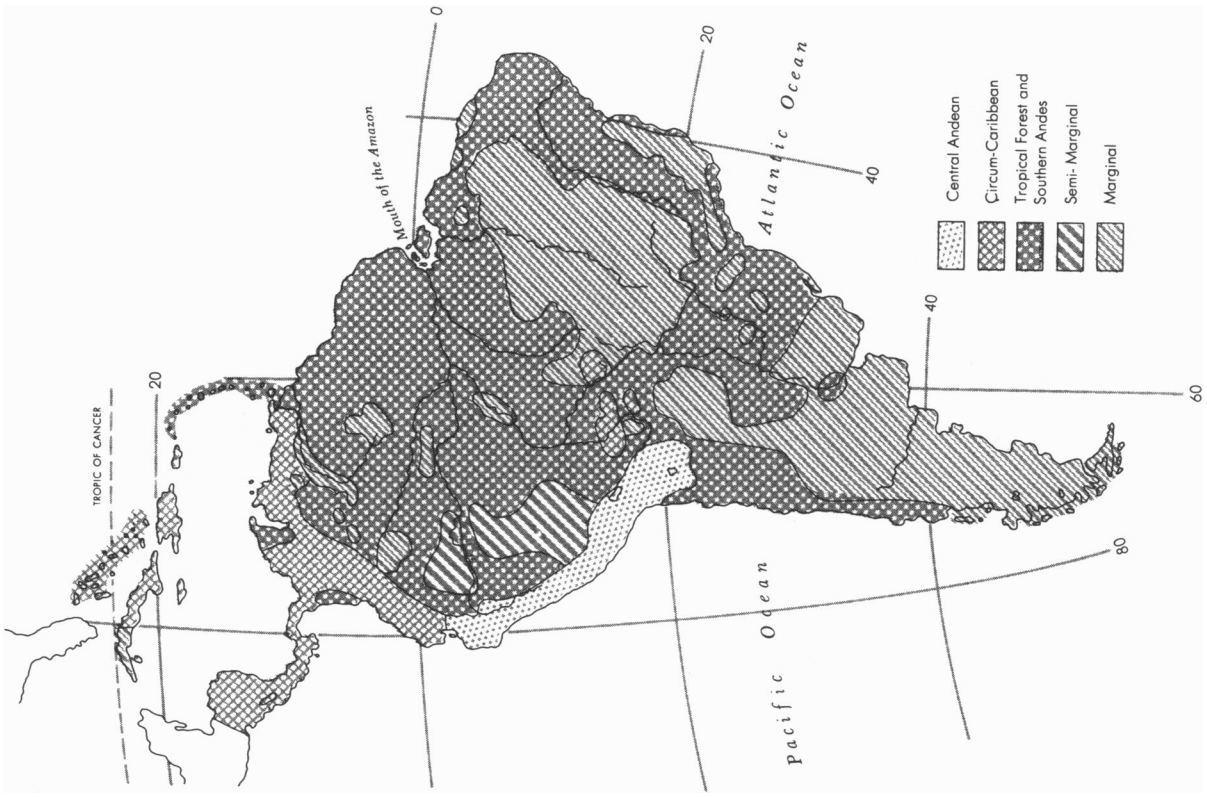
and the Inca area of the Andes between Ecuador and central Chile, with cultures based on intensive agriculture; the Guanaco area of the southern cone; the Amazon area of the Amazon-Orinoco drainage; and the Antilles area of coastal Venezuela and the West Indies, with cultures based on manioc farming (fig. 1). Wissler stresses the diagrammatic character of his area boundaries, indicating that they marked blended regions between contiguous cultures rather than hard territorial borders.

Cooper (1925) began to classify South American cultures on a regional basis by concentrating on the hunter-gatherers of southern South America. He designated four time periods for this culture area, from prehistory to modern. Probably influenced by Wissler, he also considered archaeological drift and cultural diffusion in producing a relative history of the region.

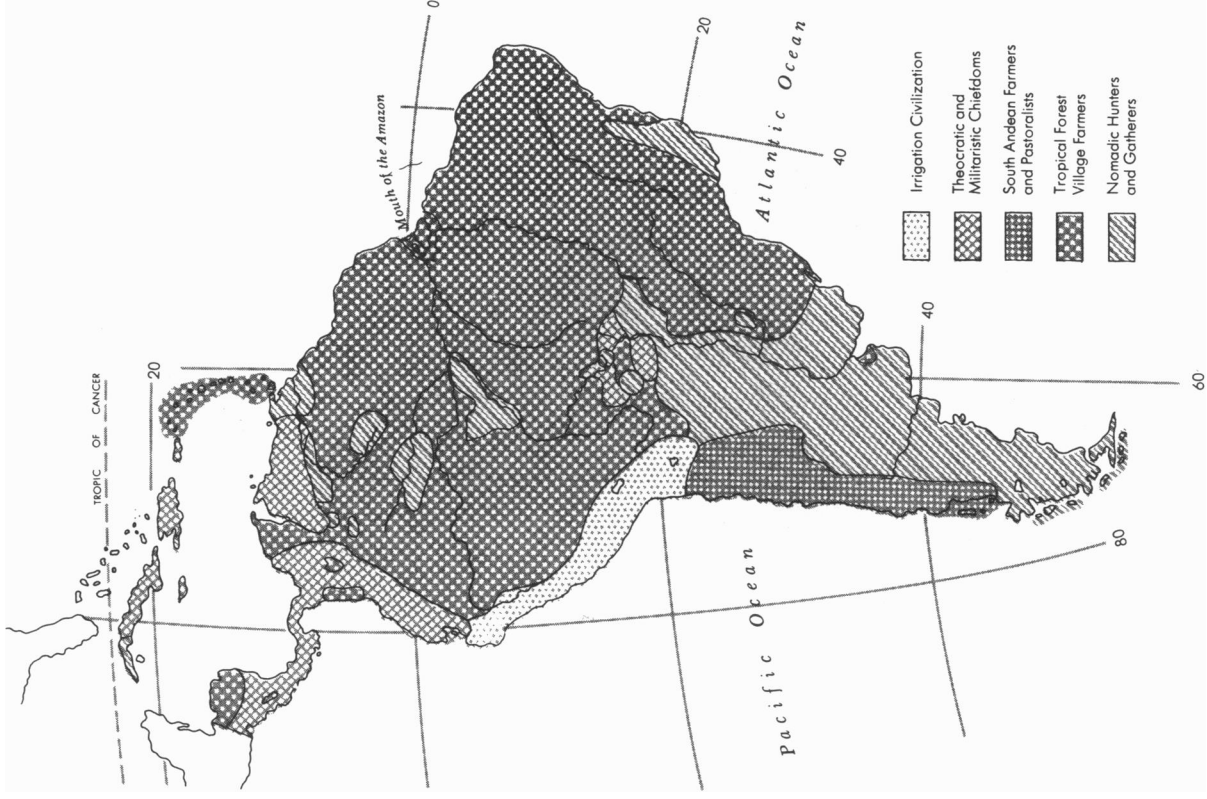
Following this single-region attempt at culture-area classification, Cooper (1942) broadened his scope to encompass the entire continent. He drew up a comprehensive list of diagnostic cultural elements and compared local cultures on the basis of the presence or absence of those elements. The three principal regions of cultural distribution he demarcated roughly correspond to the three major geographic and biotic zones of the continent (grasslands and savannas, tropical forest, and Andes Mountains): Marginal, Silval, and Sierral (fig. 2). In accordance with his interest in both cultural evolution and ethnohistory, Cooper believed that marginal grassland and savanna bands of hunter-gatherers were earlier and less developed than Silval (forest) village farmers, and he placed both of them on developmental thresholds below the later Sierral (Andean) civilizations of intensive agriculturists.

Stout (1938) distanced himself from the age-area concept by focusing primarily on areal taxonomy rather than on temporal sequencing. After conducting a detailed survey of the continent's local cultures, he grouped them into nine major culture types. Accompanied by short ethnographic descriptions, Stout's classification distinguishes among Onan, Pampean-Patagonian, Magellanic, and Araucanian areas of the southern cone; Peruvian and Chibchan of the central and northern Andean highlands; Amazon-Orinocoan; east Brazilian; and Chacoan basic types in as many areas (fig. 3). Recognizing the lack of complete correspondence between culture type and geographic area, Stout understood his divisions as geographic areas only partly occupied by culture types, rather than as culture areas.

Steward (1946-1959) organized the cultures described in the *Handbook of South American Indians* according to four principal culture regions: Andean, Circum-Caribbean, Tropical Forest, and Marginal, each with a number of subdivisions (fig. 4). Beginning in the 1940s, Steward demonstrated an increased interest in the natural environment and its significance for social systems; the (multilineal) evolution of cultures reflected a process of continuing adaptation of societies to geographic exigencies. Thus, like Cooper, he superimposed over the area concept the notion of cultural development, with emphasis on environmental adaptation and sociocultural integration. Steward essentially adopted the first three culture areas from Cooper and created a fourth area to accommodate cultures he perceived as intermediary between the Marginal and the



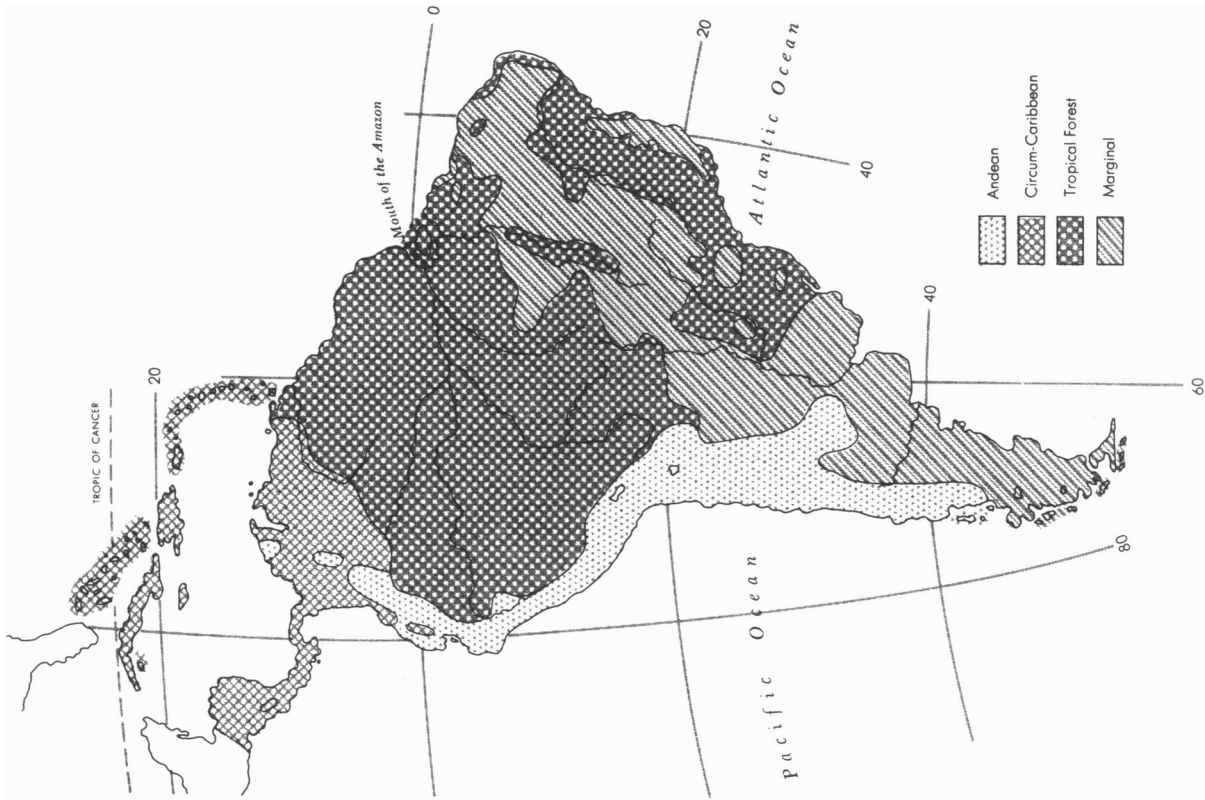
**Fig. 5. Culture Types of South America**  
After Steward (1949a)



**Fig. 6. Culture Types of South America**  
After Steward and Faron (1959)



**Fig. 3.** Culture Types of South America  
After Stout (1938)



**Fig. 4.** Culture Types of South America  
After Steward (1946-1955)

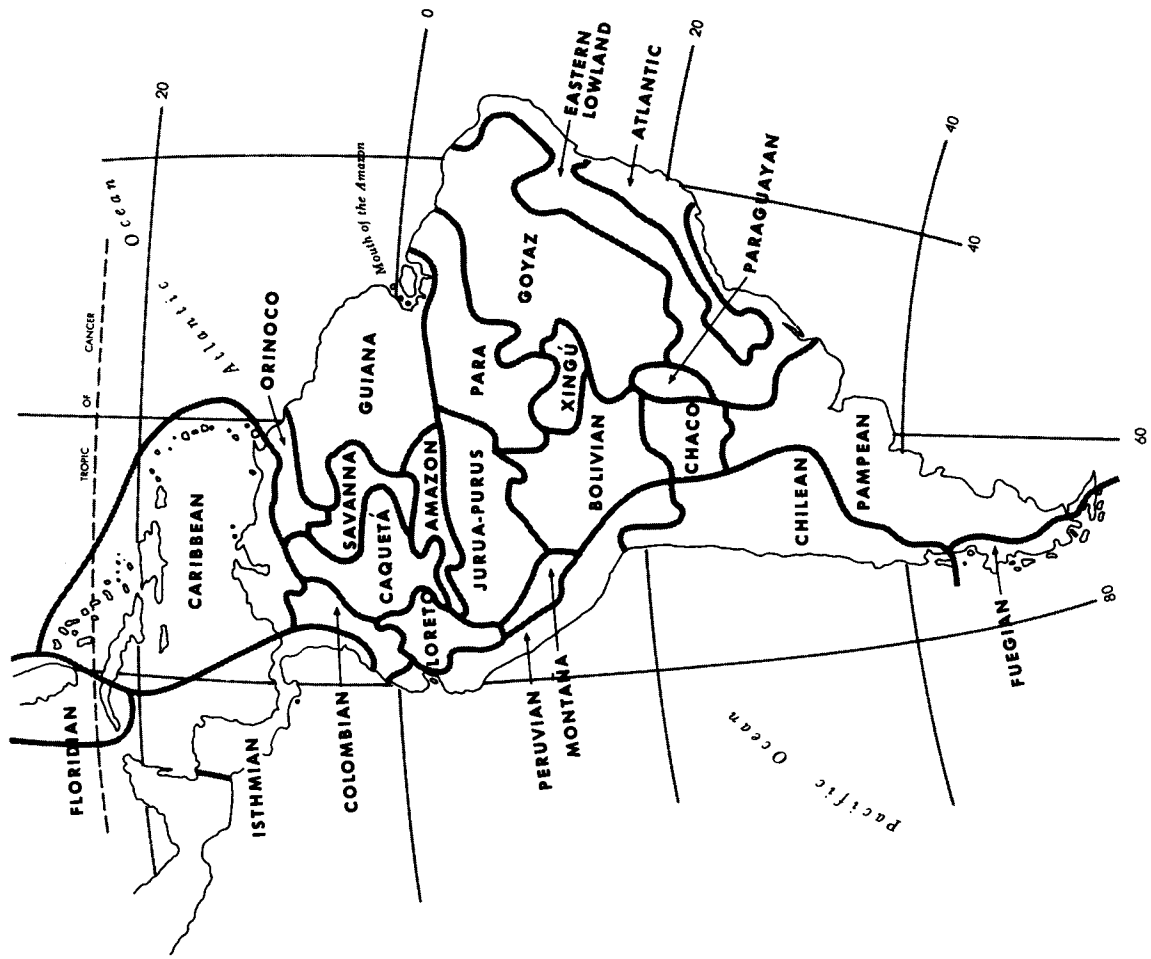


Fig. 7. Culture Areas of South America  
After Murdock (1951)

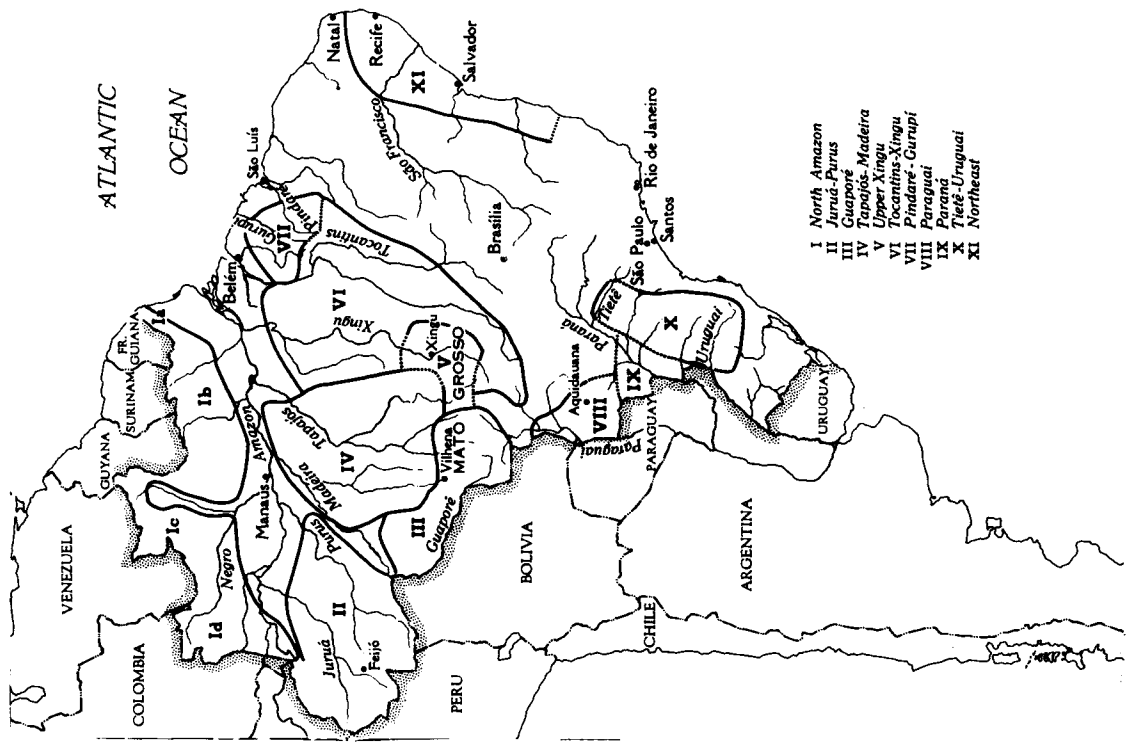
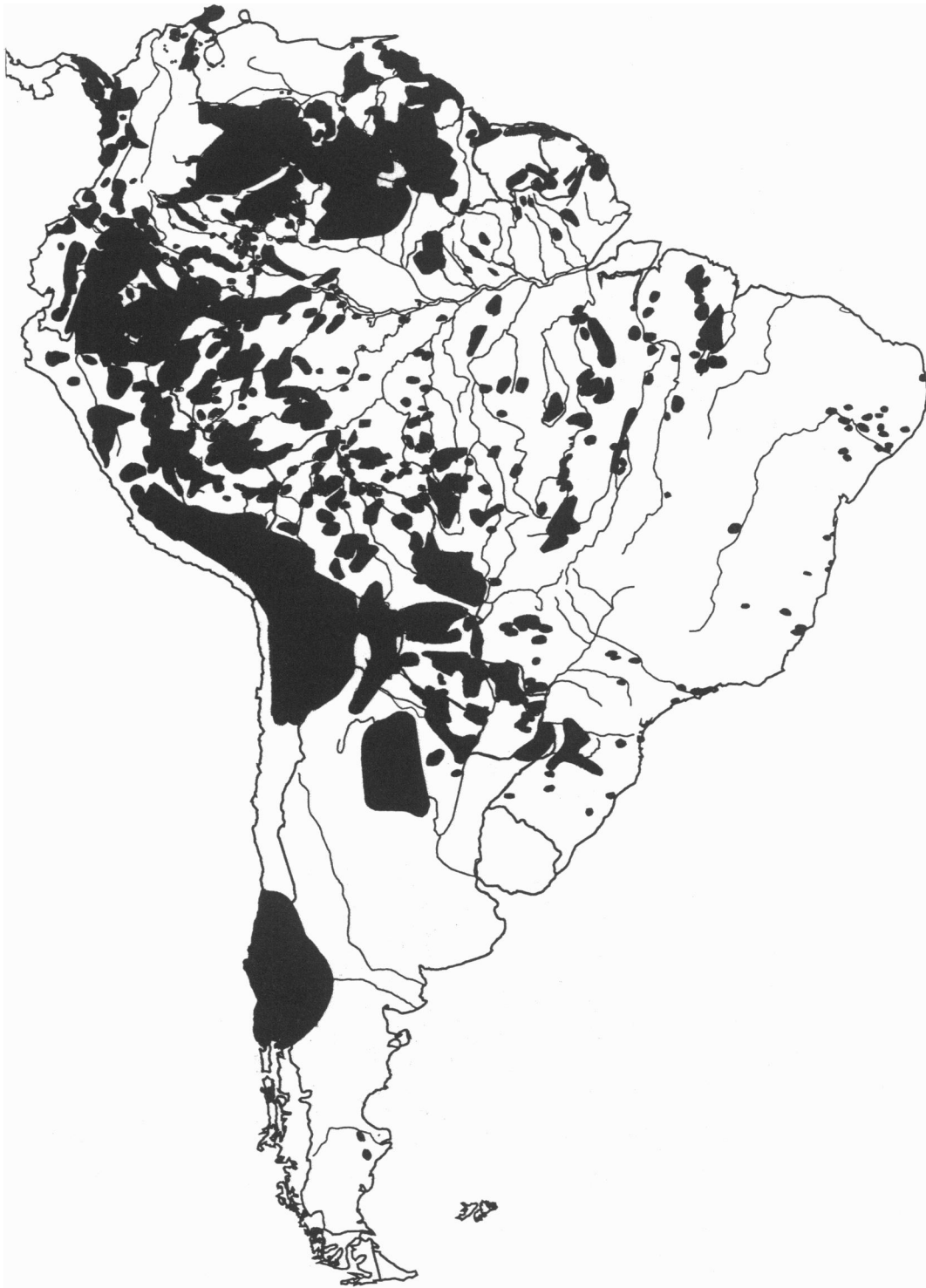


Fig. 8. Culture Areas of Brazil  
After Galvão (1960)



**Fig. 9.** Current Ethno-Linguistic Groups of South America (1990)  
Courtesy of M. Lizarralde

Tropical Forest cultures, on the one hand, and the Andean civilizations, on the other. Steward accounted for this taxonomic innovation by deriving the Circum-Caribbean culture from a formative stratum that he saw underlying the Andean civilizations, which he assumed to have diffused eastward into the Circum-Caribbean lowlands before it underwent deculturation and devolved into the Tropical Forest level of culture.

Steward later (1949c) revised his classification. Rather than continuing to base a culture-area classification on the general trait content of cultures, as most previous classifiers (himself included) had done, Steward adopted a developmental approach in which he systematically compared clusters of culture traits, particularly those involving sociopolitical and religious practices. In this second classification, Steward distinguished five culture types and delineated their areal distribution: Central Andean, Circum-Caribbean, Tropical Forest and Southern Andes, Semi-Marginal, and Marginal (fig. 5).

In a final effort, Steward and Faron (1959) further revised this classification of culture types by substituting functional criteria for purely geographic descriptions: Irrigation Civilization (for Andean), Theocratic and Militaristic Chiefdoms (for Circum-Caribbean), South Andean Farmers and Pastoralists, Tropical Forest Village Farmers (including the previous Semi-Marginals), and Nomadic Hunters and Gatherers (for Marginals) (fig. 6).

Steward's first (1946-1959) continental classifications served as a heuristic editorial device for organizing large amounts of descriptive ethnographical information into book form. Rarely, prior to the *Handbook* project, had a scholar disposed of quite so vast a South American data base as Steward had. The identification of culture types and their subdivisions is supported by four volumes, replete with ethnographic detail, covering single cultures, clusters of related cultures, or entire culture areas.

Murdock (1951) produced the most recent continent-wide culture-area formulation for South America. It differs from previous classifications mainly in the application of a standardized set of diagnostic principles on which it is based. In addition, Murdock dismissed most of the theoretical assumptions that previous classifiers had attached to the culture-area and age-area concepts by regarding the enduring usefulness of culture areas as residing in their function as taxonomic devices.

Intent on improving upon Steward's classification, Murdock observed that the ethnographic knowledge about specific cultures varied widely in detail and magnitude. The variation made cultures often incomparable and rendered the determination of culture areas problematic. Furthermore, Steward, following Cooper, had isolated the original culture of Marginal peoples by stripping them of adopted Silval and Sierral elements in which he showed them to have been lacking. Murdock objected to the identification of Marginal cultures on the basis of such negative, deficiency criteria. Instead, he drew up a schedule of nine traits and complexes for which ethnographical information is widely available. The list includes traits pertaining to linguistic affiliation, technology, subsistence economy, and social organization. Elements of religion and mythology are not included.

Using this schedule, Murdock (1951) examined all in-

dividual South American cultures or clusters of closely related cultures. On the basis of observed similarities and dissimilarities, he compared, named, and described twenty-four culture areas, ascribing them to three general culture types: Steppe-Hunters of the Pampean and Chaco culture areas; Tropical Forest, consisting of the Eastern Lowland, Goyaz, Pará, Xingu, Bolivian, Montaña, Juruá-Purus, Amazon, Loreto, Caquetá, and Guiana culture areas; Andean consisting of the Isthmian, Caribbean, Colombian, Peruvian, and Chilean culture areas (fig. 7). Two hunting areas (Atlantic, Savanna) and four fishing areas (Fuegian, Paraguayan, Orinoco, Floridan) are interspersed throughout the larger regions. For lack of adequate information, they could not be combined into larger constellations on the basis of Murdock's positive criteria. Closer inspection of the twenty-four culture areas reveals that although their coverage, according to his chosen criteria, is very good, it is complete only for ten areas. Nine areas lack information on at least one trait, and five lack data on two or more of the standard traits. Errors such as putting the Nambicuara within the Xingu culture area and Murdock's later-suggested "sampling provinces" (1968, 323-326) for South America reveal additional shortcomings of the schema.

Galvão's (1960) classification of culture areas in Brazil stands out as a regional taxonomy. Around the turn of the twentieth century, Ratzel (1885-1888) and Wissler (1917) had grouped the aboriginal cultures of Brazil into a single area. Mason (1896) arranged them into three regional divisions (Andean Atlantic Slope, Mato Grosso and Central Brazil, and Eastern Brazil), and Stout (1938) was the first to indicate subregional enclaves in each of his two major areas in Brazil (Dole 1967). Confronted by increased ethnographic documentation, Steward had found it necessary to establish nine divisions within the categories of Tropical Forest and Marginal cultures of Brazil, each with a goodly number of subgroups. Finally, of Murdock's twenty-four culture areas, no fewer than eleven were Brazilian.

Galvão adapted the classifications of Steward and Murdock by reassigning several groups and by revising the boundaries of some areas. Rather than covering the entire period from discovery to the present, however, and sensitive to changes that must have occurred over time, he proposed a classification restricted to the period 1900 to 1959. Following Ribeiro (1957), Galvão took into consideration the effects of intertribal acculturation on culture change. Furthermore, he provided an indicator for the degree of culture change through communication with the non-Indian world, distinguishing among four contact situations and concomitant levels of integration into the national society: accidental, intermittent, permanent, and integrated. The taxonomic principle of his classification is the contiguous spatial distribution of artifactual and socio-cultural traits. On this basis he established eleven culture areas: North-Amazon, Juruá-Purus, Guaporé, Tapajós-Madeira, Upper Xingu, Tocantins-Xingu, Pindaré-Gurupi, Paraguai, Paraná, Tietê-Uruguai, and Northeast. Several of the primary areas feature subdivisions (fig. 8).

The practice of subdividing the three major culture areas of South America into a smaller or larger number of subareas became a common if somewhat gratuitous practice in South American ethnology. Small culture areas remain just as general as large ones, and generality rather



than specificity is the hallmark of a culture area. Thus, from an appropriately distant perspective, a relatively simple but meaningful picture of aboriginal South American cultural patterns emerges that satisfies the taxonomic purpose of the culture-area principle (Weiss 1980). Shifting the focus to medium or close-up positions, as noted above, brings out increasingly more detail, eventually nullifying the classificatory goal of the culture-area approach.

Like some ethnolinguistic maps (Rowe [1951] 1974, Mason 1960, Loukotka 1968), culture-area and culture-type maps of South America give the impression of a continent entirely subdivided into contiguous Indian territories. These synchronic maps, collapsing distributional data of long time spans, go back to differential first-contact situations and sometimes even to the time of discovery. The contemporary distribution of South American Indians, however, is quite different (fig. 9). Extra-Andean peoples and cultures are largely restricted to a crescent-shaped region that reaches from Greater Guiana across the Venezuelan and Colombian llanos to western Amazonia and along the Montaña of Ecuador and Peru, and the Yungas of Bolivia to eastern Bolivia, Mato Grosso, Gran Chaco, and the Paraná region. On the exterior side of the crescent, the distribution of contemporary ethnic groups is sporadic. On the interior side, east of the Rio Madeira across the Brazilian highlands to the coast, the number of remaining cultures is sharply reduced. With few exceptions, all cultures south of the Gran Chaco have disappeared. The majority of Andean Indians live in communities divested of their distinctive aboriginal culture patterns without being fully assimilated into the Hispanic mold of the Andean republics of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia to which they belong. Drawing on regional and topical sources cited in the bibliography, composite ethnographical pictures of the savanna, forest, and mountain culture areas can be drawn to provide a broad introductory overview.

**Savanna Culture Area.** Surviving South American Savanna peoples are located mainly on the plains of the Gran Chaco, in the Brazilian highlands, and on the Orinoco plains of Venezuela and Colombia. Accordingly, the Savanna culture area is not coextensive with a single geographical region. Cultures of the steppes and grasslands of Patagonia and Pampa have become extinct.

Savanna peoples lack or de-emphasize agriculture. Soil and climatological conditions make the open savanna ill suited for tillage. Local conditions permitting, however, more substantial fields are prepared in gallery forests alongside meandering rivers. In the Brazilian highlands, agriculture seems to be of long standing. Here some Gê groups plant manioc, but their principal crops are maize, beans, squashes, and, uniquely, *Cissus* sp.—an assemblage of plants quite different from that found among Forest farmers. Hunter-gatherers of the Gran Chaco and the Orinoco plains apparently adopted farming from intrusive Forest peoples or Europeans. After the adoption of the horse, some Chaco groups may have temporarily given up farming in favor of mounted nomadism.

In general, Savanna peoples rely on a wide variety of regionally available wild-vegetable foods like roots, tubers, wild rice, seeds, berries, and the pods and fruits of a large number of trees. Palm shoots and, in the Gran Chaco,

palm sago are a significant part of their diet, and honey is collected in large quantities. Depending on varying ecological conditions, hunting of terrestrial and aquatic birds and animals or fishing, or both, are important sources of food. Whatever the predominant food-quest activity, however, Savanna peoples lead either fully or partly nomadic lives. Bands or household clusters of some seminomadic groups undertake weekly communal hunting and fishing expeditions; others alternate seasonally between semipermanent settlements near their gardens and temporary campsites; still others are famous for periodic treks on which they spend weeks and months foraging for food. In the course of ongoing acculturation and adaptation to the encroaching frontier, increasing numbers of Savanna groups maintain quasi-permanent settlements, some of whose inhabitants migrate for prolonged periods of time in search of wage labor. European domestic animals adopted by Savanna peoples include sheep, goats, cattle, pigs, donkeys, horses, and chickens. The dog, nowadays practically universal, seems to be of post-European introduction, although Gran Chaco dogs may be hybrids of European and pre-Columbian ancestry. Chaco Indians were the most likely to adopt domestic animals; others were less inclined to do so, especially those of the Orinoco plains who raise some cattle and chickens for trading purposes rather than as food or for other uses.

The material culture and technology of Savanna peoples are little developed, although some Gê Indians of the Brazilian highlands are known to produce a large variety—more than 150 types—of traditional artifacts. Bows and arrows are widely in use, but spears, harpoons, and clubs may also be found. In the Gran Chaco, equestrian hunters use bolas to hunt rheas. Because Savanna peoples are largely land-oriented, they only sporadically use dugout canoes for riverine transportation. Bark canoes and bullboats are used by some groups along the outskirts of the Amazonian forest. Basketry, netting, and pottery are widely practiced crafts. Loom weaving has been adopted by some Savanna groups, but the use of traditional clothing is minimal. The Indians adorn their bodies with paint or tattoo- and featherwork; they use ear, nose, and lip ornaments; they wear headdresses, necklaces, and bands on their arms and legs. Body adornments signify ethnic, gender, and societal associations rather than social status. Other than those they borrowed from Forest and Mountain peoples, musical instruments of Savanna groups include mainly rhythm beaters.

Dwellings are rather simple circular or oval dome-shaped huts or rectangular or elongated houses with arched gables and thatched roofs. Some groups build conical huts thatched with palm leaves, whereas lean-to shelters serve for protection in provisional camps. Throughout the open lowlands, people sleep on mats, on platform beds, or, less frequently, in hammocks.

Local groups of Savanna peoples are usually small, sometimes consisting of a single conjugal or bilateral family; several families may cluster in larger units of extended families, forming autonomous bands of 50 to 150 members. They live in temporary camps or settlements, which include a cluster of houses or lines and double lines of houses set on either side of a road. Exceptions to this pattern are the Gê-speaking groups (including the Bororo) of

the Brazilian highlands that traditionally live in circular, oval, or semicircular settlements consisting of a central ceremonial plaza surrounded by a number of small family houses. Communities of this kind have been known to count as many as 1,400 residents.

Postmarital residence among most Savanna peoples is uxori-local, and descent is bilateral. Local communities of the Gê Indians are divided into moieties, and principles of dualism permeate the entire society. Only in one group (Bororo), however, has the preponderance of matrikin in extended families and household units given rise to structures resembling matrilineal descent. Patrilineal descent with uxori-local residence prevails among the central Gê of the Brazilian highlands (Shavante, Sherente), as well as among the Ayoreo and the Chamacoco of the Gran Chaco. Enclaves of intrusive Forest peoples in the Gran Chaco have patrilineal (Chiriguano) and matrilineal (Chane, Guanã) descent reckoning.

Headmen throughout the savanna culture area, if recognized at all, enjoy only limited political authority. For decision making, these cultures may depend on a council of elders, and sometimes elders form larger governing councils and tribal units. Warfare, nowadays a rare event, was generally for defense against aggressive intruders, trespassers on traditional hunting grounds, and sorcerers who attacked a group member. Chaco horse bands took slaves; skulls and scalps were taken as human trophies.

The religions of Savanna peoples exhibit notably complex concepts of cosmogony, cosmology, and mythology. Magic manipulations of the spirit world are carried out by shamans and average adults. None of the supernatural personages and phenomena are especially venerated or worshiped, and personalized supernaturals like the supreme gods of the extinct Fuegians (Halakwulup, Yamana, Selknam) and Patagonians (Tehuelche), for instance, or the sun god of the Ayoreo, are everywhere less prominent among Savanna peoples than demiurges, culture heroes, and multitudes of nature and ancestor spirits.

All Savanna peoples have shamans, although the importance of shamanism varies markedly from one group to another. Shamans have influence on political decision making, but their principal function is curative and religious. In general, shamanic intervention is directed toward the needs of the individual rather than toward the common good. Aided by spirit helpers, shamans cure by blowing, massaging, and sucking pathogenic agents out of the patient's body. Recovering a patient's lost soul is a less-common therapeutic technique. Shamans are also called upon to officiate at public rites, forecast the future, and recover lost objects. Chanting with or without rattles often accompanies a shaman's actions. Psychotropic drugs such as tobacco (*Nicotiana* sp.) and, on the Orinoco plains, snuff powders from *Anadenanthera peregrina* (yopo) and *Banisteriopsis caapi* (ayahuasca) are used but were traditionally less commonly employed to induce trance than were endogenous and ascetic techniques of mystic ecstasy. Benevolent and malevolent (sorcery) forms of shamanism feature prominently in the religion of Savanna peoples.

Although not exclusive to Savanna Indians, prominent themes of their mythology include a three-tiered hierarchical arrangement of the universe: Sun and Moon as demiurges, creators, and transformers; prominent trickster cycles;

star-woman; sky rope or arrow chain; bird's-nester; the food tree; and multiple and sometimes successive cataclysms such as the flood, the great fire, the long drought, the wave of cold, the fall of meteors, the universal darkness, and the collapse of the sky.

**Forest Culture Area.** The Forest Culture Area centers on the tropical rain forest of Amazonia. It also includes tropical and subtropical rain and mixed (deciduous-evergreen) forest regions of northwestern and coastal Colombia, Guiana, and eastern Paraguay, as well as eastern and coastal Brazil. Thus, the relatively compact Forest culture area does not coincide with a single geographical region. Aboriginal peoples of the humid forests of the Caribbean have perished, and those of the rain forest of coastal Brazil are nearly extinct.

In view of the suggested time depth (10,000 years) for the settling of Amazonia, it is surprising that there is not greater variability in patterns of subsistence economy, in sociopolitical units, and in the complexity of material culture and technology among the aboriginal inhabitants of this vast region. It remains an open question whether some of the surviving groups maintain versions of a preagricultural life-style. Their ancestors would have entered the tropical forest as nomadic hunters who, lacking river craft, roamed the interriverine areas in search of game and wild-plant foods. Other present-day hunters and gatherers in the tropical forest may represent regressive cultures of former village farmers who were forced, probably 3,000 or fewer years ago, into the interfluvial regions by more aggressive cultivators of the floodplain forest. The lateritic and heavily eroded soils of their refuges proved to have much less agricultural potential than the active floodplains, or *várzeas*, they had left behind. Their cultures, regressing in terms of overall size and complexity, began to resemble those of the intimated original hunter-gatherers of the interfluvial zones.

The militarily capable societies, which in defending their fertile floodplains had dislodged their weaker neighbors or conquered and amalgamated them into populations numbering from several hundred to tens of thousands, are now extinct. According to current theory, they originated on the island of Marajó in the mouth of the Amazon some 2,400 years ago, from whence they eventually formed complex and powerful sedentary chiefdoms along the main course of the Amazon. Later on they apparently dispersed up the major tributaries to the ecological edge zones of the uplands of *tierra firme*. Some of them, still extant in the sixteenth century, soon vanished in the violent and disease-ridden aftermath of discovery and conquest.

Notwithstanding the extinction of the chiefdoms, the Forest peoples treated in this volume still remain. For the most part, they form autonomous villages—in Guiana, the western Amazon Basin, the Montaña and Yungas regions along the eastern slopes of the Andes from Ecuador to Bolivia, the eastern Bolivian lowlands, Mato Grosso, the Tapajós-Madeira area, and earlier-mentioned forested regions beyond Amazonia—and continue to make a living by shifting cultivation and by exploitation of riverine resources. Although enclaves of interfluvial hunters and gatherers are still in existence, fitting more closely into the Savanna culture pattern than into that of the Forest peo-

ples, there is hardly a group in the Forest culture area that would not cultivate at least one or two small gardens prepared by the slash-and-burn method of swidden agriculture. Whereas maize, sweet potatoes, yams, squashes, taro, arrowroot, peppers, beans, peanuts, and sundry other foods are grown, manioc is the distinctive and single most important crop produced by Forest farmers. Sugarcane and bananas were obtained from the Europeans. Other special cultigens include gourds, calabashes, dyes such as *bixa* and *genipa*, cotton, tobacco, arrow reeds, and palms. Several varieties of manioc contain prussic acid. Once the roots are grated, the pulp is pressed out by means of hoselike basketry squeezers, mats, or still other devices. The resulting manioc is eaten in the form of porridge, farinha flour, or flat cakes toasted on a large round griddle. Farinha and manioc cakes may be stored for considerable periods of time. Away from the floodplains, soil fertility in these gardens diminishes after two or three years, weeding becomes a major problem, and a new parcel of forest must be cleared to prepare a new garden plot. The preparation every few years of a new field, however, does not always necessitate the relocation of the village site; many remain occupied for up to twenty years or more (e.g., Upper Xingu).

River frontages are the preferred habitats of Forest peoples. Silt deposits left by annual flooding guarantee perpetual fertility to várzeas and vegetable gardens. Equally important is the seemingly inexhaustible store of aquatic foods the river keeps conveying to riparian settlers, thus adding foodstuffs rich in protein to their starchy garden fare. Innumerable species of fish are the most important resource, but turtles, turtle eggs, caimans, manatees, and, very rarely, river dolphins are also eaten. The relative importance of hunting varies from tribe to tribe. Arboreal game like gallinaceous birds, monkeys, and sloths is widely sought. Terrestrial animals depended on include deer, tapir, peccaries, armadillos, anteaters, and large rodents like capybaras, pacas, and agoutis. Gathering of wild-plant foods is an important economic activity during regular seasonal exploitation and in times of food shortage or other emergencies. Formerly wild fruit trees and plants—*guama*, *guayaba*, papaya, *piquí*, pineapple—are now cultivated, and Brazil nuts play a major seasonal role. Honey is eagerly collected by all tribes, and insect food, like palm-borer larvae, is widely appreciated.

Paddled dugout and bark canoes are of the utmost importance to Forest peoples. They turn the river network from an obstacle for nomadic interfluvial hunters into an advantage for riparian village farmers. Daily activities such as fishing, hunting, and gathering of food and raw materials are aided by the dugout, and far-flung trading and warring are particularly facilitated by such craft. Axes, machetes, and dibble sticks are the principal tools of cultivation. Washboardlike manioc graters studded with stones, cylindrical basketry manioc presses, large round ceramic (now metal) griddles, and wooden or basketry tortilla turners are used in the preparation of manioc. The main hunting implements are bows and arrows, spears, and (especially in northwestern and western Amazonia) the blowgun with curare-tipped darts. Various kinds of game traps are set. Single- and multipronged harpoon arrows, as well as harpoons, are used to procure fish, aquatic reptiles, and large water mammals. Weirs, bell-shaped basketry fish

traps, nets, and hooks are additional devices for catching fish. Fishing by means of different species of *barbasco* (*timbó*) plant poison is the most productive method, particularly in the dry season when the rivers are low and calm.

Basketry figures prominently in the ergology of Forest peoples; carrying baskets, basketry containers, mats, and manioc squeezers are ubiquitous throughout the region. Weaving on a heddle loom is practiced by tribes in Guiana, the upper Amazon, and the southern parts of Amazonia. The heddle loom is of great antiquity in northwestern South America and Andean areas whence, together with the belt or backstrap loom of Montaña tribes, it may have diffused in remote times. Netting and the ancient practice of bark-cloth preparation are of limited distribution.

As clothing is sparse, many Forest peoples go naked except for pubic covers like penis sheaths and *tangas* for women. Pubic covers are also made of bark cloth and palm stipules. Guiana women wear trapezoidal aprons made of glass beads strung in multicolor geometric and zoomorphic designs. Western Amazon people weave shirts and skirts from cultivated cotton, and the men of several Montaña tribes wear woven tunics called *cushma*. More important than clothing the body is adorning it with armbands, leg bands, belts, necklaces, earrings, lip plugs, and lip pendants. Natural materials like seeds, fruit husks, animal teeth, and shells are made into pendants of various kinds. Men and women of many groups paint their bodies with vegetable dyes, and tattooing is sometimes practiced. Colorful feathers are often made into resplendent body ornaments. Some groups keep eagles in captivity just to pluck their wing and tail feathers for ceremonial adornment and arrow feathering.

Most Forest peoples manufactured coiled pottery containers with a plain, painted, modeled, incised, or appliqué finish. Beautifully fashioned and plastically decorated ceramic ware was produced in the lower Amazon region. Amazonian Indians discovered the elastic properties of rubber made from the sap of certain trees. Finger rings, enema syringes, and balls are some of the useful articles they made from rubber.

Forest peoples have a variety of traditional musical instruments. Gourd and calabash rattles, rattle strings, and bamboo stamping tubes are valued percussion instruments. Wind instruments include trumpets, clarinets, oboes, flutes, and panpipes. A few tribes in Colombia, western Guiana, and northwestern Amazonia have large hollow-log signal drums.

House types vary widely from region to region. Some single-family structures are double lean-tos or frames of poles topped with thatched saddle roofs. These simple structures are mostly temporary dwellings, constructed with much less effort than large communal houses designed to shelter extended lineages for long-time occupancy. Varying from place to place, large multifamily homes may consist, as in Guiana for instance, of a cylindrical wall of wattle and daub and a conical roof 14 meters high and 28 meters in diameter. In northwestern Amazonia, rectangular long-houses measure 14 by 16 meters, with the eaves of the thatched saddle roof sloping down almost to the ground. The outside front wall, consisting of slabs of bark, is painted with anthropomorphic and geometric designs.

Huge barrel-vaulted longhouses of other Amazonian tribes may be 33 to 67 meters long and 17 to 20 meters high. Communal houses may accommodate from 40 to 150 people in family quarters and hearth communities; internal spaces are differentiated by use: secular and ceremonial, public and private, male and female, and domestic and visitor. Some household units build small pole structures, several of which form village clusters. Most often, however, the psychological, social, and cosmic spaces of individual members are centered on the single longhouse community. With few exceptions, Forest peoples sleep in hammocks, which they originated. Platform beds such as those of the Jivaro and the Gé-speaking tribes of Brazil are atypical of Amazonian Forest cultures.

Despite the cultural differences among autonomous villages, there exists among Forest peoples a common cultural denominator. It is the result of ecological adaptation and acculturation fostered by far-flung migrations, political alliances, group-exogamous marriages, trade relations, and ritual participation. Interpersonal relations among the members of a local group are based on kinship bonds that unite extended families and households through either the male or the female line. The political power of village chiefs or elders is generally minimal; paramount chiefs—ruling over a hierarchy of subordinate chiefs with power to resolve conflicts, to punish wrongdoers, even by death, and to requisition men and matériel in wartime—have disappeared, along with the chiefdoms. Although in a few societies war captives and members of subservient neighboring groups belong to a less-privileged social stratum, true class structures do not exist among Amazonian societies. The division of labor is based on sex and age. Life-crisis rituals for male and female members are widely practiced, but their elaboration varies from place to place. Among western Amazonian groups, secret puberty rites mark the initiation of boys of a local lineage into the status of adulthood and their induction into men's secret societies.

Warfare to obtain human trophies—shrunk heads, skulls, flayed skins, scalps, long bones for flutes—and victims for cannibalistic feasts was formerly widespread in the Forest culture area, but it has now been curtailed. A few groups also took slaves, although true slaving seems to have been a postcontact development.

Factored into the above-mentioned common denominator discernible in Forest cultures is a prevailing similarity in religious beliefs. Because religious concerns permeate the entire social life of the Indians, boundaries between the secular and the religious or between the physical and the metaphysical are fluid and tend to dissipate.

The belief in a creator, a father, or old man (grandfather) and his wife as prime movers, culture bringers, and teachers of humankind, is widespread in the Forest area. Following an initial period of contact with humans and their mundane concerns, they retired to lead an otiose existence. Although recognized as primal creative personages, demiurges and mythical culture heroes are not venerated or worshiped exclusively. Where cults of a single divine being do occur, they are likely to be the result of Christian influence.

Cosmological beliefs are remarkably similar throughout the region. The universe is a three-tiered structure comprising the sky, the earth, and the netherworld; and

each tier may feature further subdivisions. The three principal layers are inhabited by specific denizens, among whom the king vulture and the harpy eagle stand out as representatives of the sky spirits, the jaguar as representative of the earth's forest dwellers, and the anaconda and the caiman as emblematic of the spirits of the aquatic netherworld. Many Forest peoples construct their houses as microcosmic models of the universe, enabling them to experience its vital reality through architectural symbolism and ritual.

The universe consists of visible and invisible parts that are complementary and coequal. Invisible beings on all cosmic levels are often regarded as the counterparts of objective phenomena, and most societies consider invisible entities unpredictable and potentially dangerous. Spirit encounters are almost invariably harmful to humans.

Restricted mainly to the Amazonian forest but not universal within its confines is a belief in the recycling of soul matter. The souls of the dead converge in a given area from whence, with few exceptions, they are redistributed among newborn people. Names and souls of the living are those of primordial ancestors and are passed on through alternate generations. Soul loss causes illness and death.

Assisted by spirit helpers, shamans (mostly men) mediate between the denizens of the various cosmic levels and channel the forces of the invisible world to energize their people's lives and environs. They cure the sick by massaging, sucking out pathogenic agents, exorcising evil spirits, and recapturing lost souls. Shamans perform magic, prognosticate, and control the weather. They officiate at public ceremonials, including ancestor cults; harvest, fish, and bush-spirit rites; ghost rituals; mourning ceremonies; secret-society procedures; and initiation rites. Although similar in many respects to their counterparts among Savanna peoples, the shamans of Forest peoples often act not only in religious but also in political arenas, sometimes serving as chiefs. Tobacco is an all-pervasive drug which, like powerful hallucinogens such as *yopo* (*Anadenanthera*), *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis*), *epena* (*Virola*), and *datura*, is ingested by religious practitioners to induce trance. Under the influence of psychotropics, they travel between the cosmic planes and communicate with the invisible world of the spirits. Alcoholic beverages made from manioc, maize, sugarcane, and palm fruit are imbibed at most public feasts throughout the region. Many personages that figure in the mythology of the Forest peoples become involved in cosmogonic and life-ordaining activities. A particularly basic and recurrent theme is that of the master of animals. Its protagonist appears in different zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, or part-animal and part-human forms. If not as an oversized animal, he is variously envisioned as a hairy, black, or cannibalistic monster, dwarf, or giant. Among his many functions, the master of animals serves as the protector of the animals and the forest. He provides game in exchange for human souls, in response to supplication, or in return for gifts of tobacco. In some Forest societies, the master of all animals is replaced by masters of single species of fish and of other animals; in some instances both notions coexist. Guianan species protectors are father figures who manifest themselves as normal-sized or larger-than-life prototypical animals. In other cases, the master of animals is replaced by a mistress of the animals and the

forest. She assumes different guises (e.g., corpulent trees, serpents, and tortoises) and functions as a protective mother spirit of all game animals. Female animal protectors are propitiated with offerings of sweet manioc, palm sago, and tobacco.

Of particular importance to Amazonian life and culture is the mythologem of Yurupari, who ordains nature and society and instructs humankind in the rules of ritual conduct. This culture hero is present in the form of sacred flutes and bark trumpets. The instruments are taboo to women and children and are played to give voice to Yurupari in a secret men's cult and other cultic celebrations. Other prominent mythic themes of the Forest people's mythology are the twin heroes, the Amazons, the Carib warrior, the underwater woman, the gourd and the flood, and the village of the jaguars.

**Mountain Culture Area.** The Mountain culture area is roughly coincident with the central and northern Andes mountains. The aboriginal cultures of incipient farmers, chiefdoms, theocratic states, kingdoms, and empires of these regions have become extinct. The modern descendants of the peoples who created these cultures live as residual archaic foragers, peasant farmers, hacienda workers, artisans, and laborers, forming the new subcultural types of *indios* and mestizos. Three major Mountain peoples may be distinguished: the Uru-Chipaya, the Quechua, and the Aymara.

The Uru have become best known as an enclave of fishermen, hunters, and gatherers within the Mountain culture area of advanced agriculturists and pastoralists. Some Uru groups, however, appear to have practiced agriculture. Since early historic times, the Uru have inhabited the islands and the general region of Lake Titicaca, speaking Puquina, a language quite distinct from Quechua or Aymara and representing (with Quechua and Aymara) a third *lingua franca* around the lake. Puquina was probably spoken almost as far north as Cuzco, and some have suggested that it may have been the language of Tiahuanaco. Apparently, there were some Uru groups that spoke either Puquina or Uru(*quilla*). Under pressure from colonial authorities, as well as from their Quechua and Aymara neighbors, the Uru population dwindled; in the late twentieth century perhaps only a handful of full-blooded individuals survive. Their tribal lands have been lost. The few mostly mixed descendants of the Uru continue to live on floating reed platforms on Lake Titicaca, as well as onshore, but they have largely adopted the Aymara language and culture, including the domestication of such animals as sheep, cows, and llamas.

The Chipaya of Charangas, in western Bolivia, are Puquina-speaking peoples. Like the Uru, they retain certain features of their original archaic culture, but they have adopted pastoralism of llamas and sheep on a larger scale than have their linguistic relatives. Some Chipaya also travel widely in search of wage labor. Like the Uru, the Chipaya are now being absorbed by the Aymara, but approximately one thousand of them remain. They have become increasingly more bilingual in Puquina and Aymara, although among themselves they continue to speak their own language.

Quechua-speaking communities occupy the largest dis-

tribution area within the Mountain culture area. Ranging from the border departments of Putumayo and Nariño in Colombia (Inga) and the sierran and eastern jungles of Ecuador (Quichua) in the north, Quechua has its widest distribution and its broadest dialectal diversity in Peru, where it is spoken in the northern lowlands and the central highlands (Runa Simi). Farther south, in Bolivia, Quechua is spoken in a small area north and east of Lake Titicaca and in a larger region in the departments of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Potosí. Across the border from Potosí, Quechua is spoken in small regions of northern Chile and northwestern Argentina, as far south as the province of Santiago del Estero. Altogether there may be as many as 8.5 to 11 million speakers of Quechua. In the highlands of Peru and Bolivia, more than 90 percent of the people understand Quechua and 80 percent speak it; some 50 percent are said to be monolingual in it. Several Quechua groups in Colombia and Ecuador do not belong to the Mountain culture area.

The Aymara people are the second-largest group of Mountain peoples. Their prehistoric states have succumbed to the Inca and Spanish conquests, although many of them are still traceable by dialectic and cultural variations. Aymara distribution centers on the Titicaca Basin and the altiplano between the Cordillera Marítima (coast range of the Andes) in the west and the Cordillera Real (bordering the Amazon Basin) in the east. Of the 2 million contemporary Aymara people, about one-third retain much of their aboriginal linguistic and cultural heritage. The larger group, however, is being increasingly integrated into the modern Peruvian and Bolivian societies.

Throughout the vast Andes region, people of Indian ancestry live in dispersed open communities, nucleated communities, and towns. Buildings consist of oval or rectangular single-family, cooking, and storage houses with thatched or modern corrugated-metal gable or hip roofs and walls of wattle and daub, adobe, sod, or stone. The Uru and Chipaya build rectangular or oval houses with walls of turf blocks and either flat or dome-shaped *titora*-reed or corbeled-turf roofs. The Aymara cluster these houses in an extended family compound surrounded by a wall.

Mountain peoples are primarily agriculturists, cultivating an unparalleled number of more than fifty species of domesticated plants on fields that may be irrigated, terraced, and (on the coast) fertilized with guano. Crop rotation is widely practiced. The most important staples at higher elevations include quinoa, oca, and a wide variety of potatoes. Maize is the important crop at lower elevations; in the valleys and on the coast, beans, squashes, sweet manioc, peanuts, peppers, fruit trees, and cotton are grown. In the Peruvian and Bolivian highlands, agricultural chores are performed jointly by men and women. Tracts of land are individually owned by men and women, and community land is apportioned to households according to size and need. In the latter half of the twentieth century, state-imposed land reform has deeply affected the traditional system of land tenure. Dibbles, spades, the foot-plow (*chaqui taclla*), and ox-drawn plows are variously employed for soil preparation.

Domestic animals such as llamas (used as pack animals), alpacas, sheep (kept for their wool), horses, donkeys, swine, guinea pigs, rabbits, Muscovy ducks, and dogs

are widely kept. Whereas alpaca herding continues to be of considerable economic importance on the high plateau, the usefulness of llamas as beasts of burden has somewhat diminished because of the improved condition of roads.

Fishing from totora-reed or balsa rafts is of importance only in the economy of the riverine Aymara and the Uru of Lake Titicaca. Each community has exclusive fishing rights to a portion of the lake closest to its territory. Fishing methods include bare-hand catching, drag and scoop nets with floats and sinkers, multipronged implements, hooks and lines, and loops. Fish are allowed to die before they are strung on a cord or on a reed.

Hunting and gathering of wild foods are relatively unimportant activities. Hunting is practiced in the Mountain culture area only among the Chipaya and the Uru of Lake Titicaca, who concentrate on waterfowl. Slings, bolas, and disguises are used in the preferred hunting methods, but in communal hunts long nets and clubs are employed. The eggs of aquatic birds are eaten, and strips of bird flesh are made into a kind of charqui. Trade, traditionally well developed, continues to be of great economic importance throughout the Mountain area.

Loom weaving, ceramics, metallurgy (in gold, silver, copper, and tin), and architecture were highly developed in the central Andes, and Andean artisanry, at its peak prior to contact, was of a quality virtually unequaled elsewhere in the world. Throughout the highlands, textiles vary significantly in kind, quality, style, and decorative pattern. Men, women, and children use drop spindles to spin cotton and wool thread from llamas, alpacas, vicuñas, and sheep. Both sexes weave on horizontal peg looms, although European treadle looms are also used. There is, however, no tradition of weaving broadloom fabrics; instead, wide garments, such as ponchos, are made of two halves sewed together. Special small looms produce fancy edging bands which are used to decorate garments like women's dresses, skirts, and ponchos. Women also knit a variety of articles.

Clothing varies from place to place throughout the Andes Mountains. When the Spaniards banned the wearing of Inca dress, men of the highland groups adopted the woolen poncho as their main article of clothing. The traditional dress of Uru men is a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailed length of cloth sewed together at the sides and the top, leaving openings for the arms and the neck. Uru women wear black llama-wool dresses, girdled at the waist and held over the shoulders with copper pins. The wearing of a black garment held up with a pin was a well-established trait of Aymara and (possibly) Quechua women. It can still be seen in Tupe, an Aymara-dialect-speaking village in the department of Lima. On cold days and when traveling, men wear derby hats or woven caps with earflaps, and women cover their heads with woven wimples under hats resembling those worn by men. Quechua men wear short jackets and knee-length pants of native cloth (Cuzco) or homespun suits of more modern cut with long pants (Puno). Widely varied headgear includes knitted caps and wide-brimmed *monteras* with shallow crowns. Depending on their identification as Indians or mestizos, women wear several short, full skirts, one on top of the other. Mestizo women of Cuzco prefer a mixture of aboriginal, colonial, and modern European clothing, wearing traditional shawls, for instance, over

blouses or multiple dresses. They wear felt derbies. Aymara garments are also a mixture of aboriginal and modern dress. Men wear homespun suits of an old-fashioned cut under their ponchos, and women wear short jackets over full skirts and a single undershirt (Bolivia) or multiple ones (Peru).

The shoulder pins used by Uru women to fasten their clothing are either taken from graves or, like all other metal objects in their culture, obtained by trade. Most of the jewelry and clothing ornaments of the Quechua and the Aymara are made of metals such as silver and copper. Silver pins to fasten women's dresses are found in Aymara villages near Lake Titicaca. On special occasions Quechua women wear earrings, brooches (representing condors, turkeys, llamas, or humans), and rings. Necklaces of *huayruros* (a tropical seed product), shell, coins, and bone are widely worn by females. Men wear silver chains, coins, and buckles on festive occasions. Aymara body ornaments are known to have included metal earplugs or tubes, labrets and nose ornaments, and broad necklaces of gold, silver, or copper. Necklaces of bone and shell are known from historic periods, and rings are worn today. The majority of highland Indians go barefoot or wear sandals. Political officeholders wear shoes on Sundays and on special occasions.

Although of little importance, coiled basketry is produced sporadically throughout the highlands. Besides crude coiled baskets, the Uru manufacture twined baskets of totora reed.

Quechua and Aymara men and, to a lesser extent, women, make pottery utility ware and decorative pieces in human and animal forms. Quechua potters of central and southern Peru often paint their vessels red and white on orange or buff. Aymara potters paint red and white geometric or naturalistic figures on orange slip. The Uru no longer make pottery.

Small one-person and larger multipassenger water craft, manufactured from bundles of totora reeds, are used to navigate the lakes and rivers of the altiplano. Rafts of the same type are poled in shallow water from a standing position; in deeper water the pole, serving as a double paddle, is used from a kneeling or sitting position. Larger rafts are equipped with rectangular sails of reed. The use of sailing rafts made of balsa wood is restricted to parts of the northern coast of Peru. Canoes are built sporadically in riverine locations at lower elevations.

Aboriginal musical instruments include various flutes, panpipes, trumpets, tambourines, two-headed drums, metal bells, and shell rattles. They are played for personal enjoyment and at religious festivals.

Marriage in highland communities is monogamous, local endogamy prevails, and residence is predominantly virilocal. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, and ideally children inherit land and other property equally from their parents, regardless of sex. Kinship terminology has been variously categorized as Eskimo, Hawaiian, and Crow-Omaha. Andean kinship reckoning, however, has very particular and distinctive features—possibly related to the way of expressing political hierarchy—which make the use of such categorizations questionable. The coresident extended family, cooperating under the authority of the senior couple, is the fundamental social unit of highland societies.

The authority of family elders transcends the economic and political spheres to embrace religious concerns. Beyond the extended family compound, the village community under an *alcalde* is the largest sociopolitical group to which the individual feels he or she belongs. In southern Peru, however, a village may contain many outlying hamlets, and in some places (e.g., Pacaritambo), the political unit includes hamlets and villages rather distant from the "town" itself. In Bolivia also, larger political units transcending the village community are still strong. Little or no allegiance is given to larger political structures such as the district under an appointed governor or the nation-state under a president. No political or religious office is endowed beyond that of the corporate community.

Political, social, economic, and religious aspects of daily life are intimately intertwined in highland culture. Political office within the community is attained through participation in religious services and rituals of Spanish origin. Community respect is earned by a man who accepts religious obligations; the substantial costs entailed are defrayed by contributions made by his friends and relatives and by members of religious brotherhoods. Religious posts are held to be more important than political offices. Although officially Catholic, with ritual celebrations that follow the Christian calendar, the religion of highland Indians retains a good deal of traditional influence.

Quechua Indians recognize a godhead that is sometimes associated or equated with Christ or with the sun. Subject, like humans, to frailties, the god(s) who bestow(s) warmth, good health, and productivity on humankind may fall ill and deflect his/their misfortune onto earthlings. A lesser class of divinities includes the spirits of mountains and other geographic entities. The belief that mountain spirits are guardians of large places and that they keep large herds of vicuñas in the mountains is widespread in the Peruvian Andes. *Cacya*, the thunderclap, and *Ccoa*, a feline representing a black cloud, are different expressions of the thunder god and may intervene in the lives of the Quechua either to improve or to worsen their lot. Unbaptized children are feared as evil spirits, but the souls of the dead are revered as good spirits. Religious ceremonies are related to the religious offices or cargos in the community. Nowadays sponsored by the church, festivals that are not cargo-related are reminiscent of Inca practices to ensure the fertility of domesticated animals. Coca and liquor (*aguardiente*) are used as gifts of propitiation. Throughout the hinterlands of the culture area, religious practitioners, blending Catholic and traditional beliefs, manipulate the lower deities and serve as healers.

A host of nature spirits, which the Aymara associate with rocks and places such as houses, villages, mountains, rivers, lakes, and springs, may control weather conditions, food resources, and domesticated animals. Most of these spirits are ambivalent and may relate to human beings in a good or an evil way; others are categorically good or evil. Unusual natural phenomena—mountain peaks, meteorites, twin births, deformities—are spirits. Propitiations offered at cairns, shrines, and mountain altars may include stones, hair, sandals, flowers, coca, chicha, toasted grain, or other items. The products and proceeds of community land are often used to support religious festivals. Since the mid-twentieth century, Protestants and other non-Catholic de-

nominations have actively proselytized among Andean Indians, winning over substantial numbers of followers.

A large number of Savanna, Forest, and Mountain peoples treated in the main body of the encyclopedia are described as being partially or totally in a state of transition from traditional to modern. Throughout South America, aboriginal cultures are being increasingly assimilated into the mainstream cultures of the respective states to which they belong. Thus, although written in the present tense, the preceding sketch of culture areas makes reference to many cultural traits that are in the process of undergoing accelerated change or that have already been lost and/or replaced by non-Indian traits.

### *African American Cultures*

**Africans.** The importation of large numbers of Africans, mainly from West Africa, including Angola, began in the early sixteenth century and continued into the early nineteenth century. It is estimated that some 7 million slaves entered Brazil and Spanish America during that period. Only a small number of them went to Andean countries, and even fewer ended up in countries of the southern cone. Countries with significant Black populations include Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Treated in separate articles in this volume, African American cultures are more or less integrated into their respective state entities. Some, such as that of the Bush Negroes (Maroons) of Suriname and French Guiana, are bearers of distinct African folk cultures (see "Saramaka").

**Creole Languages.** Identified by the predominant source of their basic vocabularies, creolized languages of the Circum-Caribbean and the Guianas include Dutch creoles (Negro Dutch, Berbice Dutch, Essequibo Dutch), French creoles (Louisiana Creole, Haitian Creole, Lesser Antillean, Cayenne Creole), Iberian creoles (Papiamentu, Palenquero), and English creoles (Jamaican and others, and three main Bush Negro creoles of Suriname: Sranan [also called Nengre, Negerengels, or Taki-Taki], Saramaccan (spoken by the Saramaka and Matawai), and Ndjuka (spoken by the Djuka [Aukan], Aluku [Boni], and Paramaka). The language of the Kwinti remains unidentified. The total population of the Bush Negro societies of Suriname and French Guiana is estimated to be 36,500 to 46,500. Sranan is spoken as a first language by 30 percent of Suriname's total population; 86 percent of the other 70 percent use it as a lingua franca. Finally, popular Brazilian, a semicreole language, is spoken in northeastern Brazil (Taylor 1977, 151-154; Price 1976, 3-4, 35; see also Holm 1989, vol. 2:xvi-xix, 38, maps 1, 2).

### *Ethnic Group Cultures*

**Colonial Immigrants.** During the colonial era, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, only Spaniards (mostly from Castile and southern Spain) and Portuguese were authorized to emigrate to the American colonies. About 150,000 residents of the Iberian countries obtained emigration permits, and again as many Iberians may have immigrated illegally. About two-fifths of these immigrants may have settled in South American colonies.

**Postindependence Immigrants.** After most South American countries had attained independence in the early nineteenth century, immigrants other than Spaniards and Portuguese sought the shores of South America. At first only small numbers came, but then, between 1870 and 1930, 11 or 12 million people targeted mainly Argentina or Brazil as their destination; other South American countries attracted fewer newcomers. Most of the immigrants originated in Italy, Germany, and eastern Europe. During the first half of the twentieth century, a numerically small but socially important group of political and religious refugees, including Mennonites (q.v.), Jews (see "Jews of South America"), and others arrived on the continent. Finally, after World War II, a small wave of immigrants from Europe and Asia (see "Asians in South America") settled mostly in Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela.

**Immigrant Languages.** South American immigrant languages from around the world are discussed in Kloss and McConnell (1979), who estimate the numbers of their speakers.

### Reference Resources

**Bibliographies.** The study of South American Indians has generated an immense body of ethnographical literature. Comprehensive bibliographies included in the seven-volume *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–1959) list books and journal articles roughly up to 1940. The *Ethnographic Bibliography of South America* (O'Leary 1963) is a general bibliographic resource containing some 24,000 multiple entries of well above 10,000 books and articles on Indian groups of continental South America (excluding Panama and the Caribbean) through 1963. Coverage of publications through the 1960s may be found in *Bibliographie améicaniste* (Guyot 1972). *The Indians of South America: A Bibliography* (Welch 1987) lists 9,161 topically cross-referenced entries on selected monographs dealing with continental South America up to the mid-1980s.

**Periodic Indexes.** The *Hispanic American Periodicals Index* (HAPI) and the *Index to Latin American Periodical Literature* provide access to the literature of recent decades. The annual HAPI index is a major in-print and on-line source for worldwide information about South America, the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America. (It also covers the United States-Mexico border region and Hispanics in the United States.) Among the many subjects HAPI treats are anthropology, ethnology, archaeology, folklore, geography, and history; it lists titles from nearly 250 key social-science and humanities journals published throughout the world since 1970. The *Handbook of Latin American Studies* surveys and annotates the monographic and periodical literature in the social sciences and humanities for Latin America, including South America, Central America, and Mexico. Organized according to specialty, the *Handbook* is updated biannually.

The first volume of the *International Dictionary Series* (Key and Tugwell 1992) is dedicated to South American Indian languages. This useful compendium presents a standardized sample of those languages for analysis and comparison. Besides being a synonym dictionary, the series is designed to serve as an index to the culture of South

American Indian societies and of peoples around the world.

**Electronic Database.** *Latin American Studies*, Vol. 1 (National Information Services Corporation, Baltimore) is a single CD-ROM disk (updated semiannually) providing incomparable access to information about Latin America and the Latino world. It combines the entire data base of the *Hispanic American Periodicals Index* at the Latin American Center of the University of California, Los Angeles; the *Catalog of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection* at the University of Texas, Austin; and Vol. 50 onward of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* edited at the U.S. Library of Congress.

**Regional Bibliographies.** Important regional reference resources cover the anthropological literature of particular countries. The fourth volume of the *Los Aborígenes de Venezuela* series (Coppens and Escalante 1994) provides complete coverage of the ethnographic literature related to Indian societies of Venezuela. *Guia bibliográfica de Colombia* (Bernal 1970), *Bibliografía anotada y directorio de antropólogos colombianos* (Friedemann and Arocha 1979), and 1980–1990: *Una década de producción antropológica en Colombia, catálogo bibliográfico* (Wartenberg Villegas 1990) cover Colombia. *Bibliografía crítica da etnologia brasileira* (Balduz 1968–1970; Hartmann 1984) is a comprehensive and annotated listing of ethnographic literature on Brazilian Indians. *Bibliografía antropológica argentina, 1980–1985* (English version, *Argentine Anthropological Bibliography, 1980–1985*) (Saury de Kliuga 1986) updates the literature on Argentine ethnic groups.

**General Sources.** Steward (1946–1959; 1949c), Steward and Faron (1959), Dostal (1972), Gross (1973), Disselhoff and Zerries (1974), Lyon (1974), Poirier (1978), Josephy (1992). The ethnohistorical dictionary *Indians of Central and South America* (Olson 1991) presents brief cultural summaries of the major ethnic groups on the continent. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* lists and maps all languages and dialects spoken in South America, providing information on location, number of speakers, linguistic affiliation, bilingualism, linguistic typology, grammars, dictionaries, sources, and other items of related interest (Grimes 1992). *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (*Macro-paedia*), 15th ed., vol. 27:666–720 contains an excellent overview of South America and its peoples. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (Eliade 1987) contains several highly informative entries on the religions and religious phenomena of South American Indians.

**Regional Sources.** Ramos (1986), lowland South America; Zerries (1968a, 1969) and Roosevelt (1994) on Amazonia and lowland South America; Menezes (1979) on Guyana; Coppens and Escalante (1980–1994) on Venezuela; Friedemann and Arocha (1982), Correa and Pachón (1987), and Villegas Jiménez (1987) on Colombia; Ribeiro and Wise (1978) on Peru; Califano (1985) on Argentina; Chase-Sardi (1972) and Maybury-Lewis and Howe (1980) on Paraguay; Ribeiro (1957), Hopper (1967), Kietzman (1972), Díaz Maderuelo (1986), Hemming (1985a,b; 1978; 1987), Ricardo (1981a,b; 1982; 1983a,b; 1984, 1985), and Carneiro da Cunha (1992) on



Brazil; Lathrap (1970), Meggers (1971), and Carneiro (1986, 1994) on Amazonia.

**Topical Sources.** Willey (1971), Roosevelt (1980, 1989), Jennings (1983), Meggers (1983), and Coe, Snow, and Benson (1986) on prehistoric cultures; Noble (1965), Loukotka (1968), Lemle (1971), Durbin (1985), Klein and Stark (1985), Rodrigues (1985c), Derbyshire and Pullum (1986–1991), Greenberg (1987), Kaufman (1990), D. L. Payne (1990), D. C. Payne (1991) on linguistics (see also "Linguistic Classification" in the "Language" section of this introduction); Roth (1924, 1929); Steward (1949a) on manufactures and technology; Bennet (1954), Ribeiro and Ribeiro (1957), d'Harcourt (1962), Disselhoff and Linne (1961), Dockstader (1967), Anton (1962), Hébert-Stevens (1972), Lapiner (1976), Gasparini and Margolies (1977), Hemming (1982), Reichel-Dolmatoff (1987, 1988), and Reina and Kensinger (1991) on art; Métraux (1949, 1967), Osborn (1968), Zerries (1968b, 1987), Lévi-Strauss (1969, 1973, 1978, 1981), Hultkrantz (1979), Faron (1981), Niles (1981), Urton (1981), Roe (1982), Poole (1984), Abercrombie (1986), Califano (1987), Furst (1987), Kauffmann (1987), Rivière (1987), Bierhorst (1988), Sullivan (1988), and Wilbert and Simoneau (1970–1992) on cosmology, religion, and mythology; and Steward (1949b), Jackson (1983), Kensinger (1984), Rivière (1984), and Ossio Acuña (1992) on social and political life.

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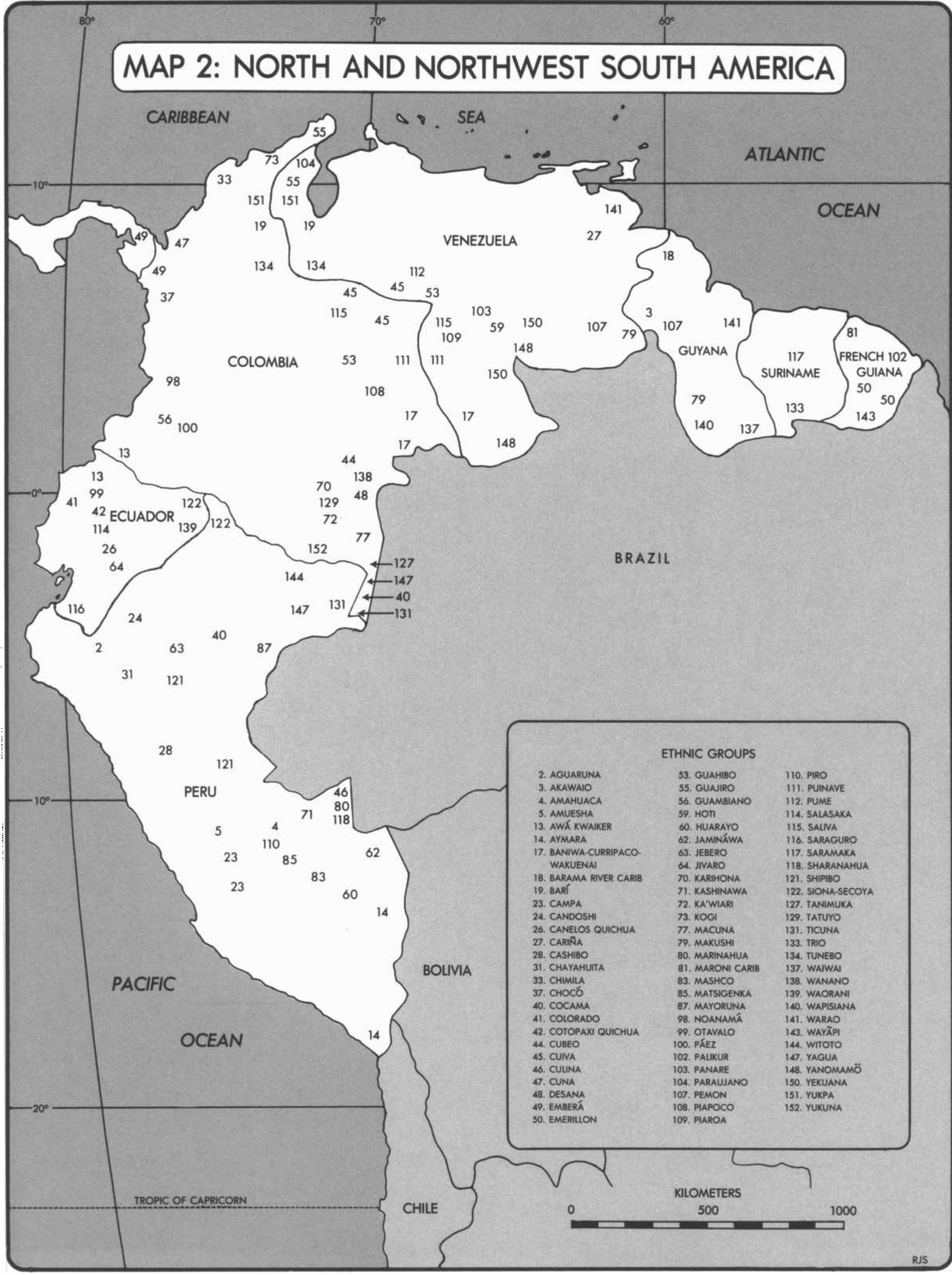
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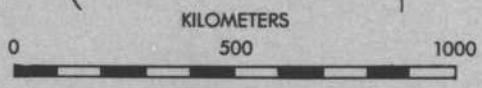
# MAP 1: SOUTH AMERICA



# MAP 2: NORTH AND NORTHWEST SOUTH AMERICA



ETHNIC GROUPS		
2. AGUARUNA	53. GUAHIBO	110. PIRO
3. AKAWAIO	55. GUAJIRO	111. PUINAVE
4. AMAHUACA	56. GUAMBIANO	112. PUME
5. AMUESHA	59. HOTI	114. SALASAKA
13. AWÁ KWAIKER	60. HUARAYO	115. SALIVA
14. AYMARA	62. JAMINÁWA	116. SARAGURO
17. BANIWA-CURRIPACO-WAKUENAI	63. JEBERO	117. SARAMAKA
18. BARAMA RIVER CARIB	64. JIVARO	118. SHARANAHUA
19. BARÍ	70. KARIHONA	121. SHIPIBO
23. CAMPA	71. KASHINAWA	122. SIONA-SECOYA
24. CANDOSHI	72. KA'WIARI	127. TANIMUKA
26. CANELOS QUICHUA	73. KOGI	129. TATUYO
27. CARIÑA	77. MACUNA	131. TICUNA
28. CASHIBO	79. MAKUSHI	133. TRIO
31. CHAYAHUITA	80. MARINAHUA	134. TUNEBO
33. CHIMILA	81. MARONI CARIB	137. WAIWAI
37. CHOCÓ	83. MASHCO	138. WANANO
40. COCAMA	85. MATSIGENKA	139. WAORANI
41. COLORADO	87. MAYORUNA	140. WAPISIANA
42. COTOPAXI QUICHUA	98. NOANAMÁ	141. WARAO
44. CUBEO	99. OTAVALO	143. WAYAPI
45. CUIVA	100. PÁEZ	144. WITOTO
46. CULINA	102. PALIKUR	147. YAGUA
47. CUNA	103. PANARE	148. YANOMAMÖ
48. DESANA	104. PARAUJANO	150. YEKUANA
49. EMBERÁ	107. PEMON	151. YUKPA
50. EMERILLON	108. PIAPOCO	152. YUKUNA
	109. PIAROA	



# MAP 3: BRAZIL AND URUGUAY



ETHNIC GROUPS	
6. ANAMBÉ	86. MAXAKALI
8. APALAI	87. MAYORUNA
9. APIAKÁ	89. MEHINAKU
11. ARAWETÉ	95. MUNDURUCU
12. ASURINI	96. NAMBICUARA
16. BAKAIRI	102. PALIKUR
17. BANIWA-CURRIPIACO-WAKUENAI	105. PARESÍ
21. BORORO	107. PEMON
23. CAMPA	110. PIRO
25. CANELA	113. RIKBAK TSA
39. CINTA LARGA	119. SHAVANTE
43. CRAHO	120. SHERENTE
44. CUBEO	124. SURUÍ
46. CUIUNA	125. SUYA
51. FULNIÓ	128. TAPIRAPÉ
52. GOROTIRE	130. TERENA
54. GUAJAJÁRA	131. TICUNA
62. JAMINÁWA	133. TRIO
65. KADIWEU	135. TUPARI
66. KAGWAHIV	136. WAIMIRI-ATROARI
67. KAJINGÁNG	137. WAIWAI
68. KALAPALO	138. WANANO
69. KARAJÁ	140. WAPISIANA
71. KASHINAWA	142. WAURÁ
74. KRIKATI/PUCOBYE	145. XIKRIN
75. KUIKURU	146. XOKLÉNG
79. MAKUSHI	148. YANOMAMÓ
82. MARUBO	149. YAWALAPITÍ
	150. YEKUANA

# MAP 4: SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA



ETHNIC GROUPS		
1. ACHE	36. CHIRIGUANO	91. MOCOVÍ
7. ANGAITÉ	38. CHOROTE	92. MOJO
10. ARAUCANIANS	57. GUARINÍ (BOLIVIA), SEE #36	93. MORÉ
14. AYMARA	58. GUARAYU	94. MOVIMA
15. AYOREO	60. HUARAYO	97. NIVACLÉ
20. BAURE	61. ITONAMA	101. PAÍ-TAVYTERA
22. CALLAHUAYA	62. JAMINÁWA	106. PAUSERNA
29. CHÁCOBO	76. LENGUA	123. SIRIONÓ
30. CHAMACOCO	78. MAKÁ	126. TACANA
32. CHIMANE	84. MATACO	132. TOBA
34. CHIPAYA	90. MENNONITES	153. YUQUI
35. CHIQUITANO		154. YURACARÉ



SOUTH GEORGIA  
(FALKLAND IS.)

LEGEND: MAPS 2 - 4 \*

- |   |                                       |                                |                          |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. ACHE (4)                             | 39. CINTA LARGA (3)                   | 77. MACUNA (2)                 | 116. SARAGURO (2)        |
| 2. AGUARUNA (2)                         | 40. COCAMA (2)                        | 78. MAKÁ (4)                   | 117. SARAMAKA (2)        |
| 3. AKAWAIO (2)                          | 41. COLORADO (2)                      | 79. MAKUSHI (2, 3)             | 118. SHARANAHUA (2)      |
| 4. AMAHUACA (2)                         | 42. COTOPAXI QUICHUA (2)              | 80. MARINAHUA (2)              | 119. SHAVANTE (3)        |
| 5. AMUESHA (2)                          | 43. CRAHO (3)                         | 81. MARONI CARIB (2)           | 120. SHERENTE (3)        |
| 6. ANAMBÉ (3)                           | 44. CUBEO (2, 3)                      | 82. MARUBO (3)                 | 121. SHIPIBO (2)         |
| 7. ANGAITÉ (4)                          | 45. CUIVA (2)                         | 83. MASHCO (2)                 | 122. SIONA-SECOYA (2)    |
| 8. APALAI (3)                           | 46. CULINA (2, 3)                     | 84. MATACO (4)                 | 123. SIRIONÓ (4)         |
| 9. APIAKÁ (3)                           | 47. CUNA (2)                          | 85. MATSIGENKA (2)             | 124. SURUÍ (3)           |
| 10. ARAUCANIANS (4)                     | 48. DESANA (2)                        | 86. MAXAKALI (3)               | 125. SUYA (3)            |
| 11. ARAWETÉ (3)                         | 49. EMBERÁ (2)                        | 87. MAYORUNA (2, 3)            | 126. TACANA (4)          |
| 12. ASURINI (3)                         | 50. EMERILLON (2)                     | 88. MBYÁ-GUAIKURU, SEE #65 (3) | 127. TANIMUKA (2)        |
| 13. AWÁ KWAIKER (2)                     | 51. FULNIÓ (3)                        | 89. MEHINAKU (3)               | 128. TAPIRAPÉ (3)        |
| 14. AYMARA (2, 4)                       | 52. GOROTIRE (3)                      | 90. MENNONITES (4)             | 129. TATUYO (2)          |
| 15. AYOREO (4)                          | 53. GUAHIBO (2)                       | 91. MOCOVÍ (4)                 | 130. TERENA (3)          |
| 16. BAKAIRI (3)                         | 54. GUAJAJÁRA (3)                     | 92. MOJO (4)                   | 131. TICUNA (2, 3)       |
| 17. BANWA-CURRIPACO-<br>WAKUENAI (2, 3) | 55. GUAJIRO (2)                       | 93. MORÉ (4)                   | 132. TOBA (4)            |
| 18. BARAMA RIVER CARIB (2)              | 56. GUAMBIANO (2)                     | 94. MOVIMA (4)                 | 133. TRIO (2, 3)         |
| 19. BARÍ (2)                            | 57. GUARANÍ (BOLIVIA),<br>SEE #36 (4) | 95. MUNDURUCU (3)              | 134. TUNEBO (2)          |
| 20. BAURE (4)                           | 58. GUARAYU (4)                       | 96. NAMBICUARA (3)             | 135. TUPARI (3)          |
| 21. BORORO (3)                          | 59. HOTI (2)                          | 97. NIVACLÉ (4)                | 136. WAIMIRI-ATROARI (3) |
| 22. CALLAHUAYA (4)                      | 60. HUARAYO (2, 4)                    | 98. NOANAMÁ (2)                | 137. WAIWAI (2, 3)       |
| 23. CAMPA (2, 3)                        | 61. ITONAMA (4)                       | 99. OTAVALO (2)                | 138. WANANO (2, 3)       |
| 24. CANDOSHI (2)                        | 62. JAMINÁWA (2, 3, 4)                | 100. PÁEZ (2)                  | 139. WAORANI (2)         |
| 25. CANELA (3)                          | 63. JEBERO (2)                        | 101. PÁI-TAVYTERA (4)          | 140. WAPISIANA (2, 3)    |
| 26. CANELOS QUICHUA (2)                 | 64. JIVARO (2)                        | 102. PALUKUR (2, 3)            | 141. WARAO (2)           |
| 27. CARÍNA (2)                          | 65. KADIWÉU (3)                       | 103. PANARE (2)                | 142. WAURÁ (3)           |
| 28. CASHIBO (2)                         | 66. KAGWAHIV (3)                      | 104. PARAUJANO (2)             | 143. WAYÁPI (2)          |
| 29. CHÁCOBO (4)                         | 67. KAINGÁNG (3)                      | 105. PAREÍ (3)                 | 144. WITOTO (2)          |
| 30. CHAMACOCO (4)                       | 68. KALAPALO (3)                      | 106. PAUSERNA (4)              | 145. XIKRIN (3)          |
| 31. CHAYAHUITA (2)                      | 69. KARAJÁ (3)                        | 107. PEMON (2, 3)              | 146. XOKLÉNG (3)         |
| 32. CHIMANE (4)                         | 70. KARIHONA (2)                      | 108. PIAPOCO (2)               | 147. YAGUA (2)           |
| 33. CHIMILA (2)                         | 71. KASHINAWA (2, 3)                  | 109. PIAROA (2)                | 148. YANOMAMÖ (2, 3)     |
| 34. CHIPAYA (4)                         | 72. KA'WIARI (2)                      | 110. PIRO (2, 3)               | 149. YAWALAPITÍ (3)      |
| 35. CHIQUITANO (4)                      | 73. KOGI (2)                          | 111. PUINAVE (2)               | 150. YEKUANA (2, 3)      |
| 36. CHIRIGUANO (4)                      | 74. KRIKATI/PUCOBYE (3)               | 112. PUME (2)                  | 151. YUKPA (2)           |
| 37. CHOCÓ (2)                           | 75. KUIKURU (3)                       | 113. RIKBAK TSA (3)            | 152. YUKUNA (2)          |
| 38. CHOROTE (4)                         | 76. LENGUA (4)                        | 114. SALASAKA (2)              | 153. YUQUI (4)           |
|   |                                       | 115. SALIVA (2)                | 154. YURACARÉ (4)        |

\* Numbers in parentheses indicate maps on which ethnic groups are represented.

**Encyclopedia of World Cultures**

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**SOUTH AMERICA**





# Ache

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ETHNONYMS: Axe, Guayagui, Guayaki

## Orientation

**Identification.** The Ache are a South American native population of hunter-gatherers that has lived in eastern Paraguay since at least the first Jesuit missionary reports in the 1600s. They were referred to as "Guayaki" in historic and ethnographic reports before the 1960s, when the first currently living bands were contacted. Because they refer to themselves as "Ache," this label has been adopted in most subsequent ethnographic reports.

**Location.** In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Ache apparently roamed much of the forest in eastern Paraguay between the Guaira waterfall on the upper Paraná River, to just north of the present-day city of Encarnación. They were concentrated particularly in the low mountain ranges stretching from the Cordilla de San Rafael in the south to the Mbaracayu range in the north, and along the right bank of the middle stretches of the Paraná River. In the twentieth century, four major groupings of Ache ranged from the Ñacunday River and the Yvytyruzu foothills in the south to the Mbaracayu range in the north.

**Demography.** Four groupings of Ache were contacted in the second half of the twentieth century. These groups are designated by the regions they occupied at contact and the respective populations at contact can be estimated as follows: Northern Ache, about 650 individuals; Yvytyruzu Ache, about 60 individuals; Ypety Ache, about 40 individuals; Ñacunday Ache, 28 individuals. A census in 1987 resulted in the following population count: Northern Ache, 459 individuals; Yvytyruzu Ache, 87 individuals; Ypety Ache 30 individuals; Ñacunday Ache, 38 individuals. Informant accounts indicate that the Northern Ache and the Yvytyruzu Ache were a single group until the early 1930s, when they split up and never saw each other again.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Ache language is classified in the Tupí-Guaraní Linguistic Family. Each of the four independent groups speaks a different dialect, with the Northern and Yvytyruzu Ache dialects being very close, the Ypety group intermediate, and the Ñacunday dialect showing greatest divergence from the others. The Ache language is similar in many respects to the Guaraní spoken by other native groups of Paraguay, but it differs considerably in

pronunciation and in the lack of verb-stem conjugations. Ache and currently spoken Guaraní are mutually unintelligible, and about as similar as Spanish and Italian.

## History and Cultural Relations

The Ache were first mentioned by Jesuit historians who described them in derogatory terms as living just like animals. Undoubtedly, the Ache provided a striking contrast to the elegant and "civilized" Guaraní horticulturist peoples who inhabited the region of the Paraná and Paraguay rivers at the time of the Conquest. The Ache lived in tiny bands that subsisted entirely off wild plants and animals. They had no leaders, no permanent settlements, and very simple tools and ornaments. Lozano (1873-1874) was the first to refer to them directly by name: "Only slightly less barbaric (than the caaguas), is the guachagui nation, although easier to tame. . . . They go completely naked, men and women, except that they cover their backs with a piece of woven material to guard against thorns. . . . And seeing or sensing strangers in their country they flee quickly without allowing one to speak with them, because they believe either that they are going to be killed, or they are being sought in order to steal their women, like they do to each other. . . ."

The Ache were pursued relentlessly, by missionaries, enemy Indians, and slave traders until the second half of the twentieth century. For this reason, relations between them and all outsiders were overtly hostile, and very little was known about them until quite recently. In 1908 a German immigrant to Paraguay, Federico Maintzhusen, managed to make peaceful contact with a small band and published some information about them. Later, when Maintzhusen returned to Germany, this band disappeared or was assimilated into the Paraguayan population. In 1959 half of the Ypety band walked out of the forest to live with Jesús Pereira, a man who had treated one of them well when he was working as a captive slave. A short while later the other half of this band joined their kin at Pereira's farm. Pereira used this group to initiate contact with the nearby Yvytyruzu Ache between 1962 and 1963, and from these two bands came the first good ethnographic information on the Ache. More than half these Ache died from virgin-soil epidemics (epidemics that strike regions where people have no immunity to exotic epidemic diseases) within a few years of peaceful contact.

In 1968 Pereira moved his Ache reservation into the home range of the Northern Ache in order to contact and subdue them. The first band of Northern Ache was finally

contacted and brought to the reservation in 1970. By 1978 all of the Northern Ache had either been convinced to join the Ache reservation, or had died from virgin-soil epidemics that swept the Northern group after first peaceful contact. About one-half of the population died from these epidemics. Finally, missionaries from the United States made peaceful contact with the Nacunday Ache in 1976, and no more independent forest-living bands remained. The four Ache groups now live in four reservation-type settlements where they have learned agricultural practices and occasionally participate in wage labor. Many Ache also continue to return to the forest for several days or weeks at a time to hunt and gather as they did before contact.

### Settlements

Before peaceful contact and sedentation on reservations the Ache lived in small nomadic bands that were highly flexible in composition, generally changing membership several times per year. The median size of precontact bands was about 50 individuals, with residential bands ranging from 3 to about 160 individuals on any particular day. These bands generally moved their campsite almost every day, but would occasionally stay in one place for a few weeks before moving on. Individuals knew the approximate location of neighboring bands and would visit them to share large kills or to search for romantic opportunities. The only time most of the members of the twelve or so Northern Ache bands would come together in one place was at prearranged puberty ceremonies and club fights. Campsites were located almost anywhere throughout the home range of a group, and fully adult members of the Northern group report foraging over an area of about 18,500 square kilometers in their lifetime. Despite their nomadic character, most Ache bands did have core areas that were exploited more frequently than the entire range of the group.

Campsites were generally located within 50 meters of good patches of palm trees that could be exploited for their fiber and heart. When large animals were killed, however, camp might be set up within a few meters of the kill site so as to avoid transporting the game. Water is abundant throughout eastern Paraguay and does not generally constrain the choice of a camping spot. Forest camps generally consist of five to ten fir hearths laid out in a circle with about 2 meters between each. The Ache sleep on the bare ground, on palm leaves and ferns, or on palm-leaf woven mats. Closely related family members or friends sleep together at the same hearth. Sleeping arrangements vary daily and are highly flexible. In precontact times, adolescent males were sometimes made to sleep in the center of a camp.

Small huts are made only when rain is imminent. These consist of four corner posts, two crossbeams, and a few dozen palm leaves laid flat across the crossbeams to shelter occupants from the worst of the rain. Current Ache reservation settlements have several hundred inhabitants, and wood-board-or bamboo-walled houses are spread out over several hundred meters. Each dwelling at the reservation houses one or more nuclear families and, often, visiting children, adolescents, relatives, or friends. Current reservation household composition changes almost weekly,

and many individuals do not reside with their own nuclear family members.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The precontact Ache economy was based on hunting mammals, exploiting palm products and insect larva, and collecting wild fruits and honey. Recent samples of subsistence suggest that meat provided about 55 percent of the calories in the diet, honey about 20 percent, and plants and insect larva about 25 percent. Today men spend about seven hours per day in subsistence work and supply about 90 percent of the calories in the diet. Women spend about two hours per day moving camp and about two hours per day in subsistence tasks. They dedicate the remainder of their time to intensive child care, which is crucial to the survival of offspring in the forest. Men hunt all mammals larger than 1 kilogram and also pursue larger reptiles, birds, and fish when the opportunity arises. No species of animal is generally taboo, although some species are not eaten by certain age and gender classes. Men hunt with long (2 meters) bows and arrows; the most important game species are peccaries, monkeys, large rodents, armadillos, coatis, and deer. Men also kill many game animals (e.g., coatis, armadillos) by hand, simply slamming them to the ground or by suffocating them (e.g., paca) when they are driven from their burrows. No traps are employed, nor are hunting blinds used. Instead men walk long distances each day in search of game, and often call for help when they encounter an animal that can be cooperatively hunted. Men also collect wild honey by climbing a tree in which a hive is located or felling it. Whereas meat is an important resource year round, honey is commonly eaten only in the early wet season.

In the forest, women carry the family's possessions in woven palm baskets and also carry small children and pets. They stop to rest frequently and generally move toward where the men are hunting. They chop rotting palm trunks looking for beetle larvae and also collect a variety of forest fruits, especially in the wet season. Once they have located a camp spot for the night they often spend some time extracting palm fiber. This fiber is chewed or extracted in water and is rich in starch. Men find the women's new camp spot late in the day and the one large meal of the day is prepared.

Food is shared widely among band members, with complete and equal pooling of meat resources and somewhat less sharing of vegetable resources. The current reservation Ache depend primarily on sweet manioc and corn as their staples and raise some domestic animals in addition to fishing and hunting nearby for protein. Some of the younger members of the population spend weeks away from the reservations engaging in wage labor as field hands.

**Industrial Arts.** Traditional artifacts included bows, arrows, clubs, tooth knives, palm-leaf baskets, mats, beeswax-covered woven water containers, brushlike utensils for sucking juice, stone axes, clay pots, monkey-tooth necklaces, skin bonnets, baby slings, bamboo flutes, lip plugs, and a few other small items. The Ache still make most of

these items for use, but only water containers and bows and arrows are sold commercially.

**Trade.** Before peaceful contact there was no trade either between the Ache and non-Ache peoples or between different Ache bands. Currently, trade takes place within the context of the market economy of rural Paraguay.

**Division of Labor.** Men traditionally hunted and extracted honey, whereas women moved camp, collected plant and insect products, and took care of children. Recent studies have suggested that the overriding importance of competent child care in a dangerous forest environment placed strong constraints on female subsistence activities. Men and women both were responsible for the production of the tools that each used, although women manufactured the bowstring used by men. Men built huts when necessary, but both sexes were involved in food preparation and butchering. Women and men were not tabooed from touching or using each others' tools, and about 3 percent of the adult men took on a female economic role and acted like females in social interactions. Men were in charge of a few ritual activities that involved the Ache. Members of both sexes are present at the birth of infants, and the two sexes interact freely and without tension both publicly and privately. In the current reservations men do all the farm labor, but women harvest manioc and prepare meals. Informal and friendly relations continue to be the norm between sexes.

**Land Tenure.** Traditionally, there was no territoriality in any sense of the word. All Ache bands and band members were free to roam wherever they pleased and often covered large areas. Bands had core activity areas, but these frequently overlapped and might change over a period of years. Members of the four major Ache groups avoided each other's home ranges because of fears about violence and raiding. The Ache currently live on four small reservations (from 300 to 2,000 hectares) with legal or provisional land titles. They have engaged in attempts to obtain more of their traditional home range through the Paraguayan legal system.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Ache society is not divided into descent groups, clans, sibs, or sections. Traditional band composition was flexible but often included sets of sibs (both sexes), their husbands, and some affinal kin. Close male relatives helped each other in club fights (see "Social Organization"), and female relatives cooperated to some extent in child rearing. Kinship was considerably less important in determining daily economic and social interaction than is the case for most small-scale societies. Informants consistently report strong alliances and residence with individuals described as "friends," having no close kin connection. Affinal ties were strong as long as the marriage lasted, but faded rapidly after separation. Sibling sets containing more than three surviving adult full siblings were rare, but often very cohesive and politically important when they existed.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Ache marriages are arranged only by the principal parties, with parents and close kin having little or no say in the matter. Siblings, first cousins (both types), and individuals with particular ritual relationships are not allowed to marry. No prescriptive marriage rules exist. First marriage traditionally took place at about age 14 for women and 19 for men. Not infrequently there was great age disparity between the partners, with young women marrying men 40 years older than themselves on occasion, and men occasionally marrying women 20 years older than themselves. Marriages generally did not last long, and were interspersed with short romances in which one spouse might temporarily desert for a few days or weeks. Postreproductive women report a mean of thirteen spouses in a lifetime. However, marriages did tend to become more stable after two or more children were born to the couple. Between 5 to 10 percent of all marriages were polygynous, but no man ever had more than two wives simultaneously. A very low level of polyandry was also reported (less than 1 percent of marriages). No marriage or divorce ceremonies are performed. Generally, the man simply moves to the woman's hearth if he is young, or brings her to his if he is older and powerful. Postmarital residence is strongly matrilineal for young couples but bilocal for older couples. At the current reservations marriages are more stable than in precontact times and are generally between individuals closely matched in age.

**Domestic Unit.** Precontact Ache lived in small camps, which, because of widespread cooperative foraging and food sharing, were to some extent units of production and consumption. Nevertheless, individual nuclear families were the most important domestic unit, with adult sib sets sometimes important when they coresided. Reservation Ache emphasize the nuclear family more strongly, but sibling sets are also important units. Food sharing is now kin based, and small reciprocity networks have developed within the reservation.

**Inheritance.** The Ache have no rules of inheritance and nothing to inherit.

**Socialization.** The most important general social rule is to be a "good giver," or generous. Children are taught at a very young age to share part of all the food they receive. Child rearing is very permissive at early ages, and young children are very spoiled by Western standards. Older children are surprisingly well behaved and obedient. Children spend a good deal of time visiting other households without their parents. All overt expressions of hostility are discouraged; however, very young children are often encouraged to hit older children and adults when they are angry. When they calm down they are met by hysterical laughter and perhaps learn to be ashamed of publicly expressing their aggression. Reservation Ache strongly encourage their children to attend school, which also serves as a free day-care center.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Precontact Ache lived in autonomous bands with no true leaders, headmen, or class distinctions. Each band, however, did contain one or two

males 40 to 60 years of age who were recognized as "having the band." Two or three men in their 50s and 60s organized most of the club fights and ritual events in the last twenty years before contact. Everyone participated in discussions about where to move or how to react to certain social situations. Generally, whoever was most strongly committed to his or her opinion would convince the others to cooperate actively or passively. When strong men wanted to take some course of action they simply forced their will on weaker individuals who were unwilling to resist. Men gained considerable prestige from being good hunters or tough opponents in club fights. The threat of violence and the availability of trustworthy allies and personal strength conferred greater coercive authority on some men. Reservation Ache have developed greater disparities in wealth and prestige because of differential exposure to outsiders and ability to manipulate missionaries and members of the Paraguayan national society. This has tended to concentrate power in the hands of a few young men who have lived with or been educated by outsiders.

**Political Organization.** Precontact Ache had no political organization, but formed alliances and coalitions, primarily at club fights. Reservation Ache generally have two elected chiefs who organize community affairs, redistribute goods, punish offenders, and represent the community before outside authorities. These chiefs are elected democratically with each man, woman, and child exercising one vote. Elections can be called whenever the community is dissatisfied with the actions of the current chiefs.

**Social Control.** Precontact Ache had no formal mechanisms for exercising social control. Group social pressure and negative opinions were partially effective, but powerful individuals could take whatever actions they thought they could get away with. Close kin of wronged individuals might come to their aid or defense if the offender were not too strong. Wife beating was common, as was child homicide by nonkin. Occasionally, groups of individuals took action against a single powerful man who had committed a particularly atrocious act. Reservation Ache publicly judge individuals thought to offend the norms of the society. The most common crimes today are petty theft by children and spouse mistreatment or desertion. Ad hoc punishments are administered and usually include public scolding, sentencing to public works, and, very rarely, short incarceration in a hut for a week or so. Although sanctioned homicide was common before contact, there have been no serious crimes (assault, homicide, rape) reported since contact.

**Conflict.** Violence played an important role in the lives of precontact Ache. Three major categories can be discussed: external warfare, club fights, and infanticide/child homicide.

External warfare was the single most important cause of adult mortality before peaceful contact. Ache were killed on sight by Guaraní Indians and Paraguayan peasants until the mid-twentieth century. Many children were captured and sold as slaves. Ache men, in turn, killed as many outsiders as possible, shooting them with arrows when they were encountered. Within Ache groups, shooting other individuals was strictly prohibited and only happened once in the last century.

Club fights between men, however, were common and

occasionally led to death. These fights were organized when an important individual died or was captured by enemies, when rival bands met accidentally in the forest, when men were caught in sexual affairs with other men's wives, and sometimes just because the powerful men of the group wanted to fight. Club fights did not pit one band against another, but instead rapidly degenerated into contests between individuals, with allies and kin backing them up. Older men were particularly feared, and newly initiated men in their teens and twenties were most apprehensive about fighting.

Infanticide and child homicide were common before contact, claiming the life of about one out of every ten children born. Parents would kill defective children, twins, or those born after a short birth spacing. Unrelated individuals often killed the children of men who died soon after the father expired. It was common to sacrifice girls ritually so that they would accompany important older men to the grave.

In all cases of homicide—whether killing an outsider, an Ache man with a club, or a child—the killer was made to undergo purification rites, was given particular body scars, and was called by a title noting that he had killed.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Precontact Ache had no formal religion and no belief in a supreme deity or deities. They did have beliefs in certain spirits, three being most important. First, Kre'i was a shadow or gust of wind that could cure or help individuals in need. Second, Anjave was an evil spirit who often pushed people into the fire at night, knocked them out of trees, or generally caused harm to befall them. Finally, Berendy was a frightening spirit associated with meteors and falling stars, who could also take a human form. People are formed from the essence of the game that a mother eats while pregnant, and some part of the animals' spirits can linger in the spot where they died and cause harm to befall others. Myths fall into two categories—those that explain or are historical (origin of fire, origin of the moon, the flood myth, origin of night, why animals escape humans, why the Ache live in the forest) and those that have a moral (the mean old woman, the stingy man). Most reservation Ache have nominally converted to Christianity as taught by fundamentalist Protestant missionaries. They hold their own services several times a week.

**Religious Practitioners.** There were no religious practitioners in precontact society. Young, educated Ache men have become Christian preachers at the reservations.

**Ceremonies.** Important ceremonies are conducted at the birth of a child, at puberty for both sexes, at club fights, and after a killing. At birth, the man who cuts the umbilical cord of the child becomes a godparent, as do all those who hold the child in the first few minutes and the women who take care of the child on the first day while the mother recovers. Godparents have special obligations to their godchild and its parents, and often a child resides with a godparent later in life. Godparents and the parents of the new child are ceremonially washed with the bark of a vine a few days after the birth. The father of a newborn child enters a dangerous state where all animals, good and

bad, are attracted to him. He may have great hunting success or be eaten by a jaguar.

At first menses, girls are held and massaged as if they were newborn children. They are then isolated under mats for several days and not allowed to show their faces. Later, parallel rows of body scars are cut onto their stomach, back, arms, and legs. All men who have engaged in sex with them are washed with bark and enter the previously mentioned state of attractiveness to animals.

Boys undergo a lip-piercing ceremony between the ages of 14 and 18. When the wound is healed they often wear long wooden plugs in their lower lip. Club fights are often held at this time, and later the boys receive body scars. Boys form a special relationship with the man who pierces their lip. After club fights, women are lined up and men ceremonially hit their mothers and sisters while the women cry. Men who have killed others must be washed with bark and undergo severe food taboos.

**Arts.** Individual singing traditionally was common, particularly in the late evening. Men and women sing about relatives, events on their mind, or hunting, often in an ad-lib fashion. The Ache did not dance, but body painting and ornamentation were very common.

**Medicine.** There were no healers; traditional medical treatment was mainly limited to blowing on the affected part or an application of bark or smoke. Western medicine has been rapidly and enthusiastically accepted at the reservations, and some younger Ache have been trained in first aid.

**Death and Afterlife.** Beliefs about the afterlife appear to vary among the four Ache groups. The Northern Ache had no belief in an afterlife, but did believe that the spirit of a dead person could linger at the site of death and cause harm. For this reason they sometimes burnt the body of old, mean, wicked, or powerful people, or those who died in a violent manner. Most individuals were simply buried and a hut built above their grave. Small children were often sacrificed and placed in the grave with important individuals. The Nacunday Ache may have a more developed concept of an afterlife, in which people could experience pleasant or unpleasant circumstances after death. Whether this is because of the influence of earlier contact with Jesuit missions is unknown.

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KIM HILL

## Afro-Bolivians

ETHNONYMS: Morenos, Mulatos, Negritos (pejorative), Negros, Zambos

### Orientation

**Identification.** Afro-Bolivians typically refer to themselves as "Negros" (Blacks). Black intellectuals introduced the term "Afro-Boliviano" in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and by the early 1990s the term has found its way into usage among Black urban migrants living in La Paz and more generally among Bolivia's intelligentsia. "Negrito" (Little Black) and "Moreno" (Brown) are the terms most commonly used by Bolivians when referring to Blacks; however, Blacks find the diminutive offensive. Afro-Bolivians use the term "Mulato" to refer to a Black of a lighter skin color. "Mulato" in its more common usage in Bolivia refers to the offspring of Whites or Hispanics and Black people. "Zambo" refers to someone of mixed Indian and Black parentage; it is mainly used derogatorily.

**Location.** There are Afro-Bolivian communities throughout Bolivia, especially in the semitropical climates of the departments of La Paz, Santa Cruz, Beni, and Cochabamba. The largest concentrations of Blacks are found in the lowland provinces of Nor Yungas and Sud Yungas in the department of La Paz. Several communities of Black agriculturists are located in each of these provinces, such as Chicaloma and Chulumani in Sud Yungas and Mururata and Tocaña in Nor Yungas. The Bolivian Yungas are characterized by heavy rainfall and a mean temperature of 23°C.

Besides rural agricultural communities, there are migrant communities of Afro-Bolivians in all major Bolivian cities. In La Paz, Afro-Bolivians live mainly on the outskirts of town, especially in the rapidly growing areas of El Alto and Villa Fatima. Because of inconsistent migration patterns, there are no well-defined Afro-Bolivian neighborhoods in La Paz. As migrants from rural villages arrive in La Paz, they settle in the poorest neighborhoods. Participation in social activities, music ensembles being the most important example, is central to Afro-Bolivians' establishment of a subjective sense of community. These groups are based on a common origin, for example the province of Nor Yungas. They chose a central location within the city to

meet, thus keeping transportation costs and accessibility approximately equal for all members.

**Demography.** Estimates of the population of Afro-Bolivians range as low as 6,000 to as high as 158,000, or 2 percent of Bolivia's population. These estimates vary widely because census figures for Bolivia do not include racial differentiations.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Afro-Bolivians throughout Bolivia speak mostly Spanish. The Spanish spoken by rural Black agriculturists is a dialect, and Afro-Bolivians maintain a small vocabulary of words of African origin. In the province of Sud Yungas and, to a lesser extent, in Nor Yungas, Blacks also speak the Aymara language.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The history of Blacks in Bolivia dates from colonial-era Peru, when Africans were imported as slaves to labor in the silver mines of the Peruvian viceroyalty. By the turn of the seventeenth century hundreds of thousands of Africans had been imported into Spanish America (Bowser 1974, 37), and by 1611 some 6,000 Black and Mulato slaves worked the upper Peruvian mines of Potosí (Klein 1986, 32). Africans were also imported as slave labor to work coca-leaf plantations in the semitropical provinces of Nor Yungas and Sud Yungas (M. Léons 1978). Emancipation was legislated in Bolivia's constitution of 19 December 1827; political debates delayed its enforcement until 1851.

### *Settlements*

The semitropical provinces of Nor Yungas and Sud Yungas are located on the eastern side of the Andes; the mountainous topography is dense with vegetation. Afro-Bolivian communities in Nor Yungas include Tocaña, Mururata, and Chischipa. Coroico is the nearest regional town and political center, and several Afro-Bolivian families live and work there. In Sud Yungas are the villages of Chulumani, Irupana, and Chicaloma, which is also known as *pueblo de los negros* (village of the Blacks). Like most rural Bolivian villages, Afro-Bolivian villages have a small plaza circumscribed by a church, a schoolhouse, and one or more stores.

In the Afro-Bolivian village of Tocaña, homes are scattered up and down the sides of a small mountain and connected by footpaths. Each dwelling consists of either a single two-story adobe structure or two to three separate single-story structures. The living, sleeping, and dining areas are together under one steel roof, and they are non-compartmentalized. If a house has a second story, it is commonly a storage area. As a separate structure, the kitchen can be as simple as a covered fireplace, or it can be a complete rectangular adobe building with a thatched or steel roof and a door. Single-story homes often have a third structure used as a storage room. Each household sits on a small plot of land (less than one-tenth of a hectare). Families also have more substantial plots of land (up to 1.5 hectares) that they farm. As of 1992 there was no potable water system in Tocaña, nor was there electricity or adequate sanitation facilities such as household latrines.

In the city of La Paz, Afro-Bolivian migrants live throughout the poorest neighborhoods. If they have a

house, it sits on a small plot of land (less than one-tenth of a hectare) and is typically of brick and enclosed by a brick wall. The central living and dining area is one large room, with the sleeping area separated by a wall or a curtain. The kitchen is often separated from the house. As of 1992, most migrant Afro-Bolivian families lacked necessities such as electricity and adequate sanitation.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Afro-Bolivians of Nor Yungas and Sud Yungas are primarily agriculturists. Cash crops include coca leaf, coffee, citrus fruits, cacao, and many varieties of bananas and plantains. Coca leaf is the primary crop; it is a durable plant, and the same fields can be harvested several times each year. Coca leaves are hand picked and dried in the sun before being bagged. Afro-Bolivians refer to each 30-pound bag as a *sexto*, and these bags are brought to regional markets, such as those in Caranavi and Coroico, where they are exchanged for cash. The cash value of coca leaves fluctuates dramatically throughout the year depending on the size, color, and quality of the leaves.

During the harvest of citrus fruits and coffee, trucks arrive directly from La Paz to carry the produce to markets. Truck owners act as middlemen, paying Afro-Bolivians a small fraction of what the produce sells for in the city.

Rural Afro-Bolivians partially subsist on their crops and the chickens they raise. Men hunt wild game, and to further complement their diet and add variety, both men and women travel regularly by truck to large regional markets. Besides food, they purchase clothing and household, agricultural, school, and other supplies.

Owing to racism, Afro-Bolivian migrants have a difficult time finding decent jobs in the city of La Paz. Both women and men are often able to get work as domestic servants; however, it is more difficult for men to secure this type of employment. Some men find jobs as shop clerks or professional drivers.

Some migrants maintain important links with relatives in the lowland Yungas villages. By traveling back to their villages, working in the fields during harvests, and trading store-bought goods with their friends and relatives, migrants return to the city with agricultural produce such as citrus fruits, bananas, and plantains.

**Division of Labor.** Adults and children work year-round at agricultural tasks. Men often organize themselves in groups of two to six and work in their different fields on a rotating basis. The work includes chopping, thrashing, and burning of trees and large brush; clearing fields; and tilling so that the fields can be planted. Women work in smaller groups while simultaneously caring for preschool-age children. Women participate in all but the heaviest chopping and clearing of fields; they mainly plant and harvest. Besides their agricultural and child-care responsibilities, women cook, do the laundry, and wash the dishes. Both men and women shop at the weekly markets.

**Land Tenure.** Both men and women inherit land, and each family often has several different plots that they work. Ideally, each family will have plots in different environments on the mountain. Most families have coca-leaf fields on the sunny or dry side of the mountain, and other

fields in the denser jungle where they grow bananas and plantains.

### Kinship

Afro-Bolivians reckon kinship bilaterally. They refer to one another by endearing nicknames (e.g., "Mastuco," meaning "large" or "full-bodied"), by relationship—*abuela* (grandmother), *tio* (uncle), *suegra* (mother-in-law), and the like—and by fictive or ritual kinship terms such as *comadre* (comother) and *compadre* (cofather). *Compadrazgo* is an important fictive-kinship institution among Afro-Bolivians, and such relationships are formed for the sponsorship of weddings, baptisms, the raising of a roof, and even the purchase of an automobile.

### Marriage and Family

Although legal marriage is common among Afro-Bolivians, a couple often lives together and has children for several years before they can afford to marry. Divorce and serial polygamy are not uncommon among Afro-Bolivians. After divorce women often remain single and raise children, whereas men migrate to another part of the country in search of work and sometimes remarry.

Aymara-speaking Blacks of South Yungas frequently intermarry with Aymara Indians and mestizos, a strategy to elevate the social status of their children (M. Léons 1978). Afro-Bolivians of Nor Yungas, however, are by and large endogamous. Interethnic relations between Blacks and the Aymara are quite different in Nor Yungas. Although some Aymara families live in mainly Black agricultural communities, there is often racial tension between the two groups, and intermarriage is infrequent.

**Socialization.** Young children accompany their mothers during the day as they work in the fields: it is the mother who is mainly responsible for rearing and disciplining children. Children attend primary school in their own communities and secondary school in a nearby regional town. Because of the distance, teenagers attending high school often live with a relative in town or find room and board, returning to their families only for weekends.

### Sociopolitical Organization

The Afro-Bolivian community of Tocaña has a democratic syndicate political system similar to those found in rural communities throughout Bolivia. In 1952, when agrarian reform was instituted in Bolivia, the government authorized these local political organizations as a replacement for the outlawed hacienda (plantation) administrations (W. Léons 1977, 31). Syndicates are hierarchic boards of political secretaries elected by adult community members. The secretary general holds the position of leadership in the community and may retain it for consecutive one-year terms, provided the community is content with his or her performance and the individual is willing to continue to hold office. Local syndicates are intended to give agricultural communities political representation at regional and national levels.

Another form of political organization pertains to social activities, such as sports and music. These organizations form the basis for community solidarity. The officers

of these groups—presidents, vice presidents, secretaries of conflicts, and treasurers—are called *dirigentes* (directors). Although there are local and national governmental organizations in place in La Paz, migrants have recourse only to these social organizations; hence for migrants these serve as the central political organizations. In 1992 women held most of these offices through which they both organized social life and addressed economic concerns.

In Sud Yungas, Blacks rejected the syndicate political system. The small sizes of their settlements were not conducive to the syndicate organization, and, additionally, Blacks viewed the syndicate as an Indian institution. In Chicaloma, Afro-Bolivians replaced the local hacienda administration with a junta, a cooperative work group. This allowed them political autonomy such as the Aymara have through syndicates and was commensurate with the dispersed nature of Afro-Bolivian settlements. Juntas draw their membership from a cross section of age groups (W. Léons 1977, 32).

**Conflict.** There is competition and racial tension between the Aymara and Afro-Bolivian migrants in La Paz and, to a lesser degree, between the Aymara and rural Afro-Bolivians. In the city of La Paz, Afro-Bolivians face heightened forms of racism and discrimination in their daily lives. Afro-Bolivians are in direct competition for jobs with Aymara Indians, who are the largest ethnic group in La Paz. As early as the days of colonial slavery in the highland mines of Potosí, the Aymara mocked Black cultural traditions, especially in a dance (performed in blackface while drumming and singing) called *saya* or *tundiki*. These Aymara dance practices continue in the 1990s and are one source of racial tension between Afro-Bolivians and Aymara in La Paz. Migrants attend informal public forums that they call debates, where they openly address their grievances with the Aymara and express their experiences of being a small Black minority in a country dominated by Indians. Among their complaints are the superstitious beliefs some Bolivians have regarding Blacks (e.g., that seeing a Black person or offering one a glass of milk can bring good luck). The *saya* or *tundiki* occasions much resentment. At debates held in 1992, Afro-Bolivians said they felt marginalized and that they believed that Aymara migrants had better job opportunities than did Blacks.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Like most Bolivians, Afro-Bolivians are Christians. Most rural Afro-Bolivians of Nor Yungas, however, attend the regional Catholic church in the town of Coroico only for baptisms and other life-cycle ceremonies. A priest from Coroico occasionally visits outlying agricultural communities such as Tocaña and Mururata to say Mass. Like most rural Bolivian villages, each Afro-Bolivian village has a patron saint, and communities celebrate their patron saints with fiestas lasting up to several days. According to local mythology, during Bolivia's independence struggle (1809–1825), the Virgen de la Candelaria saved the people of Coroico from an army of Royalists sent by the Spanish Crown. Surrounded, the unarmed *vecinos* (local non-indigenous Spanish speakers) abandoned their homes and went to church to pray. Afro-Bolivians, along with all the people of the region, celebrate

20 October as the day the Virgen de la Candelaria descended from the sky on a cloud, and, with her army of *patriotos* (patriots), defeated the Royalist forces. The largest regional patron-saint fiesta is in the town of Coroico. Afro-Bolivians contribute to the celebrations of the Virgen de la Candelaria by singing a song dedicated to her. This song is part of their *saya* music tradition (see "Arts").

**Ceremonies.** The Afro-Bolivians of Nor Yungas have a ceremonial monarchy, which is part of a long lineage of kings. Earlier in the twentieth century, King Bonifacio Pinedo, who lived in the village of Mururata, was recognized as the Afro-Bolivian king. He wore a cape and crown for major celebrations, especially Easter. When King Bonifacio died in the 1960s, no immediate heir to his throne was crowned until his grandson Julio Pinedo became king in 1982.

**Arts.** Among both Afro-Bolivians of Nor Yungas and Afro-Bolivian migrants in La Paz, music, dance, and poetry are the most important forms of artistic expression. In 1982 Afro-Bolivians of Nor Yungas revitalized much of their traditional music. Before this, they participated in the brass-band tradition that became so important to Bolivians during the mid- to late twentieth century. Among the revitalized traditions are *saya*, a song genre that serves Afro-Bolivians as a means of maintaining and transmitting their oral history; *mauchi* (funeral music); *baile de tierra* (traditional wedding music); and *zemba*, a lively combination of drumming and dance that was formerly associated with the Afro-Bolivian monarchy (Pizarroso Cuenca 1977, 73).

Singing is the most prominent aspect of Afro-Bolivian music. All of the genres except *mauchi* include accompaniment by several different drums, and *saya* adds bells and scrapers.

The manufacture of musical instruments is considered an art, and community instrument makers are recognized for their talents. Especially important are *saya* drums, long bamboo scrapers called *cuanchas*, and colorful drum mallets called *haucañas* (an Aymara term). *Saya* drums are of three different sizes, and each plays a unique rhythm that interlocks with the other two. The largest drums are the *asentadores*, and, as the name suggests, they "set" the beat. Second in size are *cambiadores*, which interlock a triplet pattern with the basic duple established by the *asentadores*. The smallest drum is the *gangengo*, which interlocks an upbeat pattern with the *asentador*. In the *saya* tradition, both men and women dance, but they form two separate dancing groups. The captain of the dancers wears sets of bells around his legs. The bells worn around his left leg are pitched higher, and they lead the women dancers. On his right leg, the captain wears a lower-pitched set of bells that lead the men. Afro-Bolivians point out that the bells also symbolize the chains and shackles worn by their enslaved ancestors.

Both the writing and reciting of poetry are highly valued forms of artistic expression. In Tocaña and La Paz, community poets recite during brief interludes at public musical performances. Their poetry often addresses Afro-Bolivians' struggles against racism and discrimination.

**Death and Afterlife.** Afro-Bolivians consider their *mauchi* tradition to be a vestige of a lost Afro-Bolivian religious practice. *Mauchi* is sung by men after a burial as

friends and relatives walk back to their village from the cemetery, and it is sung on Todos los Santos (2 November). In *mauchi*, men join their hands together and form a large, closed circle. One community elder leads the unaccompanied singing, and the other men respond.

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ROBERT W. TEMPLEMAN

## Afro-Brazilians

ETHNONYMS: Black Brazilians (archaic), Brazilian Negroes, Negro Brazilians, Pardos, Prêtos

### Identification

Afro-Brazilians did not receive the kind of attention devoted to African Americans of the United States in the scholarly and popular literature until the 1970s. To the extent that they were discussed, they were viewed as part and parcel of Brazil's exceptional race-relations patterns, in which flexibility in racial categorization and definition, linked to a history of the absence of legally mandated or



sanctioned racial discrimination in the postabolition period, obviated the need for Black protest and other forms of activity geared to the gaining of civil rights. Since then, this roseate rendition of the Afro-Brazilian situation has been steadily challenged by both Brazilians and foreigner observers, controverting the impression that the specific historical, cultural, sociological, and politicoeconomic universe in which Afro-Brazilians have lived and continue to live remotely resembles a privileged environment in terms of race relations. These recent discussions offer insights into race relations, racial prejudice, and racial discrimination of another kind than that found elsewhere. Briefly put, neither history nor culture in themselves have proven sufficient to legitimize a case for a unique immunity to racism in Brazil. Furthermore, race mixture or multiracialness do not imply an absence of racial ranking, racial preference, or outright discrimination.

If there is agreement on the above issues, the question of the definition of "Afro-Brazilian" remains debatable. By the late 1970s, the term "Afro-Brazilian" rather than "Black Brazilian" appeared to be increasingly favored, especially by younger and politically active Blacks. The choice of "Afro"—meant to emphasize ancestry rather than the traditional Brazilian focus on color (in 1980 non-Whites described themselves to the census takers in an array of more than 100 shades)—became equivalent to a political statement. Any description that lays the remotest claim to accuracy must factor race, class, and gender into the categorization. It is in this factoring that Afro-Brazilians come to manifest the contradictions of the society at large (see "Sociopolitical Organization").

It is still not entirely clear how extensive the Afro-Brazilian population is within the national population of more than 150 million. Within the census categories—"White," "Brown," "Black," and "Yellow"—Afro-Brazilians can be categorized or identify themselves as both "Black" and "Brown." That being the case, it is difficult to proclaim with any degree of certainty the size of the Afro-Brazilian population. Furthermore, there are regional differences in the concentration of Afro-Brazilians. It is estimated that, of the 2.5 million people living in the metropolitan area of the northeastern seaport of Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, 80% are either *Prêto* (Black) or *Pardo* (Brown). There are sizable numbers in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, but Afro-Brazilians reside in less dense concentrations throughout the national territory. It is important to provide a cautionary note with regard to what has become an increasingly common statement in discussing Brazil and Afro-Brazilians within the global context of the Black world: that Brazil has the largest Black population of any nation except the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Although this statement makes for good symbolism, it is by no means clear what it actually reflects. If there is no agreement about what constitutes blackness, the claim that Brazil has the second-largest Black population becomes meaningless.

The situation is rendered more problematic by conflating Afro-Brazilian history and culture with the present-day status of Afro-Brazilians and their institutions. A closer look reveals several contradictory tendencies. There is, for example, absolutely no doubt about the presence, and an impressive one at that, of Africa-derived religious

and cultural traditions in Brazil that have become Afro-Brazilianized. Whereas these institutions were the targets of official condemnation and persecution during the nineteenth century and a large part of the twentieth, they have undergone a process of nationalization in which the dominant society and its cultural institutions have extended legitimacy to the formerly marginalized and persecuted Afro-Brazilian manifestations. Nevertheless, cultural integration has not translated into a commensurate political presence. As part of a national union that views itself as one people with a common destiny—and does not brook threats to this unity—Afro-Brazilians are in the ambiguous position of asserting their nationality and striving to maintain their specificity without becoming perceived as antinational.

In a real sense, there is no Afro-Brazilian space that is separate from Brazilian national space. There is no equivalent of the Black church in the United States; no historically Black institutions such as colleges, hospitals, and funeral homes; and no Black residential areas within cities. It is axiomatic that Afro-Brazilians are found among the major religious groups in the country—Catholics and mainstream Protestants (with long histories in Brazil), Pentecostals (of more recent provenance; they began evangelizing in Brazil in the mid-1960s, and continued their activities with increasing crescendo throughout the 1970s and 1980s), and, of course, the major Afro-Brazilian religions of Candomblé, Macumba, and Umbanda (see "Religion and Expressive Culture").

In view of the sheer size of Brazil, the cultural and linguistic differences among its regions, although they do not negate nationally shared commonalities, nonetheless serve as a warning against gross generalizations. It is therefore useless to posit a "typical" Afro-Brazilian whose physical features and behavioral patterns can be considered emblematic of all Afro-Brazilians. Variant regional historical experiences are manifested in differences in music, folklore, religion, and patterns of speech. Such differences account for the diverse responses of specific Afro-Brazilian populations to sociocultural and political movements between the 1920s and 1930s and from the 1970s into the 1990s. A major characteristic of Afro-Brazilian culture has been its ability to adapt or transform itself, Brazilianizing itself without losing its identity in the process.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

There is a rich history of the arrival of African slaves from different religious backgrounds (e.g., Yoruba, Fon, Ewe [Gege], Hausa, Angdon), beginning in the sixteenth century; of African adaptations and resistance to slavery; of Brazil-born individuals of African ancestry; and of cooperation and conflicts between Brazilian-born Africans and newly arrived slaves. New importations of slaves continued into the nineteenth century, particularly between 1807 and 1835. Contributing to the discontents of the newcomers was the disdain other slaves exhibited toward them because of their inability to speak Portuguese, the tribal and ethnic markings on their faces, and their non-European religions—for example, some of the Yorubas were Muslims. Newly imported Yorubas organized the Revolt of the Males (the term "Male" is believed to derive from "I-male"—the

followers of the Imam) in 1835. Despite this and other acts of resistance, abolition did not occur until 13 May 1888.

Although there has been a tendency to focus on slaves of Yoruba (western Nigerian) origin, especially because of the preeminence of Yoruba religious traditions in Brazil, African slaves came from a much wider geographical area, stretching from the Guinea coast to present-day Angola, Mozambique, and Zaire. Increasing attention is being paid to Bantu influences in Brazil, especially in the area surrounding Rio de Janeiro and in the state of Minas Gerais, a movement away from Yorubacentrism, under the sway of which Yoruba traditions were studied to the exclusion of those of other continental African groups that made major contributions to the formation of Afro-Brazilian culture.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

Afro-Brazilian forms of religion, music, and dance have all been summoned in the service of resisting the hegemonic tentacles of the Brazilian state and society, both in the past and in the present. If in the period before abolition (both colonial and postcolonial), Afro-Brazilian religious brotherhoods (*cofradias*) affiliated with the Catholic church and religio-civic organizations devoted themselves to helping manumit slaves, providing a form of social-welfare service to widows and dependents, and organizing religious and cultural celebrations showing elements of both Brazil and Africa, in the postabolition period they organized civic groupings and even a political party.

Yet there has not been and there does not now exist an autonomous Afro-Brazilian universe within which Afro-Brazilians have the luxury of conducting their affairs. In fact, it is clear that, since the early 1900s, whatever socio-cultural and political movements have been organized and patronized by Afro-Brazilians have been reflections of the general socioeconomic and political developments within Brazil at large. Syndicalists and frustrated young army officers were among those who engaged in intense political activity in the first half of the 1910s and the second half of the 1920s. The Frente Negra Brasileira, which some saw as having fascist tendencies, registered as a political party on 16 September 1931. The immediate inference to be drawn is that to the extent that the national political climate is relatively open and that a politically and culturally entitled citizenry is able to participate in issues affecting state and society, there is greater likelihood that Afro-Brazilians can act visibly than in periods when the political system becomes closed to such participation, as was most recently demonstrated by the period of authoritarian governance of a civilian-military nature between 1964 and 1985. What is illustrative about such exclusionary periods is the breaches that develop, providing examples of the contradictions in Brazilian political life. An earlier version of such exclusion from participation was the period between 1937 and 1945 under Getúlio Vargas. The "new state" (i.e., the authoritarian-corporatist regime) prohibited all political activity it did not sponsor.

In 1944 Abdias do Nascimento founded the Black Experimental Theatre in Rio de Janeiro, which was then Brazil's capital. It was an effort to bring those who attended to political consciousness and show the importance of

Afro-Brazilian life. (For the theater's first production, do Nascimento sought a potent Afro-Brazilian playwright; failing in his search, he instead staged Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*. By 1968 the theater was more or less defunct, although friends of do Nascimento went through the motions of keeping it going. Do Nascimento, after teaching for eleven years at the State University of New York at Buffalo, became a congressman in Rio and, subsequently, Secretary of State in charge of Black issues.

By the mid-1970s it was obvious that the regime could not continue as it had been. In 1974 President Ernesto Geisel introduced the concept of political decompression, whereby tentative attempts were made to create avenues for political expression, and the climate began to shift. In 1978, during the period of military governance with civilian collaboration, the Movimento Negro Unificado contra Discriminação Racial (MNU; Unified Movement against Racial Discrimination) was launched in São Paulo at the same time other groups, such as automobile-factory workers, were forming community-based units within the Catholic church.

Afro-Brazilian women sociocultural and political activists have argued in no uncertain terms that, just because Afro-Brazilians as a group have been and continue to be victims of racial discrimination does not necessarily mean that Afro-Brazilian men are any less predisposed to discriminate against Afro-Brazilian women. The latter are thus doubly disadvantaged in a society that has historically given precedence to males and continues to do so.

By the same token, Afro-Brazilians are not impressed by any discourse that argues that the realities of a machista society and the commonality of accumulated disadvantages visited on all women because of their gender automatically occasions a sisterly solidarity. The women's movement in Brazil, on account of its origins, membership, and the fact that it does not exist in a universe separate from Brazilian society, has reproduced some of the same racially discriminatory practices against Afro-Brazilian women. Following this line of discussion, it has also been argued that to assume that the labor movement or progressive movements per se have resolved basic contradictions and confusions about race and the position of Afro-Brazilians within Brazilian society is at best naive.

Beginning in the 1980s, Afro-Brazilians made certain symbolic gains on the national political scene. In the state government of Rio de Janeiro there were, between 1982 and 1986, three Afro-Brazilian secretaries of state, including the first Afro-Brazilian woman to hold such a position. The head of the military police and his deputy are also Afro-Brazilians. In 1991 three state governors, two of whom readily identified themselves as Afro-Brazilian and a third who could be characterized as having reached self-definition as Afro-Brazilian reluctantly or by default, were elected. Another noteworthy political event was Benedita ("Bené") da Silva's 1992 electoral campaign for the mayoralty of Rio, which failed by a narrow margin. She combines the activism born of living in a *favela* (slum) and being a member of the Pentecostal church with membership in the Workers party, under the banner of which she serves as a deputy in the Federal Chamber of Deputies. It bears emphasizing that some of these political gains have been made in places with minuscule Afro-Brazilian populations,

as in the election of Governor Alceu Collares in the southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The contrast with Salvador, Bahia, could not be more dramatic. The one Afro-Brazilian mayor of the city, Edivaldo Brito, was appointed to the post in 1980, during the period of authoritarian rule. The fact that Afro-Brazilians are the majority in Bahia has not resulted in the election of Afro-Brazilian mayors or representatives to the Federal Chamber of Deputies. The salient point is that impressive institutions derived from Africa and developed by Afro-Brazilians in areas where Afro-Brazilians are the majority have not automatically produced Afro-Brazilian elected officials or access to political power in a clientelistic polity that has not veered from traditional patronage distribution. Until the mid-1970s Salvador could not be ranked with São Paulo or Rio, where Afro-Brazilian political activities have been more prominent.

To the extent that it has become more legitimate (which is not to be confused with fully legitimate) to discuss Brazilian race relations as part of global race relations—and that inserting Brazil into this framework provides no guarantee of a privileged position for Brazil as the one place in the world where racial discrimination and racism have not been state policy, coded in the law, rendering inappropriate the contemplation of concrete measures to ameliorate or abolish its consequences—there is some hope for a greater appreciation of the Afro-Brazilian predicament. Racial discrimination and racism do not have to be legally codified or systematic, formal, and frequent to be effective or to prevent those who see themselves as its intermittent or perennial victims from articulating the need for redress. Despite this, Afro-Brazilians have resisted customary and conventionalized forms of individual and institutional racism through straightforward political, as well as more subtle cultural and religious, activities. The state of race relations within Brazil is the real test of idealized notions of nationality; daily realities subvert such notions.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

There is no gainsaying the fact that all Brazilians now pay tribute to Afro-Brazilian cultural, religious, and artistic contributions to Brazil. Many Brazilians, irrespective of race, color, or class, partake of Afro-Brazilian culture.

Umbanda began to appear in the first decades of the twentieth century, at a time of rapid industrialization, internal migration, and urbanization. It was depicted as quintessentially Brazilian, syncretic, functionalist at its core, and providing space for upwardly mobile individuals by the 1970s. Some social scientists questioned this idealized picture and saw Umbanda more as a contested space in which members of the middle-class elite intervened to clean up or “whiten” the Black, more proletarian image of Umbanda, thus distancing it from its African and Afro-Brazilian roots.

Candomblé, as considered by both followers and observers, is the most Orthodox of Afro-Brazilian religions, with roots going back to slave life in Brazil. The term “Candomblé” refers to both the religion qua religion as well as to the ceremonies and celebrations that draw participants who might not be full members of the *terreiro*, which is both the space in which religious activities are

conducted and the house in which the resident *mãedo santo* (if female) or *pardo santo* (if male) performs ceremonies, engages in divination, and supervises those who are to be initiated. Especially in Bahia, such practitioners trace their history to West Africa.

The origins of Candomblé are linked to specific ethnic groups, or nations, as they became known in Brazil. Nations came from different regions in Africa. The introduction of Catholic symbols, such as altars, into *terreiros* is evidence of the adaptations made by Afro-Brazilians to the dominant religious traditions of colonial and postcolonial Brazil.

What is Candomblé in Bahia becomes Macumba in Rio de Janeiro. Macumba in Rio is considered to be less orthodox than the older Candomblé *terreiros* in Bahia, just as even in Bahia, newer, less prestigious *terreiros*, which are more likely to draw upon a wider circle of influences, including Amerindian traditions and spiritist (European-derived) ones. In regard to the latter, the ideas of the French writer Allan Cardeac began permeating Brazilian spiritism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Another notable aspect of Afro-Brazilian religious traditions and their diffusion into the broader society is the fact that such influences have become transnational. There are Afro-Brazilian-derived religious traditions in Argentina, for example.

The musical styles and personalities of three of the best-known Afro-Brazilian musicians and pop idols—Gilberto Gil, from the northeastern state of Bahia; Milton Nascimento, from Minas Gerais; and Martinho da Vila, from Rio de Janeiro—exemplify the spectrum of regional differences. The exuberance of Gil; the cooler, quasi-religious style of Nascimento; and the conversational style of da Vila reflect variously their Bahian, Mineiro, and Carioca (i.e., characteristic of Rio) contexts.

Gil and da Vila, who have visited Africa, have directly connected to continental African themes in their songs. Nascimento’s composition “Missa dos Quilombos,” derives its liturgical text from Brazilian liberation theologians. The title of the mass comes from the name given to communities of fugitive slaves in colonial Brazil. da Vila has organized Kizomba festivals, which have brought performers from continental Africa together with their Afro-Brazilian counterparts.

There is perhaps no Brazilian who is better known to the world than Pelé (Edson Arantes do Nascimento), the former soccer player. By his very presence, Pelé is a demonstration of both the possibilities and limitations of the Brazilian model of individual mobility. The fact that Pelé “made it” is sometimes presented as proof of limitless possibilities; this viewpoint fails to recognize the mathematical improbability of reproducing hundreds, or even scores, of Pelés among Afro-Brazilian youth. Since, according to the model, a condition of success is the avoidance of any controversy that would call it into question, Pelé has not readily taken public stances on the predicament of Afro-Brazilians.

Not unlike other Blacks in the Americas, Afro-Brazilians have utilized opportunities presented by the worlds of sport and entertainment to mediate (albeit on an individual rather than on a group basis) the difficulties of

being Black—that is, being disadvantaged in education, the professions, housing, and socioeconomic mobility.

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ANANI DZIDZIENYO

## Afro-Colombians

ETHNONYMS: Costeños, Gente de Color, Gente Negra, Libres, Morenos, Morochos, Negros

**Identification.** Afro-Colombians do not form a single cultural complex. The term is a general category referring to people with variable proportions of African descent living in several regions of Colombia. More difficult still to categorize are the native inhabitants of the islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina, Colombian possessions about 165 kilometers off the coast of Nicaragua. These people belong historically and culturally to a West Indian cultural complex formed under British colonial influence but have been subject to increasingly intense colombianización since early in the twentieth century. This essay will not deal with them (but see Cifuentes 1986 and Wilson 1973).

Terminology is morally and politically charged, and therefore usage is complex. Many people, especially among the educated, use the term "Afro-Colombian" as a fairly neutral term to identify others; fewer use it to identify themselves. The term "Negro" (Black), although common, can be used disparagingly; some people, Afro-Colombians or not, avoid it; others use it as a noun; a few use it only as a qualifier (e.g., "Gente Negra," Black people). Since

the late 1980s, with increasing Black politicization, the term "Negro" is more common, although reference to "Comunidades Negras," Black communities, has been institutionalized to some extent by a 1993 law that refers to them as such. Some people use the euphemistic "Moreno" (Brown) or "Morocho" (Dark), others the general "Gente de Color" (Colored people), to identify themselves and others. People may avoid all reference to color and instead use regional terms. In the department of Chocó in the Pacific region, Black people often refer to themselves as "Libres" (free people), a usage dating back to colonial times. The term "Costeño" (coastal dweller), is often used to imply blackness, since many Afro-Colombians live in coastal regions. In the English-language literature, the terms "Black" (sometimes "black") or "Black person" are more common than "Afro-Colombian."

**Location.** Black people in Colombia are all descendants of Africans originally brought as slaves to work in mining and agriculture in colonial New Granada. They are concentrated in three main areas. The Pacific coastal region, a very humid, heavily forested zone, is criss-crossed with myriad rivers. It is very poor and infrastructurally underdeveloped, and the population is reckoned to be 80 to 90 percent Black, with smaller populations of indigenous peoples, Whites, and mestizos (mostly immigrants from outside the region). The Caribbean coastal region is the second area of concentration, especially along the coastal belt itself and along the banks of some of the major rivers, the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the lower Sinú. This is a mostly flat, fairly dry region, more urbanized and infrastructurally developed with large cattle-raising and agricultural enterprises. The third area is the upper-central Cauca Valley (especially in northeastern Cauca and southwestern Valle del Cauca departments). Much of this is sugarcane territory, with huge capitalist plantations. Black people work on these, or as small peasants on land sandwiched between them, or in the towns and cities of the region, especially Cali.

Apart from these three main concentrations, Black people have also migrated in increasing numbers to major cities, such as Bogotá and Medellín. The African descent of people all along the banks of the Magdalena and the Cauca rivers, except in their uppermost reaches, is also noticeable.

**Demography.** Reliable estimates of population are not available. The last national census to include racial categories (Black, White, Indian, and mixed) was in 1918, and then two major provinces refused to make returns in these categories. The 1912 and 1918 census returns reckon "Blacks" to be about 10 percent of the total. Subsequent estimates (based on guesswork) have often used a figure of about 4 percent, whereas a 1992 estimate, based on the Britannica Yearbook, gives a range of 14 to 21 percent.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** All Black people in Colombia speak Spanish. In certain areas, such as the Pacific region, there are specific features of accent, vocabulary, and syntax that make the Spanish spoken there distinctive. In Palenque de San Basilio, a single village in the Caribbean region, *palenquero* is also spoken (often as a first language); migrants from this village to other areas may also speak it. It is a Spanish-based creole language with African

and Portuguese elements; in the early 1990s the Ministry of Education began to finance an ethno-education program aimed at reversing the apparent trend toward the loss of *palenquero*.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Africans were imported from the 1520s into settlements along the northern coast of colonial New Granada. The Caribbean port city of Cartagena became the principal slave port for the colony. Blacks were used in agriculture and as personal servants in this region from early on, but they were mainly used in the mining areas. Prior to 1600, perhaps 100,000 slaves were imported, but from about 1560 the Spanish settlements in the gold-rich Cauca Valley and northern Antioquia increased the demand for slaves to supplement scanty and fast-declining Indian labor. The Pacific coastal region was colonized effectively from the late seventeenth century and became a major user of slave labor.

Mining was the main occupation for slaves in New Granada. Both men and women worked in the open-cast mines, usually in *cuadrillas*, or gangs, headed by a *capitán*. They also worked in agriculture and cattle raising in Cauca Valley haciendas, in the mining camps of the Pacific coastal region, in Antioquian farms, and in the large haciendas of the Caribbean plains. In addition, they were used as servants, laborers, and artisans in the cities.

Slavery varied in harshness, according to the region and the epoch, but most slaves had the opportunity to mine, farm, or sell on their own behalf for one day a week, and some were able to save money and buy their freedom. Freedom could also be granted by a master. Colonial records show that women (and children) were given and bought their freedom more often than men. This partly reflected the sexual relations that occurred between White men and slave women. By the 1770s, "free people of color," a general category fed by manumission and race mixture and including everyone who was not classified as a White, an Indian, or a slave, were about 60 percent of the New Granadian population.

Slaves also fought for their freedom, escaping into the many virtually uncontrolled areas and sometimes forming fortified villages, *palenques*, for their defense against Spanish military missions. Rebellions and the establishment of *palenques* by slaves occurred from the early sixteenth century and intensified during the eighteenth.

By the time of independence (1819) and abolition (1851), the importance of slavery had declined in many areas, although it was still important in the Pacific and the Cauca regions. After abolition, former slaves in areas such as Antioquia and the Cauca became workers on the mines and farms of their former masters or independent gold panners and farmers, much as manumitted slaves had done during the colonial period. In the Pacific region, colonial-style mining more or less collapsed, and freed slaves became independent miners and farmers, selling gold to urban commercial elites.

The elaboration of Afro-Colombian culture during and after the colonial period was not as overtly African influenced as in the case of Afro-Cuban or Afro-Brazilian culture. New Granada was not a full-blown plantation soci-

ety, the importation of slaves ended earlier, and slavery was already a relatively weak institution in many areas prior to abolition. Nevertheless, palenques and communities of free Blacks (which could be quite isolated in areas such as the Pacific coast region) were places where Afro-Colombian culture could develop. As in other regions of Latin America, there were also associations of slaves and free Blacks—*cabildos*, or councils—located mostly in the cities. These were nominally lay church brotherhoods, but many had tenuous links with the church and were allowed to hold their own dances and celebrations, often centered on drumming. In areas such as the Cauca Valley, Antioquia, and the Caribbean plains, Afro-Colombian culture often fed into a more generalized working-class and peasant culture of triethnic origins. Indeed in Antioquia, Afro-Colombian culture more or less disappeared, except in some isolated northeastern areas.

Relations with Amerindian groups varied. In the Pacific region, where a mining monoculture existed, Indians and Blacks tended to remain fairly separate, although there was, and continues to be, an interchange of goods, services, and knowledge, plus some intermarriage. Especially after abolition, Indian groups gradually moved into the headwaters of the rivers as Blacks occupied the lower reaches. In areas such as Antioquia and the Cauca, either Indian populations declined more drastically, or geographical separation remained more marked. In the Caribbean region, Indians and Blacks tended to mix more thoroughly, although certain zones show a predominance of Indian or Black heritage.

### Settlements

In the Pacific region, settlement is mostly riverine, lacustrine, or coastal and is often quite dispersed. Houses are generally rectangular wooden constructions, built on stilts and with palm-thatch or sheet-metal roofing. There are also some larger villages and towns, such as Quibdó and Tumaco (about 50,000 inhabitants each in 1985). The international port of Buenaventura (population about 160,000 in 1985) is constantly expanding because of immigration from the rural areas. Access to space is so constrained that some residents live in houses on stilts in neighborhoods that stretch onto the tidal mud flats.

In the Cauca region, settlement is on small peasant farms and in villages and towns: all these feed the sugarcane industry's demand for labor. Many Blacks from the Cauca and the Pacific regions have migrated to cities such as Cali and Medellín, where they often live in self-built neighborhoods. In the Caribbean region, the most obvious concentrations of Black people are in settlements along the beaches, often dispersed, occasionally nucleated. Houses are generally of the common rectangular wooden design but are not on stilts. In the hinterland, settlement is in villages and towns, with a more mixed population. Houses are more likely to be made of industrially produced materials. The poorer neighborhoods of large cities such as Barranquilla and especially Cartagena have notable concentrations of Black people.

### Economy

In the Pacific region, economic activities are varied and include agriculture (principally cultivation of plantains and maize), the raising of pigs, fishing, hunting, and, in suitable areas, mining. Contract logging has been of growing importance since about the 1960s: independent cutters sell their produce to intermediaries, on whom they depend for credit. Some large national and transnational timber companies also employ local labor directly. Since the 1970s mining has become increasingly mechanized, with small gasoline-driven pumps and minidredgers widely available on credit. Multinationals have used large-scale dredging techniques in very specific zones since the 1900s. In the southern Pacific region, intensive capitalist shrimp farming and the cultivation of African palms have also made inroads during the 1980s, causing environmental degradation: the former is destroying the mangrove swamps, an ecologically specialized niche, and the latter is causing more generalized deforestation.

Landholding in this region is often not legally regulated. Where individual private property titles do not exist, Black communities are held by the state to be squatters on public lands; this makes their displacement by capitalist entrepreneurs all the easier. A collective system of ownership has been documented for the southern part of the region—and seems more widespread—in which a consanguineal kinship group tracing ancestry to a common ancestor exploits a given territory that has a communally worked mine, plus family mines and agricultural plots. People can move from one territory to another by activating kinship links. Men and women both work in mining and agriculture with no sharp division of labor. Generally, women are very economically active outside the domestic sphere.

In the Cauca region, the growth of the sugarcane industry from the 1930s has meant intense pressure on peasant landholding, which here is by legal title. Smallholders (who may be women) still cultivate cocoa and coffee for regular cash income alongside subsistence crops. Labor is organized along kinship lines within a broadly defined kindred. There is no sharply defined sexual division of labor. Peasants also work in the sugarcane industry for cash wages, and increasing pressure on land has intensified this and migration to the cities. In Cali, Medellín, and Bogotá, they join many Black migrants from the Pacific region working chiefly as domestic servants (women migrants outnumber men), in the construction industry, and in informal occupations, although there are small numbers of Black students and professionals.

In the Caribbean region, land-extensive cattle ranches have dominated since colonial times and have employed Blacks and mestizos as sharecroppers and laborers. Families may combine agriculture on privately held land with sharecropping and wage labor in rural areas and/or the cities. For maritime Black settlements, fishing is an important source of subsistence and cash income. In certain areas, tourism also generates income—not only in cities, where Black people may work as boatmen, for example, or selling food, but in more rural areas, where tourists from the interior of the country come to rent beach houses. From 1900 until World War II, the United

Fruit Company's banana plantations near Santa Marta employed Black laborers (some of them from the West Indies). In the 1960s a banana boom began in the west of the region, near the Gulf of Urabá, and Blacks migrated from the Pacific region to work there, usually as drainage-ditch diggers.

### *Kinship, Marriage, and Family*

Characteristic of Black people all over Colombia (and not unique to them) is a flexible kinship network in which individuals and families activate links within a loosely defined kindred, often simply termed *familia*, in order to get access to goods and services, and to facilitate migration (see "Economy"). Classificatory categories such as *primo*, "cousin," or *tía*, "aunt," group together a large number of relatives. An individual may have more than one partner, often in *unión libre*, informal union, during the course of his or her life, giving rise to many half-sibling relations. In the Pacific region, this has been characterized as "serial polygyny," as a man contracts temporally overlapping relations with successive women. Some men have simultaneous polygynous relations, in which the women have roughly equal social status. In the Caribbean region, it is not unusual for a man to have a *mujer de asiento*, principal wife, perhaps legally married, and a *querida*, or lover. These patterns may give rise to matrifocal households because women retain children in a household with which successive male partners form links; her female children may then have children but remain in their mother's house. In census material, these patterns are reflected in high rates of *unión libre*, single motherhood, and illegitimacy for areas where Black populations are concentrated. The interpretation of these forms is subject to debate, with some scholars adducing African influences, others the destructive effects of slavery, and still others the impact of economic marginality over centuries, leading to constant male mobility, for example.

Ritual kinship is also important, with individuals forming ties of *compadrazgo* both with relatives of equal status to themselves and, more rarely, with people of higher status. The latter form is more common in the Caribbean region.

In the Pacific region, inheritance is from one spouse to the other and then to their children. Houses and personal possessions are passed on at death, but land (or at least the right to work land) is passed on when children reach puberty. Data on inheritance in other regions are unfortunately very scarce.

### *Political Organization*

Positions of informal status and authority are achieved through seniority and personal attributes (e.g., strength of character, breadth of experience, success in providing material goods, and skill in storytelling). Some decision making and conflict management is handled at this level. In Palenque de San Basilio, there are also *cuagros*, or age groups, into which people are recruited informally in infancy and formally initiated at puberty, when male and female leaders are chosen. Intracuagro relations are of mutual aid and solidarity, and male-female relations are

often formed within the *cuagro*; intercuagro relations are competitive, at times expressed through boxing matches.

In formal terms, regions where Black people live in Colombia come under the umbrella of national administrative and political structures of the *departamento* (a province, headed by a governor) and the *municipio* and *corregimiento* (a municipality and its districts, headed by a mayor). The staffing of bureaucratic posts is managed through a system of patron-client relations in which votes are exchanged for goods and services, mostly channeled through the traditional Liberal and Conservative parties. The Liberal party has a long-standing advantage in many Black areas, purportedly because it was in power when slavery was abolished, but also because its more federalist stance favored the peripheral regions where most Blacks live. Generally, formal politics is not "racialized": Black senators, for example, do not generally speak from a self-consciously "Black" platform.

From the 1960s, however, a small educated minority of urban Blacks, spurred mainly by the Black Power movement, tried to create organizations that encourage "Black identity"; these had a marginal existence. In the late 1980s, several self-help Black peasant organizations, often sponsored by the church, began to emerge in rural areas of the Pacific region. In the early 1990s, both types of organization strengthened when constitutional reform opened an arena for issues of ethnic identity and multiculturalism to be voiced, mainly by more experienced Indian organizations. The constitution of 1991 included a clause promising collective land rights for rural Black communities in the Pacific region. After two years of negotiation, in which representatives of Black organizations were involved, Law 70 of 1993 was passed, which enshrined these rights in legislation. Black organization thus reached a new stage of intensity, identifiable as a social movement; issues of the specific conditions of life in the Pacific region and generally of the status of blackness in national society and culture became more public than ever before. Black people in the Caribbean and Cauca regions, however, tended to have a peripheral position in all this, since the legal process targeted the Black communities of the Pacific region.

This Black social movement is related to government plans to "open up" the Pacific region to development. Since the 1980s, there have been grandiose plans to finish the Pan-American Highway (which runs through the region), build more deep-water ports on the coast, and build an interoceanic canal. More prosaically, road building has progressed apace since 1980. Immigration by non-Blacks into the region increased, and pressure on land and natural resources grew, prejudicing many Black communities. This pressure was also transmitted to Indian-Black relations in the area as Black people involved in logging and mining began to encroach on Indian lands. Other Black communities suddenly found themselves within Indian reserves newly created as a result of Indian lobbying of the central government. Church-sponsored Black and Indian organizations were instrumental in mediating these conflicts. The overall experience fomented organization and the lobbying of the constitutional reform process by the Pacific region's Black people.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

Black people in Colombia are Catholics. As among many people in Latin America, they tend to practice a "popular Catholicism" that the clergy considers more or less unorthodox. In the past and still in the 1990s, the clergy tended to disapprove of practices in Black regions, but with the emergence of a stronger Black identity, some priests are willing to include "traditional" elements in church ceremonies.

In the Pacific region, the presence of the church was rather weak, and many religious rites are practiced outside the direct control of the clergy. There are festivals to venerate a saint or the Virgin Mary, an image of whom is processed through a settlement and often down a river—in a town such as Quibdó, capital of the department of Chocó, the Fiestas de San Pacho (Saint Francis of Assisi) have the aspect of a carnival as different barrios compete to present the best procession and float over twelve days. *Velorios*, or wakes to propitiate a saint, are usually sponsored by a specific person who provides drink, tobacco, and food. There are also wakes to commemorate the death of a person. Music is a vital element in these rites, with *cantadoras* (female singers), who may also take role of *rezanderas* (prayer sayers). *Aguardiente* (rum) is commonly taken by the participants to combat the coldness of the deceased; beyond the immediate circle of the corpse, where respect is shown, people play dominoes, drink rum, and tell stories and jokes. At the *velorio* of a child (whose soul is considered to go directly to heaven, a cause for rejoicing), there may be some merriment and perhaps games that may have sexual overtones.

Less research has been conducted in the Caribbean coastal region but one study shows extensive similarities between this region and the Pacific coast, although perhaps greater attention is accorded to spirits than to saints. In Palenque de San Basilio, the *cabildo lumbalú* consists of elders who officiate at *velorios* with drumming, singing, and dancing to help the deceased's departure. Spirits of the deceased are called upon to aid the living and must therefore be propitiated and managed carefully through ritual means, for example during the *velorio*, when many precautions are taken to prevent the spirit's return or anger. Ritual specialists, often women, are accorded prestige and respect. Some observers interpret the interest shown in spirits and saints as in some measure related to African religious concerns with ancestral spirits and the propitiation of deities. It is hard to discount some African influences, but *velorios* and a concern with spirits and saints are also widespread in non-Black areas.

Work in the Cauca region has focused on elements that are in fact common in other Black (and indeed non-Black) regions: the use of magic and sorcery to attack one's enemies, bring good fortune, influence one's sexual partners, and defend oneself against the machinations of others. Sorcery is often used where *envidia*, envy, is rife and this in turn may be the result of perceived transgressions against norms of reciprocity, which occur when a person enjoys some material success and is thought to forget his or her obligations as a friend or relative. In this area, too, the pact made with the devil to increase a worker's output and wages has been documented. The gains

achieved are fruitless, however—they cannot be usefully invested and must be spent on consumables; the worker will also gradually waste away. In the northern Cauca region, Black people also celebrate various festivals, including the Adoration of the Child.

There is very little information available on medical practices among Black Colombians. In general terms, as among many peoples all over Latin America, health is considered to be a balance between "hot" and "cold" forces and elements that affect the body: the cold of a corpse can be threatening, for example, and is combated by the heat of rum. Also, health and welfare are affected by the machinations of others through sorcery, and recourse can be made to healers to defend against these threats, whether to person or property. In the Pacific region, Indian shamans (called *jaibanos* in the department of Chocó) are considered the most powerful healers: they and their patients may use *pildé*, a relative of the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis caapi* vine (*ayahuasca*), to induce visions. In the Chocó, Black curers are called *raicilleros* (*raicilla* means "rootlet" but also refers to the ipecac root); they diagnose illness by examining urine samples. When they are given a sign that healing is their vocation, *raicilleros* begin a seven-year training with various teachers. Less specialized healers are called *yerbateros* (herbalists).

Music in Black regions of Colombia is varied and rich. In the department of Chocó, the *chirimía* band—based on clarinets, drums, and cymbals—plays versions of European-derived dances (e.g., mazurka, polka); there are also *alabaos* (religious songs), *romances* (ballads), and *décimas* (ten-line stanzas). Further south in the Pacific region, *currulao*, played with marimba, drums, and voices, is a central genre generally thought to have a more African derivation. In the northern Cauca region, *fugas* (fugues) and *coplas* (rhyming couplets) are European-derived forms that are widely played and sung among Black people.

In the Caribbean coast region, there is a huge variety of styles, including the *cumbia*, which exists in both folkloric and commercialized forms. Music there is often held to be of triethnic origin, but the major inputs have come from European and African traditions in a complex cultural interchange. During the twentieth century, genres from this region have become commercialized, often crossing over with Afro-Cuban styles, and have become popular nationwide and abroad under the generic umbrella of *cumbia*. An accordion-based style, *vallenato*, which interprets what were once traditional Caribbean Colombian airs, has also become nationally commercialized and is especially popular among Black people in other regions of the country. All over Colombia, but especially popular in Black regions, is found *salsa*, a genre based on Afro-Cuban and other Caribbean styles, which became commercialized in New York in the 1960s and spread over the entire Latin American region.

See also Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador and Colombia



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PETER WADE

## Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador and Colombia

**ETHNONYMS:** Afro-Ecuadorianos/Afro-Colombianos (intellectual, pejorative colloquially), Costeños, Gente Morena, Gente Negra, Libres (not common south of the Río San Juan, primary term in Chocó north of the San Juan), Morenos, Mulatos, Negros (intellectual, pejorative colloquially), Zambos (Ecuador; historically important)

### Orientation

**Identification.** All designations of Black people of the Pacific Lowlands are of foreign origin and indicate the combination of blackness and territory. Colloquially, in the region, "Gente Morena" (dark people) is polite usage, but intellectuals stress the Spanish terms "Negro" (Black), "Afro-Ecuadoriano" or "Afro-Colombiano," and, more generally, "Afro-Latinoamericano." "Mulato" is also used for very light people; "Zambo" refers to Black-indigenous "mixing" but has other usages. Such terms are normally used as adjectives, not nouns, such as "Pueblo Negro" (Black people) or "Comunidad Negra" (Black community). In the 1990s "Negro Fino" (refined Black) is used in Ecuador to differentiate Black people who are educated and are white-collar employees from those who are not.

**Location.** The Afro-Hispanic culture of the Pacific Lowlands of Ecuador and Colombia extends from Muisne in southern Esmeraldas Province, Ecuador, to the Río San Juan in Valle del Cauca Department, Colombia. It is part of the greater Pacific Lowlands Culture Area of Panama, Colombia, and Ecuador. South of this area is a distinct Manabí culture region of Ecuador; north of the area is the Afro-American Chocó proper of Colombia, with Black culture shared with people of Darién Province, Panama. East of the region are the interior Andean zones of Ecuador and Colombia. Afro-Hispanic culture is predominant in the region Afro-Hispanics share with Tchachela, Chachi, and Awá Kwaiker indigenous people of Ecuador and with Awá Kwaiker, Noanamá, and Emberá native peoples of Colombia.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Spanish was the language of conquest in Ecuador and Colombia and became the language, in creole transformations, of Black people of the Pacific Lowlands. Serious linguistic work remains to be undertaken on the dialect of creole Spanish spoken in Afro-Hispanic culture.

**Demography.** Between 400,000 and 500,000 Black people occupy this region, making it the densest population in the entire lowland rain-forest tropics of the Americas. About 85 percent of the population of the region shares Afro-Hispanic culture.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Documented history and legend establish the beginning of Afro-Hispanic culture in Esmeraldas, Ecuador, when a Spanish slaving ship ran aground in 1553. There, a group of twenty-three Africans from the coast of Guinea, led by a Black warrior named Antón, attacked the slavers and liberated themselves. Soon after, by means only partially documented, this group, together with other Blacks entering the region led by a Ladino (Hispanicized Black person) named Alonso de Illescas, came to dominate the region from northern Manabí north to what is now Barbacoas, Colombia. At this time (late sixteenth century) intermixture with indigenous peoples, to whom Black people fled to establish their *palenques* (fortified villages), was such that, on the basis of their features, they were described as "Zambo" (Black-indigenous admixture), synonyms of which were "Negro," "Black," and "Mulato." Movement into southwest Colombia by African slaves was through Cartagena via the Cauca Valley and through Panama and Pacific ports. The first Black there may have arrived with the pilot of Francisco Pizarro, Bartolomé Ruiz, on the Isla de Gallo in 1526. There is evidence that the earliest influence on Afro-Hispanic culture in the region came from the Senegambian area of North Africa. Culturally, the influences of Bantu Africa, as seen in the music—especially the *currulao* (see Ceremonies)—and archaic Spain—especially some funeral customs—predominate.

By 1599 Black people were clearly in charge of what was called "La República de Zambos." In that year a group of Zambo chiefdoms, said to represent thousands of Zambo people of Esmeraldas, trekked to Quito to declare loyalty to Spain. An oil painting of three of these chiefs from the emerald land of the Zambo Republic is portrayed by the "Indian artist" Adrián Sánchez Galgue; it is reportedly the earliest signed and dated painting from South America. The subsequent history until the wars of liberation led by Simón Bolívar in the north is that of slavery and freedom existing side by side. Organization of labor in raising food, exploitation of forest, mangrove, and sea, and panning for gold existed in remarkably similar forms in both free and slave communities. The primary cultural relationship from the sixteenth century through the twentieth is that of "racial succession," whereby Black people encroach on the cultural territories of indigenous people.

### *Settlements*

Afro-Hispanic settlement patterns configure into four primary adaptive niches manifest in three primary environments. All four niches exist in each environment, and people come and go from niche to niche. The three environments are sea edge, mangrove swamp, and forest. The niches are rural scattered dwellings, rural settlements, towns, and large urbanized towns. Egalitarian social relationships and preferred cousin marriage characterize the rural scattered dwellings, whereas ranked social relation-

ships and work-group specialization characterize the rural settlements. In the latter, prominent men organize profit-oriented activities but their income is leveled by their continuing debt to workers. Ritual life in settlements is especially rich, but it is almost nonexistent in the scattered settlements.

Towns have the trappings of the central administrative apparatus of the nations of Ecuador and Colombia. Activities there are oriented toward the acquisition of money, and the boom-and-bust nature of the coastal economy determines the social strategies and patterns of activities to be undertaken. Towns are economically stratified, although social ranking and egalitarian processes are also present; race relations in towns during economic-boom periods are characterized by distinct White-over-Black asymmetry. The large, urbanized towns (Buenaventura and Tumaco, Colombia, and Esmeraldas, Ecuador), are rigidly stratified with "White" immigrants on top and the Afro-Hispanic population on the bottom. Processes characteristic of the rural dispersed niche and rural settlement are manifest in the lowest economic class. In the early 1990s San Lorenzo and Quinindé, Ecuador, and Guapi, Colombia, have entered the system of the large, urbanized towns. Many other towns are exhibiting similar patterns.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The people of Afro-Hispanic culture are completely capable of maintaining themselves on a strictly subsistence basis, and they often do so even though they are also deeply embedded in the vicissitudes of a boom-bust capitalist economy. Prominent in the sea-edge environment are shore fishing and deep-sea fishing, together with plantain and taro agriculture and coconut, peach palm, breadfruit, and mango arboriculture. Chickens are kept for meat and eggs. The mangrove swamp features all of the activities of the sea-edge environment plus swine raising, although agricultural activities depend on high-ground areas that are not periodically inundated by the tides. Rice is grown in cleared swamp areas. Women gather bivalve mussels, and men gather crabs in the mangrove swamp for export to the interior. Also, mangrove bark is stripped for tanneries and the wood is used to make charcoal. Fishers and hunters fully utilize the forest-riverine environment. Horticulture focuses especially on plantains and maize. The agricultural system is known as slash-mulch; there is no burning in the swidden activities. The plantain is the fundamental energy-providing food. Because of the heavy rainfall, manioc is not very important in most of the region, but taro provides ubiquitous back-up starch. Tobacco is a prominent crop in some swiddens; sugarcane is grown and processed locally, using the ancient *trapiche* (the earliest form of sugarcane-grinding apparatus); and peppers, onions, other condiments, spices, and medicinal plants are grown in kitchen gardens. Rice is becoming increasingly important.

Commercial activities now focus on exploitation of the exceedingly diverse hard- and softwoods of the rain forest. Work is done by cooperative work groups organized by one "chief." These are direct transformations of early gold-panning groupings (slave and free). During the full and new moons, men and women in some of the coastal towns

gather shrimp larvae in the estuaries or in the sea; these are later sold to commercial shrimp farmers. Economic activity aimed at gaining cash is extensive and intensive when there is an inflow of money from the capitalist economy; subsistence activities are intense when there is no money.

**Trade.** People of Afro-Hispanic culture produce gold (including archaeological gold that is panned and sometimes mined, and, in the area around Barbacoas, Colombia, locally made gold jewelry) sought after by people outside of their culture area. Their primary trade item is their own labor, and spatial mobility in search of work is a diagnostic feature of the entire region. When there is a market for them, the following foodstuffs have been produced or gathered in large quantities: tagua (ivory nut), coconuts, bananas, peach-palm fruits, tobacco, cacao, dried fish, live crabs, live bivalve mussels, and live shrimp larvae.

**Division of Labor.** Men are more closely articulated to the capitalist economy than are women, and women are more articulated to the domestic economy than are men. The specific relationships depend on the adaptive niche together with the state of the externally induced boom-bust capitalist economy. Men are relatively more mobile than women, but women are more likely to curry favors in towns than are men. Sex roles are ritually expressed in their contrast and complementarity in six contexts of stylized interaction. In the cantina context males are in complete ascendancy; in the saloon men use women as exchange tokens to established male-male alliances; in the currulao context men stress their male mobility, whereas women stress their ability to hold men as other men are "moving on." These contexts are secular. The first sacred context is that of the funeral and symbolic second funeral, in which egalitarian sex roles are expressed; the second is that of the funeral for a child, in which women are ascendant; and the third is the ritual to propitiate saints, in which women clearly control and dominate men. Afro-Hispanic sex-role relationships cannot be understood without reference to this continuum and configuration of complementary and contrasting sex roles.

**Land Tenure.** Men and women establish gardens in more than one of the three environmental zones, whenever possible. Men clear the heavy trees, and women and men work together in clearing brush and planting. It is up to the founding couple to maintain rights of usufruct to their swidden gardens and to their groves of coconuts and peach palms. Because the Colombian and Ecuadoran governments persist in classifying all areas occupied by Black people in the Pacific Lowlands as *tierras baldías* (vacant lands), conflict with colonists from the adjacent inland territories assigned land by colonization schemes is ubiquitous. Since the early 1970s the coast of Ecuador has seen the explosive development of the commercial shrimp industry; this has caused the deforestation of large areas of mangrove forest, and this ecological destruction is increasing exponentially. By the early 1990s these processes were incipient in Colombia as well. Cattle ranches have also expanded in many areas. Tourism has increased considerably as national and international travelers visit the beaches of

Esmeraldas Province. Prostitution and illegal drug trafficking have increased greatly.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The bilateral kindred is the maximum kinship grouping (i.e., the widest group recognized as kin). It is Ego oriented, so membership is overlapping. Genealogical space is established and traversed according to several criteria. One of these is consanguinity; here people figure who is related and who is not by noting their living lineal and collateral relatives. Another criterion is decedence, which means that a person will not reckon a kin relationship through a linkage involving one who has died; other linkages must be found. A third important criterion is affinity/attenuated affinity, which means that one can figure a "kin" relationship by a relationship of affinity or by a relationship once characterized by affinity. In the process of upward mobility, stem kindreds are also formed; here a given person (Ego) reckons his or her own position in genealogical space by reference to a previously established parental, or even grandparental, node. There is no unilineal principle in Afro-Hispanic kinship; it is strictly bilateral, although often matrilaterally skewed.

*Compadrazgo* is extremely important in the entire social organization, including the kinship and marriage system, of the bearers of Afro-Hispanic culture. It is by establishing ritual coparents at the birth and baptism of children that marriage prohibitions are formed, agreements to care for children made, and cooperative labor formations established and reinforced.

**Kinship Terminology.** The terminology is nonbifurcate-collateral where collaterals are separated from lineals, and no distinction is made between matrilineal and patrilineal relatives. Reconstruction of a possible early kinship system reveals strong West African roots.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Legal marriage is very uncommon in Afro-Hispanic culture, and the governments of Ecuador and Colombia are vague or inconsistent with regard to common-law relationships. Men "have a woman" or "have women" and a woman "has a man." It is in the asking of a man and a woman to be coparents at the birth of a child, for its baptism, or prior to embarking on a long trip, that a given couple is denoted as "married." The fundamental intrahousehold unit is the mother-child dyad (and with increasing frequency the mother's mother-mother's child dyad); the next important dyad is the mother-husband dyad. These dyads configure and expand into networks of relationships that receive symbolic form by ritual-kinship and cooperative-work relationships.

**Domestic Unit.** The kitchen area with abutting back platform is the fundamental beginning of the physical developmental sequence of an Afro-Hispanic house. This expands to a large front platform that, when enclosed, becomes a big one-room living space that is compartmentalized into other rooms as the number of residents expands. The house resembles neither colonist houses nor those of indigenous people. It is an independent aesthetic outgrowth of a long period of Afro-Hispanic residence in

this region. Although patrifocal households are preferred, matrifocality is common.

**Socialization.** Boys and girls accompany male and female parents and other relatives in their quotidian routines and attend all ritual and ceremonial functions. In Ecuador, many go to school from the age of 6 through 10 years but otherwise are reared within a nurturing kindred in which experiential knowledge is complemented by the transmission of cultural information. Girls are taught by women to be free, independent, and self-supporting. Boys learn to cope with the vicissitudes of changing and shifting expectations emanating from the external capitalist economy. Breast feeding and weaning are casual, and children seem to learn to eliminate in the kitchen garden without the need for many verbal reminders or reprimands.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The political economy of western Ecuador and Colombia responds to booms and busts, brought about by sporadicity of requirements for certain products sought by world markets. The fundamental survival plan in Afro-Hispanic culture involves the maintenance of an exploitable set of dyads. These dyads form into families and kindreds, and out of these ramify networks. Networks are manipulated by brokers who make contracts with people outside of the culture area to the benefit of those inside. Action-sets are formed by network brokers to exploit short-run profits, such as those from cutting timber and floating it to a buying station. Sustained success as a network broker leads to the formation of stem kindreds, which are units that endure symbolically as a "family enterprise." Strategies of adaptive mobility in the Pacific Lowlands Culture Area involve peasant strategies, according to which short-run subsistence activities are maximized; proletarian strategies, according to which short-run capital-gain activities are maximized; and entrepreneurial strategies, according to which short-run and long-run risks are taken for economic mobility that involves the discarding of genealogically based social capital bound to the kindred system. These three strategies of adaptive mobility coalesce into a mobility system that is diagnostic of the entire culture area. This system is depressed and marginalized by a strong system of pervasive racism that prevents Black people from occupying the same roles as lighter-skinned people in the towns and large towns of the region.

**Political Organization.** Political organization follows the national system of Ecuador and Colombia, except all favors go to those who are non-Black and non-Zambo. To be Black in this Black area of Afro-Hispanic culture is offensive to those who control the political apparatus of the expanding nation-state in its frontier territories.

**Social Control.** Women and men talk about misdeeds and social transgressions, not to arouse the ire of those talked about but to exercise a system of managed social relationships through discourse about unacceptable conduct. Such gossip can expand into accusations of witchcraft against a closely related person or persons suspected of harboring hostile feelings against one afflicted by illness, or by a woman toward another woman said to have enchanted

her husband or lover. Female and male curers exercise social powers through the manipulation of ritual items. They may identify people of evil intent as agents of witchcraft, and they may also ensorcell a man who has left a wife or lover for another. Such curers may also ensorcell one whom consensus reached through gossip declares to have violated rules of reciprocity.

**Conflict.** Men may come into physical conflict over land disputes, disputes over women or property, or over issues with origins in old family vendettas; when this happens extreme violence erupts and death may result. Such conflict is highly undesirable in that it is thought that the mundane and mystical heat so generated endures in a community through the medium of angry spirits and unappeased souls. Overt conflict between women is often resolved in a heated argument, which may, rarely, be accompanied by physical confrontation. Conflict is usually covert, through accusations of sorcery and the application of invidious sanctions.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** From the time of the founding of the first palenques in the interior of Colombia and Ecuador in the mid-sixteenth century, the Black runaways, or self-liberated people (Cimarrones) have regarded themselves as true Christians. This religious underpinning has often been in contrast with the Spanish, colonial, and, later, national priests, friars, and curates from Europe, Colombia, and Ecuador, who sought to "stamp out" Black beliefs and practices, taken to be "pagan" and "African." The cosmology of Afro-Hispanic culture is highly syncretic, with dynamic aspects of Catholicism and African religions fused into transformable systems of belief that vary from subregion to subregion. Other worlds exist on the sea and under, over, and beyond the sea; the sea itself is a universe of spirits as well as a domain for fishing, traveling, and shipping. Fear creatures, called *visiones* (visions), are said to be encountered in all environments and niches. Principal among them in most places is the Tunda, a spiritual body snatcher who is driven away by the sound of a base drum or a shotgun, and Riviel, an especially dangerous ghost-ghoul who must be deposed by a shotgun or rifle. Other fear creatures specific to localities include "the widow" (a masked flying witch), "the headless man," and "the living dead." This earth contains multiple entrances and exits to other worlds, including the site of a shrine to a saint, the locus of a funeral ritual for a child or an adult, and the cemetery. Heaven and purgatory seem to exist "below" the sky; saints, spirits, virgins, and souls of the dead come there, and souls of the dead depart from the earth to go there. Hell is set aside from purgatory and heaven; it is the locus of the devil, demons, and the souls and spirits of dead people who expired while "hot" (see "Conflict").

The cosmology of Afro-Hispanic culture, especially in the southern sector of the region, is divided into two halves—the *divino* and the *humano*. The former is the domain of the virgins and saints (of colloquial Afro-Hispanic Catholicism), and the latter is the domain of the devil and all of the spirits and dangerous souls that can be appropriated to the devil's domain. The domain of the *divino* is a plane of existence populated by a number of saints, includ-

ing the Virgen del Carmen, San Antonio, Santa Rosa, El Niño Dios, and La Mano Poderoso. Many people have shrines in their houses on which they light votive candles to the saints who protect them from diseases and other misfortunes. The domain of the humano, overseen by the Christian devil, is the other plane of existence, populated by obscure figures such as the Anima Sola (soul by itself, lone soul) or El Mismísimo (the Devil himself).

**Religious Practitioners.** *Curanderas* (female healers) and *brujos* (male sorcerers) are the active agents who draw from the domains of the divino and the humano. *Curanderas* have special relationships with some saints and many of them are "representatives" for particular saints. *Curanderas* use the power of the saints and virgins during their curing rituals. *Curanderas* heal illnesses such as evil eye, evil air, and magical fright. To cure patients of these afflictions, they recite secret prayers, light candles to the saints and virgins, and use herbs the names of which invoke the powers of important figures of the divino. *Brujos* are said to use the power of the devil and some admit to actually doing so, at times. They know secret spells in which they invoke the powers of the devil, which are said to be used to make people ill or infertile, or to destroy someone's business.

**Ceremonies.** There is remarkable consistency in the culture of Afro-Hispanic life of this region with regard to ceremonial performance. At the death of a child a *chigualo* is held. Here African rhythmic and musical patterns conjoin with such Spanish customs (sixteenth century) as dancing with the corpse in the little coffin prior to burial. The child is willed to heaven as a "little angel" or "pure angel" (*angelita/angelito*). Women control a similar ceremony, called *arrullo*, with cognate music, to bring saints to them and to their shrines. One of the most prominent saints in this region is San Antonio, whose color is beige; he seems, in some regions, to represent a transformation of the African deity Legba, the trickster. The "broker" (usually, a female, *síndica*, but sometimes a male, *síndico*) of a given saint is the woman (or man) who is in charge of organizing a festival for that saint's special day, also called *arrullo*. Assuming this role is an act of reciprocity by a person who has received a favor, usually related to health, from the saint. During the *alabado* (wake) and *novenario* (second wake after nine days) for a deceased adult, women sing Moorish-Spanish-style songs to induce the soul to purgatory or heaven, without any rhythmic accompaniment. The important thing in this ceremony is that the soul leave the living and the community of the living. Another ceremony is sometimes performed after the second wake to force the lingering soul out of the world of the living.

The *currulao* is a secular ceremony, although it may be held at Christian sacred times, such as Easter, wherein, to the rhythm and music of exceedingly African provenience, men and women work through symbolic tensions manifest in their quotidian social relations. Finally, the most dramatic ceremony of all is the seldom-performed *La Tropa* (the troop), which enacts the formation of a palenque, the killing of Christ, the reign of the devil, the bringing of the forest into the Catholic church of the palenque, the resurrection of Christ within the forest within the church, and the liberation of the people of the forest and of the church

within the palenque. *La Tropa* is performed only where priests permit people to do so, at Easter week, and people from the community or children of people from the community travel great distances to attend and perform.

**Arts.** Men make canoes and paddles, wooden bowls, drums, fish nets, and other ordinary and ritual paraphernalia; they also construct houses and shrines. A few men specialize in making incised clay pipe bowls with wooden stems. Women in some areas make gold jewelry. In Guimbi, Ecuador, there is a master marimba maker who serves a large area, and in San Lorenzo a school has been established for the making of marimbas and all other musical instruments in use in Afro-Hispanic culture. There are itinerant artisans in the area who make such tourist goods as polished black coral, black-coral figurines, ivory-nut carvings, coconut and shell figures, and model boats.

See also Afro-Colombians

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NORMAN E. WHITTEN JR., AND DIEGO QUIROGA

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## Afro-South Americans

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ETHNONYMS: African Negroes, Afro-Americans, Bahia Brazilians, Black Indians, Blacks, Bushenenge, Bush Negroes, Cafucos, Creoles, Libres, Morenos, Mulatos, Mulattos, Negres, Negroes, Nengres, Noires, Maroons, Pardos, Prêtos, Trigueños, Zambos

People of African descent form a significant percentage of the population in a number of South American nations. Because of widespread lack of agreement across South America about who is Black and because of confusion in enumeration, there are no reliable population figures, and many estimates and counts vary widely from each other. Nonetheless, it is clear that the countries with the largest Black populations as a percentage of national population are French Guiana (42.4 to 66 percent), Guyana (29.4 to 42.6 percent), Suriname (39.8 to 41 percent), Brazil (5.9 to 33 percent), Colombia (14 to 21 percent), Venezuela (9 to 10 percent), Ecuador (5 to 10 percent), and Peru (6 to 9.7 percent). Estimates of Bolivia's Black population range as high as 2 percent. The total Black population of South America ranges somewhere between 19 and 67 million. The regions with the largest concentrations are northeastern Brazil; the interiors of Suriname, Guyana, and French Guiana; the Yungas of Bolivia; the northwest coast of Ecuador; the Pacific and Caribbean coasts and the Cauca Valley of Colombia; and the Llanos and the northern coast of Venezuela. Blacks in South America do not form a homogenous population; there are important differences based on skin color, extent of assimilation into White society, degree of allegiance to their African ancestry, and self-identification as the bearers of a distinct New World culture (as among Maroons in Suriname and French Guiana).

Almost all Blacks in South America are the descendants of Africans imported to the New World between 1518 and 1873. Altogether, about 10 million slaves were brought to the New World. About 3.5 million were brought by the Portuguese to Brazil to work on sugar and coffee plantations and in mines. Another 200,000 were imported to Colombia and used on sugar plantations and in gold mining. About 100,000 each were settled in Peru, Venezuela, and Argentina-Uruguay-Paraguay, where they mainly worked on sugar plantations but also as dock hands, miners, domestics, and as field hands in various agricultural ventures. Across South America, slavery ended between 1830 and 1888; Brazil was the last nation in the New World to outlaw the institution. Among factors associated with the demise of slavery were a marked decrease of the price of sugar on the world market, the development of more efficient agricultural technologies, the abolition movement in Europe and North America, and the cost to plantation owners of frequent slave rebellions.

See also Afro-Bolivians; Afro-Brazilians; Afro-Colombians; Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador and Colombia; Afro-Venezuelans; Saramaka; and "Folk Cultures" in the Introduction

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DAVID LEVINSON

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## Afro-Venezuelans

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ETHNONYMS: Afro-Venezolanos, Criollos, Morenos, Mulattos, Negros, Pardos (historically important), Zambos

### Orientation

**Identification.** Afro-Venezuelans are designated by Spanish terms; no words of African derivation are used. "Afro-venezolano" is used primarily as an adjective (e.g., *folklore afro-venezolano*). "Negro" is the most general term of reference; "Moreno" refers to darker-skinned people, and "Mulatto" refers to lighter-skinned people, usually of mixed European-African heritage. "Pardo" was used in colonial times to refer to freed slaves, or those of mixed Euro-African background. "Zambo" referred to those of mixed Afro-indigenous background. "Criollo," which retains its colonial meaning of "being born in Venezuela," does not indicate any racial or ethnic affiliation.

**Location.** The largest Afro-Venezuelan population is located in the Barlovento region about 100 kilometers east of Caracas. Comprising an area of 4,500 square kilometers, Barlovento covers four districts of the state of Miranda. There are also important Afro-Venezuelan communities along the coasts of Carabobo (Canoabo, Patanemo, Puerto Cabello), the Distrito Federal (Naiguatá, La Sabana, Tarma, etc.), Aragua (Cata, Chuao, Cuyagua, Ocumare de la Costa, etc.), and the southeast shore of Lake Maracaibo (Bobures, Gibraltar, Santa María, etc.). Smaller pockets are also found in Sucre (Campoma, Güiria), the southwest area of Yaracuy (Farriar), and the mountains of Miranda (Yare). An important Afro-Venezuelan community is also to be found in El Callao, in the southernmost state of Bolívar, where miners from both the French and British Antilles settled in the mid-nineteenth century.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Spanish, the language of the Conquest, is spoken, in creolized form (Sojo 1986, 317–332). African words are frequently used, especially with reference to instruments and dances; these are predominantly of Bantu and Manding origin (Sojo 1986, 95–108).

**Demography.** The official estimate of those with “pure” Afro-Venezuelan ancestry is 10 to 12 percent of the total population (i.e., about 1.8 million to 2 million). Sixty percent of all Venezuelans, however, claim some African blood, and Afro-Venezuelan culture is acknowledged as an important component of national identity.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The first African slaves in Venezuela were Ewe-Fon, brought in 1528 by the Welsers, German bankers granted a special concession to settle and exploit western Venezuela. Portuguese, French, and English slave ships continued to bring Africans of diverse origins, primarily Bantu from the Congo and Angola and Manding from the Gold Coast, until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The slave trade in Venezuela ended before Yoruba peoples began to be brought to the New World, distinguishing Venezuela’s slave population from that of Cuba and Brazil. Slaves were treated as units of commerce, called *pieza de india* in reference to their physical size and potential for hard labor.

During the sixteenth century, slaves were brought to work in the copper mines in Coro and Buría (Yaracuy) and to Isla Margarita and Cumaná for pearl diving and fishing. Small-scale agricultural plantations were also established in Venezuela, especially in the regions surrounding Caracas. In the eighteenth century large shipments of slaves were brought to Barlovento to support the burgeoning cacao industry and to the sugar plantations in Zulia, around Lake Maracaibo. Venezuela’s slave population comprised 1.3 percent of the total slave trade in the New World, compared with 38.1 percent for Brazil, 7.3 percent for Cuba, and 4.5 percent for the United States (Brandt 1978, 8).

The history of slave resistance in Venezuela, both in the form of insurrections and runaway communities, began quite early. The first documented rebellion was in 1532 in Coro, but the most famous uprising of the time took place in the Buría mines in 1552. The rebellion was led by El Negro Miguel (also known as Rey Miguel), who founded a *cumbe*, or *cimarrón* (escaped slave) settlement and raised an army of 1,500 slaves, Mulattos, Zambos, and indigenous

peoples to attack colonial establishments. Communities of runaway slaves continued to grow throughout the seventeenth century, and by 1720 there were between 20,000 and 30,000 cimarrones in Venezuela, compared to 60,000 slaves still working on the plantations (Rout 1976, 111–112). Barlovento was the site of intense cimarrón activity throughout the eighteenth century, with several *cumbe* settlements being established around Curiepe and Caucagua. The most famous of these was that of Ocoyta, founded around 1770 by the legendary Guillermo Rivas. After he led raids on various plantations both to liberate slaves and to punish overseers, a special army was raised to destroy Ocoyta and execute Rivas.

“Cumbe” derives from the Manding term for “separate or out-of-the-way place.” Usually located above river banks or in remote mountainous areas, *cumbes* were typically well hidden and housed an average of 120 residents. Such settlements were also called *rochelas* and *patucos*. Cimarrones were often assisted by indigenous tribes living in the area (e.g., the Tomusa in Barlovento), and *cumbe* populations were composed not only of Blacks, but also of Indians and even of poor Whites. Cimarrón groups conducted raids on plantations, assisted in the escapes of other slaves, and participated in contraband trading. The only legally established town of free Blacks was that of Curiepe, established in Barlovento in 1721 under the leadership of Captain Juan del Rosario Blanco. The community was composed of former members of Caracas’s Company of Free Blacks as well as *Luangos* from the Antilles. The latter were escaped slaves who, like all Blacks fleeing non-Spanish-speaking islands, were granted freedom upon arrival in Venezuela if they accepted baptism.

Afro-Venezuelans played a decisive role in the struggle for independence. Initially, slaves fought for the Crown, believing that the landowning creole Republicans were their enemies. In particular, the notorious royalist battalion of General José Tomás Boves attracted many slave soldiers. Bolívar, realizing the strategic importance of Black soldiers in the fight for independence, declared the abolition of slavery in 1812 and again in 1816, after promising Haitian president Alexandre Pétion that he would secure freedom for slaves in return for Haitian military aid. A major landowner himself, Bolívar freed 1,000 of his own slaves, and in 1819 recruited 5,000 slaves into his army. José Antonio Paéz, a key figure in Venezuelan independence, led an army of Blacks from the *llanos* (plains). One of his most famous lieutenants, Pedro Camejo, has been immortalized in Venezuelan history as “El Negro Primero,” because he was always the first to ride into battle. In the final battle of Carabobo, Camejo was mortally wounded but returned to General Paéz to utter one of the most famous statements in Venezuelan history: “General, vengo decirle, adiós, porque estoy muerto” (General, I have come to say goodbye, because I am dead). A statue of El Negro Primero stands in the Plaza Carabobo in Caracas—the only statue commemorating a Black in all Venezuela. Curiously, he is always depicted wearing a turban, the same iconography used for the mythical Negro Felipe (see “Religious Beliefs”). With the declaration of independence in 1810, all trafficking in slaves was outlawed. The decline in slavery continued throughout the War of Independence when, at its conclusion in 1821, the “Ley de vientre” was passed,

stating that all children born, whether of slave or free parents, were automatically free. By 24 March 1854, the date of slavery's official abolition in Venezuela, less than 24,000 slaves remained.

Throughout the twentieth century, Blacks in Venezuela have faced subtle forms of racial discrimination despite a philosophy of racial democracy and an ideology of *mestizaje* that contends all groups have blended together to form a new, indistinguishable type, called the mestizo. Yet underlying this ideology is a policy of *blanqueamiento*, or "whitening," that has encouraged both the physical and cultural assimilation of Afro-Venezuelans into a Euro-dominated mainstream. An important semantic counterpart to the process of *blanqueamiento* is that found in the term *negrear*, which denotes concepts of "marginalization" or "trivialization." The emergence of Black intellectuals such as Juan Pablo Sojo and Manuel Rodríguez Cárdenas in the 1940s, and more recently of younger writers such as Jesús García, has helped counter the forces of *blanqueamiento*, or assimilation. A strong body of research in Afro-Venezuelan history and folklore has also been established by Venezuelan scholars, particularly Miguel Acosta Saignes (1967). Public festivals such as the Fiesta de San Juan have emerged as focal points in the reappropriation of Afro-Venezuelan culture, articulating current transformations in a living tradition of *cimarronaje* (resistance to the dominant culture, consciousness of being marginal).

### Settlements

Afro-Venezuelan settlements comprise rural and semirural sites located in or near former plantations, mines, colonial towns, and *cumbe* settlements. Towns are constructed along the colonial model, with residential streets radiating out from a central plaza. Houses are constructed from mud and thatch, or are of concrete with tin roofs. The kitchen is the central hub, with bedrooms and possibly a courtyard built adjoining it. In rural areas, the poorest dwellings are typically one- or two-room mud-and-thatch huts with no running water or electricity. Beneficiaries of agrarian land-reform projects in the 1960s live in settlements constructed with government funds. Built of cinderblocks, houses may have up to three bedrooms, kitchen/living room, bathroom, and plumbing and electricity. Migrants to larger urban centers usually live in poor, working-class barrios, dwelling in overcrowded apartment blocks or obliged to construct shanties from cardboard, cinderblocks, and corrugated tin. Migrants tend to live in the same areas, thus establishing a "regional" character for certain barrios—for example, the majority of migrants from Curiepe have settled in the San José barrio of Caracas.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Most of Venezuela's rural Black population subsists on crops cultivated on *conucos*, or small agricultural landholdings, where they grow maize, plantains, manioc, and sweet potatoes for their own consumption. Some families also grow citrus fruits, mangoes, avocados, and cacao for commercial trade. Chickens and pigs are raised mainly for the sale of eggs and meat. Despite agricultural development policies initiated by the national government in 1960, most small farm-

ers continue to rely on traditional, labor-intensive methods of land cultivation. Along coastal areas, fishing is an important activity.

During the 1970s and 1980s, tourism emerged as an important economic resource for some Afro-Venezuelan communities. In Barlovento, Venezuelan and foreign tourists crowd into Curiepe and other towns for the Fiesta de San Juan (23 to 25 June). The Corpus Christi Devil Dancers (*Diablos Danzantes*) of Aragua, Miranda, and the Distrito Federal have also become important tourist attractions.

**Trade.** Agricultural products and labor comprise the principal units of trade. Items for tourists, such as miniature drums, bandannas, and hats, are peddled during fiestas.

**Division of Labor.** Gender roles follow those of the general Venezuelan populace, although they are generally more flexible in Afro-Venezuelan communities than in other groups. Men and women share in daily activities, but women have more domestic and child-rearing responsibilities than do men. In farming, men have traditionally plowed and seeded crops, whereas women have weeded and helped with the harvest. Men find occasional work in manual labor. Women secure economic opportunities and financial independence from men through market activity, selling animals and agricultural goods, and also by finding work as cooks and domestic servants.

**Land Tenure.** *Conucos* comprise the principal form of land tenure. The Agrarian Reform of 1960 gave many Afro-Venezuelans title to their land. Through the 1970s, however, agricultural development programs failed to incorporate Venezuelan peasants into the country's successful petroleum economy, spurring migration to urban centers in search of jobs. With Venezuela's economic downslide in the late 1980s, the economic picture for Afro-Venezuelan landholders remains precarious.

Beginning in the 1970s, Afro-Venezuelan coastal lands have been threatened by the construction of beachfront condominiums, especially near Caracas. Tourist activity and the development of lands for recreational usage are also a threat. Afro-Venezuelan communities on Isla Margarita in Nueva Esparta have been particularly affected by the large-scale tourist industry there.

### Kinship

**Kinship Groups and Descent.** Kinship is reckoned along the same lines as in the rest of Venezuela (i.e., bilateral, with relatives figured through consanguinity and affinity). *Compadrazgo*, the establishment of godparents (ritual coparents) at the birth and baptism of children, is important to Afro-Venezuelan social organization, providing a vehicle for child-care arrangements and interfamilial cooperation.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Legal marriage has been erratic in many Afro-Venezuelan rural and migrant communities. During colonial times, unions between slaves favored the economic interests of slaveholders over the interests of slaves.



**Domestic Units.** Nuclear families, as well as mother-child dyads, are the most common basic domestic arrangements. Extended families, including grandparents, for example, are also common. In rural areas such as Barlovento, related households may be situated around a shared courtyard or be in close proximity to one another. With an increase in the number of adolescents who go to the cities to finish their secondary education, family units are changing. Children usually live with relatives in the city—aunts, uncles, grandparents—thus broadening the role of extended family units, especially in migrant urban communities.

**Socialization.** Children participate in daily secular routines as well as in ritual and ceremonial activities from an early age. Formerly, children were involved in informal systems of education, watching and learning from adults in the community. Since the late 1970s, however, there has been a transition to more formal systems of socialization. Most children now attend school to at least the sixth grade and often go to the city and live with relatives to complete their formal education. The incursion of radio and television into most Afro-Venezuelan communities has also affected the enculturation of young Venezuelan Blacks, delivering mass-media images, usually from a middle- and upper-middle-class perspective.

#### *Sociopolitical Organization*

The existence of *cofradías* (brotherhoods) since colonial times has played an important role in the social and political organization of Afro-Venezuelans. Derived in part from various forms of African communal associations, the *cofradías* were incorporated around patron saints. Comprised of slaves, free Blacks, and Pardos, *cofradías* provided a vehicle for cooperation and collective work. Unlike the Black *cofradías* and *cabildos* (guilds) of Cuba and Brazil, membership in these groups was not organized along the lines of distinct African ethnic identities. *Cofradías* existed in the major towns and cities of colonial Venezuela; at the beginning of the nineteenth century, thirteen *cofradías* existed in Caracas alone. As the only sanctioned form of Black collectivity, *cofradías* were subject to strict legislation and became the focus of attempts by the church to pacify potential Black opposition and assimilate Afro-Venezuelans into the colonial political structure. Despite such tactics, Black *cofradías* remained a vehicle for organized resistance. *Cofradías*, which are still organized around the celebration of patron saints, continue to serve as welfare and burial societies for their members.

*Cofradías* also find contemporary counterparts in the emergence of local community groups and cultural centers. Many of these groups were initially organized in response to the encroachment by tourism and business interests on Afro-Venezuelan religious fiestas. The reappropriation of the Fiesta of San Juan in Curiepe, for example, was aimed at keeping profits within the community and counteracting the effects of exoticized commercialization. A group known as the Centro Deportivo y Cultural de Curiepe sought to “re-Africanize” the festival, coordinating various cultural and educational programs in conjunction with the festival. In the late 1980s, members of this group, now known as the Centro de Investigación y Documentación de la Cul-

tura Barloventeña (CIDICUB), in cooperation with the state of Miranda, initiated an official program to promote the study of regional history and identity. They established cultural centers, published school textbooks about local history, and began a series of radio programs, television documentaries, theater companies, and music and dance workshops, all focused on Afro-Venezuelan history and culture. Community centers and cultural workshops such as these have also been established in other areas, including Chuao, Aragua, and Bobures, and Zulia.

Migrant regional associations have played an important role in Afro-Venezuelan life in the cities, providing a vehicle through which contacts are maintained with rural communities. Some groups have actively promoted the cultural events of their home communities. The nationally publicized week of cultural presentations organized around the Fiesta of San Juan in 1970, for example, was initiated by Curiepe migrants living in Caracas. The municipal government of Caracas also supports, through FUNDARTE, the maintenance of Afro-Venezuelan culture in many of the barrios of Caracas with centers, concerts, competitions, and the celebration of various festivals.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** In Venezuela, Catholicism provides the basis for a nationally shared religious tradition, yet, as in many Catholic countries, there is much variation in specific religious practices. The syncretic cult of María Lionza, based on indigenous legends, reflects the most widespread fusion of local and Catholic practices. Depicted as a trinity with Negro Felipe and the Indian chief Guaicaipuro, the mythic figure of María Lionza has become an iconic representation of Venezuela’s tripartite indigenous, African, and European cultural heritage.

Afro-Venezuelan religious practices have been adapted to Catholicism. Drumming and dancing, which figure in the celebrations of patron saints’ days and other religious ceremonies, bear a close resemblance to various forms of African ancestor worship. Because the slave population was so heterogeneous, no single African religious system dominated in this syncretization process, as it did for example in Cuba, Brazil, and, to a lesser extent, in Trinidad with its Yoruba tradition. There has also been some intersection with indigenous cosmological systems. Figures such as *duendes*, *familiaries*, and *encantados* are types of spirit beings connected with the dead or forces of nature, which act as intermediaries between the parallel realms of physical existence and that of the spirit world. It is through contact with these beings, usually dwelling in deep riverine pools, that *curanderos* (healers) derive their power and divine the future. These beings are also responsible for the deaths and disappearance of various people. Such beliefs are articulated in the oral traditions not only of Afro-Venezuelans but of indigenous and mestizo peoples as well.

The influx of Cuban immigrants after the Cuban Revolution in 1959 has encouraged the establishment of the Afro-Cuban religion Santería among Venezuelans of all cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Although this is a predominantly urban phenomenon, African influences in Venezuela continue to evolve through a dynamic and continuous migration of cultural practices and forms.

**Religious Practitioners.** Organized as they were around patron saints, Black *cofradías* were not simply social organizations, but also religious ones. Some *cofradías* were subdivided into separate "societies" that had distinct responsibilities. Sojo (1986) reports that in Barlovento, for example, each day of Holy Week had a separate society that was in charge of maintaining the holy images and ritual ceremonies associated with the respective day. In preparation, members would practice celibacy, abstain from consumption of alcohol, and perform various ablutions before "dressing" the saintly image.

Since colonial times, magico-religious societies have also existed, employing various forms of *brujería*, or "witchcraft." In Afro-Venezuelan communities, as in the rest of Venezuela, there is belief in *brujos* (sorcerers), who can cast spells and cause various forms of *daño* (harm). Fear of *mal de ojo* ("evil eye") against children is particularly common. Curanderas are sought for their knowledge of herbal medicines, which are used both in combatting illness and counteracting *daño*. In Barlovento, healers are sometimes called *ensalmadores* and are particularly respected for their ability to divine the future as well as to find lost objects and people.

**Ceremonies and Arts.** Afro-Venezuelan ceremonies have been primarily linked to the Christian calendar, and many Afro-Venezuelan music, dance, and costume traditions are associated with specific church celebrations. The Nativity, Holy Week, Corpus Christi, the Cruz de Mayo, and patron saints' holidays are central to Afro-Venezuelan expressive culture throughout the country. The Día de los Inocentes (Feast of Fools, 28 December) is also celebrated and is particularly important in Barlovento, where "governments of women" are set up parodying male authority with absurd decrees and other actions such as cross-dressing. Carnival celebrations (the week before Lent) are significant, especially in eastern Venezuela, where in communities such as Güiria and El Callao there has been a large Caribbean influence. During saints' feast days, *promesas* (promises) made to the saints in return for personal favors are fulfilled. Correct observance of ritual activities such as offerings, drumming, dancing, and the feeding of all those present are essential to satisfying these promises.

In various regions of Venezuela, different religious holidays have emerged as important local celebrations. Around Lake Maracaibo, the fiesta of a Black saint, San Benito, (26 December to 2 January) is prominent and is celebrated with the playing of *chimbánguele* drums. In Cata, Chuao, Cuyagua, and Ocumare de la Costa (Aragua), Naiguatá (Distrito Federal), San Francisco de Yare (Miranda), and Canoabo and Patanemo (Carabobo), the Diablos Danzantes (organized into *cofradías*) are the centerpiece of the Corpus Christi celebrations, performing in particularly vivid costumes and masks that incorporate African imagery. In Barlovento, the Fiesta of San Juan Bautista (Saint John the Baptist) has been of singular importance since slavery. The three days of San Juan (23 to 25 June) were the only three days of the year during which slaves were given a rest from hard labor and were permitted to gather freely. During the holiday, not only would slaves celebrate with drumming and dancing, but also plot insurrection and flight.

As the one time of the year given to Blacks, the Fiesta of San Juan became associated with reversal of the social order as well as with cimarronaje, particularly in Curiepe, the town that has come to be most strongly associated with San Juan festivities. Two different drumming styles are associated with San Juan, linked, respectively, to public and private aspects of the fiesta: the large *mina* drum is played in tandem with the short, upright *curbata* in the central plaza, whereas the smaller, cylindrical *culo e'puya* drums are played directly in front of the saint during the *velorios* performed in private houses. Although attempts have been made since the late 1940s to incorporate the celebration of San Juan into a larger national tradition, the holiday remains a symbol of Afro-Venezuelan culture and is consistently used to reaffirm the values associated with it.

Another important Afro-Venezuelan ceremonial form is the *velorio*. Held during funerals and on the eve of saints' feast days, a *velorio* typically features a small party that travels from house to house performing drumming and dancing before the image of the saint. Other *velorios*, however, such as that for the Cruz de Mayo, remain stationary and are held in one place. Funerals for children who died before being baptized are called *mampulorios* and are considered happy occasions: the children, being innocent, are believed to ascend directly to heaven in the form of *angelitos* (little angels). The traditions associated with Christmas *parrandas* and with the Cruz de Mayo *fulias* songs are also important in Afro-Venezuelan culture, particularly in the central coastal regions. During Christmas, *parranda* (merrymaking) groups go from house to house singing songs to the accompaniment of small drums. During the Cruz de Mayo celebrations, *fulias* offer a forum for competitive singing as performers try to outwit each other through improvised verses or with poems organized in the strict ten-line *decima* structure. *Fulias* are accompanied by the *tambor criollo* (a drum), as well as *cuatros* (four-stringed guitarlike instruments), and maracas. *Gaitas* are another form of Christmas music, although most commonly associated with the western region of Zulia and Isla Margarita.

Afro-Venezuelan musical expression is characterized by a great diversity of drums. Most are of African origin and many bear direct resemblance to the drums of Bantu-speaking and West African groups. Generally, drums use specific rhythmic patterns to accompany specific song or dance forms; hence, drums, rhythms, and stylistic forms may all be designated by the same name. In turn, this stylistic complex is usually associated with a specific fiesta or celebration.

In Barlovento, the *culo e'puya* drums are important, as are the *mina* and *curbata*, which are played together. *Quitiplas* are also prominent in Barlovento. These are fashioned from hollow bamboo tubes and played by striking them on the ground. (They are similar to the Trinidadian "tambou bamboo" that gave rise to steel-drum styles.) Along the central coastal region, the *cumaco* is widespread, used in San Juan celebrations as well as the secular *bailes de tambor* (dances). The *tamunango* is found in Afro-Venezuelan communities in the interior. To the west, in Zulia, the *chimbángueles* are used to accompany San Benito festivities, and a friction drum called *furruco* is commonly played during Nativity celebrations and the

singing of gaitas. In the eastern coastal regions, influence from Trinidad is evident in the performance of steel-band (*estilban*) music. Maracas (seed-filled rattles) are prevalent throughout Venezuela and are commonly used to accompany drumming, as is another indigenous-derived instrument, the conch.

Other small percussion instruments, such as the *charrasca*, a small notched scraper, are also used as accompaniment. Less common instruments found in Barlovento and along the coast include the *marimbola*, a large bass "thumb-piano" derived from the African *kalimba*; the *carángano*, a musical bow similar to the Brazilian *berimbau*; and the *marimba barloventeña*, a large mouth-bow (Aretz 1967). As in other parts of Venezuela, the four-stringed *cuatro* is extremely common.

In addition to musical, dance, and costume traditions, oral lore forms an important part of Afro-Venezuelan expressive culture. Some of the best-known tales in Afro-Venezuelan oratory center around the exploits of Tío Conejo (Uncle Rabbit), who manages to outwit Tío Tigre (Uncle Tiger). In the twentieth century a small body of Afro-Venezuelan literature has been established, including the works of novelist and folklorist Juan Pablo Sojo and the poet Manuel Rodríguez Cárdenas. Theater and dance groups, which have a long history of performance in Barlovento, have become progressively more important with the appearance of such groups as the Centro de Creación Teatral de Barlovento-Curiepe, the Teatro Negro de Barlovento, and Madera.

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DAVID M. GUSS AND LISE WAXER

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## Aguaruna

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ETHNONYMS: Aents, Aguahun, Aguajun, Ahuahun, Awaruna

The 25,000 to 30,000 Aguaruna Indians live in dispersed settlements along the Marañón, Nieve, Potro, Mayo, Cahuapanas, Cenepa, and Santiago rivers and their tributaries, at an elevations of 200 to 1,000 meters, in Peru. Early in the twentieth century, they were found on the right bank of the Río Marañón between the Nieve and Apaga rivers (5° S, 78° W). They speak a language belonging to the Jivaroan Family and may be considered a subgroup of the Jivaro. At the time of Spanish contact, the Aguaruna had been fighting the Inca for some time, and had been able to avoid subjugation. They were first contacted in 1549 by Juan de Salinas; although contact with Whites caused their population to plummet, they had defeated the Spanish settlers in their region by 1600. Catholic attempts at proselytizing the Aguaruna failed, and they continued to attack nearby White communities into the 1930s. In the 1970s many of the Aguaruna groups, taking advantage of a change in Peruvian law, petitioned for and received title of ownership to the lands that they occupied.

Since then, the Aguaruna have been learning to communicate in Quechua and Spanish. They make their living primarily by swidden horticulture, although they also hunt and fish. They raise sweet manioc, plantains, maize, peanuts, rice, squashes, beans, wild potatoes, cotton, tobacco, and other crops. Some also raise livestock, tap rubber, and sell animal skins.

Their villages are semipermanent and have up to 150 inhabitants. Villages have become more centralized and permanent as a result of the needs to be near a school and to defend their land against encroachment by non-Indians (which was in the past done by dressing up in fierce-looking costumes in order to present a frightening appearance), and of the government's efforts to settle them permanently. These trends have made swidden gardening and avoiding witchcraft more difficult. The old-style oval house has been largely replaced by much smaller rectangular houses.

The village is led by a headman (*apu* or *kakájam*), whose power depends greatly on the number and qualities of his kin. Political differences in the community often result in fission of the village, although old conflicts are sometimes overlooked to allow the formation of political alliances.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally, and kindreds form an important basis of social organization. Agnatic kin groups form the nucleus of many village groups. A desire to remain with one's kin has meant that the village tends toward endogamy.

Magic is important. Charms and special songs are used toward practical ends. These songs are used to aid in seduction, hunting, gardening, and many other activities. They can be very specialized; for example, there are gardening songs that are used to select gardening sites. Shamans are of two types, *iwishin* or *tajimat tunchi* (curing shamans) and *wawek tunchi* (sorcerers), although the same person may be both at different times. Sorcerers inflict illness by using spirit darts, and curing shamans cure by using their darts to eliminate the sorcerer's darts.

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## Akawaio

ETHNONYMS: Acaguayo, Acauayo, Acawai, Accawai, Acquewyen, Akawai, Akawaio, Akawoio, Capohn, Guaica, Guayca, Ingarico, Inkariko, Kapohn, Kapon, Kapong, Occowyes, Seregong, Serekon, Serekong, Serracong, Serakong, Wacawaio, Waica, Waika, Wakawai, Wayca, Wocowaio

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Akawaio are an American Indian group living along the Guyana-Venezuela border. "Kapon" (sky, *kak*; people, *pon*) is the Akawaio name for themselves, which they share with the Patamona, their neighbors to the south. "Waika," "Serekon," and "Inkariko" are names applied by Pemon, Patamona, and Makushi neighbors.

**Location.** The principal Akawaio territory is the upper basin of the Mazaruni River and the Essequibo tributary rising in the Pakaraima Mountains on the Guyanese-Venezuelan border. Lying between 60° and 61°20' W and 5°10' to 6° N, it covers approximately 10,207 square kilometers. Settlements are at 470 to 610 meters. Rainfall averages 260 centimeters per year and is bimodal (i.e., there is a dry season and a wet season). There are a few Akawaio communities on the lower Mazaruni and lower Potaro rivers and two isolated villages, Kwabanna on the Waini River and Mabora on the upper Demerara. Several settlements are located on the Cotinga River, Brazil. Akawaio share villages with Pemon on the upper Cuyuni River, Venezuela. Isolated families live in a number of townships.

**Demography.** There is no reliable census, but unofficial estimates indicate a population of some 6,000 Akawaio in the upper Mazaruni and adjacent areas. There has been a considerable increase since the 1940s and 1950s, when they were estimated at 1,400 to 1,600, and 1969 estimate of 2,920 (including Kamarang River Pemon). In 1977, 2,700 were reported in the upper Mazaruni, 250 to 300 in the lowlands, 420 in Kwabanna, and 65 in Mabora. The 1982 Venezuelan Indigenous Census recorded 491 Akawaio in the Cuyuni region of Venezuela.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Kapon language is one of the Guiana Carib languages.

### History and Cultural Relations

The territorial extension of the Akawaio was considerable. They dominated the Mazaruni and Cuyuni valleys, maintained a presence on the Demerara, and were reported as trading from Berbice. Laurence Keymis, writing in 1596, mentioned "Wacawaio" on the Demerara and "Wocawaio" in the Pomeroon area, Guyana. Major John Scott, in 1669, referred to "Occowyes" as one of the "great powerful nations that live in the uplands of Guiana." Throughout the colonial period, under the Dutch and then the British, there are constant references to them as traders and travelers and to small groups settled around the upriver posts. They were occasionally employed to police the forest near the plantations. To the west, they entered Ven-

ezuelan history under the nickname "Guaica" when, in mid-eighteenth-century Spanish Guayana, Capuchin missionaries began to settle them in mission villages.

Upon destruction of the Caroní Mission in 1817, the Guaica-Akawaio population fled eastward; groups were in contact with Anglican missionaries in British Guiana from 1831, when their enthusiasm for religious instruction was noted. Akawaio regularly visited the lowlands and were employed as guides, boatmen, carriers, hunters, forest workers, and woodcutters. The majority continued to live a customary life in the upper Mazaruni. Naturalist C. F. Appun entered the upper Mazaruni in 1864 followed by C. Barington Brown, a geologist, in 1872 and 1875. First missionary visits were made by the Jesuit Fr. Cary-Elwes in 1917, 1919, and 1921. The Seventh-Day Adventists established their Kamarang River missions in Guyana after their ejection from Venezuela in 1931. Anglican and Wesleyan missions began in the 1950s. When in 1946 an "Upper Mazaruni Reserve" and a government station were created, with regular air contact, the Akawaio lost their autonomy and began to experience profound change. Today the upper Mazaruni is a subdistrict of the Guyanese ministerial region No. 7, known as Mazaruni-Potaro.

There is near identity in language, society, and culture between Akawaio and their Pemon neighbors, who have raided, traded, and intermarried with each other. The Caribs (Kari'ña) were traditional enemies, mutual hostilities being frequent in the eighteenth century, when Carib groups, retreating before the Spanish advance, ousted Akawaio from some of their lowland territories.

### Settlements

The settlement pattern is one of part-time occupation of a central village with family gardens nearby. Villages traditionally numbered from 60 to 80 people but now reach 600 to 800. Akawaio have a formal organization, a church, and, today, a school. Traditional sites were, for security, located inland from a navigable river, in a forest clearing, or in the preferred white-sand savanna areas. A nearby stream and forest with good soil for gardening are still mandatory. Houses are oblong, round, or square, with timber frames, leaf-thatched roof, bark or stake walls for protection against night cold and marauders, and two opposed doors. Each nuclear family customarily maintains a hearth around which hammocks are slung and belongings are stored in the roof space above. Open huts are used as kitchens, for informal meals, and for family gatherings. In the 1950s an elevated square house of planks, a wood-shingle or tin roof, windows, and internal partitions was introduced with limited success. Separate nuclear-family dwellings are now preferred.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Akawaio are slash-and-burn cultivators, and they hunt, fish, and gather as well. The staple is cassava bread made from bitter manioc, accompanying a meat or fish stew seasoned with chili peppers. They make a great variety of drinks of low alcoholic content. Crops include bananas, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, yams, taro, cotton, gourds, and calabashes. They hunt deer, peccaries, tapir, agoutis, pacas (*Cuniculus paca*)

and birds, traditionally using bows and arrows and blowpipes, but today shotguns. Fish in the upper Mazaruni are small and scarce. They are obtained with hook and line, fish poison, and dams with basket traps. A cash economy began in 1946 with the sale of balata (a latex from *Manilkara bidentata*), surplus garden produce, and timber products. Gold and diamond mining, often full time, steadily developed from the 1960s. There is an increasing dependence on imports and a loss of self-sufficiency. Alcoholism, family alienation and break-up, prostitution, neglect of the elderly, shortages of food, and impoverished village life are negative aspects of free-lance mining.

**Industrial Arts.** Men make houses, boats, hunting and fishing equipment, cords, ropes, baskets, storage racks, wooden stools, and simple furniture. Women spin cotton, weave hammocks and baby slings, bead aprons, and make clay bowls and pots.

**Trade.** A traditional network of exchange relationships links the Akawaio with their neighbors and, via these, to more distant Amerindian groups. Notably, they obtain Yecuaa cassava graters, blowpipes, and quivers; brewing pots from the Patomona; and curare from the Piaroa. They traveled to the coast to work and barter for metal tools, utensils, cloth, beads, guns, salt, and a great variety of exotic goods, which they also traded in the traditional network.

**Division of Labor.** A married couple is expected to be able to perform all necessary daily tasks and manufacture most equipment necessary to sustain themselves and their family. Work is strongly sex orientated and complementary, with some overlap and mutual assistance. Men cut and burn new gardens; women plant, tend, and harvest. Men hunt, fish, and engage in long-distance trade; women fetch firewood and water, care for the home and young children, and prepare and serve food and drink. Men are basket- and woodworkers; women work cotton and are potters. Men go mining and women engage in domestic work. Educated Akawaio of either sex take government employment as teachers and health workers.

**Land Tenure.** Members of a village and its surrounding settlements have a collective right to use of the land and resources of the neighborhood. Others use them only in collaboration or by paying. Vacant areas between villages, used for long-distance hunting and gathering, ensure that conflicting claims are rare. There is acute awareness of the need for a legal title to communal lands, but the government of Guyana intends to construct a hydroelectric dam that would render the upper Mazaruni uninhabitable. Coastal miners have increasingly worked in the area since 1959, but Akawaio believe that the resources of their ancestral land should be exploited only by Akawaio.

### Kinship

**Kinship and Descent.** The system is a cognatic one with self-focused symmetrical reference to both paternal and maternal kin. There is a concept of interlinked, three-generation cycles, each generation of grandchildren replicating the grandparental one. The spirit of a deceased grandparent may sometimes dwell in a grandchild. There is a strong notion of complementary lines of same-sex kin, a

man being considered a replica of his father and grandfather, and a woman of her mother and grandmother.

**Kinship Terminology.** Most kinship terms indicate sex difference; sibling terms indicate relative age. Terminology is of the bifurcate-merging Iroquois type. A father and his brothers are addressed as father; a mother and her sisters as mother. They address each other's children as their own and the latter refer to each other as siblings. Opposite-sex cross cousins use terms inferring marriageability. One extends the kinship terminology to all genealogically traceable relatives and may incorporate strangers. The notion of a family (*tomba*) is elastic, with recognition that, ultimately, all Akawaio are relatives (*tombadong*).

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The norm is real or classificatory cross-cousin marriage and the ideal is for two groups of siblings to marry each other. Sororal polygyny was common and a man generally espoused a brother's widow. Polyandry also occurred. A few practice sister's-daughter marriage, perceived as a way of avoiding an undesirable uxoricity since a sister becomes the mother-in-law. Marriage with father's sister occasionally takes place. The use of teknonyms marks the transition to affinal status. The son-in-law is required to reside uxorilocally and to work for his parents-in-law. He often gives them his possessions, now including purchased goods and cash. Marriage is confirmed on the birth of a child, and thereafter separation and divorce are deplored. Church marriage is now common.

**Domestic Unit.** A man, in uxorilocal residence, obtains status as head of family when he becomes a parent-in-law and grandparent. By allying himself with wife's sisters' husbands ("brothers") and sister's husbands ("brothers-in-law"), a joint-family unity is created. Extended and joint families, which collaborate in garden places, share the same or adjacent houses in a village.

**Inheritance.** Valuables such as shotguns, brewing pots, manioc graters, and boats are inherited by close kin of the appropriate sex, usually siblings or children of the deceased. A few personal items may be buried with the deceased.

**Socialization.** Children are brought up to respect seniors and observe the norms of kinship relationships. They learn by imitation and participation. Physical punishment is rare. Children attend school and may leave to get salaried work or go mining. Young men who circumvent uxorilocal residence lack discipline and traditional skills.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

The Akawaio are a territorially based cultural unity, expressing interrelationships in the idiom of kinship and a conceptual and moral identity. There is no central indigenous institution; they conceive of themselves as a people against other, similarly organized peoples. They divide themselves internally by referring to river-valley settlements. Relations between river groups are marked by mutual suspicion, accusations of sorcery, and reference to former raiding, but marriage, exchange, and mutual feasting between families in different river groups also make for friendly relationships.

**Social Organization.** There is no class system. Status is relative to kinship position (with sex and age differentiation), individual competence, and prestige. Differences in possessions are slight and ephemeral and the society is an egalitarian one although, in the uxorilocal system, a son-in-law always retains a subordinate role with respect to his parents-in-law.

**Political Organization.** A village community consists of a number of allied extended and joint families, each family headed by the most active senior couple and autonomous in its own family settlement. Mutual aid, sharing, and frequent intermarriage characterize a village community. The traditional village leader (*epuru*) is a prestigious man, skilled, generous, hospitable, and a good speaker. He summons the village families for consultations and feasts, represents them to outsiders, and, today, is responsible to the government. He is addressed as "Father" (Papai) and allied family heads are his "assistants" (*poitorudong*). A formal elective system was introduced in 1958 whereby a captain, secretary, treasurer, and councilors are voted in every four years. Since councilors are often heads of families from the surrounding settlements, the traditional structure is maintained. Today's captain is a young, educated man able to cope with the government bureaucracy. Villages now have school teachers, a health officer, and party activists.

**Social Control.** Anger and violence are censored. The customary response to conflict is separation, and village conflicts are usually contained by the aggrieved parties dispersing to their family settlements. Village and Hallelujah church leaders (see "Religious Beliefs") lecture their followers on morality and remonstrate privately. Shamanic séances link illness to bad intentions and discordant behavior, focusing public attention on the source and consequences of dispute and bad behavior. This evokes declarations of good intent and ensures that the offender makes peace or leaves. Sickness and deaths in a village community are sometimes attributed to alienated and aggrieved families and, in rare instances, the deceased's kin may attempt assassination, both to avenge the dead and in self-defense. Mining activity has led to increased violence, owing to freedom from customary restraints and bouts of excessive drunkenness.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The conceptual system is founded on the belief that all material bodies are possessed by the sun's radiant light (*akwa*), which endows them with vitality, well-being, and knowledge. This possessed force (*akwaru*) may transmigrate, entering different bodies (as in dreams and acts of sorcery). Every species, resource, and environmental sphere has *akwaru*, which is personified and in part anthropomorphic. All are ultimately classified as *imawariton* (environmental forces), which include deceased humans. A major category is the masters and mistresses (*esak*) of species and resources, who figure in shamanic séances and dwell in special, privately owned stones. Offerings of tobacco, food, and beverages are made at the stones to propitiate the master or mistress so that a species or resource will be increased and released for human use. A series of prophet-led, enthusiastic movements, stimulated by mission contact, culminated in Hallelujah in

about the 1870s. Adopted from the Makushi (Pemon) of the Rupununi-Rio Branco region, Hallelujah combines indigenous cosmology with basic Christian beliefs. Its sung and danced prayers are modeled on traditional forms.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans (*piai'chang*) treat with the akwaru of the universe during night séances. Hallucinating through dieting and the use of tobacco, shamans are possessed and also detach their own vital force to search the cosmos for aid. They determine ultimate causes. Hallelujah prophets are noted for long periods of dreaming during which their vital force journeys upward to akwa. They hear God and receive songs, prayers, and injunctions that will strengthen life on earth.

**Ceremonies.** Traditional song-and-dance festivals are associated with animals, fish, and forest fruits and their availability. They have been superseded by Hallelujah sung and danced prayers, for communication with God and spirits in heaven (akwa) and to obtain an increase in akwaru, goodness, and well-being for all on earth. The shaman's séance is a skilled theatrical performance for curing sickness and misfortune. It is also a commentary on community affairs, with audience participation as each spirit character possessing the shaman talks and sings. Family ceremonies include the couvade, girls' puberty seclusion, and boys' rites to ensure successful economic enterprises.

**Arts.** Different categories of songs convey knowledge and power. They include songs of shamans, of Hallelujah prophets, and of the former dance festival, notably *tukuik*, *parishara*, and *imawari*. Numerous privately owned invocations (*taling*) are used—they are rhythmic recitations and poems with complex analogies and metaphors. Some men excel in basketry with red and black designs. Women make patterned bead aprons and fine cotton thread and weave comfortable cotton hammocks. Many traditional craft skills are disappearing.

**Medicine.** The objective of treatment is to restore the body's akwaru and a balanced harmony. Sick Akawaio rest, diet, and take plant remedies. Healing invocations (*taling*) and shamanic séances are used. Cold illness is cured when the shaman returns the lost or captured vital force to the body. To cure hot illness, he ejects malevolent forces possessing the patient and summons cold ones to effect a cooling down.

**Death and Afterlife.** Sudden death is attributed to sorcery (*edodo*), whereas death after a long illness is attributed to a curse (evil *taling*). Deep-seated envy is the stated reason for sorcery, which may be the work of a personal enemy but is usually attributed to other, hostile groups. The body, in its hammock, is interred in a space between two sheets of tree bark, the head of the grave being orientated toward the sunrise. The family leaves the house for three months. Death of a settlement owner may lead to definitive abandonment. A series of deaths of important people in a village formerly led to the formation of a new village. On death, the life-giving radiance departs to reenter the cosmos. In Hallelujah belief it returns to the light of heaven to reside there in happiness. A shade (*akwarup*) is also detached and joins the environmental spirits (*imawariton*) who dwell inside the mountains feasting, drinking, dancing, and living a replica of life on earth, but

without sunlight. Shamans visit there to feast, dance, and seek aid for the sick. The deceased may reincarnate, becoming a protective force within the body of a descendant. Death is a definitive separation of the properties of the two opposed forces of the cosmos, light (akwa) and darkness (*ayan*), which material forms unify and embody. It is also a return to "long ago" (*pena'tai*), when "all things were like people" (*kapon-pe*) and "all spoke and understood each other."

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AUDREY J. BUTT COLSON

## Amahuaca

ETHNONYMS: Amaguaca, Amajuaca, Amawaka (probably corruptions of *amin waki*, meaning "capybara children"), Hepetineri, Ipetinere, Maspo, Sayaco

### Orientation

**Identification.** People known as "Amahuaca" today appear to include individuals from formerly localized groups of Indowo, Rondowo, Isãwo, Shãwo, Maxinawa, Cutinawa, Punchawo, Kapî Hîchi, Nashishnawo, and Shimanawa. Traditionally, they had no name for themselves as a people other than *hondi kuî* (real people) or *yora* (human beings).

**Location.** They are sparsely settled on the Inuya and Sepahua rivers and on headwater streams of the Javari, Juruá, Purus, and Piedras rivers in a deeply dissected limestone plateau on the border of Peru and Brazil. Annual rainfalls of 177 to 203 centimeters between October and

April support unbroken tropical forest with abundant game.

**Demography.** Until the end of the nineteenth century the Amahuaca were very numerous (perhaps as many as 9,000), but their number has been reduced to less than 500 in Peru and not more than 250 in the Brazilian states of Amazonas and Acre.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The language of the Amahuaca is Panoan. It is most similar to that of the neighboring Yaminahua, has slight regional variations, and is believed to have separated from Conibo about 1,000 years ago.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Amahuaca formerly occupied a vast area east of the Ucayali River from the Tapiche River south to the Urubamba. Repeatedly raided by Panoan Conibo, Shetebo, and Shipibo, as well as Arawakan Piro in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, the Amahuaca withdrew eastward to the higher land. In the 1890s prospectors entered that area with thousands of Piro and Campa helpers, seeking workers to collect rubber. When the Amahuaca resisted, many were killed and many others died of introduced diseases. Survivors fled further east down the Purus River but soon returned to headwater streams to escape advancing Brazilians. In the 1940s a few joined logging crews on the upper Ucayali River, where they formed a village on Chumichinia Island. Between 1953 and 1968 a Protestant missionary attracted some seventeen families to Varadero, the site of an old rubber camp later occupied by a Peruvian army garrison. About the same time Dominican missionaries also attracted some families to the lower Sepahua River.

The description that follows is of the traditional upland culture. Amahuaca culture is most similar to that of the Yaminahua, Shimanahua, Matses, Matis, and Marubo. It is also more similar to that of the Cashinahua than to that of the riverine Conibo-Shipibo. As part of recent changes, Amahuaca in the riverine communities, especially those on Chumichinia, have borrowed ceramic and basketry design, cloth mosquito nets, strongly alcoholic manioc beer, and some oral lore from nearby Conibo and Campa. Houses, some of which have closed walls, tend to be arranged along the water's edge. People sleep under box-shaped nets on the raised floors instead of in hammocks. Secondary forest that may be inundated annually is cleared for maize and bananas near the dwellings, whereas manioc may be planted in a separate area that does not flood. These crops and numerous fruit and vegetable crops that the Amahuaca have adopted from Peruvians and missionaries are weeded. Dugout canoes are widely used, and fish, by far the most abundant source of protein at Chumichinia, are caught with harpoon arrows, spears, poison, and hooks, as well as with bows and ordinary arrows, which are no longer carried all the time for defense. A few men have taken Conibo or Campa wives and cooperate with their wives' groups in poisoning fish. Some men work in a system of debt peonage, receiving metal tools, utensils, weapons, fuel, clothes and cloth, soap, outboard motors, and processed food on credit from their *patrón*. To pay off their debt they cut cedar and mahogany logs on eastern tributaries of the Ucayali during the dry season and float

them as rafts down to the Ucayali when rains swell the rivers. Riverine Amahuaca occasionally supply cured pelts, young game mammals, birds, surplus fish, bananas, maize, and tobacco to river merchants, missionaries, and lumber patrones for cash to purchase manufactured goods. Traditional ornaments and art have been abandoned, and all the Amahuaca wear commercial clothes. Children, especially boys, attend school for a few years and bilingualism is common. Although one man is favored by a lumber *patrón* as mediator-leader, all the men make policy decisions jointly. Harvest ceremonies have lapsed and the hallucinogen ayahuasca is rarely used. Instead relatives frequently gather during slack periods to drink manioc beer. Some Christian concepts and practices have been adopted, including simple burial.

### *Settlements*

Hamlets of fifteen to twenty closely related people are located on high ridges near permanent streams, separated from other settlements by several hours' walk. Each nuclear family occupies a separate house in the midst of a garden plot adjacent to gardens of other families. Houses are open rectangular shelters with pent roofs thatched to a few feet from the ground with *yarina* (*Phytelephas* sp.) palm leaves. Settlements are moved every year to ensure productivity, adequate game, and security from enemies.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Each hamlet is a self-sufficient horticultural community with only slightly less dependence on hunting. New hilltop plots are cleared each year in primary forest. Maize, the principle staple, is soaked and planted in holes dug with a broken bow stave. When the new plants appear, cuttings of sweet manioc are interplanted with palm-wood spades, and, just before the rains begin, banana shoots are sunk in deep holes. Minor crops include sweet potatoes, peanuts, yams, *pijuayo* (peach palms), and papaya in addition to cotton, tobacco, *achiote* and *huito* for pigments, gourds, *barbasco* for fish poison, arrow cane, ayahuasca, and several medicinal herbs. Little weeding is done. Palm hearts, nuts, seeds, small fruits, and fungi are gathered from the numerous trees of the forest. Maize is stored on the cob in granaries built on the same pattern as dwellings but with raised floors of split palm. The toasted kernels are ground to a fine flour in a palm-log trough mortar with a rocker pestle carved from a flat buttress root. The flour is eaten dry or boiled to make a thick soup, often with masticated flour added to sweeten it. Sweet bananas are eaten raw as they ripen, but plantain varieties are roasted or boiled. Manioc tubers are boiled as a vegetable and sometimes mashed to make a slightly fermented soup.

All game animals, including fish, are caught with palm-wood bows and cane arrows tipped with barbed or unbarbed bamboo blades or *pijuayo* points. The most abundant game are several species of monkeys, peccaries, deer, and tapir and several types of large rodents, anteaters, armadillos, turtles and their eggs, and large non-carrion-eating birds. Hunters track game with dogs and sometimes use cane or palm-leaf blinds. Meat and fish are roasted and smoked on *babracots*. To gather honey, fruits, nuts and



other materials from trees, Amahuaca use climbing rings of lianas around their ankles.

**Industrial Arts.** Steel axes and knives have replaced the traditional T-shaped axes and wooden sword clubs, but clam shells, bamboo, and rodent teeth are still used as cutting tools. With tumplines on their foreheads, women carry heavy loads in deep rectangular twilled baskets made of single-pinnate palm leaves. Oblong covered baskets made of split cane are used for storing men's craft materials. Clay from river banks is used to make undecorated vessels in various sizes and shapes. Coarse cotton skirts, hammocks, baby slings, and ditty bags are woven on backstrap looms. Wrist-and headbands, on the other hand, are woven of fine thread on bent-withe (Ucayali) looms. Men use benches made of two split balsa logs, whereas women sit on yarina palm-leaf mats. Rafts of balsa logs are sometimes used to descend rivers because canoes are virtually unusable on the Inuya headwaters. However, dugout cedar-log canoes are regularly used on the Purus, Sepahua, and Ucayali.

**Trade.** Game is shared and surplus craft items are sometimes traded within a hamlet. Among people from separate groups, bows and arrows, skirts, food, and tobacco leaves may be exchanged to establish and reinforce friendly relations. No currency is used.

**Division of Labor.** With few exceptions, the work of men and women is strictly divided and complementary: men hunt and fish; cut and clear gardens; plant manioc, bananas, and tobacco; construct houses; and make telescope storage baskets, wooden tools, utensils, weapons, and benches. Women plant, harvest, and transport most of the crops; cut and fetch firewood; draw water; grind maize; butcher game; cook; and care for children. They also spin; weave; make pots, mats, and most of the baskets; and drill seeds for beads. Both men and women gather products from the forest. There are no specialists.

**Land Tenure.** The senior male of a local group is said to own the land, which is defended against incursions by outsiders with palm-spine caltrops. Garden plots are individually owned, but only while in cultivation. Fruit-bearing trees, however, continue to be owned by those who planted them. Any member of a settlement may hunt in any part of the surrounding region.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Several patrilineally related nuclear families make up a hamlet. In the recent past several such extended families lived near one another as a named localized aggregate, or clan. Kinship is cognatic except for the mainly patrilineal clan affiliation. Formerly, succession to leadership also tended to be patrilineal.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kin terms for primary and secondary relatives are bifurcate-merging. For more distant relatives usage varies widely; individuals may use the bifurcate-merging, generation, or cross-cousin (so-called Dravidian) pattern of the four-section system found among some other Panoan peoples. Some terms are used reciprocally by kin in alternate generations.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Infant betrothal, marriage of bilateral cross cousins living in separate hamlets, and exchange of siblings are customary although not always practiced. After a variable period of uxori-local residence with bride-service and marriage gifts of valuable tools, the groom takes his bride back to a house he has built in his father's community. Men sometimes take an immature girl as wife, but marriage is not consummated before her menarche. If the father of the desired woman refuses to give his daughter, he may be killed and the couple elope. Polygyny, especially sororal, is not uncommon, and both levirate and sororate are encouraged. Amahuaca limit family size with contraceptives, abortion, infanticide, and fosterage. Older siblings and orphans are often adopted or fostered by relatives, but foster children are sometimes treated as slaves.

**Domestic Unit.** The basic unit of residence, production, and consumption is the nuclear family. Co-wives usually occupy separate houses.

**Inheritance.** With the exception of a few irreplaceable metal tools and weapons, scarcely any property is inherited.

**Socialization.** Small children are allowed extreme freedom in play, even with machetes and fire. Discipline is limited to neglect, ridicule, threats, brusquely pushing one who is a nuisance, and brushing with a needlelike plant, immediately followed by cuddling and comforting. Much is learned by watching adults and listening to men repeat myths and legends, but puberty signals a period of formal instruction in hunting skills for boys and household duties for girls. Before being considered adult, a boy is encouraged to dream of being instructed by the spirit of an animal alter ego. He must also build a house, clear a garden plot, and succeed in hunting.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Same-sex cross cousins in separate hamlets are special friends, and peaceful relations among hamlets are reinforced by visits, during which food and labor are exchanged. On such visits news of relatives is recounted in simultaneous monologues, and prospective marriages are discussed.

**Political Organization.** Each settlement is autonomous. The moral leadership of a senior male is acknowledged. Formerly, a headman ordered and supervised joint work on gardens, taught cultural norms, prevented internal hostility, and authorized avenging raids. Peaceful contact with outsiders is restricted almost entirely to people who speak the same language, called *nokingaiwo* (our kind). Culturally related friendly peoples with whom the Amahuaca have little or no contact are called *yora* or *hondiwo* (people, human-kind), whereas strangers and unrelated peoples are potential enemies (*nawa*, or *naa*).

**Social Control.** Amahuaca show no hostility within the community and treat nonconformity only with gossip. Dreams, chants, and ayahuasca séances are used to deal with persons believed to be causing harm. Adultery and failure to work are cause for wife beating or divorce.

**Conflict.** Suspected adultery by an outsider is sometimes avenged by murder, which may lead to bloody reprisal. Some men claim that adultery and other insults are punished by slashing the offender on the nape of the neck with a claw-shaped bamboo knife. The Amahuaca distrust and fear outsiders, especially Yaminahua, Cashinahua, and Culina. In response to rumors of intended violence, men may visit the supposed enemies, with bows and arrows in hand as always, and kill them by ambush or other means. In hand-to-hand combat men use knuckle-dusters made of the vegetable ivory of yarina palm nuts and long, narrow, finely pointed, wooden swords.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Amahuaca believe that Indian peoples were first nonhuman animals and that they themselves originated from a *xopaan*, the gourdlike fruit of a begonia. Their principal culture hero, Rantanga, is equated with the sun and regarded as the source of fire, cultivated plants, and stone axes, as well as the creator of animals. Themes of Amahuaca myths include floods, earthquake, holocaust, an arrow-cane ladder to the sky, ancestral twins, the sun and moon as incestuous siblings, and female frog spirits with *vagina dentata*. Eclipses warn of the imminent arrival of cannibalistic spirits. A deformed baby is thought to be sired by an incubus spirit. The universe is inhabited by a host of spirits (*yoshin*) that are feared but can be manipulated. The most dangerous animal spirits are those of predators. Celestial bodies, including aurora borealis, are spirits of people who once lived on earth. Angry spirits of the dead ancestors can kill the living with epidemic diseases.

**Ceremonies.** At about the age of 3 years a youngster's ears and nasal septum are pierced for ornaments. Adolescent boys are expected to participate in an ordeal of wasp stings. Harvests of the main crops are marked by festivals to which relatives from a neighboring hamlet are invited. After many days and nights of singing and dancing to ripen a crop, a large quantity of soup is jointly prepared by men of the host group and served to all. To communicate with tutelary jaguar spirits or friendly ancestors, adult men drink a decoction of ayahuasca and chant throughout the night. *Datura* is smoked with tobacco for the same purpose.

**Arts.** Various geometric designs are painted in red and black on the body, on bamboo arrow blades, and on headbands and are incised on wooden clubs and occasionally on ceremonial bowls. The only musical instruments are small three-hole bamboo "flutes" (recorders) and tiny musical bows.

**Medicine.** A healer (*hawaai*) drinks ayahuasca and blows smoke into a patient's nostrils. By swallowing powdered tobacco and ayahuasca, he can send his jaguar alter ego to retrieve a lost soul. A childless woman who does not menstruate may eat sour seeds of a certain fruit or be beaten lightly with a paddle club to induce menstruation and pregnancy. To help infants grow fast, become strong, and learn to walk, mothers rub juice of *genipa* fruit or leaves from sturdy plants on their skin. Soup is blown or vomited onto the bodies of youngsters during harvest cere-

monies to make them strong. Nasal and head congestion are treated with tobacco blown through a short, bone snuff tube, one end of which is inserted in one's mouth and the other in the nose. A virulent toxin secreted through the skin of a small frog called *kambó* is rubbed into open wounds to bring visions, purge the body, and increase hunting skill. Infusions of aromatic plants are rubbed on the skin to increase hunting success by camouflaging body odor. Individuals use chants and many kinds of fruits, seeds, leaves, and roots to treat their own illnesses, as well as to make them irresistible to a desired mate or repel an unwanted spouse. Scratching the caudal scales of a boa constrictor is thought to lessen the pain of stings by large black ants in the gardens.

**Death and Afterlife.** The body of a deceased person is buried temporarily in the house floor and then cremated after relatives arrive from other communities. The ashes are reburied and charcoal from the funeral pyre is thrown into the river. Fragments of charred bones and teeth are ground, mixed with soup, and consumed by the closest relative. To remove all reminders of the deceased and discourage the spirit from lingering, personal possessions are burned or broken, including garden crops and the house built by the deceased. Spirits of dead relatives are thought to fly to a place in the sky near the sun, where hunting is easy and they visit with others who have preceded them.

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GERTRUDE E. DOLE

## Amuesha

ETHNONYMS: Amage, Amajo, Amueixa, Amuetamo, Lorenzo, Omage, Yanesha

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Amuesha" is derived perhaps from *aamo* (capybara) and *-esha'* (classificatory). Formerly, many of the group used it to refer to themselves, but today they prefer "Yanesha" (we people).

**Location.** The Amuesha traditionally occupied the region in the high central jungle of Peru between 9.7° and 11.1° S and 74.6° and 75.6° W in the present-day departments of Junín and Pasco, along the valleys of the upper Perené and Pozuzo rivers, the headwaters of the Palcazu River, and the southernmost headwaters of the Pichis River. Today their territory is between 9.7° and 10.8° S and 75° and 75.6° W. This reduced territory is also occupied by thousands of colonists.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Recent studies demonstrate that the Amuesha language is a member of the Maipuran Arawakan Family (i.e., mainstream Arawakan, rather than an isolated branch of the Arawakan stock, as it was previously classified). The confusion in classification arose in part because it contains dozens of Quechua loanwords; many loans from Panoan languages; and numerous old, completely assimilated Spanish loans, as well as new Spanish ones. There are a few regional dialectal differences but they do not impede communication.

**Demography.** Epidemics in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth reduced the population to about 3,500 in 1950. A conservative estimate of the population in 1989 is 7,000.

### History and Cultural Relations

Linguistic evidence suggests that the Amuesha migrated to the eastern foothills of the Andes at least 2,000 years ago. For centuries prior to the arrival of the Spaniards the Amuesha were in constant contact with other jungle groups who came to the Cerro de Sal (Salt Mountain) in Amuesha territory to obtain salt for their own use and for barter with more distant groups. Linguistic, archaeological, and mythological evidence suggest that the Amuesha were later dominated by the Incas and were forced to work for them. The first important contact with the Spaniards was in 1635, when the Franciscans established a mission among the Amuesha and neighboring Campa groups (Asháninca, Ashéninca, and Nomatsiguenga) at Cerro de Sal. When hostilities broke out a few years later, the mission was destroyed. It was reestablished in 1671, and by 1673 the indigenous population reached more than 1,000. Again hostilities destroyed the efforts of the Franciscans until 1709. In 1742 the Campa groups and the Amuesha, led by Juan Santos Atahualpa Inca, rebelled and drove all outsiders from the area. More than 100 years passed before mission efforts were renewed in 1881 at Oxapampa on the headwaters of the Pozuzo.

In the 1860s colonists from the Tyrolean Alps estab-

lished themselves along the Pozuzo and spread to the Palcazu; in 1890 the Peruvian Corporation was ceded 500,000 hectares along the Perené and Ene rivers. Thus, outsiders gradually dispossessed the Amuesha of the territory along their western and southern boundaries. In the southeast, the Ashéninca Campa now claim former Amuesha territory. The Amuesha have been in continuous contact with the outside world for more than 100 years, but today the contact is even more intense following the influx of colonists from the highlands after the construction of the Marginal Highway, which transverses the whole of Amuesha territory.

### Settlements

Except for the large groups gathered into the early missions, Amuesha settlements were traditionally small, extended-family units 2 to 3 kilometers away from other such settlements. At present they live in at least forty-seven small communities ranging in size from two to more than fifty families. The largest community has a population of about 700. Approximately twenty-five of the communities are legally recognized and have land titles, although the amount of land suitable for agriculture is inadequate in most cases. The communities tend to be more stable at present, since parents wish their children to attend school, and land titles, for the most part, are in the name of the community rather than individuals. The school and soccer field are the center of most communities; some also have a small church and a public-health post. The downriver communities (350 to 500 meters in elevation) are usually built along the banks of the Palcazu or one of its tributaries; in the higher elevations (up to 1,800 meters) each household locates near a spring. Formerly, an Amuesha house had a palm-thatch roof, a framework of hardwood poles, and floors and walls of split palm-bark. Today, many Amuesha live in rough-hewn wood-frame houses with aluminum roofs.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Amuesha were and are horticulturists. Crops include sweet manioc, plantains, sweet potatoes and a variety of other starchy roots, maize, and squash, as well as pineapple, papaya, and other fruits. Their slash-and-burn subsistence agriculture, typical of Amazonia, is supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering. However, except for pacas and agoutis—rodents that thrive on manioc—game and fish have been scarce for many years, especially in the upriver area. During the rubber boom at the turn of the century, the German colonists in the downriver area created necessities by introducing goods that drew the Amuesha into the *patrón* system, whereby they were obliged to work rubber and plunged into a cycle of perpetual indebtedness. In the 1940s the patrones persuaded the Amuesha to use their abandoned fields as pastures and raise cattle "by halves." Today, along with about forty purchased good stock bulls and other cattle acquired from outside the tribe, as a result, there are some 2,000 head of cattle in Amuesha communities, with individually owned production on the increase. Beginning about 1940, many Amuesha left the upper Palcazu communities for several months a year to

work in the coffee harvests of colonists—primarily of German descent—in the upriver area. Since about 1955 the Amuesha themselves have grown coffee as a cash crop and hired other Amuesha to work in the harvest and other aspects of production. They have at least one coffee cooperative. Downriver there is an incipient forestry cooperative, organized by the Pichis-Palcazu Project, which implemented socioeconomic development as well as road construction and colonization along this branch of the Marginal Highway. Some cash income still comes from wage labor.

**Industrial Arts.** Aboriginal crafts included ceramics, weaving, fabrication of bows and arrows and adornments, and basket weaving. Today, Amuesha make only baskets, palm-leaf mats for household use, and some adornments.

**Trade.** Until the mid-twentieth century Amuesha men participated in networks of trading-partner relationships with the Asháninca and Ashéninca Campa. Traditional handwoven, long tunics, are still obtained by some of the men, who barter machetes and other merchandise with more isolated Campa communities.

**Division of Labor.** Men clear and burn new fields, help with planting subsistence crops, and manage plantain fields. Women help with the planting, do most of the weeding, and harvest produce for household consumption. Cattle and pastures are managed almost exclusively by the men. Men are usually responsible for the management of coffee fields, but both men and women participate in weeding and harvesting coffee. Women prepare food, wash clothes, weave baskets, and care for the children. In former times, they also did the spinning and weaving and made pottery, whereas men made bows and arrows and hunted. Girls 4 years of age and older help care for their younger siblings.

**Land Tenure.** Aboriginally, individuals had the right to occupy and cultivate land wherever they chose to live. With increasing pressure from colonists, Amuesha are largely restricted to small, individually purchased fields or to farming community-owned land assigned to them by local leaders.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Cognatic descent groups traditionally lived as territorial units; often there was conflict between them. Today, although many recognize themselves as being from one or the other group, bilateral kindreds are the only functioning kin-based groups. Within communities nuclear and extended matrilineal families form household units within clusters of patrilineally related households.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is of the Dravidian type, with sex and parallel or cross relations distinguished in three generations. Cross relations are equated with affinal ones; in fact, the affinal concept is predominant in the terms. Consanguineal, parallel relations are the stronger ones and require mutual respect and help. Amuesha deities are referred to by three terms. Joking relations are maintained between cross cousins of the same sex and avoidance relations between those of the opposite sex. The Spanish terms for "aunt" and "uncle" are

used by many for siblings of both parents. Great-grandparents are referred to as classificatory siblings.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Cross cousins or classificatory cross cousins are preferred marriage partners, but there are many marriages between nonrelatives and some with neighboring Asháninca and Ashéninca or with colonists. Polygyny—often sororal—is seldom practiced today. The prospective groom usually approaches his mother's brother or father's sister's husband to ask for the bride, but a mature man is sometimes approached by the prospective father-in-law. Formerly, the bride's father had the couple kneel before him in a simple ceremony before the groom moved into his in-law's household. Currently, some couples have civil or religious ceremonies, but there is often no ceremony. Matrilineal residence was the norm—at least until the first child was weaned. The groom, as part of his bride-service, was expected to bring in firewood and game as well as help his father-in-law clear new fields. When the in-laws started nagging about his inadequate service, he knew he was expected to leave. The death of one child after another is also a common cause for divorce. Some Amuesha have had as many as five or six spouses in succession; other marriages have lasted a lifetime.

**Domestic Unit.** Formerly, matrilineal extended families were the most common domestic unit. Today there is an increasing tendency toward nuclear families. Aged parents usually live with a married child.

**Inheritance.** Traditionally, when an adult member of the family died, the house and fields were abandoned so there was almost nothing to inherit except a few bead or seed ornaments. Since many have entered into a coffee-based market economy, a shaman is often paid to keep the spirits of the deceased away so that the family does not lose everything and have to start over. Inheritance patterns have not yet emerged, but the tendency seems to be toward patrilineal inheritance.

**Socialization.** Children are raised very permissively until there is a younger sibling. Punishment with nettles once or twice usually suffices to make the threat of their use an adequate sanction. Threats of injections or being attacked by cattle are also used to control children. Education is highly valued; most young people now complete primary school and many are enrolled in high school. Approximately 80 percent of those under age 30 are literate in Spanish and about 50 percent are literate in their own language as a result of the government's bilingual education program, which began in 1953, and the efforts of some monolingual Spanish schools that were established a few years prior to that in Amuesha territory.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The Amuesha were and are egalitarian in their social and economic interaction and highly value individual will and personal autonomy. At the same time, their cosmology and their relation to the priestly leaders and ceremonial centers show some hierarchical tendencies. Traditionally, there were no strong political leaders; instead local socioreligious leaders (*cornesha'*)—

priests—gained authority and prestige by their generosity and wise leadership in worship and community matters. Some priests gained a measure of authority over a wider area, but there was never a cohesive sociopolitical organization that included all Amueshas. Even before the last cornesha' died in 1956, if there was no local cornesha', an older man who had lived in the community the longest was generally recognized as the leader. Generosity is still one of the main avenues for gaining respect. A would-be leader and coffee planter will impoverish himself by generosity to his workers. The high moral value placed on generosity is thus effective in preventing potential entrepreneurs from taking advantage of their less fortunate relatives and neighbors. Trained health promoters are rarely able to continue to purchase supplies of medicine, since their patients remind them that they cannot charge their relatives. Similarly, few Amuesha-owned shops have succeeded.

In 1969 an annual Amuesha leaders' congress was established, with two or three delegates from each community, who elected a president and other officers to maintain contact with government offices. Each community is organized according to the Peruvian system, with younger, more bilingual men often elected to positions of authority. In 1981 the congresses were reorganized as FECONAYA, a federation of Amuesha (Yanesha) communities. Although the federation officers do not exercise a great deal of authority, they—along with the Bilingual Bi-cultural Amuesha Teachers Association—have been instrumental in establishing a sense of tribal identity and pride. Perhaps the single most important factor in helping the Amuesha maintain their language and culture has been bilingual education and the development of written literature in their language—much of it written by Amuesha authors.

**Social Control and Conflict.** The Amuesha highly value peace; the ostracism that follows being known as an angry or stingy person is usually sufficient to keep most quarrels under control. There is always a certain amount of tension between affines, but open conflict is rare. Even when outsiders dispossess them of their land, the Amuesha will avoid a fight if at all possible. Homicide and theft were almost unknown in aboriginal times. Today criminal accusations are adjudicated by Peruvian authorities.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Even before the arrival of the first Franciscan missionaries, Amuesha religion was syncretistic. Sun worship—borrowed from the Incas—was superimposed on the typical jungle aboriginal animistic beliefs. The early missionaries left numerous traces of their work in Amuesha mythology. Our Grandfather God is the supreme creator; his jealous classificatory brother Yosoper (Lucifer) created the reverse, evil counterpart of everything good. Our Fathers and, especially, Our Father the Sun, give life and breath and strength to humanity. The priestly leader led his people in ceremonial dances “making merry” to Our Father the Sun. At other times they made merry when a beautiful bird flew into the clearing to implore him to deliver messages from Our Father. Our Mother the Moon is of lesser importance. In addition, there are many demons and evil spirits as well as numerous animate and inanimate spirits. Most Amuesha in this century have been

baptized by Catholic priests but have little understanding of the meaning of the ceremony except as a means to acquire a Spanish name. Beginning about 1960 small evangelical congregations were formed under indigenous leadership. Thirteen churches are now organized into two Amuesha presbyteries within the Evangelical Church of Peru.

**Religious Practitioners.** Until the mid-twentieth century the priestly leaders had considerable standing; they led the people in making cooperative gardens and in worship around the local temples. Shamans also enjoyed considerable status and influence, because they had contact with the jaguar spirits and other supernatural beings. There are also diviners who ascertain the cause of illness, receive messages and songs from Our Father, and advise on momentous problems, through chewing coca leaves. Today the Christian pastors share the leadership of the churches with the laity.

**Ceremonies.** The full moon—which provided light for dancing—was the occasion for most parties to “make merry to Our Father the Sun.” Another important rite is the party at the full moon after a girl has been secluded for several weeks (or even several months) in a small leaf room following the onset of puberty.

**Arts.** Singing and playing the panpipes were important parts of Amuesha ceremonies and continue on a small scale in several communities. Amuesha designs were seen in intricately woven wristbands, which are rarely worn these days. Some men used the same designs in making the crowns that they wore on festive occasions and the carved wooden paddles used to stamp designs on the face.

**Medicine.** Until the mid-twentieth century children were accused of burning bones, a form of witchcraft, and severely punished or even killed if another relative died. Disease is also believed to be caused by the spirits of the dead; until recently, bodies were sometimes exhumed and cremated. Spirits in termite nests, the water, rocks, and so forth also cause illness. It is the duty of close relatives to burn the offending element to effect a cure. Herbal medicines and the efforts of shamans were also used. Today, Western medical help is usually sought, but shamans and specialists in medicinal herbs continue to practice.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Amuesha spirit was believed to be taken to heaven after death, whereas the “shadow spirit” lingered around the dwelling of the deceased or around the grave and caused close relatives to become ill. There was little ceremony connected with a burial. Today there is a wake with burial the next day, more or less following Peruvian custom.

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MARY RUTH WISE

## Anambé

ETHNONYMS: Anambe, Amanayé (Manayé), Turiwara

### Orientation

**Identification.** In the Tupí-Guaraní language, the word "Anambé" is applied to various species of birds. "Amanayé" (Manayé) means an association of people, and the expression "Turiwara" was used to designate a group of Indians from the Rio Turi region in the Brazilian state of Maranhão. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, the Anambé continued to be identified by their original name. Later, after they had left their ancient territory, they were confused with, first, the Amanayé, who inhabited the Rio Capim area, and later with the Turiwara who were then living on the Rio Cairari (an affluent of the Moju). Finally, as of 1969, in their contacts with Whites, they again identified themselves as Anambé.

**Location.** The Anambé were first sighted in 1842 on lands located on the left bank of the Rio Tocantins (in the state of Pará)—that is, at the headwaters of the Rio Pacajá Grande de Portel (4° to 5° S and 50° to 51° W). In 1842 an Anambé subgroup appeared in the district of Baião, also on the left bank of the Tocantins. In 1874 the presence of another group of Anambé-Curupity was recorded, which at that time joined the subgroup living in Baião. On a map published by the government of Pará in 1908 the Anambé were assigned to the area between the Pacajá and Irinynauá rivers. Around 1940–1950 they were considered extinct, but this was not the case. They had moved to the right bank of the Tocantins, finally settling on the Rio Cairari. At first confused with the Amanayé and Turiwara, they later assumed their original name (Anambé). In 1982 the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI) had moved the Anambé to the Indian reserve of the Tembê, located on the Rio Guamá. They were not able to adapt, however, and returned to their former territory on the Rio Cairari.

**Demography.** Early in 1850 the Anambé population was estimated at 600 individuals. In 1862 the group made up of Anambé and Curupity numbered around 250; in 1874 this number was reduced to 46. In the following year, 34 people having died from smallpox, the 12 survivors joined the other group that had already settled on the bank of the Rio Tocantins. In 1940 there were 60 individuals living in a village located on the upper Cairari, but in 1948 the group consisted of barely 32 individuals, includ-

ing a Brazilian *caboclo* married to an Indian woman. Twenty years later (1968), the group had been reduced to 19 individuals, consisting of 11 men (6 above the age of 15, 5 below) and 8 women (7 above the age of 15, 1 below). In the following year (1969) there were 22 individuals living in the village of Jaci-Tatã (20 Indians and 2 mestizos); 4 Indians and 2 mestizos lived outside the village. In 1984, according to a survey made by the Second Regional Delegation of FUNAI of the indigenous population in the Cairari area, there were 32 people: 20 Indians and 12 non-Indians—a total of eight families distributed in four village houses. Living outside the immediate area, but in the vicinity, were another four Anambé families: in three cases indigenous women were married to Whites, and in the fourth an Indian was married to a White woman. Some of those families, consisting of 12 individuals, were building houses within the indigenous area. In Mocajuba there lived two Anambé women, as well as a boy whose mother was an Anambé. Other Anambé lived dispersed on the banks of the Cairari, at the headwaters of the Rio Moju.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Anambé speak a language of the Tupí-Guaraní Language Family, similar to the languages spoken by the Guajajara-Tenetebara, Tembê, and Turiwara. All the Anambé over 40 years of age still speak the traditional language, and almost all in the 20- to 30-year-old age bracket still understand it. In general, they speak Portuguese fluently.

### History and Cultural Relations

From time immemorial the Anambé had lived at the headwaters of the Rio Pacajá Grande de Portel; in 1842 they moved to the district of Baião on the left bank of the Tocantins. They were led by a chief and appeared willing to settle. The Anambé were already pacified, having had contact with Whites for the previous twenty years. The leader of the group told the naturalist Ferreira Pena, who visited them in 1864, the following story about the origin of the tribe: "For many years they had been living on the Pacajá Grande led by a single chief—a wise warrior who came from the west. Many years later the Europeans arrived and began hostilities against the tribe. After that the Jesuit missionaries arrived and initially showered them with friendship. However, soon after they began to separate wives from their husbands, taking many of them to where the present city of Portel is located: the men to work clearing land and making canoes and the women as domestic servants. This displeased the members of the tribe who no longer obeyed a single chief and began to form separate groups. Later the Jauodité-Tapuira Indians, reputed to be cannibals, appeared on Pacajá Grande. After attacking the Anambé they left the area. For their part, the Anambé from Tocantins, dissatisfied with the behavior of the Indian leader Manoel Luiz, separated from the group and went to found another village on the headwaters of the Rio Caraipé, taking the Indian José Pacheco as their chief" (Magalhães 1864, 40–41). After having crossed the Tocantins to the right bank, they clashed with the Western Gaviões (Parkateyé) who pushed them out of the headwater region of the Rio Moju. They crossed the dividing waters between the Moju and the Cairari rivers and settled

in Sipoteua. There they were encountered by the businessman Bernardino Inácio dos Santos who also acted in the capacity of a Protestant cleric and established friendly relations with them.

Between 1948 and 1968 the contacts between the Anambé and the local Brazilians took on a definitive pattern. Until then, the Brazilian penetration and settlement of the Rio Cairari had reached from the mouth of the Rio Moju to the town of Repartimiento, where a population of Pentecostals of the Assembly of God from Mocajuba were establishing themselves. South of that settlement, the Anambé were the only permanent and settled inhabitants. Nonetheless, from 1950 on, the extraction of wood and *macaranduba* latex attracted new settlers. Besides a number of families that lived between Repartimento and Alto Cairari, it was usually entrepreneurs and around 200 workers, coming from two municipalities of Mocajuba, Baião, and Cametá, who dispersed themselves over the area each year. The Anambé rarely took on those jobs. Under the paternalistic influence of the businessman who managed them and who felt they were too weak to work in heavy lumbering, they were employed as suppliers of skins, game, flour, copal, *jutaica* resins, and auxiliary services. Even though this was disadvantageous to the Anambé in terms of income, it enabled them to maintain group cohesion in a single village and to survive as a tribal unit apart from the Brazilians. In 1973 some Indians joined the woodcutting crews as salaried workers and were employed by two contractors who used to carry on business dealings with a sawmill in Moju. Other Indians, however, preferred to negotiate on their own with a middleman who traveled throughout the area.

In 1982, in view of the already increasing invasion of the general Cairari region, FUNAI was able to convince the Anambé to move to the Indian reserve in Alto Guamá, which was occupied by the Tembé Indians, with whom the Anambé had cultural affinity. Meanwhile, having clashed with settlers who had invaded the Guamá reserve and finding themselves unable to adapt to the area (which was deficient in fish and wildlife), the Anambé decided to return to Cairari. They did this despite the fact that FUNAI had removed twenty-two settlers and their families from the reserve territory, leaving more than 100 *tarefas* (25 hectares) planted with manioc, bananas, and peppers. In 1983, when the Anambé returned to the Cairari region, they seized about 1,700 logs of wood and a number of trees felled by the invaders who by then had occupied the area for about ten years. The Anambé gave them a time limit of two years in which to leave the area. By the 1990s the dispersion of the Anambé had ceased, probably partly because of assistance received from FUNAI and partly because the Anambé are demonstrating the ability to integrate recent arrivals into their group.

### Settlements

From the time of their settlement on the Cairari, where Brazilian occupation was sparse, the Anambé considered as theirs the land from mid-river of the Lago Grande up to its headwaters. However, the now-defunct Indian Protection Service (SPI) never tried to legalize the ownership of these lands for the Anambé, and eventually the Indians found

themselves encroached upon by an expansive national frontier. Finally, in the 1980s, and upon a proposal made by the Indians through the agency of the Missionary Indigenous Council (CIMI-Norte II), the Anambé were allotted an area on the right bank of the Cairari, between the Carrapatal waterway and Lake Comprido. The only homesteader territory was indemnified, and an area of 7,912 hectares and 42 kilometers in perimeter was demarcated and legalized on behalf of the Indians. Within this area, local groups have rights only to their houses and plantations, and only for as long as these are maintained. In 1968 the only existing village (Jací-Tatã) was located on the bank of the Rio Cairari, on high ground with six large houses scattered about without any plan, orientation, or alignment. They were rectangular, with thatched saddle roofs and no side or front walls. Floors consisted of split palm stems. Three of the houses were occupied by nuclear families and one by an extended family. One was uninhabited and another was used for making farinha or cassava meal. The only piece of furniture in the houses was a cotton hammock (of the Cearense type), which must have been commercially acquired as indigenous hammocks were not made locally. After returning to the reserve in Guamá, the Anambé first lived like their Brazilian neighbors, waiting for their crops to ripen. Then they returned to the interior of the region that they had formerly occupied and set about building houses in the regional style with straw or wooden roofs.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Anambé derive their subsistence from hunting, fishing, agriculture, and the gathering of wild fruits. At present they use shotguns for hunting and cotton or nylon lines with steel hooks for fishing. Occasionally, however, they still use the bow and arrow. The Anambé plant mainly bitter and sweet manioc, maize, pumpkins, bananas, beans, sugarcane, papayas, and pineapples; lately they have also been growing rice and tobacco. Fields are cleared of trees and bushes in the jungle or in secondary-growth areas using machetes or steel axes, and sickles and hoes are used for planting and harvesting. Domestic groups, as a rule, plant their fields separately. Sometimes they also clear a larger area and divide the harvest proportionately among those who participated in the work. In the preparation of meal or tapioca, fermented cassava dough is mixed with grated manioc. In this process the Anambé use mortars and pestles, plaited cylindrical manioc presses (*tipitis*), troughs from old canoes, graters made from tin cans, and ovens made from steel drums. The Anambé stopped making manioc beer (*caxiri*) a long time ago.

Besides the extractive products previously mentioned (timber, latex, and resins), the Anambé also sell surplus products, as well as the hogs, ducks, and chickens they raise. Until the end of the 1960s all Anambé commercial dealings were with a single dealer. Soon thereafter they began selling their products to traders and some moved to the city of Mocajuba, where they could sell their products for cash and for higher prices than those offered by traders or local bosses, from whom they generally did not receive cash. The Anambé acquire items such as clothes, shoes,

salt, sugar, coffee, tobacco, matches, shotguns, nets, lead sinkers, gunpowder, and fishhooks and fishing lines from stores.

**Industrial Arts.** The Anambé make straw carrying baskets, fans, and plaited straw sieves, as well as small plaited and coiled baskets in which to keep odds and ends. Plaited manioc presses, which are arduous to make, are bought from stores in the region. The Anambé no longer make pottery; they prepare their food in earthen ovens, on open fires, and over metal grates using metal pots. From wood, in addition to bows and arrows, they make mortars, pestles, and spindles. The small canoes that the Anambé use are bought from Brazilian caboclos. Although the Anambé still spin cotton, they do not now make hammocks, instead purchasing them from the regional market. They no longer have any knowledge of featherworking.

**Division of Labor.** The men hunt, fish, make wooden items and baskets, and clear fields. Planting is a mixed activity, but harvesting is mainly done by women. Both men and women carry burdens and collect wild fruit.

### *Kinship, Marriage, and Family*

**Kinship and Descent.** The Anambé traditionally were organized in extended families; owing to modern influence, however, the nuclear family now predominates. In 1968 there was only one domestic group that could be considered an extended family. No information has been obtained regarding lines of descent or rules of residence. Among the available publications, only one includes a list of kinship terms, but it is incomplete. It is therefore impossible to correctly describe or analyze the Anambé terminological system with any degree of accuracy.

**Marriage.** Marriage can be polygynous, including marriage with outsiders. Even though women now marry when they reach puberty, monogamous unions predominate, mainly because of a shortage of available women. Because of the reduction in the group's population and because its members are closely related, marriage to people outside the group has come to be preferred.

**Domestic Unit.** In 1968 there were four domestic groups in the village, one formed by an extended family and the other three by nuclear families. Outside the village there were other nuclear families, formed by native women married to men from the local population. As of the early 1990s, families that were formed by those out-marrying groups are returning to the village.

**Socialization.** The education of children takes place within the family. Parents transmit traditional sociocultural values, although these have changed perceptibly since contact with the outside world. In earlier years, children were not sent to regional schools to be educated because such institutions were far removed from the native area. Then, in 1984, CIMI-Norte II and the vicar from Mocajuba made formal education available in a village school. The teacher was a local man who had married an Indian woman. The school was short-lived, however. In 1989 FUNAI set up a permanent village school that provides education for some thirty-four pupils.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Information about the Anambé in historic times is unreliable, and nothing is known about their social organization, social stratification, lineages, or name transmission. The Anambé have by now almost totally lost their traditional social organization.

**Political Organization.** The schema of traditional Anambé political organization is likewise unknowable. One man, Aypan, had functioned as the group's leader since the 1950s, but after a few years he ceased to have any real leadership role and held little more than a status position. Following Aypan's death in the 1980s, two other Indians were chosen to take the positions of chief and subchief. One was chosen because of his experience with the outside world. The other took on the role of chief in the absence of the former. The Anambé received no help from the SPI, which never played a guardianship role. In this it was quite different from FUNAI, which has begun to exercise such a role through an administrative unit installed in the village.

**Social Control.** Despite a long series of crises, the Anambé succeeded in maintaining a degree of internal cohesion that became more significant after the group's return from the Indian reserve on the Rio Guamá. According to information furnished by CIMI-Norte II, the more representative members of the group have been able to begin "indianizing" non-Indian elements in the community.

**Conflict.** Like other native societies, the Anambé historically had both inter- and extratribal conflicts. They also came into conflict with the Jesuits as these began submitting the Anambé to a process of disintegration—separating the men from the women and designating them to carry out work for third parties away from their homes. Little is known about the period after the Anambé had moved to the right bank of the Tocantins except that they fought with the western Gaviões, who forced them to move to another territory. Since 1950, there has been friction between the Anambé and settlers who have invaded their territory. This, however, has been counteracted by the establishment of the reserve that was assigned to them in 1982.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional religious ideology and mythology have been totally lost. Christian concepts were initially incorporated through the influence of the Catholic church. In the 1940s a Protestant minister tried to convert the Anambé but was unsuccessful. At present they are influenced both by Catholic priests and by members of the Pentecostal community (Vila Erlim) located in the vicinity of the village.

**Religious Practitioners.** In 1948 the Anambé had two shamans. In 1968, after both had died, there was no one else to take on this role, and the group leader, Aypan, refused to assume the office. In 1990, there were neither shamans nor other religious practitioners in the village.

**Ceremonies.** The Anambé long ago stopped conducting puberty rites or any other rituals.

**Arts.** As traditional rites were abandoned, related songs and dances were also forgotten. Moreover, as the Anambé abandoned these practices, they stopped making musical



instruments as well as body ornaments and other typical native artifacts. According to the Anambé, several of their songs were known only to Aypan.

**Medicine.** Once the Anambé no longer had shamans, adult Indians generally continued to employ herbal medicaments in treating illness. For more serious illnesses, they try to obtain treatment in the city of Mocajuba, sometimes using an intermediary to take them to the hospital; they also go to Belém do Pará, where they are treated by FUNAI's regional delegation.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Anambé practice direct burials in rectangular graves, using wooden coffins just like those used by the Brazilians in the area. Whereas in former times they buried their dead in the vicinity of the village, nowadays they are taken to the nearest village cemetery. The Anambé now adhere to Christian concepts regarding an afterlife.

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EXPEDITO ARNAUD  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Angaité

ETHNONYMS: Angate, Chenanesmá, Coyaviti, Enlit, Enenslet, Enslet, Kyoma

The 2,400 Angaité Indians live in the Gran Chaco area of Paraguay, especially between the Trans-Chaco Highway and the Río Paraguay, and between the Montelindo and San Carlos rivers in the department of Boquerón. Specifically, they live in the towns of Puerto Casado, San Carlos, Colonia 3, Juan de Salazar, Makthlawaiya-Anglican Mission, and the estancias (cattle ranches) of Guajó, Cerrito, San Pedro, and Tuparandá. Their language belongs to the Maskoian Family. Only one-half of the Angaité can speak the Angaité language; the rest use Guaraní.

During the Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia (1932-1935), many Angaité were killed by Bolivian soldiers. By the 1940s the Angaité lived in more than sixteen villages near Puerto Pinasco. In the 1990s the Angaité are highly acculturated, owing in large part to the construction of the Trans-Chaco Highway, which brought settlers and development to their territory. Some Angaité work as ranch hands near Puerto Casado, some as wage laborers, and still others, like generations of their forebears, are employed in tanneries on the Río Paraguay. Many Angaité have married non-Angaité Indians who also came to work at these factories, and the language used by these couples and their children is Guaraní rather than Angaité.

In 1971 the New Tribes Mission brought some 250 Angaité to San Carlos, on the Río Paraguay, where they are learning agricultural techniques and where they have been given land to farm. Fewer than 50 Angaité also work as agricultural laborers at the Mennonite farms near Colonia 3.

Traditionally, Angaité subsistence depended largely on the gathering of wild plant foods—roots, tubers, palm shoots, Barbary figs, as well as the pods and fruits of a surprisingly large number of trees. Heavy reliance on food collecting (because arid conditions and seasonal flooding severely restricted horticulture) imposed a migratory lifestyle on the Angaité. Garden crops included maize, sweet manioc, beans, pumpkins, *anco* (squashes), watermelons, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and cotton. For several months of the year, fishing provided, and, on a reduced scale, continues to provide much-needed protein.

Hunting also used to be important but is less so because Whites have reduced the amount of game available. Once the Angaité acquired horses, they more frequently practiced group hunts using drives and circles to take game. Peccaries, rheas, and deer are the favored game. The Angaité keep dogs—both for hunting and protection—and raise sheep and goats. Seasonal hunger and outright famine force the Angaité to seek wage labor in regional agricultural and industrial enterprises.

The Angaité generally preferred to live without shelter most of the time, sleeping on skins. Both sexes are tattooed, but women wear more tattoos than men, and wealthier women more tattoos than poor women.

The rivers of Angaité territory are not suitable for navigation by canoe, and water often becomes dangerously scarce during the dry season. Although the Angaité have dug wells of 4 to 6 meters in depth, they are occasionally forced to drink the water that collects in *caraguatá* leaves or obtain moisture from *çipói* tubers.

The Angaité had a long tradition of frequent warfare. They went to war to avenge the death of one of their own group killed by violence or by sorcery, to punish trespassers and looters, and to capture women and children.

Angaité religion and oral literature are in the process of becoming extinct owing to intensive culture contact with non-Angaité, especially missionaries. Oral literature emphasizes, among other apparent idiosyncrasies, the mythical importance of the terrestrial and celestial spaces, rather than the three-tiered universe that predominates in other Gran Chaco mythologies. Human life evolves under the influence of a benign eastern ancestral god and a western lord of death. Shamans mediate between humankind and the two worlds by means of tutelary spirits, with whom they communicate through dreams and chants. Shamanic healing aims at recapturing the lost soul of the patient, extracting pathogenic agents through suction, and/or administering herbal concoctions. Upon death, the skeletal-soul of a person proceeds to the western land of the dead, where it will dwell; anthropologists have determined that the Angaité also believe in a shadow-soul, but its fate remains uncertain.

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## Apalai

ETHNONYMS: Aparai. In historical sources: Aparahy, Aparay, Appareille, Appiroi

### Orientation

**Identification.** The term "Apalai" is of Tupían origin and means "small bow." This designation is found in sources dating from the eighteenth century and is the self-name of the modern group. The Apalai recognize the Makapai and Inumi as subgroups. The Wayana call the Apalai "Pirixiyana" (parakeet people) because of their rapid mode of speech. Having fused with the Wayana, these groups are referred to by a single term, "Wayana-Apalai"; this is an external (administrative, academic) and not an inherently native appellation.

**Location.** The Apalai live exclusively in Brazil, in the Tumucumaque Indian Park and the Paru de Leste Indian Area, where they occupy the banks of the Rio Paru de Leste. This region is located north of the state of Pará, on the border with Suriname, at 0°30' to 2°30' N and 54° to 55°30' W. Some Apalai remain along the Rio Jari in the state of Amapá.

**Demography.** The administrative demographic census of the Apalai includes the Wayana. In 1989, 328 Wayana-Apalai were recorded as living in the Tumucumaque Indian Park; about 10 additional Apalai were found living along the Rio Jari.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Apalai language belongs to the Carib Language Family, more precisely to the northern Cariban of Guiana.

### History and Cultural Relations

It is difficult to obtain information about the Apalai of the past because both archaeological data and historical documentation are lacking. Moreover, the few references dwell mainly on the location of villages. The oldest reports go back to the second quarter of the eighteenth century and state that the "Appirois" and Appareilles" inhabited the headwaters of the Jari and Oiapoque rivers. Following a period of silence, references from the second half of the nineteenth century reveal that Apalai communities occupied a vast territory, with concentrations on the lower courses of the Curuá de Alenquer, Maicuru, Paru de Leste, and Jari rivers. During this time, Apalai history can be traced together with that of the other indigenous groups of the Tumucumaque because they have many cultural traits in common, including the fact that most of them spoke Carib languages. They inhabited an area between the basins of the Trombetas and Jari rivers and their respective tributaries. Their almost complete isolation was only occasionally interrupted by hostile encounters with neighboring tribes, sporadic visits of travelers and scientists, and contacts mainly of a commercial nature with Guianese Maroons.

At the beginning of the twentieth century such contacts with the outside world increased, precipitating a drastic decimation of the indigenous population and promoting the regrouping and fusion of the survivors. Alarmed by

these events, the Apalai initially retired to the headwaters of the Rio Maicuru and the lower and middle Paru de Leste and Jari rivers, including the latter's tributary, the Ipitanga. Finally, during the 1960s, they concentrated along the Paru de Leste. Their oral tradition recounts long periods of war, notably against the Cariban Wayana to the north and the Tupian Wayãpi to the east of their territory, as well as against certain hunting-gathering peoples whose survivors they incorporated into their own population. The process of fusion with the Wayana seems to have begun at the end of the nineteenth century, when the Apalai were concentrated on the Rio Paru de Este. According to mythical narratives, peaceful relations were established between these two groups when they allied themselves to destroy Tuluperê, a common enemy of supernatural origin.

There were Apalai contacts with nonindigenous populations (Brazilians and Guianese) at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Such contact has increased in the twentieth century and can be characterized as intermittent owing to the seasonal character of the region's extractive economy, which is based on balata, Brazil nuts, feline pelts (e.g., those of jaguars), gold, and tin; the Apalai used to participate in some of these activities and occasionally still do, either as extractors or providers of implements or foodstuffs to non-Indian extractors. In the 1960s the Apalai began to have permanent contacts with both missionaries and institutions of public service. The missionaries, who settled in the area in 1963, are evangelists representing the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), a Protestant group, and the Baptist Alliance of the Amazon (ALBAMA). They devote themselves to the study of the Apalai language, which they use in their literacy work and in proselytizing, thereby exerting strong deculturative pressure. Government bodies are represented by the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) and the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI). In 1969 the former installed a landing strip along the middle Rio Paru in a place known as "Apalai Village" and began a regular line of aerial transport. In 1973 FUNAI installed itself near the landing strip. At first this body's activities were of little effect; FUNAI limited itself to occasional hygienic assistance and the purchase of handicrafts. Later, the Indian post implemented more stable programs concerning hygiene and literacy in Portuguese. At the end of the 1980s, military control of the area was increased with the implementation of the CALHA Norte Project (PCN), and the Indian reserve of Tumucumaque became one of its areas of priority.

### Settlements

Exclusively Apalai villages are rare, but one may speak of predominantly Apalai communities, five of which were listed in the 1989 census. Except for "Apalai Village," where government establishments and the evangelical mission are located, the rest of the villages are sited according to economic, religious, and social considerations. Contemporary villages are located on the banks of the Paru de Leste or on nonflooding islands. The composition of villages is diversified, varying according to the number of inhabitants. Dwellings of several types, generically called *tapyi*, shelter nuclear families; meeting and reception houses (*tukussipanos*) for visitors feature conical roofs.

Both are made from local materials. The settlement forms an irregular circle within which the main social activities take place.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Agriculture and hunting are the main subsistence activities. Complementary activities are fishing (during the summer months) and gathering. Agriculture is of the slash-and-burn type. The Apalai plant numerous species of bitter manioc, their staple food. The cassava pulp is made into flat cakes that are always eaten with protein food. The juice is used as a condiment for meats, and the flour is made into gruel. Other vegetables are planted and consumed, some in the form of fermented drinks. In the village, the main meals are always communal. Men are separated from women and children when processed foods are shared. Raw foodstuffs are also exchanged, mainly between related women. The main commercial activity is the manufacture of handicrafts for sale. The repertoire of items includes baskets, ceramics, glass-bead ornaments, and objects sculpted from wood. Initially they were traded internally for merchandise in "Apalai Village"; some Apalai undertook to resell them to Artúndia's (FUNAI's) stores and tourist stores in Belém. FUNAI acquires these trade items for their stores throughout the main Brazilian cities. There are constant complaints about underpayment in such transactions. Especially during the 1950s and 1960s, some Apalai turned to prospecting for gold during the summer months. Leasing rudimentary tools, they extracted gold from rivers in the proximity of cleared fields. Contract work became more rare after 1971. Another business, restricted to the villages to the south of the Paru de Este Indian Area, involves selling salted fish to prospectors in the "May 13th" camp established in the vicinity.

**Industrial Arts.** The women devote themselves to spinning and weaving cotton for body ornaments, hammocks, and fishing nets and making ceramics for ritual and daily use, as well as glass-bead ornaments. Men use lianas, straw, or the cortex of *arumã* (*Ischnosiphon* sp.) stems for more than forty types of basketwork. They work wood to make bows, benches, canoes, paddles, and clubs, and also make arrows, featherwork, and musical instruments (flutes) for ritual use. Apalai men and women are reputed to be excellent pottery makers. An extensive repertory of items is commercialized in order to obtain Western goods.

**Trade.** The Apalai historically belonged to an extensive trade network that connected many indigenous peoples of the Guiana region. Manufactured goods like glass beads, textiles, and axes were obtained from European settlers on the Caribbean coast. Intertribal commerce reached indigenous groups who lived too far away for direct contact. In times of peace the Apalai received merchandise from the Wayana, who in turn obtained it from the Tiriyo and the Maroons. Until the 1970s and 1980s, traders of these groups came to the villages on the Rio Paru to exchange nets and domesticated dogs for industrial products. Owing to their location, the Apalai had access to items that originated in Brazil and that were traded among the local populations. Barter persists with Wayana and Maroon commu-

nities of Suriname and French Guiana, and business transactions take place with FUNAI.

**Division of Labor.** Daily activities are carried out according to a division of labor by sex. Men provide the daily supply of protein by hunting, fishing, and gathering. They choose an appropriate piece of land and undertake the arduous task of preparing the field for agriculture. Planting and harvesting are predominantly women's work. Women also prepare food and drink, spending many hours in processing bitter manioc. They also carry out domestic chores and take care of small children. Men build houses and work wood, plant fibers, and feathers. Women work with clay, glass beads, and cotton. Both men and women produce items for sale.

**Land Tenure.** Land is considered communal property and is divided equally between the Apalai and Wayana. Nevertheless, the ancient territorial division is still valid, that is to say, the central and lower portion of the Paru de Este is an area occupied by the Apalai. Therefore, it is precisely in this area that the majority of their villages are located. However, there is free transit on the rivers, in the jungle, and on streams to permit fishing, hunting, and gathering of foodstuffs and primary materials. Legal claims to a given piece of land are only possible after a field has been prepared; the claim lasts as long as the land is considered productive. Natural resources in the field's vicinity are held to be for the exclusive use of the family group that cultivates it, and exploitation of these resources by others is subject to request and permission. The Indian park of Tumucumaque was created by presidential decree in 1968, and the indigenous Paru de Leste Area was delimited in 1984; the boundaries of neither zone have been fixed.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The generic term for relative is *yekiri*, which is used for both consanguinal and affinal kin. Descent is patrilineal and residence uxorilocal. The terminology for age-classes is different for males and females.

**Kinship Terminology.** The kinship nomenclature of the Apalai follows the Dravidian system. The term *i-rui* designates Ego's brother and male parallel cousins, whereas the term *kono'no* is applied to Ego's male cross cousins.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is preferably with bilateral cross cousins; marriage with parallel cousins is considered incestuous. Polygyny is preferred, especially with a mother and daughter or with two sisters. For a woman, marriage takes place following the onset of menstruation and the celebration of an initiation ritual that features seclusion and propitiatory rites. Marriage can also be contracted between a man and a girl of prepuberty age, in which case the consummation of the union is delayed until the girl has reached womanhood. Although cross-cousin marriage is still the ideal form, the low population index forces the Apalai to enter into different arrangements, including alliances with the Wayana. Yet tribal endogamy is upheld whenever possible, mainly because of the linguistic barrier

between the two groups; only a few Apalai speak the Wayana language.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family constitutes the residential unit. Co-wives live together but keep separate kitchens. There is a preference for initial matrilocality: couples first live with the wife's parents but move away after a prescribed time to establish their neolocal household somewhere in the vicinity. The elderly and widowed live with their children or with married grandchildren. In the past, communal houses lodged entire extended families. During the day life unfolded in the village, but at night everyone retired to spend the night in the large, totally enclosed dwelling at the edge of the forest.

**Inheritance.** By request, a deceased person's belongings may accompany him or her into the grave. Otherwise they are burned, broken, or thrown into the river, depending on the materials from which they are made. Lidded telescoping baskets containing feather ornaments are not destroyed but passed on to the deceased's sons.

**Socialization.** Small children are socialized by their mother, who takes exclusive care of them. From the age of 3 or 4, small pubic covers are worn by boys and girls. This is the time when initial apprenticeship takes place by way of imitative and pleasurable learning. The children are given miniature artifacts such as bows and arrows for the boys and carrying baskets for the girls. Later both sexes begin developing handicraft skills, starting with processing cotton. Instruction intensifies as they grow older and is accompanied by admonishments and activities that are markedly related to the economic cycle. The children accompany their parents to the fields, the forest, or the river, in accordance with the sexual division of labor. The time prior to marriage is employed in refining handicraft skills so as to increase expertise in the manufacture of artifacts and ornaments.

Socialization is only considered complete after the rites of passage, which are different for each sex. Puberty ordeals for girls take place within the home—leaf-cutter ants held in frames against the skin are used to further proper physical development. Male ordeals involve a complex ritual. Frames—similar to those used in the female rites—holding ants or wasps of various kinds are applied to the skin to ensure dexterity in hunting; each man submits to at least seven different wasp ordeals. The missionaries disapprove of the traditional customs and maintain that formal schooling and the evangelical cult are the only appropriate educational options. Thus, puberty rituals are now performed only sporadically.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Social relationships are based on consanguineal and affinal ties between individuals, with the village and domestic group functioning as the basic social units. Villages are generally inhabited by a married couple and their unmarried children, the families of their married daughters, and sundry members of their young husbands' kin or even other people. The establishment of an administrative and service center (with a school, walk-in clinic, etc.) in "Apalai Village" has created an atypical arrangement by bringing together a number of unrelated

families who live there on a temporary or a permanent basis.

**Political Organization.** Sources indicate that there used to be an office of supreme warchief. Present-day leaders are restricted in authority to their respective villages and are referred to as *tamuru*, "old men." In accordance with the rules of political organization, they are the village founders or their sons who have inherited this prerogative. The status of leadership they hold reverts to the members of their families, especially to their sons-in-law (*peitô*), who are saddled with heavy matrimonial obligations. Above all, the authority of the *tamuru* is exercised by giving advice regarding collective labor and by arranging rituals. Nowadays the old men function as their communities' main spokesmen to outsiders.

**Social Control.** An individual's relations with the other members of the community are dependent on social behavior appropriate to his or her age and sex. Failure to observe the prescribed norms results in sanctions—epithets, disrespectful comments, or ostracism.

**Conflict.** Family disputes can lead to the abandonment of a house and temporary relocation to a distant village, "Apalai Village," or even communities in Suriname or French Guiana. Many of the disputes are caused by factors related to the misunderstanding and systematic destruction of traditional values and practices by missionaries and government functionaries.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional Apalai religion is based on the belief in various categories of primal beings, creators, and founders of social norms. Their deeds are recounted in a complex series of mythical narratives, among which those relating to Mopó, a culture hero, are particularly prominent. Myths further recount the origin of natural elements and refer to cultural values. A great deal of influence is exerted on Apalai life by the spirits of the forest, the *zorokó*, and by supernatural water spirits, the *ipore*, among whom Okoiimó, the Anaconda, stands out as the paradigm of supernatural beings.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans possess knowledge of curing practices. There is a hierarchy of shamans that includes specialists who attract game animals and ensure a good harvest as well as specialists in herbal medicine and food exorcism. Other specialists lead singers or dancers in rituals. Old men are regarded as keepers of knowledge about myths and traditions.

**Ceremonies.** Contemporary Apalai ceremonies are indistinguishable from those of the Wayana, because of the small Apalai population and the ongoing process of fusion. There are two main groups of festivities; those consecrated to the flutes, *lué*, and those of female and male initiation, the latter being the most important. The puberty rituals are referred to as *okomoman* in Wayanan and as *feira da tocandeira* in Portuguese. The rituals are conducted according to Wayana custom, although the Apalai now have a similar ceremony where songs are sung to the arrows (*pyrau eremiry*), masks are worn, and basketry frames containing ants or wasps that represent supernatural beings are applied to the skin.

**Arts.** The arts, including rhetoric, song, dance, music, and the visual arts, constitute one of the privileged axes of Apalai life. Handicrafts and body decoration assume a multiplicity of forms. Decorative motifs, generically called *menurú*, are of mythic origin. They were obtained from the skin of the supernatural Anaconda and are believed to be its body painting, even though individually each motif represents a supernatural or primal being.

**Medicine.** Therapeutic practices are related to shamanic cures. In curing, the use of medicinal herbs, food taboos and restrictions in behavior and sexual abstinence are of equal importance. The shaman, *piaxi*, is a person who acts as a mediator between the world of human needs and the dangerous realm of superhuman forces, especially the *zorokó* spirits, which cause illness. Curing shamans use tobacco and rattles; this is a characteristic element of Apalai shamanism, which is recognized and well known in the western Guianas. Western medical examinations, vaccines, and medicines are well tolerated by the Apalai, but surgery and hospitalization are not.

**Death and Afterlife.** Serious illness and death are believed to be the result of the actions of malevolent beings: shamans, spirits, or supernatural beings. The Apalai traditionally buried their dead in the home or abandoned a shaman's corpse in the forest. The village had to be abandoned after many deaths had occurred or upon the death of a chief or a shaman. Nowadays, the missionaries have persuaded the Indians to have a cemetery in the vicinity of "Apalai Village." After death, the vital elements of a person have different destinies. That which is found in the seat of knowledge, the eye, disappears at death, but that which is found on the back of a person and manifests itself as his or her shadow leaves the body and begins a long and dangerous journey to the land of the dead, where it reunites with the ancestors.

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LUCIA HUSSAK VAN VELTHEM  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Apiaká

ETHNONYMS: none

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Apiaká are an indigenous group living in the northern part of Mato Grosso, Brazil. The name "Apiaká" has been known since the beginning of the nineteenth century; it is a variant of the Tupí word "Apiaba," which means "person, people, human." The Kayabí, a neighboring group, call them "Tapê-iting," "Tapy'iting," or "Tapii'sin" (light-skinned people). Present-day inhabitants of the Apiaká Indian Reserve are known and recognized as Apiaká.

**Location.** The Apiaká are scattered along large river courses, and some live in the cities of Juara, Pôrto dos Gaúchos, Belém, and Cuiabá. There are also reports of a nomadic group. The majority of Apiaká live in the Apiaká Indian Reserve, however, located at 10°50' S and 58° W, on the right bank of the central course of the Rio dos Peixes, beginning at the waterfall.

**Demography.** According to Koch-Grünberg, who assembled and ordered the data recorded by various travelers during the nineteenth century and up to 1902, the Apiaká were a numerous and warlike people. From his base in Guimarães, he reported of a village of up to 1,500 people in 1819, as well as very populated villages at the time of Hercules Florence's and Francis de Castelnau's travels. In the Cuiabá archives, Koch-Grünberg found data mentioning 2,700 Apiaká, although he points out that his data are incomplete (1902, 350). According to a report by Rondon, at the beginning of the twentieth century a massacre reduced the Apiaká population to 32 people. Subsequently, part of the group withdrew from contact with Whites and formed the aforementioned nomadic group, the population of which is unknown. In 1978 there were 71 Apiaká living in the Apiaká Indian Reserve, a number that was reduced to 52 in 1984 by emigration. In May 1990, after the arrival of new families, 92 people were living in three villages in the reserve.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Apiaká language belongs to the Tupí Language Family.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Apiaká were a warrior tribe of the Tapajós River Basin and were greatly feared. According to Menéndez (1981, 85), the Apiaká's neighbors were the Bacuri and Tapanhuna on the Rio Arinos and the Oropia, Bororo, Cauairas, and Sitikawa on the upper Rio Juruena. In the nineteenth century travelers using the Arinos-Juruena-Tapajós route, which linked the centers of Cuiabá and Belém, developed peaceful relations with the Apiaká, exchanging products with them and hiring them as guides and paddlers for some of their trips. According to Koch-Grünberg, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Apiaká constituted part of the labor force in extractive occupations. They worked as crew members, porters, fishermen, hunters, or rubber tappers, combining their traditional way of life

with modern life. According to oral Apiaká tradition, after they were massacred in the early twentieth century, it was impossible for the survivors to maintain their traditional tribal way of life. From then on, they mixed with people of other ethnic origins: the Kokama, Kayabí, Mundurucu, Maué, Parecí, pacified Indians, and others.

### Settlements

From the earliest reports to the present, the Apiaká have been known to build their villages near the banks of large rivers, with the exception of the aforementioned nomadic group. Koch-Grünberg reports that an Apiaká village consisted of a house of enormous size, very well built and sheltering hundreds of people. During the nineteenth century Apiaká villages, initially concentrated in the vicinity of the confluence of the Arinos and Juruena rivers, were moved. Part of the group traveled north along the Rio Juruena, and another part went east, up to the Rio São Manoel, where they became known as Parabiteté. This group's tattoos were recognized by the Apiaká as those of "brothers, originating from the same family tree" (Koch-Grünberg 1902, 353).

In the mid-1970s a group of families began the return trip toward the south, looking for a "good employer." A Jesuit missionary invited them to settle in the vicinity of the Kayabí on the Rio dos Peixes. From then on, additional families moved to the south and built the villages of Nova Esperança (1968), Mayrob (1982), and Tatu (1986), all on the Apiaká Indian Reserve. Their houses and kitchens are built from materials obtained from the nearby forest. The architectural style is modeled on that used by Brazilian rubber tappers. As a roof covering, wooden slats are substituted for palm fronds. When the kitchen is not a subdivision of the nuclear-family house, it consists of a smaller structure with half-walls, adjacent to the house.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Until the nineteenth century the Apiaká cleared their fields by cutting the forest with stone axes fixed to wooden handles. They had a reputation for being hardworking agriculturists who also practiced hunting and fishing. Nowadays the Apiaká use sickles, machetes, steel axes, and chain saws in combination with slash-and-burn methods to clear their fields. The Apiaká grow mainly manioc and maize, but also rice, bananas, pineapples, yams, taro, and various other cultigens, as well as dozens of fruit trees. This food production is complemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering in the nearby forest and by raising domestic animals. Besides objects of personal use, they make handicrafts to sell. As far as the products of the hunt, fishing, gathering, and other work is concerned, the Apiaká follow traditional modes of distribution. The same rules govern economic obligations that are part of the social structure.

**Industrial Arts.** According to Koch-Grünberg, the Apiaká used feathers to adorn their spears and to make diadems, earrings, and scepters. Body adornment consisted of raffia or cotton strips. Men wore waist belts of woven cotton and penis sheaths. Strips of the same material were worn on the arms and legs by both sexes. Women also

wore cotton strings in their hair. Necklaces of seeds, teeth, and shells completed a warrior's decoration. Nowadays, they dress as Brazilians do and make canoes, paddles, bows and arrows, carrying baskets, sieves, fire fans, nets from commercial thread, and bracelets and rings of *tucum*-palm material. From the inner layer of the bark they make shoulder straps to carry their children. This fiber is also used for basket handles. Pottery has been replaced by aluminum ware. Bracelets, rings, necklaces, and bows and arrows are made for their own use; these same items, but in simplified form, are also made for sale to tourists.

**Trade.** The Apiaká traditionally used the barter system for their products. There is an obligation to distribute game or fish proportionately, according to the abundance of the food item and the degree of kin relationship. Items of local trade are acquired with money earned from work on neighboring plantations or cattle ranches and/or the sale of handicrafts or rubber latex. The Apiaká have long bought salt, sugar, coffee, clothes, textiles, soap, firearms, munitions, fishing items, kerosene, and steel tools. Occasionally, they buy radios and battery-operated tape recorders.

**Division of Labor.** Agricultural tasks are divided among men, women, and, to a lesser degree, children. Men are responsible for clearing the fields—a series of activities that includes cutting shrubs and small trees by using machetes and sickles and large logs by means of steel axes and chain saws. Planting, weeding, and gathering are done by the family, following internal subdivisions. Hunting is an exclusively male task, whereas fishing is done by all. Housework, child care, making clothing, and cooking are female tasks. Men build houses and make canoes, paddles, bows and arrows, and baskets. Women make the rest of the handicraft items that are used as trade goods. Despite the temporary lack of certain items, most of them can be obtained in the village throughout most of the year.

**Land Tenure.** One cannot speak of landownership among the Apiaká. The individual who wishes to clear a field communicates his intent to the others and determines with them the dimensions of the plot. The Apiaká consider themselves the owners of the field even after it has been harvested and is covered by secondary growth. It can be ceded to another person, or, once it has been abandoned, simply taken over by someone else. The produce of the field belongs to the farmer who planted it; some may be given to whoever needs it and asks for a "loan." There is also ownership of trees in the forest. From the moment that someone makes it clear that he intends to make a boat or house posts from a tree or that he is interested in harvesting its fruits or honey from a hive in its trunk, he owns it. Hunters and fishermen tend to frequent specific trails and places time after time, but this does not imply ownership; it is simply recognized as "the trail of a specific individual." Among rubber-tapping Apiaká, each is the owner of his "street," that is, a trail he has opened to reach 50 to 100 trees. Use of the "street" can be let to other individuals.

## Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Apiaká distinguish themselves from other groups like the Kayabí, as well as from Whites. Some show evidence of identity crisis, probably a result either of long and intense contact with Whites or because the Apiaká no longer constitute a homogeneous group in terms of ethnic ancestry. There are those who, on an ideal level, identify themselves with the nomadic Apiaká group, "our relatives from the forest."

**Kinship Terminology.** The Apiaká have adopted Portuguese (Brazilian) kinship terminology including the *compadrazgo* (cogodparenthood) system and its corresponding relationship terms.

## Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** According to Koch-Grünberg, marriage was monogamous, even though he mentions Castelnau's reports, according to which each Apiaká man had two wives and chiefs had three. Nowadays marriages are monogamous and predominantly interethnic. The Apiaká do not practice ritual initiation as a prerequisite for marriage. Women are considered ready for marriage after their first menstruation, that is, between 11 and 15 years of age, and men after they reach the age of 16. The preferential type of marriage is between cross cousins. Residence is uxori-local when the marriage is interethnic and patrilocal when it is intratribal. Remarriage is encouraged if one of the two partners dies, even if there is a considerable age difference between the two new spouses. Marriages break up when there is proof of some threat or unfaithfulness. Single mothers are rare and considered an anomaly.

**Domestic Unit.** In the past, extended families lived in large communal houses. Nowadays each nuclear family lives in a separate house. Houses are generally built near the couple's relatives, depending on where the marriage takes place. Therefore, a village map reflects kin and social relationships.

**Inheritance.** Each man and woman owns the items that he or she uses and those that are the fruit of his or her labor or trade. These goods are not inherited but instead destroyed when their owner dies. Items acquired by trade, such as pots and firearms, are individually owned and are inherited by the surviving spouse or the son or daughter who lives in closest proximity. If the house of a dead person is not abandoned, it is demolished and part of the material is reused for a new building. No one lives in a house where someone has died.

**Socialization.** Socialization of children takes place in the home and in monolingual (Portuguese) schools supported by the mission. Babies remain with their mothers, who are helped by adolescents. Fathers may hold their sons in their laps, but boys' necessities are met by their mothers. Babies are wrapped in pieces of cloth, in the Western manner; small children are either skimpily dressed in shorts or left naked as they begin to crawl or take their first steps. From an early age they are taught to be respectful in their dealings with parents, godparents, and adults. At the same time a spirit of self-esteem and freedom is encouraged. Adults give great importance to formal schooling, which,

however, presents some problems of constancy. In schooling, emphasis is given to arithmetic and reading and writing in Portuguese. These are considered to be of prime importance in dealings with non-Indian outsiders.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The Apiaká are egalitarian, but the oldest men exercise leadership over the rest. The most influential man is not necessarily the most skillful craftsman, but he is the most knowledgeable. He is the one who harmonizes and synthesizes the desires and objectives of the community and takes the lead in tasks that benefit everyone. Thus, a chief does not command. The Apiaká say, "Among us, no one gives orders!" Even though women do not directly participate in political discussions, they make their wishes known through their husbands. Because of increased contact with the outside world, dealing with "foreign relations" on a national level, and in particular with officials of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI), has been taken over by younger men, as they are the most skillful in this regard. All adults deal freely with the mission and with their Kayabí neighbors.

**Political Organization.** Political organization is determined by kinship, and people are bound together by their forebears. In this way, men who have the most married daughters and sons who build their houses nearby are the ones who have the most power. They are capable of marshaling forces against another Apiaká group or against the Kayabí. Since the 1970s the Apiaká have considered themselves part of the União das Nações Indígenas (Union of Indigenous Nations), which expresses itself in assemblies of representatives and indigenous demonstrations in defense of their territories.

**Social Control.** Apiaká rules of conduct govern the various categories of social bonds. Fathers and fathers-in-law are respected by their sons and children-in-law, regardless of age. Among affinal relatives of the same generation, the rules are less strict and allow joking relationships. Kayabí who have recently been married into the group adopt a submissive attitude in relation to their in-laws, although in general the Kayabí consider themselves, as "owners of the area," superior to the Apiaká. Deviation from rules of behavior or the display of unconventional attitudes is corrected by discussion, but without recrimination or censure; in this way, mutual esteem is preserved. Disagreements between chiefs may lead to confrontations and threats and are often solved by founding a new settlement, with the later arrivals being the ones to leave. The missionary presence attenuates or restrains the eruption of conflict. Matrimonial infidelities are commented on in passing and with a certain malice, but always as something that happened in the past. In such circumstances, Apiaká express sentiments of self-esteem and liberation rather than guilt or shame.

**Conflict.** In their wars of the past, the Apiaká were armed with spears so richly adorned with *arara* feathers that they looked more like ornaments than weapons, according to Koch-Grünberg. They also fought their traditional enemies—the Mundurucu, Tapanyuna, and

Nambicuara—with bows and arrows. The Apiaká reportedly engaged in a form of ritual cannibalism in which they sacrificed their adult prisoners of war and ate them. Younger prisoners were adopted into the group until they reached adulthood, at which time they were also sacrificed. The right to eat human flesh was limited to men who had squares tattooed around their mouths. The Apiaká warred with their neighbors, but their relationship with Brazilians was peaceful despite their martial reputation. Even so, at the beginning of the twentieth century a conflict arose with Brazilians that resulted in a massacre of the Apiaká. In the late twentieth century, whenever the Aipaká feel that their rights have been impinged upon, there are fleeting conflicts with the Kayabí and with members of the surrounding society.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** According to Nimuendajú, the Apiaká traditionally believed in a god who created heaven and earth and who gave vent to his fury with lightning and thunder. Two brothers who lived in mythical times are now located in the Milky Way in the form of animals that can be seen as a dark spot near the Southern Cross. Nowadays the Apiaká want and demand to be baptized in the Catholic church, and the mission maintains a relief station on the reserve. It is hard to evaluate to what degree the Apiaká have kept their traditional belief system, or how much of it is in the form of popular religion or Catholic beliefs.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans used to divine the future and cure the sick. They were very respected but received little compensation for their cures. They used heat and plants and blew on or sucked the affected part of the body, depending on the illness.

**Ceremonies.** Formerly the Apiaká danced to the accompaniment of wind instruments played by men. They formed two concentric circles: the men inside, and the women outside. Nowadays they no longer practice this dance ceremony. They observe national holidays such as Christmas, New Year, and the Day of the Indian.

**Arts.** The Apiaká tattooed their bodies and painted them. Dyes were made from *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*) and/or *genipapo* (*Genipa americana*). Arms and legs were adorned with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic designs. Tattoos, once signs of tribal identity, are no longer in use. Body painting and featherwork, except for feather decorations on arrows, have also been discontinued. Pieces worn in necklaces and bracelets are stylized zoomorphic representations of monkeys, fish, or ducks.

**Medicine.** The Apiaká recognize "modern" illnesses and illnesses of their own. To cure illnesses introduced by Brazilians they resort to the mission pharmacy. Other health problems are treated with dietary adjustments, herbal teas, bark, and roots. Adults are the repositories of this medicinal knowledge, but there are no specialists. In some situations they resort to a Kayabí sorcerer who is believed to be capable of extracting visible or invisible objects from the affected part of the body.

**Death and Afterlife.** According to Nimuendajú (1948, 317), widows or widowers formerly remained lying in ham-



mocks over the graves of their spouses. Their faces were painted black and their hair was cropped. For an entire year they ate sparingly, consuming only some maize, until the bones of the deceased were exhumed. Nowadays, the dead are buried near the house. People avoid pronouncing the dead person's name and only refer to him or her as "the deceased." There is no other visible evidence of mourning, except that the house is abandoned.

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EUGÊNIO GERVÁSIO WENZEL  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Araucanians

ETHNONYMS: Huilliche, Lafquenche, Mapuche, Pehuenche, Picunche, Promaucae

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Araucanian" is of Spanish origin. Historically, Mapuche or "people from the land" was the term used to designate the Araucanians occupying the south-central area of the Chilean territory but now is the term used by all Araucanians. The terms "Huilliche" (people of the south), "Pehuenche" (piñon-eating people of the mountains), "Lafquenche" (people of the coast), and "Picunche" (people of the north) were used by the Araucanians to differentiate their regional areas. The term "Promaucae" (rebellious people) was given to the Araucanians by the Incas.

**Location.** Aboriginally, the Araucanians occupied the region between the Río Choapa (32° S) and Chiloé Island (42° 50' S). The majority of Araucanians live in the Chilean provinces of Arauco, Bío-Bío, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue between 37° and 40° S. (In 1975 the twenty-five Chilean provinces were reorganized into thirteen regions. Arauco, Malleco, and Cautín are now in the ninth region; Bío-Bío is in the eighth region; Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue are in the tenth region.) Within this area summers are warm and the winters characterized by heavy rainfalls. The annual average rainfall is over 200 centimeters and the average temperature is 10° C. In Argentina, the Araucanians are found in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Río Negro, Mendoza, Chubut, La Pampa, Santa Cruz, and Neuquén (between 41° and 36° S and 73° and 78° W. Neuquén has the largest concentration of Araucanians.

**Demography.** The aboriginal population of the Araucanians has been estimated to have been between 500,000 and 1,500,000 at the time of the Conquest. Today it is estimated that there are about 400,000 Araucanians in Chile and 40,000 in Argentina.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Araucanian language, Mapudungun, belongs to the Mapuche Stock and is comprised of several dialects. In Chile these are: Mapuche proper, Picunche, Pehuenche, Huilliche, and Chilote. Mapuche proper was spoken from the Bío-Bío to the Tolten rivers at the time of the Conquest; at present it is spoken in the provinces of Bío-Bío, Maule (in the seventh region), Arauco, Cautín and Ñuble (in the eighth region). Picunche was spoken from Coquimbo to the Río Bío-Bío. Pehuenche is spoken from Valdivia to Neuquén. Huilliche is spoken in Chile in the province of Valdivia and in Argentina in the Lake Nahuel Huapí region. In Argentina, Moluche or Nguluche and Ranquelchue are also spoken. Moluche is spoken from Limay to Lake Nahuel Huapí. Ranquelchue was spoken on the plains of La Pampa and can now be heard in Chalileo, General Acha, and on the Río Colorado.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Archaeological evidence suggests the existence of an Araucanian culture by 500 B.C. in the territory of present-day Chile. The aboriginal Araucanians were hunters and gatherers and practiced horticulture and incipient agriculture. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Araucanians were divided into three geographically contiguous ethnic groups: the Picunche in the north, the Mapuche in the central-south, and the Huilliche in the southern section. At this time the Incas invaded the Araucanian territory, dominating the Picunche. The Picunche were influenced more by the Central Andes cultures in their material culture and technology than were the Mapuche and the Huilliche, but the organization of their economic, social and religious life was like that of the other Araucanian groups. The Inca invasion was stopped at the Río Maule by the Mapuche and the Huilliche.

In the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish arrived and established a military outpost in central Chile. Only the Picunche were conquered by the Spanish. They were forced to work in the gold mines and to perform agricultural tasks. The Picunche eventually mixed with the Spanish rural population, and by the seventeenth century the Picunche had completely disappeared as an ethnic group. The Mapuche and the Huilliche managed to keep their independence from the Spanish and the Chileans for almost four centuries by waging guerrilla warfare. The horse was adopted by the Araucanians soon after the middle of the sixteenth century and it was used effectively in warfare and hunting.

In the eighteenth century the Mapuche and the Huilliche started to migrate to Argentina in search of horses to continue their battle against the Spanish. In their search for horses, they began their geographical and cultural expansion in the Argentinian territory, which lasted 150 years. Three Indian groups were Araucanized: the Pehuenche, the Puelche, and the Pampa. By the end of the eighteenth century, all these groups spoke the Mapuche language and had acquired Araucanian beliefs and traditions. The Mapuche and the Huilliche controlled all the area between the vicinity of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Luis, and the Río Negro from the cordillera to the sea. Three permanent chieftainships were established in the Argentinian territory. In Chile, the Mapuche and the Huilliche continued their war with the Spanish for over two centuries. Two major treaties were signed between the Araucanians and the Spanish in which the Spanish Crown recognized the independence of the Araucanian territory. The conflict between the Araucanians and Whites was rekindled, however, after Chile became independent from Spain in 1818.

The Chilean government promoted European colonization of the Araucanian territory by establishing the reservation policy of 1866, which favored White colonists. The Mapuche and especially the Huilliche lost a great deal of land to German settlers. With the loss of land, the Huilliche began to lose their traditional way of life. Two major rebellions were staged by the Mapuche, both of which were defeated by the Chileans. Following the last major rebellion (1880 to 1882), the Mapuche lost their political autonomy and military power. In Argentina, the military

campaigns under generals Julio Roca and Conrado Villegas in 1879–1883 completely defeated the Indian confederates and drove most of the Indian survivors beyond the Río Negro and into Neuquén.

In Chile, the present reservation system was established in 1884, and the Araucanians were relocated to reservations; in Argentina they were arrested and confined to remote areas. At the present time, they form two relatively differentiated modern ethnic groups: the Argentinian Araucanians and the Chilean Mapuche.

### *Settlements*

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the Araucanians lived in small clusters of semipermanent to permanent settlements arranged in a dispersed pattern. Three to eight patrilineal families or households inhabited each settlement, each living in its own dwelling. The settlements were located mostly in valleys or plains along rivers and streams. The Araucanians never lived in towns. Their dwellings consisted of huts (*rukas*) situated in prominent places so approaching visitors could be seen and the animals could be observed. The typical ruka had a timber or cane framework; an oval, polygonal, or rectangular ground plan; and a thatch roof extending nearly to ground level. Dimensions ranged from 3 to 6.5 meters in length and from 3 to 4 meters in breadth. There were one or two smoke holes at one or both ends of the roof. Although this type of ruka can still be found, modifications involving the use of shingles, cement, brick, or wood instead of thatch are becoming common. The number of rukas determines wealth: poor Mapuche live in one ruka, whereas wealthy ones have separate rukas for sleeping, eating, and storage.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Between A.D. 500–1000 and 1500 Araucanian subsistence was based on a combination of food gathering, hunting, fishing, horticulture, and incipient agriculture. Their diet was and continues to be predominantly vegetarian. Horticulture is believed to have developed among the aboriginal Araucanians between 500 and 1500. In the valleys, horticulture and incipient agriculture were combined with hunting and gathering, whereas in the highlands only hunting and gathering were practiced. In the coastal areas, fishing and gathering shellfish were supplemented with hunting. The plants cultivated by the Araucanians of the valleys were maize, kidney beans, squashes, quinoa, oca, peanuts, chili peppers, and white potatoes. The latter are believed to have been domesticated by the Araucanians. Irrigation agriculture was practiced by the Picunche in the northern part of the Araucanian territory. The Araucanians were herders as well as farmers, raising llamas for meat and wool. By the end of the eighteenth century, llamas were replaced by horses, mules, sheep, pigs, and other domesticated animals introduced by the Spanish.

Contemporary Araucanians agriculturists cultivate European crops using steel plows and farming techniques learned from the Chileans, such as the three-field system of land rotation and crop rotation. Woven blankets, pottery, and wood- and stone work are sold to tourists in the

markets of cities near the reservations. Women sell part of the produce from their gardens in the local markets.

**Industrial Arts.** Ceramics were probably introduced in the northern cultures of the Araucanian territory in the last 500 years prior to the arrival of the Spanish. By the time of their arrival, the Araucanians were skilled in fashioning baskets, blankets colored with native dyes, cordage and netted objects, pottery, and wood and stone objects. With the introduction of sheep by the Spanish, weaving became more important. Silversmithing was introduced in the late eighteenth century and became highly developed. Today, the Araucanians make textiles, baskets, and stone- and woodwork both for domestic use and for cash sale in the local markets.

**Trade.** Exchange between the Araucanians consisted of reciprocated favors. Chilean Araucanians traded with the Argentinian Araucanians for salt and animals in exchange for weavings and alcohol. Trade between the Araucanians and the Spanish and, later, the Chileans, was fairly common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, there were no established markets. Generally, Araucanians traded animals and weavings for alcohol and European goods.

**Division of Labor.** When swidden agriculture was practiced, men cut down and burned the forest, whereas women did the planting, weeding, and harvesting of the gardens. During times of war farming was performed primarily by women. Since the relocation to reservations, farming has become the main occupation of men. Women, in addition to their domestic work, engage in the small-scale cultivation of vegetable gardens. Children start to help their parents in farm activities when they are young. At an early age, they begin by taking care of the animals. As they grow older, boys help their fathers with farm activities, whereas girls help their mothers with domestic tasks. *Minga*, a communal form of reciprocated labor in which kin members and neighbors participate, was and continues to be resorted to for the construction of houses and agricultural tasks.

**Land Tenure.** Among aboriginal Araucanians land lacked importance because their economy did not emphasize extensive agriculture. In the second half of the eighteenth century, land was owned communally by a group of families. Each family owned the land they cultivated and grazed. Property was administered by chiefs, who apportioned plots to families. Reservation settlement in 1884 changed this situation, weakening common holding and strengthening individual holding and inheritance. Three thousand small reservations were mapped by surveyors from 1884 to 1920. The Chilean authorities gave the head of a kinship group a land deed (*titulo de merced*) granting use to him and to the (named) group members. The reservation policy of 1884 gave chiefs an opportunity to receive more land if there was division. Under this policy, upon petition of one-eighth of the households, the reservation would be disbanded and the land given in severalty title to household heads, with additional land given to chiefs as inducement.

In the early part of the twentieth century, this policy, combined with the increase in population and diminishing

agricultural productivity, produced the greatest pressure to divide land. In the 1920s, however, the division of land came almost to a standstill. The Mapuche resisted disbandment. The government continued its efforts to attempt to appeal to individual Mapuche and bypass the authority of the chiefs. In 1927 the law pertaining to the disbanding of reservations was changed to require only the appeal of a single household. After this measure failed, the government decreed that even this single vote was not necessary and that it could disband reservations at its own discretion. In 1931 the law was again changed; it stipulated that the votes of one-third of the households of a reservation were needed. In March 1979 Decree-Law 2568 went into effect, providing for the division of Mapuche communal land into individual plots if only one occupant demands it, whether Mapuche or non-Mapuche. The majority of the Mapuche now live on reservations (the number of reservations has decreased to under 2,000). They can bequeath their land, lend it, or rent it, but they cannot sell it or dispose of it in any permanent way. The sale of land is possible only after the reservation is divided.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The system of descent is patrilineal, tracing back to a mythical ancestor who is believed to be a creator of the lineage. Until the nineteenth century the *kuga* kinship and naming system existed: each lineage, or *kuga*, had its own name, which was given to its male children shortly after birth. Members of each group had a particular loyalty to one another and sided with one another during arguments.

**Kinship Terminology.** Traditional kin terms follow the Omaha system insofar as a man will call his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she will call him "son."

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The ideal marriage was and continues to be the "mother's brother's daughter" marriage. Sororal polygyny, sororate, and levirate marriage customs were common. The basic marriage process involved negotiations over a bride-price, a dramatized capture of the bride-to-be, the payment by the prospective groom, and then the marriage ceremony. Divorce was common, most often occasioned by sterility, infidelity, desertion, or ill-treatment. In all cases, the bride-price was returned to the husband. At present, these traditional practices have been almost completely replaced by monogamy.

**Domestic Unit.** Until the nineteenth century the domestic unit was a patrilocal extended family composed of a central male, his wives, and their children and grandchildren. Currently, a domestic unit is generally consists of a couple and their children and may include one of the couple's parents.

**Inheritance.** Position and inheritance were patrilineal, passing from father to son. Before settlement on the reservations, inheritances consisted mainly of herds and movable goods. Now the importance of land ownership has made property the most consequential inheritance, and both men and women inherit land.

**Socialization.** In aboriginal times boys had to sleep outside, bathe daily, and abstain from certain foods in order to toughen themselves. They were trained in the use of arms, swimming, horsemanship, and oratory and accompanied their fathers to drink with the rest of the men. Today oratory and farming skills are taught to young boys. Girls are taught to take care of the home and their younger siblings. *Datura stramonium* and *Latua pubiflora* are used by the Mapuche and Huilliche as personality tests for their children; a mild tea is brewed from these plants and the parents observe the child's reactions and draw conclusions regarding the character traits she or he will develop.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Prior to pacification, the Araucanians derived personal prestige and personal rank from martial prowess, wealth, generosity, and eloquence of speech. The modern Araucanians are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the commoners, and the poor farm workers.

**Political Organization.** Kinship heads, called *lonko*, controlled agricultural labor and other cooperative (*minga*) ventures. A *lonko's* power extended only over his own household, and his prestige partly depended upon his generous hospitality. There was no overall chief in peacetime. When necessary, military commanders were elected by these *lonko*. After settlement in reservations, the political power of the chiefs was temporarily strengthened. The chief's role in land allocation gave him control over marital and postmarital residence. The consequent division of land and the inability of the original chiefs to transfer their reservation land title to their heirs decreased their newly acquired political power. Modern chiefs share their authority with councils of elders and heads of lineages. The chief's authority is restricted to inter- and intrareservational matters.

**Social Control.** During prereservation times, crimes of adultery, murder, and sorcery within the community were punishable by death. With the exception of sorcery, however, compensation was commonly made through payments. At present, troublemakers and people suspected of sorcery are usually evicted from the reservation as punishment. Since pacification, the Araucanians have been under the Chilean judicial system.

**Conflict.** Prior to settlement on the reservations, feuds and raids between Araucanians were common. Each household defended its farm lands against trespass and avenged death or sorcery by means of blood feud.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The maintenance of a sustained and responsible link between the living and the dead is the central concept of Araucanian religious morality. The living are responsible for the propitiation of their ancestors, and rituals are performed to maintain a positive relationship with them. Dreams, the vehicle of contact with the supernatural, are an important aspect of the Mapuche spiritual life. Araucanians interpret their dreams daily to understand their present situation and learn about their future.

In aboriginal times, the Araucanians are believed to have had an animistic religion. At present, the Araucanian religion is polytheistic, with the highest god located at the highest level of heaven. The family set of the highest god is formed by two couples, one young and one old. The most important of these gods is the male of the old couple. Located in descending order within this hierarchical heaven, there are the gods of fertility, of the morning star, of the stars, of the past warriors, of the rituals, of music, and of the cardinal points and climatic and meteorological forces. On the lowest levels there reside the spirits of the Araucanian ancestors and the spirits of the volcanoes. The *perimontu* are beings with ambivalent association with the forces of good. They aid shamans in their profession and cause sicknesses. The evil forces are called *wekufe* and are of three major types: natural phenomena, ghosts, and those of zoomorphic form. In spite of the prolonged contact with missionaries and Whites, Araucanian religion has been little affected and Christianization has been minimal.

**Religious Practitioners.** A *kalku* is both a sorcerer and a witch. *Kalkus*, who are usually women, are trained in their arts by other *kalkus*. Their powers are obtained through dreams and visions. The forces of evil are activated when envious people ask *kalkus* to use the evil spirits to attack persons who are the objects of their envy. Shamans (*machi*), aided by their auxiliary spirits, ward off these evil forces. Although men used to practice shamanism during prereservation times, at present the majority of shamans are women. Selection as a shaman and the acquisition of shamanistic power is believed to occur in dreams and visions. Candidates are those who have suffered a prolonged and dangerous illness, display a greater ability to dream than others, and experience visions. The novice receives her training from a senior shaman. The training lasts anywhere from two to four years, during which time the trainee demonstrates obedience and works hard to learn herbal lore, ventriloquism, diagnosis of illness, and divination. After the training has been completed, the neophyte must demonstrate her expertise to other shamans and to the community in a ceremony called *machiwüllun*. The shamanic paraphernalia consist of a drum (*kultrun*) and carved pole (*rewé*). Shamans are assisted by the *thungunmachife*, or shaman interpreter, who translates the language of the shaman while she is in a trance.

**Ceremonies.** The most important ritual among the Araucanians is the *ngillatun*. In the prereservation era, the emphasis of the *ngillatun* was militaristic, but with pacification it became mainly agricultural, except in times of crisis. The *ngillatun* celebrated near harvest time consists principally of agricultural rites conducted for the purpose either of thanking the gods for the harvest received or asking for a plentiful one. The *ngillatun* usually involves the participation of more than one community, and some involve as many as four communities, preferably neighbors. The frequency of this ceremony varies, but if several communities should cooperate as members of a *ngillatun*, they will take turns in hosting each other. In times of stress this ritual is conducted as soon as a catastrophic event has occurred and may or may not involve the participation of other communities.

**Arts.** The traditional art most practiced among contemporary Araucanians is oratory; it is characteristic primarily of chiefs, but ordinary people also engage in it. Mapuche oral narrative can be classified into five categories: *epeus* (mythological tales, animal tales, and legends), *peumas* (dream reports), *nut'amkans* (narratives that recount the heroic deeds of past Araucanian warriors), *weupins* (formal speeches made by men at social and religious events), and *qulkatuns* (improvised sung narratives usually expressive of strong emotions). The main musical instruments are the kettle drum, flute, and trumpet. Men and women dance—but rarely together—imitating animals with masks and movement. Men and women engage in spontaneous singing at social gatherings.

**Medicine.** In earlier times all sicknesses were believed to be caused by supernatural agents. Among contemporary Araucanians, however, there are two kinds of sickness: one caused by supernatural agents, the *wekufe* and the *perrimontu*, and the other by natural agents or environmental factors. Shamans treat all sicknesses with herbs and rituals.

**Death and Afterlife.** After death, the soul is believed to undergo a series of transformations on its journey to the *wenu mapu* (the place of final rest). The soul has the potential of becoming an agent of evil if captured by the evil spirits on this journey. Special ceremonies are conducted by the relatives of the dead to ensure the safety of the soul. At its final destination the soul becomes an ancestral spirit. Through dreams and visions the ancestor visits the living and helps them. Funeral rites involve the gathering of friends and relatives of the deceased, ceremonial wailing, tearing of the hair, shamanistic autopsy, temporary preservation of the cadaver, and the heavy drinking of alcohol.

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LYDIA NAKASHIMA DEGARROD

## Araweté

ETHNONYM: Bidé

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Araweté are an Indian group in northern Brazil. The name "Araweté" was imposed by the leader of the "pacification" team of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI) in 1977, who probably mistook some word of their language for a self-designation. The Araweté call themselves "Bidé" (human beings, or people). "Asurini" (of Juruna origin and meaning "red people"), a term applied in the last century to the Indians of the right bank of the middle Rio Xingu, may have designated the Araweté as well as the present-day Asurini.

**Location.** The Araweté live in the middle course of the Ipixuna (4°45'40" S and 52°30'15" W), a small black-water tributary of the Xingu, in the state of Pará in northern Brazil. The region is covered with semihumid tropical vegetation ("liana forest"). Heavy rains fall from December to late March; the rest of the year is dry, with occasional thunderstorms.

**Demography.** The Araweté might have numbered at least 200 just before contact in 1976. In March 1977 the first census counted 120 persons. In August 1989 there were 180.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Araweté language belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní Linguistic Family.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Araweté belong to the large Tupí-Guaraní block of tribes established in the hinterland between the Tocantins and Xingu rivers. These groups (some of them now extinct) may be the remnants of the large Pacajá tribe, many villagers of which resisted the intense missionary activity during the seventeenth century and dispersed in the jungle. Until 1950 the Araweté occupied the headwaters of the Rio Bacajá, a large tributary of the middle Xingu. The arrival of the bellicose Kayapó-Xikrin pushed them to the small Xingu tributaries that flow westward from the Bacajá-Xingu watershed. There they fought and displaced the Asurini, establishing two main village agglomerations along the Ipixuna and the Bom Jardim rivers. In the late 1960s both subgroups had sporadic encounters with White hunters. The arrival of the Parakanã in 1975 forced the tribe to reunite and flee to the margins of the Xingu.

The opening of the Trans-Amazonian Highway in the early 1970s transformed the economy and demography of the middle Xingu region, leading the Brazilian government to start a program of "attraction and pacification" of the Indian groups living there. Based in the boom town of Altamira (180 kilometers north of the Ipixuna), FUNAI contacted the Araweté in 1976, on the banks of the Xingu. Although weak and hungry (they had been fleeing the Parakanã for months) and already showing the first symptoms of diseases contracted from Whites, they were removed by FUNAI officers to the upper Ipixuna, in a

march through the jungle that caused thirty deaths. In 1978 they settled in a more downstream location, where they have been living ever since. Their lands began to be invaded by timber companies and gold diggers. The Altamira Hydroelectric Complex, the construction of which was planned to begin in 1991, may flood at least 15 percent of the Araweté territory.

Although they have the general characteristics of the Tupí-Guaraní of eastern Amazonia, the Araweté show some distinctive features. Their language is fairly different from those of the neighboring groups; their main cultigen is not manioc, but the faster-maturing maize (which may be explained by a long history of flight from enemy groups); their material culture is simple, but they have some unexpectedly complex and unique items, such as a four-piece female garment and the shaman's rattle. The importance of the dead in Araweté cosmology, finally, evokes that of the Juruna and Shipaya (riverine Tupían tribes of the Xingu) rather than those of the Tupí-Guaraní proper.

### *Settlements*

In the period just before contact, villages had an average population of fifty and formed two widely separated agglomerations. Marriage between these was infrequent but occurred often enough to keep the two divisions of the tribe in contact with each other. The Araweté gathered for ceremonies and were closely connected through marriage. Villages of the same agglomeration were settled in the headwaters of a river basin, lying within a radius of one day's march. Villages were abandoned after an average period of four years because of enemy raids, the increasing distance of the swiddens, or the death of some prominent person. Araweté villages were multicentric clusters of conjugal houses; each cluster sheltered an uxorilocal extended family or a group of married siblings. There was no communal center; ceremonies were conducted in the clusters' small plazas. The present village maintains this traditional arrangement, but it is much larger, being occupied by the whole Araweté population. The Ipixuna village also has FUNAI Post buildings. The employees of the post are the only Brazilians the Araweté see regularly. The aboriginal Araweté house was windowless with a single small door. The dwelling had a rectangular ground plan and no separation between roof and walls; its two vaulted side walls were covered with palm leaves, and its front and rear walls were of woven mats. Today, houses are built in the wattle-and-daub regional style.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Araweté are slash-and-burn horticulturists who depend heavily on hunting and collecting. The primary cultigen is maize, which is planted in the fertile anthropogenic black earth common in the Ipixuna region. The most important game animals are land turtles, peccaries, and armadillos. Fishing is important at the end of the dry season. Honey, *Euterpe* fruits, and Brazil nuts are the main gathered resources. The Araweté economy has a bimodal pattern: at the beginning of the wet season, just after maize is planted, villagers disperse in the forest for a three- to four-month period of

trekking. In March the trekking groups reassemble for the green corn festival; the dry season is spent in the villages and dedicated to maize-related products and activities. The influence of the Indian post seems to be making the Araweté more sedentary; FUNAI is also stimulating the raising of rice (for subsistence) and cocoa (for cash). The introduction of shotguns and flashlights greatly changed hunting techniques. All foreign objects the Araweté now need (metal tools, ammunition, pots, etc.) are freely but sparingly distributed by FUNAI. The Araweté place a small amount of craft products on the tourist market, but prices paid by FUNAI, the sole legal intermediary, are not encouraging.

**Industrial Arts.** Crafts include featherwork, basketry, cotton weaving, and pottery. Canoes were not used until after contact. Stone axes, thought to be of divine origin, were found in the black-earth sites and used by the Araweté, who also got some iron tools in the old missionary village sites of the Bacajá area. The weapons are bows of *tecoma* hardwood and short wide-bladed arrows. Women's clothes are tubular pieces of woven cotton dyed with annatto.

**Division of Labor.** Men hunt and clear the planting sites; farming, although done by both sexes, is associated with women, who are considered the "masters" of maize fields. Both sexes fish and gather, cook, make basketry, and take care of the children. Women weave cotton and make pottery. The two activities that link Araweté society to other human or mythical beings are exclusively male: shamanism and war.

**Land Tenure.** Every individual may live, hunt, and cultivate wherever he or she pleases. A field, while bearing crops, is the joint property of those who worked in it. The Araweté territory, which like all lands occupied by indigenous groups in Brazil is in the national domain, is not demarcated yet; only in December 1987 the FUNAI "interdicted" (a fairly innocuous legal measure) in the name of the Araweté an area of 985,000 hectares.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Araweté society is based on the bilaterally recognized, egocentric kindred, with no intermediary structures between the extended family and the tribe. The village has an unstable membership and no corporate functions other than those spontaneously arising from daily life together. There are no descent constructs. The physical and spiritual substance of the child is thought to come exclusively from the father; but abstinence for sick kin includes both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives, and incest prohibitions apply to uterine half-siblings. The idea and the ideal of multiple paternity, finally, neutralize any patrilineal bias.

**Kinship Terminology.** Araweté terminology is a variant of the Dravidian system as regards its reckoning of "crossness," but it exhibits a full set of separate affinal terms. Terms tend to be restricted to close genealogical kin, and there is a category of "nonkin" or potential affine, which has as its closest specification the cross cousins.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Bilateral cross-cousin marriage is the ideal union, but spouses may belong to any terminological class except those of parent, sibling, and child. Aside from the cross cousins, there is a distinction for marriage purposes between close and distant kin, the former being considered somewhat less proper partners. Avuncular marriages are common, as well as unions with the father's sister. Sister exchange, serial marriages between sibling sets, levirate, sororate, and avuncular succession also occur. Polygyny is unusual. The repetition of affinal ties between kindreds is sought. Uxorilocality is the stated norm, but postmarital residence hinges on the political influence of the spouses' kindreds. Divorce is very common among childless couples. Marriage is the condition for the establishment of formal friendship ties between couples, the *apíhi-pihã* relationship, which has as its defining feature sexual access to the friend's spouse.

**Domestic Unit.** Every married couple lives in a separate house and forms a consummation unit within an extended-family residential cluster. The two-generation extended family is the productive unit for horticultural purposes.

**Inheritance.** There is no important property or office transmission. At death, the belongings of the deceased that are not destroyed are kept by his or her consanguines and spouse.

**Socialization.** Children are raised permissively. Fear of the forest spirits is sometimes used to control children. Overt expressions of hostility are discouraged. Sexual behavior is free among children.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Male and female heads of large residential clusters enjoy the greatest prestige. Women have an active voice in village life. Great shamans and men with the status of killers are much respected. Age stratification is not emphasized.

**Political Organization.** Every residential cluster was and is autonomous, although each village acknowledged the couple who founded it (by moving with their dependents and opening the first field) as the "leader" and "owner of the village." The male leader must initiate collective movements such as the rainy-season dispersion, but otherwise has little authority.

**Social Control.** Gossip, scorn, and fear of divine sanctions are the main forms of social control. There is no witchcraft. The ever-present possibility of fission makes the village a contractually unit.

**Conflict.** Disputes about women seem to have been common in the past and, to a certain extent, still are. Every residential section may be considered a faction in its own right, although they coalesce into larger, fluid units along lines of potential village fission. Homicide is extremely rare, and when it occurs it leads to blood revenge and fission. The relationship with foreign groups is by definition one of war, and the killing of an enemy is an event for a great celebration, having onomastic and religious effects.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The relationship between humanity and the *Mái*, the immortal beings who left the earth at the dawn of time and now live in the sky, is the axis of Araweté religion. Humans define themselves as "the forsaken," those who were left behind by the gods. Humans and *Mái* are related as affines, for the souls of the dead are married to the latter. The *Mái* may and, in the long run, shall annihilate the earth by causing the sky to crumble down. Every death has as its final cause the will of the *Mái*, who are conceived as being at the same time ideal Araweté and dangerous cannibals. The *Mái* are not conceived as creators, but the cosmological separation produced the human predicament, namely, old age and death. Among hundreds of species of *Mái*, the majority of them having animal names, the *Mái hete* ("real gods") are the ones who transform the souls of the dead into *Mái*-like beings, by means of a cannibal-matrimonial operation. There are also the Ani forest spirits, savage beings who invade settlements and must be killed by the shamans, and the powerful Lord of the River, a subaquatic spirit who relishes kidnapping women's and children's souls, which must then be retrieved by shamans. Trees, stones, and some animals also have their "masters," who are less prominent than in Araweté cosmology and in other Amazonian cultures.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans are the intermediaries between humans and the entire supernatural population of the cosmos, having as their most important activity the bringing down of the *Mái* and the souls of the dead to visit the earth and partake of ceremonial meals.

**Ceremonies.** The ceremonial cycle consists of a series of feasts at which collectively produced food and drink are offered to the *Mái* before being consumed by humans; the most important offerings are land turtles, honey, howler monkeys, fish, and maize beer. The maize beer feast, held at the middle of the dry season, is the biggest one, combining religious and military values. The lender of the song-and-dance beer festival is ideally a killer who learns the songs from the dead enemy's spirit.

**Arts.** Singing is the nucleus of ceremonial life. The "music of the gods," sung by shamans, and the "music of the enemies," sung by killers, are the two musical genres of the Araweté. In both of them, it is the "foreigners" who talk, through an elaborate style of quoted speech.

**Medicine.** Disease is conceived to be the result of spiritual malevolence (soul stealing), invisible arrows present in incorrectly processed food, and the *Mái*'s will. Curing techniques consist of shamanistic operations of soul retrieval and arrow extracting. The *Mái* can be enlisted to help against the terrestrial and subaquatic spirits or must be placated when they are the agents. Western medicaments are widely in use alongside shamanic treatments.

**Death and Afterlife.** The dead are buried in hunting trails somewhat distant from the village. Death divides the person into a terrestrial ghost associated with the body and the Ani spirits, and a celestial soul associated with conscience and the *Mái*. The first haunts the living while the corpse decomposes, then goes back to the natal village of the deceased, where it disappears. A death provokes the immediate dispersion of the village in the forest, for fear of

the ghost. Upon arrival in the sky, the celestial soul is killed and devoured by the Máï then resurrected by means of a magical bath and made into a godlike being who will be married to a Máï and live forever young. The souls of the recently dead come often to the earth in the shaman's chant to talk to their living relatives and report the bliss of the afterlife. After two generations they cease to come, for there will be no more living contemporaries who can remember them: they are not ancestors. The condition of being a killer is the only one that makes the cannibal transubstantiation necessary; killers, fused with the souls of their dead enemies, enjoy a special status in the afterlife, being feared by the Máï.

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EDUARDO VIVEIROS DE CASTRO

## Asians in South America

ETHNONYMS: Asiáticos, Chinese, Issei, Japanese, Koreans, Nipo-Brasileiros, Nipo-Latinos, Nissei, Orientaes, Orientales, Sansei, Sansei-neto, South Koreans, Taiwanese

Although Asians and those of Asian descent do not constitute a large portion of South America's population, certain countries—notably Brazil, Paraguay, and Peru—do have important communities concentrated in the large cities of São Paulo, Asunción, and Lima/Callao. The major groups are Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, but very small numbers of East Asian Indians and Southeast Asians have also made their homes on the continent. Although there are relatively reliable statistics on the numbers of Asian immigrants who entered South America prior to 1950, this is not the case for more recent arrivals because of numerous undocumented entries of Koreans and Chinese. Furthermore, estimates of the number of South Americans of Asian descent vary widely because intermarriage has led to a lack of agreement among census takers as to what "Asian-descended" means.

**CHINESE.** On the surface, Brazil might be expected to have a large population of Chinese descent, given the

country's desire for servile plantation labor through the late nineteenth century. Indeed, as early as the mid-1830s there were attempts to use Chinese laborers to cultivate tea in Rio de Janeiro, and a number of foreign observers actively encouraged the Brazilian government to import Chinese on a large scale, as were the United States, Canada, Cuba, and Peru. Such plans never came to fruition for a number of reasons. Rancorous and public disagreement among Brazil's elites as to the advantages of Chinese workers in the slave economy indicated a widespread racism that was not lost on the Chinese government. This, along with growing pressure from the English on the Chinese and Brazilian governments not to sign bilateral "coolie" contracts, led the Chinese government to refuse to authorize its citizens to accept work in Brazil.

Despite the lack of nineteenth-century Chinese immigration, the Chinese presence in Brazil has been growing since 1950, with the vast majority coming from Taiwan. According to the Consulate of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in São Paulo, the Chinese (from both Taiwan and the PRC) population in Brazil in 1993 was 120,000, with upwards of 100,000 in São Paulo. The modest membership numbers for the Chinese Social Center of São Paulo (an ardent pro-Taiwan organization) and a 1993 circulation of only 5,000 for Brazil's only Chinese newspaper, *Jornal Chinês "Americana,"* suggest that the numbers presented by the PRC representatives are inflated, perhaps greatly.

The majority of Chinese immigrants work in the low-end clothing industry as producers, retailers, or both. Many entered Brazil via Paraguay and frequently move back and forth between the two countries. Many of the nonclothing products sold by Chinese retailers in Brazil (such as inexpensive watches) are produced by extended-family members in Paraguay. There are no official statistics on the Chinese population of Paraguay.

The Peruvian case stands in marked contrast to that of Brazil. Sensing that the lack of available land and low wages made Peru unattractive to European workers, the Peruvian government decided to import Chinese contract labor, beginning in 1848. This, Peru's plantation owners hoped, would help them duplicate the success of the sugar-export trade in the West Indies and Cuba. Between 1848 and 1874 some 91,000 Chinese, almost all of them males, entered Peru with contracts despite an official Peruvian ban on Chinese entry between 1856 and 1860 in reaction to international and local criticism of the use of semiser-vile labor; another 42,000 arrived in the half-decade after 1870.

Most Chinese immigrants to Peru, as was the case throughout the rest of the Americas, came from Guangdong and Fujian provinces of southern China. Upwards of 80 percent worked on the sugar plantations of the north coast, although several thousand labored, and often perished, in the guano mines. Others worked in urban areas as domestic workers, artisans, or unskilled laborers, and about 6,000 Chinese were employed in the high-risk building of a railroad line through the Andes Mountains.

It took about one generation for most Chinese-Peruvians to begin ascending the economic ladder, and since the mid-twentieth century most have worked in the manufacturing and wholesale/retail areas of the economy.



The only exceptions were the Chinese who worked in the Peruvian Amazon and generally settled in the larger towns such as Iquitos and Huánuco. Some had fled oppressive plantation labor and were joined by free immigrants and those who had legally finished their contracts. Even in the late nineteenth century, these Chinese immigrants had become important cogs in the wheel of Amazonian development, manufacturing frequently unavailable consumer items, such as clothing, and growing food for sale. Many Chinese sold their products by peddling and eventually became shop owners, retailing many of the products they themselves produced.

**JAPANESE.** Although there is a Japanese presence in a number of South American countries, Brazil stands out because it received approximately 260,000 Japanese immigrants between 1908 and 1978. The estimated population of Japanese descent (which includes children of mixed marriages) in Brazil in 1987 stood at some 1.3 million people, with about half that number representing children with two Japanese-Brazilian or Japanese parents. Brazil's community of Japanese descent is thus larger than all the other Japanese-descended communities outside Japan.

In 1908 a series of circumstances redirected large-scale Japanese immigration to Brazil. These included the U.S.-Japanese "Gentlemen's Agreement" that restricted Japanese immigration to the United States, similar measures in Canada and Australia, the interdiction by the Italian government of subsidized labor to Brazil and the subsequent desire among Brazil's *fazendeiros* (large landowners) to find new labor sources, and the continued insistence by the Japanese government that internal population problems could be solved only through emigration.

Partially subsidized Japanese workers began entering the Brazilian state of São Paulo via the port of Santos in 1908. Unrealistic Issei (immigrant) hopes of striking it rich came into conflict with the *fazendeiro* treatment of the Japanese as virtual slave labor and led to a suspension of this subsidized immigration in 1914. Even so, free immigration continued on a large scale into the 1930s, until a small but powerful nativist movement was able to force Brazilian legislators to adopt constitutional quotas on immigration in 1934. Growing anti-Japanese racism in Brazil, Japan's participation in World War II as an Axis power, and Brazil's eventual entrance into the war as a member of the Allied forces and consequent anti-Japanese measures (prohibition of Japanese-language schools and newspapers, for example) put a great deal of pressure on the Brazilian-Japanese community. One manifestation of this inflamed situation was a police crackdown in 1945 in São Paulo (in which fifteen Japanese and one Brazilian were killed) on the pro-emperor Shindo Remmi movement (the League of the War of the Subjects).

By 1945 Japanese life was well established in Brazil. Many Japanese plantation workers were able to grow cash crops on the side, eventually accumulating the capital to purchase their own small but ever-expanding farms. In 1912 some 91 percent of the Japanese in Brazil worked on someone else's land, yet just thirty years later this figure had dropped to 26.5 percent. Most of the land purchased by Japanese immigrants was in the underpopulated areas of the states of São Paulo and Paraná. This geographic isola-

tion and Brazilian immigration laws that demanded entry in families (which were frequently constructed through adoption or marriage at the point of embarkation) served to maintain the ethnic structure of the Japanese community through the Nissei generation (the first generation born in Brazil). Furthermore, ethnic solidarity helped to create a system of rotating credit associations (*tanomoshiko*) and cooperatives that aided farmers of Japanese descent in becoming the most productive in Brazil. In 1940, when those of Japanese descent (including immigrants) constituted only 1.8 percent of the population of São Paulo State, they accounted for almost 12 percent of its agricultural production. By the early 1980s the Japanese cooperative of Cotia was recognized as one of the most powerful in Brazil. Much of the frozen orange-juice concentrate produced in Brazil (the world's largest exporter of the product) originates in farms owned by people of Japanese descent.

From the 1940s through the 1990s there has been a regular movement of Nissei and Sansei (the third generation—that is, grandchildren of immigrants) to the city. In 1988 a census of the community of Japanese descent showed only about 10 percent remaining in rural areas, with the rest of the community concentrated in urban areas, mainly in the state of São Paulo. The same census showed that Brazil's Japanese community was employed in a number of upper-middle-class occupations, including administration (26 percent), commerce (21 percent), and science and technology (12 percent). One consequence of urbanization has been an increased level of intermarriage, which in 1988 reached almost 46 percent, although it is important to note that the areas with the largest concentrations of those of Japanese descent (the states of São Paulo and Paraná) had the lowest level of intermarriage. Indeed, the proportion of offspring of mixed Japanese and non-Japanese descent has jumped from about 6 percent in the Nissei generation to over 61 percent in the Sansei-neto (a Japanese-Brazilian term used to signify the great-grandchildren of immigrants) generation. Even so, ethnic ties among members of the community who actively identify themselves as Japanese-descended remain strong. Several newspapers are printed in both Japanese and Portuguese, and about 36 percent of the community speak Japanese and Portuguese equally well. Another 25 percent of the community speak at least some Japanese, and only 33 percent speak Portuguese exclusively.

Since 1985 there has been a growing exodus to Japan of Japanese-Brazilians fleeing Brazil's weak economy for the much stronger Japanese one and remitting millions of dollars' worth of yen back to Brazil. The approximately 170,000 young Brazilian *dekasseguis* (a term originally used to designate northern Japanese who migrate internally to cities such as Tokyo or Osaka for work in winter but now referring to those of Japanese descent who go to Japan to work) generally are employed in factories or in dangerous and difficult work for which native Japanese labor is unavailable.

Japanese immigrants moved to Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia in small numbers in the 1920s and 1930s, virtually all remigrating from Peru and Brazil. Between 1899 and 1978 Argentina received about 16,000 Japanese, Paraguay about 9,500 (almost all after 1952), and Bolivia

about 9,000 (almost all after 1952). Peru, which has the second-largest Japanese community in the hemisphere, received about 36,000 Japanese immigrants between 1899 and 1976, and the Japanese-descended population in 1980 was estimated at about 50,000. Many Japanese were recruited as contract laborers for Peruvian cotton plantations beginning in 1889, but a ban on new Japanese entry (but not on family members) was enacted by the Peruvian government in 1923. The continued reports of poor treatment on the plantations and the consequent rapid exit of many Japanese immigrants to the cities, especially Lima/Callao, in 1935 led both the Japanese and Peruvian governments strongly to discourage such migration. In 1980 about 85 percent of all Peruvians of Japanese descent lived in cities, with the majority (about 80 percent) in Lima/Callao and the rest distributed among the urban centers of Trujillo, Ica, Pisco, Arequipa, and Cuzco. It is worth noting that the image of Japan and the Japanese is strong in Peru. This became most apparent with the 1990 election of Alberto Fujimori, son of Japanese immigrants, to the presidency of Peru. Fujimori's campaign played heavily on his ethnic/national background, and he often dressed as a samurai to suggest he would be successful in combatting the Maoist Sendero Luminoso guerrilla movement. Furthermore, Fujimori frequently implied during campaign speeches that, if he were elected, there would be large-scale Japanese investment in Peru, a prediction that has not turned out to be accurate.

**KOREANS.** Korean immigration to South America began on a small scale in the mid-1950s but was only formalized in 1962, when, to encourage emigration to control population, reduce unemployment, and garner foreign exchange via immigrant remittances, the South Korean government passed its Overseas Emigration Law. In December 1962 the South Korean Ministry of Public Health and Social Affairs, to which the emigration section was attached, sent 92 people (members of seventeen families) to Brazil. Although the South Korean government's desire to direct emigrants to the Southern Hemisphere was based on the size of the Brazilian economy, many Koreans were hindered by the Brazilian government's demand that all visas, including those for tourists, be preapproved. By the mid-1970s, then, most Koreans immigrating to South America went to Paraguay, where on-the-spot border visas for foreigners are available. According to official South Korean statistics, Paraguay received about 120,000 Koreans between 1975 and 1990. Since Paraguayan visas do not always distinguish between immigrants, long-term residents, temporary workers, and tourists, however, it is difficult to determine exactly how many Koreans are actually living in Paraguay. Furthermore, the size of Brazil's economy and the technological sophistication of many of its sectors continue to be attractive to Koreans. This has created a large flow of undocumented Korean migrants from Paraguay to Brazil. In 1992 the South Korean embassy in Brazil extrapolated a population of about 40,000, based on families registered at its various consulates in Brazil. This sample underrepresents the numbers significantly, since undocumented immigrants rarely register with South Korea's representatives in Brazil, and many documented immigrants also choose not to register. Unofficial estimates put the

Korean population of Brazil at between two and three times that of the embassy. The overwhelming majority (90 percent) of Korean immigrants live in São Paulo, where they have created some 2,500 small businesses, most of which produce cloth and clothing and many of which are based in their residences. Some Koreans also work in the field of electronic engineering and in the export-import trade. In São Paulo the majority of Koreans live either in Liberdade, the traditional Japanese neighborhood; in Bom Retiro, a traditional immigrant neighborhood most recently populated by East European Jews; or the formerly Italian neighborhood of Brás. In Paraguay the majority of Koreans live in Asunción or in Puerto Stroessner (which is a border town abutting both Brazil and Argentina) and are heavily involved in the sale of imported goods. As with the Chinese, many products sold by Korean retailers in Brazil are produced by extended-family members in Paraguay.

A number of factors make the recent Korean immigration to South America distinct from that of the Chinese and Japanese. Foremost is the large amount of money (around \$30,000) that many Koreans immigrating to South America bring with them to invest. Second, virtually all Koreans in Paraguay and Brazil live in urban areas and are employed in nonagricultural sectors of the economy. Furthermore, the Koreans have an extremely solid communal structure. Korean loan societies lend more money at lower rates than commercial banks, thus providing a strong economic basis for initial success as well as communal peer pressure for moving up the economic ladder. At the same time, Korean immigrants appear to hold a globalist view of their own immigration, and it is common to find that immigrants in Paraguay and Brazil have close family members (brothers, sisters, cousins) in other countries, notably the United States and Canada. Indeed, many Koreans are educated in one country and subsequently move to work in a family business in another country. This has created a linguistic advantage for many Koreans, and it is not unusual to find immigrants who speak English, Spanish, and Portuguese in addition to their native language. It also provides a sophisticated means of exit in case of economic or social turmoil.

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JEFFREY LESSER

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## Asurini

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ETHONYMS: Akuáwa-Asurini, Assuriní, Akwaya, Huriní, Suriní, Uriní

All the Asurini do Tocantins at present live on a reservation on the lower Tocantins river near the town of Tucuruí in Pará State, Brazil. When they came into contact with Brazil-nut collectors in the early twentieth century, the Asurini do Tocantins lived in the region between the Tocantins and the Rio Pacajá, a tributary of the Xingu. Another Asurini group, the Asurini do Xingu, live on the Rio Piçava, also a Xingu tributary, but they differ from the Asurini do Tocantins in dialect, in custom, and in history of contact.

The Asurini do Tocantins speak a language of the Tupí-Guaraní Family. Today most of them also speak Portuguese, and young people speak Portuguese almost exclusively.

With the building of a railway, starting in 1927, between Tucuruí and Jacundá to facilitate the export of Brazil nuts, hostilities between the Asurini and settlers increased, leading to killings on both sides and intensification of efforts by the federal Indian Protection Service (SPI) to contact and pacify the Asurini. In 1953, 190 Asurini were settled on an Indian post at Trocará, but in the same year 50 died in an epidemic of flu and dysentery, and most of the survivors left the post. The remainder abandoned the post in 1956 but returned in 1962 along with another local Asurini group numbering 30 people. Many of these also died, and the survivors fled. During the 1970s many Asurini lived among Whites and began to collect Brazil nuts for sale. In 1974 most of the Asurini from both groups returned to the post.

In 1984 both Asurini do Tocantins groups, the one settled in 1953 and known as the Trocará group, and the Pacajá group that arrived later, lived in the same village on the Trocará reservation, which has an area of 217 square kilometers. They totaled 132 individuals, of which 55 percent were under 14 years of age, indicating a remarkable population recovery. This is owing in part to high fertility and in part to vaccination and the availability of modern medical facilities at Tucuruí, where Indians can be treated in emergencies.

Beginning in 1961, with the opening of the Belém-Brasília highway, southeastern Pará became a region of intense economic development. A major hydroelectric project was built on the Tocantins at Tucuruí to provide power for mining and industry, and settlers and entrepreneurs of all kinds entered the region. The Asurini reservation is surrounded by large estates, and a main highway cuts across the center of the reservation. There is little game left and the Asurini must constantly defend their boundaries against inroads by invaders seeking to occupy their land or exploit its resources.

Traditionally, the Asurini lived in small independent local groups, each occupying a large communal house. The shaman was often also the headman. All the male members of a local group belonged to the same patriline. Contact between these groups was limited to forming matrimonial alliances and participating in joint ceremonies. Preferential marriage was between a man and his father's sister's daughter, or his sister's daughter, and kin terminology was of the Sudanese type, which distinguishes between matrilineal and patrilineal cross cousins. With severe depopulation, this system has broken down; young people often use Portuguese kin terms, and polygyny has practically disappeared. Boys and girls marry at around 15 years of age, and normally live for a period with the wife's family before setting up an independent household.

Before contact, bitter manioc was the Asurini staple, but they also grew sweet potatoes, yams, sweet manioc, maize, bananas, sugarcane, tobacco, and cotton. The only hunting weapon was the bow and arrow; bows were very long—some as long as 2 meters. The Asurini, although they preferred mammals such as deer, peccaries, tapir, monkeys, and armadillos, also hunted birds. For fishing, in addition to bows and arrows, they used traps, fish poison, and steel hooks obtained during raids on settlers' homesteads. They collected Brazil nuts and a wide variety of palm nuts and wild fruits for food.

At present, because of the lack of game, fishing is more important than hunting. The Asurini fish in lakes and streams but seldom in the Tocantins itself. Families go on fishing trips lasting several days in parts of the reservation distant from the village, where they also hope to find game.

In July and August men clear the fields, which are burned over in September. They grow manioc in a large communal field, and each household plants a field as well. Men and women participate in planting and harvesting. From manioc grown in the communal field, they make manioc flour for sale in Tucuruí and use the proceeds to buy foodstuffs such as coffee, sugar, oil, salt, and other goods like kerosene, cloth, flashlight batteries, and portable radios. They also gather Brazil nuts and other wild fruits for sale. The women make a number of craft products to sell in Tucuruí, including animal-tooth necklaces, featherwork, baskets, and pottery. The Indian agent at the post is the intermediary for these sales.

According to Asurini mythology, children are conceived when a woman has sexual relations in a dream with the culture hero Mahira. When she has such a dream the woman knows she is pregnant, and she should have frequent sexual relations with her husband so his semen will make the fetus grow. All men with whom a woman may

have sexual relations during this period are considered biological fathers of the child. Only women are present during childbirth, and a woman gives birth reclining in her hammock. Both parents observe *couvade* until the umbilical cord drops off. This involves refraining from eating tabooed foods, avoiding heavy work, and remaining in the house. A few days after birth the baby receives a name, always that of a dead person.

Formerly, a boy was given a second name at puberty, when his lower lip was pierced for a lip ornament and he received a penis sheath. These traits may have been diffused from the Kayapó, with whom the Asurini were in frequent contact, as they are not typical of Tupian groups. Puberty rites are no longer practiced, and only the old shaman wears a lip ornament. Although the Asurini now wear Western clothing, they paint themselves and wear feather ornaments for ceremonies, sometimes also covering their bodies with feathers and down glued on with resin.

Mahira, the culture hero, made order out of the ancient chaos in which the world began. The creator of humans, he taught them to plant manioc, make flutes, and play music. At some time in the mythical past, Mahira grew disgusted with men and returned to heaven. It was then that illnesses appeared. When a person dies, his heavenly soul joins Mahira but his earthly soul remains in the forest, frightening living people and sometimes causing death. The dead were traditionally buried in the house where they lived, and the village was abandoned. At present, the Asurini bury the dead in the bush, far from the village.

The Asurini celebrate two kinds of ceremonies. One takes place after planting and involves dancing, playing flutes, wearing feather headdresses, and eating manioc porridge. The other is a festival associated with the initiation of a new shaman.

The Asurini make music with panpipes, short bamboo flutes, and the great flutes. The latter may be 1 to 3 meters long, and on them they play different melodies, each of which has a name such as "fire music," "tapir," or "parrot."

The shaman's principal role is that of a healer who extracts from the patient's body objects placed there by a supernatural being that lives in the bush. These objects make a person ill by raising body temperature, and the shaman removes them by blowing tobacco smoke over the patient and sucking the objects out. Only the shaman can cure this kind of illness, but minor health problems are treated with medicinal herbs, the appropriate use of which is generally known. Becoming a shaman involves learning to swallow tobacco smoke, fasting, and learning to dream. In dreaming, the apprentice, guided by the shaman, makes contact with the jaguar spirit and obtains from it the supernatural power needed to be a shaman.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Awá Kwaiker

ETHNONYMS: Awá, Awá Cuaiquer, Coaiquer, Cuaiquer, Kuaiquer, Kwaiker

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Kwaiker" was imposed by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, who named the group for the river where they were discovered. They call themselves "Awá," which means "people." They may further identify themselves as "Inkal," which means "mountain" or "jungle" (i.e., "mountain people"), thus differentiating themselves from the Blacks of the coast, "Ijakta Awá," and Whites, "Wisha Awá." Since the name "Awá" has only recently been introduced, both names are used to avoid confusion. Some people, however, following Spanish spelling, use "Cuaiquer" instead of "Kwaiker."

**Location.** The Awá Kwaiker occupy an area in the extreme southwest of Colombia and the northwest of Ecuador between 0.45° and 1.20° N and 77.45° and 78.30° W. They live in a tropical-rain-forest climate at an elevation of between 500 and 1,500 meters in an area of steep, eroded hills.

**Demography.** In 1989 the Awá Kwaiker population was estimated at 7,000, of whom 5,000 live in Colombia and 2,000 in Ecuador.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Awá Kwaiker language belongs to the Barbacoa Subgroup of the Chibcha Family. This language is related to all native languages of the Pacific coast from Ecuador to Guatemala.

### History and Cultural Relations

The origin of the group is not clear. Previously, it was thought that they were part of the Pasto group, which lived in the high Andes. Recent archaeological and linguistic evidence, however, link the Awá Kwaiker with Mesoamerican civilization.

It is known that between 100 and 400 B.C. the Tumaco civilization existed on the Pacific coast. The archaeological remains of this civilization show clear cultural links with the Mayas and Aztecs. Undoubtedly, migrants settled in this area, but they mysteriously disappeared. When the Spaniards arrived, they found only Indians with a very low level of technological development. It is difficult to main-

tain that the Tumaco completely disappeared, thus it is hypothesized that some of their descendants populated the coast at the time of the Spanish Conquest.

This supposition is supported by the following documentary evidence. One of the most famous warrior groups, the Sindaguas, was almost exterminated in 1635, when they were condemned to death. The records of the trial list the surnames of the condemned Indians: six of the eight names listed are the same as six of the eight traditional surnames of the present-day Awá Kwaiker. In addition, the Spanish captain Francisco de Prado y Zuñiga, who was sent from Popayán to carry out the sentence, reported that his interpreters were able to understand the language and that the "Sindaguas" spoke Mayan. Later historical evidence shows that the Awá Kwaiker also have surnames of groups that lived in distant areas of the coast, which leads to the assumption that this is not a distinct Indian group, but rather a mix of various groups that lived in the coastal area. Later, roads were built and the region was invaded by settlers attracted by the gold found in the rivers. Since then, the Awá Kwaiker have been stratified internally by degree of cultural assimilation.

Those who stayed near the road, working as unskilled laborers, assumed the customs and even the surnames of the peasants. Their present-day descendants, about 30 percent of the Awá Kwaiker population, have forgotten the ancestral language and customs and now live on small plots of land. A second stratum settled in nearby areas because the need for access to the market obliged them to maintain intermittent relations. Nevertheless, proximity to mestizo settlers created cultural and territorial conflicts. At the present time, this group, about 35 percent of the population, is rapidly being assimilated, and traditional practices are reserved for private familial situations. Young people commonly migrate seasonally in search of work and are therefore more vulnerable to change and unaccepting of Indian identity. The remaining 35 percent of the population consists of those who traditionally try to avoid contact with outsiders and, as a result, have settled in distant and hard-to-reach areas between the Nulpe and San Juan rivers close to the Ecuadoran border.

### Settlements

The total area of settlement is about 3,500 square kilometers, but it is crossed by the road to Barbacoas and Tumaco, along which live about 20,000 mestizos and Blacks. The Awá Kwaiker live along the Gualcala, Vegan, Güisa, Nulpe, and San Juan rivers, forming small nuclei of dispersed dwellings. This residence pattern is the only system that guarantees equilibrium in the poor and fragile ecosystem. In Colombia and Ecuador there are about seventy settlements, averaging no more than 100 inhabitants except in places with infrastructure such as bridges, small health centers, or schools, where the population may be more densely concentrated.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Originally, the Awá Kwaiker were hunter-gatherers who supplemented their diet through the cultivation of a variety of maize that grows under almost wild conditions. After cutting down

the jungle vegetation, the Awá Kwaiker throw the maize down and wait for it to sprout. No more is done until the harvest. In spite of this, the harvest is usually good because sunlight, as well as decomposing organic material, is channeled toward the crop. The farmer refrains from planting in the same area for at least five years, when the area has been covered by secondary growth. At the present time, the growing of maize is complemented by the cultivation of plantains and sugarcane and the raising of farm animals such as pigs and chickens. As with crops, the Awá Kwaiker invest little time and energy in the care of their animals: they mature almost in the wild. The key to survival is to live with what nature offers. They sell a few animals and their products and surplus maize: that is, they maintain a certain number of animals that function as fixed capital, and live on the income generated by these animals.

**Industrial Arts.** Crafts are directed toward satisfying needs of daily life. Because of the need to carry loads on their backs, the Awá Kwaiker make baskets of various sizes as well as *jigras* (bags made of vegetable fiber). Ceramic work has almost disappeared, and kitchen utensils are now bought in the market. Nevertheless, the construction of containers and canoes from the huge trees found in the area is still an important activity. Musical instruments are very important: among these are marimbas, drums, maracas, and flutes.

**Trade.** Commerce is limited: per-capita annual income is rarely more than the equivalent of \$100. In general, the Awá Kwaiker sell maize, chickens, and pigs and buy salt, kerosene for lamps, machetes, rubber boots, and a suit of clothes for each family member.

**Division of Labor.** The sexual division of labor is very clear: the couple is the basic unit, supplying all the necessities of life. The woman combines domestic chores with child rearing and animal husbandry. Sometimes she is required to work in the fields and carry loads. The man dedicates his time to farming, hunting, and fishing (i.e., to food procurement), which has led to his having absolute authority in the family. The woman, on the other hand, is subordinate and is treated like a child. She is very quiet and is excluded from certain rituals.

**Land Tenure.** Originally, the Awá Kwaiker possessed large areas of land where they could hunt, fish, and rotate crops. With the colonization of the area, in spite of growth of the Awá Kwaiker population, not only were their holdings diminished, they were also forced to obtain legal titles to the land. This problem was more marked in areas close to the main road and towns: in more remote areas, especially close to Ecuador, the Awá Kwaiker retained larger domains and kept traditional property rights. At the present time, because of unclear property titles and pressure from other farmers, the National Institute of Land Reform has given the Awá Kwaiker three pieces of land under a reservation system (i.e., community property, not to be sold). The possibility of turning over additional land where the remaining Awá Kwaiker live is being studied.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** In general, the Awá Kwaiker are organized by kinship relationships based on marriage alliances that unite two families, which subsequently share land and work. This system is reflected in residence, inheritance, and property rules that tend to conserve the ecological balance. Kinship relationships are initiated when a group of brothers marries a group of sisters; in this way the family is enlarged, and ties of solidarity are created. At the present time kinship lacks the same importance because the majority have been forced to migrate, and, before leaving, they sell their land, according to Colombian law. Nevertheless, this kinship relationship can still be found, because in each settlement one or two surnames predominate as a result of marriage ties.

**Kinship Terminology.** Family-group members call each other "cousin," which is recognized until the third generation.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Awá Kwaiker generally marry between the ages of 15 and 16. This is used as a mechanism to limit family size, and the practice is reinforced by moral and social sanctions. In addition, their standard of beauty in women is closely related to the physical characteristics of youth, so that after this age a woman might not be able to marry. The fact is that, in a simple economy at a low level of subsistence, more workers are not needed, and so the older children, who are large consumers of family resources, have to leave the family group. A prospective groom speaks to the father of the prospective bride, who usually accepts him, depending on the amount of land that his father has. Marriage is a way to increase property holdings and, as a result, fathers carefully control the movements of their daughters. Also for property reasons, residence is patrilocal. Initially, the couple lives together for a period of about one year in a relationship called *amaño* (test period), during which the woman must demonstrate her dedication and ability as a housewife. If they decide to marry at the end of this period, the relationship is quite stable, although there are some cases of infidelity among both sexes. If they do not marry, the woman returns to her parents in disgrace: if she has children her chances of being able to *amañar* again are even more reduced.

**Domestic Unit.** The family is the primary social unit: it is a patriarchal organization composed of parents, sons and their wives, and grandchildren.

**Inheritance.** Although inheritance was traditionally from grandparents to grandchildren and under the control of kinship groups, it is at the present time from parents to children. It is now a more commercial transaction and involves legal documents. Nonetheless, parents have the power to divide property according to their personal preferences and affection for their children, which guarantees them good treatment in their old age.

**Socialization.** Awá Kwaiker children are not overprotected, nor do they receive special treatment. On the contrary, they are exposed to various risks. At about 6 or 7

years of age children accompany their parents to work and have their own duties: in the community, every one has to earn his or her own living. The formal education available is not adequate for the needs of the group; there are very few schools and these are poorly equipped. In addition, the teachers are strangers to the community who do not share the cultural background of the children.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The social organization of the Awá Kwaiker is based on rules of behavior regarding production and personal relations that are intended to produce a balance among territory, population density, and provision of resources. The behavioral norms are affirmed in social gatherings where, in some way, every one finds out who is violating the norms: who is committing adultery, who is stealing, who has lost her virginity, and so on. As a result, these gatherings are public occasions for examining one's conscience.

**Political Organization.** The Awá Kwaiker lack a formal political structure because the family, under the authority of the father, is the immediate and definitive agent of social control. Recently, the Colombian government, through the Office of Indian Affairs, has been organizing the Awá Kwaiker into a *cabildo* system, a type of Indian council similar to other traditional organizations. Here, it is not necessarily the older people who have more authority, but rather those who are more qualified to carry out the relevant duties.

**Social Control.** Social censure is the traditional method of social control. The law of reciprocity operates, so that peace between two people is reestablished by reimbursement for something stolen and, in general, when compensation is made for an infraction. In these types of cases there is no formal judge who mediates between the contenders: they resolve their differences themselves.

**Conflict.** One of the major bases of contention is the defense of territorial rights, which often leads to aggression and conflict. The Awá Kwaiker are aggressive among themselves, but, when confronted by Whites, they adopt an attitude of passive rejection: they avoid speaking or sharing activities with persons outside their own group. For their part, the farmers of the surrounding area see the Awá Kwaiker as backward, incompetent, ignorant, and odd. The local authorities share this view, and, consequently, there is no guarantee that the rights of the Awá Kwaiker will be defended.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Because it is not easy to establish close relationships with the Awá Kwaiker, given their reserved behavior with strangers, it is difficult to describe their religious beliefs. Nonetheless, it is known that they do have a rich corpus of myths and symbols, through which they attempt to explain their world. Their environment, the jungle, is populated with spirits who control their lives. The Awá Kwaiker conceive of a supernatural world populated by imaginary beings physically similar to the Indians but with divine powers. These beings are in charge of watching over people's lives and regulating and

organizing the world according to the values considered important by the Awá Kwaiker. The Awá Kwaiker also have adopted other beliefs of the surrounding settlers and Indians of other groups which, in the end, also operate as forms of social control. Although many Awá Kwaiker attend Catholic religious services, they do so fundamentally owing to their desire to imitate customs that give them prestige in the eyes of Whites, rather than because of a real internalization of these religious beliefs.

**Religious Practitioners.** Among the Awá Kwaiker rituals are tied to traditional medicine; as a result, shamans are the *curanderos* (traditional doctors), who base their practice on knowledge passed from generation to generation.

**Ceremonies.** Honoring ancestors, wakes, and the celebration of funerals are the most important ceremonial events. In spite of the influence of the church, traditional beliefs still dominate on these occasions. Here the Awá Kwaiker manifest the oldest elements of their culture, as these ceremonies are private events: in addition, the customary intoxication permits uninhibited and spontaneous behavior.

**Arts.** The most important musical instruments are the marimba and different kinds of drums, some of them inherited from Black African slaves. Many of their songs also show Black African influence, although each is based on a single set of notes, which may be repeated indefinitely. Present-day dancing is done in couples; the Awá Kwaiker prefer traditional Ecuadoran rhythms.

**Medicine.** The Awá Kwaiker see illness as a punishment for the violation of behavioral norms. As a result, there is a psychosomatic component to illness, as feelings of guilt affect the nervous system and, in turn, other parts of the organism, for example in cases of lack of appetite. Thus, the function of the *curandero* is to reestablish good relations with the spirits that are punishing the person, while administering natural medicine in order to strengthen the organism. If the problem persists, the Awá Kwaiker will go to a medical doctor.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is seen as passing to another life. As a consequence, when the dead are buried, food, tools, and clothes are placed in the tomb so that the person will be able to fulfill his or her duties in the next life. Because of this belief, very sick people, especially old people, receive no special care to prolong their lives, since this would be contrary to supernatural design. In fact, the funeral rituals that are celebrated at the end of a year are enacted with the objective of bringing the spirit of the dead person to the celebration. Funerals are also a means of "freeing" widows and widowers so that they are able to remarry.

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BENHUR CERÓN

## Aymara

ETHNONYMS: none

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Aymara" is of unknown origin. Historically, the Aymara referred to themselves as "Jaqi," meaning "human beings," or as "Colla." This term "was extended loosely by early Spanish chroniclers to include all the Aymara-speaking tribes of the 'Collao' or Collasuyo division of the Inca empire" (La Barre 1948).

**Location.** The Aymara are presently concentrated on the altiplano, the Andean high plateau, a geographical zone of approximately 170,000 square kilometers at a medium elevation of 4,000 meters above sea level. Although located in the center of the South American continent, the altiplano has far from a tropical climate, owing to the extreme elevation—surrounding mountains range up to 7,000 meters. The temperature varies more between night and day than between seasons. Normally the summer season (November to March) has daily rainfalls, the winter (May

through September) a complete drought. The population is mainly spread around Lake Titicaca in Peru and Bolivia, extending into southern Bolivia, southern Peru, and northern Chile. There is evidence that in the pre-Inca period Aymara speakers were geographically spread over a substantially larger area.

**Demography.** In 1950 the Aymara population was estimated to be between 600,000 and 900,000, with the majority living in Bolivia. More recent estimates claim that the Aymara number between two and three million, of which around half a million live in Peru (approximately 2.3 percent of the Peruvian population). The Bolivian Aymara are about 30 percent of the population. For these reasons, the Aymara tend to be linked more closely to the history of Bolivia than to that of Peru.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Aymara language, one of the three most widely spoken (with Quechua and Guaraní) Indian language in South America, belongs to the Andean-Equatorial Language Family, more specifically to the Jaqi Language Group. There are three Jaqi languages: Jaqaru and Kawki, spoken only in Peru, and Aymara, spoken primarily in Bolivia and Peru.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Aymara are considered descendants of some of the earliest inhabitants of the continent and possible founders of the so-called Tiahuanaco (Tiwanaku) high culture, estimated to have existed from between 500 and 200 B.C. to around A.D. 1000. For unknown reasons this culture suddenly collapsed in the thirteenth century (i.e., before the Inca Empire reached its peak toward the end of the fifteenth century). By then most people of the Andes, from Ecuador into Chile, were linked in a tightly controlled economic and political system in which the Quechua language of the Incas dominated. But the Aymara, as an exception from Inca practice, were allowed to retain their own language. This contributed to the still-persisting cultural and social separation of the Aymara.

After the Spanish Conquest in 1533 the Aymara shared the fate of most South American peoples—centuries of suppression. In what later became Bolivia, the Spaniards started the extraction of metals, mainly silver, at the price of ruthless exploitation of the Indian population, which was forced to work in the mines. The eighteenth century was a period of great unrest among various Indian groups in what was then called Upper Peru (part of Bolivia today). Lacking coordination, these uprisings had little effect upon the lives of the Aymara in the area. Nor did the fifteen-year long war of independence, which in 1825 resulted in the proclamation of the Republic of Bolivia.

The status of the Bolivian Aymara remained virtually unchanged until the revolution in 1952, which led to economic and social reforms such as universal suffrage and land reform. A continuing stormy political scene has, however, resulted in an underdeveloped economy, poor communication, and social problems; these conditions primarily affect the Indian population, whose situation is not likely to change rapidly. Culturally related peoples are the Quechua, the Uru, and the Chipaya. Their languages are unrelated (in spite of the common belief to the contrary),

but there has been extensive mutual linguistic and cultural borrowing.

### *Settlements*

As the Aymara switched to pastoralism and agriculture, they settled in small clusters throughout the altiplano area. Several millennia later, during the colonial period, two types of highland communities came into existence in Bolivia: the hacienda-dominated community (inhabited by *colonos*) and the marginal, freeholding community (inhabited by *comunarios*), which contributed to the development of diverging settlement patterns. Homesteads in the *comunario* community are often widely dispersed, whereas in the *colono* community living quarters are mostly built in close-knit clusters. The buildings of each unit (for an extended family or some related families) are surrounded with a wall. Aymara frequently own dwellings in more than one location because of their traditional engagement (landholdings, trade, or barter) in different places. In the 1950s, when the Aymara began substantial migration to urban centers, they kept their settlement pattern, including having a wall around the dwelling of a nuclear or extended family.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Early Aymara began practicing animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture possibly around 2500 B.C. Climate, elevation, and poor soil limit the range of plants and food crops that can be cultivated. The Aymara adapted to their harsh environment by engaging in the domestication of animals and crops, some of which are still unique to the Andes (the Andean cameloid, llama, and the native grain, quinoa) and others of which (e.g., potatoes and maize) have spread throughout the world. A method for food preservation was developed early: dehydration (freeze-drying) of the staple food, potatoes, and other Andean tubers. This allowed long-term storage, necessary in a region of seasonal production, as well as the accumulation of a surplus to free labor for nonsubsistence activities. The dramatic differences in elevation create substantial climatic variations in geographically close areas. As insurance against the failure of a single crop and to get access to a greater variety of products, the Aymara have developed a method of agricultural diversification: they keep land in different ecozones. This diversification technique is used also in commercial activities (e.g., trade and wage labor). Trade is by tradition dominated by women, who bring agricultural produce to central markets, where today most products are sold, not traded. Early patterns of seasonal migration (mainly by men) for wage labor have contributed to the engagement in the cash economy by most present-day Aymara. However, there are rural villagers still living mainly through subsistence agriculture.

**Industrial Arts.** Pottery making and weaving are performed by both men and women. Works of highly skilled architects and sculptors from the Tiahuanaco culture can still be seen at that site.

**Trade.** Despite lagging development of infrastructure and poor communications, Aymara men and women traditionally keep long-distance trading partners, which enables



them to acquire produce from other ecological zones. In institutionalized reciprocal relationships, such as *ayni* (exchange of labor, goods, and services) and *compadrazgo* (godparenthood, coparenthood, ritual kinship), labor may be exchanged for food products or meals. Urban traders exchange, for example, salt, *sultana* coffee, rice, or vegetables grown at low elevation for several kinds of potatoes and dried beans with their rural partners.

**Division of Labor.** Labor is divided equally between married spouses (i.e., husbands and wives work the fields together, although they may have different tasks). But no task is so sex specific that the other cannot take it on. Among urban "Westernized" Aymara, however, the traditional labor cooperation seems to be vanishing.

**Land Tenure.** In early days a form of collective land-ownership was practiced by the members of an *ayllu*, a basic social, political, and geographical unit (see "Kinship"). Grazing land was used in common, whereas the agricultural land was rotated and distributed yearly among *ayllu* members according to the needs of each extended family. Only land on which the families had their houses was privately owned. As land became permanently divided and privately owned by separate families, the tradition of working in common-labor groups has been weakened.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** According to a common Andean bilateral kinship system, Aymara trace descent through both male and female ancestors within a certain number of generations, usually to the great-grandparents (*t'unu*). It is unclear when this cognatic system developed, but ethnographers (e.g., Lambert 1977) at present agree that earlier reports of a patrilineal system are the results of misinterpretations and that the pre-Hispanic kinship system rather was parallel, or dual, in its nature (Collins 1981). Kin groups were traditionally organized into an *ayllu*, described as a "subtribe," "one or several extended families," "extended lineages," "a unit within which certain bonds of kinship are recognized" or, according to Zuidema (1977), as "any social or political group with a boundary separating it from the outside." The *ayllus* and the current corresponding *comunidades* display strong tendencies of endogamy. A high rate of endogamy between urban migrants and members from their community of origin is reported.

**Kinship Terminology.** According to Lounsbury (1964), the kinship system was a rarity of the Omaha type. This is based on Ludovico Bertonio's early-seventeenth-century *Vocabulary*. Today there is assimilation to a Spanish bilateral system, but with vestiges of the older system.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Most marriages derive from the choice of the young couple but are regarded as an economic union with binding reciprocal obligations among three households: those of the parents of the groom, the parents of the bride, and the newlyweds. A marriage is entered through a series of stages and wedding ceremonies, earlier mistakenly apprehended as "trial marriages." Marriages are monogamous and divorce is fairly easy.

**Domestic Unit.** The basic unit is the nuclear family with extended family networks for cooperation. Nuclear families with separate households often live on the same premises as their extended kin. Virilocal or neolocal residence is typically practiced.

**Inheritance.** Inheritance is traditionally bilateral (i.e., males and females inherit property separately from their father and mother). The equal inheritance rules, legalized in Bolivia in 1953, have sometimes led to extreme splitting up of land, resulting in the bending of the rules in practice.

**Socialization.** Children are regarded as complete human beings and are brought up with guidance rather than with rebuke or force. They are treated with respect, and, although seldom excluded from any situation, they are taught to be quiet when grown-ups talk.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The idea of equality, embraced by all Aymara, is a component of most relationships in rural society. The social system is flexible, and on the lowest levels of the social structure, the family and the *ayllu*, individuals are interchangeable (i.e., men and women can change roles). Males and females are considered equal in status, decision making, and rights, as well as in inheritance, labor division, and cooperation.

**Political Organization.** In pre-Conquest time, when the Aymara dominated the Andean highlands, a number of Aymara-speaking "nations," divided into "kingdoms" or "chiefdoms," developed. An Andean type of endogamous moiety organization with stratification of ethnic groups (Aymara and Uru) has been reported (Murra 1968). The independence of these nations was lost as the Quechua-speaking Incas extended their influence, but on the local level little of Aymara life changed. Decision making in the traditional *ayllu* was of the consensus type. Leadership authority was executed by the *jilaqata*, chosen yearly among adult men according to a rotating system. In the new community organization, connected to the national governments, the headman is theoretically chosen by the subprefector in the provincial capital, but in practice he is often elected by his community members. He is merely the "foremost among equals," and actual decisions are made by the *reunión* (assembly), where consensus is still a goal. In August 1993 an Aymara, Víctor Hugo Cárdenas, took office as vice president of Bolivia.

**Social Control.** The flexible and ideally egalitarian Aymara system has resulted in relatively few rules and taboos and consequently a low degree of social control. In case of personal conflict, the common forms of social control are used—gossip and ostracism (e.g., in the form of exclusion from dancing, drinking, and eating with the well-demarcated *fiesta* group).

**Conflict.** Individual and family disputes, often over land or inheritance, were settled by the *jilaqata*, who also arbitrated in inter-*ayllu* conflicts. In today's organization, conflicts are solved at assembly meetings, or if intractable, referred to central authorities. Physical arguments or regular fights usually occur only under the influence of alcohol. On the *ayllu* or village level the Aymara have a strong

sense of collective identity and "community orientation" at times resulting in prejudice, mistrust, and suspicion toward "outsiders." Competition, mistrust, and conflict between other bonded units, such as family groups and village or community sections, is also not uncommon.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The majority of the Aymara today are nominally Roman Catholic. In practice their religion is a syncretistic blend of Catholicism and indigenous religion, based on a parallelism, in which supernatural phenomena were classified similarly to natural ones. Such phenomena, as well as religious leaders, were ranked in vaguely hierarchical and relatively unstructured and flexible orders. Some indigenous rites are still practiced, mostly in addition to established Catholic ceremonies. Spirits, in the indigenous Aymara cognition, inhabit not heaven but surrounding high mountains, rivers, lakes, and so on, or rather, those sacred places are personified spirits.

**Religious Practitioners.** Intermediaries between the natural and supernatural spheres are several kinds of magicians such as *yatiri* (diviner) and *laiqa* and *paqu* (practitioners of black or white magic). The aim of their activities is to bring about a balance between human and natural phenomena. Magic is used (e.g., in courtship, at childbirth, to cure illness, at planting and harvest rituals, and in weather-controlling rites).

**Ceremonies.** Reciprocity, the basic and most salient feature of all Aymara social relations, is culturally institutionalized in several systems (e.g., those of *ayni*, *compadrazgo*, and *fiesta*). *Ayni*, *compadrazgo*, and the two types of *fiestas* (religious and life-cycle) are all surrounded by specific rules and ceremonies. Although there has been much debate over the origin, development, and meaning of these systems, it is evident that in the form they exist today, they serve to extend and maintain an individual's personal network and fulfill his or her occasional need to express group cohesion and feelings of cultural identity.

**Arts.** Performing arts in the form of band music and dancing are important parts of every ceremony and *fiesta*. Most common are brass instruments, completed with drums, Andean flutes (*kena* and *sampoña*), and a mini-mandolin (*charango*) made of armadillo hide.

**Medicine.** Illness is considered to be caused by both natural and supernatural phenomena and may be cured accordingly—with the help of medicine and/or a curer. Most medicines derive from plants; roots, leaves, or flowers, are administered as infusions or herbal teas. Animal parts and minerals are also used. Indigenous methods are applied along with Western medicines prescribed by clinical doctors or obtained at the drugstore.

**Death and Afterlife.** Formalized passage rites are staged for a deceased, in which food and drink are important elements. This series of rituals (extending over a period of three to ten years) includes mourning wake, funeral, *cabo de año* (end of the mourning year), and yearly celebrations at Todos Santos (1–2 November). The souls of the departed are then believed to return to earth, where they must be treated properly (i.e., fed) so they will refrain from vengeance. For the interment, the common practice is to

send a number of items along with the deceased, mostly clothing and food, for use during the difficult journey into the highlands, where the spirits dwell.

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## Ayoreo

ETHNONYMS: Ayoreóde, Moro, Tsirakaua, Zamuco

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Ayoreo call themselves "Ayoreóde," which is the plural form of *ayoréi* (person); the feminine form is *ayoré*. "Ayoréi" is also used to designate generically all beings of human appearance, including other native groups and criollos. Non-Ayoreo indigenous groups are generally called "Menenegóne" (i.e., "the poor ones" or "those who have nothing"). A different denomination and status is given neo-Americans (criollos and Europeans); they are referred to as "Konhióne," which may be translated as "foolish/stupid," "people who do things that make no sense or that are outside norms," such as marrying someone from the same family or addressing a woman they do not know.

**Location.** The extensive portion of the northern Chaco occupied by various bands of Ayoreo lies approximately between 16° and 22° S and 58° and 63° W, in Bolivia and Paraguay. Ayoreo territory exhibits a typical hinterland character since it is almost totally devoid of natural routes for internal circulation, such as rivers, groups of lakes, and springs. Of greater importance for the life and movement of the group are the swamplands of Izozog and Otuquis. These hydric deposits determine the establishment of permanent camps in their surroundings. Given the wide distances they travel, however, bands of Ayoreo tend to become independent of these camps, up to a point, and subsist in the desert by extracting water from the tubers of the *čipói*. Orographical relief does not play a direct role in the lifeways of the Ayoreo as it is limited to three mountain chains in the extreme northern end of their habitat and some isolated hills in the central area. Salt mines, on the other hand, are important to the Ayoreo. The mines (*éčoi*) are located almost in the center of their habitat. They were a traditional locus of conflict between northern and southern bands of Ayoreo.

As is the case throughout the Chaco, the seasonal cycle is characterized by two periods—the dry season (May to November) and the rainy season (the rest of the year). In the latter, rainfall is abundant, with sudden downpours. In the dry season there is a noticeable wind pattern: winds alternate from the north and south, cold and warm, respectively.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** At present the Ayoreo and the Chamacoco or Ishir are the only ethnic groups in the northern Chaco that speak languages of the Zamuco Family.

**Demography.** The 2,500 Ayoreo live in a region with an area of about 333,000 square kilometers—the population density is 0.0075 inhabitants per square kilometer. This population sparsity is one of the reasons why, despite the habitat's relative lack of resources, the Ayoreo subsist within it in relative abundance. Except in rare cases, they do not suffer from either hunger or great want.

### History

Information gleaned from sources that describe contacts with peoples of the northern Chaco can be divided into four time periods. The first includes information regarding contact up to 1691, a time marked by the beginning of Jesuit religious instruction. The second period, lasting from 1691 until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, corresponds to the period in which this instruction was carried out. The third period comprises the time from 1767 to approximately 1940, the beginning of the fourth period, marked by renewed Catholic and Protestant evangelization, which is ongoing.

### Cultural Relations

The Ayoreo were geographically and socially isolated owing to natural obstacles, scarcity of roads, and their longtime hostile relationship with criollos. These prevented the Indians from being receptive to Western cultural ideas and material goods until recently.

### Settlements

The local Ayoreo group (*gagé*) establishes a semipermanent camp (*gidái*) near a stream during the planting season. The camp is made up of approximately six dome-shaped houses arranged more or less in a circle. Each house shelters up to ten occupants.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Ayoreo are a hardworking people. They divide the annual cycle into various time periods, according to astronomical and other considerations. These periods do not succeed each other in linear fashion but are determined according to a variety of criteria. From the mythico-religious standpoint, the annual cycle is divided into two periods: *eápi-puyái*, "forest" or "forbidden world" (from May to August), and *eápi-uomí*, "free world" (from September to April). The changeover from the first period to the second is marked by the festival dedicated to the *asohná* (nightjar) bird. For agricultural activities, the Ayoreo distinguish between periods of sowing (*putaningái*) and harvest (*sekeré*). The *putaningái* begins around September and ends in December; the *sekeré* begins when the sowing period ends and lasts until April. From a meteorological perspective, the months of May through December constitute the dry season (*essóí*), which is interrupted by the rains that come in July and August. The two periods are called "punishing rain" (*uhuia-todié*) and "punishment of the stars" (*iyokisnáne uhuiatóh*), respectively.

During the months that correspond to the *eápi-puyái* period, the Ayoreo become nomads and live mainly from gathering, hunting, and the agricultural reserves left over from the previous harvest. After the nightjar festival—at the beginning of the *putaningái* period—a semipermanent village is established, which will be occupied until April. At this time agricultural tasks are begun, while gathering and hunting continue. At the end of the *putaningái* period, the first fruits of the field are harvested, and there is a gradual increase in agricultural production during the *sekeré* period until food crops constitute almost the only

source of food. In April, when the *eápi-puyái* period begins, the semipermanent village is abandoned, and the annual economic cycle is begun once more.

Gathering plays a very important role in the economy of the Ayoreo; the yield from wild food is equal to or even greater than that derived from cultivars. Approximately thirty wild plant species are eaten—the roots or tubers of some, the fruits and seeds of others. From palms the Ayoreo extract the palmetto (palm cabbage). Of mammals, they eat only anteaters, armadillos, and white-lipped peccaries; they also eat four different kinds of turtle. Other animals are hunted in order to acquire raw materials: tapir for hides to make sandals, and jaguars, howler monkeys, ocelots, and other mammals for hides to make headdresses for men.

For agricultural work the Ayoreo use a digging stick (*ogé*) and a wooden spade (*kosnangé*). The *ogé* is also used in collecting wild-growing victuals. The Ayoreo plant maize, beans, gourds, calabashes, potatoes, and tobacco. All these crops are harvested once a year except for tobacco, which matures more often. Fishing is practiced only occasionally and only when the Ayoreo live in semipermanent settlements and the water conditions are right. Some ten different species of fish are caught, the most important being *bagre*, *ventón*, *cayú*, and two species of eel. Fish are caught with the bare hands or with a plunge basket (*čménno*).

**Industrial Arts.** As regards weaponry, the Ayoreo have three kinds of lances, three varieties of sword-clubs, an elongated truncated conical club, and a bow with three kinds of arrows. The Ayoreo have a remarkable array of implements consisting of wooden spatulas, tubes for absorbing water, aribaloid pitchers (ceramic pots with a narrow opening on top, broad at the center, pointed at the bottom), calabash receptacles, axes made from scraps of iron, wire perforators, scalpels, graters made from rodents' teeth, bone and wooden needles, tassels of *Bromelia* for the extraction of wild honey, quartzite sharpeners, mortars made of hardwood, various kinds of carrying bags made from the *caraguatá* (*B. argentina*) fiber, fire drills, cordage, *pamói* (resting bands unique to Ayoreo men, used for sitting with drawn-up legs—the band is strung around the lower back and behind the knees), pipes, and scissors of sheetmetal with which to cut hair. A man's customary dress consists of a simple pubic cover, made of a bunch of strings and feathers fastened to a waist string. Women wear skirts made of plaited string. Both sexes wear sandals made from tapir leather or wood.

**Trade.** Given the degree of bellicosity of Ayoreo bands, neighboring ethnic groups have not engaged in commercial exchange with them. This bellicosity arose mainly from their desire to obtain iron instruments through theft.

**Division of Labor.** Activities usually carried out by men are agriculture; hunting; fishing; those tasks that involve the use of stone, wood, and iron; and the manufacture of skin and feather ornaments. Other male activities include the manufacture of pipes and the only item woven by the Ayoreo, the *pamói*. Men do the felling, clearing, hoeing, sowing, and banking up of soil, which in rare cases may also be done by widows. Collecting honey is a task generally performed by men. Women, however, may collect it

from tree hives they can reach from the ground. Hunting turtles and armadillos is also sometimes done by women. Activities usually carried out by women are cording, plaiting, sewing, food preparation, and the making of pottery (with the exception of tobacco pipes). Men occasionally prepare their own food if they are alone in the forest. Gathering plant foods, with the exception of palm sago, which requires very strenuous work, is done primarily by women. Men also occasionally collect fruit or wild roots.

**Land Tenure.** Ownership or tenure of a particular good is determined in the first place by the work that someone has done to obtain it. This also applies to work that has been done communally, which means that the product passes into collective ownership. So, for example, the product of a collective hunt is distributed among those who participated in it. There are various kinds of ownership, depending on the nature of the property. In the case of cultivated land, the man who works the field is the one who has control over it. This male ownership comes to an end at harvesttime, however, when the owner calls upon the women of the extended family to race toward the field to harvest its produce.

#### *Kinship and Domestic Unit*

With the expression *ogasúi* (pl., *ogasuóde*), which is derived from the word *ogadí* ("place where one sleeps or lies down"), the Ayoreo indicate kinship ties, which are established according to more effective and realistic norms than agnatic or cognatic ones. *Ogasúi* is normally translated as "relative," independently of the clan relationship, which is called *diosí*. The definition of the *ogasúi* relationship takes into consideration kin ties and spatial proximity within the *gidái*. In terms that are no more than a schematization of a much more complex reality, *ogasuóde*, from the point of view of kinship, are all the members of an extended family consisting of several nuclear families that live with the wife's parents (in the case of an uxorilocal residence) or with the husband's parents (in the alternate case) and who may be termed "central couples." It is also made up of unmarried children who maintain with the members of the nuclear families a relationship of siblings-in-law (kin's spouses) or that of maternal or paternal uncles. The parents of a central couple are also considered to be *ogasuóde* if they live together in the same house or in the vicinity. The other aspect that defines the *ogasúi* relationship is, as mentioned earlier, spatial proximity, with *ogasuóde* living together in a single dwelling or in contiguous dwellings within the village. It is this spatial aspect of the *ogasuóde* complex that the Ayoreo translate with the word "neighbor," whereas kin relationship is expressed by the word "relative." Technonymy prevails throughout the kinship system. Kinship terminology is bifurcate generational in kind.

#### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Ayoreo marriage takes place after adolescence and is contracted by the couple without any special ceremonies. Generally it is monogamous, but there are cases of polygynous unions. Residence is generally virilocal, and there is practically no divorce.

**Inheritance.** There is no real pattern of inheritance among the Ayoreo since they lack immovable goods as such and since movable possessions are abandoned as grave goods. Only items made of iron become the inheritance of the widow and remain in use as goods that belong to the extended family.

**Socialization.** The life cycle implies several stages that are characterized by various practices and are often strengthened by the songs of the *igaitái*. Infanticide is practiced for religious reasons. Women and children may be given as many as four names. Once children have reached adolescence they participate in the activities appropriate to their sex and engage in free and frequent amorous relationships until, at an adult age, they marry. Life for the Ayoreo is a constant struggle against adversity and illness; people often commit suicide when they reach old age. Prostitutes are especially persecuted and kept away from the community.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Ayoreo society is structured into seven exogamic patrilineal clans (*kučierane*; sing., *kučierái*), which stand in a hierarchical relationship to one another. This ranking of the clans is related to the number of people and beings that belong to them. Each clan has a special sign (*edopasáde*); these signs vary according to the material from which they are made, the techniques employed for their representation, and some of the colors and color combinations that characterize them. The basic function of the *kučierái* is to regulate exogamy and establish a classification of reality. However, a special kind of relationship exists between pairs of clans, which determines certain reciprocal obligations. These manifest themselves at funerals, in ceremonial gift-exchange after a killing, in the festival of the nightjar, and on other occasions. Each clan calls the other with which it maintains relations *yakotéi* (complementary opposite), which can be schematized as follows: *čikenói/posonhái*; *etakóri/dosapéi*; *pikanerái/kutamuahái*; *nurumini*. The situation of the *nurumini* in the schema varies, according to the Ayoreo: some say they have no *yakotéi*; others think they have this type of relationship with the *dosapéi*. This position of the *nurumini* is consistent with their condition as the clan of the lowest hierarchical rank.

**Political Organization.** Highest social status is accorded to the *asuté* or chief, the shaman or *daihsnái* (the "wise man" or man who knows myths and curing chants), and the dreamer or *uritái*. With the exception of the status of the chief, women can reach all other statuses and obtain the power each status implies. The "crazy man" (*urosói*) is a special case. The social and political power within the community is invested in the *asuté*, the man who leads the young men into war or to a killing. His prestige is essentially based on the number of victims he has killed. The *asuté* is, first of all, a courageous individual who, because of the contamination from the blood of his slain enemies, possesses a special power that frightens or terrifies his adversaries. Although there is more than one *asuté* in a given *gidái*, there is a difference of importance among them, and only one may stand out who holds the statuses both of chief and shaman. A *gagé* frequently takes the name of its

defender or most important *asuté*, but there are other cases in which the band's name is derived from a toponym. The shaman has perfectly defined social prerogatives and powers. He undergoes a process of initiation that requires him to ingest a strong dose of tobacco juice, implying his empowerment with a particular force (*uhopié*).

**Social Control.** Because they have the highest status in Ayoreo society, the *asutés* exercise control over the community. However, women play a very active social role in religious matters.

**Conflict.** The primary and almost exclusive objective of Ayoreo military organization is to make war against other Ayoreo and against *Konhióne*. Warriors seek to obtain prestige and power by killing human beings. There does not appear to be any other purpose, since goods are obtained only occasionally and looting is not the principal aim of war expeditions. Similarly, it is very unusual for prisoners to be taken, except young men or women from another Ayoreo group. In wars against *Konhióne*, all captives were killed, irrespective of age or sex.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Ayoreo mythology is characterized by a superabundance of narratives. Every natural or cultural phenomenon has its origin and meaning explained in a special myth and sometimes in various parallel myths. The general schema of the etiological tales consists in the transformation of a (*nanibahái*; pl., *nanibaháde*), an ancestor of human or humanoid form, into an actual living being, either voluntarily or through the intervention of *Dupáde*, the Sun. It may also be that the ancestor owned a particular artifact that he later gave to others. Origin myths have a fixed structure consisting of episodal occurrences followed by one or several therapeutic (*sáude*) or precautionary (*paragapidi*) songs. The complex of myths and songs is given the name *kučáde kike uháidie*, which can be translated as "tracing the return of all things." Myths and therapeutic songs have a damaging effect if they are used outside the context of an illness or misfortune, in which they can be beneficial. Despite their large number, the majority of Ayoreo myths fall into six groups that may be defined as "cycles." Ayoreo ethos, centering on violence and death, explains the world as consisting of a terrestrial plane (*numi*), a celestial space (*gaté*) of various superimposed tiers, and a subterranean domain (*naupié*) where the souls of the dead live.

In the Ayoreo world, power is omnipresent and has an essentially negative character. It produces a persistent fear of the malevolent power of the *nanibaháde* in reaction to taboo infractions. In effect, the tragic episode that generally determines the metamorphosis of the *nanibaháde* invests the entities that originate from them with maleficent power—the more dangerous, the more powerful the *nanibahái* from which it originates. That is why, in the Ayoreo's world, the fear of *Asohsná*, the most powerful and malevolent of the *čekebahédie* (ancient women), predominates and why the pertaining mythic cycle is replete with death and tragedy. The figure of *Asohsná*—as ancestor, as an actual living bird (nightjar), and as regards the entities with which they were associated in mythical times—constitutes the core of Ayoreo fear, within a world

that, in its entirety, is already charged with negativity. This fear also derives from the fact that Asohsná is the only divinity to whom an organized cult is attributed, constituting the only formalized religious ceremony. The effects of Asohsná's malevolence, triggered by taboo infractions, include fainting, madness, and other illnesses and misfortunes that lead to death. Asohsná's power to do harm transcends the individual and is transferred to a cosmic plane, so that it can also negatively influence the procurement of food.

What has been said about Asohsná applies to a greater or lesser degree to the other nanibaháde and frequently to the entities to which they gave origin. Illness and all kinds of misfortune follow upon the infraction of taboos regarding these Ur-forms and their corresponding myths. In this world of fear and death, at least partial reprieve is obtainable through the various mechanisms the nanibaháde instituted themselves to counteract their original "curses." Such recourse leaves a wide margin of insecurity as regards its efficacy, however, and only diminishes the fear of the world without compensating for it entirely.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman and the wise man, who know myths and therapeutic songs, are primarily responsible for religious practices.

**Ceremonies.** The Ayoreo engage in *pinčiakwá*, a ritual practice to propitiate rain, and perform *paragapídí*, a rite to keep killers from falling prey to the harmful influence of the victim's soul and blood. Apart from these two practices, the sole ceremony held by the Ayoreo is the festival of Asohsná, which is essentially a ceremony related to the annual cycle.

**Arts.** The only artifacts that are always decorated are twine bags and plaited objects. The designs are inspired by clan insignia and executed in the appropriate combinations of naturally colored red and blue string. The remainder of Ayoreo output is poor in decorative motifs, which are only occasionally applied to wooden artifacts or utensils of calabash or ceramic.

**Medicine.** Therapeutic procedures are carried out by the ordinary individual and by the *daihsnáí*. In the first instance, curing is essentially done through the use of chants provided by the various nanibaháde, that is, the already mentioned countermeasure songs that cure illnesses specific to a particular nanibahái that caused them. For example, possession, which stems from taboo infringements relating to the consumption of certain parts of the peccary, can be cured with songs that this animal's nanibahái left behind. Individuals who cure by therapeutic chanting do not go through a process of initiation, nor do they wear

special garments. The only precondition is knowing many chants, a prerogative generally attached to the so-called wise men. Since the power of a particular curing chant comes directly from the nanibahái who composed it, the singer functions simply as its intermediary vehicle.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Ayoreo believe that a person is made up of three elements: *ayípiyé* (reason), which is destroyed at death; *ayói* ("skin"), which disintegrates; and *oregaté* ("external soul"). At the moment of death, the *oregaté* sets out on a voyage to the *naupíe* (land of the dead, in the underworld). Access to it is by way of a heavily trodden road. Here souls lead an existence similar to that of the living. The soul is received by the deceased members of his extended family and integrated into it. The dead on occasion show a desire to rejoin their living relatives. This causes cave-ins of the soil or food to fall from the hand of the living to the ground.

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MARIO CALIFANO  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Bakairi

ETHNONYMS: Bacaeri, Bacaery, Bacairi, Bacayri, Bakaeri, Bakaery, Bakaire

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Bakairi are a group of Brazilian Indians who speak a Carib language. They consider themselves Indians on the basis of language, occupation of a reservation given to them in 1918, and cultural traditions that set them off from Brazilians. They distinguish between non-Indians, or Karaiwa, and Bakairi. Included in the Karaiwa category are Brazilians and non-Brazilians, or Alemão. In the Bakairi category, they refer to Santaneiros, who prefer to speak Portuguese, marry non-Indians, and deviate from prescribed Bakairi traditions, and Xinguanos, who follow traditional customs.

**Location.** The Bakairi live in the municipality of Paranatinga in the central Brazilian state of Mato Grosso on an Indian reservation administered by the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI). Although it is located only 120 kilometers from the village of Paranatinga, the reservation is isolated, with roads so poor that it takes from eight hours to two days to travel the distance, depending on the rains. Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, lies 530 kilometers from the reservation. It takes from eighteen hours to two days to reach this city. The Indians live in a single village, situated at the intersection of the Paranatinga, Azul, and Vermelho rivers, which provide water for drinking, bathing, and washing clothes. Gallery forests, where gardens are cultivated, line their banks. The rivers cover about 1 percent of the reservation's 50,000 hectares, whereas gallery forests make up about 14 percent. *Cerrado*, a type of dry prairie, constitutes the remaining 85 percent of the reservation. The climate is hot and semihumid. There are rainy and dry seasons. The rains come between the months of November and March. The dry season takes place between the months of May and September.

**Demography.** The Bakairi reservation is inhabited by 288 people. Two hundred and fifty-nine live in the village, and the rest are dispersed in distant homesteads. About 47 percent of the population is male and about 53 percent is female. The structure of the population is rectangular, which may indicate that artificial population control mechanisms have been in place. The population is growing at the rate of 3.47 percent annually. The northern Mato Grosso area in which the reservation is located is sparsely populated by Brazilian, German, and Italian ranchers and farmers. Large agro-businesses have penetrated the region. Population density is estimated at 0.5 persons per square kilometer.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** A Cariban language, Bakairi belongs to one of the four major linguistic families of lowland South America. Many men and several women also speak Portuguese.

### History and Cultural Relations

The region now known as Mato Grosso was initially part of the Spanish Empire. Jesuits moving north and west from Paraguay in the early part of the eighteenth century created the first settlements. They were followed by explorers and miners. The first recorded European contact with the Bakairi was in 1723, when they were described as being enslaved to work in the local gold mines. Population figures for the Indians during this period are difficult to estimate, although they were probably more numerous than they are now. The Bakairi divided into two separate groups in the early nineteenth century. The western Bakairi were absorbed into the cattle-raising economy that replaced the gold and slave trade of the eighteenth century. Later they exploited rubber in their territory and sold it in nearby towns. In the late 1980s the western Bakairi numbered 120 and lived on a tiny reservation of 9,000 hectares, which they shared with a rubber-collecting firm. The eastern Bakairi fled from contact with the Spanish, and later the Portuguese, into the headwaters of the Rio Xingu. They inhabited that region with at least nine other tribes, who frequently visited and traded with each other.

Eventually the headwaters became known as a distinct culture area. It was first visited in the late nineteenth century by German explorers, who recorded visiting seven Bakairi villages. It is estimated that about 325 Bakairi lived in the area at that time. The eastern or Xinguanos Bakairi left the Xingu culture area between 1900 and 1920 when a series of devastating epidemics ravaged the indigenous population. They settled on the Rio Paranatinga. In 1918 a 50,000-hectare reservation was decreed for them. The Bakairi passed from relative isolation to frequent contact after 1920.

The Indian Protection Service, which later became the National Brazilian Indian Protection Service, rigorously pursued an assimilation policy, forcing the Indians to wear clothes and to work on Protection Service lands. In the 1970s the assimilation policy was slightly relaxed, but in 1980 the Bakairi received mechanized equipment and chemical fertilizers for farming the *cerrado* part of the reservation. The foundation's goal was to encourage mastery of industrial-agricultural skills that would increase participation in the national economy. Results of this experiment are mixed.

### Settlements

The Bakairi village is inhabited by about 260 Indians who live in fifty-five houses arranged in rows close to the banks of the Rio Paranatinga. Houses are square and made of clay, palm thatch, and wood, with a minimum of two internal divisions, two windows that can be shuttered, and two doors. The gardens are an average of 4 kilometers from the village. A small number of families live in households near their more distantly placed gardens. These people visit their relatives in the village on a regular basis. A men's house used for daily gatherings is in the center of the village. The men's house is elliptically shaped and made completely of palm thatch bent over slats. It resembles structures commonly seen in the Xingu culture area. Women are not allowed inside.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Bakairi are horticultural riverine Indians. Slash-and-burn horticulture is practiced in subsistence gardens located in the gallery forests along the rivers. The Indians cultivate manioc, rice, yellow maize, bananas, sugarcane, yams, melons, red beans, green beans, papayas, and squashes. They are learning how to use mechanized agricultural equipment to produce rice in the cerrado parts of the reservation. Fishing, hunting, and cattle herding provide high-quality protein. Garden products provide over 96 percent of the energy produced annually by the Bakairi. Over 62 percent of the protein available to the Indians is from vegetables, whereas less than 38 percent is from animals. Young males leave the reservation for several weeks during the dry season to work on nearby ranches and earn small amounts of cash. The money is used to buy goods such as processed foods, cloth, and ammunition. About 400 head of cattle graze on the Bakairi reservation. The herd is owned by FUNAI and cared for by two Bakairi men with whom the foundation has made special arrangements. Sometimes the Indians are allowed to slaughter a steer; the beef is then evenly distributed around the village. Some Bakairi also raise chickens.

**Industrial Arts.** A variety of products are made to use, give as gifts, or sell to visiting ranchers. Men carve wooden or bark ritual masks, manufacture shell necklaces, make baskets used in agricultural tasks, and carve bows and arrows used in hunting and fishing. Women weave cotton and palm hammocks, bind together mats used in processing bitter manioc, sew dresses and shirts with sewing machines, and make palm costumes used by the ritual-mask dancers.

**Trade.** Bakairi occasionally travel to Paranatinga or Cuiabá to shop, to receive medical treatment, or to visit FUNAI. People infrequently enter the reservation to trade because authorization from the Brazilian government is required to do so. One of the Bakairi men has a relative living in Cuiabá, however, who visits, bringing extra goods that the two men sell informally in the village. Sugar, candy, flour, cloth, thread, kerosene, fishhooks, and ammunition are available.

**Division of Labor.** A clear distinction between work done by men and women exists, although there is some overlap, especially in gardening. Men are responsible for hunting, fishing, clearing land for gardens, harvesting garden foods, working outside the reservation on nearby ranches to earn cash, manufacturing certain goods such as baskets and bows, and dancing with ritual masks. Women do most of the child rearing, especially of infants. They also plant and harvest the gardens, process food, cook, wash clothes, fish, manufacture such goods as hammocks, and keep the house clean.

**Land Tenure.** Bakairi lands are communally owned. The average size of a garden is about 4,000 square meters. Total land under annual production in the gallery forest areas is calculated to be 44.5 hectares. The industrial-agricultural project of the 1980s doubled the amount of land under cultivation. This land is also communally owned.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Nuclear families live together in separate households. At certain times extended families live together. A larger kin group consists of relatives who live in separate households but who are linked together consanguineally. They provide support in such production activities as clearing land and in family emergencies such as death. Descent groups such as lineages and clans are absent. Genealogies are shallow. People inherit bilaterally.

**Kinship Terminology.** Bifurcate-merging terms are used for individuals in the first ascending generation. Iroquois rules are used for individuals of one's own generation. Relative ages of males, but not of females, are marked by the use of distinct terms in one's generation. Village elders are lumped into two categories, one male and one female. Children in the first and second descending generations are also grouped under male and female terms.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Polygynous marriages were previously allowed, but all marriages are now monogamous. Village endogamy exists, although marriages with other Indians or with someone from outside the reservation do occur occasionally. Extended-family exogamy is also practiced in that cross cousins, but not parallel cousins, are possible marriage partners. Parents are normally responsible for the selection of their child's spouse. Temporary matrilocal residence follows marriage, during which time the son-in-law assists the wife's father. This arrangement often ends after the birth of the first child. At that time the couple build their own home but can be joined later by siblings and/or parents of one of the spouses. Divorce is acceptable but rare. Wives leave their husbands if the men impregnate another woman or if physical abuse occurs. Men leave their wives if the women refuse to cook or wash their clothes.

**Domestic Unit.** The household is the domestic unit. One married couple makes up the core of the household in most cases, although a few households are organized around two married couples or a widow/widower. Children, aging parents of one of the spouses, and unmarried adults make up the peripheral individuals. The majority of households are composed of between three and six individuals with a mode and median of four individuals. Each is expected to contribute to the production process by farming, hunting, fishing, food processing, or doing other chores. Related households maintain strong ties. Young married couples living in other households frequently visit their parents. Adult male siblings farm and hunt together, and adult female relatives bathe and wash clothes in the river together.

**Inheritance.** Ownership of land or specific hunting or fishing grounds does not exist. Personal property is divided among the surviving family members. Ritual masks are handed down from mother to daughter.

**Socialization.** Mothers care for infants. Older children are raised by both parents, and siblings and grandparents participate in daily child care. Older women past the age of childbearing frequently adopt children of relations. Physical punishment is used in child rearing, with children



taught the values of hard work, team spirit, and respect for their elders.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

The Bakairi are an egalitarian society. A village headman, called *capitão*, is elected informally by the people. He has limited powers, mostly of a persuasive nature. One of his responsibilities is to interface with FUNAI officials.

**Social Organization.** Bakairi society lacks classes and economic specialization; it is organized on the basis of age and gender.

**Political Organization.** Bakairi society is politically organized around three or four clusters of fluid composition. These political factions are dominated by men and older women from specific kinship groupings. Alliances between kin groups occur regularly. Shamans are important informal community leaders. They persuade people to support them in political disputes. The Bakairi reservation is overseen officially by FUNAI. Central headquarters are located in Brasília, the capital of Brazil, in the Ministry of the Interior. Regional offices are found in Cuiabá. Bakairi men travel to the regional offices several times a year to meet with foundation officials. The foundation attempts to provide medical treatment and educational facilities for the Indians, with varying degrees of success. A representative of this organization sometimes stays on the reservation, especially if a new project is being organized or if conflict between Indians and Brazilians occurs. This agent works mainly with the *capitão* to facilitate objectives set by his organization.

**Social Control.** Social control is maintained by a value system that emphasizes cooperation, harmony, and peace. A series of gradational responses is employed to discipline those who deviate from the norm: the elders of the individual's family talk to the deviate; then overt gossip is used; a shaman tries to exorcise the spirits that are supposedly causing the deviant behaviors; finally, the person is threatened by a group of male villagers. Rule breakers frequently flee the reservation.

**Conflict.** Warfare between the Bakairi and other Indian groups is absent. Before the pacification of the Xavante Indians in the mid-1950s, raiding between Xavante and Bakairi took place. Kayabi and Bakairi relations were also strained during that period. Warfare between Brazilians and the Bakairi is also absent, although disagreements, for example over who may use indigenous lands, sometimes erupt into open conflict between Indians and nearby ranchers. FUNAI normally steps in to settle such disputes before violence erupts.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Bakairi subscribe to animistic beliefs, although some claim to be Christian and make efforts to have their children baptized. The Bakairi believe in spirits that populate the natural world. They also believe in twin culture heroes who are identified with the sun and the moon. A degree of syncretism between animistic and Christian beliefs is evident in that the Christian God is merged with the sun culture hero by some Bakairi.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans are religious semispecialists who have special relations with spirits, allowing them to cure the sick or to cause illness in enemies. Shamans are older males who train for over a year before assuming their duties. Their apprenticeship consists of fasting, self-imposed physical trials, and the use of tobacco to induce trances. There are three shamans in the Bakairi village.

**Ceremonies.** Ritual-mask dancing takes place between the months of March and November. Men wear huge painted masks and palm costumes while they dance around the village chanting. A corn festival marks the beginning of the corn harvest in January. The anteat dance is performed at that time. Every four or five years boys between the ages of 14 and 19 participate in a rite during which their ears are pierced; this is considered a male ritual, and women are not allowed to attend. Five Brazilian holy days are celebrated by the Bakairi—those of Saint Antonio, Saint João, Saint Pedro, Saint Benedito, and Saint Sebastião. The first four festivals occur in quick succession in June and July. That of Saint Sebastião takes place in January. Music, dancing, and feasting mark these holy days.

**Arts.** The men carve and paint large ritual masks. The women sew palm costumes worn with the masks. Chants used when wearing the masks are handed down from generation to generation, but artistic improvisation and delivery are valued. Some of the younger men who have worked on ranches play the guitar and sing Portuguese songs.

**Medicine.** Two types of illness are recognized: those attributable to contact with non-Indians and those resulting from sorcery. Non-Indian diseases are treated with Western medicine, whereas other types are treated by shamans.

**Death and Afterlife.** When a death occurs, villagers visit the home of the deceased and cry and wail. The corpse is then wrapped in his or her hammock and buried a short distance from the village. The grave is not marked, and it is not visited afterward. Belief in afterlife does not exist. Kin of the dead person are not encouraged to mourn.

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## Baniwa-Curripaco-Wakuenai

ETHNONYMS: none

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Baniwa" is a *lingua geral* (the old trade language of Jesuit missionaries spoken throughout the northwestern Amazon) term used since early colonial times to refer to the Arawak speakers of the Rio Içana and its tributaries in northwestern Amazon, Brazil. "Curripaco" refers to one of five dialect groups (which include the Baniwa of Brazil) inhabiting the upper Içana and Guainia rivers of Brazil, Venezuela, and Colombia. "Wakuenai" ("people of our language") is an ethnonym used for all five dialect groups inhabiting the upper Guainia of Venezuela. To simplify this discussion, the term "Wakuenai" will be used throughout. Although each of these names is used regionally, the Wakuenai often refer to themselves by phratic names ("Hohodene," "Partridge children"; "Oalipere Dakenai," "Descendants of the Pleiades"; "Dzauinai," "Jaguar people").

**Location.** Since aboriginal times, the Wakuenai have inhabited the northwestern Amazon region, between approximately 0° and 3° N and 66°50' and 69°50' W, on the present-day borders of Brazil (Estado de Amazonas), Venezuela (Territorio Federal Amazonas), and Colombia (Comisariías del Guainia/Vaupés). In these three countries, their communities are distributed along the Içana and its tributaries, the upper Negro-Guainia and its tributaries, and the lower Xié and Uaupés, Inirida, Casiquiare, and middle Orinoco rivers.

**Demography.** In 1985 the Wakuenai population in Brazil and Venezuela was calculated at 5,373 people living in 133 communities; in Colombia, their population is estimated to be about 400. There are also uncounted numbers living in or near urban centers (Manaus, Puerto Ayacucho). No figures are available for early postcontact times.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Wakuenai belong to the Northern Maipure Language Family and speak five mutually intelligible dialects named in accordance with the linguistic forms of affirmation or negation, or in accordance with the names of descent units to which their speakers belong. Aboriginally, dialects were probably associated with distinct territories; today, although dialects may predominate in a given region, speakers of all five dialects are commonly found together. *Lingua Geral* has completely replaced the Arawak language in a number of communities.

### History and Cultural Relations

Linguistic, archaeological, and mythological evidence suggests that from at least 3500 B.P. Northern Maipure speakers occupied the upper Rio Negro/upper Orinoco Valley, where they encountered forest-dwelling and nomadic Maku peoples. By the time of first European contact in the mid-sixteenth century, this region was inhabited by a diversity of Northern Maipure-speaking groups. From mid-eighteenth-century sources, it can be determined that to

the north and northwest of the Waukuenai were the Piapoco, Guaypunaves, Warekena, Baniwa, and Puinave; to the northeast and east were Baré, Warekena, and Yavitero; to the southeast were Baré, Maipure, and Manao; to the south and southwest were Tariana, other Arawakan, and Tukanoan-speaking peoples; and to the west were Tukanoans and probably Cariban-speaking peoples. Wakuenai oral histories of their relations with other Arawak and Tukanoan peoples indicate shifting patterns of war making and alliance.

Fairly continuous contact with Europeans dates from the mid-eighteenth century, when the Portuguese and Spanish slave trade penetrated the upper Rio Negro/Orinoco, resulting in the intensification of intertribal warfare and severe tribal depopulation. Despite their losses, the Wakuenai appear to have remained relatively populous and may have absorbed renegades of the slave wars from other tribes. Following the abolition of Indian slavery in 1755, numerous Wakuenai were settled in colonial villages of the Rio Negro, where they came to form part of the *caboclo* (mestizo) population. Diseases and unstable conditions led many to return to their homelands at the end of the eighteenth century, where they attempted to reorganize their society. In the early nineteenth century Brazilian and Venezuelan traders began working among the Wakuenai and, often in alliance with the frontier military, exploited Indian labor. Their abuses became extreme by the 1850s, and growing Indian resistance culminated in a series of millenarian movements in 1857-1858, led by the Wakuenai prophet Kamiko, whose influence lasted for nearly forty years and extended to various tribes of the region.

By the 1870s the rubber boom reached the upper Rio Negro, intensifying exploitation of Wakuenai labor by White employers. Abuses by the frontier military at the beginning of the twentieth century, coupled with epidemic diseases, caused the Wakuenai to live under a virtual reign of terror. In the 1940s Protestant evangelism, introduced by the North American New Tribes Mission, stimulated a new wave of millenarian movements among the Wakuenai of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. With the later installation of Catholic missions on the Içana, religious allegiances became seriously divided. Encroachments by gold panners and mining companies, as well as military projects to control the frontiers, have divided the Wakuenai even more, although these pressures have stimulated new forms of political organization focused on defending their land, resources, and culture.

### Settlements

Most villages are built near the banks of major rivers and streams; a few are found at the headwaters of small streams and on the banks of lakes and ponds. Seasonally occupied shelters are often built near garden lands or fishing lakes. On several occasions in the past, temporary refuge settlements were built in the forest to escape outside pressures or epidemics, but the dominant orientation of settlement patterns and ecology continues to be riverine. Settlements are widely dispersed, several hours distant from one another by canoe or trail. There are more than 150 villages in all (the majority in Brazil), with populations ranging from 10 to over 150 but averaging 30 to 40 people. Larger vil-

lages have schools, chapels, and community houses (or "Conference Houses" among evangelists) and frequently serve as religious, social, and educational centers for smaller villages. Settlements traditionally consisted of one or more multifamily longhouses (or roundhouses on the Guainía), divided into separate family compartments and a central space used for work or ritual purposes. Longhouses were oblong/rectangular constructions (e.g., 20 meters long by 17 meters wide by 7 meters high), with front and back doors, no windows, and pitched roofs of thatch, poles, and reeds.

The effects of contact and especially missionary pressures in the second half of the twentieth century have resulted in the replacement of all longhouses with settlements consisting of clusters of single-family houses. Houses are generally two-room constructions made of wattle and daub (variations: pole and thatch, bark walls) with thatched roofs. They are organized in linear fashion or distributed around a rectangular plaza, facing the river, and with a network of trails behind the village leading to gardens and the forest. Mission centers, government posts, and military airstrips have served as points of attraction, producing larger settlements with a more distinctly caboclo pattern of housing.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The two basic subsistence activities of the Wakuenai are fishing and agriculture, which are of complementary and equal economic and cultural importance. These are supplemented by seasonal hunting and gathering of wild forest products. The primary cultigen is manioc, of which up to fifty varieties are cultivated in swiddens. Collective fishing expeditions are the predominant activity during the dry, summer months. Fishing techniques involve the use of a variety of traps and nets, hooks and lines, bows and arrows, machetes and spears, and *barbasco* poison. Both fishing and agricultural cycles are synchronized with a variety of natural indicators and mythical calendars and linked to a series of important ritual activities. Hunting weapons still include blowguns and bows and arrows in certain areas, but the shotgun is more common. Phratries were traditionally the most important social units controlling resources within given territories. Given variations in environmental resources, fishing or agriculture may be more productive, giving rise to cooperative arrangements of resource sharing within and among phratries.

Extractive and commercial activities have probably contributed the most to changing subsistence patterns. Since early contact times, the Wakuenai have participated in a series of extractive activities to obtain *piçaba* fiber, rubber, chicle, *sorva* (*Couma utilis*), Brazil nuts, and, most recently, minerals (gold). As these resources are found in different areas, seasonal labor migration has become a common pattern. Commercial activities have included the production of artwork (baskets, manioc graters, hammocks, feather ornaments) and manioc for sale to merchants, missions, and the government. As the demand for these products has increased, they have become nearly permanent occupations in many areas. Both extractive and commercial production have thus created new productive sectors in

the Wakuenai economy that seriously interfere with traditional subsistence activities. Protestant evangelism has also contributed to change by undermining traditional exchange rituals and by introducing a different set of religious festivals with its own system of intervillage production. On the other hand, communities have taken advantage of government assistance programs or cooperatives to regain economic self-sufficiency by utilizing traditional agronomic practices to increase manioc production.

**Industrial Arts.** Aboriginal crafts included ceramics, weaving, and the manufacture of manioc graters, blowguns, and poison darts. Except for making manioc graters and weaving, industrial arts have declined considerably since the beginning of the twentieth century or persist mainly where products are sold on the market.

**Trade.** Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the entire upper Rio Negro Basin was connected to other areas by an immense network of riverine and overland trails used by both Arawak and non-Arawak peoples for trade and that specialization existed in the production of trade items. Wakuenai manioc graters and quartz (used in their manufacture and found on the Içana) were important trade items in both pre- and postcontact times. Trade with Europeans was limited in the eighteenth century but, by the early nineteenth century, had become an integral part of the Wakuenai economy.

**Division of Labor.** In subsistence activities, the division of labor between sexes is one of complementarity and interdependence rather than a rigid distinction between male and female roles. Men are responsible for cutting and burning new gardens; both men and women plant and weed new gardens; women harvest, replant, and process manioc and other plants. Both men and women fish with hook and line and participate in collective fishing expeditions, but men fish more often and use a greater variety of techniques, whereas women more often process the catch. Men are responsible for hunting, gathering in the forest, building and maintaining houses, manufacturing weapons, making canoes, weaving baskets, and cutting manioc graters. Women are responsible for preparing and cooking animals and forest products, some gathering, preparing adobe for houses, making ceramics, and setting stones in manioc graters. Ritual (including manufacture of ritual objects) and shamanism are predominantly male activities. With the intense commercialization of basketry in the 1970s, women participated more in weaving. Extractive activities have been almost exclusively performed by men.

**Land Tenure.** Traditionally, phratries collectively controlled defined stretches of riverine territory and their resources. Members of other phratries could freely travel within a given phratry's territory but not systematically exploit its resources without obtaining permission from the local phratry. Failure to do so could result in warfare. Within a phratry's territory, sibs identified specific areas for use as agricultural lands and as sacred lands (sites of ancestral emergence/houses of souls of the recently deceased) where no one was permitted to hunt. Forced removal and exile, migrations, and other sociohistorical circumstances have weakened landholding principles, resulting in a mixing of different phratries within a given ter-

ritory. Phratric exogamy and marital exchange practices have also, over time, produced enclaves of affinal groups within a phratry's territory. No major influx of nonindigenous colonists has forced Wakuenai off their lands. In Colombia, in 1986, the national government created five separate reserves for the Wakuenai (but which include other indigenous peoples) on the frontier. In Venezuela, ten of the thirty Wakuenai communities actually have collective landownership titles issued by the National Agrarian Institute. In Brazil, in 1989, the federal government created five separate reserves (four "indigenous colonies" and one "indigenous area"), surrounded by national forests, to be permanently owned and used by the Wakuenai.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Wakuenai society is divided into five or six exogamous phratries, each consisting of four or five patrilineal sibs ranked according to the order of emergence of mythical ancestral brother-spirits. In the past, sibs were categorized according to a system of ritual roles as chiefs, shamans, warriors, dancers, and servants; today, these roles are virtually nonexistent. Phratries are generally named after the highest-ranked sib of the group; in one case, a group of five phratries has united into a larger, unnamed unit of organization. On rare historical occasions, phratries have acted as corporate decision-making groups, but more important today is their strong sense of identity based on common mythical emergence sites and territories, an ideology of descent from first or historical ancestors, and ceremonial property (sacred flutes, chants, name-sets). The core of local communities is the male sibling group and, as on the phratric and sib level, male sibling ties form the basis of a system of hierarchical rank according to relative age; the meaning of the rank, however, is subject to local variations in practice. Traditionally, the agnatic sibling group of a community constituted the most important level of decision making.

**Kinship Terminology.** Terminological uses in general follow the Dravidian system.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Wakuenai marriage rules prescribe phratric exogamy and a preference is expressed for marriage with patrilineal cross cousins (although either cross-cousin category is acceptable). Direct sister exchange is often practiced between preferred affinal lineages and sibs, and, in some cases, preference is expressed for marriages between people from equivalently ranked sibs of different phratries. Marriages are usually monogamous and arranged by the parents of the bride and bridegroom. Patrivirilocality is the dominant residence pattern; however, the rule of bride-service gives rise to temporary, and sometimes permanent, uxorilocality. Communities thus often include affinal relatives and can evolve into multisib/multiphratric communities or, in cases of two long-standing exchange partners, moieties. Evangelical missionary intolerance has greatly undermined residence patterns and cross-cousin marriage, thereby contributing to permanent uxorilocality. Husband-

wife bonds are usually stable through a lifetime, but, in cases of infidelity or maltreatment, the affected party simply leaves his or her spouse.

**Domestic Unit.** Households generally consist of nuclear families, although elderly parents may reside with one of their married children. Even in the multifamily longhouses of the past, nuclear families were distinct spatial, social, and economic units. Nevertheless, villages today often appear as patrilocal extended families of several generations, with important interconnections among individual households.

**Inheritance.** The Wakuenai do not have a system of private property in lands or resources regulated by transmission. Phratry members' unlimited access to lands and resources is best understood as collective ownership. Cultivated gardens and houses are, nevertheless, considered private spaces; access is limited to nuclear families and, like other products of labor, they are considered to be individually owned. Traditionally, houses were abandoned after the death of their owners and garden lands could later be used by other phratry members. An individual's few possessions are either buried with the deceased or divided among his or her children.

**Socialization.** Past the age of weaning (3 years of age), children gradually begin to learn their roles—girls help their mothers with gardening and domestic chores, and boys often form play packs engaging in male pursuits such as hunting and fishing. Parents or grandparents discipline children by scolding or admonishing. The most intensive instruction is accomplished in initiation rites (at 8 to 10 years of age for boys; at first menstruation for girls) in which children are taught the laws of the ancestors on correct social living (generosity, avoidance of violence and revenge), receive instruction in sacred myths and rituals, and learn a variety of skills useful in adult life. Through ritual fasting and abstinence, initiates learn to control physical needs, demonstrating they are fully cultural beings capable of controlling their own destinies. Missionary intolerance of these rituals has greatly undermined their performance and, consequently, the traditional basis of authority over children. Mission schools and cult activities have in many cases completely supplanted the socializing function of initiation rites.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Traditional social organization is based on a series of structural processes. Important among these are distinctions between kin and affines, or "other" groups regulating marriage and political and ritual relations; the hierarchical system of rank based on relative age, regulating social and economic relations and balanced by reciprocity and exchange; the complementary opposition of male/female roles necessary for social reproduction and subsistence activities; and the system of beliefs and practices related to the ancestors, which is central to life-cycle rites and the integration of society as well as having been central to historical millenarian movements. The imposition of international boundaries through Wakuenai territory has undermined traditional alliances and led to more interethnic marriages with other Indian societies in each of

the three countries. Evangelical missionaries have created divisions by prohibiting marriages to non-Evangelicals; campaigning against ritual symbols, social practices, and traditional leadership; and encouraging urban migration. The fragmentation of Wakuenai lands into distinct reserves in Brazil, most of them open to development, may also have serious consequences for future social integration.

**Political Organization.** Oral histories indicate the existence of supreme war leaders in precontact times, but warfare and raiding were abandoned by most groups by the late nineteenth century. The system of hierarchical ranking among sibs probably never served as a model of institutional political power, and decision making, in the past as now, was based on general consensus and mutual assent of village elders and leaders. Leadership is often exercised by the eldest brother of the local group of agnatic siblings, yet there are so many exceptions to this, depending on local preferences and individual aspirations, as to leave unclear whether there is a rule for succession. Leaders vary a great deal in their exercise of authority, some encouraging community labor, others allowing individual families to work independently. Yet leaders must receive community consent to any decision they take and are expected to act as intermediaries in internal matters and as interlocutors in relations with outsiders. Besides this, they organize labor, preside over meetings and religious activities, distribute community production, and enforce community standards. Should a leader not fulfill these obligations, community elders decide by consensus on his replacement. In evangelical communities, the structure of religious authority is superimposed on the traditional hierarchy of elders and may thus weaken leaders' authority. In Catholic communities, young mission-trained catechists often conflict with the authority of leaders and elders. Wakuenai leaders in Brazil have formed associations to defend land and resource rights.

**Social Control.** Community meetings, elders' counsel, shamans' cures, and ostracism have served as important forms of social control. In cases of serious crimes, shamans from other tribes are sought out for retribution. Witchcraft continues to be an important force despite missionary intervention.

**Conflict.** The most serious conflicts in modern times have been brought about by the divisions produced by the radical practices of and pressures from missionaries, who have destroyed traditional cultural values and forms; pressures from outside economic interests; and the contradictions between the new materialist/individualist values, which have occasioned differences in wealth, and traditional communitarian laws and values. In many cases, these conflicts have led to family and community migration, ostracism of leaders, and an increase in accusations of sorcery.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional religious beliefs centered on ancestral spirits and the laws of the ancestors; the creative and generative relations among humans, animals, and the spirit world; a profound faith in the abilities of shamans and ritual specialists to mediate between humans

and the deities, in exceptional cases incorporating the powers of the highest deities; and a cosmic history remembered in sacred myths, which recounts the heroic deeds of the deities and the creation of the world through various cataclysmic destructions and renewals. The most important deities of Wakuenai religion are a Transformer/Creator/Trickster/Seer-Shaman who dwells in the highest level of the cosmos, about whom there is an elaborate mythology organized in several cycles; the Creator's son, an extraordinary human/animal/spirit being whose body consists of all material things, who imparts sacred knowledge to humanity and whose song opened the world to its present form; the patron of shamans; the owner of the earth, who began the cultivation of gardens; the Anaconda Lord of Earthly Waters; and a legion of lesser water, earth, and air spirits that both help and harm humanity. The cosmos consists of approximately ten tiers of heaven, earth, and below-the-earth, each inhabited by a different class of spirits. These beliefs have served as the basis for millenarian movements since the mid-nineteenth century. Christian missionaries have greatly modified these beliefs—in many cases undermining them altogether, in others superimposing Christian notions on preexisting beliefs (e.g., millenarianism), reinforcing the latter rather than completely destroying them.

**Religious Practitioners.** Traditionally, shamans were key figures in Wakuenai culture. There is a hierarchy of shamans differentiated by levels of knowledge and capacity, from the most powerful "seers," prophetic and sometimes messianic figures, to lesser shamans able to perform limited kinds of cures. There is also a class of specialists, "spell-owners," similarly differentiated by degrees of knowledge, whose function is to perform spells and chants, from the most elaborate set of chants and spell blowing at rites of passage to the simplest curing spell. A third specialization is that of the ritual-dance leader, who leads ceremonial dances and songs in the annual cycle of festivals. The elders are well versed in Wakuenai myths and lore, and, as a class, elder men form the core of dance lines at initiation rites. Among Catholics, the catechists serve as intermediaries between the missions and communities; among Protestants, pastors, deacons, and elders proselytize, preach the gospel, lead the community in prayer, and organize the cycle of religious meetings and services.

**Ceremonies.** The traditional ceremonial cycle consisted of a series of festivals of exchange, named in accordance with the principal dance instrument used, and held whenever there was a surplus of wild fruits, fish, or game, generally among affinal groups. The most important of these were the initiation rituals, held in the early wet season, when sacred flutes and trumpets were played. In another, the Surubi festival, named after a type of fish, flutes made to resemble these fish were played; these flutes were distinctive to the Wakuenai. Mission-introduced festivals have largely replaced the traditional cycle, but, in certain areas, their revitalization is a powerful force in affirming ethnic identity and protesting domination by outsiders, as were the millenarian dances of the past century.

**Arts.** Ceremonial singing, ritual chanting, the playing of ritual instruments, myth telling, ornamentation and body painting, and—in prehistoric times—petroglyphs were among the important art forms.

**Medicine.** Traditional medicine is based on herbal remedies, curing rituals by shamans and spell-owners, and dietary restrictions. In general, illness is seen as a process of partial disintegration of the soul and curing as its restoration. Evangelical missionaries have insisted, not entirely successfully, on the exclusive use of Western medicines, whereas among Catholics, traditional medicine has developed in conjunction with the introduction of Western medicine.

**Death and Afterlife.** Serious illness and death are believed to be the result of sorcery, malevolent spirits, or the failure to observe ritual restrictions. At death, the two parts of a person's soul separate, the collective animal-shaped soul becoming integrated to sib ancestral houses of animal souls, whereas the individual, human-body-shaped soul, after passage through a dark netherworld of shades, is purified by fire and then journeys to the celestial paradise of the Creator, where it is reunited with its collective ancestral soul. A similar process of polarization of souls is believed to occur with animal and bird species. Traditionally, funeral rites and secondary burial were important practices.

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ROBIN M. WRIGHT

## Barama River Carib

ETHNONYM: Carib

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Barama River Carib bear the name of a waterway in Guyana's North West District. They refer to themselves as "all the men and women." They are aware that other Carib peoples live in Guyana and elsewhere, but have no contact with them.

**Location.** Since the late nineteenth century, Carib have lived in the tropical forest along the upper Barama and its tributary, the Baramita River. This is an area about 112 kilometers long and 40 kilometers wide, between 7° and 8° N and 59° and 61° W.

**Demography.** In the early 1930s the Barama River Carib numbered some 200 people. Beginning in the 1960s, the Guyanese government provided them malaria eradication and other health care. In 1970 the Barama River Carib numbered some 550 people, more than half being children. The population continues to grow because of a high fertility rate.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Barama River Carib speak a Carib language of the larger Cariban Phylum. In the 1970s they recognized two forms of their language. "Deep Carib" is less affected by modern borrowing and is more commonly used by older people and by women. "New Carib" is used by men and is modified particularly by creole English, which many Carib men also speak.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Barama River Carib have faced a series of Western influences. Discovery of gold in the rivers of the North West District ushered in an international gold rush from 1890 until well into the 1910s. "Pork-knockers," as the men were called who came from the coastal villages settled by freed African slaves, were joined by Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, North American, and British gold seekers. In the 1930s Wellesley Baird and his father, both Guyanese, commenced their gold-mining enterprises in the Barama River area and continued until 1969. During that time the Bairds hired Carib men as miners.

### Settlements

In the 1930s the Barama River Carib were divided into two more or less autonomous groups of about equal size. One group lived in the upper reaches of the Barama River and its tributary, the Baramita, and a second group lived in the middle range of the river around Toakaima Falls. Each group had five to eight settlements. Within the same settlement, households were widely dispersed. Each household was set up in one or more open-sided, thatched houses in the midst of a cassava field of about 0.4 hectares in size. Households and, eventually, settlements would be relocated as farms lost their productivity. Baird's mining activities had the effect of centralizing the Carib population around Baramita Air Strip. By 1970 all but a small kin group lived permanently around the air strip or in two nearby settlements. The small kin group, which continued to maintain farms further in the forest, made lengthy visits to Baramita Air Strip.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Before gold mining, the Barama River Carib were adapting to the equatorial rain forest with an essentially lithic technology. They combined hunting, fishing, and collecting with a seminomadic form of horticulture. Before extensive regional trade and a cash economy were introduced concomitantly with mining activities, dispersed settlements tended

to be closed with regard to patterns of obtaining and sharing subsistence resources. The Barama River Carib have been increasingly involved in a regional economy. Employment was available in gold mining from about 1940 to 1969. At first, Carib men cleared fields, hunted, and transported equipment and supplies for the gold seekers. In time, these Carib men performed more skilled mining tasks and became familiar with the need to keep work schedules, particularly when water had to be pumped continuously from the mine shaft. The Carib faced hardship when the mine closed in 1969. Aided by government agricultural cooperative programs, they have returned to slash-and-burn horticulture in the rain forest.

**Industrial Arts.** Carib men make bows and arrows and baskets. Women make pottery. A utilitarian principle is emphasized in all crafts.

**Trade.** Trading between people from different households takes the form of direct exchange. Labor, food, and craft items are bartered or exchanged for money. During the period of mining, most exchanges were made through the mine's trade store, which later was maintained as a government store.

**Division of Labor.** A separation of tasks is generally practiced in the adaptation to the tropical forest. Men hunt and clear fields, construct houses, build canoes, make baskets, and plant crops. Cooperation among households principally involves the men's activities of field clearing, hunting, canoe making, and the like. Cooperation is expedient rather than necessary. As a result, patterns of cooperation lack permanence and explicitness. Women harvest the crops, gather edibles from the forest, prepare all food, sew, and tend children. Men and women cooperate to plant fields and poison streams for fish. With the introduction of the mining economy, the women in miners' households left aside most of their gathering and cultivating. In the company of a coresident mother or mother-in-law, these wives concerned themselves with cooking, sewing, and child rearing in their separate households.

**Land Tenure.** There is no land tenure among the Barama River Carib and no accumulation of capital in any significant form. From time to time, there are government proposals to create a reservation for the Barama River Carib.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Barama River Carib tend to favor close consanguineal marriages and concentrated kinship relatedness. After a few generations of endogamous marriages, a pattern of fission tended to disperse segments of the population to new locations. The kinship system is designed for survival at a minimal size. Although mining jobs kept the Barama River Carib in one locale from the 1930s to the 1960s, their kinship system has not changed. A small, endogamous population, the Barama River Carib practice direct marriage exchange in a two-section kinship system. Two categories of brothers and sisters, between which there is a direct marriage-exchange relationship, are repeated in each generation.

**Kinship Terminology.** Categories of father and his brothers, mother and her sisters, father's sisters or mother-

in-law, and mother's brothers or father-in-law are designated. Children are classified with terms for sons—including same-sex siblings' sons—and daughters—including same-sex siblings' daughters. The term for nephew covers opposite-sex siblings' sons, and eventually individuals from this group become sons-in-law. The term for niece covers opposite-sex siblings' daughters who likewise eventually may marry classificatory sons. A measure of flexibility in the designation of marriage sections is provided by the malleable status of young females. With sister's daughter marriage, which is uncommon, a daughter leaves her own generation and joins the marriage section of her father's sisters, who are married to her mother's brothers. Grandparents are not differentiated, nor are grandchildren.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Apprenticeship for marriage requires a number of years of bride-service. Each young man attaches himself to the household of a potential wife, usually any one of his bilateral cross cousins. Literally on the periphery of the household, the young man is socially isolated by taboos against talking to or looking at his prospective in-laws. The girlfriend serves as an intermediary in the youth's contribution to the hunting and other subsistence activities of the household. The period of isolation for the young man lasts until the birth of his child. He announces his new status as a father via the *couvade*. He remains in his hammock for several days and follows restrictions on activity and diet associated with pregnancy. Men would cut short the period of *couvade* in order to meet work schedules at the mines.

A daughter remains a highly regarded member of a household throughout her life. While in her natal household, she gives birth to her first and perhaps subsequent children as well. She does not leave her own mother until she is an experienced mother herself. Even then, she returns often to visit her parents. Later, she will include her dependent mother or father in her own household. During the years of mining, many adult daughters never left their parents.

The practice of polygyny continued into the mining days on a minor scale. Usually, a death or other contingency led to a plural marriage as a way of including everyone. Also, several men who aspire to the newly introduced position of headman have several wives. The Barama River Carib have no formal ceremony to mark marriage. It is accomplished by adhering to the social expectation of cooperation with a spouse on a day-to-day basis. Similarly, divorce is a *de facto* cessation of day-to-day cooperation.

**Domestic Unit.** Prior to mining, a household was composed of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. These children included their own and those they had adopted. A relative from the older generation may also have been absorbed as a dependent. Divorce or death could dissolve a household, the remaining members joining existing households or forming new households with available partners. The family was temporarily extended with the expected marriage of a daughter. Her husband-to-be resided uxorilocally until shortly after the birth of his child, when he was free to establish a new household. In

contrast, employment in mining promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As males secured jobs, they tended to disassociate from the pattern of sharing resources with a group of bilateral kinsmen. Employment of any duration acted to stabilize partnerships within households, and the family became extended. A son or son-in-law and his wife and children remained a part of the household.

**Inheritance.** There is no inheritance of any consequence among the Barama River Carib.

**Socialization.** Children are highly valued and indulged. Socialization takes place in the informal context of the household. Although mothers provide the primary care, fathers and older siblings regularly offer attention to children. Government schools have been opened for Barama River Carib children. Some adults also attend classes in hope of learning how to read and write English.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Traditionally, the Barama River Carib social organization consisted of groups of adult brothers who lived near each other, thus creating the permanent settlements in the tropical forest.

**Political Organization.** A headman was recognized in each settlement, with his influence deriving from his personal qualities. The government has introduced the salaried position of headman, intended to be a liaison with development programs. The Barama River Carib continue to explore the meaning of this role; they are a people who do not tell others what to do lest they move their household.

**Social Control and Conflict.** Group action, usually ostracism, would be taken against individuals who threatened the pattern of sharing resources and giving assistance within the settlement. Of course, the laws of Guyana extend to the Barama River Carib.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Barama River Carib are acquainted with major Christian beliefs, but retain their own now minor spirits. They also have their own narratives about their origin and how their low status in the plural society of Guyana came about. The Barama River Carib reinterpret Christian stories. For example, they portray Noah as an average Carib woman who along with her husband was saved from the flood because she offered food to a stranger who turned out to be the Western paternal deity in disguise.

**Religious Practitioners.** A few elderly men among the Barama River Carib are known as shamans with expertise in magic and divination. These men have not participated in the new activities at the mines and the air strip. The shamans are both feared and ignored by different segments of the population at different times.

**Ceremonies.** The paramount Barama River Carib ceremony is the *cassiri* spree. In preparation, women make *cassiri*, a mildly alcoholic drink, by chewing cassava bread so that mouth enzymes change the cassava's carbohydrates to sugar. With this fermentation agent, the *cassiri* is ready

in a few days. Singing and dancing continue as long as the *cassiri* lasts. A spree may be held at any time, and all national holidays are observed with a *cassiri* spree.

**Arts.** The development of arts is not marked among the Barama River Carib. When pregnant and yearning to have a healthy child, women occasionally fashion out of beeswax dolls that fit in the palm of their hands. These dolls are eventually discarded. The Barama River Carib also make small clay animals, which are children's toys as long as they last.

**Medicine.** The government provides malaria eradication, clinics, a medical ranger, and emergency air transportation to the hospital in the capital, Georgetown. The Barama River Carib intermittently use local medicaments prepared from flora and fauna for ailments and injuries.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Barama River Carib believe that after death a person's good half returns to the source of all life, whereas the remaining half lingers around and may cause harm to the living. Traditionally, the Barama River Carib would bury the dead in their household and leave the settlement before dark. In the more permanent, larger settlements around the airstrip, they retain their apprehension about those who have died but have found the remote graveyard is a modern solution.

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KATHLEEN J. ADAMS

## **Bari**

ETHNONYMS: Bari, Barida, Dobocubí, Motilones Bravos, Motilones del Sur

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Bari are a group of South American tropical-forest slash-and-burn cultivators inhabiting the



southwesternmost lobe of the Maracaibo Basin (Colombia-Venezuela).

**Location.** Traditionally, the Barí occupied the tropical rain forest at the juncture of the central and eastern cordilleras of the Andes, between 8° and 10° N and 72° and 73° W. This region, bisected by the Colombian-Venezuelan border, comprised the nonswampy lowlands of the drainages of the Río Santa Ana and the Río Catatumbo and their affluents below 600 meters, and perhaps the western tributaries of the Río Escalante as well. In the early 1990s the Barí reservations constitute less than 15 percent of the land controlled by them around 1900; these reservations amount to about 2,400 square kilometers—roughly 1,500 square kilometers in Venezuela and 900 square kilometers in Colombia—in the upper reaches of the Santa Ana and Catatumbo tributaries. Fewer than 1,900 square kilometers of the reserve area remain uninvaded by homesteaders.

**Demography.** In 1989 there were about 1,600 Barí, roughly 1,100 in Venezuela and 500 in Colombia. Almost all the Colombian Barí live on the reservation, whereas several hundred Venezuelan Barí live off the reservation. The population at the time of contact (1960) was probably 1,100 to 1,200. Three measles epidemics reduced the Barí to 800 or 900 by 1966. The population has grown steadily since. Population density is estimated to have been under 0.15 persons per square kilometer in 1900 and to have grown to 0.21 persons per square kilometer by 1960. As of the 1980s it was over 0.84 persons per square kilometer.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Barí-aa is classified as a Chibchan language, related to the languages of the Cuna and the Guaymí of Panama and the Kogi, Tunebo, and the now-extinct Muisca (Chibcha proper) of Columbia. There is no published grammar of Barí-aa, and its classification is based only on word lists.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The first historical mention of the Barí (as "Motilonés") dates to 1622 and is a comment on their attacks on Spanish trade. Spanish military expeditions ravaged their territory sporadically for the next 150 years, burning longhouses and killing and capturing (as slaves) their residents. In 1772 the Barí were pacified through the offices of a boy who had been captured a few years before. In the following decades most of them were "reduced" to missions operated by Capuchin monks. The missions recorded a total population of 1,233 in 1799, and of 1,025 in 1810; the size of the "unreduced" portion of the population is unknown. In 1818, following the war of independence led by Simón Bolívar, the Capuchins were expelled, and the Barí returned to their traditional way of life. Relations with local criollos had turned bloody again by the 1880s, and raids on the Barí increased in scale and number after the discovery of oil in the region in the first decade of the twentieth century. By the 1950s a band of Colombian Indian killers was making a regular living hunting Barí, and oil-company pilots were bombing longhouses with gasoline drums. Peaceful contact was made in July 1960 by anthropologist Roberto Lizarralde, then in the employ of the Venezuelan Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas (Department of Indigenous Affairs). The pacification program was then

turned over to the Capuchin order, now aided by nuns of the Hermanas de la Madre Laura order. An independent North American missionary, Bruce Olson, began work with the Colombian Barí in 1961.

A reservation was established in 1961 in Venezuela and another in Colombia in 1974. On both reservations the traditional manioc-farming and spear-fishing economy has been massively supplemented by cattle raising financed by the missionaries, and to a lesser extent by the cash cropping of cacao, rice, beans, and plantains. Most Barí children now receive some formal schooling. Since the 1970s the Colombian Barí region has been a refuge for guerrilla groups financing themselves with kidnappings and marijuana cultivation; their relations with the Barí are increasingly tense.

### *Settlements*

The traditional Barí were divided into local groups of fifty (plus or minus twenty) people, each of which had a territory of 100 to 1,000 square kilometers in which it maintained two to five communal longhouses, distanced one from another by half a day's walk or more. Typically, at least one of these houses was convenient to the best fishing spots in the major river of the territory, with others near lesser fishing spots on smaller rivers, and still others back from watercourses, near good hunting grounds. Houses were located in the center of circular to oval fields, 0.3 to 0.5 hectares in size, of manioc and other crops. The local group tended to cycle around the longhouses in accord with the seasons—at the major river house in the dry season, when fishing was best, and at the upland house(s) at the height of the rainy season, when reliance on hunting was heaviest. Longhouses of unshaped trunks, palm-wood slats, and Geonoma palm-leaf thatch, were 20 to 25 meters long by 10 to 15 meters wide by 8 to 12 meters high at the ridge pole. It took a local group about a month to build one, and a house lasted, with several rethatchings, for about ten years.

Functionally, the interior of the longhouse was divided into two areas: an outer ring where hammocks were slung and most indoor activities took place and a central hearth gallery where people cooked. Each hearth corresponded to an adjacent cluster of hammocks in the outer ring. The longhouse has disappeared in Venezuela, where the Barí now live in single-family dwellings of the kind used by local criollo peasants. There are three mission villages of such houses with populations of over 200 in Venezuela, and another in Columbia. Columbia also has a mission settlement with a traditional longhouse as well as individual houses and three isolated longhouses.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Traditionally, the Barí diet was based on the cultivation of manioc and *Musa* (bananas and plantains), fishing, and hunting. Sweet manioc was the major crop, contributing over 80 percent of the calories in the diet and occupying over 70 percent of cultivated land area. Yields were more than 18 metric tons of roots (wet weight) per hectare per year. Of the twenty-odd additional crops, only *Musa* made up a substantial fraction of the diet. Barí men averaged 400 to 500

person-hours/year engaged in farming, women a bit less. The caloric input-output ratio of Bari horticulture was about 1:30. The animal protein in the diet came from fish (75 percent) and game (25 percent). Most fishing was done with spears, between temporary stone weirs constructed at named spots in the rivers. Men built one weir, women the other, and men did the spearing. Fishing return rates varied with rainfall; the Bari did more fishing, up to 15 days per month, in the driest months when returns were greatest, than in the wettest month, when they might not fish at all. Yearly mean fishing returns were around 350 grams per person-hour. Hunting took the place of fishing in the wettest months, although hunting return rates did not fluctuate with rainfall. Bows and arrows were the weapons of the hunt, which gave a yearly average return of about 135 grams per person-hour (butchered weight). Bari men spent about 1,500 person-hours/year in hunting and fishing combined, the monthly proportions varying with rainfall, although the monthly combined total of 125 person-hours was remarkably constant.

The contemporary Bari own several hundred head of cattle, which take up a good deal of the time of many younger men. Cash cropping of rice, beans, and cacao also occupies many people, although virtually all families still maintain a traditional manioc field. Land clearing for pasture has reduced the abundance of game dramatically, and commercial overfishing downstream as well as agricultural runoff have driven the *bocachicos* (*Prochilodus reticulatus*), which once comprised two-thirds of the fish catch, to near extinction. Fishing and hunting are still practiced, but are becoming avocational. Some off-reservation Bari, particularly in Venezuela, work as ranch hands.

**Industrial Arts.** Traditional Bari material culture included fewer than forty items. Only arrows and women's skirts, both important in ritual exchange, were produced in surplus. There were no specialists; all adults were able to produce all items appropriate to their sex. It appears that all artifacts required at least one step in their manufacture to be performed by an individual of the opposite sex from the eventual owner.

**Trade.** Although the ritual exchange of arrows and skirts was clearly not an economic transaction, it was sometimes accompanied by gifts of utilitarian items such as knives and drinking gourds, these gifts being the closest approach the traditional Bari made to commerce. The contemporary Bari buy clothes, tools, and so forth from small shopkeepers.

**Division of Labor.** Although the Bari have a typical South American tropical-forest division of labor (males clear fields, fish, and hunt; females harvest, cook, and weave), it is notable for its flexibility and for the tight interdependence of sex-specific activities.

**Land Tenure.** Traditionally, individuals obtained usufruct to cultivated areas by the act of planting them. There are no records of local groups disputing territorial boundaries. Off-reservation Bari in some cases now own parcels of land individually, according to Venezuelan and Colombian law. The question of individual possession of cultivated tracts, including pastures, within the reservations, has not yet come to a head.

## Kinship

**Kin Groups.** The Bari have no kin groups per se outside the domestic unit. Instead they divide the social universe into two categories: *sagdojira* (fictive kin) and *okjibara* (fictive affines). Although the logic of the system recalls moiety organization, in fact no such social groups exist, and the relations are considered to be sets of dyadic ties tying each Ego to all alters.

**Descent.** The content of Ego's ties with others, whether *sagdojira* or *okjibara*, follows those of his or her father.

**Kinship Terminology.** In keeping with the emphasis on the two fictive-kinship categories, genealogical-kinship terms are few: mother, father, son, and daughter have unique terms, whereas brother, father's brother, and brother's son are covered by a single term, as are sister, father's sister, and brother's daughter. Mother's father and father's father are covered by a single term, as are mother's mother and father's mother. There are also terms for elder and younger sibling. There are no terms for cousin, nor for maternal uncle or sibling.

## Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Traditionally, Bari men first married at around 18 to 20 years of age, women at around age 14 to 16. When polygyny occurred it was usually sororal, but most marriages were monogamous. A girl was free to take a lover when she wished, but was not legitimately married until "turned over" by her parents, often during a seasonal migration from one house to another. Only partners in the *okjibara* category were legitimate mates; all *sagdojira* were covered by the incest taboo. In the most common form of marriage, the groom left his natal local group and found a bride in another longhouse, joining her family's hearth group after her parents agreed to the union. Young men preferred to marry within their own longhouses, however, in which case the bride often joined the groom's family. The small size of the local group made this preferred form of matrimony difficult. Most marriages were between people with no known genealogical link, although cross-cousin marriages (father's sister's daughter-mother's brother's son being considerably more common than mother's brother's daughter-father's sister's son) were not rare and even mother's brother-sister's daughter marriages were known and legitimate. Divorce seldom occurred, especially after the birth of a child; widow- and widowerhood were more common; and remarriage after such an event was virtually universal. Remarriages sometimes produced couples of widely disparate ages. Adoption of a new spouse's dependent children was automatic and so complete that, when fieldworkers discuss genealogies, many Bari are surprised to discover that they have stepparents.

**Domestic Unit.** The traditional hearth group, the production and consumption unit, comprised the people who cooked at the same hearth, ate together, and hung their hammocks in a given section of the longhouse periphery. It ranged in size from a married couple with a single child to a dozen or more people—usually a married couple with their unmarried siblings (including half and step siblings), surviving parents, and children, as well as occasional unrelated individuals. Contemporary Bari domestic units tend

to be smaller than the maximal hearth groups of the longhouse days, approximating the size of the criollo nuclear family.

**Inheritance.** There was little to inherit; items usually went to the same-sex children of the deceased. Nowadays, insofar as land and cattle are concerned, Venezuelan and Colombian law governs transactions.

**Socialization.** Barí men engaged in a good deal of child care, although primary socialization of the infant rested with the mother. Grandmothers were often helpful, even nursing the infant; girls, from only 4 or 5 years of age, helped with their younger siblings. Physical punishment was never used, and even toddlers were not coerced to do anything they resisted. Today children are coerced and sometimes hit, particularly at mission settlements.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The local group, owning several longhouses, was made up of half a dozen to a dozen hearth groups. The male heads of household of many of these hearth groups were related as brothers (including half-and stepbrothers) and brothers-in-law; however, the boundaries of the local group were permeable enough that hearth groups with distant or unknown genealogical connections to the "core" hearth groups were also often present. Most contemporary settlements trace themselves to the survivors of one or two traditional local groups.

**Political Organization.** Although robustly egalitarian, traditional Barí society did recognize the man who suggested and directed the construction of a particular longhouse as the man to whom that house pertained, and it accorded him a title. The other man or men who had aided in the direction of the construction also had titles. Most of the time, the contemporaneous houses of a local group had been constructed under the direction of a single leader and one or two assistants, who were considered the most important individuals of the group. Sometimes local groups had houses constructed by different leaders, however, and the reaction to a leader's becoming overbearing was to move to or construct a longhouse in which he was not a leader. Contemporary Barí community leaders are called by the same word, *nyatobaye*, as the traditional longhouse builders, and are in many cases former house builders or their sons. Some of them are now employed by the government as rural development officials and the like. Some individuals have been removed as *nyatobaye* at the insistence of mission personnel.

**Social Control.** Traditional Barí values stressed avoidance of conflict. Aggrieved parties never confronted one another, and if rancor built up between individuals in a longhouse, one party left to join another local group. With single-family dwellings and the large settlements of missions, rancorous confrontations are beginning to occur.

**Conflict.** There is no reliable record of any violent conflict within Barí society. During the time they were preyed on by ranchers and oilmen, the Barí raided the settlements of the criollos for revenge and for tools and other booty. Over 100 criollos were shot by Barí arrows; most survived. The Barí also maintained a traditional enmity with the

neighboring Carib-speaking Yuko (Yukpa), occasionally kidnapping children or shooting adults.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The universe is composed of various levels, of which this is the middle. A culture hero (Sabaseba, "Old Wind") is responsible for much of the form of this world and for the practices of the Barí. These traditional beliefs are now mixing with criollo folk Catholicism. In addition to various culture heroes, there are beings who live under the ground, in the rivers, and in trees.

**Religious Practitioners.** The Barí had no religious specialists, although some elderly people were especially wise.

**Ceremonies.** The only important traditional ceremony was held when some or all the members of one local group visited another local group. Guests sang in turn with hosts of the same sex, while swinging back and forth in hammocks; the men's hammocks were slung as high as possible in the longhouse, the women's just clearing the floor. After singing, the pairs exchanged theoretically equal gifts—arrows between men, skirts between women. The songs sung by each pair were chosen according to their sex and whether they were sagdojira or okjibara to each other. In some cases the singing and gift exchange preceded a marriage or change of local-group affiliation; in others it appears to have been of little consequence. The ceremony is still practiced in Colombia but has been absent in Venezuela since the 1970s.

**Arts.** The Barí had virtually no plastic arts. Some ceremonial songs were in archaic Barí-aa, but many were hardly more than lists of place-names or daily activities.

**Medicine.** Death could seize people by the hand or copulate with them in their sleep. Spitting of tobacco juice on an ill or endangered person (such as a girl having her first period) helped to prevent aggravation of the condition.

**Death and Afterlife.** After death, one goes beyond the horizon to live a life much like the present one.

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STEPHEN BECKERMAN

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## Baure

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ETHNONYMS: Chiquimitica, Maure, Mojeno, Moxa, Moxo

Approximately 5,000 to 7,000 people call themselves Baure, but only 300 or so can presently speak the Baure language. Most live in the Bolivian departments of Beni and Santa Cruz in the areas of the Machupo, Baures, and upper Mamoré rivers. Concentrations of Baure may be found in the towns of Huacaraje, Trobi, San Ignacio, Baures, Campo Santo, and La Cruz. An uncontacted group lives between the Guaporé and Colorado rivers. The Baure language belongs to the Arawakan Family.

First contacted by the Spanish in 1580, the Baure successfully fought off the Spaniards' attempts to conquer them. In the 1660s the Jesuits made peaceful contact and established several missions for the Baure then and in the eighteenth century. The relationship was not always a peaceful one, however; the Baure killed a Jesuit, Father Barrace, in 1702. When the Jesuits were forced from South America in 1767, their protection ceased and the Baure were subjected to slave raids and an unsympathetic government. Although they had traditionally taken war captives (who were allowed to marry Baure but who were otherwise treated harshly), the Baure then began to take slaves themselves, whom they traded to Whites for metal tools and glass beads. In the nineteenth century rubber tappers entered the area, and their contact with the Baure often resulted in Baure deaths. Between the early eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, the Baure population fell from 40,000 to 6,000.

The Baure traditionally lived in large villages that were protected by palisades, ditches, and pitfalls along nearby trails. The palisades had loopholes for use by archers. Soldiers carried shields made of reeds held together by cotton threads. Villages were independent of one another, and a chief in one village had no authority beyond its boundaries. The chief (*arama*) passed his office on to his eldest son, if that son had been born to the daughter of a chief. The people gave the chief whatever he wanted and carried out his orders quickly, even if they involved killing one of their own number. However, the chief's authority was curbed somewhat by an older man who was selected annually and who counseled him on his duties and warned him against abusing his power.

The Baure were horticulturists who grew a variety of plants, but they also foraged for wild fruits, especially palm fruits. They hunted as well. When they caught a jaguar in a pitfall, the chief had the privilege of killing it. Jaguars had great religious significance for the Baure and were the object of cult worship. Men wounded by jaguars became shamans with special powers and worked to protect the village from jaguar attacks. Those who killed jaguars enjoyed special prestige.

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## Bororo

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ETHNONYMS: Arauirá, Boe

The approximately 700 (1987) Bororo speak a Gê language and live in central Mato Grosso, Brazil, in three clusters of nine villages. Bororo culture is in a state of considerable flux, with frequent population movements, abandonment of villages and establishment of new ones, and integration into the regional economy. Although some Bororo seek to maintain as much as possible of their traditional culture, regular contact with Brazilians has meant assimilation for many Bororo who are no longer counted among the 700 listed above.

At contact, the Bororo numbered perhaps as many as 15,000 and, among anthropologists, were once classified as the Eastern and Western Bororo. The aboriginal territory of the Eastern Bororo extended from about 14° to 19° S and 51° to 59° W, a large part of what is now known as north-central Mato Grosso. The extent of the territory of the Western Bororo in what is now Paraguay is unknown, and through acculturation they ceased to exist as a distinct group by the 1930s. Beginning in the late 1700s, gold and diamond prospectors entered Bororo territory; they were later followed by Salesian missionaries, the Indian Protection Service, and Brazilian settlers in the late 1800s. These outside influences led to some 150 years of warfare, disease, and dislocation that decimated the Bororo population from a maximum of perhaps 15,000 at first contact to only 500 in the 1960s. At the same time, much of the traditional social structure survived into the mid-twentieth century, making the Bororo the frequent subject of anthropological study.

The traditional economy was based on hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture. Men hunted with bows and arrows for peccaries, jaguars, tapir, rabbits, and various species of monkeys and birds. Men also fished with bows and arrows, weirs, nets, and poisons. Women did most of the collecting and also grew maize, manioc, tobacco, rice, cotton, and gourds. These activities are still practiced to a limited extent, although settlement and development of the traditional Bororo territory has limited resources and restricted access to them. Commercial fishing, large-scale agriculture, and industry are now all found in the region

and the Bororo have become involved as farmers, wage laborers, producers of items for the tourist trade, and as the consumers of commercial goods such as clothing, tools and equipment, and food.

Traditional Bororo social organization was complex and centered on the village community and subdivisions therein. In the most general sense, the Bororo today divide themselves in most villages into exogamous matri-moieties, which live respectively on the north and south sides of the village. Each moiety is further divided into matri-sibs named for animals or plants. Each clan had special prerogatives, prerogatives that led to differences in wealth. These social divisions are played out in the physical arrangement of the community. Thatched houses are arranged in a circle around a central clearing, in which the men's house is built. Households belonging to a given moiety are located along one-half of the circle; those of the other moiety occupy the other half. Within the moiety areas, households of each sib are aggregated together. Each household is a matrilineage. Kinship terminology was traditionally of the Crow type.

Traditionally, there were two achievable statuses—shaman and headman. Shamans were both curers and practitioners of witchcraft; their activities involved contact with the dead. Each lineage had its own headman, who led by influence rather than coercion. Evidently, each lineage head was responsible for some specific village activity, such as deciding where to hunt or where to relocate the village.

## Callahuaya

ETHNONYMS: Callawaya, Kallawaya, Qollahuaya, Qollawaya

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Callahuaya" derives from an Inca province of the same name. Bolivians refer to them as "Qollahuayas," meaning "place of the medicines," because the Callahuaya are renowned herbalists in Andean countries. They cure with plants, minerals, animal products, and ritual. Peasants refer to them as "Qolla kapachayuh" or "lords of the medicine bag." The Callahuaya have earned this title on account of their knowledge of over 1,000 plants used for curing.

**Location.** The Callahuaya live in Bautista Saavedra Province, La Paz Department, Bolivia. Charazani is the provincial capital. Bautista Saavedra is located north of the Cordillera Real (Oriental) in the foothills of the Apolobamba Mountains, also called Cordillera de Carabaya. Water from Lake Titicaca and glaciers of the Apolobamba

Mountains was apparently achieved on the basis of knowledge.

Under the long influence of the Salesian missionaries, the traditional religion has essentially disappeared. More recently, the missionaries have been actively involved in helping preserve surviving elements of the traditional culture.

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Mountains feed Río Charazani and Río Calaya, which flow east to join the Mapiri and tributaries of the Amazon. The Charazani and Calaya rivers form a system of high and medium valleys, where the Callahuayas live at elevations of between 2,700 and 5,000 meters, above the rain forests of the Yungas area and below the regions of permafrost. The average temperature for Charazani is 12.2° C, and the annual fluctuation is 4.6° C. Precipitation is around 30 centimeters per year. The rainy season usually lasts from November until April, although it often begins earlier. It rarely rains between May and July.

**Demography.** Approximately 13,000 Callahuaya live in Bautista Saavedra (2,535 square kilometers), an area the size of the state of Delaware. Population density is 5.2 people per square kilometer. Although many Callahuaya have moved to cities, improved health and high birthrates have kept the rural population from decreasing very much. The Callahuaya have approximately 128 herbalists.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Callahuaya speak Quechua, Spanish, and some Aymara. Herbalists use a secret language for curing, *machaj-juvai*, the "language of colleagues." Although this language is rapidly disappearing, it

had an estimated 12,000 words. The Callawayas speak it principally to exclude outsiders and for curing rituals. Machaj-juvai is a hybrid language formed from a lexicon mostly of Puquina words and a Quechua grammar. As Puquina disappeared in the seventeenth century, the Callawayas continued to use Puquina words with a Quechua grammar to talk about plants and medicinal paraphernalia.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Callahuaya have been purveyors of medicines throughout the Tiahuanaco cultures (A.D. 400–1145), the Mollo culture (1145–1438), the Inca Empire (1438–1532), the Spanish Conquest (1532–1825), and the Bolivian Republic (1825–). As early as the Tiahuanaco period, the Callahuaya practiced trephination, reshaped craniums, and used enemas, psychotropic snuff, and medicinal plants from lowland regions. Throughout Mollo culture, the Callahuaya built elaborate cisterns to bury prominent users of ritual and herbal powers. During the Inca Empire, they had the honor of being chair carriers for the Inca, traveled up and down the Andes, and learned the pharmacopoeias of many Andean groups. After the Spanish Conquest, the Callahuaya lost much of their land, were moved to villages, and covertly continued worshiping their ancestors and earth shrines while also learning about European medicinal plants.

After independence in 1825, the Republican period ushered in the rise of the mestizos in Charazani, who considered themselves a class apart from the peasants of the surrounding *ayllus* (the ecological, cultural, and social units of Callahuaya society). Some of these mestizos became herbalists and competed with peasant herbalists. To avoid their influence and competition, Callawayas from the communities of Curva and Chajaya traveled long distances throughout Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru. Herbalists from each *ayllu* had distinct trade routes that they protected by mutual agreement among the elders. Because of their widespread travel, they had become well known by the beginning of the twentieth century but lost their importance thirty years later with the increase of doctors and pharmacists in Bolivia. After the peasant revolution of 1953, the Callahuaya were publicly recognized by the president of Bolivia in 1956, and have since enjoyed a revival as a result of renewed interest in natural medicine and Andean traditions.

### *Settlements*

Rivers and valleys constitute the natural boundaries for an *ayllu*. Tributaries flow into the Charazani and Calaya rivers and form triangulated land masses with various ecological features. The Callahuaya classify *ayllu* according to three major altitudinal levels: low, central, and high. The primary economic activity corresponding to each zone is growing maize (cereals), cultivating potatoes, and raising llamas. After the agrarian reform of 1954, the *ayllu* system diminished in importance, with attention given instead to separate communities and Bolivian political units such as cantons, provinces, and peasant syndicates. The Callahuaya now recognize nine *ayllus*: Amarete, Chajaya, Chari, Chullina, Curva, Inca, Calaya, Kaata, and Upinhuaya. The people live in small adobe houses (4 by 5 meters), one for

cooking, another for sleeping, and one for storage. The houses form three sides of a courtyard, and a wall with a gate encloses the patio where the Callahuaya weave, raise chickens and guinea pigs, and socialize. Burros, pigs, and sheep are kept in open corrals behind sleeping quarters.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Callahuaya are horticulturists and herders. Within each *ayllu*, the people in the lower communities farm maize, wheat, barley, peas, and beans on the lower slopes (3,200 to 3,500 meters); those in mid to high communities cultivate oca (*Oxalis crassicaulis*) and potatoes on rotated fields of the central slopes (3,500 to 4,300 meters); and those of highland communities herd alpacas, llamas, and sheep on the highlands (4,300 to 5,000 meters) of the *ayllu*. The people from the three levels traditionally exchanged produce and provided each other the necessary carbohydrates, minerals, and proteins for a balanced subsistence diet. Herbalists serve community members by bringing them medicines and produce from other places. Many herbalists now live in cities. Reliance on the exchange of goods between urban herbalists and rural peasants is important as insurance in a region of unpredictable weather and frequent crop failure.

**Industrial Arts.** Aboriginal crafts include carving soapstone amulets, weaving elaborate textiles with elegant motifs, and forging ornate jewelry. Certain villages specialize in these activities.

**Trade.** The Callahuaya traditionally traded crafts among themselves and other Andean groups. Various villages had assigned trade routes for their herbalists. Those from Curva traveled to Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosí, and Sucre in Bolivia, Arequipa, Peru, and northern Argentina. Herbalists from Chajaya and Kanlaya traveled through the Central Highlands of Peru to Lima and up the coast to Ecuador, at times reaching the Panama Canal. *Ayllu* Calaya harvested coca in the Yungas and marketed it in the densely populated areas of the Puna. This international trade has diminished because of difficulties involved in crossing borders, settlement in urban centers, and changing markets.

**Division of Labor.** Only 25 percent of the adult male population in Chajaya and Curva are herbalists. The others provide them with a support system: gathering herbs, repairing roads, providing food, and maintaining their animals, land, and households. Women take care of the farm and the animals while men are traveling on herbal trips, usually during the nonproductive part of the agricultural year. Children herd sheep and work in the fields soon after they begin to walk.

**Land Tenure.** Aboriginally, individuals had access to plots of land in large rotative fields with plot size determined by the needs of their respective families. Individuals owned house and garden plots. After the Bolivian agrarian reform, members of the community were granted title to land, which, being inherited, is subject to fractionalization. This has resulted in *minifundismo* (excessive fragmentation of plots) and absentee ownership. Some communities still hold land in common. The criteria of the agrarian reform for setting community boundaries have led to feuding be-

tween people living in the high, middle, and low levels of the ayllu.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Hamlets consist of minimal patrilineages, several of which form a maximal lineage. Baptism and marriage provide the Callahuaya with godparents, and these ritual ties unite families from different ecological zones and groups. The social relationships of natural kinship influence ritual kinship, and ritual kinship supports the ties of natural kinship.

**Kinship Terminology.** Quechua-speaking Callahuaya use classificatory kin terms. When they want to distinguish lineal relatives from collateral relatives, they add *dueño* (master of the home) to the kin term. "Oldest" and "youngest" are important kin-type qualifiers. The Callahuaya have adapted the ritual kinship (*compadrazgo*) of Spanish-Catholic origin to their classificatory kinship system: baptism creates a set of relationships similar to those received at birth.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Callahuaya follow the Quechua system of bilateral descent in that both sons and daughters receive inheritance from fathers and mothers. Exogamy is observed in that men of a particular elevation of an ayllu choose spouses from that of a different elevation. The wife moves to the husband's level but maintains property on the level where she was born. It is likely that her daughter will marry someone from that level to claim the inheritance.

**Domestic Unit.** Households consist of extended families often including married sons, their wives, and children. Large families are desired but many children die because of acute respiratory infections, diarrhea, and malnutrition. Although the family is the basic unit of production, members of the ayllu exchange work tasks, a practice called *ayni*.

**Socialization.** Until they are weaned, Callahuaya children are carried on their mothers' backs. When they begin to walk and talk, their hair is cut in a ritual ceremony, and they begin wearing adult-style clothing, herding, and doing farm work. Education is informal, by imitation and practice. Aspiring herbalists accompany skilled herbalists to learn the trade. Children are required to attend primary and secondary schools, where they are taught Spanish and receive a Western education. This has resulted in less use of Aymara and Quechua, as well as in the migration of children to cities.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Age and elders are afforded importance in social relations. Women are considered of lower rank than men; this is the result of male-oriented Aymara and Spanish influences upon Quechua patterns, which tend toward equality between genders. Ayllu is the basis of social organization; it is an elastic concept that traditionally included levels of land, kinship ties, community and

economic ties, metaphor, ritual, and fiesta. Private property and capitalization erode this basis by drawing the Callahuaya into the national economy.

**Political Organization.** The Callahuaya traditionally selected leaders according to a system in which roles were more ritualistic, regulatory, and temporal, rather than hierarchical and authoritarian. Principal positions were *alcalde* (mayor), *alcalde escolar* (inspector of schools), *preste* (sponsor of fiesta), *corregidor* (sheriff), and *juez* (judge). After the agrarian reform, many communities instituted *sindicatos* (peasant unions), the secretarial positions of which replaced the traditional roles. Community *sindicatos* are the base of a pyramidal organization that has the Ministerio de Asuntos Campesinos (Ministry of Farmers' Affairs) as its apex. *Sindicatos* have overlapping, shifting fields of force from government officials to political parties and regional leaders and interests. Through *sindicatos*, peasants have acquired political influence in Bautista Saavedra from the mestizos and *vecinos* (villagers) of Charazani, who had held sway in this region for years.

**Social Control.** Social control is maintained by gossip, causing misfortunes to a person by ritual means, litigation, incarceration, and expulsion from the village. Godparents intervene on behalf of their children when there is neglect or abuse. Ritualists and diviners influence social control when they perform rituals and divine from coca leaves.

**Conflict.** The major conflict has been with mestizos, upper-class villagers of Charazani, and peasants of the ayllu. Traditionally these villagers held property throughout the ayllu, where peasants were required to work according to a hacienda system. After the agrarian reform peasants became citizens of Bolivia and received title to their land. Today some peasants have moved to cities, from which they control their property in Bautista Saavedra. This has caused problems of absentee ownership and lack of sufficient land for peasants to own and work.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The Callahuaya have telluric, ecological, analogical, and stratified belief systems. Having largely avoided syncretism, they have times, places, and ritualists respectively for the household, community, ayllu, and national religious systems. Their religion is less concerned with abstract concepts and more involved with earth, nature, and time (seasons). Households have shrines where husbands and wives daily offer coca. Communities have earth shrines, ritually provided for by *yachajakuna* (diviners), and chapels, where mass is celebrated for fiestas. Ayllu also have earth shrines, ritually fed by *yachajakuna* and leaders from the high, middle, and lowland communities. The Callahuaya practice Catholicism only nominally but espouse its religious fiestas, saints, and ceremonies. The center of their religion is the ayllu where they have earth shrines on the levels. They symbolically feed these earth shrines foods representative of the levels: a llama fetus from the highlands, guinea-pig blood representative of the middle lands, and coca from the lowlands. In ritual, they symbolically interpret the ayllu according to a mountain-body metaphor. Their chief deity is Pachamama (Mother Earth), symbolically associated with the Virgin

Mary or La Virgen de Copacabana. They also venerate the prominent and surrounding mountains of Aqhamani and Sunchuli. Ankari appears in many of their rituals and is associated with wind and fortune. Sajira is a combination of devil and trickster, accountable for misfortunes. Every community has a male and a female saint. The crucifix is a symbol found throughout the region.

**Religious Practitioners.** Traditional Callahuaya religion has recourse to diviners, herbalists, spiritists, amulet makers, and sorcerers. Christian religions are represented by Franciscan friars, who have evangelized the region since early Conquest times; Callahuaya catechists, who provide Catholic paraliturgical services; and circuit ministers, who preach Protestantism. Protestantism is popular for economic and medical assistance, but creates conflict in communities because of its rejection of saints, fiestas, and drinking.

**Ceremonies.** Callahuaya herbalists conduct intricate ceremonies for healing. Diviners usually perform ceremonies at ritual tables (*mesas*) to feed the earth shrines for good luck. Sorcerers perform rituals to dispel evil. Major ayllu rituals are the Chosen Field, Corn Planting, Potato Planting, All Colors (herding ritual), and fiestas of saints around harvesttime. Ayllu fiestas have decreased in size and scope because of Protestant proselytizing; agrarian reform, which has divided the communities of the ayllu; and formal education, which has emphasized national identity.

**Arts.** The Callahuaya excel in intricate weavings with pictographs. They are also noted silver and gold artisans, and many have moved to La Paz where they operate jewelry stalls alongside the church of San Francisco.

**Medicine.** Curers of the nineteenth century reportedly knew as many as 300 plants, minerals, insects, animal products, and amulets. Modern herbalists use about 100. Children pursue other professions because they do not want to invest as many as eight years to learn to be curers. The basis of Callahuaya medicine is a corporal concept, through which the body is explained metaphorically according to the ayllu. The body is a vertically layered axis with a system of ducts through which air, blood, fat, and water flow to and from the *sonco* (heart). Blood and fat, principles of life and energy, come together at the heart and flow to the parts of the body in a hydraulic cycle of centripetal and centrifugal motion. These originally Andean concepts have supposedly assimilated notions of the Greek European humoral theory of hot-cold and wet-dry. With formal education, younger herbalists have adapted Western medicine to their herbal theory and practices.

**Death and Afterlife.** Traditional Callahuaya believed that after death they would travel the subterranean waterways of their ayllu up to the highland lakes. Here they would be reborn in its reflections and begin another journey down the ayllu levels. Callahuaya who live far away want to be buried in cemeteries of the Callahuaya ayllus. Ancestors and *chullpas* (grave sites) are integral parts of rituals and ayllus.

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JOSEPH W. BASTIEN

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## Campa

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ETHNONYMS: Ande, Anti, Camba, Campiti, Chascoso, Chuncho, Kampa, Komparía, Kuruparía, Tampa, Thampa

The Campa Indians live primarily in the eastern foothills of the Peruvian Andes, although just over 200 of them live in Brazil. Estimates of their population range from 14,000 to more than 40,000. The Campa speak a language belonging to the Arawak Family, but most also speak Spanish and Quechua.

There are seven major Campa groups and numerous subgroups. The major groups are the Campa Pajonalino (Atsiri or Ashéninca), Campa del Alto Perené (Parenisati or Ashéninca), Campa Caquinte (Poyenisati or Cachomashiri), Campa Nomatsiguenga (Atiri or Matsiguenga), Campa Asháninca, Campa del Pichis (Asháninca or Atsiri), and Campa Ucayalino (Ashéninca). Each of these groups has had a different history and now pursues a livelihood in its own manner. In addition, there are dialectal differences in speech between some groups.

The Campa relationship with Europeans has usually been hostile. Late in the seventeenth century, when Franciscan missionaries gathered a number of Campa into their missions, the Campa reacted by rebelling and escaping. The Franciscans continued their efforts, however, and in the early eighteenth century seemed to be securely established in the region. By 1735 they had thirty-eight missions where more than 8,000 Indians resided, most of whom were Campa. This period of missionary activity ended violently in 1742 with the Campa rebellion under the leadership of Juan Santos Atahualpa, a mestizo from Cuzco who claimed Inca descent and had a Jesuit education. This uprising, which was clearly millenarian in character, was never suppressed, and Campa hostility toward missionaries and colonists continued for over 100 years.

The Campa managed to remain largely in control of their own affairs until the creation, in 1889, of the Peruvian Corporation. White industry and settlement then en-



tered Campa territory in force, and this penetration continues. During the rubber boom of the early twentieth century the Campa were subjected to forced labor and exposed to epidemic diseases that resulted in massive depopulation. Many Campa groups have been influenced by the Protestant missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who have produced written material in the Campa language and trained bilingual schoolteachers.

**ASHÁNINCA.** The Asháninca group live in the jungles of the region of the Ene, Tambo, Satipo, and lower Apurímac rivers, at an elevation of 300 to 1,800 meters. The estimated population in 1975 was 15,000 to 18,000. The Asháninca are traditionally seminomadic, living in small groups whose only recognized leaders are the heads of families. Many Asháninca have now settled and formed larger and more sedentary villages where they practice subsistence agriculture. They recognize individual ownership of land under cultivation, but uncleared forest land is collectively owned. As cash crops, they raise maize, rice, beans, coffee, and citrus fruits, and they work in lumbering and hunt for animal skins. An integral part of the Asháninca economy is the system of trading partners; these may be other Asháninca or Pajonalino Campa. In one particular area, many Asháninca work on labor gangs. There are over thirty bilingual schools, and young Asháninca have trained as bilingual teachers, health workers, and mechanics. Some Asháninca are beginning to wear Western clothing rather than the traditional *cushma*.

**CAMPA DEL ALTO PERENÉ.** The more than 3,000 Campa del Alto Perené live along the upper Perené River and its tributaries. Because the members of this Campa group were subjugated in 1869 when the town of La Merced was founded, they are more acculturated than the Campa of other regions and more of them are bilingual. They are subsistence farmers, but many grow coffee as a cash crop or work for the colonists of the area.

**CAMPA DEL PICHIS.** This group of 3,000 is relatively isolated and unacculturated, living on the remote Río Pichis and its tributaries. Its members raise maize and manioc for their own consumption and rice to sell. Cash cropping, however, has not been successful because of difficulties of transportation. Many Campa del Pichis men work seasonally in the coffee plantations of Chanchmayo and the upper Perené. Others work as loggers or tap rubber.

**CAQUINTE.** This group of Campa live on the banks of the Urubamba and several nearby rivers. In 1975 their population was estimated at 300 to 1,000. They are still relatively isolated, and they have little to do with the cash economy, preferring to live by subsistence agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

**NOMATSIGUENGA.** Living at elevations of 900 to 1,500 meters in the rain forests near the Sanibini, Ene, upper Pangoa, and other nearby rivers, the 4,000 Nomatsiguenga Campa were relatively safe from contact with Whites until recently because they lived on nonnavigable waterways. In 1954 a highway introduced settlers and dis-

ease, and almost one-half the group died in an epidemic of measles in 1956. Thousands of settlers have now entered the region, and the Nomatsiguenga are becoming rapidly acculturated. Most of the men speak some Spanish. There is frequent contact between the Nomatsiguenga and the Asháninca. Although the Nomatsiguenga are primarily subsistence horticulturists, they also work for settlers and raise coffee as a cash crop. Agricultural land, game, and other resources are becoming scarce because of increased population pressure, and the Nomatsiguenga are beginning to suffer from malnutrition.

The Nomatsiguenga generally live in matrilineal extended families. A group of families lives on each river. Some of these groups hold title to the land they occupy, which is divided among the families of the group. Certain days are set aside to work for the community; fishing and sometimes hunting are collective enterprises.

**PAJONALINO.** This Campa group of 4,000 lives between elevations of 900 and 1,800 feet in the Gran Pajonal region. Even though the region is heavily settled by Whites and the Pajonalino have been missionized, they remain unacculturated and monolingual Campa speakers. They raise maize and manioc for their own consumption, and they also forage. Game is scarce in this region, and sometimes the Pajonalino undertake long fishing trips. Despite their long-standing essentially hostile attitude toward Whites and other Indians, more and more Pajonalino are working as laborers to acquire cash to buy trade items. Native trade is also important; the Pajonalino obtain their *cushmas* from the Asháninca because cotton does not grow well in the wet climate of the Pajonal.

**UCAYALINO.** This Campa group of more than 5,000 lives on the Sheshea, Pachitea and Ucayali rivers. Following a violent dispute with a Franciscan mission in 1925, they went deep into the jungles to escape the Peruvian military. Once there, many intermarried with the Amuesha Indians. Presently, they farm on a subsistence basis. They acquire cash by raising and selling rice and by working as rubber tappers.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Candoshi

**ETHNONYMS:** Kandoazi (Kandoaši: subgroup, Chapara, Chapra, Shapra [the name "Chapara" will be used exclusively to refer to the Chapara people])

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Candoshi" has no meaning apart from the name of the Candoshi people and the language spoken by them and by the Chapara people. Both the Candoshi and the Chapara, however, will say of any Indian that "he is Candoshi."

**Location.** The heart of Candoshi and Chapara territory lies between the Pastaza and the Morona rivers, 4° to 4°30' S and 76°30' to 77° W, in the department of Loreto, province of Alto, Amazonas, Peru. The Candoshi live on tributaries of the Río Pastaza, the Chapara on tributaries of the Río Morona.

**Demography.** At the beginning of the twentieth century the combined Candoshi and Chapara population may have been as high as 10,000, but by 1950 the combined population, decimated by war and disease, had fallen to less than 2,000. In the late 1980s the population stood at approximately 3,000.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Candoshi is not closely related to any other language in the area. There is evidence that the now-extinct Chirino and Sacata languages, once spoken in the department of Cajamarca, were related to Candoshi.

### History and Cultural Relations

It is possible that the Candoshi slowly migrated from northern Cajamarca; linguistically and archaeologically they are an anomaly in their present location. Their oral tradition, however, includes no account of such a migration. Christian elements in Candoshi folklore and traditional women's clothing, introduced to the area by Catho-

lic missionaries, suggest early contact with the Catholic church, probably in the eighteenth century. The Candoshi are surrounded by Jivaroan groups: the Ashuar to the north and east and the Huambisa and Aguaruna to the west and south. The Candoshi say that the Ashuar taught them how to obtain spirit powers and to shrink heads as war trophies. Interfamily blood feuds were the predominant cause of warfare. In avenging a relative's death, a chief and his followers killed all the males of a community and captured the females.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century warfare was sporadic because the people used stone axes to clear gardens, making food production a constant struggle. With the introduction of steel axes and machetes, large gardens were cleared quickly and the men had more time for warfare. Killing was accomplished with spears until firearms were introduced, during the 1930s. By this time the Candoshi were continually at war among themselves and with the Ashuar and Huambisas. Agents of the Amazonian rubber companies exacerbated the situation by exchanging firearms and ammunition for war captives. In the early 1930s many of the Chapara youth of the Río Situchi were abducted in a launch by agents of the rubber companies. This provoked a two-year war between the Chapara and the army. In the early 1940s war chiefs met in an attempt to stop the wars, which were rapidly decimating the population, but fear and suspicion continued and the peace pact lasted for only a year. During the late 1940s a measles epidemic reduced the total Chapara population to less than 100 people. The survivors gradually united and settled on the Río Pushaga.

In 1950 members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant group that converts Indians and translates their languages) made contact with the Chapara, Aguaruna, and Huambisas. By 1955 parts of the New Testament had been translated into these languages. The Candoshi already associated the Christian God with their traditional Creator-God, Apanchi (Our Father), and Jesus Christ with the son of Apanchi, also a leading figure in Candoshi mythology. Some people began to obey the teachings of Christ as taught in the New Testament. A leading war chief stopped killing, and although his village was attacked, two of his men were killed, and he was wounded, he refused to take revenge. Word of this spread and, as there was a strong desire for peace, more people decided to obey Christian teaching. Over a period of twenty years the war raids gradually stopped. Bilingual schools, opened in the late 1950s, began the spread of literacy among the people. Bringing indigenous teachers from enemy groups together for teacher-training courses also helped to promote friendly relations.

### Settlements

The Candoshi live in extended-family settlements of approximately 150 people. Ideally, the houses should be at least a five-minute walk apart with gardens between. Communities on the same river are from a two- to five-hour walk apart. Enemy groups are usually at least a two-day or, more commonly, a one- or two-week walk away. The traditional Candoshi house is an oblong structure with a palm-leaved roof, without walls. It can be as large as 150 square

meters, but the average home is approximately 30 square meters. Modern Candoshi homes have a bark wall around the sleeping area.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Basic crops are plantains, cassava roots, sweet potatoes, and maize. Fish are abundant in the rivers as game is plentiful in the forest. A conservation law passed in the 1960s put an end to the traditional sale of pelts. Oil companies on the Río Morona today provide a market for the produce of some Chapara groups. Other Chapara communities grow rice as a cash crop, but the two-day journey by outboard motor to marketing towns is costly. The Candoshi depend largely on the sale of salted fish and wild meat for a cash income. Some individual logging is done, but again, marketing is very difficult.

**Industrial Arts.** Pottery and baskets are occasionally sold to traders passing through the area, but they are not a steady source of income.

**Trade.** The trading-partner system between individuals of potential enemy groups enabled a man to travel safely to the home of his trading partner. The main items of trade were stone axes, salt, blowguns, dart poison, and goods from the outside world: beads, blankets, and, later, machetes, axes, shotguns, and shells. Although Spanish-speaking traders have gradually become the source of outside goods, the trading-partner system continues. Many Candoshi now market their own goods in Spanish-speaking towns on the Río Marañón.

**Division of Labor.** Men and women work together clearing the forest for gardens. Women do the planting. Each woman has an extensive garden and is responsible for its upkeep, in addition to caring for the family. Men build the houses, provide meat, and make baskets used to carry home produce from the gardens. From time to time they work at some activity that will provide money to clothe the family.

**Land Tenure.** Land was not a problem for the Candoshi as long as they could clear new garden plots when the weeds could no longer be controlled in existing plots. This has changed with the national population explosion. The government has granted land titles to many of the indigenous groups, including the Candoshi, allowing them sufficient land for cultivating and hunting. These titles are highly valued. If the Candoshi population continues to increase at the rate of the 1970s and 1980s, however, the next generation will find themselves short of land.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Candoshi kin relations are strictly sanguinal. Those with a common grandparent are *maachirita* (relative), those with a common great-grandparent can be considered *maachirita* when convenient or *tonaari* (unrelated) when not convenient. Although descent is bilateral, children belong to the father and to his family.

**Kinship Terminology.** First person, genitive forms are: grandfather, *pachiri*; grandmother, *komari*; father, *apari*;

mother, *aniari*; brother, male cousin, or nephew of a man, *šovanchi*; sister, female cousin, or niece of a man, *išari*; brother, male cousin, or nephew of a woman, *wawari*; sister, female cousin, or niece of a woman, *pamoni*; wife, *išanchi*; husband, *šaranchi*; father-in-law, *gosari*; mother-in-law, *komini*.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** When a girl reaches the age of 7 she is made responsible for her own garden. When she shows sufficient responsibility, she is ready for marriage. A boy is considered ready for marriage when he can fish and hunt by himself. The marriage of a man and woman who have a common grandparent is incestual. During the war years 90 percent of marriages were polygynous because captured women were kept as wives. War chiefs commonly had five or six wives. About 20 percent of the men now have two wives. Sister-exchange is the preferred marriage arrangement. A man without a sister is required to work for his father-in-law for several years after the marriage. Once the bride's father has agreed to the marriage, the couple are counseled by both fathers and by the mother of the bride; this constitutes the wedding ceremony.

**Domestic Unit.** The Candoshi domestic unit consists of a husband and wife with their unmarried children. Widowed or orphaned female relatives of the husband may also live with the family, or, less commonly, male relatives of the wife. Married daughters with their husbands stay in the home for a year and then build a house nearby.

**Inheritance.** Adult sons generally share their father's goods and daughters their mother's goods. If the children are minors when a man dies, his brothers will inherit his goods.

**Socialization.** The hours before dawn are used for talking among the family and for telling the children stories of their ancestors—impressing on them the importance of family ties and of being wary of others. Grandfathers spend hours telling the children stories spun from folklore. The father is responsible for training his children; discipline is usually done by shaming. Boys are taught to be independent and to work hard. Girls are taught domestic skills and submission.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Each nuclear family is an independent social unit in which the father is the authority. In the past women were kept in total subjection by the threat of death; only the very old women had social status. In most families today, women are treated with more respect.

**Political Organization.** The Candoshi are an egalitarian society. The independence of each adult male is highly respected. Group decisions are made by consensus, but those who disagree are not pressured to conform. In the early 1970s the Peruvian government told all the indigenous groups to elect chiefs from among their own people. The Candoshi usually elect one of the older men. The main duty of the chief is to keep peace within the community and between communities.

**Social Control.** The penalty for killing a man, within the community, is still death. Traditionally, couples caught in adultery were killed by the woman's husband and those caught in premarital sexual relations were killed by the girl's father. This has changed only in individual cases. A man who habitually causes conflict within his community can be forced to move his family away.

**Conflict.** Traditional conflicts between villages usually erupted in war raids. Shamans, suspected of causing death, were common targets of killings. Most extended communities had some degree of internal conflict, often evident in drunken brawls, and all communities were overtly at war with various Ashuar and Huambisa communities. Individual enmities and threats of killing are still common, but fear of the old cycle of war is a strong deterrent.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Candoshi believed in one Supreme Being, Apanchi (Our Father), the genesis of all that exists. Apanchi is a force controlling the universe, but traditionally he was neither worshiped nor appeased. Evil spirits, *yashigo*, cause death, but their power can be manipulated to one's advantage (specifically for the power to kill and for protection in war) and shamans invoke them for healing and bewitching. The *yashigo* are appeased by the observance of taboos. In the beginning Apanchi lived with people, but they continually disobeyed him, so he went back to the sky. Traditionally, times of peace and plenty were attributed to the help of Apanchi, and when the people were suffering, Apanchi was said to be punishing them. The *yashigo* cause all sickness and death by capturing human spirits. A shaman can attempt to retrieve the spirit, but if he fails the person will die. Some *yashigo* live in trees, some travel in the wind. They occasionally appear as phantoms, and anyone who sees a phantom *yashigo* will die. Approximately 30 percent of the people claim to be Christians.

**Religious Practitioners.** There are no priests among the Candoshi. Shamans use their powers to cast disease-causing spirits out of people or to cause these spirits to enter people. Modern-day Candoshi Christian teachers are not professionals. They are either self- or community-appointed.

**Ceremonies.** Private ceremonies to obtain spirit power are carried out by individuals in the forest. Spirit power is preserved and strengthened by killing, not by additional ceremonies. Shamanic ceremonies for healing are performed on request. The meetings of Christians are informal gatherings in which all participate.

**Arts.** Designs representing birds and insects are woven into belts. Originally belts were made from homespun cotton in white and black thread, but commercial thread is now also used. Candoshi music is on a four-tone scale. Womens' songs are lullabies and love songs sung in falsetto. Men's songs are basically rhythm talk sung to the beat of a drum while drinking. Christian songs are a mixture of Candoshi, Spanish, and Quechua music.

**Medicine.** Families used herbal remedies and consulted a shaman only when the herbs failed to help. Herbal reme-

die are still extensively used, but modern medicine is preferred when available.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death was caused by evil spirits, either indirectly (by murder) or directly (by sickness). The cause and effect of disease is now somewhat understood but not necessarily accepted. Traditionally, the ideal state after death was to reach the place of Apanchi in the sky, but nothing done in life could assure this. Christians now believe that their spirits go directly to Apanchi. The spirit of a sick person may be caught up by the spirits of the storm and carried along by them forever. This is the death that is feared most. Other spirits of the dead wander aimlessly in the forest. The bodies of the dead are put in canoes and dried on a scaffolding over a fire. They are then put in the rafters of a vacant house, not to be buried until two or more years have passed.

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SHEILA C. TUGGY

## **Canela**

ETHNONYMS: Canella, Capiekrans (not the Canelos-Quichua of northeastern Ecuador), Eastern Timbira (Mehim), Kanela, Ramkókamekra (Rancocamekra)

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** Settlers called three almost identical, adjacent tribes "Canella" (cinnamon or shinbone in Portuguese): the "Kéncateye," "Apányekra," and "Ramkókamekra." "Canela" is modern; the Brazilian National

Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI) and some authors use "Kanela"; "Capiékran" appears in early chronicles; "Ramcocamekra," "Eastern Timbira," and "Ramko-Kamekua" appear in some ethnographic atlases.

**Location.** Since 1968 the Canela have lived in Escalvado village (6°03' S and 45°09' W) on a reservation of 1,252,120 square kilometers, about 10 percent of their aboriginal lands, in Barra do Corda municipality, Maranhão state, 650 kilometers southeast of Belém. Escalvado is in savanna countryside (*cerrado*, "closed" savanna). The climate differs from that of Amazonia, further west: rains are less (130 centimeters per year) and later (December), and relative humidity dips into the 30s during some June and July mid-afternoons with strong easterly winds and clear skies.

**Demography.** The Canela live in a large circular village (300 meters in diameter), which aboriginally contained 1,000 to 1,500 people. Reduced by diseases after pacification in 1814, their numbers are now increasing: 300 in 1930, 412 in 1960, 514 in 1975, 791 in 1986, and 903 in 1989.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Canela speak Eastern Timbira, an eastern language of Northern Gê of the great Gê-Pano-Carib Family. Canela is almost identical to Krahó, spoken 350 kilometers southwest. Other Eastern Timbira tribes are the Krikati, Pukobye, and Tocantins Gavião (Gaviões); the Apinayé speak Western Timbira.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Decimated by the Cakamekra at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Canela surrendered to a regional Brazilian garrison for protection. They moved around until the 1830s, when they settled in their present area. Since then, they have maintained continual, although sometimes hostile, relations with the surrounding rural Brazilian ("backland") farmers and ranchers and with the urban political authorities in Barra do Corda, 60 kilometers to the north. The German-Brazilian anthropologist Curt Nimuendajú studied them from 1929 through 1936. The Brazilian Indian Protection Service (SPI) first sent a family to live near their village in 1938, causing accelerated acculturation.

In 1963 a full messianic movement occurred. It included cult dancing to bring about a total exchange in cultural roles—the Indians to live in cities and the Brazilians to hunt in forests. After the ranchers attacked because of extensive cattle theft, the SPI relocated the Canela to a Guajajara Indian reservation. Although they stayed for five years in the forests, they did not adapt well. In 1968 Summer Institute of Linguistics missionary-linguists Jack and Josephine Popjes began their work, which ended in 1990 with the translation of the New Testament into Canela. In the 1970s FUNAI built brick-and-tile buildings (post, school, infirmary), demarcated their lands, constructed roads into the new reservation, installed a generator for pumping water and lighting the post and village, and established two-way radio communication with Barra do Corda and the state capital, São Luís, causing substantial changes in the Canela outlook on life, their self-esteem,

and their self-awareness. In 1979 ethnographer William Crocker ended his long-term field research started in 1957.

In 1990 the Canela remained tribal, still speaking their language and performing their festivals. Very few have emigrated. Located 250 kilometers east of the Belém-Brasília highway, they are in a stable, unendangered location. They have survived because of their remoteness from rivers and, later, from highways, and because little exists on their land to exploit: no rubber, gold, or Brazil nuts, and few valuable hardwoods. Their farming and grazing lands are marginal. Merchants come to Escalvado weekly from backland communities 20 to 30 kilometers away to sell goods. Canela families frequently visit backland families, especially during the economically lean months (September through December), to earn food and equipment, usually through sharecropping and household work. These economic exchanges generate cultural relationships, especially that of *compadre* (cogodfathers). Through such contacts the Canela have absorbed some folk Catholicism and have learned to use money and to bargain for goods. The Canela frequently go to Barra do Corda to buy goods, walking or hitching truck rides. Occasionally, children and adolescents live and serve in homes there while attending school, a practice begun in the late 1800s. Most adult males have stayed in major Brazilian cities, where they go for goods.

### *Settlements*

Ideally, the Canela live in one village, although schisms have occurred (1903–1913, 1935–1936, and 1957–1968), largely because of the ambitions of potential chiefs. Besides the principal village of fifty-two houses in 1970, from the late 1950s through the mid-1980s five to fourteen different farm settlements have existed at the same time, some up to 30 kilometers away. They consist partly of sisters, "sisters" (parallel cousins), and their daughters with their adjacent farms and partly of unrelated families. A settlement's leader, as a potential chief, gains some unrelated adherents, unlike "uncles" leading sets of village-circle matrilineal lines that remain fixed in leaderless longhouses for many generations. Small circular settlements of five to fifteen huts are built near the farms along streams. All women old enough to have children should maintain separate farms. When a Canela village grows to more than about 500 people and about sixty houses, the palm-straw houses (and some mud-and-wattle ones) stand so close in some sectors that new houses have to be placed behind old ones, slowly forming an outer circle. By 1979 Escalvado's second circle was half completed.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Principal economic activities, varying over the decades, have been gathering and producing food; working with backland families; manufacturing and selling artifacts; earning and sharing Indian-service salaries; receiving Indian-service iron implements, cloth, and medicine; and obtaining farmers' federal retirement benefits. Aboriginally, the Canela relied only about 25 percent on horticulture, but now about 75 percent. Some aboriginal staples were sweet potatoes, yams, squash, peanuts, maize, and mildly bitter manioc. Today's

staples are the backlanders' bitter manioc, dry-field rice, and beans. Soils are only sufficiently rich to raise crops in the "gallery" forests along stream edges after yearly slash-and-burn preparation of a new field. Most Canela raise some pigs and chickens for their families; cattle were introduced only in the mid- to late twentieth century.

**Trade.** Trade among aboriginal Timbira tribes was slight, because they were largely self-sufficient.

**Division of Labor.** Men prepare the fenced fields, but both sexes plant and weed. Aboriginally, women gathered fruits, nuts, and roots, whereas men hunted and fished. Today, women harvest the crops except for rice, which everyone gathers. Women fetch water and firewood; they cook, raise children, and clean houses, but men construct them. Either sex will do any work when necessary.

**Land Tenure.** The tribe owns all land, but fields and fruit trees planted by families are theirs until the shrubbery has grown tall years later.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Canela kinship is bilateral, not unilineal. Matrilineality occurs only in the transmission of certain rights to perform rituals and only in about one-quarter of the matrilineal. Full matrilineality and clans probably never existed. The smallest kin group is the "hearth" unit (*hãwmrõ*), which is based on two to seven closely related females, ideally a mother and two or three daughters and their husbands, children, and unmarried brothers. This group shares one hearth and most food. A row of hearths, in which females are related through all-female genealogical linkages, is called a "longhouse" (*ikhre-rũu*, house-long). Of the thirteen longhouses stretched around the circle in 1971, the longest included twelve houses and the smallest, one.

Ideally, all longhouse women of the same generation call each other "sister," being sisters or parallel cousins. These "sisters" call each other's parents "mother" or "father," and each other's children "children." Certain exceptions alter this terminological simplicity. Female personal-name transmission, formal friendship, informal friendship, and some differences of two generations or more are some of the terminological systems that alter the ideal longhouse terminology. Nevertheless, along the village circle, a series of genealogically extended female parallel cousinships holds together a longhouse. Across the village circle, cross cousinships hold together certain pairs of longhouses. Ego's father's sisters', mother's father's sisters', and father's father's sisters' descendants all live in genealogically related longhouses. Ideally, Ego calls all women in his or her across-the-circle-related longhouses "father's sister," and the men "father" (father's sister's son) or "mother's brother" (mother's father's sister's son/father's father's sister's son), with many exceptions.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Canela kinship terminology is generally considered to be Crow in type. Special characteristics are that father's sister, father's mother, mother's mother, and all female ancestors are classed together terminologically, as are mother's brother, mother's father, father's father, and all male ancestors. The reciprocals of father's sister and mother's brother are in one category.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Marriage is always monogamous and takes place between unrelated individuals of the opposite sex and between "distantly" related ones. Longhouse exogamy is almost always respected, even for affairs, and exogamy is also maintained for cross-cousin-related longhouses. No prescriptions or preferences were or are (1990s) practiced for first marriages. Residence is uxorilocal; exceptions are temporary. It is neolocal when overcrowding occurs and older daughters with several children erect a house beside or behind their mother's. Sororate occurs when a widow's kin succeeds in retaining her widower for their children—ideal but infrequent. Levirate is not practiced. Hearth females rarely accept related husbands into their unit. Such combined outsider strength is undesirable. Parents arranged most marriages and childhood engagements, but now couples initiate marriages. Loss of virginity to a man without children constitutes marriage, but the union is weak and often broken, with significant material restitution made by the husband's kin. The seriousness of a marriage grows as a succession of rites strengthen it. Childbirth cements a marriage, and divorce seldom occurs while the children are growing. Extensive extramarital sex is the alternative, and this practice, individual- or group-based, is sanctioned in several festivals. Marriage is for raising children.

**Domestic Unit.** The hearth economic unit is also the domestic unit, with any of its women carrying out most mothers' roles for any child.

**Inheritance.** Inheritance is minimal in a society that had few nonperishable items and little individual wealth. Generally, daughters inherit from mothers and sons from fathers.

**Socialization.** Socialization is very permissive for both sexes until puberty, except for severe punishments for fighting and incest. At puberty "uncles" and "aunts" took over the disciplining from parents, scolding and shaming their "nephews" and "nieces" into conformity more harshly. Acculturation has considerably weakened this control over adolescents.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Political Organization.** The Canela have a relatively strong chieftainship for Amazonia, but a council of elders checks the chief's power. The chief derives some power from his natal longhouse and some from his wife's, but most of his power comes from his age-set and from his ability to lead the men. The chief leads the council of elders in their twice-daily meetings in the center of the village's circular plaza, selectively summarizing their decisions reached by consensus. The three oldest age-sets make up the council, but a specific one dominates it and may surpass the chief in power while he is still in his late 30s and relatively inexperienced. Some of the dominating age-set's other roles are to manage the festival-pageants, bestow awards for good performance on youths, and receive meat pies from prestigious "wetheds," maintaining their high status. The Canela also have a developed judicial system based on inter-extended-family hearings and restitution, not punishment. Most problems surface first during

the elders' meetings. These cases are tried at interfamily hearings run by the principals' "uncles." If unresolved, the uncles refer such cases to the chief for binding decisions at tribal hearings.

**Social Organization.** The kin groups and the political system constitute major aspects of the overall social organization; the tribally based festival-pageants and the kindred-based life-cycle rites constitute important additional aspects. Five great, largely secular festivals and several minor ones involve the following socioceremonial units: five moiety systems, five men's societies, six plaza groups, a high-/low-ceremonial dichotomy (wetheads/dryheads), and numerous matrilineal- or personal-name-based ritual memberships. Because of this complexity, every man has at least six memberships, all of which provide different settings for male cooperation and bonding. The crosscutting nature of these various ties breaks down political oppositions, enhancing communication and inhibiting factionalism. The age-set moiety system provides the most important male membership by far, because it operates daily.

All boys and adolescents spanning ten years are socialized into an age-set for life through four initiation festivals over a ten-year period. The dominating age-set in the council of elders appoints six youths of the age-set being initiated to militarylike positions of leadership over their age-set mates in each festival. These leaders are reselected three different times, mostly for their improving leadership competence. Later, some become competing potential chiefs or the tribal chief. Life-cycle rites unite an individual's kindred. The members of an individual's along-the-circle, parallel-cousin, matrilaterally structured longhouse join the members of the same individual's across-the-circle, cross-cousin, "patrilaterally" structured longhouses to perform the rite for him or her.

**Social Control.** The principal force controlling a man is the cooperation and pressure of his age-set, whereas the principal force influencing a woman is the approval or criticism of her longhouse female kin. The second most compelling force for both sexes is the favor of individuals of the opposite sex who are sexually available through the extramarital-sex system. Other forces are fear of witchcraft (little operative these days), fear of general slander and gossip (more effective with women), and fear of not being favored by the chief (more effective with men).

**Conflict.** The village's central plaza is sacred. No direct conflicts or aggressive language should occur there, although subtle competition does. Outside the village, and especially on farms, life is less controlled and moderate factionalism develops. Most judicial hearings focus on marital problems.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

The Canela were comparatively this-worldly oriented. They lived for the present and had few or no ceremonies (before 1963) to request supernatural entities to improve worldly situations for them. Now, with their overlay of folk Catholicism, they rely increasingly on the supernatural.

**Religious Beliefs.** The Canela believe in the worlds of the great birds above the sky, of the dead to the west on the earth, and of the fish and alligators under the earth.

Today, this cosmology includes the folk-Catholic heaven. They believe that all animals, plants, and materials have a soul or essence (*karõ*). They are convinced that if persons avoid polluting foods and most sex, they will grow strong and be able to carry out certain adult activities (e.g., running, hunting, and shamanism) well. The only culture hero active in modern times was Awkhêê, whose support was invoked in the messianic movement of 1963. Other culture heroes were Sun and Moon, who set most parameters for living, and Star-Woman, who showed the Canela maize, other staples, and certain fruits.

**Religious Practitioners.** The Canela have many shamans—some who cure, and a few who also "throw" illnesses. They do either activity through "powers" received from the souls of the recently dead (*mẽ-karõ*, ghosts). Men (and rarely women) become shamans through carrying out specific instructions (mostly restrictions against "pollutions") received during a series of visitations by ghosts, who first appear as animals. Ghosts visit some youths who are seriously trying to become shamans but not others. They may visit a person unexpectedly when he is sick to make him a shaman. They travel in the other world in dreams, or in their belief, and often go to the land of the dead to bring a wandering soul back to its body, saving its life. A shaman's knowledge may be based either on what he has "seen" or on information from ghosts. He can predict the future and state why a person became sick or died. Such declarations are final and are made on the shaman's, not the ghosts' authority. A shaman's political influence as a shaman is minimal, but a political chief's power is enhanced by being a shaman, because people fear his potential for casting illnesses.

**Ceremonies.** The principal ceremony involves a shaman holding a mass curing in the plaza against an epidemic. People pass through the smoke made by burning certain leaves.

**Medicine.** The Canela believe in urban pharmaceutical medicine, in their own herbal medicines, and in the rural backlander's herbal remedies. Many individuals who are not shamans know and use herbal medicines well.

**Arts.** The Canela esteem recreation and devote much time to it, venting most hostilities this way. Almost daily athletics include track events around the village boulevard just inside the circle of houses and team relay racing from 2 to 12 kilometers outside the village by individual runners carrying 100-kilogram logs. Recreation also includes the formal (festival-sanctioned) and informal (personally arranged) activities of the extensive extramarital-sex system.

Music (choral sing-dancing) and drama (festival-pageants), rather than painting and decorating objects or the human body, are the developed arts. Festival-pageants are frequent and varied, and their dramatizations model all social roles and traditional values for the young to learn and the old to maintain.

**Death and Afterlife.** People die naturally from various causes, including diseases. Their souls used to go to the land of the dead, but now go to heaven since most Canela are baptized. In the ghosts' village, souls did the things the living did but in a milder manner. After some time, ghosts became large animals, then smaller ones, and finally tiny

entities such as gnats. Then they disappeared entirely. A soul was not eternal. Ghosts usually injure the living when they meet them, but they like to help the shamans who are maintaining stringent restrictions against pollution.

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WILLIAM H. CROCKER

## Canelos Quichua

ETHNONYMS: Alama (pejorative), Canelo, Canelos, Pastaza Quichua, Pastaza Runa, Quijos (incorrect and misleading), Runapura, Yumbo (incorrect, misleading, and pejorative)

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Canelos Quichua" is of foreign origin. It designates the mission site of Canelos that ranged historically from near Puyo to its present Río Bobonaza location. "Runa" means "human being" in Quichua, and "Runapura" means "people among ourselves," "us." "Ala" is a form of address among people acknowledged as "us," but use of "Alama" as a reference to Canelos Quichua people is pejorative.

**Location.** The Canelos Quichua occupy the territory south and east of Puyo, capital of Pastaza Province, and the Río Bobonaza region north of the Curaray and Villano river regions in Ecuador. The territory south of the Bobonaza, from the Río Yatapi east, is Achuar Jivaroan territory, and the territory north of the Curaray from its conjunction with the Río Villano is Waorani territory. The climate is equatorial rain forest that ranges from 300 to 1,000 meters in elevation.

**Demography.** Ten thousand is a reasonable estimate of the contemporary, expanding Canelos Quichua population.

Historically, severe population decline was experienced on many occasions because of infectious diseases.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Quechua was the language of the imperial Inca. All Quechua dialects, including those known as Quichua (Kichwa, Kichua) are frequently, although erroneously, associated exclusively with the high Andean regions of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Quichua was a language of conquest in Andean Ecuador in the fifteenth century, but its entry into what has become Canelos Quichua territory and its eventual domination over Jivaroan and Zaparoan languages in parts of Ecuador's Amazonian regions remain an intriguing problem. It may have been introduced from the southeast (Amazonian) region. Related dialects are found on the upper and lower Río Napo. Today it is estimated that at least 20 percent of the Canelos Quichua speak Achuar Jivaroan as a second language, and speaking Spanish as a second or as a third language is common. In a few areas some Zaparoan-Quichua bilingualism also exists.

### History and Cultural Relations

Myth, legend, archaeology, and history indicate that the Canelos Quichua migrated into their current area from the east and/or southeast. The ceramics found at Charapa Cocha, on the Río Pastaza, are identified by the Canelos Quichua as made by their ancestors and appear to be a transition from other red-banded Tupí ware to historical and contemporary Canelos Quichua pottery. While the Quichua language was penetrating the upper Napo region from the Andes through conquest, Canelos Quichua was spreading northwestward, replacing Jivaroan and Zaparoan languages. Sporadic contact with Europeans at sites along major rivers was characterized by patterns of indigenous concentration followed by indigenous dispersion. The vast areas away from the major rivers remained virtually out of the Euro-sphere of sporadic influence, although exploration by friars began as early as 1581. Since the early nineteenth century the Canelos Quichua have experienced waves of foreign intrusion and exploitation, the most recent being the Amazon rubber boom (1870–1910), exploration for petroleum (1920–1940), World War II, and the re-discovery of petroleum in the early 1970s.

### Settlements

Historically, the Canelos Quichua lived in dispersed residential patterns and aggregated in refuge areas during times of upheaval. Such refuge zones probably attracted the first Catholic friars, who established missions there and visited them sporadically. The emergence of a formative culture occurred 200 to 300 years ago and radiated out of such riverine sites as Puyo, on the Puyo-Pindo rivers, and Canelos, Pacayacu, Sarayacu, Teresa Mama, and Montalvo, on the Río Bobonaza, spreading north from the Bobonaza to the Curaray and Villano rivers. Today the largest population concentration, with perhaps 3,000 people divided into twenty-two hamlets, is on the Comuna San Jacinto del Pindo, south of Puyo. The settlements of Canelos, Pacayaca, Sarayacu, and Curaray have the next largest populations. Kindred segments from these settlements periodically trek to distant garden, fishing, and



hunting sites, where they reside for part of the year. All settlements, whether dispersed or nucleated, are divided into sections of about 25 people to (usually) no more than 150. All modern hamlets have a central plaza with a school; some have a Catholic or Protestant chapel. All of the sites mentioned above (except the Comuna San Jacinto), and many others, have an airstrip built by either Catholic or Protestant missionaries.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Canelos Quichua practice upper Amazonian swidden horticulture, focused especially on manioc and other root crops. Women are in charge of all root-crop production, and men are the cultivators of maize and tobacco. Both sexes fish; men hunt game and birds; men, women, and children collect fruits, wild seeds, snails, shrimps, crabs, tortoises, and turtles. Men plant palms, which provide material for house construction and net and net-bag weaving and natural herbariums for palm weevils and their larvae. Men also plant *huayusa* trees, the combination of palm and *huayusa* trees serving as markers for territories established by powerful shamans. Contact with Europeans resulted in acquisition of plantains and bananas, which became male crops. Chickens and foreign ducks were acquired and used in the internal economy. Sporadic demand for the *naranjilla* (*Solanum quitoense*) fruit led to its specialized cultivation by men (but with the help of women) in swidden gardens cleared specifically for it. Near Puyo indigenous people have moved heavily into cattle raising and timber cutting. Many also cut rough planks and boards with chain saws and sell them by the roadside. Other income derives from sporadic seasonal labor on plantations or for petroleum-exploration companies and from traditional and ethnic arts. Protestant missionaries put special emphasis on cattle raising in areas far beyond the reach of the expanding road system, but so far have had little success with the Canelos Quichua.

**Trade.** Extensive trade networks have long characterized this area of greater Amazonia. There is archaeological documentation of trade networks linking the Andes, upper Amazonia, and coastal Ecuador some 4,500 years ago and coterminous pottery traditions 3,500 years ago with expanded trade networks. The archaeology of Ecuador reveals that agricultural development and ceramic manufacture occurred 1,000 years earlier than in Peru or Mexico. The Canelos Quichua long traded with indigenous neighbors, especially with Zaparoan and Jivaroan (Shuar, Achuar, Huambisa) peoples, with whom they also exchanged raids, as part of a far-flung, regional head-taking system. Trade with the Europeans began in the sixteenth century, and the Canelos came to corner the market for broom fibers and cinnamon bark, which they traded west to Puyo. Prior to large-scale disruption during the Amazon rubber boom, and later because of the Ecuadorian-Peruvian war of 1941, some Canelos Quichua traveled eastward and southward to the region of the Río Marañón to obtain salt and then returned to their territory to trade it up and down the rivers. Such expeditions to obtain salt would take from one to several years.

**Division of Labor.** Division of labor by gender is pervasive. Women do most of the gardening, except for the cultivation of tobacco, bananas, and maize. Men hunt, clear the swidden of large trees and vines, tend their three principal crops, and explore labor and other financial possibilities in the economic sectors. Women prepare and cook food, mend clothes, and care for children. They also brew manioc mash, store it, and serve *chicha* (home brew) on a continuous basis. Pottery manufacture is part of this manioc complex, a strictly female domain. Women plant, harvest, and store special black beans to plant with the maize, but such beans are not eaten; they are utilized solely for nitrogen fixation. Hunting for forest game is strictly a male pursuit, as is acquisition of large fish with spears, hooks, or dynamite. Women and men join together in fish-poisoning and netting expeditions when the rivers are low. Long-distance trade is undertaken by men and by husbands and wives traveling in pairs. Cosmologically speaking, men are predators, women are domesticators. Shamanism, for males, is the paradigmatic complement to female pottery manufacture, and women "help" their shaman fathers and husbands in very specific ways by preparing their tobacco and "clarifying" their visions.

**Land Tenure.** Aboriginally, large territories were established by powerful shamans who were able to keep both their sons and daughters-in-law, and their own daughters and sons-in-law. From a great oval house in a strategic position, a powerful kindred would grow within three generations to lay claim to considerable territory. As more and more intermarriage occurred, with Achuar to the south and Napo Quichua to the north, such territories became subdivided, with a mission hamlet or condensed region as a permanent, geographical focus. By the 1940s the region that was to become the 17,000-hectare territory of the Comuna San Jacinto del Pindo began to sprout a few hamlets on its periphery; they grew to twenty-two in the late 1980s. In the early 1990s the struggle for land is incessant, as people confront contradictory laws and shifting agencies responsible for various kinds of nationally recognized social organizations including parishes, communes, colony-support systems, and cooperatives. The rhetoric of a given organizational mode is often contradicted by indigenous activity in a specific territory. Basically, though, in the indigenous system the residential kin unit (*ayllu*) derives from a shamanic ancestor who laid claim to a territory (*llacta*).

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The *ayllu* is the bilateral kinship system as reckoned with a patrilineal bias for a maximum of three to four generations by male and female individuals and small intermarried groups. This system may be modified cognitively through the use of adjectives such as *quiquin* (one's own) or *caru* (distant) or a suffix such as *pura* (among us, ourselves). *Ayllu* means "kindred," "extended clan," and "maximal (dispersed) clan." The kinship system is intimately and inextricably tied to male shamanic nodes that merge and separate through time at levels of kindred, territorial clan, and maximal clan. Each powerful shaman is closely connected by consanguinity and/or affinity to a master potter. Affinal relationships of the

grandparental generations, both demonstrated and stipulated, are very important in reckoning contemporary kinship structure and transmission patterns. A parallel system of kin-class transmission and cultural transmission takes place: men through men by the vehicle of shamanism, women through women by the vehicle of pottery manufacture.

**Kinship Terminology.** The primary term for mother's brother is extended to father's sister's husband; mother's brother and father's sister's husband are always in the same kin class. Affinity is important in reckoning consanguinity ties. Affinal and consanguineal kin terms indicate an ideology of parental or grandparental cousin marriage and a kin equation suggesting sibling exchange. These structural features, combined with the bifurcate-merging nature of avuncular terminology, raise the unsolved issue of prior terminological separation of parallel and cross cousins.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Marriage is about a three-year process; monogamy is the norm. From the male perspective it is *warmiyuj* (to possess a woman); from the female perspective it is *cariyuj* (to possess a man). Marriage may result from romantic love and elopement, but preferably it occurs through highly structured exchanges of sons and daughters arranged by parents and even grandparents. In Canelos and Pacayacu, and formerly in Puyo, a visiting friar or priest would marry couples in traditional ceremonies controlled by the clergy. Many couples throughout the area marry in traditional ceremonies without clergy. Some couples register their marriage at a civil registry, and some couples marry in the church in Puyo. Divorce prior to "legal" marriage involves undoing all of the structured consanguineal and affinal ties constructed during the new incorporation of the couple into the minimal kindred and territorial clan and involves great acrimony on the part of many relatives and neighbors. Formal divorce by use of lawyers is rare and expensive and engenders great and lasting hostility between rival kin groups. There is a strong kinship idiom in marriage ideology. Men and women try to marry so as to perpetuate their own male and female inherited and acquired soul and body substances coming to them, in a parallel manner, from the times of the grandparents.

**Domestic Unit.** The Canelos Quichua traditional house is distinct from the house forms and symbolisms of Shuar and Achuar Jivaroans and of Zaparoans. Until the early 1980s traditional large oval houses with three-generation patrilineal extended families, many of which included Achuar sons-in-law (the Achuar are uxorilocal except for the families of the "great men" or shamans), were characteristic. As of the mid-1980s colonist-style rectangular houses are rapidly replacing the large traditional open-sided dwellings that were oriented on cardinal axes with virtually every portion a representation of cosmic order, but the latter still exist.

**Inheritance.** The spouse of the deceased inherits all of his or her property, including land. Transmission of property, except land, from a parent to siblings is idiosyncratic. Land is distributed by the rule that the youngest son of a

deceased parent inherits land not already distributed, and the oldest daughter of a deceased parent inherits land not already distributed.

**Socialization.** Socialization practices are geared to the basic male/female division of labor, to the stress on acquisition of knowledge through many sources, and to learning to live successfully within their special environment. Permissiveness in breast feeding, elimination, and exposure to adult experiences is tempered by immediate, unequivocal reprimands, usually verbal, and sometimes reinforced physically, for transgressions such as an older sibling hitting a younger one. Children are loved and valued, and affection is lavished on babies and toddlers by men as well as women. The ability to sustain hard work intelligently in a very harsh environment is taught in myriad ways.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Traditionally, it is reported, men dominated women; today strong male-female egalitarianism is characteristic. The *yachaj*, "one who knows" or shaman, was and is the apex of any three-generational kinship-territorial system. Traditionally, such shamans were themselves the connecting links between the indigenous, dispersed, egalitarian social order and the hierarchical order that placed indigenous people on the bottom, which was characteristic of church and state. Today it is sons-in-law or sons of powerful shamans who have become the cultural brokers, but the modern structure of relationships is a transformation of the traditional. Every minimal territory is organized as a habitat distribution based on kinship and marriage patterns leading to cooperation in swidden-garden allocation (including ample room for forest fallow). The same people of the dispersed habitat and its traditional upper Amazonian organization are incorporated into hamlets that are based in part on the maintenance of hierarchical relationships with dominating governmental, educational, political, and religious personnel.

The structure of social relations is at the same time egalitarian and hierarchical. It is part of a regional organization that may be understood by reference to a five-generational model of cultural-ethnic-linguistic identity extending through the dispersed rain-forest settlements to urban Puyo, and includes marriage interchanges among Canelos Quichua, Napo Quichua, Achuar, and Zaparoan peoples through time and across space. In its nucleated dimensions the hamlet replicates features of the national political economy, including a structure of internal ethnicity reflecting divisions of Black, Indian, White, and many variants.

**Political Organization.** *Comunas* operate with an elected *cabildo* (governing board) or *directiva*, consisting of five officers. The Catholic clergy sporadically dominated many political organizations through the colonial *varayuj* system, wherein staffs of authority are passed out to four or five indigenous political officers who then serve as liaison to the church and, through the church, to the Ecuadorian nation-state. In some areas, U.S. Protestant evangelists have taken over the role of domination, trying to work with indigenous "leaders" contacted through bilingual school systems that they (the evangelists) introduced. In 1976-1978 polarized indigenous organizations began to

form: on one side were anti-Protestant, antigovernment secular movements; on the other side were proevangelical and progovernment ones. By the late 1980s a set of confederations had emerged that extended downward from the national indigenous organization in Quito to the Confederation of Amazonian Organizations housed near Puyo on the edge of Comuna San Jacinto territory, to the Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Pastaza Province (OPIP).

In the early 1980s OPIP was charged by the governor of Pastaza Province with responsibility to speak politically for all the peoples of that province. Since 1988 OPIP has allied closely with Socialist and pro-Socialist parties and with the Catholic church in violent antagonism to other religious organizations and against the national bureaucracy and dominant political party of the president of the republic. Tensions manifest in the national political economy were replicated in the 1980s within OPIP, and many rival organizations of various political and religious persuasions now exist.

**Social Control.** Gossip, face-to-face public encounters, and social withdrawal (as with the periodic treks to distant swiddens) are ordinary mechanisms of traditional social control. A more powerful mechanism is shamanism and the accusation of shamanic activity. Outright killing of powerful shamans by small groups, and the threat of such killing, may have curtailed shamanic activity or kept it partially in check. Religious figures are often asked to resolve "manageable disputes." By the 1980s not only were police asked to exercise social control between members of rival political-economic organizations, but even the military has been called in on some occasions. Lawsuits filed by indigenous people involve accusations of murder and cattle theft, boundary disputes with encroaching colonists, and witchcraft.

**Conflict.** Shamanism, accusation of shamanic activity, killing, and the accusation of killing, or hiring a killer constitute traditional sources of fission. No two families or kindreds can be on both sides of a shamanic or killing vendetta. Added to the traditional domains of conflict are new causes of struggle: control of land, control over sectors of the political economy and indigenous activity, religious control, and struggles engendered by rival indigenous organizations in alliance with extraneous forces.

In 1990 some Canelos Quichua participated in a nationwide indigenous uprising (*levantamiento indígena*). In April-May of 1992 representatives of Canelos Quichua culture led a march from Puyo to Quito and staged a camp-out in a major park of the capital to demand legalization of their territory, as well as that of the Achuar and Shiwiar. The march and camp-out had clear millenarian dimensions and resulted in large-scale land transfers from the nation-state to indigenous organizations of Pastaza Province.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Transformation (*tucuna*) is crucial in understanding relationships among animate essences of inanimate substances and spiritual essences in interaction with soul substances. *Unai* (mythic time-space) provides a rich cosmographic source of contemporary and ancient knowledge; *callarirucuguna* (beginning times-places) embraces the period of transformation from *unai* to times of

destruction and times of the ancestors. The future is thought of both as a continuation of the past and present and as a pending transformation of the initial chaos of *unai*. One origin myth of the Canelos Quichua is that of an incestuous brother-sister relationship between the moon (male) and the Potoo bird (female); part of this myth involves the origin of pottery clay.

The origin of the kinship system is told in mythic segments that deal with the transformation of the Anaconda from the human penis. Soul (*aya*) and spirit (*supai*) are fundamental concepts that apply to both eschatological knowledge and quotidian life. Humans and spirits interact when one or the other moves to a new plane of existence. Spirits have souls, just as humans do. Three spirit masters serve as focal symbols by which patterned transformations in the spirit world would occur. Amasanga is forest-spirit master; his/her transformation is the dangerous master spirit of other people who live in other territories. Sungui is the spirit master of the hydrosphere and first shaman. Nungwi, a strictly feminine spirit, is master of garden soil and pottery clay. Canelos Quichua must balance experiential knowledge (*ricsina*) with cultural knowledge (*yachana*) and visionary experience (*muscuna*) with learning (*yuyana*). Central to the transformative paradigm involving these critical concepts is the *yachaj*, the "one who knows," the "possessor of knowledge." This concept often means "shaman" when applied to males, but may also be used to refer to master potters.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans (male) and master potters (female) constitute the twin nodes of ongoing interpretation through which the system of parallel transmission of cultural knowledge takes place.

**Ceremonies.** The *ayllu* festival is held once or twice a year in all hamlets where a Catholic chapel or shrine exists. In it is enacted the cosmogony of the Canelos Quichua, their embeddedness in Catholic and national hegemony, and the invocation of the ultimate source of power, the hydrosphere, as embodied by the Anaconda (*amarun*), which may break all bonds of hegemony but contains within itself the genesis of destruction and re-emergence of chaos.

**Arts.** All Canelos Quichua women are potters who manufacture a very fine ware that seems, according to archaeological evidence, to derive from ancient red-banded ware associated with westward-moving Tupí migrations. The potters make black ware for cooking and serving cooked foods, and polychrome ware for storing and serving manioc brew (*asua*). The sporadic art markets for fine and crude ceramics provide income to many families, and there is considerable innovation, within traditional boundaries, regarding the size and shapes of vessels made for sale. Men make blowgun quivers, darts, net bags, fish nets, traps, canoes and paddles, carving boards, feather headdresses, and wooden bowls and pestles for pounding manioc mash. Many men and women traditionally wove small bands for blowgun quivers. Blowguns are usually acquired from the Achuar, as is curare dart poison which, in turn, the Achuar acquire from the Cocama.

In 1975 Canelos Quichua men in the Puyo area began experimenting with carved animals and birds for the ethnic-arts market, and carving balsa birds has become a

major occupation of many families, allowing them a degree of financial independence.

**Medicine.** Shamans use *Banisteriopsis caapi*, called ayahuasca (soul vine), in curing and diagnosing illness. Individuals occasionally use *Brugmansia suaveolens* (*wanduj*) in lone quests within the spirit world. Many other medicines from the rain forest are known and utilized.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is associated with the malign action of evil individuals in interaction with evil spirits. The soul leaves the dying person through the mouth as death approaches and remains in the vicinity of the corpse for the one to three days and nights of a wake. To interact with the soul, those not in the immediate ayllu of the deceased play games, some with maize or black beans, but the major one being with a carved die called "canoe." The body is interred along a west-east cardinal line and begins an underground and underwater trip with its soul, over the course of which many transformations of the soul's inanimate existence take place. Souls visit the living, may be captured by a spirit, and may exist in various domains.

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NORMAN E. WHITTEN, JR.

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## Cariña

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ETHNONYMS: Carib, Caribe, Carinya, Galibí, Kalinya, Kariña, Karinya

The Cariña of eastern Venezuela treated here are a population of 7,000 Indians. The majority of them live on the plains and mesas of northeastern Venezuela, specifically in the central and southern parts of the state of Anzoátegui and in the northern part of the state of Bolívar, as well as

in the states of Monagas and Sucre, near the mouth of the Río Orinoco. In Anzoátegui, they live in the towns of El Guasez, Cachipo, Cachama, and San Joaquín de Parire. Other Cariña groups commonly referred to by different local names (e.g., Galibí, Barama River Carib) live in northern French Guiana (1,200), Suriname (2,400), Guyana (475), and Brazil (100). All told the Cariña population comprises approximately 11,175 people. Cariñan belongs to the Carib Language Family. Most Venezuelan Cariña are integrated into the national culture, and, except for young children and some elderly members of the group, they are bilingual in their native language and in Spanish.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Cariña were allied with the Dutch and French against the Spanish and the Portuguese. They rebelled against the Franciscan missionaries who attempted unsuccessfully to gather them into pueblos. Until almost the end of the mission at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the warlike Cariña destabilized the missions and native populations of the lower Orinoco region. Today, the Venezuelan Cariña are nominal Catholics, but their observance of this religion is syncretic with beliefs of their traditional religion. As a result of the development of eastern Venezuela, including the introduction of the steel and oil industries, most Cariña are quite acculturated.

The Cariña used to live in round communal houses, internally subdivided into family compartments. Since around 1800 they have built small rectangular wattle-and-daub houses with roofs of *moriche*-palm thatch or, more recently, of sheet metal. A separate shelter is built in close proximity to the dwelling house and serves as kitchen and workshop during the day.

The Cariña have traditionally relied for their subsistence on horticulture, which is practiced mainly on low-lying banks of rivers and streams. They cultivate bitter and sweet manioc, taro, yams, bananas, and sugarcane. Along the rivers, they hunt for capybaras, pacas, agoutis, deer, and armadillos. Birds are also hunted occasionally. Fishing is of lesser importance; like hunting, it is usually practiced with bow and arrow, but sometimes also with hook and line or fish poison. Traditionally, domestic animals were not eaten, but chicken, goats, and pigs have been kept in more recent times. Dogs and donkeys are also kept. Cariña men were avid and widely roaming traders and warriors, tied into a trade network that spanned the Guianas, the Lesser Antilles, and large parts of the Orinoco Basin. Metal tools and firearms were desirable trade items. The Cariña exchanged hammocks, *moriche* cordage and fruits, and manioc flour and bread. In colonial times, war captives of other Indian societies in the general area were of great commercial value on the slave markets of the European colonies.

Division of labor is by sex and age. As the more mobile members of society, men occupied themselves with trade and warfare. When at home, they carried out the initial clearing of a field and provided game and fish. They also produced sturdy carrying baskets, basketry trays, and manioc presses. Before the adoption of metal pots and plastic containers, women made a rather crude pottery for cooking and storing grain and water. They spin cotton and twist *moriche* fiber into cordage, which they use to make

hammocks. Today men and women find employment in the industrialized economy of the region.

Like the kinship systems of other Carib societies of the Greater Guiana region, that of the Cariña is strongly Dravidian in character. Identified as a kin-integration system, it unites the members of a small local community without the imposition of strong organizational strictures. Kinship is cognatic, descent rules are not well defined, corporate groups are absent, marriage tends to be community endogamous, and exchange and alliance, nowadays pursued informally, are restricted to the local group. Marriage is based on mutual attraction, and the marriage ceremony entails the establishment of a consensual union through the creation of a separate household. The union was publicly sanctioned by a ceremony that featured an ordeal of rolling bride and groom into a hammock filled with wasps and ants. A Christian marriage ceremony may take place after the couple has lived together for several years. The preferential postmarital residence rule is uxorilocal, although nowadays virilocality obtains almost as frequently. The use of teknonymy is an important feature of Cariña kinship.

Enculturation is informal, and corporal punishment is practically unknown. Boys enjoy greater freedom in childhood than do girls, who begin performing a number of chores within the nuclear family and the neighborhood at an early age.

Local groups recognize a chief of limited political power, who presides over a council of elders elected annually. Upon taking office, the chief had to submit to a wasp-and-ant ordeal similar to that of a bridal couple. Among the traditional functions of a chief were the organization of communal labor and the redistribution of food and goods. It is uncertain whether traditional war chiefs of greater authority functioned in combat. Some headmen seem to have been shamans.

Cariña religion retains many of its traditional features. Their cosmology distinguishes between four planes of heaven, mountain, water, and earth. Heaven is inhabited by the Supreme Ancestors of all Ancestors. This realm is governed by Kaputano, the highest-ranking being. After living on earth as the principal culture hero of the Cariña, he ascended to the sky, where he was transformed into Orion. The ancestral spirits who accompanied him there used to inhabit the earth and are the masters of the birds, the animals, and the shamans. They are omnipotent and ubiquitous and have a house in the sky world and on earth. The mountain is governed by Mawari, the initiator of shamans and grandfather of the mythical jaguars. The mountain functions as a world axis, connecting heaven and earth. Mawari associates with the vultures, who are the servants and messengers of the Supreme Spirit of the sky world and puts them in contact with the shamans. The water is governed by Akodumo, the grandfather of the snakes. He and his serpent spirits rule over all aquatic animals. He maintains contact with the aquatic birds who depend on the celestial water. This makes Akodumo very powerful magically and of importance to the shamans, whom he serves as auxiliary. Earth is governed by Ioroska, the ruler of darkness, ignorance, and death. He maintains no contact with heaven but is the absolute master of the earth. He assists shamans in curing illness caused by the masters of animals

and nocturnal birds. Shamans provide the liaison between humankind and the spirit world through magical chants and ritual tobacco smoking. Nowadays Cariña burial customs follow Christian tradition.

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## Cashibo

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ETHNONYMS: Cacataibo, Cachibo, Cacibo, Cahivo, Capapacho, Casibo, Caxibo, Haguetai, Kashibo, Managua, Uni

The Cashibo Indians live in eastern Peru along the Aguaytía river and its tributaries, the San Alejandro and the Shambuyacu, and on the Sungaryacu, a tributary of the Pachitea. Estimates of their population vary from 1,000 to 2,500. The Cashibo language belongs to the Panoan Family. There are three subgroups, the Kakataibo, the Cashiñon, and the Ruño, who speak slightly different dialects.

Historically, the Cashibo have been hostile to their neighbors and to the missionaries who attempted to work among them. When first contacted by Spanish missionaries in 1757, the Cashibo killed one of them and forced the rest to flee. By 1820 the Cashibo had retreated to the headwaters of the Pachitea and Aguaytía rivers. When they returned downriver, they were victims of raids by the She-tebo and Conibo in 1870.

It has only been in the twentieth century that the Cashibo have been in more or less constant contact with Peruvian national society. In the past, whenever settlers approached the Cashibo, the Indians simply moved further into the forest to avoid them. In 1930 the Cashibo population stood at 4,000, but since then epidemic diseases have

reduced their numbers. Between 1930 and 1940 the Cashibo were dominated by Simón Bolívar Odicio, a Cashibo who was captured as a child and raised by the Shipibo. This man organized raids into the upper Aguaytía, captured many Cashibo, and took them to live with the Shipibo, where they came into contact with mestizo culture. Under his direction, they helped to open a road from the Aguaytía river to Pucallpa, which led to the infiltration of many Whites into Cashibo territory. Because acculturation was rapid and violent, many Cashibo died as a result of culture shock (in addition to those who succumbed to epidemics). In 1940 they were offered title to a reservation, but they preferred to stay in their own territory.

In the 1990s a few Cashibo families are isolated, but the majority live in five communities, each of which has a bilingual school directed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, a Protestant missionary group. Most men speak some Spanish, but women and children still speak very little. Some women have married mestizos, which has resulted in a scarcity of potential spouses for Cashibo men. In turn, some Cashibo men have married into Shipibo communities. Externally, the Cashibo appear to be acculturated, but in their ways of thinking and other nonexternal aspects of culture, they have changed very little.

Traditional Cashibo subsistence was based on hunting, fishing, and crops raised in swidden gardens. They continue to depend on horticulture, and some who live along the Aguaytía sell such foods as bananas, salted meat and fish, and chickens to truck drivers, but those on the non-navigable Pachitea, who lack transportation, have fewer opportunities to sell their produce. Some Cashibo have left farming to work for cash as lumberers, and others both farm and work as wage laborers.

In their gardens the Cashibo raised maize and sweet manioc as staples, as well as pumpkins, peanuts, *cyclanthera* (gourds), papayas, red peppers, and sweet potatoes; they never grew bitter manioc. Among the introduced crops they adopted were bananas and plantains—which became staples—as well as rice, coffee, onions, sugarcane, yams, custard apples, taro, and pineapples. Nonfood crops include cotton, *genipapo*, annatto (*Bixa orellana*), reeds for arrows, two kinds of fish-poison plants, and tobacco. Men clear new fields every two or three years. The Cashibo depend a great deal on fish, which they catch with bows and arrows, harpoons, and poison. Since contact, they have also been salting and selling fish. The most important game animals are deer, capybaras, and monkeys, but pacas, agoutis, squirrels, tapir, peccaries, and waterfowl are also eaten. The Cashibo keep domesticated pigs, parrots, monkeys, and agoutis.

Panoan peoples in general are known for the beauty of their pottery, which has rectilinear red and black designs. The Cashibo weave baskets and mats, and also cotton nets. Men do all of the woodworking. The Cashibo used bows and arrows and spears as weapons; unlike their neighbors, they do not use the blowgun.

Traditionally, a Cashibo community consisted of one or several families living under one roof. This community was economically self-sufficient and politically independent; there was very little trade with other groups. The community was most often, in fact, an extended matrilineal family, led by a family elder. Individual nuclear families

owned garden plots, which they passed on to their offspring.

In addition to the house, a community would have potters' huts, storehouses, chicken houses, and other types of shelters. Inside the house were mats for sleeping.

The Cashibo went naked until the missionaries convinced them to wear clothes. The Cashibo also deformed the heads of infants by use of a pad on the front of the head tied to a board on the back of the head; the four-day process was begun immediately after birth. There were minimal puberty rites, although pubescent girls were subincised by old women. Sororal polygyny was common, and divorce was easy. Aged and infirm people were killed and eaten by their children. Sometimes this form of endocannibalism took place in conjunction with cremation: the body was burned, and the ashes were mixed with manioc beer and drunk during a wake.

NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Chácobo

ETHNONYMS: Pacaguara, Pacaguara de Ivon, Pachuara

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Chácobo" is of foreign origin. They refer to themselves as "Nó?iria," which means "we who are truly ourselves." They have been mistaken for a subtribe of the Pacahuara along with the Sinabo, Capuibo, and Caripuna.

**Location.** In previous times the Chácobo core habitat was the northern margin of Lake Rogo Aguado and the upper course of the Río Yata between 64° and 65° W and

12° and 13° S in northeastern Bolivia. Today the Chácobo are settled in two main concentrations: one on the middle course of the Río Yata and the other on the margins of the Ivon, an affluent of the Río Beni. This area includes dense forest and savanna. The climate is tropical with two marked seasons: a dry winter and a rainy summer that lasts from October to April, with precipitation fluctuating between 150 and 180 centimeters.

**Demography.** In 1845 the Chácobo were estimated to number about 300. According to the literature, in 1970 the population was 170. In the 1980s the total population of the two Chácobo concentrations was about 300.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Chácobo language belongs to the Panoan Family. Together with the Pakahuara, the Chácobo form the remaining two groups of the Southeastern Panoan tribes.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The early history of the Chácobo Indians is unknown. The first account referring to their existence dates to 1845. The information, provided by missionaries and explorers who traveled through the area during the last decades of the nineteenth century, focuses on the aboriginal peoples' location rather than describing their culture. Documents from 1863 found in the Archive of La Paz refer to the first effort to missionize the Chácobo. Later Jesuit references show that the Chácobo rejected any "invitation" to join the missions, preferring their freedom. Unlike other tribes of the Bolivian Oriente, the Chácobo repelled every early attempt at missionization. Because the northern region of the Llanos de Mojos was an economically uninviting area for colonizers, the Chácobo and most of the neighboring tribes maintained their traditional way of life up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Until this time, sporadic contacts with outsiders were initiated by the Chácobo Indians only to obtain iron tools. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, however, the discovery of the excellent quality of the rubber tree *Hevea brasiliensis* in the Río Beni region led to the establishment of White populations in those areas considered "uncivilized" or "vacant." And with the White settlements began the extinction of the peoples of the Llanos de Mojos. Extermination came through murderous raids and epidemics that devastated people without resistance to Europeans' diseases. Unwilling to work for rubber patrons as cheap manual laborers, Chácobo Indians migrated to the north of their original area, where they found protection in the open savanna. In reaction to the constant advance of the White population, the Chácobo pattern has always been to move inland rather than either to defend their territory or to share it with White or Creole people. Thus in 1955 the Chácobo were living along the Río Benicito, an area rich in fish and game and isolated from White commercial activities; during the following ten years, missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant organization) moved a portion of the Chácobo population of the Benicito to the Río Ivon, and the rest moved from the Benicito toward the Río Yata. In 1965 both concentrations were still living in these same areas.

The Chácobo traditionally maintained friendly relations with the Cayuvava and the Movima; the former used

to visit Exaltación, the closest Jesuit mission to the Chácobo area. As of the 1980s, there is a Chácobo who is married to an old Movima woman. This is the first and only intertribal marriage. Chácobo avoided any kind of contact with the Sironó, whom they considered to be extremely aggressive. Although the Chácobo knew about the existence of the Esse Ejja and the Araona, no contact was established. Currently, Chácobo interact with the Pakahuara, whom they ridicule and consider to be inferior.

### *Settlements*

The Chácobo cluster on the high margins of streams and rivers to protect themselves from the flood tides. In the center of each village stands the men's house (*hóni shóbo*), easily distinguishable from the women's houses (*yóshra shóbo*) by its octagonal shape, lack of walls, and larger dimensions. In aboriginal times, all initiated men, single or married, were assigned two specific poles on which to hang their hammocks to sleep overnight. Men also spent most of their leisure time in the *hóni shóbo* drinking manioc beer, talking, and joking. Women were not allowed to enter, except to sweep it. Today, the *hóni shóbo* is neither an exclusively male domain nor a place for sleeping. Although it has become a public meeting spot for men, women, and children, the *hóni shóbo* is still the place where adult men mainly socialize. Women's houses are located around the *hóni shóbo*. In previous times, a women's house sheltered eight or nine nuclear families. Today each nuclear family has its own house. Unlike men, women spend most of their time inside doing household chores and rearing the children. In Chácobo villages involved in the tapping of rubber, a third kind of building called the *karáma shóbo* (house of rubber) can be found, which is usually 50 meters away from each household.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Chácobo subsistence is based on swidden agriculture, complemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering. The primary crop is manioc, used mainly for manioc flour and beer. The second major cultigen is maize. They also grow bananas, sugarcane, papayas, and tubers such as sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*), *valusas* (*Colocasia* sp.), and air potatoes (*Dioscorea latifolia*). Every year, each nuclear family clears, burns, and plants a new garden. Because of the limited fertility of the soil, old gardens are seldom replanted. The fallow period is estimated to be fifteen to twenty years. Today, shotguns are used for hunting. Traditionally, Chácobo used the bow and five different kinds of arrows, including two for catching fish. The favorite big-game animals are the tapir, the wild boar, and the peccary. Several varieties of monkey, deer, and turkey also provide meat. During the rainy season, fishing is still done with a bow and arrow. During the dry season, an efficient technique based on the drugging of fish with the poisonous *barbasco* vine is used. Only women and children use fishhooks. Brazil nuts (*Bertholletia excelsa*), nuts of the *motacu* palm (*Attalea princeps*), and fruits of the *coquino* (*Ardisia* sp.) and *paquino* (*Hymenaea* sp.) also contribute to the Chácobo diet. Since the 1960s the Chácobo of the Río Ivon have been involved in the tapping, collecting, and smoking of rubber. This new

activity is performed seasonally, without cutting into the time allocated for traditional subsistence activities.

**Industrial Arts.** Chácobo Indians have excelled as feather workers. Up to the 1970s they dressed in their traditional costumes. Bright and colorful feather headdresses, armbands, and a nasal ornament were their most precious adornments. The use of rich personal embellishments (red and black body paint), black seed necklaces and bracelets, and earrings made of capybara teeth contrasts with the absolute lack of ornamentation on objects such as hammocks, weapons, and pottery.

**Trade.** Chácobo did not maintain trade contact with neighboring Indian groups.

**Division of Labor.** Chácobo society shows a clear division of labor. Women's work traditionally included collecting firewood, carrying water, harvesting and processing either manioc or maize to make beer, spinning cotton thread for stringing hammocks, weaving baskets, molding clay pots, and taking care of their children. The large number of tasks carried out by women contrasted with the great amount of free time enjoyed by men. Although men's involvement with rubber tapping balanced the former situation, men still devote much time to socializing.

**Land Tenure.** Traditionally, the Chácobo had no concept of private ownership of land; as soon as their territory was occupied, they moved inland. In 1965, through the intervention of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, they were given a land grant of 43,000 hectares by the Bolivian government. Each Chácobo is an owner of this land, which cannot be sold unless there is consensus to do so.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Traditional Chácobo society was organized into nine unstratified exogamous clans. What the older literature names as Southeastern Panoan tribes are actually the names of some Chácobo clans that have now disappeared. Inherited through the father's line, clan affiliation was identified through distinctive facial designs painted on the men's foreheads or on the women's pubic aprons. Affiliation to a particular clan did not imply ritual privileges or the holding of land. Although nowadays the elder Chácobo are still aware of their clan affiliation, the clan system neither regulates marriage nor enhances internal cooperation as it formerly did.

**Kinship Terminology.** Chácobo kinship terminology follows the Iroquois system for classifying cross and parallel cousins. For the ascending first generation the terminology is bifurcate-collateral.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Marriage between parallel cousins is considered incestuous; marriage between cross cousins is the preferential form. Of the possible cross cousins the last choice is the father's sister's daughter. A Chácobo groom realizes that he has been accepted as a future husband when his bride cooks the meat he has previously brought her and they eat it together with manioc flour prepared by her. Parents seldom interfere in their daughter's marriage, unless the groom is considered "lazy." The new couple es-

tablish their residence in the house of the woman's parents. The son-in-law is required to help his father-in-law in minimal household tasks. Four or five years later, the couple build their own house and the light noninstitutionalized bride-service ends. Although monogamy is the predominant marriage rule, polygyny is frequent for mature men.

**Domestic Unit.** Although Chácobo constitute temporary uxorilocal extended families, the domestic unit is still the nuclear family. The household tasks that the son-in-law has to perform for his wife's father while living with him do not conflict with the time needed for a young husband to work on his own garden or on his own rubber trails.

**Inheritance.** After death, Chácobo belongings are either broken or buried with the dead person, except for shotguns and iron tools, which are inherited by a son. Land or ritual privileges are not inherited.

**Socialization.** Chácobo parents are patient and tolerant, giving their small children great freedom. At the age of 7, whereas boys are allowed to move freely, girls are required to stay home helping their mothers with the daily housework. This pattern of women staying inside the house and men outside it repeats itself throughout the Chácobo life cycle.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Inequality between men and women is a remarkable characteristic of Chácobo society. Chácobo social life is male centered. Women are mere spectators at rituals, ceremonies, and in the decision-making process. Although age confers power to both genders, old women never enjoy it to the same degree as their male counterparts.

**Political Organization.** Traditionally, Chácobo society had a loosely defined chieftain institution. Any aged man showing potential for leadership could be recognized as a chief. What seems to be a constant is that chiefs were also powerful shamans. Today, chieftainship goes to literate young men who are in the rubber business. Although these young men are the ones who represent the Chácobo to the outside world, community decisions have to be approved by the elders.

**Social Control and Conflict.** Sources of tension are an uneven distribution of food, suspicion of adultery, and witchcraft. The settlement of White families involved in the processing of rubber has also provoked new sources of friction. Unless a controversy affects the community at large, conflict is often hidden. Chácobo rationale for this negative attitude toward publicly venting personal conflicts is based on the fear of witchcraft. In this sense, witchcraft works as a powerful form of social control.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The main figure of Chácobo cosmology is Káko, a mischievous culture hero who transformed the old world and shaped it into what it is today. Not only Chácobo material culture, but also their behavioral norms and customs were established by him. Another figure of Chácobo cosmology is Ashina, a stingy old woman who owned the fire and all the cultivated plants. Through in-



genious tricks, Chácobo people stole them from her and began planting and cooking their own food. The Chácobo world is inhabited by frightening spirits called *yushini*. Chácobo classify them into two categories: *yushini* of the dead and *yushini* of the forest. Through the shaman's activity, however, animals, plants, and objects can be bestowed with *yushini*. Since *yushini* are potential spiritual helpers for shamans, the latter can employ them to harm others. Strange noises in the night, unrecognizable figures in the dark, and extraordinary events are explained as the result of the *yushini*'s presence.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamanism is still strong among the Chácobo. Although it is said that men and women can both become shamans (*yóbeka*), it is mainly a male institution. The initiation process is based on the chewing of tobacco in the area of the Río Ivon and on the ingestion of *Banisteriopsis caapi* in the area of the Río Yata. The chewing of tobacco or the ingestion of *B. caapi* allow the shamans to contact their spirit helpers (*yushini*). Because of the high risk involved in interaction with the *yushini*, only aged people are able to acquire the status of *yóbeka*. Since shamanic power enables them to heal as well as to harm, they are perceived as ambivalent figures. Parallel to shamanism, there is a female institution called *kebiákato* that counterbalances the power attributed to men. Female adolescents are initiated by older women into the art of chanting specific songs (*kebichi*) used either to cure or to harm. Some of these *kebichi* are considered so dangerous that even the most powerful shaman can not cure the victim.

**Ceremonies.** The Chácobo traditionally celebrated the first harvesting of manioc and maize with collective ceremonies. If the harvest was an exceptional one, people from the other concentration were also invited. The ceremonies were conducted in the men's house, where a large clay pot containing manioc or maize beer was placed in the center. Adult men, holding gourds filled with beer surrounded the pot and waited until the shaman gave a signal. Then all of them put their index fingers in the beverage and licked the beer off. This ritual guaranteed the casting out of the *yushini* contained in the crops. Nowadays, this ceremony is a private one—each household invites the shaman and offers him beer prepared from the first harvest. During these ceremonies men danced around the pot of beer. Each of them had his left arm around the man on his left and played the panpipes held in his right hand. Women were allowed to enter the men's house to follow the shaman as he circled the pot of beer, beating his clay drum and chanting to his spiritual helpers.

**Medicine.** Chácobo use plants to heal minor diseases. Odor, taste, and color are the active agents that render these plants effective. If the results of the healing are not successful, a serious illness is diagnosed and the intervention of a *yóbeka* or a *kebiákato* is required. Western medicine is used only in combination with a traditional treatment.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is conceived as the result of external agencies (such as the *yóbeka*, the *yushini*, and the *kebiákato*) that become controllers of an individual's self. Whenever these external agencies start acting upon the in-

dividual, he or she loses control of his or her own self and dies. Then, the individual's self undergoes a metamorphosis and becomes a *yushini*. It is said that the *yushini* of the dead person roams about among the living trying to hurt them. Through strict taboos, the Chácobo establish and maintain clearcut boundaries between the domain of the dead and that of the living.

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SILVIA BALZANO

## Chamacoco

ETHNONYMS: *Ishír* ("person," "someone of human appearance and intelligence")

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Xamicoco" or "Xamacoco," recognized since the latter part of the 1700s among the probable ancestors of the present Chamacoco, is of obscure origin. Its degree of acceptance by the Indians is also unknown, although they prefer the name "Ishír." The designation "Chamacoco" is probably related to "Chamóc" or "Zamúc," the ethnonym of a group of the Zamuco Family.

**Location.** At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Chamacoco occupied the northeastern corner of the Chaco Boreal, in the arid zone of Cerro San Miguel and the headwaters of the Río Verde in Paraguay. The retreat of the Mbayá-Kadiwéu to the eastern shores of the Río Paraguay allowed the Chamacoco to relocate up to the western shores of that river between Bahía Negra and Fuerte Olimpo (20° to 22° N); they retained the southern portion of the hinterlands from 40 to 50 kilometers to the coast.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Chamacoco language belongs to the Zamuco Language Family. As a consequence of sociopolitical factionalization and reciprocal hostility, four dialects can be distinguished: Ebidóso and Hório, in the Bahía Negra region; Héiwo, in the Fuerte Olimpo area; and Tomaráho, in the interior forested zones.

**Demography.** In 1970 it was estimated that the combined Hório- and Ebidóso-speaking groups numbered 800

persons, whereas the Tomaráho did not exceed 200. Around 1930, however, the total Chamacoco population is believed to have been more than 2,000.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

In economic, sociological, and mythological terms the Chamacoco are a symbiosis of very primitive hunters and gatherers—similar to those of Tierra del Fuego—but hunters with a dual organization and incipient agriculture, resembling the Gê of eastern Brazil and Mato Grosso. Present in Chamacoco culture are possibly also certain influences of the somewhat more intensive agriculturists of the plains of Chiquitos. First contacts with the Europeans occurred about the end of the eighteenth century, but simultaneously the Chamacoco were strongly influenced by the Kadiwéu whom they met on their journey to the Río Paraguay. Aside from imposing a regular tribute of slaves—and thus establishing a typical intertribal system—the Kadiwéu imparted to them some features of their political style, which was strongly martial and based on endogamous castes. Consequently, in addition to waging wars against neighboring tribes to capture slaves for their masters, the Chamacoco quickly learned to use the slaves for their own benefit, and, with their own rules of clan organization slackening, they also accepted the rudiments of hierarchic stratification and intertribal marriage.

Around 1800, following the definitive occupation of their territory by Whites, the massive assimilation of the Chamacoco as salaried workers in the lumber industry and in ranching and the total overhaul of the Chamacoco tribal economy began. Although various social and political customs endured, albeit in a greatly altered form, the inception, in 1955, of the activities of the New Tribes Mission brought an end to the boys' initiation ritual and pertaining practices among the Hório-Ebidóso. Only among the Tomaráho subgroup are these still performed. Yet, at about the same time, the state of Paraguay ceded to the Chamacoco a reservation zone in Puerto Esperanza, an area more or less distant from Whites, where a major portion of the Ebidóso and almost the entire group of Tomaráho were concentrated. This important event had an invigorating effect on the faltering institution of youth initiation.

### *Settlements*

Prior to Western influence and in response to the alternating climatic changes in the region that necessitated the dispersion of the tribal groups during the dry season (March to August) and their concentration in rural villages during the wet season (September to February), the Chamacoco followed a threefold residential pattern that allowed them to renew their clan relationships and to celebrate their ritual cycles. Placed near good water sources, the settlement types included the *oihyút*, or temporary encampment of a band consisting of a single family or of multiple families; the *dút*, which assembled a group of up to 50 or 60 persons; and the *diyét*, a huge encampment of up to 600 individuals who gathered for ceremonial purposes. In all three types of residential arrangements, the precariously constructed huts of straw mats formed a circle around a small central plaza; it is not clear whether there

existed any fixed clan locations. In addition, the *dút* and the *diyét* had within their vicinities a second small plaza hidden in the woods, where the men's secret society met to celebrate their initiation rites. These circular villages and their nearby ritual sites still exist among the Tomaráho. The Ebidóso, however, influenced by the New Tribes, adopted a rectangular village plan with "streets" at right angles and fenced lots in which individual families construct their houses of palm stems with saddle roofs.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Chamacoco were primarily gatherers of honey and wild vegetables. They hunted animals and birds to obtain meat, hides, and feathers. They also caught eels and fished for species that abound in freshwater lakes and small rivers. A very strict code of rules based on sex and age governed the quality and quantity of consumption. Taboos and restrictions were particularly numerous for younger people. The Chamacoco knew some simple techniques of food preservation (e.g., smoking meat, preparing flour from carob beans), which lessened the severity of the dry season. They lacked domesticated animals except dogs, of which there might have existed an autochthonous variety. Food-procuring activities other than honey collecting, hunting, and occasional fishing were of little importance to the native economy. Aside from salaried employment in Western establishments, an increasing number of Chamacoco have taken to farming for home consumption, breeding domesticated animals and some livestock, manufacturing handicrafts for the tourist trade, and hunting, often illegally, for marketable furs. The procurement of food and Western goods through barter, purchase, or donations from welfare-oriented agencies, government or private, is an important supplement to Chamacoco subsistence.

**Industrial Arts.** The Chamacoco do not manufacture stone implements, and their overall technology is little developed. In addition to very primitive pottery, they make weapons (bows and arrows, maces, spears) and gathering implements (digging sticks) of wood. Bags and sandals are made of leather; bags, shawls, ropes, and protective coats of *Bromelia* fiber; and beautiful ritual adornments of bird feathers.

**Trade.** Previously, the members of opposing clans conducted certain ritualized transactions in which the donor was considered of higher rank and prestige than the receiver. Presently, through barter or monetary transactions, the Chamacoco participate in most commercial networks in the region.

**Division of Labor.** Until recently, women were responsible for gathering vegetable food and turtles, activities that were possibly more important than hunting to the traditional Chamacoco diet. They still process *Bromelia* fiber, fetch and store water and firewood, and take care of the household equipment during migrations. Their artisanal activities have also become very important for the tourist trade. Men were hunters and gatherers of honey. They had the monopoly on ritual activities and symbolic prestige and were the prime participants in curing and magical practices. Nowadays, men bear the brunt of wage labor and sub-

sistence farming, and the traditional economic importance of women has diminished.

**Land Tenure.** The various Chamacoco subgroups used to own relatively unlimited stretches of land but each clearly recognized the others' rights to fishing, hunting, and gathering grounds. Disregard for such rights and disputes over them caused frequent wars. Nowadays, the Chamacoco own small reserves of land, the most important of which, Puerto Esperanza, covers an area of 21,000 hectares. Its legal title is in the hands of one of the subtribal chiefs, which causes continuous tension among the groups.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Ebidóso and Tomaráho were divided into seven exogamic-patrilineal clans. There existed, in addition, an endogamic clan that performed priestly functions and rites of ritual closure and impurity. At the same time, the exogamic clans were subdivided into moieties, which were responsible for matrimonial exchange and certain reciprocal economic and religious services. Internally, the clans were rigidly structured on the basis of sex and age. They were characterized by prestige rankings and functions and shaped the personality of their members in accordance to these characteristics. Their exogamic marriage rules and almost all of their norms and regulations were jeopardized as a result of contact, first with the Kadiwéu, and later with Whites. Interethnic marriages, illegitimate births, and, above all, changes in the upbringing of children, have relegated the previous tribal practices to memories and nostalgia.

**Kinship Terminology.** Chamacoco kinship terminology is markedly descriptive. It is characterized by an extensive nomenclature of terms of address and by a set of necronyms.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** In the past, marriage was arranged by the man who had been responsible for the proper conduct and development of the bride's puberty initiation. He was always of the clan complementary to that of the initiate and had to have demonstrated superior personal qualities while looking after the girl. Rules of premarital courtship and nuptial etiquette were based on the exchange of goods between the families of the bride and the groom. Postmarital residence was uxorilocal; the groom rendered bride-service under strict observation of an avoidance taboo toward his mother-in-law. Marriages of very young couples or people widely separated by relative age were disallowed, and a deliberate restriction was imposed on birthrates. Nowadays, clan restrictions have been relaxed, marriages take place at an earlier age, the divorce rate has increased, and, as in Creole families, so has the number of children.

**Domestic Unit.** Although the autonomy of the nuclear family has been increasing, the extensive family bonds and coresidence of several generations persist. These generate extensive family networks, which regulate temporary migrations and periodic visits.

**Inheritance.** Traditionally, the personal belongings of the deceased that were not part of the funeral dowry accrued to the surviving spouse, the nearest relatives, and the

gravedigger. Presently, all livestock and valuable belongings are inherited according to Western practices.

**Socialization.** Although rather permissive during early childhood, the traditional process of enculturation subjected the adolescent youth to ascetic nutritional and sexual discipline and a strict observance of hierarchic rituals. Respect and strict self-control toward people of their own kind were inculcated, whereas extreme aggressiveness in the face of the enemy was exalted. The influence of Paraguayan society is reflected today in harsher treatment of children, sexual permissiveness, and untabooed food consumption by postpuberty youth.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Formerly, the clan (which regulated incest, affiliation, and various interchanges) and the age groups (which governed enculturation, provision of food to the old by the young, and conjugal access of young men to the daughters of the old in compensation for their alimentary services) were the axes of the Chamacoco social system. Although maximum symbolic prestige was attributed to the men, especially the elderly, in practice the power of the women could not be ignored. Contact with the Kadiwéu introduced the serfdom of war captives, but mixed marriages tended to make the captives equal to the Chamacoco. Nor did the superabundance of mestizos born of irregular unions of indigenous women with White men generate a different class.

**Political Organization.** Aside from a "strong" chief and a "weak" chief whose attributes were largely symbolic, the villages had military leaders (*mpolóta*), economic leaders (*nehniúrt*), and religious leaders (*ahnéert*). Their powers, derived from personal prestige, were not coercive. Sometimes paramount chiefs were recognized, thus loosely unifying the different dialectal groups that divided the Chamacoco. Later, political power was founded on connective mechanisms (linguistic and technical) established with Paraguayan authorities and colonists. In the late twentieth century, with the multiplication of economic, religious, Indianist, and political networks in conflict among themselves, group factionalism has increased together with its concomitant fission and fusion processes.

**Social Control.** Formerly, social control was an essential responsibility of the *tobich* (men's secret society), which penalized severely, frequently with the death penalty, the incorrigibles and the serious violators of tribal ethics (those who committed homicide or infractions of the dietary rules, showed disrespect to the elderly, or revealed the secret rituals to women). Lighter cases involved banishment, isolation of the guilty, or public mocking. Dread of sorcery and the pitfalls of giving in to women also influenced the regulation of conduct. The disappearance of the *tobich* opened a juridical hiatus, which has not been satisfactorily filled by Western institutions.

**Conflict.** Mythology and narratives reveal the existence of structural conflicts—for example those between men and women and between the elderly and the young—in traditional Chamacoco society. Factors involved in such conflicts include the asymmetry between the symbolic masculine role and the feminine economic role and the excessive rigor with

which young men are treated during initiation. There is also evidence of the practice of ritual homicide of women and of the occurrence of rebellions and migrations of young people tired of maltreatment by the elderly. Hostility toward ethnic exogroups alternated with tendencies toward interchange and alliance, particularly with respect to Whites. At present, the principal lines of conflict, although related to the processes of acculturation, are all internal. Thus, a strong competition exists between a faction of modern agriculturists who nevertheless strive to revive traditional customs and values, and members of another faction who cling to traditional, albeit commercialized, hunting practices while at the same time demonstrating profound depreciation of the customs of their forebears.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The concretion of Chamacoco religious thought, including concepts of purity, impurity, and sacredness, divine beings, and mythological events, is derived from a vision of the world centered in the mystery of the contrast death/life, conceived of as asymmetric phases of a unitary process. Religious tenets are also grounded in the dichotomies disharmony/harmony and nonconditioning/conditioning, which shape the contours of many cognitive patterns prevailing in the culture. Apart from a now-otiose creator being, divinities of the hunt, and a profuse series of demonic entities, the characteristic deities of the Chamacoco are the Ahnábsero. Arising from the depths and initially revealed to the women, these gods form a complex pantheon headed by a feminine figure. The adventures of the Ahnábsero and their deaths at the hands of men form a rich mythological saga in which the gods become the original authors of the ethics code and the founders of cultural institutions. The evangelical influence of the New Tribes Mission has become very strong, but it is quietly resisted by the most traditionalist factions.

**Religious Practitioners.** In earlier times, aside from the diverse specialists in magic, the endogamic clan of the Carancho assumed a central sacerdotal role. Scorned in daily life, its members conducted the main purification rites of the ceremonial cycle. The White missionaries have failed to establish an Indian priesthood.

**Ceremonies.** The *debilübe áhmich*, or ritual celebration of the Ahnábsero, lasts the entire rainy season, coinciding with the initiatory seclusion period for boys. Whereas some ceremonial activities require the active participation of women, a good part of the almost thirty different ceremonies of the ritual is conducted exclusively by men. These consist of dramatizations of the drought and wet weather, of natural resources and economic practices that are linked with one another, of fundamental religious tenets, and of ceremonies for the expulsion of impurity. The actors wear masks, paint their bodies according to complex symbolic codes, and don exquisite feather decorations.

**Arts.** Apart from body painting and decorative featherwork, mention must be made of the manufacture of *Bromelia*-fiber cloth, the plaiting of palm fronds, and an extensive repertoire of religious, magic, and funerary music.

**Medicine.** Together with a complex cosmology of seven celestial and several subterranean planes inhabited by vari-

ous distinct divinities who initiate shamans, there is a great diversity of specialists in magic. Besides healing and causing sickness, they are also responsible for rain and abundance in the natural world. Sickness is attributed to the interference of extraterrestrial beings, the violation of taboos, or soul loss. Curing is accomplished by means of massage techniques and suction, as well as by ecstatic flight in search of abducted souls. Western medicine, however, is gaining increasing acceptance.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death in advanced age is seen as an almost "natural" link between the mental weakening of the elderly and the lack of reason among the dead. The Chamacoco believe in a subterranean region, *osépete*, where the deceased live an existence without joy or appeal. Villages used to be abandoned following a death, and widowers remained in isolation until their hair, which had been shorn off, started to grow again. The interment of the cadaver created a fictitious kin relationship with the member of the complementary clan who performed this duty.

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EDGARDO JORGE CORDEU  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

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## **Chayahuita**

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ETHNONYMS: Balsapuertino, Cahuapa, Chawí, Chayabita, Chayavita, Chayawita, Chayhuita, Paranapura, Shayabit, Tshaahui

The Chayahuita Indians once lived in the upper reaches of the Río Sillay in Peru, but seventeenth-century slave raids cut their population drastically and were probably responsible for pushing most of them to their present location in the region of the headwaters of the Río Paranapura as well as to the region of the Cahuapanas and Shanusi rivers in Peru; some still remain in the Río Sillay area. Their population stands at approximately 6,000. Their language, which is intelligible to Jebero speakers (and vice versa), belongs to the Cahuapanan Family. Some Chayahuita lived with Munichí and Jebero Indians at a Jesuit mission for a

few years after it was established in 1654 but eventually returned to the forest after the missionary there left; some 400 or so lived at another mission in the eighteenth century. Traditionally subsistence horticulturists, many of the Chayahuita are now in close contact with Whites and are entering the cash economy by raising and selling rice, beans, and chickens. Despite their close contact with Whites, however, most Chayahuita remain monolingual speakers of the Chayahuita language.

The Chayahuita traditionally raised sweet manioc and maize. They hunted with blowguns, bows and arrows, blinds, and traps. Fishing was done with spears and drag nets. The traditional house was probably gabled and had walls. Inside, people slept on platform beds and rested on hammocks. They had three types of baskets: sieves, containers, and carrying baskets. Their pottery was distinctive—it was incised with fingernails and colored white on the top and red on the bottom. Fire was ignited using a fire drill. The Chayahuita went naked most of the time but expended great effort in decorating their bodies. They wore feather headgear, arm and leg bands, body paints, and ornaments in their ears; they also blackened their teeth and tattooed their bodies with palm needles and rubber-soot pigment. Spanish clothing was adopted in the eighteenth century.

Chayahuita girls were confined for eight days at puberty. After marriage, residence is matrilineal for a period, and then permanently patrilineal. Parents are confined for several days after their baby is delivered.

Christianity has largely replaced native beliefs concerning the supernatural.

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## Chimane

**ETHNONYMS:** Achumano, Chamano, Chimanis, Chimanisa, Chimnisin, Chumano, Nawazi-Moñtji, Ramano

**Identification.** The majority of Chimane live around the Río Maniqui from its headwaters to where it reaches the savannas of the Río Beni, as well as the headwaters of the Yacuma, Chaparina, Cheverene, Dumí, Carepo, Apere, Matos, Sécure, and Beni rivers, located between 14.5° and 15.5° S and 66.5° and 67.5° W, east of the department of La Paz and west of the department of Beni in Bolivia. This area is known as Montaña or Ceja de Selva (eastern Andean slope). The members of this group call themselves "Chimane"; the origin and meaning of the name are unknown.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Together with the Mosekene, their neighbors, the Chimane form a separate linguistic stock. Attempts at reclassifying them as "Macropano" are still problematic.

**Demography.** Confirmed population figures prior to the twentieth century are lacking. The modern Chimane number between 2,000 and 2,500.

### History and Cultural Relations

In what are called "Bosques de Chimanes" (Chimane forests) between the villages of San Ignacio de Mojos and San Borja there are large expanses of embankments that connect the artificial mounds of what were once elevated fields. The ancestors of the Chimane presumably were involved in the construction of these earthworks. Archaeological remains, particularly well-fashioned and painted ceramic figurines, are believed by the Chimane to be their ancestors and are carefully kept by the shamans. A number of material, social, and religious items in Chimane culture suggest the existence in pre-Columbian times of trade relations with the Andean world. Efforts by Dominican priests toward the end of the seventeenth century and by the Franciscans in 1840 to found missions among the Chimane failed.

In the 1950s the Redemptorists founded a mission on the Río Maniqui, in a place called Cara Cara. Ten years later this mission was moved to the Río Chimane, a tributary of the Río Maniqui, and named Fatima. Nowadays there are also missionary posts of the New Tribes Mission on the Río Maniqui. Even though the Loma Santa messianic movement headed by the Mojeño (Arawak speakers) had no impact on the Chimane as a people, the Loma Santa—which persists to the present and is relocating some 12,000 to 15,000 native peoples of the Mojeño, Yurakare, and Mova groups—has resulted in a reordering of the traditional habitat of the Chimane.

In their search for a terrestrial paradise, many members of the above-mentioned groups have settled in Chimane territory and have intermarried with the Chimane. In fact, marriages between the "seekers" and the Chimane are common. Interethnic relations have had a positive impact since in the process various indigenous peoples were brought together to deal with the conditions

that were being forced upon them from the outside, including cocaine trafficking. To cope with the conditions created by the new relationships, the Chimane have endeavored to recover their culture. They have joined the Confederación Indígena del Oriente Boliviano (Eastern Bolivian Indigenous Confederation, CIDOB), which is a member of the Confederación Indígena de la Cuenca Amazonica (Indigenous Confederation of the Amazon Basin, COICA).

### Settlements

The Chimane build their houses on the banks or in the vicinity of rivers, streams, or dead river branches. Nearby, at a distance of no more than 500 meters, they cultivate their fields, seeking areas that escape seasonal flooding. They traditionally form small settlements of two or three huts. Place-names loosely reflect the characteristics of the area (e.g., "where there are fish" or "sweet fruit of the *totai* palm"). Settlements are respected by other members of the society, but formal usufruct to the site does not exist. During the fishing season, settlements are abandoned and families follow schools of fish in their canoes. In specific places along the river, families group together on the shore and build simple huts of palm leaves that shelter them from sun and rain. The number of huts, each occupied by a nuclear family, depends on the fishing conditions in the river. With a degree of regularity a family will return annually to "its" spot on the river, although they have no formal permanent claim to the site.

In any case, neither so-called permanent settlements nor encampments restrict the Chimane in moving around with great flexibility within what they consider their territory. In sequence of relative importance, reasons for moving from one place to another include family obligations, witchcraft, and ecological-economic considerations. The practice of congregating in villages was imposed upon the Chimane by Catholic and evangelical missionaries and does not correspond to the traditional settlement pattern of the group. Villages like the Catholic mission of Fatima and the New Tribes Mission settlement on the Río Maniqui near the mestizo village of San Borja are less than thirty-five years old. The majority of Chimane reject permanent village life because it negates the basic tenets of their socioreligious and economic systems. Insofar as they reside in villages, they do so mainly for protection from lumber millers and clandestine drug traffickers who have invaded their territory. These invasive forces deprive the Indians of their traditional settlements and destroy their basic economic resources, game and fish.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The habitat of the Chimane is the humid mountainous forest. Their principal means of subsistence are fishing and hunting, supplemented by cultivation. Fishing is done with the harpoon and the bow and arrow; a man using a harpoon stands in the prow of his canoe or on shore. The Chimane also fish with weirs, blocking a stream with lianas and palm leaves. Weir fishing is usually combined with the use of *barbasco* fish poison. Whereas fishing with bows and arrows and harpoons is done individually, fishing with weirs and

*barbasco* is a communal activity of several families from different villages. The Chimane smoke fish to preserve it for prolonged periods of time. Both firearms and bows and arrows are used for hunting peccaries, monkeys, and tapir. There are no taboos regarding the consumption of animal meat. Among the main cultivated crops are sweet manioc and bananas; sweet potatoes, maize, papayas, and cotton are crops of secondary importance.

Until the 1960s the Chimane lived in relative isolation in their habitat, which was of little economical interest in terms of national exploitation. Large cattle ranches were established to the east of their habitat in the savannas of the department of Beni, and there was as yet no exploitation of tropical timber. In the 1960s, however, exploitation of the *hatata* palm for roofing material was begun in the Chimane area. With the construction of roads to the largest mestizo village of the area, San Borja, *hatata*-palm exploitation assumed an ever-increasing importance for Chimane trade and exchange in the Bolivian market.

In the 1970s, when fine tropical woods began to be exploited, lumber mills penetrated the habitat of the Chimane, employing the Indians as a source of cheap labor. Acting largely outside the nation's forestry laws, these industries destroyed large tracts of the jungle, contaminated rivers, and dispersed the game on which the Chimane depended for their livelihood. With no consideration for conservation or sustainable industrial development, the Bolivian government issued forestry concessions for land occupied by the Chimane. To further complicate the situation, clandestine cocaine production began in the Chimane region during the 1980s, and Indians were hired to manufacture drugs. Thus, although previously the Chimane had had a reasonably well-balanced economy that provided them an adequate diet and guaranteed their continued existence, developments since the 1960s have seriously endangered their physical and cultural well-being.

**Division of Labor.** Hunting, tree felling, and other heavy tasks (e.g., building canoes and raising house posts) are done by men. Women prepare the food, take care of the children, keep the fields clean, and harvest the crops. Individual fishing with harpoons and bows and arrows is a male activity, but women take part in weir fishing with *barbasco*.

**Land Tenure.** The Chimane have no concept of individual landownership. They consider the rivers and forests of their habitat to be territory that belongs to their people. With the penetration of their area by non-Indians, however, the Chimane, through CIDOB, demanded the official and definitive demarcation of their territory, protection, and a guarantee of reasonable and sustained exploitation of natural resources. Indigenous pressure on an international level had the desired effect; the demands were met and the recommendations implemented.

### Kinship, Marriage, and Family

The Chimane do not have a system of clans. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred, and the kinship system is a variant of the Hawaiian type. Sororal polygyny is practiced. The family unit consists of parents, their daughters, and their daughters' husbands and children. Later the nuclear fami-

lies of the daughters settle neolocally in the vicinity. Even if they move away to more distant places, however, lifelong economic and ritual relationships with the woman's parents are maintained. Property, basically canoes and weapons, is passed from father to son.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

Equality between the sexes is the norm within Chimane culture. There is no social stratification, and the Chimane do not recognize chiefs. In isolated settlements, adults of both sexes are in charge of enforcing correct behavior by members of the group. Although formal authority is not a cultural norm, there are some old men and women, called *konkaziki*, who, because of their experience and personal assertiveness, are heeded as voices of authority. The Chimane maintain that in "ancient times" they used to have "women chiefs" (*aillu*), which indicates a link with the Andean world. Political decisions are arrived at through consensus. The Chimane continue to reject attempts by missionaries to install either teachers or pastors as "leaders." Conflicts have been gradually cropping up. In particular, missionaries ridicule Chimane culture and label it satanic; they try to isolate young Chimane from their villages and educate them as pastors or sacristans. While they are uprooted from their traditional culture, alien norms and values are introduced.

**Political Organization.** Within the village, authority rests with the adults of both sexes. On a multivillage level it is the "old person" (*kukuitzi*) whose views are respected. *Kukuitzi* shamans travel constantly throughout the extensive territory, where they foster an esprit de corps among Chimane people by making them participate in the cult house (*shipa*).

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional Chimane religion is still very much alive despite Christian attempts to displace it. Human society is a mirror image of the world of animals and plants, and there is a symbiotic relationship between them. The Chimane believe that mutual respect is essential, and it is this maxim that conditions their reasonable and limited approach to the exploitation of natural resources. To maintain this equilibrium is a fundamental objective, and the possible disruption of that equilibrium brings evil into the world. The shaman is of outstanding importance in this context. After years of practice, he watches over cultural and religious norms and presides over the most important cults. The cosmos, the earth, and all living beings, including mountains and stones, are the creation of the mythic brothers Duik and Mitsha. As a unity they are called "Jen" and are believed to be the sun and moon, respectively. Duik and Mitsha are cultural heroes who gave humankind weapons, fire, edible plants and other similar goods. *Faratazik*, master guardians or special keepers of places, animals, fish, and plants watch over the life of their wards, guaranteeing their reproduction and availability to humans. Failure by humans to observe pertinent taboos is punished. Spirits are all benevolent as long as humans respect them; if not, their benevolence changes, and they pose mortal danger (*zeki*). The logical and auto-

matic outcome is that humans will become possessed by spirits and *faratazik*.

Chimane religion shows a close link with the Andean world, since it is from this region that the mythic brothers are said to have come. When the end of the world draws near "from down below," that is, the low-lying eastern regions, the salvation of humankind lies in escaping to the region "above," that is, the mountain ranges of the Andes—although this region has also seen strife, oppression, and disasters, as demonstrated by the cycle of Hisui, the violator and murderer of Aillú, one of the female chiefs of ancient times. The Chimane describe their historical reality in mythic terms. The central cult ritual, closely linked with the renovation of the pact between humankind and nature, is the *umba*, which is performed in the round cult house, the *shipa*.

**Religious Practitioners.** With the assistance of *robodye* (a narcotic derived from an as-yet unclassified plant) and tobacco juice and by chanting and drumming, the shaman reaches a state of ecstasy. He is able to transport himself to extraterrestrial planes and to summon the spirits to visit with the participants in the *umba*. All participants experience ecstasy. They ingest small figures in human and jaguar forms. Even though presently in animal guise, jaguars are considered human, and the ritually ingested jaguar representations are believed to be human flesh.

**Arts.** Shamanic chants and songs pertaining to the Chimane religion and economy form an essential part of the Indians' religion and cult.

**Medicine.** Bodily evil is manifested in illness, either caused through one's own fault—not having observed a taboo—or by witchcraft. The shaman's curing practices consist of chants, sucking, and natural medicines made from plants, animal oils, and healing clays. Western medicine plays an insignificant role in Chimane life.

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JUERGEN RIESTER  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

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## Chimila

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ETHNONYMS: Caca Weranos, Chamila, Chimile, San Jorge, Simiza, Simza, Shimizya

The Chimila today occupy only marginal areas of what was once a vast territory, hardly explored until the eighteenth century, when government expeditions were sent to put down native uprisings. At present the lands where the Chimila live are occupied by large cattle ranches and oil wells, since in the 1950s the region was found to be rich in petroleum.

There are 300 to 400 Chimila Indians who live primarily in the Chamí Margen Izquierda R.S. Juan Indian reservation in the Colombian department of Magdalena. When contacted in 1525 by Spanish explorers, the Chimila inhabited the region west and south of Santa Marta. They speak a language belonging to the Macro-Chibchan Family. There are essentially two large Chimila groups; they live apart, and each regards the other as an enemy. There are another 8,000 who claim Chimila heritage, but who are very acculturated and who do not speak the Chimila language. These people live in the departments of Antioquia, Caldas, Risaraldas, and Valle, and live as farmers. Though all Chimila usually work for settlers, many are settled and work primarily as subsistence farmers who grow maize and sweet manioc, while others are nomads who primarily work for settlers.

The Chimila have become so acculturated and integrated into the regional economy that they can no longer be considered a tribe with a defined language, culture and social system. Nevertheless, Chimila families settle in groups when they can, often on the large ranches that now occupy their territory, where they become sharecroppers. These groups have little stability because they are permitted to farm a piece of land only at the pleasure of the landowner. The harvest is subdivided: part to pay rent to the landowner, part to satisfy reciprocal obligations to other families, and some to sell for cash to buy necessities, so there is often little left to feed the family. For this reason Chimila men hire themselves out for manual labor, usually for wages considerably lower than mestizos earn for similar work. Chimila often fall into debt peonage when they are given advances on their wages in food or merchandise.

Traditionally, the Chimila were migratory. Each family lived and moved alone, going from one area to another as the seasons changed. They were agriculturists who depended upon their crops of sweet manioc, maize, potatoes, onions, beans, sweet potatoes, avocados, and later the introduced species of sugar cane, plantains and oranges. When the soil became exhausted, they moved to a new field. Their fields were small, less than 0.1 hectare, and a family usually had 2 to 5 of them, each at a different elevation and growing different crops. Hunting and fishing were unimportant, largely because the Sierra Nevada have little fauna. Traditional Chimila houses were oval. Trans-

portation was originally by foot, and all goods were carried on the back.

The indigenous religious system was very complex, and to become a priest required nine years of training. The priests used their secret knowledge as well as songs and dances to influence supernatural forces in order to cure sickness. Religious ceremonies were primarily concerned with the seasons, and were used to moderate excesses in the weather associated with each season.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Chipaya

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ETHNONYMS: Puquina, Uru

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Chipaya speak Chipaya and live on the high plains of Bolivia. Although their legends reflect that they have resided only in the same general area where they presently live, their linguistic affiliation points to their having migrated from Central America. The name "Chipaya" probably came from the Aymara *ch'ipaña*, "to tie up," referring to the netlike way they tie the roofs on their houses.

**Location.** The Chipaya form a small island in the midst of the Aymara. They live on wind-swept highlands at an elevation of about 3,800 meters, just northeast of a salt lake, the Salar de Coipasa, about 200 kilometers southwest of Oruro, in the department of Oruro and the province of Atahualpa, approximately 13° N and 25° E, between the Barras and the Lauca rivers in an area about 35 kilometers by 13 kilometers. In the early 1980s a group of men migrated to a semitropical area about 100 kilometers east of Cochabamba in the Chapare (Canton Villa Tunari) and named it the Colonia Flor de San Pedro de Chipaya. They cleared land, planted crops, and built houses, but in 1985 it was still not certain if the new settlement would be maintained permanently.



**Demography.** La Barre mentions that in 1930 there were about 350 Chipaya. In spite of a high rate of infant and child mortality, by the early 1960s the population had increased to about 700. There was a serious measles epidemic in the fall of 1964 that resulted in the death of over 100, most of whom were children. Since the measles epidemic the population has increased and had surpassed 1,000 by 1985. The Chipaya area of the Bolivian altiplano is not fertile enough to maintain a growing population, so dispersion is inevitable.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Chipaya belongs to the Macro-Mayan Language Family and is very closely related to Uru, a language spoken only by a few older people near where the Río Desaguadero flows out of Lake Titicaca. The Chipaya language consists of up to 20 percent loanwords from Aymara and/or Quechua, as well as loanwords from Spanish.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Evidence that the Chipaya migrated from Central America is seen in their orientation to the four cardinal directions, their yearly religious calendar, and their use of the corbeled arch in native architecture. Migrating southward, they were presumably forced up onto the highland plateau and gradually moved, and/or were moved, to their present location. They value their freedom more than they do better land. Documents dated as far back as 1722 show conflict with the surrounding Aymara. This conflict was finally settled in the 1970s when the Chipaya permanently lost more land to the Collana *ayllu* of Aymara. Because of close contact with the Aymara, the Chipaya have assimilated some of their cultural practices. The culture of the Inca Empire has also influenced the Chipaya. An old Inca burial ground is traditionally identified as the original Chipaya settlement, and there are some loanwords from Quechua that are not cognate with Aymara. A common belief in the area is that the Chipaya came from the Chullpa, an ancient people, probably Quechua, because the clothing on mummified Chullpa bodies is similar to Chipaya clothing.

### *Settlements*

Present-day Chipaya remember only three *ayllus*, although they recognize that at one time there must have been four because of the physical evidence (e.g., lines of altars). The four were Tuwanta ("of the east"), Ushata ("of the north"), Tajata ("of the west"), and Waruta ("of the south"), each with its corresponding temple, altars, and geographical area—but all parts of a single Chipaya village. Today there are two main Chipaya villages, Chipaya and Ayparavi (23 kilometers east of the main village). All Chipaya households are located in one or the other of these two villages. Prior to 1965 Ayparavi was just one of the agricultural areas where some Chipaya had built homes, but in 1965 the town council decided they must occupy Ayparavi on a more permanent and formal basis in order to keep the land from being lost to the Collana Aymara. At that time there was a formal separation of some Chipaya households from legal residence in the main Chipaya village. Although everyone has a house in a village, many live most of the time in the agricultural areas outside of the two villages.

These areas are still largely divided according to extended families.

A traditional Chipaya village house is round, constructed of sod blocks, with the door facing east. The roof is made by first forming a framework of intersecting hoops made from *tola*, a short, cedarlike shrub, tied together with straw rope. Pieces of matting made from fine straw and mud are laid over the framework. Then the house is roofed with handfuls of stiff straw and *ichu* grass dipped in a runny clay-mud mixture. The roof is sewed on around the bottom with straw rope and then further secured with a network of straw ropes to hold it when there are strong winds. A second type of house, found in the agricultural areas, is cone shaped and made entirely of sod blocks. Recently adobes have sometimes been used for housing blocks after an initial four or five courses of sod blocks are laid. The doors were traditionally of cactus wood from nearby mountains, laced together with leather thongs, but in recent years, the use of wood and/or metal has increased.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The major crop is quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), commonly known as pigweed or lamb's-quarters in the United States. Not enough quinoa can be grown for family food needs, so each family must supplement the food supply by trading woven sacks, cheese, wool, or meat for other grains and food. Also, family members may seek temporary employment outside the Chipaya area.

Because of the saltiness of the soil, water is diverted from the river each winter to wash the land to be used for planting the next spring. The land is community property; each year it is divided into portions, several of which are allotted to each family. Although every family is responsible for its own crops, several persons are chosen annually to carry out prescribed rituals on behalf of the community, as well as to protect the crops from domestic animals. In exchange for this community service the caretakers, *muyucamanaca*, are granted the privilege of planting in suitable spots not allotted to others. There is no plowing of the ground. Planting is by dibble stick, and harvesting is by hand. The heads are knocked off the stalks, pulverized with a wooden club, winnowed, washed, and dried. The grain is then toasted and a thin bitter hull is ground off in a large stone mortar, with a woman acting as a human pestle, grinding the grain with her feet.

Domestic animals include sheep, llamas, pigs, and a few chickens. Sheep are the most important. They provide wool for clothes and milk for cheese and were necessary for the traditional sacrifices. Llamas are mostly used as beasts of burden but are also important for their wool and as sacrifices. Pigs are usually trucked to Oruro, the state capital 200 kilometers away, and sold, but they are sacrificed on certain occasions. Although hunting and fishing are not a large part of Chipaya life today, there is evidence that the Chipaya were once a hunting and fishing people. Some still hunt flamingos, ducks, and snow geese with a small three-stringed bola, each string being less than a meter in length. In the winter some hunt flamingos in the Salar de Coipasa with the *chalkawñi*, a line of nooses. Some still

hunt flamingo chicks to make *charqui* (dried meat) and extract the oil (for medicinal purposes and trading). During the winter they may hunt the *quetwana*, a small burrowing rodent.

**Industrial Arts.** Industrial arts play a limited part in Chipaya life and their economy. There is some weaving of sacks to trade for food, especially after a poor harvest. Other weaving is mostly for family use. Recently a Chipaya bought an acetylene welding unit and now sells his services to nearby Aymara as well as to Chipaya. Skill in vocational arts is evidenced by the Chipaya's creative and resourceful use of sod and straw in making dams, houses, and utensils.

**Trade.** Barter, both for food and other commodities, was traditionally an important means of supplying family needs. The men traveled west to Chile for food and cloth goods, east to the mountains and valleys for food and felted hats, south to the Llica area for food, and north to the towns for industrial manufactured goods. Outsiders also bring trade goods into Chipaya. During cheese season many Aymara come to exchange goods at a high price for cheese at a low price. Increasingly, the Chipaya themselves market their cheese in Oruro. As the Chipaya have entered the cash economy, some have begun to sell or trade goods in their homes or in square adobe buildings adjacent to their homes.

**Division of Labor.** Although most activities can be performed by both sexes, home tasks such as cooking and caring for the children are usually done by women, and men do most of the agricultural work and hunting. The women do the weaving on the ground loom, and the men knit the caps. A few men use an Aymara upright loom for weaving cloth for pants and shirts.

**Land Tenure.** From early Spanish times, the head of each household has had a land title, for which he pays an annual tax that gives him land rights. Family ownership is recognized by the Chipaya as well as the national government. Family land is identified by place-name more than by well-defined boundaries. Because of loss of land to the Aymara and a growing population, Chipaya land is insufficient to sustain everyone. Therefore, some dispersion is taking place, to the Chapare (foothills near Cochabamba), to major cities, and to Chile.

### *Kinship, Marriage, and Family*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The closest social unit is the nuclear family, followed by the extended family, and then by the ayllu, of which there remain only three—Tajata and Tuwanta in the main village, plus Ayparavi. Ayparavi is not an ayllu of extended families like the other two, but is a mixture of families. Descent is patrilineal.

**Marriage.** Marriages are monogamous and group endogamous—very few Chipaya adults marry non-Chipaya. Marriage was traditionally arranged by the families, but now the young people play the decisive role. Divorce is not common.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family is the most important social unit and has its own household. It is now more common for families to take in aged parents, whereas previously they were generally expected to fend for themselves.

Orphans or children of relatives who have more children than they can care for may be adopted by families with few or no children.

**Inheritance.** Property is divided among the surviving children, but usually that is very little. As people age, they usually have more needs than assets. Important religious objects are generally passed on to the oldest son for proper care.

**Socialization.** Children are cared for by the family, including older siblings. Children are expected to be independent and responsible for themselves. Chipaya life and ways are taught more by observation than by instruction. Only after marriage is a Chipaya able to participate fully in all aspects of community life.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The ayllu is the basic community social unit or organization. There is little social ranking among members.

**Political Organization.** Chipaya is a true democracy: participation is expected by all household units. Each year the ayllu chooses its chief mayor, *alcanti jilacata*, and its field mayor, *alcanti campo*, by casting lots between three candidates for each position. The chief mayor has general responsibility, whereas the field mayor is mainly responsible for fields and water. There are also civil authorities, such as the civil magistrate, *curjitura* (Spanish: *corregidor*), the civil agent, *ajinti* (Spanish: *agente*), and civil registrar, *rejistru civil* (Spanish: *registro civil*). Although the Bolivian government may consider them town authorities, these offices carry little inherent power. Another set of positions relates to community religious festivities. Despite the fact that the chief mayor is also a chief religious figure, each year the people choose those who will be responsible for the community festivals. Those festival leaders, in turn, choose two main helpers.

**Social Control.** To a large extent, social control is exercised by community and peer pressure. There is also a judicial system, however, that adjudicates between disputants. The state-appointed judges, always Chipaya, usually handle these disputes, but another Chipaya who is a civil authority may also be chosen to be the "judge" of a dispute.

**Conflict.** Most conflicts have been with adjacent Aymara over land and water rights. Being a small, hemmed-in group, however, the Chipaya have experienced a great deal of interayllu and interfamily conflict in the past.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Until very recently the chief religion was animism. Since the 1960s, worship of many gods and spirits—nature spirits, spirits associated with Catholic relics, etc.—has largely been replaced by worship of the Christian God. Most Chipaya are now associated with the Catholic Oblate Fathers, the Unión Cristiana Evangélica (a Bolivian evangelical denomination), or a group of Chilean Pentecostals.

**Religious Practitioners.** In the Christian groups there are usually about three men who share the leadership, one

being recognized as the main leader but with all regularly participating in leadership functions. In addition, any adult male may exercise some functions of leadership in the absence of the designated leaders. In the animistic religion, the leaders were chosen yearly. The *muyucamanaca*, those charged with the religious practices associated with the fields and assurance a good harvest, were also chosen yearly; they sacrificed animals from their own flocks. In addition, there were many who practiced shamanism, mediating between individuals and the spirit world.

**Ceremonies.** Apart from Christian ceremonies today, the traditional yearly cycle started at the end of July with major festivities and ceremonies. Other major times of ceremonies and festivities were around the end of the year (fertility rites) and just before Lent. It is possible that these times were originally governed by traditional astral lore. Each traditional community festival begins the previous evening with ceremonies and activities, and, for the general populace, concludes with a festival meal provided by the festival leaders. Traditionally, any sheep, llamas, and pigs were sacrificed—mostly sheep. A major festival required sacrifices of each kind of animal. Dancing, processions, and religious practices were common parts of community festivals. Other ceremonies were part of family religious practices.

**Arts.** Religious art does not play a major role, although each year the Chipaya do make figurines of sheep, llamas, and pigs that are used in some ceremonies. Chipaya art is best seen in the weaving. Woven bags reveal a sensitivity to color harmony. The men's and women's woven "purses" and the knit caps of infants, boys, and men also show artistic ability.

**Medicine.** Traditionally, illness was always connected with the spirit world. Native healers used ceremonies and medicinal herbs in the healing process. From another perspective, "hot" and "cold" elements are important to health, and certain foods and herbs are classified as "hot" or "cold." In the early 1980s a Chipaya studied rural health and secured the government-funded position in the local health center.

**Death and Afterlife.** The wake and the funeral service are simple but important in avoiding offense to the spirit of the dead. Burial is aboveground, in a tomb of sod blocks, plastered over with mud. Traditionally, a triangular-shaped opening in the top structure on the front of the grave was made to receive the offerings for the spirit of the dead. When wind and rain erode the tomb and the bones are exposed, they are ceremoniously placed in the *tshih khuya* (bone house). The Chipaya were very concerned about pleasing the spirits of the dead because they were believed to have the power to inflict harm on the living. It was important to observe the proper ceremonies, especially during the first three years after death.

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RONALD D. OLSON

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## Chiquitano

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ETHNONYMS: Chikito, Churapa, Cikitano, Manasi, Paica, Paumuca, Penoquiquia, Piñoca, Tamacoci, Tao, Tarapecosi, Zúbaca

The Chiquitano live in the eastern portion of the department of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, primarily in the provinces of Velasco, Ñuflo de Chávez, Chiquitos, and Sandoval. Some live across the border in Brazil as well. This is an ecologically transitional zone between the arid plains of the Chaco and the tropical forest.

Estimates of the Chiquitano population range from 15,000 to 45,000. They are divided into the following subgroups: Chirrapa, Paunaca, Napeca, Kitemoca, and Monococa. The Chiquitano language is unclassified with respect to language family.

The Chiquitano were first contacted in 1542 by Domingo Martínez de Irala, and by 1560 had been defeated by Ñuflo de Chávez. There were attempts to concentrate them in missions at this time, but by the end of the sixteenth century many had fled these missions and were raiding Spanish settlements. It was only after 1692, when the Jesuits founded the first mission in Chiquitano territory, that the Chiquitano went through radical social and economic changes. In the following years the Jesuits built ten missions, and by 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled, there were 37,000 Indians in these missions, of whom 23,780 were baptized. Different tribes were mixed in the missions, but because the Chiquitano were in the majority, the Jesuits used Chiquitano as the language of conversion, and it became the lingua franca in which the missionaries preached and into which they translated reli-

gious texts. Following the model of the *reducciones* of Paraguay, the Jesuits imposed a strict regime of work and prayer on the Indians, while they protected them from slavers who, by the end of the seventeenth century, were crossing the border from Brazil. Trained and led by the Jesuits, the Indians of the missions were able to resist many of these raids.

After the Jesuits were forced to leave, the missions became towns controlled by mestizos exploiting the labor of the Chiquitano who had become accustomed under the missionaries to disciplined work and economic dependency. The mestizos controlled the land and established farms and cattle ranches on which the Chiquitano lived and worked. Some Chiquitano abandoned the mission towns, however, and founded independent villages where many still live as subsistence farmers.

Beginning in the 1880s, rubber traders took thousands of Chiquitano north to tap rubber in the tropical forests under conditions of forced labor. By 1945, many who were trapped into debt peonage from which they could not escape had died from malaria, beriberi, overwork, and abuse. From 1945 to 1955 many of the Chiquitano were recruited to build the railway line from Santa Cruz to Corumbá in Brazil, and some still work on the railway. For this reason, the Chiquitano who live in the province of Chiquitos, where the railway runs, are the most assimilated.

Once largely dependent on foraging, the Chiquitano are now subsistence swidden horticulturists, wage laborers, and domestic servants. Those who live in all-Chiquitano villages and engage in subsistence horticulture (and who sell ocelot skins, rice, chickens, eggs, pigs, and hammocks) are far better off materially than those who work tapping rubber or as farm or cattle-ranch laborers. They still gather wild fruits and honey, but hunting is no longer important because most of the land is fenced for farms or cattle ranches, and the game has largely disappeared.

Traditionally, the Chiquitano raised sweet manioc, which was their staple crop, as well as maize, bitter manioc, peanuts, gourds, pumpkins, pineapples, and tobacco. They adopted rice and cacao from Whites. They used wooden digging sticks to till the soil. The hunting and fishing season began after the harvest and ended in August when work on the fields began.

The Chiquitano lived in small beehive-shaped huts that had very low doorways to restrict mosquito entrance; men slept on cotton hammocks, and women slept on the floor on mats or branches. Young men lived in special men's huts.

The Chiquitano used thorny hedges and poisoned caltrops to protect their villages. They also used palisades to defend themselves against the Spanish. The Chiquitano fought with bows and poisoned arrows and clubs, and they integrated prisoners into their society.

Chiefs were strong warriors who were counseled by older men. The Chiquitano practiced sororal polygyny, and chiefs were obliged to marry more than one wife because they had to have help to give the great feasts that the people expected of them.

Men who wished to marry had to prove that they could hunt well. Husbands could give their wives to other men. When a child was born, the father observed the *couvade*, and hunting certain animals was tabooed. A

woman did not resume sexual relations until after her child was weaned. The dead were buried with their food and weapons, and widows remarried.

Present-day Chiquitano villages are, to a great extent, self-governing communities. Each one has a chief and a council elected by the villagers for a term of three to five years. Those elected are often younger men, chosen for their ability to speak Spanish and deal with outsiders; however, they have little authority in village affairs. Chiquitano society is organized into sibs distinguished by having the same family name. Each sib is headed by its oldest member, whose authority is limited to the sib. Each coresident extended family also has a recognized head. When a young man marries, he moves into his wife's household and works for his father-in-law. Later the young couple may set up an independent household, but the relationship with the wife's family continues to be close. In broad terms, this political organization is that which prevailed under the Jesuits, with the outside civil authorities taking the place of the missionary fathers.

Labor exchange is an important element in community life. Work parties participate in building houses, clearing fields, and harvesting. The beneficiary of collective labor has the obligation to reciprocate when asked. Hosting a festival, which involves providing food and drink to the whole community, gives great prestige to the host family but functions as a leveling mechanism since it involves a great deal of expense. In their villages the Chiquitano hold religious processions and venerate the Catholic saints. The Catholicism practiced by the Chiquitano, however, is basically that which they acquired over 200 years ago from the Jesuits, modified by syncretism with their ancient religion. The Chiquitano memorized the religious texts that the Jesuits translated into their language and have transmitted them orally down to the present. In one folk tale, the Virgin Mary, with the infant Jesus, is fleeing from her enemies when she comes upon a Chiquitano village where the harvest has failed and the people are hungry. When they appeal to her for help, she takes from her robes a kernel of maize and plants it in the earth, where it grows miraculously to feed the people. Thus the Virgin becomes the culture hero who teaches the people to grow maize.

Shamans are powerful and respected figures who exercise a great deal of social control in Chiquitano society. The same individual may be regarded as a curing shaman by the members of his own sib or faction and as an evil sorcerer by members of opposing factions. Shamans derive their power by contact with spirits representing the forces of nature, demonstrating the continued strength of ancient beliefs. Both men and women can become shamans. For the Chiquitano, there are no natural causes of illness; rather it is brought about by the malevolence of a sorcerer who can make himself invisible or take on the form of an animal like a snake or a jaguar. Shamans have a great deal of empirical medical knowledge. They are experts in the use of medicinal herbs and management of childbirth. The most powerful method of curing is sucking from the patient's body the "cause of illness"—bits of bamboo, pebbles, ants, frogs, small snakes, or other noxious matter that the sorcerer has placed there.

According to Chiquitano belief, each element of nature has a master. There is a master of the waters, a master

of the mountains, a master of the plains, and a master of the forest. When a man goes fishing to assure success he must make an offering of tobacco leaves to the master of the waters. The Chiquitano interpret the lunar eclipse as the pursuit of the moon, which they also call "our mother," by peccaries. To frighten away the peccaries, they fire shotguns and release arrows into the air, otherwise the moon might be devoured. There is also a master of the animals who rides through the forest on the back of a tapir. He looks after the well-being of all the animals and attends to their souls when they die. The master of animals becomes angry if the hunter kills more animals than he needs to feed his family. The Chiquitano believe that if they take more than immediate necessity requires, the master of animals will send them no more game.

The Chiquitano, in spite of their long experience of contact with Bolivian mestizo society, resist assimilation and up to the present have preserved a strong ethnic identity.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Chiriguano

ETHNONYMS: Ava, Izoceño, Simba, Tapui, Tembete

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Chiriguano" is of foreign origin, most commonly believed to be of Quechuan derivation. A more probable explanation, however, is that this term refers to the mixed ethnic origin of the Chiriguano. Historically, the Chiriguano referred to themselves as "Ava" (men).

**Location.** Before the Conquest the Chiriguano occupied a vast territory that ranged from the upper Río Pilcomayo to the upper Río Grande in Bolivia. Presently, the Chiriguano are settled in dozens of communities in the foothills of the Bolivian Andes, in the Izozo region of Bo-

livia, and in several communities near the city of Santa Cruz. Other groups have settled, since the beginning of the twentieth century and particularly during the Chaco War (1932–1935), in border towns of Paraguay and in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy in northwest Argentina.

**Demography.** In the eighteenth century the total Chiriguano population was between 100,000 and 200,000. Today in Bolivia it is estimated at 22,000, in Argentina at about 21,000, and in Paraguay at approximately 3,000.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Chiriguano language belongs to the Tupi-Guaraní Family. All four Chiriguano ethnic groups (Ava, Izoceño, Simba, and Chane) speak the same language with slight differences in pronunciation and vocabulary.

### History and Cultural Relations

Present-day Chiriguano are the descendants of Guaraní people who migrated from Brazil, and of the Chane, an Arawak group. The Guaraní initiated a series of massive migrations that are known to have begun at the end of the fifteenth century. These migrations were driven by the desire to acquire metal objects and by messianic motives—the search for a mythical "land without evil"—and augmented because of internal conflict. Upon entering Bolivian territory, the Guaraní encountered the peaceful Chane. They reduced them to slavery, took their wives, and thus initiated a process of intermarriage. The result of the fusion of the Guaraní with the Chane is what we know as the Chiriguano. The Chiriguano were fierce warriors who conquered other ethnic groups and were not subjugated by the Inca Empire. Their relations with the Spanish and the Creoles were marked by warfare and uprisings, some of these characterized by their messianic tradition. The encounter with Whites, however, led to a drastic decimation of the population through warfare, slavery, and disease. Chiriguano were employed by White settlers on their large estates.

In 1892 the last great uprising took place, conducted by a Chiriguano known as Apiaguaiqui Tumpa, who was believed to possess supernatural power. He decided to fight against the settlers and reinstall the traditional Chiriguano life-style, but the local government sent in troops from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Apiaguaiqui was killed, and the uprising was suppressed. The Chiriguano have been subjected to concerted efforts at conversion. Since colonial times the Jesuits and then the Franciscans have established missions throughout Chiriguano territory. At first the Chiriguano burned the missions, but eventually the Franciscans were successful in establishing a vast network of mission stations that lumped groups together and instituted schools and agricultural production. In the nineteenth century (as a result of the political and economic situation of Bolivia), the missions underwent a period of economic and organizational crisis and finally collapsed. Present-day Chiriguano are divided into two major groups: the Ava Guaraní, who inhabit the foothills of the Andes, and the Izoceño, who inhabit the Izozo region and are considered to have a greater Chane influence in their culture. The two minor groups include the traditional Simba, who inhabit a village in the Andean foothills, and the Chane of Argentina, who are completely Guaranitized. Chiriguano

communities have few mestizo inhabitants; although permitted, intermarriage with Whites and mestizos is infrequent.

### Settlements

In aboriginal and early contact times Chiriguano settlements were villages along rivers. Each settlement was formed by one or several *malocas* (communal long houses), which could be inhabited by up to 300 people. Population density was high; villages ranged from 50 to up to 1,000 inhabitants. Towns had a large central plaza used for religious festivities and assemblies. The influence of Chane culture and contact with the missionaries and Whites changed the housing structure to small-household, extended-family units, which persist today. The traditional Chiriguano house was of wattle-and-daub construction, with a pitched roof of thatch reeds or poles. A storehouse for maize and other crops was built on piles near the dwelling. Currently, the same type of construction exists side by side with houses made of adobe brick and zinc roofs. Each village features a small primary school, a dispensary, and a grocery cooperative or several small grocery stores. In most Chiriguano villages there is neither running water nor electricity.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Chiriguano were traditionally horticulturists and hunter-gatherers. They incorporated new methods of cultivation from the Chane. The Ava Chiriguano are settled in a rich agricultural area, although water is scarce. The Izoceño inhabit an arid region of the Gran Chaco, where strong winds, erosion, and a lack of water hinder agricultural production. The former inhabitants of the region, the Chane, developed a system of irrigation, digging canals up to 5 kilometers long from the river to the fields, thus providing a source of water to improve productivity. Nowadays the Chiriguano practice swidden agriculture and complement their diet with fishing during the rainy season and hunting. Fruit collecting, which was an important source of food, has diminished in certain communities as a result of cultural and ecological changes. The most important crops are maize, beans, and squash, which constitute the basis of the Chiriguano diet. Other plants, such as sweet potatoes and manioc, complement the diet. Vegetables such as tomatoes, cabbage, lettuce, and onions have been introduced through contact with the missionaries, White settlers, and development agencies. The Chiriguano also raise chickens, turkeys, sheep, and goats.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the Chiriguano have migrated in search of work, which they could not find in their homeland. Hundreds of Chiriguano families migrated to northern Argentina to work on the farms and sugarcane plantations. This migration, which constitutes an important aspect of their society, has produced numerous changes in the culture. Because of the economic crisis in Argentina, the Chiriguano do not migrate there anymore, but to the cotton and sugarcane harvest near Santa Cruz de la Sierra and to northern Bolivia for work in the timber mills. These temporary migrations, which in some cases last up to six months, have produced

a deterioration in local agricultural production. Nongovernmental development agencies have been implementing development projects to revitalize agriculture and allow people to obtain a source of income in their communities without having to migrate or depend upon *patrones* (employers).

**Industrial Arts.** Aboriginal crafts included basket weaving, pottery, and loom weaving. Today, weaving of fishing nets and bags persists and loom weaving of hammocks, ponchos, and handbags constitutes an important source of income for many women. Chiriguano weaving, especially that in the Izozo region, is well known for its quality and designs.

**Trade.** Precolonial trade was maintained between the Chiriguano and other ethnic groups. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Chane served as intermediaries to the Guaraní, trading metal objects made in the highlands. Until the 1940s trade continued to take place between different groups. The Izoceño would trade their weavings to the Ava in exchange for corn. Cheese and salt were important tradegoods.

**Division of Labor.** Women attend to household chores; in the fields they do the harvesting and planting of beans, squash, and watermelon. Men are responsible for hunting, fishing (women also participate in fishing but to a smaller degree), and clearing, burning, and planting of the fields. Women prepare food, raise the children, and weave. In some Ava communities women participate more actively in agricultural tasks. When a Chiriguano family migrates, the men and the male children work the fields. Women usually stay at home engaging in household activities.

**Land Tenure.** After contact Chiriguano territory was reduced, and since then there has been constant conflict over the right to obtain land titles, which the Chiriguano have struggled for a long time to obtain. They have gone to the capital of Bolivia in epic walks, hoping to impel officials to initiate the paperwork. Land titles were obtained for some communities—the agrarian reform of 1952 helped to some degree, but it has been manipulated and incorrectly implemented. This, together with the difficult ecological conditions and reduced access to roads and transportation, has caused the Chiriguano to lose some of their good lands. Most Izoceño communities have obtained communal land titles, whereas the Ava and Simba communities are still struggling with government bureaucracies. In northern Argentina most communities are under the jurisdiction of the missions and are involved in obtaining land titles.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Chiriguano society was based on the principle of an exogamous patrilineage living in a *maloca* (the smallest settlement unit). Each lineage held and allocated lands, maintained a system of alliances, regulated marriage, established reciprocity, and controlled conflict among lineage members. After colonial times uxorilocality replaced virilocality; patrilineality was maintained and villages continued to be constituted by extended-family groups.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is of the Hawaiian type.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** In the traditional marriage system members of the mother's and father's lineage were forbidden as marriage partners. Marriages were monogamous with the exception of two leaders who had the right to several wives. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, in order for a man to be accepted by a woman, he had to leave a log of firewood in front of her house. If she accepted him she would take the log into the house; if not, she would not touch the firewood. A welcome suitor had to talk with the woman's parents and provide them with game and crops. Uxorilocal residence was preferred; the young couple would build their house near that of the bride's parents. Nowadays, there is no specified residence pattern, marriage is by mutual accord of the couple, and divorce is common.

**Domestic Unit.** Extended families in three-generation households are still common.

**Inheritance.** In the 1980s property was passed to all of the sons and daughters. A will was written with specific instructions as to the inheritance of property and possessions. Preference was given to the last-born child.

**Socialization.** Children are raised permissively. Both parents participate actively in the raising of the children, as do the members of the extended-family group. Grandparents play an important role in the upbringing of children. Overt and direct expressions of hostility and aggression are discouraged. Children are rarely beaten. Modern children attain a better level of education than that of their parents and are learning to speak Spanish as a second language with a higher degree of fluency.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Chiriguano society was organized on the basis of the *maloca*, followed by the *tenda* (village) and the *guara* (a group of villages). Each local group was a homogenous entity, with no internal division, but there was specialization by sex, age, and kinship position. Some groups were wealthier and more powerful than others. The *maloca* was under the authority of a head of household or family group. Chiriguano society conferred status on a group of men known as the *queremba*, who were specialized warriors. They enjoyed greater privileges and prestige, as did shamans and leaders. As a rule, they did not participate in political affairs. Although some women are known to have been leaders, women in general were preoccupied with household and economic activities. Institutionalized slavery began with the domination of the Chane.

**Political Organization.** Chiriguano society continues to maintain a strong political organization based on the traditional system. Single Chiriguano towns were under the leadership of a *mburuvicha* or *tubicha* (chief), whereas a group of several villages was governed by a *mburuvicha guasu* or *tubicha mburuvicha* (paramount chief). The specific characteristic of this system is that the chiefs do not hold the power of coercion; they cannot give orders, make decisions, or compel people to obey. Instead, all the men of the village or group of villages must take decisions to-

gether in an assembly. The principal role of the chief was as peace mediator, gift giver, and orator. The present political system of the Chiriguano is known as the *capitania* (*capitán* in Spanish means "captain"). The *capitania* is a well-structured organization, composed of chiefs, advisers, and mayors. Chiriguano chiefs must acquiesce to the demands of the people, and they are well known in Chiriguano history for their struggle to obtain land titles and other benefits for the communities. The position of the *mburuvicha guasu* is patrilineally inherited. The local chiefs are democratically elected by the community. If a chief does not fulfill his obligations, he may be discharged from his position.

**Social Control.** Gossip, ostracism, social withdrawal, and eschewing face-to-face conflict have always been important forms of social control. Witchcraft continues to be practiced in Chiriguano society, and fear of witchcraft remains a powerful form of social control. The political organization of the Chiriguano acts as a judicial system: it judges and applies sanctions in cases of breach of the law (e.g., robbery, gossip, invasion of lands). Federal courts intervene in cases such as homicides.

**Conflict.** The major source of conflict in Chiriguano society has been their relations with White settlers. Some Chiriguano joined the missions and others worked for the White settlers, but another group waged a permanent war. Conflicts over land as well as labor exploitation persist. The introduction of evangelical sects in the Chiriguano communities since the beginning of the nineteenth century is a source of division between evangelists and Catholics. The Catholics are traditionalists and want to maintain the traditional beliefs and religious festivities and support the shamans. Conflicts regarding traditional and political matters are frequent.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Native beliefs in zootheistic deities were guided by a deep faith in supernatural forces. In spite of the persistent influence of Christian missionaries, the Chiriguano still hold on to the basic tenets of their beliefs; nevertheless, they do acknowledge a principal creator God. This belief in a Supreme Being is a result of early missionization; however, the traditional Chiriguano pantheon includes numerous spirit beings of various kinds. Spirits are believed to have created the world and to be the guardians of plants, animals, rivers, stars, and so on. Evangelical sects have a profound influence and have been able to replace some traditional beliefs, although the Chiriguano have maintained their large corpus of myths and tales.

**Religious Practitioners.** Chiriguano shamans were known to be powerful; they acted as intermediaries between humans and the deities and had the power to cure, attract the rain, or stop pestilence. They exercised influence on the chiefs and on the general decision-making process of a village. They had immense prestige and privileges. Today they continue to exert influence, although in villages where the majority is evangelical, their role is diminishing. Chiriguano evangelical pastors are an important

factor in the evangelization of the Chiriguano. They are beginning to exert a political role.

**Ceremonies.** The *arete*, or feast, was a ceremony related to the maize harvest, among other things. This feast was transformed into the Carnival but maintained many of its traditional elements. Men wear wooden masks and costumes depicting the ancestors and animals spirits returning to meet with their relatives. Easter has been transformed by the Chiriguano, through the incorporation of dancing and singing.

**Arts.** Music and singing in the Guaraní language occurred during all the Chiriguano festivals; these genres persist, but with the influence of colonial music. Native instruments such as flutes and drums have been retained, but the violin and the guitar have been incorporated.

**Medicine.** Disease is understood as the result of natural forces (wind, heat, cold), supernatural forces (spirits of the forest or of the river), or witchcraft. Curing techniques consist of herbal medicines, sucking, massage, diagnosis by blowing tobacco, and long therapeutic séances to drive out the evil. Witchcraft is believed to be a basic cause of illness, death, or any other misfortune. The shaman is the only one who can counteract the evil power of the witch. Western medicine has been introduced, and both systems persist side by side.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is believed to be the result of disease, spirits of nature, or witches. There is a belief in an afterworld, to which souls go. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the deceased were buried in funerary urns under the house. After death, the soul was believed to go to a heavenlike place after a hazardous journey. Present-day Chiriguano have incorporated Christian beliefs regarding the afterlife.

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SILVIA MARIA HIRSCH

## Chocó

**ETHNONYMS:** For the Catio: Embena, Epera, Eyabida, Katio. For the Northern Emberá: Atrato, Bedea, Cholo, Darién, Dariena, Ebera, Eberá, Emberá, Emberak, Empera, Panama Emberá. For the Waunana: Chanco, Chocama, Noanama, Noenama, Nonama, Wounaan, Woun Meu

The term "Chocó" refers to several different regional groups living on the northern Pacific coast of Colombia and the eastern part of Darién Province in Panama. All Chocó people refer to themselves as "Embena" (people) and speak languages belonging to the Paezan Family. At the time of the Conquest there were two major groups in the Pacific lowlands of Colombia: the Embirá living along the upper San Juan and Atrato rivers, and the Waunana on the lower San Juan. Both groups, who speak related languages, became known as "Chocó" to the colonizers. Owing to both post-Conquest and more recent migrations the Chocó peoples are now geographically dispersed and live in many different environments. Some are highly acculturated, but the most isolated hold to many of their traditional customs. Since World War II, some Colombian Chocó have intermarried with the local Black population, whereas others have moved further into the forests to avoid Blacks. Still others have moved to Chocó areas in Panama.

One Chocó group, the Catio, numbers between 15,000 and 20,000, nearly all of whom live on the San Jorge, San Pedro, Murri, and upper Sinú rivers in Colombia. Approximately 7,000 to 8,000 Northern Emberá live in Panama, and another 2,000 live in Colombia in the Río Atrato area. Three thousand of a total of 6,000 Waunana live in Panama, and the rest live in Colombia in the Río San Juan Basin in Chocó Province. The Caramanta are several thousand highly acculturated Indians dwelling in the Cauca Valley of Colombia; in the mid-1990s they live much as the nearby mestizos do, and very few speak the Caramanta language.

The Chocó had their first contact with Whites in 1511 when they met Balboa, whose intrusion they resisted. Later, in 1654, Spanish missions were established to concentrate Chocó populations and convert them to Christianity; many Chocó fled from the missions into upriver areas.

Chocó people traditionally were subsistence swidden horticulturists living in the extremely rainy tropical forests of the Pacific lowlands. Because felled vegetation seldom dried out enough to burn, the Chocó practiced a type of agriculture known as "slash and mulch" unique to the wet American tropics. Those who have migrated to dryer regions practice the more usual slash-and-burn agriculture. They raise plantains, bananas, sweet manioc, maize, and sugarcane, but no tobacco or cotton. Only one crop of maize is grown after a field is cleared; in the second season it is planted with bananas, which bear for three years, after which the field is fallowed. In some areas rice, beans, and tree crops such as cacao have been added to the traditional



repertoire. The Chocó also keep dogs, pigs, chickens, and ducks as domestic animals.

In most areas, hunting and fishing are important activities that confer male prestige in addition to providing food. Hunting is solitary, usually with a shotgun and a dog. In mountain regions the blowgun is still commonly used. Two types of poisons are used to tip blowgun darts: one is a vegetable poison that affects the heart, and the other is derived from a species of frog. The most common game species are deer, peccaries, armadillos, agoutis, monkeys, and several kinds of birds.

The Chocó use many different techniques in fishing: hook and line, harpoons, casting nets, *barbasco* poison, and, most recently, diving with a mask.

The Chocó do not have clans or lineages; relatives on both the maternal and paternal sides are recognized equally. Local communities are formed of households linked by family ties. Houses are dispersed, usually strung along a river or a path. The Chocó live in round wall-less houses built on pilings. Inside, they have bark-cloth mats for sleeping and hammocks for children, as well as wooden seats and mosquito nets.

Postmarital residence changes from patrilocal (the ideal) to matrilocal and back because both women and men own gardening land; some time is spent in the husband's family's household working his lands before going to the wife's household to tend to her crops. The household's oldest male is its leader.

Community members have obligations of mutual aid and celebrate festivals together. Work groups of about ten men cooperate in the tasks of felling trees and clearing fields; the householder for whom the party works provides food and drink for all. Men, women, and children work as a group to harvest maize from one another's fields, but most other farm work is done by the members of each individual household. There is no collective ownership of land, but local groups discourage people without recognized kin ties from settling in the community. Kin terminology varies: some Emberá use the same term for siblings and cousins, fathers and uncles, aunts and mothers—the so-called Hawaiian system—whereas other Emberá use the Eskimo system, which distinguishes each type of relative with a different term.

The survival of the Chocó is related to the flexibility of their social system, which permits the joint migration of small family-related groups that reconstitute themselves in a new territory. The Chocó are accustomed to traveling considerable distances in dugout canoes to appraise possible sites for new fields and villages and to perform obligations incurred through intervillage marriages. Shamans travel the greatest distances, even going so far as to visit Kayapa Indians in Ecuador.

At the time of the Conquest and under the early colonial administration, Chocó groups were led by warrior chiefs who opportunistically formed alliances with other chiefs to combat a common enemy, often the Spanish; but the dispersion of the population undermined the authority of the chiefs and eventually destroyed political cohesion.

Chocó shamans are primarily healers and ritual leaders without political authority. They seek to contact and control spirits related to aspects of human welfare, such as health and abundance of game. Anyone can acquire

shamanic powers through apprenticeship to a shaman who transmits these powers, represented by a wooden baton carved with anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures, in an all-night initiation ceremony. A shaman may add to his powers by apprenticing to different shamans, so the number of batons he owns indicates his experience.

Traditionally, children were painted black shortly after birth. When they reached approximately 1 year of age, children took part in a ritual in which a shaman gave them a guardian spirit and a doll for it to live in. Only girls had puberty rituals—they were secluded and had to observe food taboos. Women gave birth in the forest, and men were forbidden to attend. The dead were interred in a chamber dug in the earth.

Besides shamanic rituals, the Chocó celebrate many other festivals such as a child's baptism, the raising of a new house, or the maize harvest. Men and women attend wearing face paint and elaborately adorned with beadwork and necklaces. They pass the day and evening in singing, dancing, and drinking homemade maize beer and fermented cane juice. The traditional Chocó musical instrument was the panpipe made in various sizes; later they adopted the flute and drums, and music with a Spanish influence is often played.

Chocó crafts are highly developed. Pottery making is dying out, but Chocó women make baskets for many different uses, and nowadays they are often sold at craft fairs. Men are expert wood carvers but usually for domestic or ritual purposes. Both sexes make beadwork. When river or road transport permits, the Chocó often participate in the local economy, bringing agricultural products like maize and bananas to market.

In the 1990s many Chocó traditional lands are under pressure from settlers, and some Chocó have lost their land and become laborers. In reaction, the Chocó have formed regional organizations to cooperate in the defense of their land and cultural values.

See also Emberá; Noanamá

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## Chorote

ETHNONYMS: Choroti, Soloti, Tsoloti, Xolota, Yofuaha, Yowuxua, Yoxuaxa

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The name "Chorote" or "Choroti" is probably of Chiriguano-Guaraní origin and is used in the Argentinian and Bolivian-Paraguayan Chaco. The Chorote call themselves "Yoxuaxa," which probably means "those who eat doves." In contemporary settlements on the Río Pilcomayo they are also identified as "Téuak Lhele" (river people) and "Lhimnal Lhele" (forest people), alluding to their native ecological niches.

**Location.** Until the second half of the seventeenth century the Chorote lived in the southern Chaco on the right bank of the middle Río Bermejo. Punitive expeditions during the late colonial period forced the displacement of the Chorote to the left bank of the Pilcomayo. Today they are found on both shoulders of the middle Pilcomayo and in the central-western Paraguayan Chaco. The climate is tropical of the dry-rainy type, characterized by marked seasonal precipitation.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Chorote language belongs to the Mataka-Macá Family of the Macro-Guaycurú Stock. At present there are at least two dialects: one predominates in the Pilcomayo area and the other in the interior of Paraguay.

**Demography.** In 1980 the Chorote population was estimated at 1,200, with 830 in Argentina and 370 in Paraguay. Estimates made in the 1920s varied between 2,000 and 2,500 persons.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the ethnic groups whose territories bordered on that of the Chorote were the Toba, the Chiriguano, and the Tapieté to the west and northwest; the Ayoreo to the north; the Nivaclé to the east and southeast and the Matabo-Guisnay to the south. With the exceptions of frequent intermarriage and commercial and military alliances with the Nivaclé and the Tapieté, Chorote relations with the surrounding groups continued to be hostile during this period. Then expeditions sent out by the Bolivian government to reconnoiter and pacify Chaco territory added to the growing pressure exerted by cattle ranchers, resulting in opportune extensions of intertribal alliances to resist occupation. Spreading occupation reduced indigenous lands, however, and brought the Indians into permanent contact with the dominant society. The Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia (1932–1935) impelled the Chorote to move continuously, and, at the end of the war, they were forced to settle in evangelical missions in Argentina and Mennonite settlements and Catholic missions in Paraguay. Because of systematic demands by native minorities of the Chaco, which began in the 1950s, government legislation was implemented in the 1980s for the recognition of native communities' territorial rights. Some land has been ceded to

indigenous peoples through Law 23302/1984 (Argentina) and the Estatuto de Comunidades Indígenas (Statute of Indigenous Communities) Law 904/1980 (Paraguay).

### *Settlements*

In aboriginal times the Chorote had two types of settlements: semisedentary villages for the rainy season and temporary camps for the dry season. The most densely settled villages were established on the bank of the Pilcomayo or the lakes of the interior, on cleared land above the flood level. The huts were arranged in a circle, and access openings were oriented toward a central plaza where ritual and sports activities took place. In contrast to the marked tendency toward concentration and sedentary life-style characteristic of the rainy season, there was the contrary practice—during most of the dry season—of fragmentation into family units and more prolonged and continuous shifting, using temporary camps. In settling the Chorote in missions and prevalently multiethnic settlements, the ideal circular pattern of ancient villages was often replaced by a linear-type pattern at the same time that dome-shaped huts were partially replaced by dwellings made of modern materials.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Chorote were basically hunters and gatherers, but they complemented their subsistence needs with fishing and horticulture. In hunting, tapir and three kinds of peccaries constituted the main prey. Collecting honey and gathering wild fruits also provided a good part of the Chorote diet. The most widely disseminated cultigens were several kinds of pumpkins, bitter manioc, and maize. Socioeconomic activities followed a characteristic seasonal rhythm of abundance and scarcity. The time of greatest abundance of resources was from September until February, facilitating the convergence of various bands in the semisedentary villages for the collection of wild fruits and the performance of agricultural tasks. After a period of great scarcity, which compelled the bands to divide and lead an intensely nomadic life, fish became relatively abundant during June and July. This allowed the river people and, to a lesser degree, the forest people, a secondary permanence on the banks of the Pilcomayo. With contact came the incorporation of new cultigens and domestic animals such as chickens, pigs, goats, and sheep. Raising animals partially compensated for the reduction in game caused by the advancing frontier of colonization.

From the beginning of the twentieth century, temporary wage earning in the sugar mills of northwestern Argentina definitively incorporated the natives into the market economy, creating new needs for them. Prolonged stays in the mills directly exposed the natives to the dominant society's forces of change, dazzling them with and making them desirous of new goods. Since that time, they have adopted manufactured food, alcoholic drinks, weapons, sewing machines, bicycles, watches, and so forth. In the 1960s the mechanization of the mills reduced the demand for less-qualified workers. Some Chorote reoriented themselves toward temporary work in agro-industrial enterprises in Mennonite colonies of the Paraguayan Chaco. For

those who reinstalled themselves in villages of the middle Pilcomayo, commercial fishing provides a source of income that, as opposed to wage earning, facilitates permanent residence and the strengthening of community relations. The sale of handicrafts also adds some income.

**Industrial Arts.** Traditional handicrafts include pottery, woodworking, net making, and weaving.

**Trade.** In aboriginal times the Chorote acted as intermediaries in an extensive net of commercial relations that connected the groups of the Chaco with those of the southern Andean piedmont. During the first decades of the twentieth century, together with the Nivaclé, they monopolized the commercialization of old iron throughout the entire Chaco.

**Division of Labor.** Before contact Chorote men were responsible for hunting, collecting honey, fishing, and horticulture, as well as the manufacture of tools and weapons. Warlike and commercial activities were also basically male tasks. Women gathered wild plants and harvested the crops for processing and storage. They built the huts, prepared the meals, and raised the children. Nowadays they continue to make bags, pottery, and some clothing. However, because of the decline in natural resources and the greater importance of male work—wage earning and commercial fishing—female tasks have become restricted to the home.

**Land Tenure.** In ancient times each band had hunting, gathering, and fishing territories that were recognized, although sometimes disputed. The advance of the cattle-raising sector forced the Indians to share their lands with Creoles whose principle livestock (cattle, horses, mules), apart from destroying Indians fields, has changed the distribution of natural resources. The Chaco War and the consequent sale and concession of large tracts of land by the Paraguayan government forced the Chorote to concentrate in missions. The missionaries were able to rescue some land for the Indians and ensure their survival. In the 1980s the Argentinian and Paraguayan governments began giving land titles to various indigenous communities.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Chorote society was formerly divided into bilateral, exogamous bands, consisting of a small number of extended families. Members of each band considered themselves to be related, although kinship links appear to have been more created than real in the sense of being genealogically traceable. The essential functions of each band were regulating marriage, maintaining autonomy, and exercising some control over interpersonal conflicts or those between extended families. The latter could generate fissioning processes within bands. Intensified contact with White society and settlement in missions and colonies produced the fusion of different bands in the same village. In the few surviving villages with a circular plan, two factions that are distributed relatively symmetrically coexist, and the members of each tend to marry those of the opposite faction. It is not clear whether this is a survival of an ancient dual organization or, what is more probable, a recent convergence toward dual principles because of a social and dialectal convergence of riverine and forest groups.

**Kinship Terminology.** Chorote kinship terminology, which is of the Hawaiian type, is characterized by its range of classificatory principles.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Marriage within the band was traditionally prohibited. The scope of exogamy extended to friendly ethnic groups, especially the Nivaclé and the Tapieté. After resettlement, the tendency to ethnic exogamy expanded to include other indigenous groups as well as Creoles, especially in multiethnic villages. Divorce continues to be accepted, and can be initiated by either spouse.

**Domestic Unit.** The domestic unit together with age-grades were the essential articulations of the social system. Heads of families were traditionally able to impose their decisions on the leader of the band. The matrilocal extended family, normally including three generations, continues to predominate; there are also patrilocal units and nuclear families. The emergence of the nuclear family is a consequence of migrant work and wage earning since the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Socialization.** Children were and are raised permissively and their personal autonomy is furthered. As repositories of knowledge and guides to behavior, grandparents were formerly the main socializing agents. Such preeminence must be linked to the system of hierarchical age-grades, according to the principle that age confers status and prestige. The confrontation of formal education with the informal education imparted by elders has resulted in a progressive displacement of enculturative responsibilities to the parental generation, given the fact that the latter interact more smoothly within the regional/national context.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The core of traditional Chorote social organization was a system of hierarchical age-grades. The successive grades (children, youths, adults, and elders) had specific roles, obligations, and privileges. The elders regulated and oriented the remaining age-grades. Women occupied a position of relative equality with men. The growing interaction with the regional society has affected the traditional division of labor between the sexes, however, lowering women's influence and status.

**Political Organization.** Despite a marked tendency toward egalitarianism, political fragmentation, and the autonomy of each domestic group, in ancient times two levels of chieftainship coexisted: a local or band level and a supralocal or subtribal level. Although the office of the first type tended to be hereditary, the election and eventual substitution of supralocal leaders depended on band leaders and the heads of domestic groups. Their decisions in this regard were based on the negotiating ability and warrior prestige of the candidates because this type of leadership tended to define itself in the context of intergroup hostility, which made the candidate's coercive ability a determining factor. Even so, the power of both types of leaders was based more on consensus than on coercion, as indicated by the requirements of equanimity, generosity, and oratorical talent. Permanent interaction with the dominant society slowly undermined traditional chieftainship.

Outsiders frequently imposed local leaders, although these were chosen in part for their linguistic skills and their abilities to mediate in economic, political, and/or religious affairs.

**Social Control.** Traditional Chorote society furthered personal autonomy and offered its members several options for manifesting dissent, making social control quite flexible. Furthermore, by permitting the overt expression of feelings and states of mind—changeable as these might be—the probability of uncontrollable episodes was greatly diminished. Impositions by the dominant society have tended to restrict the variety of stratagems an individual can rely on, making for a more rigid system of social control. Frequent accusations of sorcery are one consequence of the inflexibility of the imposed forms of social control.

**Conflict.** In aboriginal times interethnic hostilities were the most violent type of conflict and had as their main objective the obtaining of enemy scalps. Scalps and other trophies gave their owners prestige, allowing them to compete for supralocal leadership. Intraethnic fighting expressly excluded scalping and was oriented toward more immediate and profitable objectives like control over fishing sites. Beyond the local group, relations with other Chorote units varied constantly between aggressiveness and alliance. This tendency toward fragmentation reaffirmed the principles of autonomy and local personal initiative. The fragility of internal bonds, together with the persistence of old interethnic rivalry, kept the Chorote from mounting a cohesive resistance movement against invading settlers. In this context, the Chorote formed relatively stable alliances only with the Tapieté and the Nivaclé, opting for occasional coalitions with the Chiriguano, the Toba, and the Mataco. Conflicts over landownership and exploitation of natural resources persist, mainly in the form of disputes between the native population and Creole settlers.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The core of traditional religious belief is expressed through a dialectic between principles of chaos that existed in mythical times and principles of order in contemporary times. This dialectic between processes of disintegration and reintegration involves the social as well as the natural order. The synthesis between native and Christian belief—internalized through systematic Anglican and Pentecostal evangelization since the 1940s—is clearly a redefinition of such processes in ethnic terms. The sinfulness of the “ancient beliefs” is compared to the virtue of the “new beliefs.”

In its native form, the Chorote religion may have been without the concept of a Supreme Being. Recognized, however, were a group of deities that personified the dialectics of chaos/order, through the fusion—in the same deity—of a “trickster” profile with characteristics typical of demiurges. The polarization between what is divine and diabolical, encouraged by Christianization, resulted in a hierarchical ordering of ancient deities. Such an arrangement is the outcome of emphasizing either the demiurgic or trickster aspect of a deity.

**Religious Practitioners.** Religious roles were traditionally acquired either through the deliberate channel of sha-

manism or nondeliberately through reaching old age. In actual practice, one recognizes a difference in power between officiating “shamans” and “old men,” and in their ability to cure and divine. The training of indigenous pastors by Anglican missionaries, who often assigned them political responsibilities as well, led to a rivalry between modern religious leaders and traditional ones and between religious and secular leaders. These rivalries, combined with the lack of persistent fellowship among the constituents, have led to greater factionalism.

**Ceremonies.** The Carob Festival, which was held in spring, at the same time that many other wild fruits ripen, was the most important traditional ceremony. Its purpose was to promote natural and human renovation and to enhance intergroup sociability. Among other constituent rituals of this festival were those pertaining to fermented drinks, scalps, victory dances, and dances of the young people. Missionaries were shocked by the festival’s orgiastic aspects and succeeded in suppressing it. A fundamental rite of passage was the female initiation, which signaled a young woman’s achievement of social and sexual maturity. The ceremony contained a dual set of symbols, through which the initiate experienced the antithetical processes of death and gestation and the contrast between the undifferentiated status of adolescence and the differentiation characteristic of adulthood.

**Medicine.** Sickness results from either the manifestation of some vital principle eventuated by shamanic malevolence, the transgression of a taboo, or from the invasion of the body by a harmful agent emitted by a shaman. The curing ritual, in which shamans and elders cooperate, features magical flight, fighting between helping spirits, chanting, blowing, and massaging. Although harshly repressed by the first generation of missionaries, shamanic practices have been revived since the 1980s and coexist with certain practices of Western clinical medicine.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death and sundry illnesses are ascribed to certain dualistic deities and particularly to shamans. Death is the means of access to a definitive state of being and power, implying the transformation of the deceased into one of a class of mainly negative deities (*thlamó*) that live in a monotonous and dark subterranean world.

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ALEJANDRA SIFFREDI  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Cinta Larga

ETHNONYMS: Baatpétamãe, Maatpétamãe

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Cinta Larga" is a name coined by non-Indian local people; it refers to the long bast ribbons members of this group wear around their waists.

**Location.** The traditional territory of the Cinta Larga is in Brazil, probably extending from an area on the left bank of the Rio Juruena, near the Rio Vermelho, to the headwaters of the Mirim Juina; from the headwaters of the Rio Aripuanã to the Dardanelos Falls; they live at the headwaters of the Tenente Marques and Capitão Cardoso rivers and in the vicinity of the Eugênia, Amarelo, Amarelinho, Guariba, Branco do Aripuanã, and Roosevelt rivers. The area includes parts of the states of Rondônia and Mato Grosso, approximately between 59° and 61° W and 10° and 12° S. Nowadays the lands of the Cinta Larga are part of the Aripuanã Indigenous Park, which has an area of 3.6 million hectares.

**Demography.** In 1969 the Cinta Larga population was estimated at around 2,000 people. In 1981 their number did not surpass 500 (a generous estimate). The main causes of population loss are epidemic diseases (e.g., measles, tuberculosis, hepatitis, malaria), conflicts with non-Indian invaders, and unreliable health assistance from the federal government.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Cinta Larga language belongs to the Tupí Mondé Family of the Tupí Language Stock.

### History and Cultural Relations

Until 1969 the Cinta Larga lived isolated in the forest, engaging in occasional hostilities with prospectors, rubber tappers, and others who invaded their territory. During this time, the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI), a governmental agency responsible for Indian policy, conducted several expeditions to attract the Indians, who, as of 1973, began to have regular contact with government agents and sporadic contact with the local population. Prior to contact with non-Indian elements, the Cinta Larga lived in a state of war with their neighbors to the east, the Rikbaktsa, and to the south, the Nambicuara. Since 1973 Cinta Larga territory has been invaded by prospectors, settlement projects, roads, hydroelectric plants, and lumber mills. Yet in the

late 1980s there were still reports of Cinta Larga who lived in isolation.

### Settlements

A Cinta Larga village traditionally consisted of a single communal house occupied by an agnatic lineage. As a consequence of intensified contact with representatives of the national (i.e., nonindigenous) society, the Cinta Larga founded, near FUNAI posts, villages composed of nuclear families belonging to different lineages. Both kinds of settlements are found—nucleated villages near FUNAI landing strips and individual houses scattered in the forest according to the traditional pattern. These patterns of concentration and dispersal are partially regulated by internal relations between families and by contact between Indians and FUNAI. Friction and disagreement encourage dispersal.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Cinta Larga are hunters. Hunting is not their main source of food, but it is central to their ceremonial life and a strong focal point of tribal reference and identification. Peccaries are the most highly prized game; however, a large variety of other animals is also hunted, including spotted covies, monkeys, tapir, alligators, and larger birds like curassows. The Cinta Larga also fish and collect honey, grubs, Brazil nuts, and fruit. In family plots that vary from 1 to 2 hectares, they cultivate maize, manioc, potatoes, yams, and peanuts. After contact some villagers began to plant beans and rice. They practice slash-and-burn cultivation; the same tract of land is used for two or three years and then abandoned. In 1980 the Cinta Larga began to extract rubber and gather Brazil nuts with a view toward their commercialization. Monetary returns are limited owing to the isolation of the area, the difficulty of transportation, and the small-scale production.

**Industrial Arts.** Native handicrafts include basketry and the fashioning of bows and arrows, necklaces of *tucum*-palm nuts, bracelets of palm nuts and monkey teeth, feather ornaments for head and arms, hammocks, straw or jaguar-skin ornaments, flutes, mortars, spindles, perforators, resin lip ornaments, and other less important items.

**Division of Labor.** Male activities are hunting, fishing, felling trees and preparing the land for cultivation, constructing houses, clearing the forest in the vicinity of the village, extracting latex, and making bows, arrows, flutes, and feather ornaments. Women gather, spin cotton and *tucum*-palm fiber, make nets and ceramic artifacts, harvest field products, prepare meals, and make necklaces and bracelets. Men and women jointly collect honey and nuts and plant the fields.

**Land Tenure.** The land belongs to the residents of the village, and each family keeps one area for its own fields. Members of the same subgroup who live in other villages have free access to the land, as do affinal relations.

### Kinship

Almost all social activity is regulated by kinship. There is evidence that the so-called subgroups (Kabã, Kakĩ, and Mã) are clans. The filiation of each is patrilineal.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Cinta Larga are polygynous. The preferred form of marriage is between a man and his sister's daughter, who is generally given in marriage before reaching puberty (between 8 and 9 years of age). It is then up to her husband to continue her socialization and to initiate her sexually. This marriage is different from others because it involves a ceremony that is rich in ritual. It is still common for a boy to begin his adult life by receiving one of his father's wives, one who is not his own mother and generally rather older than he. The young man is then initiated sexually by that woman and will have his first children with her. The circle of marriage exchange tends to be limited to two subgroups. Each subgroup's exogamic rules are respected, although there are some marriages with the Suruí (Paiter) from Rondônia. According to the traditional pattern, women have a large number of children (around 6 to 7 per woman), and infant mortality is high (40 percent).

**Domestic Unit.** The smallest domestic unit, evident especially in times of food scarcity, is composed of a man, his wives, and their children. In normal daily life, however, the domestic unit is larger and encompasses a group of brothers, with their wives and children, who collaborate in activities of collective production like tree felling, planting, hunting peccaries, and fishing.

**Inheritance.** When someone dies, all of his or her belongings are burned inside the house or on the grave. When the owner of a house dies, it, too, is destroyed by fire.

**Socialization.** The main goal in the formation of an individual is the creation of an independent, self-sufficient person. Until 3 or 4 years of age, a child is its mother's inseparable companion. When it can move about easily and talk intelligibly, it will join small bands of children who imitate adults in their harvesting activities and in the capture of small animals and fish. Daily it becomes clearer that the challenge is knowing how to defend oneself in order to be on one's own. The result is the development of a bold and somewhat turbulent attitude, which makes the children ready to react to anything that displeases them. It is in young men of around 16 that this attitude is most evident. Fearless, aggressive, sometimes uncivil and gruff, the young Cinta Larga seems to accept no limitations, impositions, or orders from anyone. He demands what he wants directly, without beating around the bush, and at no time is he obsequious or servile.

Gradually, young girls and boys prepare for adult life, becoming skillful in the kind of work that is proper to their sex. After the age of 7 they submit to the perforation of the lower lip, where a small resin plug is inserted as an ornament. Young girls go into seclusion in their own homes during the first menses. As a young man begins to be successful in hunting in the company of adults, and, a bit later, in participating successfully in war raids, he begins to

compose his own songs, which relate his successes. Finally, when a man marries his sister's daughter, taking the final step into adult life, the passage is marked by a ceremony in which he gives ritual presents (richly adorned arrows) to his father-in-law and promises to care for and treat his wife well, the latter in a discursive dialogue with the bride's father and her classificatory parents.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The three subgroups—Kabã, Kakĩ, and Mã—spatially located, form a linguistic and cultural community, with relations between the various villages taking the form of marriage exchange and cooperation in warlike expeditions. The members of each subgroup feel united by strong bonds of solidarity and consider themselves a cohesive group in opposition to the rest of the Cinta Larga. Another very strong bond is that between affines, especially between brothers-in-law and their father-in-law.

**Political Organization.** The leadership in a village is held by the oldest member of the lineage, generally the father. When he dies, his oldest son will succeed him. Meanwhile, however, as brothers marry, leadership is in danger of weakening, either because they must give service to their respective fathers-in-law, leaving the village when their cooperation is most needed, or because they wish to build their own homes. In such cases, it is up to the chief either not to let them escape his orbit or to attract affinal relations to live in the village. The success of this political game depends on his skill. Contact with agents of FUNAI has made for even less stability in this institution because of the agglutination of nuclear-family houses around FUNAI assistance stations and the prestige enjoyed by federal agents who provide the community with health services and distribute manufactured goods such as salt, sugar, fishing lines, hooks, and metal machetes. Men of the lineage compete for such favors, which can generate internal conflict within the group and a consequent weakening of traditional leadership.

Increasing contact between the Indians and the outside world, especially with cities within the area, together with the lack of government assistance and the invasion of tribal territory by lumber mills, prospectors, and others intruders, has led the men in the lineage to try to obtain financial resources at any cost in order to satisfy needs that were created after contact. In the 1980s many found the solution in making contracts with lumber mills and prospectors, opening the area to wood and gold extraction. When a group is unable to reach an internal consensus regarding commercial agreements, new conflicts occur. Even if consensus is reached and the entire group agrees regarding such enterprises, however, dispersal continues. With the money they receive from such transactions, some young men are beginning to keep houses in surrounding areas, where they live with a non-Indian wife and only occasionally visit the village. In all such situations, the system of values that upheld leadership prestige tends to be weakened.

**Social Control.** The most common forms of social control are malicious gossip and ostracism. The threat of poi-

soning is, however, the strongest factor still operating in the community.

**Conflict.** Conflicts between Indians and non-Indians are the result of the invasion of indigenous territory. Mutual accusations of witchcraft are responsible for aggression between Indians, and, in cases of death, a series of retaliatory war expeditions is undertaken. Such armed activity still occurs among Cinta Larga subgroups and, in the past, involved other tribes as well.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Cinta Larga creation myth is a richly detailed story of how Gorá created human beings (that is, members of the various tribes that people the area) and conferred on them specific identities and characteristics. On the other hand, animals, birds, and other living beings were created through the transformation of human beings, some of whom were turned into jaguars, others into tapir and other animals. This, too, was Gorá's accomplishment. Along with the minor culture heroes who people Cinta Larga mythology, Gorá is responsible for everything positive that exists in the sociocultural universe. The counterpart to those beneficial beings and deeds of creation is a spirit that lives in the forest and incorporates the dark aspect of existence. His name is Pavu. He roams the forest looking for victims. As soon as he finds a solitary hunter or anyone who wanders through his domain, he throws himself on them in a deadly attack. No one can resist his power, and an encounter with Pavu results in fever, followed by death.

**Ceremonies.** The Cinta Larga are one of the rare groups affiliated with the Tupí Language Stock that do not include tobacco in their culture. Ritual curing involves the recitation of efficacious words, the laying on of hands, and shamanistic blowing. This ritual finds minor expression within the framework of indigenous ceremonies, similar to the ritual of female seclusion and the perforation of childrens' lower lips. They are of minor importance when compared with the festival of *bebé-aká* (*bebé/caitutu*, peccary + *aká*, kill), which is the main expression of male and warrior values. On hunting expeditions men keep a sharp lookout, hoping to capture a young peccary alive. Later, in the village, it will be fed and treated with care similar to that given small children: it will suckle at a woman's breast, receive previously chewed solid food, be taken for walks, and receive many other marks of attention so it will grow up healthy. In the ceremony of *bebé-aká*, the adult peccary is taken to be sacrificed and its flesh is distributed among the participants, according to rank. The most prized pieces will be given the brothers, brothers-in-law, and father-in-law; the rest is distributed according to rank, in descending order down to domestic animals, which will scarcely receive some viscera and bones. During the ceremony flutes are played, personal warrior songs (*berewá*) and dances are performed, and decorated arrows are presented to the owner of the peccary. The songs and praise express the bravery of a warrior and, consequently, male prominence.

Festivals similar to that of *bebé-aká* are held on other occasions, but without peccary sacrifice. They are held during important social events—for example, as recom-

pense for collective work in the fields, to commemorate a raid on other Cinta Larga subgroups, to avenge grave offenses (kidnapping of women, for example), and earlier (approximately mid-twentieth century), according to the oldest Indians, for the performance of cannibalistic rituals after intertribal warfare. Ranches and cities have since been built on indigenous territories, isolating tribes from one another.

**Medicine.** Because they prize individual self-sufficiency, the Cinta Larga are ever attentive to their bodily health. At the first sign of illness they lie down in their hammocks and try to identify the causes of their discomfort. They can count on a wide array of knowledge and practices to help them cure illness. Of the many hundreds of plant species in the forest, some are noted for ensuring protection, preventing illness, and even for furthering the development of skills that directly or indirectly guarantee well-being. This knowledge is shared by all and increases with age. For example, some plants are regularly used to increase female fertility, to guarantee male vigor, to ensure a good delivery, to keep a woman from aborting, to diminish uterine contractions, to purify the parents of a newborn child and to ensure its well-being, to keep it from crying continuously, and to relieve pain in practically all parts of the body. Special leaves or roots are used for all these purposes. Plants are also used to make a child sleep soundly, to make adults sleep lightly, to keep a baby from biting its mother's breast when suckling, and so on. Once health is assured, another group of plants meets needs of another type: success in hunting and the correct use of weapons. There are even plants that the hunter uses to attract animals by rubbing their leaves on his body. Finally, there are plants that serve the totally different purpose of wreaking vengeance. Some poisons are used against women—to cause mortal hemorrhages, abortion, or death. A plant that can be used against anyone is the *po sut*, which, when mixed with food, causes a person to get progressively thinner until he or she dies.

**Death and Afterlife.** With the exception of deaths that occur as a result of conflicts with non-Indian invaders or of intergroup conflicts, almost no death is considered natural. Illness, accidents, and old age are not considered to be factors that can cause death. Instead, death can only be caused by Pavu or poison, both of which act in an irreversible way, leaving the victim no possibility of recovery.

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CARMEN JUNQUEIRA  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Cocama

ETHNONYMS: Kokama, Pampadeque, Pandabequeo, Ucayali, Xibitaona

Most of the 15,000 to 18,000 Cocama live in Peru, in the Lagunas and Ucayali River areas as well as in the drainages of the Marañón, Pastaza, Nucuray, and Urituyacu rivers. A mere 20 Cocama live in Colombia, and 411 in Brazil. The Cocama have survived centuries of colonial rule, slave raiding, and epidemics better than almost any other native group, and now have a growing population. The Cocama language belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní Family. The branch of the Cocama on the Río Huallaga is known as the "Cocamilla," and is culturally the same except for slight differences in dialect.

The Cocama were first contacted in 1549 when a Spanish expedition led by Juan de Salinas ascended the Ucayali. At this time, the Cocama subsisted by fishing and swidden horticulture. In the seventeenth century they became raiders and were feared by the Spanish and neighboring Indian groups throughout the region, where they were known as pirates of the rivers. When the Jebero rebelled in 1644, the Cocama supported them. When the Spanish sent an expedition to subdue the Cocama it was well received because it included a Jesuit priest and a mestizo whom the Cocama believed to be a reincarnation of one of their chiefs. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits built a mission at Santa María de Ucayales, but abandoned it in a short time. Some 100 Christianized Cocama families then accompanied the Jesuits to their mission on the Huallaga. In 1669 the Spanish sent another expedition against the Cocama because of their continuing raids on surrounding groups. Some were converted and settled at the mission of Santiago de la Laguna, founded in 1670 on the Huallaga. In the 1680s, following a great smallpox epidemic, most of the Cocama abandoned this mission and took refuge among the Omagua. The Cocama population fell from 7,000 to 800 by 1700, largely as a result of this epidemic. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from the New World, and the Cocama came under Spanish rule. From then until Peruvian independence in 1824, the Cocama worked as forced laborers on haciendas and in the mining and timber industries. After independence, some returned to the Ucayali area, whereas others went to the Marañón, Pastaza, Nucuray and Urituyacu regions in search of new farmland. It is believed that many migrated to Brazil during the rubber boom.

Cocama people are now very acculturated and assimilated. About 25 percent of marriages are with mestizos. Most Cocama continue to live in their own villages or neighborhoods, however. They have a number of cultural traits that distinguish them from mestizos, and although the Indians are nominal Christians, they still practice shamanism and hold to many of their own religious beliefs. Older Cocama speak their own language among themselves but are bilingual; children speak only Spanish.

The Cocama are sedentary slash-and-burn horticultur-

ists who generally build their houses on the banks of rivers or lakes. They occasionally have to move their settlements to areas where there is new land for clearing. They raise maize, sweet potatoes, *taja-cara* (*Solanum immite*), beans, yams, *sicana* (*Sicana odorifera*), pumpkins, peanuts, pineapples, cayenne peppers, peach palms (*Guiliema gasipaes*), avocados, papayas, guavas, and bananas, as well as the nonfood plants cotton, tobacco, and *barbasco* for poisoning fish. They rely heavily for food on fish, manatees, and turtles. Nowadays commercial fishing is an important part of their economy; they also sell farm products such as rice, maize, and beans. The Cocama have an individualistic sense of property: what a woman produces belongs to her, and when she sells it what she makes is hers. The same is true for men. The subsistence garden belongs to the nuclear family, and fathers are responsible for the children's maintenance. Cocama men work in lumbering and ranching, and some are skilled workers such as carpenters or mechanics.

The Cocama traditionally used stone axes and knives made from the peach palm (*pupunha* or *chonta*) to clear the forest but often avoided this task by planting on beaches between wet seasons. Hunting and gathering were of little importance, with the exception of collecting turtle eggs. The Cocama kept chickens, pigs, and dogs after they were introduced by Whites. They relied upon the spear and atlatl as their chief weapons. The Cocama are famous for their pottery, which has linear and rectilinear designs of red, white, and black.

Cocama men made the decision to go to war after taking ayahuasca, which put them into a trance and induced visions. Their attacks depended primarily on surprise and took place at dawn.

Traditionally, Cocama people lived in villages of thirty to forty multifamily houses. The houses had gabled roofs that reached almost to the ground. People slept in cotton hammocks and used bark-cloth mosquito nets; today they sleep on platform beds and use imported mosquito nets.

The Cocama chief had little authority. At the bottom of the social scale, but still part of the family, were the slaves, who were captured in raids or purchased. Each family had two or three slaves, of whom they required hard work.

At 1 year of age, Cocama children took part in a ritual called *usciumata* that involved the cutting of their hair by a chief. At puberty, a girl was secluded in a hammock for one month, eating manioc tubers only once a day and spinning cotton, after which she received a new name. Following this initiation, she was sexually free until she married. Preferred marriage was between a girl or woman and her mother's brother. There was a period of bride-service. Men sometimes raised young girls with the intent of later marrying them. The Cocama practiced secondary burial; after the bones had been buried for one year, they were then placed in a jar.

Cocama believed that malformed children and twins were the work of evil supernatural forces; malformed children were killed, and one of a pair of twins was set adrift in the river with the belief that a shaman might rescue and rear him or her.



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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Colorado

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ETHNONYMS: Tatchila, Tsáchela, Tsatchela, Zatchila

The 1,025 to 1,800 Colorado Indians live in the western lowlands of Ecuador, chiefly in Pichincha Province and especially in Santo Domingo de los Colorados. They speak a language belonging to the Chibchan Family. The Colorado call themselves the "Tsatchela," a name originating from their practice of dyeing their hair red with an extract of *achiote* (*Bixa orellana*). In 1900 the Colorado numbered 3,000, but their population has since declined. Pichincha Province has been heavily settled by Whites, and the Colorado often work for the newcomers as laborers on their plantations.

The Colorado traditionally made their living through subsistence horticulture, although many now raise cattle, and others are wage laborers in towns and cities. The Ecuadoran government has created reservations for the Colorado, on which mestizos are forbidden to settle.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Colorado had adopted the plantain and made it their staple crop, each family owning thousands of trees. They planted yams, peppers, and cacao near their houses, whereas maize, rice, manioc, sugarcane, pineapples, citrus fruits, and medicinal and fish-poison plants are grown in more distant fields. The Colorado use traps, nets, hooks, and especially the poison *barbasco* to kill fish. They traditionally hunted with blowguns, using clay pellets rather than darts, but by the mid-twentieth century shotguns had replaced blowguns. Deer, monkeys, and agoutis are the most commonly sought game. In addition, the Colorado raise pigs, chick-

ens, guinea pigs, and dogs. Men and women share the labor involved in the cultivation, harvest, and transportation of products to market. Men clear fields, hunt, fish, and weave nets; women cook, care for the children and domestic animals, and weave cotton goods.

Colorado families live in houses surrounded by their fields and often by forest; each house is thus separated by some distance from others and there is no village. Households have a high degree of economic self-sufficiency. Colorado houses, which lack walls, consist of palm-leaf thatched roofs held up by posts.

Colorado children are greatly indulged. When a boy reaches 10 to 12 years of age, his nose is pierced in a ritual by a shaman, and he then begins to paint his body in an adult fashion. Boys marry sometime after puberty, but girls marry almost immediately thereafter. A deceased Colorado individual is dressed in his or her best clothing and is waked for a day by relatives, who weep, drink, and play special games in order to remain awake and to repel spirits that cause disease. The corpse is buried underneath the floor of the house, with a string around its neck connected to the roof to aid the soul in leaving. After the burial, the house is abandoned.

Colorado religion has undergone three major influences: traditional, Highland Quechua, and Catholic. Catholicism has become the most visible influence (the Colorado observe Catholic ritual and ceremony), but traditional beliefs concerning the supernatural and the creation myth endure. Shamans cure by removing the effects of witchcraft.

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## Cotopaxi Quichua

ETHNONYMS: Ecuadoran Quichua, Zumbagua/Guangaje (Tigua)

### Orientation

**Identification.** Under the generic name "Cotopaxi Quichua" are subsumed the two parishes of Zumbagua and Guangaje, located at the heart of this large, ethnically distinct indigenous area of the Ecuadorian highlands. The indigenous peoples who live in the Cotopaxi area do not have a distinctive ethnic name for themselves beyond that of "Naturales" (natives, autochthonous people) or speakers of "Inga shimi" (Quichua), although they clearly differentiate themselves from other Ecuadoran indigenous peoples such as the Salasaca or Otavaleños.

The inhabitants of these high, cold grasslands probably moved here from the hot lowland (*yunga*) areas to the west; they still retain contacts with shamans from the Colorado (Tschatchela), one of the last surviving indigenous groups in the western Ecuadoran lowlands. Today, however, the ethnic characteristics of Zumbagua/Tigua life, in social organization, ritual, and language, are typically highland.

**Location.** The geographical area occupied by this group stretches approximately from above the town of Pujilí to the east, Pilalo to the west, Sigchos and Isinlivi to the north, and Angamarca to the south. The elevations are uniformly high, 3,400 to 4,000 meters or above; ethnic boundaries are roughly coincident with the limits for maize cultivation. Those who live on the *páramo* differentiate themselves from their maize-growing kin who inhabit lower elevations. The *páramo* can be characterized as alpine tundra; the predominant natural vegetation is the abundant *ichu* grass, which is crucial to the local economy as both fodder and fuel. Although the southern limits of the area are at 1° south of the equator, the high elevation creates a cold climate, with temperatures of between 6° and 12° C, frequent hailstorms in some seasons, and strong winds in others.

**Demography.** The exact population is difficult to determine; in 1985 the figure of 20,000 people for the parish of Zumbagua was frequently mentioned; the entire region might have twice that number of indigenous inhabitants.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The people of the area speak a regional dialect of Ecuadoran Quichua; however, their speech also contains words not found in published vocabularies of Quichua, suggesting the remnants of a now-vanished indigenous language. Although the native language is still unquestionably the dominant language of the region, Spanish is important.

### History and Cultural Relations

The prehistory of this region is almost completely unknown at this time, and little has been published about the early history. According to conventional descriptions of the highlands at the time of the Conquest, the inter-Andean valley to the east would have been inhabited by

the Panzaleo, a shadowy group of whom little is known; however, more recent research suggests a rich ethnic mix including several other groups as well as Inca. Groups known as "Yumbo" would have lived to the west, and this term still exists in the mythology and ritual of the area. The early inhabitants of the high *páramos* are unknown; this ecological zone may have been largely uninhabited or the term "Sicchos-Angamarcas," used as an ethnic designation, may have referred to people who lived here as well as in the slightly lower, maize-growing area where the modern towns of those names are found.

In the seventeenth century grassland areas such as this became desirable in Spanish eyes, as the growing textile industry created a need for increased wool production. This region was transformed into a thriving and lucrative hacienda economy, and indigenous individuals were brought into the area from elsewhere to work as shepherds. A few pockets of "free" territory escaped being carved up into the large estates and became indigenous communities, such as the area known today as the *comuna* of Apagua, but most of the land and people fell under the jurisdiction of estates operated by religious orders such as the Augustinians. This arrangement prevailed for several centuries. After independence, these estates met various fates, some coming under private ownership and others becoming the property of the government. The inhabitants of the area lived under various systems of coerced labor; the *huasipungo* system of peonage is perhaps the best known.

By the late 1960s, the large-estate system had broken down and the area, which in the eighteenth century had been of some economic significance, had become marginal to the nation both economically and socially. A few, much smaller estates remain, as does a legacy of deep-seated racial hatred and mistrust of nonindigenous outsiders and especially of members of Ecuador's dominant White social groups.

### Settlements

The settlement pattern is extremely dispersed: houses are scattered among fields in Zumbagua, and in Tigua, where elevations are higher and pastoralism predominates, houses are associated with scattered corrals. The older house form is the *chaquiwasi*, or "foot-house," so called because the adobe walls are only a few bricks high, most of the house consisting of the enormous thatched roof, giving the structure the appearance of a gigantic, smoke-breathing haystack. These houses are large and oval in form. They are being rapidly replaced by smaller, rectangular houses with tin roofs and concrete-block walls; an intermediate form has adobe walls and straw roof, but is of the same shape and size as the modern *bloque* houses. Standard domestic architecture utilizes single-room, freestanding structures clustered together, so that one larger building houses the kitchen and is the center of family life, and surrounding buildings serve as dormitories and for storage; also of great importance in family life is the courtyard or patio defined by this cluster, where many domestic activities take place.

Farmsteads are grouped together into *comunidades*, which in turn form the much larger *parroquias* (parishes); these divisions are political and conform to national governmental structures but also to local social groupings. *Comuna*

boundaries usually coincide with either watercourses at the bottom of slopes, or watersheds at the top of hills.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** A combination of subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry predominates in the local economy, especially for women and the elderly. For many adult men, however, temporary migration out of the area to find wage labor is the primary economic strategy. In Zumbagua, moving contraband cane alcohol produced in the western lowlands up over the mountains into the White towns for sale or bringing it into the parish also provides cash income for some families. In Tigua cash is generated for some families by making *artesanías* (paintings, masks, baskets) for sale to ethnic arts stores in Quito.

The primary agricultural activities are the production of barley, fava beans, and potatoes and other tubers, all primarily for consumption within the household. Sheep and llama pastoralism are next in importance, again being raised primarily for home consumption; pigs, raised on household scraps, are kept to be sold when emergency funds are needed.

**Industrial Arts.** Implements made in the area include a variety of wooden and stone tools, including mortars and pestles; shallow rectangular basins (*bateas*) of all sizes, from bathtubs to serving vessels; handles for tools such as hoes and shovels; and so on. Production is somewhat specialized, with higher comunas near the rocky outcroppings of the hills making stone objects and low comunas near the cloud forest doing woodworking.

Weaving and spinning are also important, although the replacement of locally made textiles with purchased clothing has lessened the role these arts play in the economy. Men's ponchos and blankets are woven by men on large backstrap looms; smaller looms are used to make belts and hair ribbons, items used as gifts for wives or daughters. Spinning is women's work.

The construction of the *chaquiwasi* is also an industrial art requiring a good deal of knowledge, especially botanical, since the roof is basically a huge basket made of several different kinds of woods, reeds, and grasses, some of which are brought down from the highest zones by women and some of which are brought up from the low cloud-forest zones by men.

**Trade.** Trading with inhabitants of other ecological zones is much curtailed by the cash economy and by the increasing impoverishment of local people, which leaves them with less and less in the way of surplus. Reciprocity remains an important and elaborated aspect of social relations, especially between adult kin and *compadres* (fictive kin). Most households strive to maintain ties with other households who have complementary access to resources, primarily defined in terms of access to higher or lower elevations.

**Division of Labor.** There is some specialization by sex, with men heavily involved in wage labor and with craft production somewhat gendered. The role of musician is exclusively male. As is typical of the Andes, however, gender divisions are loosely constituted, with persons of either sex

readily crossing over to lend a hand or taking over a task if no one of the other sex is available.

There is also some age specialization, with a host of necessary but trivial tasks being thought of as the domain of children; these include fetching water or fuel, caring for infants, feeding the household animals, and so on, although all these tasks are frequently done by adults, especially women, if there are no children at hand.

Many individuals or households have some specialized craft or trade, whether it be weaving, shamanism or curing, or an occupation that generates income either from outside of the area, such as *artesanía* production, or from the sale of items obtained elsewhere to local residents, often in small dry-goods stores or stalls in the weekly markets.

**Land Tenure.** Land for planting is held by individuals, never by families or groups, although people count the wealth of families and households by considering their joint holdings. Pastoral land, in contrast, is held by the *comuna*.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Kinship is bilateral, and there are no distinct corporate kin groups as are described for parts of the central and southern Andes. Individuals and households strive to create complex networks of kin and *compadres*. Nevertheless, the extended family, coresident and with all members acknowledging the authority of the senior couple, is clearly the fundamental social unit.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship generally follows the typical Andean pattern, with kin terms being Quichua rather than Spanish.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage does not imply the merging of ownership of land or other assets; each partner retains control of his or her own property. The primary economic function of marriage, besides propagation, is the creation of work groups, since land is worked and animals are cared for collectively by households and extended families. Most marriages are patrilocal, although a significant number adopt a matrilineal residence. The young couple travel frequently to their in-laws, in order to work the land owned there by one spouse and to assist in agricultural labor there. Divorce is infrequent, whereas remarriage after the death of a spouse is common.

**Domestic Unit.** The residential unit, which includes several married couples and unmarried adolescents living in separate domiciles but sharing many tasks and activities and clearly dominated by an elder couple, is considered both typical and ideal.

**Inheritance.** Inheritance is bilateral, with all children ideally inheriting equally from both parents; in practice, however, the situation is always complicated and fraught with difficulties. The basic criteria for making decisions about inheritance include the degree to which the child was raised by a particular person rather than biological paternity/maternity, and a second, reciprocal issue, the degree to which the child has supported the parent in old age; the latter consideration often makes a youngest child

or grandchild, who lives with an elderly person after their other children are married, the principal inheritor.

Inheritance is a gradual, lifelong process, beginning with the gift of a baby animal or a few rows of plants in a field to a very young child and progressing to major gifts of land after marriage and as the parents' health begins to decline.

**Socialization.** Socialization takes place within the context of the large extended family, including both those who are coresident and the parents' frequently visited affines and siblings. Children learn by attempting to do what older siblings and adults are doing, rather than by formal instruction, a strategy that makes children eager to prove themselves by sharing work.

Infants are given great amounts of affection and attention, and the youngest child of a household is indulged in every whim. When a new child is born, the displaced idol often reacts with temper tantrums and destructive fits, but these are ignored and gradually disappear. On the whole, adults and especially mothers avoid disciplining very young children, although older children may be chastized very harshly for failing in their responsibilities. Young children are dressed and treated as androgynous beings; it is only with the boy's first haircutting or girl's ear piercing that the child achieves a gender.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Social stratification within the community is diffusely defined but evident; some families are large, wealthy, and influential, whereas others are not. The word *huaccha*, "orphan," used in many contexts to refer to those who have no special power, expressed clearly the local sense that both material wealth and a human network are necessary for social success. Although the coresident extended family is clearly the primary social group, also important are the network of ties between these groups, usually defined either by blood or fictive kinship.

**Political Organization.** Political organization may be defined according to participation in the formal structures of power, set up by the government or the Catholic church (or in a few areas by evangelical churches), in which case it must be said to be extremely weak, with only a few families very actively involved. Much political activity in this rural and decentralized society centers around relationships either within or between families, however, which, while they do not involve formal political roles and do not directly affect the lives of all inhabitants of the area, nevertheless do involve a great many people directly and indirectly and are the subject of the liveliest interest.

A third realm of political activity, interrelated with both formal and informal politics, arises through the annual fiesta cycles. Each fiesta requires sponsors, and the sponsors activate their entire social network to put on a performance designed to enhance the prominence of the sponsors and thus the status of their network of kin and friends.

**Social Control.** The area has no formal means of social control: there is no police station, no jail, and no judicial system. When a thief or a murderer is to be brought to justice, the only available sanctions are execution by the vic-

tim's family or the bodily removal of the perpetrator to the provincial capital, several hours away by bus. Since this process involves the entire family of the victim fighting the family of the perpetrator long enough to arrive at the police station, it may end in violence or escape before the formal legal system is able to intervene.

Few outsiders will intervene when violence erupts within the family; negative gossip is the only censure in this case. As in many face-to-face societies, however, gossip is a strong force in controlling behavior and is, in fact, the most frequently applied sanction in all cases.

**Conflict.** Although the network of relationships that bind people together is the strongest force holding the community together, equally strong are the deep enmities that develop between families. Hostilities between groups quickly pull in others, who must declare their allegiance, and thus can polarize entire comunas. The first stage is gossip that accumulates force and spreads through families and neighborhoods; next come public confrontations on roads or footpaths or at public gatherings such as fiestas; these may escalate into public fights in which concerned onlookers either pull the combatants apart or join in the fray themselves. At this point, the conflict either returns to the level of grumbling and gossip and gradually ceases to arouse much attention, or it may escalate into a general confrontation that involves dozens or even, eventually, hundreds of people. The latter occurs only when local, kin-based problems become intermixed with national politics or with political issues that concern the entire population, such as agrarian reform, Catholic-Protestant conflicts, or national elections.

More salient in most people's lives are conflicts within the family. The most common conflicts are between spouses, between parents and children, and between siblings. Husband-wife conflicts differ in severity depending on whether the coresident family defuses or exacerbates the problem; it is common for drunken husbands to strike their wives, but if the family immediately and strongly censures this behavior, it becomes infrequent and not life threatening, whereas in other households women sustain horrible injuries and may in fact die at their husbands' hands. Women also use physical aggression to express their anger, and groups of women in a family sometimes band together to beat up an abusive husband—usually in cases where residence is matrilineal.

Conflicts between siblings or between parents and adult children are almost always over two issues: splitting the residence unit or dividing the inheritance. The latter issue is especially disruptive and occasionally leads to violent death; more commonly, family members spend untold sums in lengthy legal battles that may end up consuming much of the family's resources.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Most people in the area are Catholic, although there is a small but actively recruiting evangelical Protestant movement. Christian religious beliefs are heavily syncretized with Andean beliefs in a sacralized geography.

The most important sacred places vary in different subregions of the area, although all residents of the area are familiar with distant shrines. Despite the existence of a

larger sacred cosmology, sacred geography, which is inseparable from its secular counterpart, is constructed somewhat differently for each family and individual.

**Religious Practitioners.** Formal religious practice belongs to the priests, and both calendrical and life-cycle rituals have aspects that involve rites at which a priest must officiate. However, all such ceremonial occasions also have portions that are in the hands of families and rites that are performed within the household. Another aspect of religious practice is the domain of shamanism and curing. No research has been done on either kind of practice in this area, but both are very important in local life.

**Ceremonies.** Unlike many other areas of rural Ecuador, this region still has an active ceremonial cycle of calendrical rituals. Fiestas involving masked and costumed dancers and processions from the comunas of the sponsors into the town center are celebrated at Christmas, the 6th of January, Easter, and Corpus Christi. Also celebrated are New Year, at which effigies of the old year are burned and men perform dances; Carnival, when sexually active adolescents conduct ritual battles with stones up in the grazing lands at the borders between comunas; and All Souls' Day (Finados), when families remember their dead through commemorative meals.

**Arts.** The region is perhaps best known for its lively folk paintings. These depictions of fiesta scenes, painted on sheepskin, have their origins in the paintings made on the surface of the drums used during Corpus Christi. Another folk art with its origins in the fiestas is the carving of masks, which take the form of animals such as deer, foxes, and dogs or human forms such as the clown or White man. Of perhaps greater importance in local life are the verbal arts; as with many Quechua and Quichua speakers, the people of the region place great importance on the use of language and are appreciative of rhetorical skill. Especially characteristic are riddles. The performances of costumed dancers at fiestas are also important areas of artistic expression, involving verbal humor as well as mime and dance.

**Death and Afterlife.** Ideas about death and the afterlife are various, and show the lively coexistence of Western and Native American beliefs in local thought. The notion of a distant heaven has little appeal despite acknowledgment of it as an official truth, but the spirit of the deceased is thought to stay very close to the body and to its loved ones immediately after death. A commonly described form of mourning is to wander the high hills crying out for the dead, asking where they have gone.

As is typical in the Andes, Finados is an important occasion on which the dead are thought to be close to their living relatives. During the wake, games of chance are played similar to those that have been described in other parts of Ecuador.

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MARY J. WEISMANTEL

## Craho

ETHNONYMS: Craô, Krahó, Krahô, Kraô

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Craho are Timbira speakers who live in the north of the state of Tocantins in Brazil. Although the word "Craho" can mean "paca [*Cuniculus paca*]'s hair" in their language, it is not so understood by all Craho. Their autodenomination is "Mehim," a term that might have included all Timbira Indians in the past and today designates all Indians, whereas "Kupê," its opposite, has had its meaning redefined from "all non-Timbira" to "all Whites." In the early 1800s the Craho were also known as "Mankamekhrá" or "Mankhráre," which means "children of *ema* [*Rhea americana*]," but today it is used for only one part of the Craho, their original core, given that they have received immigrants from other societies.

**Location.** The Craho reservation, with an area of nearly 3,200 square kilometers, is located between 8° (this parallel cuts through its northern tip) and 9° S and 47° and 48° W, between the Manoel Alves Grande and the Manoel Alves Pequeno rivers, both right-hand tributaries of the Tocantins. At elevations between 200 and 500 meters, the reservation is covered by savanna and patches of gallery forest. The year is divided into a rainy season (from October to April) and a very dry season (from May to September), with a temperature range between 25° and 26° C. Craho land annually receives between 150 and 175 centimeters of precipitation.

**Demography.** In the early nineteenth century, the Craho population was estimated at between 3,000 and 4,000; in 1852, they were 620; in 1930, about 400; in

1948–1949, about 500; in 1962–1963, 564; in 1971, 632; and, in 1984, 912. There has been a rapid increase in their population, which now has an average density of 0.3 persons per square kilometer. The Craho population includes descendants from the Põrekamekhrá and the Kenkatyê, both extinct Timbira societies; from other Timbira societies; from Sherente; and even from Blacks and Whites.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Craho speak a dialect of Timbira, a branch of the Gê Family (which includes other languages spoken in the Brazilian central plateau, such as Suyá, Cayapó, Akwê, and in the southern plateau, Caingang), which is part of the Macro-Gê Stock.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

In the early nineteenth century the Craho lived near the lower Rio Balsas, a tributary of the Parnaíba, in an area that is now part of the state of Maranhão. They were in conflict with cattle ranchers who were conquering tribal lands with the help of soldiers of the Portuguese army. After a crushing defeat in 1809, the Craho accepted peace and migrated to the banks of the Rio Tocantins, where the town of Carolina was being settled. At that time the Craho became allies of the Carolina founders in the fighting and enslaving of the neighboring Indian societies, until they themselves came to be seen by farmers as cattle thieves and obstacles to colonization. For these reasons, and also to make a barrier against the Shavante and Sherente Indians (then in the process of forming two different societies), the Craho were transferred upriver by Fra Rafael de Taggia, a Capuchin missionary, who settled them at the junction of the Tocantins and Sono rivers, where he founded the town of Pedro Afonso. There the Craho lived near the Sherente until they migrated to the area where they live now.

The Craho established friendly relationships with the farmers, especially with one, Agostinho Soares. But, in 1940, accusing the Craho of stealing cattle, the farmers attacked. Lack of coordination frustrated their intention to wipe out the Indians completely, but about 26 Craho were killed. Prompt intervention by the Brazilian government led to the trial of the attackers, the delimitation of a reservation, and the installation of an outpost of the Indian Protection Service. Although the penalty for the three farmers who led the attack was very mild, it generated more respect for the Craho on the part of the regional population. The greed of cattle ranchers and peasants for tribal lands, however, has not been sated. Memories of that attack and prejudices resulting from this greed have created the right climate for the rise of a Craho messianic movement. If, in about 1951, the Craho would have liked to transform themselves into Whites by messianic action, in 1986, on the contrary, they launched a campaign to retrieve a stone ax kept in a warehouse at the Museu Paulista; they succeeded in taking it back with them and have turned this artifact into the main symbol of their culture. In 1985 the Craho and Sherente were of great help to the Apinayé against White invaders of the latter's land and in the campaign for its demarcation.

Because cattle ranchers have no jobs for the Craho and the Indians have no buyers for their agricultural produce, the Craho remain marginal to the regional economy

and, as a consequence, are able to maintain their own way of life, a situation that in the past was interpreted as Timbira cultural conservatism. Compensating for their minimal economic interchange with regional Whites, the Craho have, since around 1900, developed the habit of visiting big cities. By exploiting exotica (e.g., long hair, big holes in their ear lobes, unintelligible language) and the favorable romantic stereotypes urban people have about Indians, they acquire a large number of gifts. Craho contact with regional and urban Whites and with the Sherente (who speak the Akwê language) contributes to culture change, especially with regard to technology and folk Catholicism, whereas their contact with other Timbira societies, particularly Apaniekhrá, reinforces their own culture.

### *Settlements*

In the 1960s villages ranged in population from about 49 to 169 people, distributed through seven to twenty houses. Craho houses are built in a circle. They face the central plaza and are at the border of a circular path. Each house is linked to the plaza by a radial path. The diameter of the village circle, about 140 to 200 meters, does not increase in proportion to the number of houses. These houses, built on the model of the regional poor, have palm or wattle-and-daub walls and thatched roofs. Unlike the houses of Whites, they have no windows and, usually, no internal divisions; where divisions exist, they are randomly placed. Inside the house there are household fires, platform beds covered by mats, shelves to keep iron pots, and, on the ground, calabashes for water. The end points of the sticks that shape the roof are used as supports for firearms and hanging baskets into which food and a large variety of household objects and instruments are kept.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Subsistence slash-and-burn agriculture dominates the Craho economy; rice and manioc (both sweet and bitter) are the main staples. In the past maize and sweet potatoes were very important. Today, they are quantitatively as unimportant as beans and yams. Some plants, such as peanuts and the edible *kupá* (*Cissus* sp.) liana, have been almost abandoned. Meat is an extremely valued food, but large game animals are almost extinct. Fishing, with hook and line or poison, is not important. Wild fruits, such as *buriti* (*Mauritia vinifera*), *bacaba* (*Oenocarpus* sp.), and even the domesticated species that remain at abandoned cattle ranches, such as mangoes and oranges, are important sources of food. Domestic animals include chickens, pigs, and cattle, but they are not raised in large numbers. The Craho earn some cash by working for rural and urban Whites in the harvesting or husking of rice and hoeing out grass from the streets and the local airstrip.

**Industrial Arts** The principal artifact industry is basketry: various forms of baskets, mats, and headbands are woven. But there are no specialists, and this work is done mainly to satisfy domestic needs. The Craho have no pottery or metalwork. Some Western industrial items, such as cloth, beads, and Roman Catholic medals are reworked to fit their own style.

**Trade.** Trade with other Indian societies is nonexistent and with Westerners is insignificant. The Craho sell artifacts to the shops maintained by the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI) for that purpose. Occasionally, they buy manioc from regional Whites; they also buy cloth, salt, tobacco, ammunition, guns, pots and pans, knives, hoes, axes, and other industrial products from local White merchants. But the most expensive items are acquired as gifts during their long trips to big cities, which the Craho use to meet their marriage obligations.

**Division of Labor.** Division of labor is only by sex. Men hunt, fish, collect wild honey, clear wooded areas for new gardens, build houses, and make sleeping mats, certain kinds of baskets, bows and arrows, racing logs, and various kinds of cotton bands. Women cook, care for children, bring water from streams, collect wild fruits, and do agricultural work together with the men. There are some part-time specialists, such as headmen, some ritual directors, and medicine men.

**Land Tenure.** Land is owned collectively, perhaps by each village. The plot used by an elementary family for cultivation reverts to common ownership after all its produce has been harvested.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Kin groups are the elementary family, the domestic group, and the residential segment. Near kin include, among others, the relatives born in the same residential segment, which is exogamous. There are also distant kin and nonkin, from whom it is possible to choose a husband or wife. These categories do not have well-defined contours. Near kin, who constitute a kindred, exchange food and services among themselves in a generalized reciprocity, but forbid sexual relations among themselves. Sexual activity with the others is permitted, but food and services are exchanged in a balanced reciprocity. Punishment for incest is more sociological than religious: the more a man increases the number of women with whom he has sexual intercourse, the more he decreases the number of women from whom he can get free food. Sexual intercourse or marriage with a near kin (it seems never to occur between individuals born in the same residential segment) involves a more expensive indemnization or matrimonial prestation.

The Craho have no unilineal groups. They have several pairs of moieties, all of them linked to a series of specific rites, but they do not regulate marriage. Two pairs of these moieties have as their membership criterion the transmission of personal names. There is another pair, which consists of two age-class clusters, and several others, membership in which is simply by free choice: a man can become a member at the time of a certain rite, but he can change to the opposite moiety during the following performance of the same rite. Male personal names are transmitted by relatives included in the *keti* terminological category, which includes mother's brother, mother's father, father's father, and their half brothers and parallel cousins. Female personal names are transmitted by *tui*, a category that includes father's sister, father's mother, mother's mother, their half

sisters and parallel cousins, and every woman born in the same residential segment as the father.

With the personal name an individual receives his membership in a season moiety, as well as formal friends, ritual roles, kinship terms to be applied to distant kin and nonkin, and, for men only, inclusion in a plaza group that is part of a moiety of another pair. On the other hand, an individual is linked to his father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter by food restrictions during critical life periods, such as the first months after birth, illness, or snake bite. In Craho thought, an individual's body is biologically tied to those of his or her parents, siblings, and children and is masked as the same ritual personage animated by his or her name's transmitter.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is of the Crow type. Cognatic terminology can be extended by an individual to the outer limits of society, but its Crow features are blurred by the overlap of affinal terms, formal friendship terms, name transmission, and terminological changes that occur when kin behavior is modified by individual choices. Some features of female-name transmission can produce a partial Omaha effect in terminology.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is monogamous and very stable after the first child is born. The husband and his near kin must pay to his wife's kin a sort of bride-price, including guns, iron pans, axes, hoes, cloth, and beads. Long journeys to big cities are motivated by such payments. Bride-price is paid gradually and can always be negotiated. It pays for the wife's sexual favors and for her cooking. Its final portion is paid when there is divorce or during mourning for the wife's or husband's death. Residence is matrilocal.

**Domestic Unit.** Each elementary family has a garden and eats out of the same dishes and bowls. Food is prepared by a woman, from products of her own garden, and offered to all elementary families of the domestic group. A man hunts and a woman gathers mainly for the members of his or her elementary family, but meat and fruits are also shared with the other members of the domestic group and other near kin or affines. The elementary family is the principal economic unit. A domestic group, which occupies the same house, splits up when the building becomes too small to accommodate everybody or when the parents of the married women die. The domestic groups with a common origin are related through female members and constitute an exogamous unit, which is a designated residential segment. When a village migrates or when a residential segment or part of it moves from one village to another, the spatial position of each segment in the circle is maintained.

**Inheritance.** There are no fixed inheritance rules for indigenous cultural objects. These are discarded and anyone can keep them after the owner's death. There is a tendency for fathers to pass the ownership of cattle to their children during their lifetime.

**Socialization.** Infants and children are raised by their parents, older siblings, or other members of the domestic group. The Craho do not use physical punishment in child rearing. Children spend a large amount of time playing

with their neighbors on village paths, in backyards, or in streams. Depending on their age and physical capacity, they can help the adults in their work.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Craho society is organized on an egalitarian basis according to sex, age, and kinship.

**Political Organization.** If the context of Brazilian domination is disregarded, each Craho village is an autonomous political unit. Village headmanship is not inherited and is not for life. The headman, *pahi*, has power so long as his faction supports him. He must maintain the peace in the village and act as mediator in the relationships between villagers and Whites. Two *kokatê* administer daily activities, collective works, and meat distribution after a collective hunt. They are selected at the beginning of each rainy or wet season, one from each season moiety and from a different age moiety. A rites director, *inkrerekati* or *pad-ré* (from the Portuguese word for priest), is usually appointed for life, having been previously trained by his predecessor. The men who have played the *kokatê* role form a village council, which meets every morning and, sometimes, in the evening.

There are some honorary roles with political importance, such as the headman's wife; the *wutu*, girls or boys associated with an age segment of the opposite sex (adult men, adult women, boys, or girls), who are regarded as kin of everybody and guardians of peace in the village; and the honorary chiefs, individuals of any age associated with the opposite-sex members of another village—they are the focal points in the network of friendly relations between the villages. A village can have honorary chiefs in all other Craho villages, in other Timbira or Sherente villages, and even among the White men in large cities. Among the regional Whites, the Craho have Roman Catholic coparents. To a large extent, social control is maintained by a system that emphasizes the avoidance of conflicts and only tolerates brusque or violent men who can show courage to outsiders. Gossip is an important informal source of social control.

**Conflict.** There can be confrontation between factions gathered around kinship relationships. Some factions can get help from another village or from FUNAI officials. Rivalry between factions can take the form of accusations of sorcery, but nowadays these confrontations never result in open conflicts. The last execution of a sorcerer was in 1959, and the last war expedition (although it did not engage in battle) was sent against an Apinayé village in 1923. Recently, Craho warriors were sent to help the Apinayé against regional Whites who were threatening to take their land.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Craho religion seems to be more elaborate in its liturgical than in its doctrinal aspects. The world has three layers. Men live on the middle layer; the upper layer, domed, is inhabited by men who fled from the big hawk and the big owl, both killers in the mythical past. The stars are the fires of these men. The underground layer is covered by buriti palms and used by wild boars

(*Tayassu pecari*). The middle layer is bounded by water, and, on its eastern end, it is connected to the underground by a hole. At the same extremity, the foot (or perhaps feet) of the sky supports the upper layer. This column is constantly being carved by woodpeckers, but when these woodpeckers stop to drink or eat, the column recovers its pristine form. The Craho believe their history began in the east and that they have migrated to the west.

Sun and Moon, both males, are the mythical heroes who transformed the world before it was created. From the adventures of Sun and Moon originated men and women, death, work, menstrual blood, mosquitoes, and poisonous snakes. A star-woman gave the Craho agricultural knowledge. Fire was taken away from the jaguar. Sun is identified with the Christian God, and Moon with Saint Peter the Apostle. A man named Aukhê, the child of an Indian woman and the Sun, the Christian God, a snake, or an unidentified father, was the first White man. The belief in Aukhê, has inspired a Craho messianic movement.

Every Craho has the same beliefs with some divergences in the details. Craho objects of worship are difficult to locate; they seem to venerate society without the intervention of any divinity.

**Religious Practitioners.** All Craho villages have a *pad-ré* or director of rituals capable of conducting the different rituals of his people. Practitioners receive small gifts for their services and are said to have enjoyed the privilege of burial in the village plaza. It is unclear whether appointments are based on special aptitude or mere desire to obtain the position. Probably because of their knowledge of Craho tradition, ritual directors also enjoy political authority.

**Ceremonies.** There are more than forty Craho rites. They include life-cycle rites, annual-cycle rites, and initiation rites. Characteristic of these rites are the log rases and the exchange of small or large manioc and meat pies baked in hearth ovens. One could say that the Craho live in a continuous ritual situation; some rites last for a whole season, others for several months, and others for a few days, overlapping one another.

**Arts.** Basketry is more elaborate than feather work or body paint. Vocal music is very impressive; the rattle is the main instrument.

**Medicine.** Today Western physicians, dentists, and their medicines are welcome, although, in fact, the Craho are attended by insufficiently trained personnel. Western medicines not incompatible with traditional Craho medicinal plants, however. Several medicine men specialize in extracting pathogenic objects from sick individuals, in recovering souls that have fled from people's bodies, and in inviting souls of recently dead individuals to have their last meal. These medicine men are frequently accused of sorcery.

**Death and Afterlife.** In the past there were two burials. The corpse was unearthed after some months and the bones were cleaned, painted, and reburied. Today the corpse is buried only once, in a cemetery always located on the west side of the village. One or two weeks after death, a last dinner is offered to the soul. At the end of mourning (which in the past coincided with the second burial), a rite is partially performed in which the deceased played an



important role while still alive. The Craho believe that everything—humans, animals, plants, and objects—has a spirit or soul. After the death of the body, the human soul stays alive in human form but behaves in a different fashion. Eventually, the soul itself dies and is transformed into a game animal. When this animal dies, it is in turn transformed into an invertebrate animal. When this invertebrate dies, it is transformed into a dried-up log in the savanna. And, finally, when the savanna burns, nothing remains of the original human being.

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JULIO CEZAR MELATTI

## Cubeo

ETHNONYM: Kobewa

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Cubeo are an ethnic group of the Colombian Amazon. "Cubeo" is a generic name that is used in local Spanish and appears in the literature in reference to a social and linguistic group. Although the term does not have any meaning in their language, the Cubeo refer to themselves by that name in interactions with Whites. There is no common native name, aside from referring to themselves as "people" (*pamiwa*) or more precisely, "my people" (*jiwa*). An individual's social identification is based on his or her ascription to a mythical clan forebear whose name is used as an eponym.

**Location.** The Cubeo live in the area of the Colombian Vaupés, near the center of the Northwestern Cultural Area of the Amazon. Their villages are distributed along the median course of the Vaupés and, above all, alongside its afluent the Cuduyari and Querari rivers.

**Demography.** Reports of the population vary between 3,000 and 5,000 individuals. The national census of 1985 established the number of inhabitants at 4,368.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The language of the Cubeo has been classified as belonging to Eastern Tukano. Recently a reclassification has been suggested to Middle Tukano, a subdivision of a possible Proto-Tukano (Waltz and Wheeler 1972).

### History and Cultural Relations

There has been no archaeological investigation of the Vaupés area. The first reports about this region are found in Pérez de Quesada (1536) and Von Hutten (1541), but systematic expeditions to the Río Negro were begun only toward the middle of the seventeenth century when the first mission villages and fortresses (S. José do Rio Negro, Taruma) were established. In the eighteenth century, in their aim to exert economic control over the area, both the Spanish and the Portuguese crowns sponsored expeditions and settlements to defend the border zones. At the end of that century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Luso-Brazilian expeditions reached as far as the Río Vaupés, promoting haciendas, animal farms, agricultural production, manufacturing, and handicrafts. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, centers of commerce have been encouraged. In reaction to abuse by missionaries and civilians, the Indians began to manifest their discontent and several messianic movements succeeded each other. From the end of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, the indigenous population was subjected to subhuman conditions as outsiders came to extract balata, chicle, and rubber.

Toward the middle of the twentieth century, the Colombian Amazon began to be invaded by colonists from the Andes; this was followed by the exploitation of cocaine and gold. The intervention of Protestant missions, the New Tribes Mission, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics was substantial, but their missionizing and catechizing have been rejected by the Cubeo. Part of Cubeo territory has been legally adjudicated to the Indians by the state, which is readjusting its health and education programs as well as other infrastructural enterprises. Because of Cubeo social and linguistic endogamy, trade with neighboring groups is probably recent. Some exchange is taking place with segments of the Guanano, Tukano, Desana, and other groups of the area. The Cubeo from the Río Querari, on the other hand, have tight links of economic, social, and cultural exchange with the Baniwa-Curripaco-Wakuenai, an Arawak-speaking indigenous group that has settled in the northern part of their territory. Their settlements on the riverine axis of the Vaupés, an important regional fluvial access route, has meant that the dominant society's exploitative and acculturative roles took a more dramatic form there than among other groups in the area. The strong tendency of the Cubeo to revindicate their sociocultural identity, however, offers resistance to miscegenation.

### Settlements

The settlement pattern, shaped by virilocality, is linear, spread out along the rivers. The traditional residence was the *maloca*, a large communal house. Although no longer used as residences, such communal houses still serve as ceremonial centers and places to congregate and discuss community problems. The missionaries turned these gathering places into the present local unit. A village is a group of houses of nuclear or composite families, arranged around playing fields, at the head of which are located administrative buildings like the school and the health center. The social nucleus of a village, however, is made up of the descendants of a clan or founding lineage originating from the said territorial segment. To this are added affinal and consanguineal relatives who settle closely together within the village space.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Economic activities are based on shifting cultivation using slash-and-burn techniques for small plots of land (1 to 3 hectares) in which bitter manioc is planted, together with other tubers and fruit. This is complemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild plant and animal products. The basic unit of production is the nuclear or composite family; crops are intended for autoconsumption. Any sporadic surplus is distributed among relatives.

**Industrial Arts.** Pottery and items made from the calabash tree and from tree bark are still made occasionally, but they are steadily being replaced by Western products. More persistent are basketry and woodworking; items such as baskets of various types, fishing traps, canoes, paddles, and textiles made of *cumare*-palm (*Astrocaryum chambira*) fiber have no counterparts in Western merchandise. Because of missionary influence, the Cubeo no longer make ornaments and ritual paraphernalia, although some may still possess ancestral flutes and trumpets that pertain to the *yurupari* ritual (see "Ceremonies").

**Trade.** Internal trade is limited and confined to products the primary materials of which are not obtainable in the area, such as manioc graters obtained from the Baniwa-Curripaco-Wakuenai. A small portion of Cubeo products—such as canoes, manioc flour, and smoked meat—is traded on the White market for shotguns, machetes, axes, knives, aluminum pots, clothes, radio batteries, or watches. Many Cubeo have participated in the arduous tasks of processing coca leaves and, more recently, in the extraction of gold.

**Division of Labor.** Traditional production is organized according to the principles of division of labor by age and sex. Female activities include planting, caring for and harvesting the field, preparing food, making pottery, child care, and other domestic work. Male tasks include preparing fields, fishing, hunting, basketry and woodworking, as well as building canoes and houses. Gathering wild products is a task shared by men and women. There is no specialization, although it is recognized that some artisans are better than others. Collective teams are organized to construct houses, to clear land for planting, to hunt peccaries, and to fish with *barbasco* poison. In their dealings with the

national society, only the men seek employment as workers and engage in commercial trade; the women stay at home. Communities are concentrated in river areas considered ancestral land.

**Land Tenure.** Communities are concentrated in river areas considered to be ancestral land. According to Cubeo mythology, their clan ancestors emerged in certain places along the river, where their descendants settled. Land possession is secured by preparing fields, the old fallow plots of which are recognized as being the property of a man or a lineage. The various family members must ask the elders of their local lineage for permission to cultivate their lands. Cubeo territory forms part of the Vaupés Reserve, a legal mechanism by which the state recognizes the collective territorial property of various Vaupés groups.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Cubeo consider themselves a unit identified by a specific economy, social organization, and ideology. They are made up of patrilineal clans of shallow genealogical depth, from older to younger, whose members cannot establish direct genealogical links to their respective founders. Each clan is made up of one or several patrilineages, arranged in turn from larger to smaller; members recognize one another by their filiation with a living or recently deceased ancestor, a descendant in turn from the clan ancestor. Finally, the lineage is composed of nuclear or composite families. The Cubeo clans are divided into three exogamic phratries whose groups mutually call each other older and younger "brothers." Because they share the same place of origin and descent from the ancestral Anaconda, phratries consider themselves to be "the same people." Certain segments of other phratries and even of other ethnic groups are recognized as uterine relatives ("mother's sons"), since they are sons of potential wives who were or are married to units different from Ego's, affecting the customary principle of traditional sister exchange. This group, which is called a *pakoma*, includes "brothers" of a phratry and uterine relatives and constitutes the exogamic unit among whom marriage is forbidden.

**Kinship Terminology.** Cubeo kinship terminology follows the principles of the Dravidian system. Genealogical depth does not exceed five generations—the two older and two younger generations than Ego's. Alter's sex is marked with pertinent suffixes. There are referential and vocative differences in vocabulary, and individualized terms are used for each sex for certain categories of relatives. Consanguineal kin are differentiated terminologically according to the order of birth (before or after), but this is not the case with affines. Terminologically, consanguineal kin of Ego's generation are differentiated as older and younger. Besides differentiating cross and parallel cousins, a distinction is also made with regard to uterine relatives, who are called "mother's children."

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Postmarital residence is virilocal. Marriage is prescriptive; the kinship vocabulary designates the category of possible mates between lines of opposite filiation and implies the exchange of sisters among exogamic groups. There is a preference for marriage with a cross cousin;

however, supplementary formulas permit marriage with more distant cross cousins, deferred marriage, and unions with new allies. Marriage is thus between members of different phratries and affines. Marriage with real and classificatory consanguineal relatives, with "mother's children" (persons related to Ego by virtue of a maternal aunt's marriage to a man of a group that is unrelated to Ego through either parental line), and between different generations is prohibited. Couples most frequently separate because of failure to produce offspring. The woman is considered to be at fault; she is returned to her parental home, and the man demands another woman. Repeated infidelity is another cause for divorce, in which case the man will claim paternity over the children.

**Domestic Unit.** Formerly, the domestic unit was made up of a group of nuclear families of a clan. Occasionally, consanguineal or affinal relatives lived in the same house. The new residential pattern is the mission village in which nuclear and composite families live in a house near those of other relatives, beside or around the school and other buildings such as the health center.

**Inheritance.** Land is the most important property and is passed on from father to son. Cultivation of a plot by a man and by his ancestors before him establishes ownership of the property. Paraphernalia and ritual flutes and trumpets are inherited by the lineage. Belongings that were exclusively used by a woman are passed on to her daughters, and those of a man are passed on to his sons.

**Socialization.** Traditional cultural learning is through observation, imitation, and comparison with the norms of behavior transmitted by the domestic unit. During infancy, children remain in the mother's care. Once they have reached the first stage of childhood, girls are bound even closer to their mother and other female relatives, whereas boys accompany their father and close relatives in the performance of male tasks. The permissive attitude and lack of physical mistreatment are noteworthy. Sanctions are related to cultural control, which is a product of the belief system. Nowadays, traditional informal socialization is complemented by Western schooling.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

Political, religious, and ritual life is dominated by the men of the group. People of highest status, like the elders of the lineage and the "elders" who operate as a sort of "council," are consulted and influence collective decisions. Although in communal work there is a leader who organizes collective labor, relations among the members of a group are egalitarian. Nowadays villages are organized into *juntas de acción comunal* (boards of communal action), headed by a chieftain, who frequently is also the person with the greatest traditional status. Other forms of Western organizations have also been introduced.

**Political Organization.** According to the order of birth, the ascription of relative rank among clans is assimilated to the sequence of body segments of the ancestral Anaconda. This ascription, which manifests itself only in ritual contexts and in the interrelationship of different ethnic groups, apparently corresponded to the internal distribution of territory, according to which the older members

tended to live at the mouth of a river and the younger ones at its headwaters. In daily life, interpersonal relations mediated by respect between relatives are not expressive of subordination. More than exercising authority in the community, the chief has the role of organizer, master of ceremonies, and coordinator of daily activities. Organizations grouping together various communities of the same river axis have been superimposed on communities linked by kinship and marriage. These organizations, such as the Unión de Indígenas Cubeos del Cuduyari (Union of Cubeo Indians from the Cuduyari) and the Unión de Indígenas del Querary (Union of Indians from the Querary), are gremial in character and strive to readjust their relationship with the national society and the state.

**Social Control.** Religious and cultural beliefs about the order of society and the environment are the referents for legitimizing an individual's behavior. Rumor and scolding are direct mechanisms of social control. Occasional interpersonal disputes are mediated by the chief. Envy caused by another's inexplicable well-being, jealousy over material wealth, and disagreements over women's infidelity are resolved relatively quickly. In cases that are serious or occur repeatedly, death through "witchcraft" is frequent.

**Conflict.** According to presently stated opinion and mythical tradition, when the internal social order, territorial distribution, and the ascription of specialized functions were established, one segment usurped primogeniture. Since then disputes over traditional clan order have been frequent, but have not led to conflict. The Cubeo speak of intertribal wars with ethnic groups that occupied their territory and with neighboring groups that disputed their settlements. These wars later turned into battles of sorcery, which now have come to an end. The Cubeo remember cannibal warriors who came from Brazilian territory in historical times and whose fierceness forced the Cubeo to hide in the jungle for some time. Conflicts with Whites over the exploitation of indigenous labor during the rubber season still occur.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The origin of the universe is associated with the mythic cycle of the Kuwaiwa brothers, who created the cosmos, completing the Cubeo cultural legacy. It was the Kuwaiwa who left behind the ancestral flutes and trumpets, which symbolically represent the ancestors and which are played on important ritual occasions. The origin of humanity is associated with the mythical cycle of the ancestral Anaconda, which recounts the origin of humankind and the ordering of society. At the beginning, from the "Door of the Waters" at the far eastern end of the world, the Anaconda moved up the river axis of the universe to the center of the world, a rapid in the Río Vaupés. There it brought forth people, establishing the characteristic traits of Cubeo identity as it moved along.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman (jaguar) represents the most important institution of religious and secular life. He is the keeper of knowledge regarding the order of the cosmos and the environment, the beings and spirits of the forest, and the mythology and history of the community. In ritual, he is in charge of communicating with ancestral

spirits. The *baya* is the person who leads the singing of ancestral ritual songs.

**Ceremonies.** Traditional collective ceremonies are limited today to those occasions that reenact the confraternity between members of a village or, less frequently, their relationship with consanguineal and sometimes affinal kin (*dabukuri*) of other villages, and include offering harvested crops. The important ceremony of male initiation, known in the Vaupés area as *yurupari*, is no longer performed.

**Arts.** A large number of petroglyphs mark the rocks on the rapids of rivers in Cubeo territory; the Indians believe that they were created by their ancestors. Ritual paraphernalia has disappeared because of missionary influence, although sporadically one may see some ornaments, especially in connection with shamanism. On the other hand, secular or ritual body painting with vegetable dyes persists. Aside from ancestral flutes and trumpets, musical instruments are today limited to panpipes, animal shells, stamping tubes, maracas, and rattles of dried fruit seeds.

**Medicine.** Illness is a latent state that demands the constant attention of the shaman. It may be produced by seasonal changes or caused by events in an individual's life, the violation of norms governing social affairs or the environment, or the aggression and sorcery of third persons. Although each individual has an elemental knowledge of shamanism, only shamans carry out curing rituals, using prophylactic and therapeutic practices like exorcism and blowing on food or objects. Shamans have the ability to potentiate, reconstitute, or preserve the benevolent powers. The influence of Western medicine, implemented by health centers throughout Cubeo territory, is strongly felt.

**Death and Afterlife.** Traditionally, rites for the dead were associated with a complex ritual (Goldman 1979) that has now been abandoned. Presently, when a person dies he or she is buried near the center of the house, together with his or her utensils used in daily life. Women weep and, together with the men, recount the virtues of the deceased. The Cubeo still believe that a dead person's body will disintegrate in the underworld, whereas the spirit returns to the ancestral houses of its clan. The qualities of the deceased are reincarnated in the descendants who, every fourth generation, carry his or her name.

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FRANÇOIS CORREA  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Cuiva

ETHNONYMS: Cuiba, Cuibos, Cuybas, Kuiba, Quiva

### Orientation

**Identification.** Although meaningless to the people to whom it refers, the name "Cuiva" is often found in the literature on the area and is commonly used in Colombia and Venezuela to designate some six groups of traditionally nomadic hunters and gatherers living near the border between the two countries. Each group or band sees itself as a unique and autonomous social entity that represents the largest group in society; members of each band call themselves "our people" and refer contrastingly to other bands as "other peoples." Often, each band is also identified in relation to the most important river within its territory.

**Location.** Situated near the center of the Orinoco plains, Cuiva territory is roughly bounded by parallels 5° and 6°34' N and meridians 69°40' W and 71°. Within Colombia, the three bands occupy the banks of the rivers Casanare, Aripuro, and Agua Clara; the other three bands,

in Venezuela, are located on the Arauca, Capanaparo, and Cinaruco rivers. The territory consists mostly of grassy savannas dotted with palms and scattered shrubs, broken only by rivers and the gallery forest that fringes their banks. The climate is tropical, with a well-defined division of the year into a rainy season, between April and November, and the rest of the year, when any rainfall is exceptional.

**Demography.** There are no modern, accurate population data, but since each band normally has between 150 and 300 members, it is reasonable to estimate the total Cuiva population as somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500. The entire Guahibo cultural area has a population probably approaching 20,000.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Cuiva language belongs to the Guahibo Language Family, allowing them to communicate, with more or less effort, with nearly all the groups inhabiting the eastern plains of Colombia and southern Venezuela. Members of each Cuiva band are known by others, however, through specifically accented speech in their own "language."

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Although the evidence remains scanty, nothing now known suggests that the Cuiva have occupied any territory other than their own. The region has most probably undergone many transformations, invasions, wars, conquests, appearances of cultural groups from elsewhere, and disappearances of some groups altogether. But this small group of hunter-gatherers seems to have survived largely unchanged.

The first known contact with European invaders came as early as 1533 and for the next century was limited to those crossing Cuiva territory in their relentless pursuit of the mythical El Dorado. Jesuit missionaries were the first to colonize the area, in the later part of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, but they seem to have had only limited success with the settled Guahibo horticulturists, whereas their contacts with the nomads remained distant and at times violent. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the following 200 years were apparently quiet.

In about 1950 pressure from the civil war in Colombia pushed cattle herders progressively into Cuiva territory. On the whole, relations with these settlers have been a disaster for the Cuiva, who have often been chased from many parts of their own land. Camps have been attacked by people with firearms, Indians have been deliberately killed, and the last thirty years of Cuiva history can be read as typical of the genocide of so many South American Indian populations. The traditional Cuiva strategy was to avoid contact with the invaders by seeking refuge near the smaller rivers, away from the main waterways, but now most of their territory is occupied. The Cuiva have nowhere to escape and possibly no choice but to settle on whatever piece of land remains and to survive by cultivating newly created gardens.

The Cuiva visit their neighbors mostly for the pleasure of meeting different people and breaking the routine. There is no significant trading between groups, intermarriages do occur but are rare, and there are no other social or political activities beyond the level of the band. It is

worth noting that, from visiting neighboring horticulturists, the Cuiva have become fully aware of techniques of cultivation and of making pottery and a few other artifacts, which they themselves never use or make.

### *Settlements*

Each band lives and travels within an area of a few thousand square kilometers, which is recognized by all to be its own territory. Within this area, there are no permanent settlements and only a few sites that people occupy year after year. A camping site is essentially a small section of the forest where all can comfortably hang their hammocks. Since food resources are often localized, the choice of a particular site becomes a choice of what to eat and is thus a matter for debate within the group. On average, a camping site is abandoned after a week, with slight variations between the dry season, when moves are more frequent, and the rainy season, when each trip is usually longer because many parts of the forest are flooded and not suitable for occupation. During the rainy season, the Cuiva use palm leaves to build lean-to shelters, a task that normally requires less than thirty minutes and is unnecessary during the dry season.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Division of Labor.** Unlike most modern hunter-gatherers, the Cuiva live in a rich environment, and, because of this, offer perhaps the best illustration of an economy that has been described as the "original affluent society." Women produce vegetables, which are gathered during the dry season on the edge of the savannas, and men hunt animals, which are mostly caught in or near the rivers; fruits can be collected by either sex in the forest during the rainy season. Food is shared among all in a camp. In return for a week of work that never exceeds twenty hours, each Cuiva eats a daily average of a pound of meat and a pound of either fruits or vegetables. Their technology is probably one of the simplest in the world, as it includes little more than hammocks, canoes, bows and arrows, digging sticks, baskets, bark cloth, and strings.

### *Kinship*

A Cuiva is born into a social world that is rigorously ordered: within the immediate community of the band, everyone is a relative who shares a specific kinship link with oneself. The classification even covers the entire social universe, as it extends to every known member of other bands; in fact, only non-Indians, who in any case are not part of humanity, are outside this classification system. The system is Dravidian in many of its main characteristics, and the terms are classificatory in the widest sense. The entire society is ordered into only twelve categories of kin (or even six categories, each subdivided by sex) and over only three successive generations, because the system also equates alternate generations, thus providing siblings and cousins with Ego's own generation but also within Ego's grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. As kinship defines and imposes rules of appropriate behavior, it identifies which goods to give or exchange, who gets respect, with whom to joke, and so on. Perhaps most impor-

tant, there is within each generation a clear distinction between the cross cousins one can and must marry and the categories of siblings and parallel cousins with whom marriage is forbidden. In short, the system of kinship organizes the social world as a complete network of kin relations that ensures the maintenance and reproduction of society. But the system does not really extend beyond this network: the Cuiva never trace lines of descent, do not form social groups based on common descent, and generally demonstrate a remarkable lack of genealogical memory.

Every adult in society has a spouse, with only the rare exceptions of the recently divorced and elderly widowed. Men marry for the first time around the age of 26, whereas women should marry just before puberty. Residence after marriage follows the rule of uxorilocality; it is the young man who leaves the shelter of his parents to go and live with his new wife and her parents. The couple, "those who sleep in the same hammock," represent the minimal group in society. The next-larger unit is called "those who sleep under the same shelter" and is normally composed of a couple, their daughters with their husbands, and all unmarried children. These are the people who always live together, producing and sharing food as a unit, and who often literally share the same palm roof, use the same fire, and cook and eat together.

These groups are only rarely isolated from the rest of the society, however, and are normally joined to a larger unit (which can be called "local group" but for which the Cuiva themselves have no special name) that includes from ten to forty individuals and is formed by the lasting association of a few shelters. There is no jurally precise mode of affiliation, but shelters joining to form a local group usually include some very close relatives—typically, brothers and sisters who have been separated by the rule of uxorilocal residence. The joining together of all local groups forms the band, or the union of what the Cuiva call "one people" or "our people." The rights of membership in the band are not well defined, and although they are at times expressed by the rather vague idea of a common origin, membership is in fact dependent on integration at the level of the smaller units (being married and part of a residential group) and on the general consensus within the band, which seems to be contingent mostly on the length of time a person has spent with the group.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The young man who leaves his own family for the shelter of his new wife finds himself living with parents-in-law with whom he must remain very formal. Often enough, at first, his wife will also become his only friend within the shelter. The relationship between husband and wife is very intense because they spend most hours of the day together and are almost never separated: they sleep, travel, eat, visit, and even hunt, fish, or pick fruit together. This intensity is probably helped by Cuiva ideas on divorce—it is relatively easy for either spouse to cancel a marriage, especially if there are no children. The Cuiva also say that the intensity of the relationship ensures that a marriage will normally either succeed or fail within a very short time.

**Domestic Unit.** The people "who sleep under the same shelter" and the local group form a kind of extended family that becomes largely responsible for the socialization of children, the care of the aged, and the general welfare of all members. Many of the long hours of leisure are spent with members of one's shelter or local group, and these people are usually one's closest relatives and most intimate friends.

**Socialization.** Sexual distinction begins early: more or less from age 3, girls begin to learn from women, boys from men. By the time a man marries, he has become a competent hunter, but his wife is only reaching puberty and still has much to learn. This is the reason given for matrilineal residence at marriage. The Cuiva also say that learning is a lifelong process and that one should always remain intellectually curious: from the simplest botany to highly speculative astronomy, there is much to be learned and discovered.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The only distinctions in Cuiva society are based on sex and age. Men and women are said to be very different and fully complementary. The division of labor is strict and is accompanied by the sexual division of many other aspects of the social and cosmological order. The ideology of complementarity of the sexes translates into a broadly equal sharing in food production as well as in the running of social and political affairs. Power increases with age, however, and one should always pay respect and follow the advice of one's elders, regardless of sex. The basis for this division lies in the belief that knowledge is cumulative; elders know more about the world and the supernatural and this makes them more efficient and more powerful.

**Political Organization.** Within the group of "those who sleep in the same hammock," neither husband nor wife is supposed to be dominant; both partners are very much the masters of their own fields of activities. Within the shelter, the authority clearly rests with the parents, until age makes them more and more dependent on their daughters and sons-in-law. Within the local group and the band, there are no institutionalized forms of political power, but the opinions of older members of either sex usually carry more weight and will often be respected. However, the activities over which these people can exercise any form of authority are mostly limited to deciding whether and where the group should move next or trying to resolve a dispute between members of different shelters. The most important decisions in life are made by couples and by those who share the same shelter, and these are domains in which no outsider would ever interfere.

**Social Control and Conflict.** Since at every level each social group is largely autonomous, there is often no higher authority with the political power of settling disputes. Like other communities of hunter-gatherers that are said to "vote with their feet," the Cuiva tend to vote with their paddles: conflicting parties will simply part and travel to distant areas of the territory, where they will remain until a time when much is forgotten and the quarrel has turned trivial.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Cuiva cosmology provides a series of precepts on the order and general causes of things, which forms a system of explanation for human action and which in turn can be taken as a moral guide for conduct. In its simplest form, the logical ordering of the world resembles the yin/yang principle known from parts of Asia: a world made of differences and opposites with each element of a contrast existing in total dependence on and unison with its counterpart. The world is in a state of equilibrium between equal parts, an equilibrium that should never be broken. And as such, the world is eternal: consumed, animals and plants do return, and people are reincarnated. Society as a whole appeared at the beginning of time and has remained unchanged. These are the more fundamental notions of the cosmology, which, in practice, become sets of personal beliefs with considerable individual variations. There is no institutionalized religious authority in society, and no one is specifically responsible for preserving the doctrine.

**Ceremonies.** There are two communal rituals: one celebrating female puberty and the other organized whenever food is especially abundant and there are enough willing participants in camp. Both rituals are special occasions that can be deeply religious experiences but that also provide opportunities for communal feasting and rejoicing.

**Arts.** Cuiva expressive arts leave no material trace, as they take the form of body painting, communal dancing, and various types of singing ranging from set and highly repetitive patterns of dance songs to improvised and personal ballads usually performed in the calm of the evening. The Cuiva would add to this list the ability to converse, talk, discuss, and joke with others, which, to them, is very much an art.

**Medicine.** Without external interferences, the human body would neither age, suffer from disease, or die. These threatening interferences can come naturally from the malevolent forces of the world or may be sent by an enemy. The ability to control these malevolent forces, whether to harm or to cure, stems from knowledge of the world and is thus available to all but increases with age: anyone can cure—this is not the role of any specialist—but the Cuiva say only someone older than the patient can really be effective (this explains why illness in older people is so often fatal).

**Death and Afterlife.** A corpse is incinerated and a part of the "soul" follows the smoke into the sky, where it can be seen at night in the Milky Way and where it awaits its return to society in the form of a new embryo.

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BERNARD ARCAND

## Culina

ETHNONYMS: Kulina, Madiha, Madija

### Orientation

**Identification.** The origin of the name "Culina" is unknown; it was already in use in the 1860s when William Chandless became the first English explorer to penetrate their region. The term may have combined the Culina with a distinct Panoan group called the "Kolina." The Culina refer to themselves as "Madiha" (people) and distinguish seventy or more subgroups, usually by an animal name such as the "Pitsi Madiha" (*pitsi*-monkey people) or the "Kurubu Madiha" (*kurubu*-fish people).

**Location.** Most of the Culina live in villages scattered along the rivers of the Purus-Juruá region of western Brazil, from about 7° to 10° S and 70° to 73° W. The upper Purus and its affluent, the Rio Chandless, are the southern limit of their area, and the Rio Juruá is the northern limit. There are two Culina villages on the Peruvian side of the upper Purus. It appears that, prior to their movement into this region, they may have lived in the area around the current town of Taruacá, but the Culina believe that they may have migrated from the region around the city of Manaus.

**Demography.** The total Culina population is difficult to establish but appears to be no more than about 3,000 individuals. Of these, approximately 2,500 live in Brazil, and perhaps 500 or fewer live in Peru.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Culina speak an Arawak language closely related to that spoken by the Deni. There are minor dialect variations among subgroups.

### History and Cultural Relations

The prehistory of Arawakan Indians is hotly debated; their homeland has been identified variously as the Orinoco Basin and as the area between the Ucayali and Madre de Dios rivers. According to one theory, the original Arawakan speakers lived near the present city of Manaus about

3000 B.C. and moved up the Amazon River and, ultimately, up the Juruá and Purus rivers under pressure from the Tupi-Guaraní groups moving up the Amazon from the east. In the absence of archaeological research, little can be said of the prehistory specifically of the Culina.

The Culina were already in the Purus-Juruá region by the early nineteenth century and are mentioned as being there by the explorer Castelnau and by the naturalist Bates in the 1850s. During this period the Culina lived in the forest and avoided the rivers; Chandless did not meet any Culina during his ascent of the Purus in the 1860s, but reported that they were feared by the local riverine groups. Culina ethnohistory includes references to a recent past in the deep forest, without canoes; elderly Culina still remember these villages from the early part of the twentieth century. It appears that the Culina first avoided contact with rubber tappers who entered the region in the late nineteenth century but ultimately were attracted to the major riverways by the availability of sugar, metal tools, guns, and other Brazilian manufactured goods.

By the early decades of the twentieth century the priest and linguist Constant Tastevin had found some Culina working for rubber tappers, performing the harder manual labor around rubber-tapping camps, and hunting game for the rubber tappers. This contact with Brazilians proved dramatically destructive for the Culina, who were subjected to virtual slavery, torture, and murder. In common with other indigenous Amazonian peoples, the Culina also suffered severely from infectious diseases brought by non-Indians; as early as 1877 a measles epidemic decimated a large group of Culina on the Rio Juruá, and a similar epidemic struck as late as 1950, killing most of the young children and older Culina in the village of Cupichaua on the upper Purus.

The Culina have continued to work for rubber tappers and farmers along the rivers, although several groups have resisted extensive contact with non-Culina. Among the former, and in particular among groups living along the Juruá and Envira rivers, there is considerable contact with Brazilians and partial reliance on the local Brazilian economy. At the frontiers of Culina expansion, for example on the upper Purus, there is but occasional contact with non-Indians. In such areas missionaries are the primary Culina contacts with non-Indians: the Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant group) has been active in the Peruvian village called San Bernardo, and the Brazilian Catholic mission, the Conselho Indigenista Missionário, has been active on the Brazilian Purus, Envira, and Juruá rivers. The Culina are struggling to have their territories demarcated officially as indigenous areas (*areas indígenas*) to guarantee their exclusive access to and use of these lands. The large area comprising the villages along the upper Rio Purus has already been established as the Area Indígena Alto Purus, and other territories are in the process of being demarcated.

### Settlements

It appears that until the end of the nineteenth century the Culina built their villages deep in the forests between the major waterways of their territory. These villages consisted of a single, large structure, similar in design to an A-frame:

two sloping roofs that extended to the ground in the classic *maloca* (longhouse) style. Inside these structures, family members occupied discrete sections, forming two rows of family areas along the two sides of the house. The central space inside the structure was used for rituals and other communal activities. The population of these malocas is difficult to determine, but could have been as large as 300 individuals or more.

The movement to the river banks produced changes in settlement patterns. Individual extended families built separate houses raised about 1 meter from the ground in the Brazilian style and consisting of a single enclosed room for sleeping, with an open, roofed platform in front for social gatherings and a small attached platform for cooking. These houses are built in two rows parallel to the river, and are essentially modeled on the pattern of family areas in the aboriginal malocas. Currently, large villages may have 150 to 200 residents, but smaller settlements may consist of a single extended family of as few as 8 or 10 individuals. The Culina prefer the larger villages, calling the two parallel rows of houses a "complete" village.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Culina practice shifting slash-and-burn horticulture, which they supplement with hunting, fishing, and gathering. The most important crops are sweet manioc, bananas, and plantains. The most common animals hunted are collared peccaries, tapir, and deer. Fishing is an important source of protein when "real meat" is unavailable, and a wide range of wild fruits and vegetables provides considerable variety in the diet. Some Culina work for small-scale rubber-tapping operations or farms, where they earn money to purchase manufactured goods such as knives, metal pots, soap, shotguns, and ammunition, as well as sugar and salt. More isolated Culina earn small amounts of money by tapping rubber trees of their own or by selling or trading meat to Brazilian boats that sometimes pass by villages. Catholic missionaries in the region have encouraged the Culina to produce traditional handicrafts for sale, such as featherwork, hammocks, baby slings, and carved wooden figures. As yet these produce only small amounts of money. Overall, the Culina continue to maintain a largely subsistence economy; surpluses are small and irregular.

**Industrial Arts.** The Culina make a variety of craft items, including canoes and paddles, clay pots, and bows and arrows. Women are adept spinners and weavers of native cotton, producing hammocks and baby slings; they also weave baskets of palm fibers. Having become skillful seamstresses, women make almost all the clothes worn by their families. There is no metal or stone in the region, and the Culina have no traditional crafts using these materials.

**Trade.** Little trade appears to take place among the indigenous groups in this region. The Culina trade actively with Brazilians for manufactured items, however. Buying and selling are less common than barter: latex, meat, and traditional crafts are traded for manufactured goods.

**Division of Labor.** Men's and women's roles are sharply distinguished among the Culina. Men clear land for gar-



dening, but women tend gardens and harvest their products. Men hunt to provide raw meat and fish, which women cook. Men serve as shamans and ritual leaders. Women's roles are thought of as domestic, located within the household or within the village and its immediate environs, whereas men's roles are thought of as extravillage, performed in the forest (as in hunting) or in the world of the spirits (as in shamanism). Men and women tend not to share the proceeds of their handicrafts or trade. For example, women who make feather ornaments or hammocks will trade them for metal pots that they consider their own property, and their husbands will trade latex or meat for, say, knives or shotgun ammunition that they consider their own.

**Land Tenure.** The Culina Madiha groups traditionally occupied more or less distinct areas, and any member of the group's village had access to land for horticulture and hunting. Gardens were owned by the senior adult man of the extended family, who acquired rights to the land by clearing it. Villages were moved perhaps every five to ten years, when new gardens had to be cleared farther away than people cared to walk. Today, under pressure from Brazilian settlers, many Culina groups are restricted to single, much smaller areas. Under Brazilian law these groups have exclusive rights to their traditional lands, but Brazil's National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI) has been slow to designate these areas. Like all indigenous Brazilian peoples, the Culina are technically wards of the Brazilian government.

### Kinship

**Kin Group and Descent.** The Madiha subgroups comprise bilateral kindreds, within which everyone is said to be related by ties of kinship, and the subgroup is normatively the widest extension of kinship. Marriage outside the Madiha subgroup results in the extension of kinship ties to individuals in other subgroups, but these ties rarely last for more than one or two generations. Subgroups are associated with geographical areas, but lack any other corporate characteristics. Descent per se is not reckoned by the Culina; membership in Madiha groups, for example, is determined by filiation and residence.

**Kinship Terminology.** Culina kin terminology divides kin into two groups, parallel kin and cross kin. Nonkin may be incorporated under cross-kin terms.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is preferentially between cross cousins within the same Madiha group, that is, between individuals who are cross kin of the same generation. Cross kin of approximately equal age but different generations may also marry. Marriage is normally monogamous, but occasional polygynous marriages are found. Postmarital residence is uxori-neolocal for husbands; the couple initially lives in the wife's natal household but is expected to move into its own by the birth of a third child. Divorce is fairly common and simple; either the husband or the wife may move out of the household and take a new spouse. Aside from elderly individuals who are cared for by adult children, all Culina adults are expected to be married. The

Culina attribute this to the critical domestic and economic tasks performed by each spouse in a system with a sharp division of labor.

**Domestic Unit.** The typical domestic unit is an extended family household of three generations, including the senior male and female heads of the household, their daughters, daughters' husbands and children, and unmarried sons.

**Inheritance.** The Culina do not specify rules of inheritance. Personal property is buried with a deceased individual or is distributed among village members.

**Socialization.** After infancy, children join same-sex groups to engage in play that models adult roles. Young boys make tiny bows and arrows to hunt small rodents and lizards; young girls make small cooking fires and play at domestic games. By early adolescence girls have begun to assist adult women with daily tasks and their skill at these is monitored by the parents of adolescent boys. Adolescent boys are taught to be "wild" and uncontrollable; this allows them to sharpen their hunting skills and also excuses their constant mischief making. Adults are indulgent and punishment of children is extremely rare.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The Culina describe their villages as organized around a group of siblings, their spouses, children, and children's children. All village members are felt to be related by ties of kinship, and for each individual the village may be further divided into two groups: parallel kin related by metaphorical "sibling" ties and cross kin related as "affines." Roles are not highly differentiated, except by gender.

**Political Organization.** The village is the broadest political unit, although villages sometimes join together in political action. Village leadership is vested in a senior man who holds this position as long as he can effectively maintain the support of the village; he leads by his personal power, not by any formal authority. Within villages there are often two or more political factions that may clear gardens or hunt in separate areas and that may have distinct leaders. Factions can emerge when two groups of senior adult siblings form a single village, and, ultimately, village fissioning occurs along these lines. Brazilian policy allows the Culina to maintain their traditional political system, but FUNAI has made efforts to designate a single, "official" headman, or *tuxawa*.

**Social Control and Conflict.** Day-to-day social control is maintained by a strong feeling that the close kin who comprise a village should live harmoniously, avoiding overt conflict. Gossip and fear of accusations of witchcraft also discourage antisocial behavior. Physical violence may be punished by banishment from the village. Nonetheless, social stress, anger, and tensions occur in the normal course of life. From time to time, Culina men drink small amounts of a Brazilian rum, *cachaça*, and, under its influence, become extremely aggressive and bellicose; open fighting occurs and serious injuries may be inflicted. In these cases, drunkenness reduces the personal responsibility of the individuals involved. Intervillage conflict has

become rare but occasionally follows accusations of witchcraft.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional belief is in animal spirits who are collectively known as *tokorime*. A culture hero, Kira, lives in the sky above the clouds, whereas animal spirits live in the underground world called *nami budi*. Tokorime spirits include most animals known to the Culina plus a variety of other, monstrous tokorime who populate the forest. Kira is considered remote; having created the Culina, he retreated to the sky and has no more contact with this world. Protestant missionaries in Peru identify Kira with God but consider the tokorime satanic; a few Peruvian Culina profess to be Christian, but the Culina as a whole retain their traditional religious beliefs.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans are active in curing rituals and when a death occurs; they call white-lipped peccaries from the *nami budi* to the forest for hunting. Shamans are always men, and, traditionally, all adult men were shamans. Shamans may also be accused of witchcraft, particularly by members of other villages.

**Ceremonies.** Ceremonies are conducted in the dry season, roughly from April to September. The largest ceremony centers around drinking and then vomiting up large quantities of a fermented manioc beverage. This ceremony ritualizes themes of hunting versus horticulture and male versus female economic roles. Shamans also conduct curing rituals during the dry season, nighttime ceremonies in which the witchcraft substance causing a person's illness is sucked out of the body. Although the Culina say that formal rituals are only held during the dry season, rainy-season hunting is done collectively, and a brief ceremony of meat distribution follows.

**Arts.** The Culina make feather ornaments, necklaces and bracelets of small seeds or beads (when available), and woven cotton arm bands. Adolescent boys make small flutes. Singing is an important component of all rituals.

**Medicine.** A variety of leaves are used for minor cuts, scratches, aches, or pains; leaves said to "smell good" are thought to be curative. More serious illness is the result of a substance called *dori* injected into the victim's body by a witch. It can only be extracted by a shaman, who uses tobacco to induce trance, becomes transformed into a spirit, and sucks out the harmful *dori*. The Culina also turn to Brazilian medications if they are available but do not consider Brazilian medications effective against witchcraft-induced illness.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death occurs when the soul, *korime*, leaves the body. A shaman ritually leads the soul to the underworld, where it enters a village much like its former earthly home but populated by white-lipped peccaries. A ceremony is held for the soul, during which it is eaten by, and then transformed into, a white-lipped peccary. These peccaries are later called back up into the forest, where they are hunted, eaten, and finally transformed back into living Culina in a cycle of death and "rebirth." A witch who is killed in revenge will not be conducted to the underworld. The witch's soul wanders the forest for several days, and is finally eaten by a jaguar, into which it is trans-

formed. Because the Culina do not eat jaguars, the soul is never reincarnated again.

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DONALD K. POLLOCK

## **Cuna**

ETHNONYMS: Cerracuna, Cuna-Cuna, Cuna Tule, Palatola, Tule, Walatola, Yalatola

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Cuna call themselves "Tule" (real people), but they regard the name "Cuna" as reflecting their origin from the cultural hero Ibeorkuna. "Tule" is used in opposition to "Waga" (Whites) or to the name for any other Indian group.

**Location.** The Cuna are localized on about thirty islands in the archipelago of San Blas in the Panamanian Caribbean Sea; in the upper courses of the Bayano, Chucunaque, and Tuirá rivers; and in small communities around the Gulf of Urabá in Colombia. The majority inhabit the San Blas Islands. Originally, they occupied the mainland—the Gulf of Urabá and the Darién region—but since 1850 have moved to the islands. The climate is tropical, with high temperatures, intensive humidity, and heavy rains. Vast areas of wild vegetation surround the communities.

**Demography.** The Cuna population is approximately 35,000. Only 500 live in Colombia.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Cuna language belongs to the Chibcha Family. There is a ceremonial dialect that is spoken by political leaders and shamans in special contexts such as congresses and medicine sessions.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Historic information suggests that in the sixteenth century the Cuna lived at the low course of the Río Atrato. In colonial times they fought for land with the Emberá-Catío, who were their southern neighbors. As a consequence of this warfare, the Cuna moved north to the Atlantic coast.

It is now known that the Cuna were not the people of the chiefdoms of Darién, as Julian Steward suggested. The Cuna, apparently, have never been organized above the segmentary tribal level. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Cuna faced French and Scottish colonizers who traded for cacao and other products such as *quina* (Peruvian cinchona bark) and gave them clothes, guns, powder, and metal tools. The Indians allied temporarily either with the French or the Scottish and fought against the other or against the Spaniards. The alliances depended upon economic advantages. Nevertheless, in general terms, the Cuna-French alliance was more successful, and ethnic mixture between the two is quite evident.

The Cuna supported a large trade activity during the nineteenth century with Colombians, North Americans, and people from yet other countries. The Indians moved to the islands beginning in 1850, in search of new lands. In 1915 the Republic of Panama created the *intendencia* (administrative area) at San Blas and stationed Black and mixed-blood guards there, both of whom exploited the Indians continuously. This led to the Cuna Revolution of 1925, the claimed independence from Panama, and the possibility of annexation to Colombian territory. The revolt was cruelly repressed.

Today, the Indians of San Blas have a high degree of representation in the political bodies of Panama, and the cultural changes are evident in education and material technology. There are a considerable number of Cuna professionals. The Colombian Indians, in contrast, are more traditional and preserve many of the ancient ways of life in technology, political organization, and so forth.

### Settlements

In the communities of the mainland the traditional pattern of settlement is along the rivers. The dwellings are not clustered, but separated. Generally, there is a short path between the house and the river. The settlements are surrounded by clear-cut jungle; agricultural fields are distant from the houses. In the islands of San Blas, communities are physically organized like towns, cut by streets, and the dwellings of the Indians are adjacent. The towns of the San Blas Islands have schools, stores, health posts, and one or more congress houses, where the Cuna hold political and ceremonial meetings. These congress houses also exist in mainland communities. The difference in settlement patterns corresponds to diverse trends of intensity in the process of modernization. The mainland localities are not situated near main thoroughfares as in the islands, and they are far from large cities. Arquia and Caimán, in Darién, for example, are surrounded by jungle; however, a road from Turbo to Necocli crosses the community of Caimán.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Cuna have traditionally been horticulturists and hunters who also practice fishing. They cultivate maize, rice, sweet manioc, cacao, *ñame* (yams), certain tropical fruits, and sugarcane. They work the land by slash-and-burn techniques,

which imply rotation of fields and a fallow period that has tended to become shorter in recent times as a consequence of the arrival of outsiders on their land.

Hunting is an important subsistence activity that is practiced by men. Bows and arrows have been replaced by shotguns that the Cuna get in San Blas, Panamá, and other cities. Today, the Cuna of Darién only make small, flat-pointed arrows, used for frightening the birds that pick in the maize and rice fields and as a toy for children. Traps are constructed with poles and sticks; if small animals fall in them, they are freed. This contrasts with the White approach, which makes no distinction in the size of catches. Men may fish individually or as an extended-family pattern of production; the Indians utilize nets, fishhooks, and *barbasco*, a vegetal poison obtained from different plants. *Barbasco* is used only when the families need a great quantity of fish for ceremonial meetings. Modern Indians of San Blas work for wages as sailors, land workers, and at other jobs. Many Cuna are professionals, including medical doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Nowadays, Indians from Colombian and Panamanian communities have additional incomes from selling handicrafts, such as baskets and *molas* (multicolored blouse-dresses with intricate appliqué designs), to tourists.

**Industrial Arts.** Basketry and *molas* are important handicrafts made by Cuna Indians. In the San Blas Islands women make pottery for burning chili and trade them to Colombian Indians for shamanistic sessions. The Cuna from Darién are famous canoe makers and they sell them in San Blas to other Cuna men.

**Trade.** Trading activity has been undertaken by the Cuna since pre-Hispanic times. Postcontact trade with Europeans included gold, coconuts, cacao, and other products. In San Blas coconut is an important commercial commodity that is smuggled to Colombia. Commercial activity is greater on the islands than on the mainland. The mainland economy continues along traditional lines despite the White and Black settlers, except in the community of Caimán, where a road crosses the territory and where many Whites have settled. In general, however, mainland Indians have no markets and trade is sporadic. They trade canoes, cacao, maize, and game for shotguns, fuel oil, canned foods, and other goods. In San Blas there are some native commercial agents who store modern merchandise.

**Division of Labor.** Hunting, sailing, fishing, and clearing the agricultural fields are male activities. In mainland communities, baskets are also made by men. Planting, harvesting, cooking, and transportation of water from the rivers are female work. Both sexes sew *molas*.

**Land Tenure.** Land is passed from parents to sons and daughters; if parents die, the land is shared among siblings. Husbands work the land possessed by their wives, and, as the traditional pattern of residence is matrilineal, the father-in-law of the man keeps watch over it. Therefore, a husband may work both the land he inherits and that inherited by his wife. Generally, on the islands and on the mainland, people may take land for cultivation and clear new fields; in some cases, they announce it to the *saila* (community leader). No individual or family property taxes

exist for wild land used as hunting territory. In San Blas, private property is the result of the modernization process.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Descent is bilateral. The Cuna recognize double affiliation and rights of inheritance. The rule of residence is matrilineal. In San Blas, neolocal residence is a recent development, resulting from wage labor and migration. Kin groups are dispersed over the territory, and no localization of descent groups is reported.

**Kinship Terminology.** The terminological system is descriptive and bilateral with variations based on sex and age. Frequently, the kinship terms replace personal names, and teknonymy is intensely used.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** In aboriginal times polygyny existed and was practiced generally. In the late seventeenth century residence was independent or neolocal, but since the nineteenth century the tendency has been toward matrilocality. Nevertheless, in most acculturated communities, neolocal residence has reappeared. In the 1990s monogamy and polygyny both occur; there is a strong rejection to ethnic exogamy, and cousins and their descendants cannot marry. Bride-service, in which the man must work approximately one year for his father-in-law, may be aboriginal. Divorce can be initiated by a man or a woman. The choice of a spouse is a matter for the families rather than a personal choice, but recently, and under the influence of missionaries, the individual's wishes have become more important.

**Domestic Unit.** Household size in aboriginal and colonial times was larger than it is today. Each house could lodge twenty or twenty-five people. Currently, there are two kinds of households, the traditional and the modern. The first type is composed of several conjugal families related by blood ties. The unit contains a couple, with the man (*sakka*) as head of the group, their single sons, married daughters and their husbands and children, and single daughters. Married sons live in their wives' households (i.e., residence is matrilineal). The modern type is the conjugal family and is very common on the San Blas Islands.

**Inheritance.** Personal property and land are passed from parents to children. Sometimes land is shared among siblings. The land received by daughters may be worked by their husbands, but spouses do not inherit from one another; nor, as a general rule, do step- or adopted children receive lands from their parents, but they may work the land inherited by biological sons and daughters. In traditional conditions, no land titles exist.

**Socialization.** Boys and girls were traditionally raised in a permissive environment, and this is still the case today; physical punishments are rare, and parents are very affable and affectionate with children. Approximately at the age of 2 years, girls have their noses perforated for the implantation of a gold ring, which is bought in Panamá or in the Colombian cities of Medellín or Turbo. This ornament is worn by women throughout life and is a symbol of ethnic identification. Boys and girls must attend council house or religious instruction, but this custom is disappearing; the

tendency is toward informal learning of myths and ritual practices in the family circle.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** In precontact times, during Spanish rule, and in modern times, the Cuna have lived like a "tropical forest tribe," without specialists or centralized authority; the communities have been autonomous one from another, but not isolated. Sex and age determine status and occupation. Shamanism is the part-time activity of some elders. Today, modern objects like watches, radios, and urban clothes are elements of prestige that are sought along with the traditional symbols like a good canoe and a large number of necklaces of animal teeth for men or of seeds, fishbones, or coins for women. In modern localities of San Blas, some economic-based stratification has appeared, but the society has traditionally been homogeneous, without status groups such as nobles or slaves. Friendship is institutionalized as a form of alliance between two extended families; the *sakka* of both units interested in the alliance eat chicken meat in a ritual context and exchange pieces of the food. The alliance is then recognized and implies an obligation of mutual assistance.

**Political Organization.** The ancient chiefdom of Cueva has been mistakenly regarded as the predecessor of the Cuna ethnic group. The Cuna were never organized beyond the community level. Only prior to and during the Cuna Revolution of 1925 against the Panamanian government was a temporary centralization process achieved around Nele Kantule and other minor chiefs, but after the revolution the communities returned to their autonomous existences.

The *sailas* have not had great authority owing to the economic decision-making role of extended families. Rather, the *sakka* is the authority among his affinal and consanguineal relatives who live in the same house. The *saila* is more of a conciliator and a representative of community interests to other groups, like settlers, Blacks, and Catio Indians. *Sailas* are elected by men in the *onmaket* (assembly of the community), where individuals can express their complaints about the behavior of *sailas* or other persons, or where the *saila* may express disagreement with the conduct of certain families and persons. The *onmaket* is an occasion for reiteration of religious and social beliefs and thus is also a socialization setting for adolescents.

**Social Control.** Besides the *onmaket*, there are other sources of control such as gossip, fear of witchcraft, and pecuniary penalties. Robberies and forbidden sexual relations are the most controlled deviant behaviors. When an Indian has left the ethnic group for a long time and returned, it is very difficult for him to incorporate himself again into any community. People ignore him (rarely her) and only after a time, during which the man must demonstrate his conformity with the group and its rules, will he be accepted, but often he will be criticized.

**Conflict.** Frequently, there are disputes because of gossip or suspicion of theft. There are no warlike attacks between communities, although war was common in pre-Conquest times and during colonial rule. The Cuna fought against the Catio-Emberá and the Spaniards. Since colonial times,

relations with Blacks have been unfriendly because Indians think that Blacks are thieves. Nevertheless, in the Río Caimán area, some Cuna families accept Blacks as laborers. Religious conflict with missionaries was not rare. In 1938 the Caimán Cuna expelled Mother Laura, the founder of a prestigious Catholic community. More recently, conflict with missionaries has resulted from priests' and nuns' rejection of certain mythic beliefs and because the Indians do not understand the meaning of mass and baptism. The Indians are upset because in the Darién area, missionaries require the children to attend school and compel them to write despite the fact that memory is highly valued by the Indians in their traditional process of socialization.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Aboriginal religion emphasized animal souls. Ibelel, or Ibeorgun, was and is today the most important culture hero, the one who introduced social life and material culture to the first Cuna Indians. Besides Ibelel—who lives in the sun observing human behavior—the twelve *nele* are important personages who helped the Indians. The Cuna know the particular life history of each *nele*, and it is passed on during the *onmaket* sessions. Contact with missionaries has led to belief in a big god (*Paptumat*) and a little god (*Papmachi*) corresponding to the Christian Father and Son. *Paptumat* is thought of today as a Supreme Being, but probably it is not a native belief. He created the universe and left it; afterwards, he sent Ibelel to educate the Cuna people and to teach cultural norms. In addition, there are animal owners and animal souls: the latter are called *purba*. Generally, each animal possesses several *purba* that may be transmitted to men and their families through hunting. The animal owners live in *kalu* (mountain refuges), and they decide about the population of its species.

**Religious Practitioners.** Aboriginally and today, shamans have been religious, medical, and political officers. In the past, the most prestigious *sailas* were shamans. There are three kinds of shaman: *nele*, *inatuledi*, and *absogedi*. The *nele* have the highest position, obtained by ascription; one cannot become a *nele* voluntarily. They are truly experts in myths, history of the ethnic group, and curing of illness. Commonly, they have the capacity of taking political decisions above civil *sailas* and *sakka*. *Inatuledi* provide medical care; generally they must learn their skills. *Absogedi* apparently prevent illness by magical ways. Curing frequently means a struggle between two *inatuledi*.

**Ceremonies.** The Cuna have traditionally celebrated, since pre-Columbian times, the female condition and her puberty. At the age of 2, the shaman or other man who knows the oral tradition, inserts a golden ring in the girl's nose. This is the first ritual ceremony for her. *Inna*, a drink made from sugarcane, is offered by the parents to relatives and friends who may come from other communities. At about the age of 12, the girl is confined to a small hut and

her hair is cut. Her menstrual blood is gathered in a hole and during some months, her mother teaches her the duties of an adult woman. At the end of confinement, a second *inna* (feast) is offered. For the following three years she must cover her head with a red-and-gold-decorated cloth. Finally, the third ceremony is conducted. The *kan-tule*, or ceremonial singer and ritual flute players, narrate the tradition of the ceremony. Other men smoke ritual cigars, and the girl is painted with *saptur* or *genipa* on her face. On some occasions, picture writings on a board or on paper relate the stages of the ceremony. In San Blas, a native festival that memorializes the Cuna Revolution of 1925 is performed, which somewhat resembles the Panama City carnival, except that the Cuna express certain traditional traits, like shamanistic exorcism, to expel, symbolically, the strangers and government rulers.

**Arts.** Wood carving of mythical personages and picture writing of historical and ceremonial events are very important artistic expressions.

**Medicine.** In the traditional medicine of the Cuna, the *ponis*, or spirits of illness, enter the body and the *inatuledi*, or medicine man, must expel them with the help of *nuchu* or good spirits, represented in wood carvings. The Cuna are known for their magical cure of difficult childbirth, practiced by the *inatuledi* or by a *nele*.

**Death and Afterlife.** Aboriginally, the Cuna buried the dead under the place where they slept, with their hammock. Nowadays, they have cemeteries as a result of missionary influence. The afterworld is regarded as a modern city with urban commodities, all of them of gold, a primal symbol. One reaches this golden and modern paradise if one works actively at traditional tasks. If not, one goes to a type of hell, surrounded by a putrid river and many *ponis*.

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JORGE MORALES

## Desana

ETHNONYMS: Dätsana, Desâna, Desano, Papurí-uara, Wená, Wirá, Wirá-pora

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Desana" is of Tariana (Arawakan) origin. "Papurí-uara" means "Papurí River dwellers." Their traditional name is "Wirá" (wind, referring to flatulence), a derogatory term used by other Tukanoan groups; in myth and traditions the Desana refer to themselves as "Emëkóri mahsá" (Day people).

**Location.** The Desana occupy mainly the middle course of the Río Vaupés and the drainage of the Río Papurí, both in the northwestern Colombian Amazon; some scattered settlements are found on the Río Tiquié and Río Negro, in Brazilian territory.

**Demography.** No precise demographic information is available; the Desana number approximately 800.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Desana speak a language belonging to the Tukanoan Family but, like other Tukanoan groups of the Vaupés (Eastern Tukanoan), are multilingual.

### History and Cultural Relations

According to ethnohistorical traditions, the Desana and many of their Tukanoan neighbors are newcomers in the Vaupés territory where they arrived several generations ago, proceeding from the east by ascending the Río Negro. Originally the Desana were band-level hunter-foragers. In the Vaupés area they first established contact with local sedentary Arawakan groups, from whom they learned manioc cultivation. Following some initial conjugal unions with nomadic Makú bands, the Desana began to intermarry with the endogamous Arawakan population. After overcoming mutual hostility and, following the transformation from uxorilocal residence and matriliney to virilocal residence and patriliney, the Desana and their Tukanoan neighbors assimilated, displaced most of the local Arawak, and established Tukanoan dominance in much of the Vaupés area. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Brazilian-Italian missionary influence was strong on the upper Río Negro but eventually weakened, to be renewed during the second decade of the twentieth century, when Dutch Catholic missionaries entered the Papurí. The rubber boom had little effect upon the Vaupés Indians, but recent political upheavals in Colombia, notably the cocaine trade, the discovery of gold mines, and the missionary activities of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant organization), are threatening the cultural identity and survival of the Indians.

### Settlements

The traditional form of settlement is the *maloca*, or long-house, a self-contained unit of several nuclear families. Malocas are spaced along rivers and creeks at distances of one- or two-days' travel by canoe but occasionally are

found in remote interfluvial regions. Nucleated settlements of square one-family houses are not traditional but were imposed by missionaries, government agencies, or rubber gatherers and have led to social and economic disruption, the spread of disease, alcoholism, and the breakdown of symbolic systems related to maloca life and ecology.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Swidden agriculture is the rule, and manioc cultivation provides the staple food in the form of coarse flour and large flat cassava cakes. Women spend most of their time performing the daily tasks of harvesting and processing the poisonous tubers. Palm fruits of many different species are important food items. Game and fish are fairly abundant, and the men spend much time in the forest or on the river. The most important game animals are large rodents, monkeys, peccaries, deer, tapir, as well as game birds such as guans, tinamous, and toucans. Honey, edible insects, and many wild-growing fruits are readily available. Garden crops include tobacco, coca, peppers, and cultivated fruit trees such as peach palms.

**Industrial Arts.** Native arts and crafts include canoe making, fish-trap construction, bark-cloth preparation, basketry, pottery, blowgun making, feather work, and the manufacture of ritual adornments.

**Trade.** The Desana traditionally trade with the northern Arawak, exchanging goods that symbolically represent women. Trade items acquired at mission stations include clothes, hammocks, cooking vessels, bush knives, fishhooks, and flashlights.

**Division of Labor.** The men cut clearings in the forest and then burn the trees and brush, but otherwise agriculture is a female activity; men and boys hunt and fish; both sexes are active in the gathering of insects, forest fruits, and wild honey. The daily food supply is prepared by women and girls, but only men smoke game or fish, manufacture ritual objects, and prepare coca, tobacco, and all hallucinogenic substances together with their apparatus.

**Land Tenure.** Fields and garden plots are privately owned, but hunting, fishing, and gathering territories are loosely defined as belonging to the inhabitants of nearby malocas. Tribal lands are delimited as such only in shamanic geographical terms based upon ethnohistorical tradition but are not coherent and do not correspond to reality.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Desana society has a phratry organization that is divided into some twenty ranked and named exogamous sibs, each tracing its origin to a common mythical ancestor.

**Kinship Terminology.** Terminology follows the Dravidian model.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The main characteristic of Desana marriage is language-group exogamy; a person must always marry a spouse speaking a different language and, therefore, belonging to a different phratry. The Desana traditionally in-

termarry mainly with the Pira-Tapuya and the Tukano proper but marriages with other phratries are fairly common. This form of exogamy is combined with patrilineal descent and virilocal residence, cross-cousin marriage being the preferential form of union. Marriages are monogamous but polygyny does occur. Marriage is essentially a sister exchange between men of different but respectively preferential marriage groups. Formal divorce is unknown, but separation of spouses is not unusual.

**Domestic Unit.** Until recently the basic domestic unit was the longhouse inhabited by four to eight nuclear families, who formed a tightly organized cooperative.

**Inheritance.** Ritual objects, passed on from father to son, constitute the most valuable property. Fields or malocas are sometimes passed on to the youngest son.

**Socialization.** Infants and young children are raised permissively, but boys of 5 or 6 years of age are guided and controlled by their fathers. As boys approach puberty, they are severely disciplined by their fathers and elders. Emphasis is placed upon exogamy, the conservation of natural resources, and the acquisition of traditional values. Mission-educated Indians mostly become wage laborers, boatmen, or servants.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Since language groups do not occupy discrete territories, one cannot speak of "tribes" in the standard sense. The principal political unit is the maloca. During the 1800s there were chieftains, but since then authority has been vested mainly in shamans and elders of recognized esoteric knowledge. Some large communities may still have a headman, but he has limited authority. Women occupy a low status in society, although they carry the heaviest burden in food production and processing; on an idealized level, however, female-oriented imagery is strongly felt. Intermarriage with Hispanic rubber gatherers is infrequent, but temporary concubinage is common although often childless owing to native contraceptives used by the women. The Colombian government has recently established a large reserve for all Tukanoan groups of the Vaupés area, and consequently some semi-educated Indians, under the influence of Colombian national politics, have backed small numbers of self-styled native leaders.

**Political Organization.** Early Spanish contacts with Vaupés Indians go back to the sixteenth century, but no settlements were established. Until the early years of the twentieth century, the political status of the area was unclear. The Indians' orientation was toward Brazil; Tukanoan chiefs were appointed by the Brazilian authorities in Manaus, and all trade or missionary activities penetrated into the Vaupés by way of the Rio Negro. Mitú, the present Colombian district capital, was founded only in 1936, when the international border was firmly delimited. When rubber became important for the war effort during the 1940s, additional settlements were founded and some roads were cut through. Since then, Mitú has become the center of political, administrative, missionary, and exploitative activities, with health services and schooling facilities for Indians located there. As political cohesion was weak,

these recent developments have deeply affected most organizational features of Desana society and the neighboring societies.

**Social Control.** Shamans continue to exercise control over many family and community affairs and are important mediators in contacts with outsiders. The strict observance of hunting, fishing, and gathering rituals, expressed in dietary and sexual restrictions, constitutes an important body of socioecological management rules that are constantly being extolled by shamans and elders. Since the progressive breakdown of the maloca unit, brought about by missionary activity, these control systems are losing their strength.

**Conflict.** Warfare, cannibalism, the forceful abduction of women, and destruction of hostile settlements constitute frequent themes in ethnohistorical descriptions. The principal enemies were the Arawak of the central and southern Vaupés and the Carib on the western border. Magically induced aggression is a serious matter, and vengeance for inflicted harm may go on for years. Fights over women, adultery, abduction, or simple maloca gossip are everyday conflict situations. During recent years political unrest, the cocaine trade, and the gold rush have been new sources of conflict, the solution for which the aboriginal culture lacks all mechanisms.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The shamanic universe consists of three superimposed layers: the celestial vault, our earth, and the netherworld; each one can be subdivided into smaller units. The most important part of the heavens is the Milky Way—a stream, a fissure, a calendar, a celestial anaconda. In shamanic language, the universe is an immense womb shaped like a hexagonal rock crystal, inside which is an abstract cosmic brain charged with energies. This brain is represented by the sun (Sun Father), the origin of all fertilizing forces. The entire universe is conceived as a circuit of energy flow of limited potential. The task of human beings is to maintain this flow by balancing all ecological aspects so that the interaction between humankind and the physical and social environment will not be upset. There is no sun cult but a strong awareness of human/nature interdependency, expressed in the control of all exploitative activities. Belief in the Master of Animals is widespread, and fear of his retaliations constitutes an effective control of overhunting. He is often associated or confused with other forest or river spirits, some of them appearing as cannibalistic monsters or doppelgängers. Small, koboldlike night spirits are considered frightening but rather harmless.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans tend to specialize in ritual dancing and singing, in reciting genealogies, divination, healing, casting spells, and other esoteric activities. All of them exercise control over hunting, fishing, and harvesting strategies and have a keen understanding of local ecological problems. Catholic and Protestant missionaries have had little influence upon shamanic beliefs and practices.

**Ceremonies.** The principal metaphysical experience is provided by collective rituals during which the men take hallucinogenic substances (*Banisteriopsis*, *Virola*) under the

guidance of shamans and elders. On their ecstatic flights the participants return to the cosmic womb and visit different dimensions in which they become witnesses to cosmogonic episodes. Male initiation rituals introduce the novices into the complex lore referring to the historical origins and importance of exogamy and male dominance. Periodic exchange rituals between complementary exogamic groups reaffirm lineage origins and alliances. In all these ceremonies, hallucinogenic substances play a major role.

**Arts.** Dancing, singing, and recitals are major art forms. Many objects, both for ritual and for everyday use, are decorated with design motifs derived from phosphenes perceived during hallucinatory trances. Since many of these motifs are culturally coded with reference to marriage rules and fertility concepts, this applied art constitutes a body of visual reminders of important cultural truths. The shamanic orchestration of multiple sensorial experiences in collective ceremonies during which hallucinogenic substances are consumed is an important artistic manifestation.

**Medicine.** Herbal lore is highly developed, and the Indians' knowledge of ethnobotany (pharmacology, toxicology, narcotica, etc.) is one of the least-known but most important aspects of Desana culture. Shamanic diagnostic practices include crystal gazing and the interpretation of dreams and hallucinations. Curing practices combine medicinal plants, dietary restrictions, chants, blowing of smoke, aspersing with water, and the sucking out of supposedly pathogenic substances.

## Emberá

ETHNONYMS: Catío, Chamí, Chocó, Cholo, Citará, Meme, Tahamí

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Emberá are a South American Indian group located in Panama, Colombia, and Ecuador. Called "Chocó" by Spanish settlers, they call themselves "Emberá," a word that signifies "people."

**Location.** When the Spaniards arrived, the Emberá occupied the upper basins of the Atrato and San Juan rivers in what are today the departments of Chocó, Risaralda, and Antioquia in western Colombia. Their modern habitat extends over more than 1,000 kilometers along the Pacific coasts of Panama, Colombia, and northern Ecuador, areas of superhumid tropical jungle that reach to the eastern

**Death and Afterlife.** Death originated in mythical times as a result of incest and adultery. Canoe or pit burial is the rule, sometimes inside the maloca. The soul-stuff wanders over a perilous trial to a land of blissful annihilation or, in the case of a person who led a sinful life, he or she is transformed into an animal and thus enters the dark abodes of the Master of Animals, to replenish his charges. Funeral ceremonies are of little importance and consist mainly of shamanic spells and chants. Old people are sometimes abandoned on an uninhabited river island or in an isolated spot in the forest.

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slopes of the Colombian Cordillera Occidental, including various enclaves in the interior of the country.

**Demography.** The Colombian census of 1958 listed 41,653 Emberá. It is estimated that there are an additional 8,000 in Panama and Ecuador; in 1600, 1768, 1793, and 1951 their numbers were put at 50,000, 36,000, 15,000, and 5,800 respectively.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The language of the Emberá, markedly Carib, has been classified as belonging to the Paezan Language Family. Nine dialects have been identified: Saija, Baudó, Río Sucio, Tadó, Chamí, Catío, San Jorge, Río Verde, and Sambú.

### History and Cultural Relations

Certain cultural and mythical characteristics suggest a possible Amazonian origin of Emberá culture. Before contact with the Spaniards in 1511, the Emberá were surrounded by other ethnic groups: Cuna, Burumiá, Chanco, Idabaez, Suruco, Waunana, and Orocomira, among others. Hostility and war characterized their relations with these peoples,



and the Emberá expanded territorially at their cost, also taking them as slaves. Setting out from Santa María la Antigua del Darién, Santa Fé de Antioquia, and Anserma and entering by the San Juan and Atrato rivers, the Spaniards repeatedly traversed Emberá territory. Their aims were to enslave this large population and to open up the region for the exploitation of gold, using Black slaves as laborers. They intended to conquer these "warlike Indians" who attacked already-pacified groups and threatened Spanish settlements in Anserma, Cartago, Toro, and Nóvita; to settle them in new villages; to make them pay tribute; and to evangelize them.

Because they cohered as a single ethnic group and because of the segmentary nature of their social organization, the Emberá were able to resist final colonization of their territory for more than three centuries. They either confederated under the authority of temporary war chiefs or dispersed, escaping into more inaccessible areas. Several expeditions, such as those of Gómez Fernández in 1539, Melchor de Velásquez in 1588, and Martín Bueno in 1638, were annihilated by the Emberá. The Spanish policy of burning the Indians' houses and fields and the loss of a considerable part of their population owing to war, slavery, and contagious diseases such as measles had a debilitating effect on the Emberá. Finally, they began to tolerate the establishment of European settlements, the exploitation of gold, and the relatively free transit on rivers and trails within their territory. There was an increase in the number of Emberá who submitted to paying tribute and who established commercial ties with Spanish centers in the interior.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, a policy of missionization replaced open warfare; this was initially very successful and achieved the almost total pacification of the Emberá. Beginning in 1680, however, a crisis developed because of the abusive behavior of some missionaries. Almost all the Indian villages were burned or abandoned, and the Emberá left for the more isolated and desolate headwater regions of their habitat, where they formed autonomous nuclei in an effort to survive. This is one cause of their current dispersal over such a wide territory. The Spaniards responded with new armed incursions to put down the rebellion, but it took them twelve years of military campaigns to consolidate their control over the area and its inhabitants. There continued to be local uprisings throughout the eighteenth century.

From the beginning of contact, the Emberá have resisted intermarrying with White or Black settlers, with the exceptions of the Emberá of some areas such as the interior slopes of the Colombian Cordillera Occidental and the Chocó, where there are large concentrations of people. As a result of Spanish occupation, the Emberá fought with the Cuna, whom they displaced toward the north, despite the fact that the two groups had many cultural and especially religious patterns in common. With the Waunana to the south, the Emberá share 50 percent of their linguistic roots and a large number of suffixes, as well as numerous important cultural elements such as shamanism and mythology. In the late twentieth century the Emberá coexist with Whites who have settled in the peripheral zones of Emberá territory, in the interior of Colombia. In some places, such as the department of Caldas, there is little difference between Indians and Whites, and even the

Emberá language is losing ground. There exists a close relationship between the Emberá and the Black population on the Pacific Coast. The degree of cultural assimilation varies, however, and the ethnic situation is too complex to be described in terms of assimilation.

### Settlements

In precontact times the majority of the Emberá population lived in dispersed settlements along the rivers. There was a difference between the Emberá of the alluvial plains, who settled on high terraces of the river banks, and the Emberá of the slopes, who, because of the uneven nature of the terrain, settled on the median and high parts of the hillsides, as well as on the scarce fertile flood plains of some rivers. Spanish chroniclers also recorded a number of nucleated villages on the Río Atrato. The necessity of letting fields lie fallow after cultivation is the basic condition of Emberá shifting cultivation, imposing a pattern of accentuated mobility over large tracts of land. In some peripheral areas the Indians have experienced a scarcity of land and traditional horticulture has deteriorated. Efforts by missionaries and the Organización Regional Emberá y Waunana (Regional Organization of Emberá and Waunana) have resulted in the construction of villages of between ten and fifty houses. There are schools, shops, health clinics, and, sometimes, a church and electricity. Occupation is not on a permanent basis; each family lives in the village for only a portion of the year. Most of their time is spent on their remote upriver plots, several hours away by canoe. The *tambo*, their traditional house form, is a large pile dwelling several meters above ground, with a rectangular floor of palm stems or bamboo and a conical roof of palm thatch that reaches down between 0.5 and 1 meter above the platform, obviating the need for walls. On the floor there are one or several hearths of clay. The Indians are slowly adopting rustic houses made of boards, with zinc, bamboo, or asbestos-cement roofs and earthen floors; there are walls and windows and several interior rooms separated by wooden dividers.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Emberá are tropical-forest horticulturists who hunt, fish and gather as complementary activities. Maize and bananas are the basis of their diet. Tapir, peccaries, pacas (*Coelogenys paca*), and armadillos are the most highly prized game animals. From the Spaniards they adopted the raising of domestic animals, especially pigs and chickens, which they use as trade items rather than for consumption. On inland slopes they raise cows and horses. During the nineteenth century, depending on the characteristics of each region, the Emberá have adopted commercial cultigens like coffee, cacao, rice, and sugarcane. In the Chocó they cut timber, floating rafts of logs downriver to be sold to White-owned lumber mills, located at the estuaries. In areas of White colonization, many Emberá have become temporary or permanent agricultural wage laborers. Crop production for sale and wage labor provide cash income that enables the Emberá to participate in the market economy. Products such as food, clothing, radios, tools, and other items have become indispensable to the Emberá. In some places, fami-

lies or single individuals complement their income with the manufacture and sale of handicrafts in markets characterized by uncertain demand and low prices. Especially in mountainous regions, the government has promoted and financed the formation of cooperatives (e.g., to produce brown sugar, process gold, raise cattle). Such enterprises are small in scale, however, involving only a small sector of the population.

**Industrial Arts.** Emberá material culture is well known for the variety of its basketry, which, rich in form, is woven of plant fibers and has predominantly geometrical designs. Canoes, staffs, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic carvings of fine woods, ceramics, textiles made from the bark of balsam wood, and blowguns for poisoned darts are also important items of their material culture (stone tools, however, disappeared in the mid-twentieth century).

**Trade.** There is no evidence of Emberá trade with other ethnic groups during the pre-Columbian period, but internally the subgroups exchanged common and regionally specialized items such as gold, blowguns, and toad poison for blowgun darts. From the beginning, Spanish colonialists forced the subjected groups to participate in commercial activities. The Indians supplied the White settlers and Black crews of gold extractors with food and bought merchandise imported from Spain, especially products made of metal and cotton. Since the nineteenth century, commerce has become an integral part of the Emberá economy. Except in a few instances, however, the Indians do not dominate the market.

**Division of Labor.** Women were traditionally responsible for harvesting crops, making baskets and pots, preparing food, carrying water and firewood, gathering plant and animal foods, fishing with baskets, and caring for children. Men's work traditionally included clearing of land for planting, hunting, woodworking, making blowguns, obtaining toad poison, and conducting warfare. Planting, fishing with *barbasco* poison, building houses, and making necklaces and ornaments are shared activities. Nowadays, the production of handicrafts for the market is an almost exclusively female task, whereas it is mostly the men who take charge of marketing the artifacts. Commercial agriculture and wood extraction are men's work. The care of domestic animals falls to the women and children, with only minimal male intervention. Girls and boys participate from an early age in activities that pertain to their sex. In areas of White settlement, young women are recruited to work as domestic servants. In the mid- to late twentieth century, some young men and women have become teachers or low-level government functionaries. Shamanistic activity is open to both sexes, but in practice most practitioners are men.

**Land Tenure.** In former times, a whole river or a segment of it was occupied and owned by a group of relatives whose members were entitled to cultivate, hunt, fish, and gather within its territory until it was exhausted. The dispossession of Emberá lands since the Conquest has changed this tradition. During the colonial period, the Spanish Crown created indigenous *resguardos* or reserves, in recognition of the communities' collective property; these *resguardos* were only a fraction of their ancient lands

and they were administered by an indigenous council, or *cabildo*, consisting of a captain, a chief, and a governor appointed by the Spaniards. The Republic of Colombia recognized these *resguardos*, and this form of landownership still obtains. In the Chocó plains, the natives maintained possession and usufruct of lands that the Colombian state considers wasteland. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many *resguardos* were divided into parcels and dissolved, and the Emberá became private owners of the resulting plots. In other instances, they became tenants on their ancient land, now in the hands of landowners. Since 1970 the Emberá have struggled to regain their land, forcing the Colombian government to reconstitute former reserves and create new ones, especially on the Pacific coast, to guarantee the communities' collective ownership of their territories. Councils, now formed and designated by the natives, assign families the necessary land for their activities, keeping other tracts for common use. In 1983 the Panamanian government created the Comarca Emberá del Darién, recognizing Emberá rights to collective ownership of their land and prohibiting its private appropriation and transfer. The land is under the management of native authorities, and the right of the Emberá to exploit its resources is recognized.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** A group that settles on a river or on a section of it is composed of personal kin of the cognatic type, centered on a grandfather or grandmother, according to specific conditions; it can also be formed around an uncle, almost always maternal, and his married nephews. Frequently, this grandfather or grandmother functions as the kin group's shaman. The river group is exogamous, linked to others by an extensive net of marriage exchange.

**Kinship Terminology.** Some subgroups have been described as using Hawaiian kinship terminology, others a modified Eskimo type. There is always a classificatory term for cousins and brothers, which, in the Chamí area, also includes uncles and nephews.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** There are no marriage prescriptions, but unions between first- and second-degree consanguineal relatives on both sides are disallowed. Only in some very isolated groups are there unions between first cousins and between aunts or uncles and nephews or nieces. A man will ask a woman's father for permission to live with her, and the couple will do so without any further ceremony. In some places, missionary influence has made Catholic religious marriage ceremonies common. Monogamy is the rule, but polygyny is permitted and is frequent in some places. Sometimes a man will marry two sisters or a woman and her daughter. Residence is virilocal or uxorilocal, mainly according to land and economic conditions. Divorce is permitted on the initiative of either of the two parties, but it is held in low esteem and can lead to problems between the two families.

**Domestic Unit.** Upon their arrival, the Spaniards encountered large groups—from eighteen to seventy per-

sons—inhabiting a house as the basic domestic unit; this was the pattern until shortly after the mid-twentieth century. Since then there has been a strong emphasis on the nuclear family, although, with few exceptions, parents usually remain in the home of one of their married children. The size of local groups has diminished. Since precontact times, couples appear to have had an average of five living children.

**Inheritance.** Personal goods are handed down from parents to children of the same sex. Where land is private property, sons and daughters have equal rights to it, but if the size of the property is small, there is a tendency for women to be passed over. If there are neither spouse(s) nor children among the survivors of a man, other kin and relations can inherit his property. Where spatial mobility is maintained, children tend to cultivate anew the lands that were once worked by their parents.

**Socialization.** For the first years of their lives, boys and girls are taken care of by the members of the extended family. Later, each parent takes care of the apprenticeship of his or her children of the same sex. Permissiveness is the norm, and only in extreme cases is corporal punishment meted out. Shame is an important formative mechanism. In almost all settlements it is common for children to attend public schools or missionary boarding schools. This is an impediment to the processes of traditional enculturation.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The highly segmentary character of Emberá society has not permitted the formation of organizations above the level of autonomous kin groups. There are records of slaves being taken from other ethnic groups in pre-Columbian times. Women have gradually lost their influence within the society and become subordinate to and sometimes tyrannized by men, who beat them frequently. Recent struggles for land have brought back women's relevance because they assume important roles in such struggles. The acculturative work of missionaries and teachers has created a small group with greater formal education that eschews traditional life and considers itself superior. At the same time, in peripheral areas, commercial agriculture has produced a group of people with higher economic status. Both groups have begun to assume new leadership roles within their communities, becoming agents of the programs and models of the behavior of White society.

**Political Organization.** Kin groups were originally autonomous units. They organized temporary confederations to resist conquest. Colonial *reducciones* (mission-run settlements) united various kin groups under the leadership of imposed chiefs. During the nineteenth century many recovered their autonomy, but in settled areas they remained under missionary authority, as defined by law. Struggles initiated in 1970 gave rise to new *cabildos* (town councils) headed by indigenous governors with authority over an area within a preserve, and frequently over various communities. In Panama, the military government encouraged the formation of a centralized Emberá political organization consisting of, as the highest authority, a general congress

with legislative powers and the power to name a supreme general chief, under whom there are regional chiefs and local leaders. This has been in existence since 1969. In Colombia, there is an organization above the town councils, the Organización Regional Emberá-Wauna del Chocó (OREWA), which particularly unites the Indians of the Chocó. In the 1980s native police inspectors were named in some places. In some areas, like Chamí, town councils have fallen under the control of Catholic missionaries. In the late twentieth century the penetration of guerrilla groups into various Emberá settlements has resulted in new external political pressure on the communities.

**Social Control.** Since aboriginal times, shame and sorcery have been important mechanisms of internal control, although they have been losing importance because of the intrusiveness of White laws and authorities. Blood vengeance in cases of homicide and serious injury still occurs—vengeance is not only a right, but an obligation on the part of the victim's relatives. Town councils play a role recognized by Colombian law; they adjudicate minor problems like boundary disputes, stealing, fighting, drunkenness, and other crimes that are punishable by fines, incarceration, and pillorying.

**Conflict.** White intrusion has created a conflict of major proportions among the Emberá, pitting against each other those who accept that intrusion and wish to integrate themselves into the White world and traditional forces who advocate indigenous continuity, the autonomy of their communities, and change on an ethnic basis. The strength of each faction varies according to place and time, but occasionally the disagreement between the two becomes so acute that it produces the dissolution of groups. Sorcery and rivalry between shamans are also sources of conflict, generally resolved by segmentation—a shaman and his followers move to another river. Since the Conquest, territorial defense has generated permanent friction between the Emberá and the settlers, sometimes culminating in violence. The participation of the Emberá in Colombian national party politics has led to constant clashes between rival factions. These clashes are stimulated by the simultaneous actions of Catholics and evangelicals, giving rise to sectors that are irreconcilable.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Emberá religion is centered around shamanism based on invisible forces called *jai*. These constitute the essence of things, natural phenomena, animals, and people, and are manifested as animals. They belong to nature, and only the shaman (*jaibaná*) can see and control them. Emberá life and society stem from an original closed singularity containing everything that exists, but that was separated in primordial times. Illness occurs when these elements, which must be kept separate in everyday life, unite; they must then be separated anew by the shaman. Myths describe Carabí, the Moon, as the giver of culture, and some refer to him as the creator, but the moon as a mythical being does not play a role in life today. In varying degrees, missionaries have superimposed Christian religious belief. White people interpret the *jai* as spirits because they are purported to exist invisibly. The Emberá are emphatic in their belief that the *jai* are material forces or energies.

The same is true of other beings that inhabit the water, the forest, or the underworld, several of which are monstrous and fierce guardians of these places. Noteworthy is the belief in "mothers" or "root stocks" of animals—for example, the mother of fish or of peccaries. The human body is inhabited by several shadows that leave the body during sleep or at death.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman is both respected and feared for his ability to do good as well as to cause harm. His knowledge and control of nature through his visionary powers makes him indispensable in the processes of producing food and managing natural phenomena. During the Conquest, Shamans were one of the most potent means of fighting the Spaniards; they, or the forces under their control, served to attack them effectively. Besides his professional duties, a shaman performs the same regular daily chores as any ordinary man. Only non-Indians are priests and nuns.

**Ceremonies.** Ritual or ceremonial activities are linked to the life cycle and to shamanism. In the past, female initiation was celebrated by confining a girl to a small room built in the tambo and holding a great feast at the end of the confinement. Ceramic pitchers for brewing *chicha* beer played a principal role in this ceremony, which in the late twentieth century has almost disappeared. Among shamanistic rituals are *chicha cantada* (chicha singing) at the time of the maize harvest; the "healing of the earth" during planting; and the "song of the jai" when curing illness. In many communities Christian religious ceremonies are celebrated.

**Arts.** The shaman communicates with his jai by means of lengthy songs, unaccompanied by musical instruments. In the ceremonies, dance plays a minor role. Body and facial painting, which are very sumptuous among the Emberá, are also part of shamanism but do not pertain to it exclusively.

**Medicine.** The Emberá differentiate between two kinds of sicknesses: those of the Whites, which arrived after contact and are cured with Western medicine, and those they had previously recognized, stemming either from magic or natural causes. Sickness by magic is produced by the jai that penetrate the body or steal its shadow. This type can be cured by the shaman. Natural sickness responds to treatment with medicinal plants.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Emberá bury their dead in shaft tombs with a lateral room, located under their dwellings. Bodies are wrapped in bark cloth or bamboo matting. At the wake, female relatives sing songs of lament that proclaim the deceased's virtues as well as the faults that caused his or her death. These will be repeated during burial and for months and years to come, in the same house and at the same time that death occurred. In Christianized areas, missionaries force the Embera to bury their dead in cemeteries, but even so, traditional tombs are still frequently made. The shadow of the dead person is transformed into a jai and roams the earth until a shaman takes control of it. A shaman who follows certain prescriptions in life can turn in death into a being half-man and half-jaguar with superhuman powers, which is greatly feared.

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LUIS GUILLERMO VASCO URIBE  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

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## Emerillon

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ETHNONYMS: Emereñon, Emerilon, Emerion, Mereo, Mer-eyo, Teco

The 100 or so remaining Emerillon live in settlements in French Guiana on the Camopi, a tributary of the Oiapoque River, and on the Tampok, a tributary of the Maroni (near Brazil and Suriname respectively), and speak a language belonging to the Tupí-Guaraní Family.

The first records of contact between the Emerillon and Europeans appear in the early eighteenth century, when the Emerillon were in approximately the same region that they now inhabit. It is not known where they may have lived before migrating to French Guiana. In 1767 they were reported to have a population of 350 to 400 and to live in villages on the left bank of the Maroni. They were harassed by Galibí Indians who captured women and children to sell as slaves in Suriname.

Early observers wrote that the Emerillon were more nomadic than other Indians of the area: primarily hunters, the Emerillon grew only enough manioc to supply their bare needs. Because they did not grow cotton, they made their crude hammocks of bark. They manufactured manioc graters for trade, however. In the nineteenth century they were weakened by warfare to the point of serving the Oyampik, their former enemies, as slaves. By the late nineteenth century the Emerillon had developed a close relationship with Creole gold prospectors, epidemic diseases had diminished their numbers, and they had become considerably acculturated, speaking creole and wearing Western clothing. They had guns, which they had acquired from the prospectors in trade for flour made from the manioc they grew in their gardens.

Almost 100 years later, the 60 or so surviving Emerillon were described as being in a very poor state of health. Several adults suffered from a kind of paralysis, and infant mortality was high. Their greatest problems came from cheap rum, with which the prospectors supplied them in exchange for manioc flour. The Emerillon were apathetic, and even their houses were carelessly built. Having lost much of their own culture, the Emerillon had failed to assimilate a new one, although they spoke creole fluently and were familiar with creole customs. By the late 1960s, the prospectors had left and the Emerillon were receiving some health care from the clinic at the French Indian post. Trade had declined, but through the post the Indians exchanged manioc flour and handicrafts for Western goods.

Because of the decline in numbers, the Emerillon were unable to maintain their ideal of proper marriage, preferentially with a cross cousin. Although they continued to reject marriage outside the tribe in principle, a number of children were the offspring of intertribal unions. Several families were also raising children whose fathers were Creoles. The Emerillon accept a wide age difference between spouses; not only may an old man marry a young girl, but some young men also marry elderly women. Polygyny is still common; one community of 19 people consisted of a man, his two wives, their children, and the man's son with his wife and her half-Creole daughter. The *couvade* is still observed: a man abstains from any kind of heavy work for eight days after the birth of his child.

Little is known about Emerillon cosmology, although they have shamans. Their leaders, one of whom receives a salary from the French government, have little prestige.

Houses of the early historical period were of the beehive type, and more recently other styles have been built. Present-day Emerillon houses are rectangular, open on three sides, with a sloping palm-leaf roof and a floor raised 1 or 2 meters above the ground. The house is entered by means of a ladder cut from a tree trunk. Furniture consists of benches, hammocks, and store-bought mosquito nets.

Basketry includes the manufacture of *tipitis* (manioc presses), sieves, fans, mats of various sizes, and large carrying baskets. Dugout canoes are made from one large tree trunk hollowed out by fire. Bows are up to 2 meters long and made according to a style common to many groups of the Guianas. Arrows are as long as the bows, and nowadays usually have a steel point. The Emerillon no longer use the blowgun and do not make pottery.

Subsistence is based on horticulture, hunting, and fishing, whereas collecting is a minor activity. Bitter manioc is the staple; the Emerillon also plant maize (red, yellow, and white), sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, yams, sugarcane, bananas, tobacco, *urucú* (a red dye derived from *Bixa orellana* and used for body paint), and cotton. Among the groups around the French Indian post at Camopi, each family clears a field of 0.5 to 1 hectare. Clearing and harvesting are done by collective work parties: men cooperate in clearing fields, and women in the harvest. The Emerillon include the Oyampik, who also have villages at the post, in these work parties.

Men fish primarily with bows and arrows but sometimes with hooks and lines or poison. Formerly, the Eme-

illon used an aboriginal gorget form of hook, traps, nets, and spears. Transport is by dugout and bark canoes.

The principal hunting weapon today is the rifle. The Emerillon traditionally used bows and arrows, as well as spears, harpoons, and traps. With the assistance of trained dogs, the Emerillon hunted agoutis, armadillos, anteaters (killed for their hides rather than for their flesh), peccaries, deer, manatees, monkeys, otters, sloths, tapir, and capybaras. The Emerillon traditionally kept dogs and now breed them especially for trade, exchanging them with the Wayana for beads.

The Emerillon also gathered wild fruits, honey, insects, reptiles, hog plums, palm cabbages, guavas, mushrooms, Brazil nuts, and sweet tree beans.

Even when their population was larger, the Emerillon lived in small villages, usually of 30 to 40 people, and only rarely as many as 200. Villages were moved frequently, owing to a number of factors: soil exhaustion, warfare, necessities of trade, and several customary reasons to abandon the village (such as the death of an inhabitant). Villages were located at a distance from rivers for protection from raids. Politically independent, a village was under the leadership of a headman and, rarely, a council. Intertribal warfare was fairly common. Warriors were armed with bows and arrows (which were occasionally poisoned), spears, shields, and clubs, but almost never with blowguns. The Emerillon went to war to exact revenge for past attacks and to acquire captives and slaves; captive men often wed their captors' daughters. The Emerillon practiced cannibalism as a means of revenge.

Puberty rituals signaled impending marriage. Boys were subjected to work ordeals, and girls were secluded and required to observe food taboos.

The dead, wrapped in their hammocks and also placed in wooden coffins, are buried with their personal possessions.

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## Europeans in South America

ETHNONYMS: none

Peoples of European ancestry are unevenly distributed across South America. A majority of the population in some countries, a minority in others, they wield considerable economic and political power throughout South America. Among the countries with the largest number of Europeans, they comprise 97 percent of the population in Argentina; 90 percent in Uruguay; 50 percent in Brazil; 25 percent in Chile; 20 percent in Paraguay, Venezuela, and Colombia; 15 percent in Ecuador; 14 percent in Bolivia; and 12 percent in Peru. It should be noted, however, that the definition of the term "European" and who is categorized as such are often not clear in the South American context, especially in countries that have large Indian and mestizo populations, such as Peru or Bolivia. European identity is less confused in countries with large populations of African ancestry, such as Brazil, or in countries with small Indian and mestizo populations, for example, Argentina or Uruguay. In general, a South American is considered European—in contrast to Indian, mestizo, or Afro-South American—if he or she can trace European ancestry through both descent lines or, depending on the social, economic, and political context, if he or she lives a "European" life-style, associates socially with other Europeans, and is defined as such by others.

The first European contact with South Americans occurred in 1498, with the arrival of Columbus's third expedition to the New World. Subsequent explorations, including those led by Cabral in 1500 to Brazil, Magellan in 1519 through what came to be called the Straits of Magellan, Pizarro in 1531 to Peru, Jiménez de Quesada in 1536 to northwestern South America, Valdivia in 1541 along the southwestern coast, Mendoza in 1535 to Argentina, and Garay in 1580 to Argentina and Uruguay, paved the way for the Spanish and Portuguese colonization of South America. The Spanish gained control of the western one-third of the continent, the Portuguese of the northeast coastal region and what is now eastern Brazil. The interior and the southern portions of what came to be Chile and Argentina were largely ignored during the colonial era. Although Spanish and Portuguese colonial domination officially ended in the early to mid-nineteenth century, numerous European influences are still major factors in modern-day South American culture. These include language (Spanish is the national language in most nations and Portuguese is the national language in Brazil); Roman Catholicism; the political boundaries of South America's modern nations and provinces; the basic social structure; and the economic system, which still emphasizes the export of raw materials and the import of consumer goods.

Under Spanish and Portuguese doctrines, immigration and settlement by other Europeans was forbidden. Thus,

settlement by other Europeans began only after South American nations gained national independence beginning in the early 1800s. The first and major period of other than exclusively Iberian immigration was between 1870 and 1930, during which some 11 to 12 million immigrants arrived in South America. Most came from Italy and Portugal and settled mainly in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Although many eventually returned to Europe, most Europeans in these nations today are descendants of these immigrants. In addition to the large number of Italians and Portuguese, there were also Germans who settled in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil; German Mennonites who settled in Paraguay; British who settled in Chile, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil; and Welsh and Irish who settled in Argentina. Gypsies also began arriving in this period, although little is known about their settlement history or current situation. In general, these European settlers tended to form their own localized communities and often specialized in specific economic activities—for example, the Welsh in ranching, the British in commerce, the Mennonites in farming. Over time, those who remained in their new land became involved in politics and the professions, and individuals identified as Europeans are today key figures in many South American nations. Most early immigrants settled in cities, a pattern that is now changing as their descendants move to rural areas, villages, or towns. Immigration to South America was on a much smaller scale than immigration to North America, mainly because the tropical climate was less appealing, free land was limited in many nations, and political instability created concerns about safety. In addition, return migration was encouraged by government policies that awarded immigrants nearly all rights of citizenship without requiring citizenship and by the opportunity to accumulate wealth for transfer to the immigrants' country of origin.

In the 1930s and 1940s immigration expanded to include larger numbers of central and eastern Europeans, a pattern that continued in the years following World War II. Many of these immigrants settled in Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina, and Brazil. In the early 1990s, in the most recent phase of European immigration, some South American governments (e.g., that of Venezuela) and businesses were actively recruiting workers from eastern Europe to fill a perceived need for engineers and technicians. It is as yet unknown whether they, like guest workers elsewhere in the world, will remain and build their own ethnic communities.

See also *Jews of South America*; *Mennonites*

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DAVID LEVINSON

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## Fulniô

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ETHNONYMS: Carnijó, Forniô, Furniô, Iatê, Karnijó, Yatê

Most of the 2,000 Fulniô—90 percent of whom live in the Dantas Barreto Indian Park, immediately outside the town of Águas Belas, in the state of Pernambuco in Brazil—still speak a language isolate (Itaê) that belongs to the Macro-Gê Phylum, although many also speak Portuguese.

They were contacted by Catholic missionaries by the mid-eighteenth century and, at that time, lived in two villages at 9° S and 37° W. The Fulniô are horticulturists who raise beans for their own consumption and raise cotton and sell baskets and *carua* fiber for cash. Culturally conservative in terms of language and performance of religious ritual, the Fulniô were fairly early acculturated in most other respects. They were living among Black and mestizo people by the 1920s.

Traditional political and ritual activities take place in a round clearing (*ouricouri*), to which the Fulniô move in August. There, under a sacred *joazeiro* tree (*Zizyphus joazeiro*), which women are forbidden to approach, the men feast and elect their chief; during the feast, there must be no discord. It is also in the clearing that exceptionally

complex puberty rituals take place. Each stage of the ritual is administered by separate, specialized officers. Another characteristic and especially important ceremony is the Tolê dance, in which two men dance, each with an arm on the other's shoulder and in time to two stamping tubes of different sizes; the steps used are named for animals. The rest of the people present sing, while two other men shake rattles. The men stop before two girls, who afterward follow the dancers in their steps. The perpetuation of these practices and the fact that most members of the group continue to speak their native language give the Fulniô a persistently separate identity despite the ongoing acculturation and assimilation processes that affect their society.

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## Gorotire

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ETHNONYMS: Caiapó, Cayapó, Goroti, Gradahó, Gradau, Kaiapó, Kayapó-Gorotire, Mebengokre

The Gorotire are a branch of the Northern Kayapó and are speakers of a northern Gê language. Around 3,500 Gorotire, including a number of subgroups, live in thirteen villages, most of them on reservations, scattered over a large area in the south of the Brazilian state of Pará, from the vicinity of the Rio Fresco, an eastern tributary of the Xingu, to the upper Rio Iriiri. Some also live in the northern part of the Xingu Indian Park on the upper Xingu. All these groups are the result of continuous fissions that began around the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, "Gorotire" may refer to the original group, to the totality of subdivisions that resulted from fissions of this group, or, more specifically, to a large community called "Gorotire Village" on the Kayapó reservation in Pará. The present subdivisions are Mekragnotí, Kararão, A'Ukre, Gorotire, Kikretum, Kokraimoro, and Kuben-Krân-Kein in Pará and Metuktire (Txukarramãe) in Mato Grosso.

The Northern Kayapó did not have regular contact with outsiders until around the middle of the nineteenth century. In the early nineteenth century there were sporadic clashes along the lower Rio Tocantins between settlers and a Kayapó group that then migrated to the west of the Araguaia to escape Whites. A Kayapó group living along the Araguaia, which became known as the Pau d'Arco Kayapó, began to trade with settlers, obtaining firearms that they used to attack other Kayapó groups, including the Xikrin to the north and the Gorotire further west. A Dominican mission was founded for this group around 1890, but the mission soon became a frontier settlement that brought epidemic diseases and interethnic conflict; within fifty years the Pau d'Arco Kayapó were extinct. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Gorotire Kayapó were still one large group living in a village called "Pyka-tô-ti," meaning "the great village" or "the beautiful village," near an eastern tributary of the Xingu. The Gorotire were not in direct contact with Whites at this time, but indirect contact probably exposed them to disease, which, by leading to unexplained deaths, exacerbated tensions within the group.

A series of fissions and dispersions began, which led

to the present subdivisions. In the first major split, blamed on a fight over adultery, one group that became known as the "Mekragnoti" moved west toward the Rio Iriri, but the Gorotire remained in the vicinity of the old village. Fighting was intense during this period, as the Kayapó clashed with rubber and gold seekers; raided farms for firearms, tools, and other goods; and took captives from Whites and from other Indians. Fear of reprisals following a raid increased dispersion and nomadism. Villages moved frequently, among sites up to 200 kilometers distant from one another. In 1935 the Kuben-Krân-Kein separated from the Gorotire, and the Gorotire made peaceful contact with Whites. At the time of contact they were already using manufactured goods and rifles but were weakened and reduced in population by disease; of the group of 356 only 85 were left after six months. During the period after their separation from the Gorotire, the Mekragnoti underwent a similar process of fissioning and recombination; informants have recalled twenty-one splits, defined as the fission of a village or the separation of an important group for at least a year. In 1953 Claudio Villas Boas of the Indian Protection Service (SPI) contacted three Mekragnoti groups and persuaded them to gather to receive presents of trade goods. Although he wanted them to remain together near the Xingu, only one-half stayed; an epidemic convinced others to return to isolation. Those that stayed became known as the Mektutire (Txukarramãe).

In the 1980s Gorotire relations with outsiders entered a new phase when gold prospectors invaded their reservation. At first, the Gorotire raided the miners' camp and tried to force them out but ended by signing a contract that gives the community a share in the mine's profits. The Gorotire also receive revenue from lumber companies that cut hardwoods on the reservation. The Gorotire have spent part of these revenues on trucks, a light plane, electricity, and building a new village of brick houses. New wealth has also provided their leaders with funds to go to Brasília and abroad to argue the cause of Indian rights over land and other resources. Although they have adopted a number of elements of Western material culture, the Kayapó have by no means abandoned their own identity. They use modern means of communication to strengthen internal cohesion, such as shortwave radio to link the villages; they also have used video cameras to record traditional ceremonies. The Kayapó have become aware of the interest of the media in external aspects of their culture, such as ceremonial dress and ritual performances, and have become adept at using them as political resources in the struggle to defend their communities against appropriation and assimilation.

When they lived east of their present locations, the Kayapó habitat was savanna; some now live in tropical forest, but most inhabit transitional environments where forest and savanna meet. Their traditional staple was sweet potatoes, but their crop repertoire includes both sweet and bitter manioc, maize, yams, taro, and *kupá* (*Cissus gongyloides*), an original domesticate of the Gê peoples. Some also now plant dry rice. The Gorotire plant their principal crops in new fields for two or three years but also plant fruit trees from which they continue to harvest for a number of years; they also collect useful plants in the forest and transplant them into old gardens.

All Kayapó groups have been seminomadic until recently, and most of them still spend part of the year "on trek," that is, making hunting trips from their base village, often with the entire community traveling as a unit. Sometimes only the men go out, or the village may split into several groups. When on trek, they travel slowly from camp to camp, the men spending most of their time hunting while women care for the children, gather wild fruits, and collect materials for the camp shelters. They do not depend entirely on wild foods, however; they carry with them manioc, bananas, and other food from the village gardens or collected from forest gardens that they plant along trails for this purpose.

At present, men hunt with rifles and shotguns. Preferred game species are peccaries, armadillos, coatis, deer, and anteaters. Roasted tortoises are an obligatory dish at all festivals. In preparation for a feast, a group of men goes out to collect tortoises—when they return, each man is carrying by a tumpline slung from his forehead a tall rack to which live tortoises are tied; they may bring as many as 200 of the animals. Fishing has become more important than it was previously, especially for Gorotire Village on the Rio Fresco. The villagers fish with bows and arrows and harpoons as well as with hook and line and with nets that were introduced by missionaries. Age grades organize collective fishing parties that use *timbó* (rotenone) as a fish poison. Gold mining has polluted the Rio Fresco near Gorotire Village, however, and mercury, which is used in processing ore, has been found in the fish that the Indians take from the river. The Kayapó distinguish over fifty different varieties of bees, which they value not only for honey but also for wax, which is used for medicinal purposes and as an adhesive.

Gorotire villages consist of houses surrounding a public space, with a men's house in the center. If the village increases in size, another ring of houses may be added outside the first. The "great villages" of the past had up to three concentric circles of houses and a population of several thousand. The traditional Kayapó house was constructed by placing two parallel rows of flexible saplings and tying them together at their tops to form an arch to which palm fronds were attached. Such houses are no longer built in the villages, but similar structures are built as shelters while on trek. Present-day Gorotire village houses are like rural Brazilian houses built of wattle and daub with palm-thatch roofs. The Kayapó do not use hammocks for sleeping; they make their beds from layers of palm leaves and mats on the floor of the house or on platforms.

Gorotire social organization is based on a number of different groups: extended family households, age grades, men's societies, men's houses, and villages. There are also a number of dyadic social ties formed by both real and fictive kin relationships, ceremonial friendships, and naming relationships. The Gorotire calculate kinship bilaterally, but because of depopulation and village fissions, people often do not have many kin in the same village. As a result, fictive kin, acquired in various ways, have an important role in ceremonials.

The Kayapó are monogamous, and postmarital residence is matrilocal. At around the age of 8 a Gorotire boy leaves his parents' house to live in the men's house. He is



inducted into the men's house by a pair of "ceremonial parents" who also sponsor his initiation. After initiation, he may marry but will not move into his wife's household until after the birth of his first child. At this time, a special ceremony marks his advancement from the young men's age grade to the fathers' age grade. Both men and women pass through different age grades throughout their lives. Although the Kayapó are monogamous, extramarital affairs are common. Some women do not marry but spend their lives as unmarried women who, nevertheless, have children.

Most Gorotire villages have two men's societies and two women's societies, although the number may vary. Formerly, some villages had two men's houses, each with one or more men's societies. When a man's first child is born he must decide which men's society he will join. He is free to choose, but there is a tendency for a man to join the society of his wife's father. A woman usually joins the women's society corresponding to her husband's group. Many activities are organized by the men's societies. Each group has its own chief and appointed place in the men's house, and cooperates in communal labor such as house building and on ceremonial hunting trips. In the past, men's societies sometimes became powerful political factions, and villages might split according to men's societies.

The Kayapó conceive of the cosmos in terms of circles. Floating parallel disks—the upper world, the earth, and the underworld—constitute the universe. In the beginning people lived in the upper world, but when a hunter was digging out the burrow of an armadillo he made a hole in the sky, and saw the wonderful world below. Pursuing the armadillo, the hunter fell through the hole in the sky to the earth, but a great wind blew him back to heaven, where he told the other people what he had seen. Then the two chiefs of the village in the sky thought about how all the people might go down to earth. They told everybody to bring all the bow cords, necklaces, and wristbands they had and tie them all together so that the people might climb down. Twice they tried and twice the rope was too short. Accordingly, they found more things to tie together, and the third time it was long enough. They all descended to earth except a few who were afraid. Then a little boy cut the rope, and those who had stayed behind had to remain in the sky, where they became the stars.

According to the Gorotire view, each human being has a bodily form, but the energy that makes the body live is its spirit. During periods of unconsciousness owing to illness or injury, the spirit may leave the body and wander about. This is a dangerous state, but to become a shaman one must have an experience in which the spirit leaves the body and, transformed into a bird, flies east, avoids entanglement in a magical spider's web, and reaches the spiritual world where it acquires knowledge from the spirits of the animals and the ancestors. Shamans are experts in tribal rituals and ceremonies which, according to Kayapó belief, must be performed to keep the world in place.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Guahibo-Sikuani

**ETHNONYMS:** Generic for the linguistic family: Goajivo, Guahibo, Guayba, Jiwi, Uajibo, Uwaiwa, Waiwa. Specific ethnic groups: 1) Jiwi, Sikuani; 2) Cuiba, Chiricoa, Jiwi; 3) Hitnu, Macaguane; 4) Cunimia, Guayabero.

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The name "Guahibo," presumably of Arawak (Achagua or Piapoco) origin, has been applied to several ethnic groups of the family. The self-designation "Sikuani," used by some with the connotation of "backward," has been redefined by newly politicized groups to mean "authentic" or "nonacculturated," and refers specifically to the largest ethnic group of Guahibo. The terms "Cuiba" and "Chiricoa" refer to the nomadic groups of eastern Casanare and Arauca. "Hitnu," equivalent to "Jiwi" among the Sikuani and Cuiba, means "people" or "human beings" and is the autodenomination of a small group (also known as "Macaguanes") of horticulturists of the Arauca forest. The names "Guayabero" and "Cunimia" designate groups originating in the Río Guayabero area and now settled on the central part of the river, where it is known as the Guaviare.

**Location.** The traditional Sikuani territory includes the tropical savannas of the eastern Colombian plains, especially the area between the Orinoco, Meta, Manacacias, and Vichada rivers. Beginning in the 1950s, some groups migrated toward the east, to the central Orinoco and the jungle areas of the Río Guaviare and to Amazonas in Venezuela.

**Demography.** According to official data, the Guahibo number around 30,000 people: 25,500 Sikuani (70 percent in Colombia and 30 percent in Venezuela), 2,500 Cuiba (90 percent in Colombia and 10 percent in Venezuela), 1,000 Guayabero, and 250 Hitnu.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Guahibo language is classified with Sikuani and Cuiba (central Guahibo), Hitnu, and Guayabero, with which it forms an independent language family. These languages, especially Sikuani, show an increased number of lexical affinities with the Piapoco and Achagua languages of the Arawak Language Family. These affinities can be attributed to borrowing owing to lengthy coresidence, exogamic interchange, and trade, and not, as some authors have suggested, a genetic relationship.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Early reports on the area describe the Guahibo (Guaiba and Chiricoa) as nomadic hunter-gatherers, whose form of life contrasted with sedentary river dwellers dedicated to horticulture. From the eighteenth century on, however, with the remainder of the Arawak (Achagua and Piapoco), they began to settle down on the banks of the Meta, Vichada, and Ariari rivers and to change their form of life from hunting and gathering to that of semisedentary horticulture. From the end of the seventeenth century, after the departure of the Jesuit missionaries who were never able to congregate them in towns, the Sikuani gained control over the riverine territories. With different surges of colonization brought about by interethnic conflicts in the interior of the country, Sikuani territory was invaded by cattle ranchers who steadily advanced toward the east, dislodging the natives with bullets. For their part the Indians, especially the nomadic groups, took advantage of the violent circumstances to assault travelers and hunt cattle. On the border between settlers and nomads, a process of acculturation and Hispanicization began to develop, which affected mainly the Achagua and Saliva and, to a lesser degree, the Sikuani. As late as the 1960s, cattle ranchers of the plains continued to organize retaliatory raids against the nomadic groups.

### *Settlements*

The Sikuani live in dispersed villages formed by a few houses, with an average of less than 50 inhabitants. Villages that developed in the proximity of missions, near Creole villages, or at strategic points along communication axes are more nucleated, and their population exceeds 100 individuals. In the area of San José de Ocuné and on the Río Guaviare, there are some mixed Sikuani and Piapoco villages with an average of 100 persons. Settlement size and mutual proximity are determined by the availability of resources such as wooded areas and water supply and by such factors as distance from routes of communication and the possibility of maintaining relations through the presence of allied groups in the vicinity. Limited resources relative to the growth of the local population engender conflicts that trigger migration to new areas. The mobility of the Guahibo, a factor in the survival of the group vis-à-vis the influence of the dominant society, is based on the fact that there is no strict territoriality and that all Sikuani, whatever their original territory, consider themselves related and can establish new neighborhood relations and alliances in any part of the area. The creation of reserve zones and protected areas since 1970 has limited their traditional mobility somewhat and resulted in the definitive sedentarization of the last nomadic groups, such as the Cuiva of eastern Casanare and Venezuela and the Sikuani from the Tomo and Tuparro rivers.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The basis of Sikuani subsistence is horticulture of bitter manioc, of which some fifty varieties are cultivated, as well as other crops like maize, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, and domestic garden cultigens like peppers. Hunting, fishing, and gather-

ing contribute an essential part of the diet, especially during the dry season, when Sikuani families sometimes travel for weeks and find abundant resources along the rivers, where there is a concentration of fauna. Pigs and chickens have been raised for some time to be traded to Whites for clothing, tools, and other goods rather than as a source of food. Cattle raising on a small scale has developed more recently, having been begun with official aid. Work as ranch hands or in official positions as bilingual teachers and health promoters are sources of income for some people.

**Industrial Arts.** Although items of daily use are made by nonspecialists, basketry and pottery are more or less specialized crafts executed for trade and economic gain by people with artistic abilities. Woven trays, for example, are made with designs that have symbolic value and are desirable trade items. Hammocks made of *cumare-* or *macanilla-*palm fibers are sold or traded in White-managed shops.

**Trade.** At the time of contact, there existed an active trade that connected all the groups of the Orinoco plains with those of neighboring regions. The Guahibo exchanged their game and their gathered products, as well as items from faraway places, for the horticultural products of riverine groups. With population loss came the loss of regional specialization, and the groups diversified their economy.

**Division of Labor.** Felling and burning the fields to prepare for cultivation is communal male work. Hunting, fishing, house construction, and canoe making are also men's tasks. A man who wishes to marry is expected to be capable of weaving a manioc press and other basketry items that are given to women to perform their work. Women do the planting and harvesting and prepare food, especially griddle cakes from grated and leached bitter manioc. Pottery making is a typically feminine task.

**Land Tenure.** Only with the creation of reserves and protected territories is the notion of landownership beginning to develop.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Although all Sikuani consider themselves related, regional groups called *wiria* differentiate each other by certain linguistic features and particular mythical ancestors, generally animals. The tapir, jaguar, sardine, sloth, parrot, and macaw groups are the best known. A complete list would include some forty groupings of this kind. There is sometimes disagreement about the affiliation of a particular individual. Filiation is cognatic when the father and mother belong to the same *wiria*. When the father and mother belong to different *wirias* or ethnic groups, it is assumed that children belong to the father's or mother's group depending on which group is dominant in the community. The children of a Piapoco man and a Sikuani woman who live in a Sikuani community will be Sikuani. If, on the other hand, the couple lives in a Piapoca community, the children will be Piapoca.

**Kinship Terminology.** The terminology for cousins is of the Iroquois type, and avuncular terminology is bifurcate-collateral.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Although the tendency is predominantly toward endogamous marriage between bilateral cross cousins, Sikuani mobility frequently leads to marriages with distant groups. Especially common are marriages between Sikuani and Piapoco.

**Domestic Unit.** The Guahibo residential unit varies according to its phase of development. It is initially made up of a mature nuclear family in a neolocal home. Later it develops into an uxorilocal extended family by incorporating sons-in-law, who are required to render bride-service for several years. Eventually, constituent nuclear families become more independent and build their own homes either in the same village or further away. In the case of chiefs, some of the sons remain in their father's home and bring their wives to live with them virilocally, because the sons generally inherit social status within their community of orientation.

**Inheritance.** The scarce goods a man possesses go to his sons, and those of a woman to her daughters.

**Socialization.** Children are educated with affection and permissiveness. They learn different kinds of work by collaborating with adults. Moralistic tales tell of the punishment that awaits those who violate social norms. Formal education has been established since the middle of the twentieth century, first in the missions then in community schools with indigenous teachers. In the 1980s programs were developed to protect indigenous language and culture.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The Sikuani have a basically egalitarian society. Although chieftainship and shamanism are generally male positions, women have a great deal of influence on the community's decision-making processes. Factors in social stratification include the degree of acculturation and the prevailing life-style. Although indigenous identity is valued, there is an appreciation for proficiency in Spanish and knowledge of Creole culture; traditional monolingualism and nomadism are considered backward.

**Political Organization.** Leadership rarely goes beyond the village level. Each community is autonomous, and only with the development of the indigenous movement and the formation of Indian reserves have regional political organizations been created.

**Social Control and Conflict.** Social control is exercised through criticism of deviant behavior. In cases of serious conflict, accusations of sorcery are made, generally resulting in the migration of the people involved.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** For the Sikuani, the world is the result of the actions of deities and culture heroes who made the world livable by diminishing the power of cannibals and by exiling other beings that were harmful to humans. The main deity, Furna Minali, and the heroes Tsamani (the constellation Delphinus), Iwinai (Pleiades), Kajuyali (Orion), among others, exiled Kuemainü, the great man-eating serpent, by transforming it into the Milky Way and weakened the power of lightning by vanquishing it in com-

bat. They gave people prayers and shamanic powers to cure illness and to rid themselves of their enemies and the grandparents of animals that inhabit lakes and caverns. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the influence of Christianity has been growing. As a consequence, the use of the psychotropic *yopo* (*Anadenanthera peregrina*) has been discontinued. The forces of nature and the grandparents of the animals appear as ghosts, and their presence is a constant factor in the life of the Sikuani. Hunting or fishing must not be excessive, and the hunting of certain animals, such as tapir, requires special observances like sexual abstinence on the part of the hunter. The appearance of some animals, such as the fox, or the occurrence of some incident during a ritual is a bad omen.

**Ceremonies.** In early childhood and especially at the onset of menstruation, a ritual is performed in which a long prayer is recited naming all species of fish and animals of the hunt that might harm the child that is about to be weaned or the young woman who has reached the age of procreation.

**Arts.** The art perhaps most appreciated by the Sikuani is oratory. Dramatized narration of stories or discourses at political gatherings delights the audience. There are also virtuosos in pan-flute playing who perform in duet; some women and some men are particularly admired for their beautiful playing of songs.

**Medicine.** The basis of Sikuani medicine is the use of *yopo*, *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*), and tobacco. It is by ingesting these mind-altering substances that shamans acquire the ability to see pathogenic agents like hair or crystals in the bodies of their patients and to extract and return them to whoever sends them. A *yopo* trance also allows the shaman to travel to the sky world, where he meets the hero-constellations, the inventors of shamanic curing and the givers of shamanic power.

**Death and Afterlife.** Through a divinatory ceremony with tobacco and *yopo*, the shaman can determine the identity of a generally distant enemy who is responsible for the death of a person. The *itomo* ceremony takes place two or three years after the body is buried. The bones are exhumed and painted with annatto and reburied in an urn. A large number of people are invited to this feast, which lasts for three days. Manioc beer is served, and there is dancing on the secondary grave to the sound of flutes made from deer crania. Following the ceremony, the spirit of the deceased goes to live in the world of the dead, whence it will not return to interfere in the lives of its relatives.

See also *Cuiva*

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FRANCISCO ORTIZ  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

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## Guajajara

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ETHNONYMS: Guazazara, Tenetchar, Tenetehára

The 7,000 to 10,000 Guajajara speak a language belonging to the Tupi Family and live between the Pindaré and Mearim rivers in the Brazilian state of Maranhão. In 1830 they numbered in excess of 12,000 people and lived in Pará as well as Maranhão.

Some Guajajara lived on the Jesuit mission near Itaqui in the 1650s but left when asked to work on tobacco plantations. An 1850s Brazilian-government plan to convert the Guajajara to Christianity and make them workers resulted in an Indian rebellion in 1860. Following their attack, in which they killed several non-Indians, the Guajajara returned to the forests. The 1890s brought another attempt at pacification, but the proselytizing efforts of the Capuchin missionaries and a measles epidemic caused another rebellion in 1900. A deadly retaliation by non-Indians followed, and Guajajara pacification ensued. With the missionaries encouraging large families, the Guajajara population has climbed steadily. The Guajajara are today largely acculturated and assimilated.

The Guajajara traditionally practiced fairly intensive horticulture, raising bitter and sweet manioc, maize, squashes, cotton, peanuts, and beans; later they adopted bananas and rice, which they grow in large quantities. Gardens are cleared from July through November, burned in late November, and planted in December. The family head owns the garden, but his sons, nephews, and sons-in-law also work on it. Men traditionally did all the work in the gardens, with the exception of cultivating cotton and peanuts, which were women's responsibilities, but by the 1940s men planted and harvested those crops as well. The Guajajara hunt tapir, peccaries, monkeys, agoutis, and several species of birds. They still use bows and arrows, although in the twentieth century they have adopted firearms. The Guajajara fish with hooks and lines purchased

from Brazilians, but they also know how to fish with poison.

By the late nineteenth century, the Guajajara had adopted Portuguese architecture, building houses with rectangular lines. Guajajara villages vary greatly in population, from 35 to 800 or more people. The traditional Guajajara village had rows of houses with streets in between. A household typically consists of a matrilineally extended family, although many include only a nuclear family. In houses with several nuclear families, there are no dividing walls, only separate use areas; each family places its hammocks around its own hearth. Tools and housewares are hung from the wall supports. Traditionally, there were also large buildings constructed for ceremonies.

Villages are politically independent and are governed by several men who are themselves the heads of large extended families. In addition, there is one man who is appointed by outside authorities (formerly Jesuit missionaries but later the colonial, imperial, and federal governments) who acts as an intermediary between the people of his village and the outside world.

Traditionally, both boys and girls were isolated for ten days prior to their puberty rituals, which were for both sexes. Sometimes men married preadolescent girls and lived with the girls' families until after their puberty rituals, at which time the marriages were consummated. Otherwise, a father sought a husband for his daughter after her puberty ritual. Polygyny is allowed, but rare. A father-to-be is prohibited by taboo from hunting certain species of animals, for fear that the spirit of the animal will harm the fetus; for example, killing a jaguar is believed to cause the child to be insane. After birth, both parents must observe food taboos until the child is weaned. Traditionally, the dead are buried in the house, and the house is destroyed after two burials have taken place within it.

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## Guajiro

ETHNONYM: Wayuu

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Guajiro are an Indian group living in Colombia and Venezuela. The name "Guajiro" is probably of Spanish origin.

**Location.** The traditional Guajiro territory, with a land area of approximately 16,000 square kilometers, consists of a peninsula called "La Guajira" located in the Caribbean Sea between 11° and 12°30' N and between 71° and 72°30' W. The peninsula is divided by the Colombia-Venezuela border; although only one-fifth of its surface area is Venezuelan, roughly half of the Guajiro population lives on the Venezuelan side. This is a region of brush savanna and xerophytic vegetation, dotted with desert zones, that also includes several mountain ranges reaching upwards of 850 meters (Makaira, Kusina, Jala'ala, and Kamaichi). Rainfall is abundant from October to November (the period called *juyapu*) and sometimes also in April or May (the period of *iüwa*). The major dry season (called *jouktai-jamü*, "hunger-wind") lasts from May to September and sometimes even longer, preempting the rainy season and imperiling the lives of animals and people. In the north of the peninsula annual mean precipitation is approximately 20 centimeters; it can reach 60 centimeters in the south. The amounts are irregular, however, and the regional variations great.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Guajiro is part of the Arawak Language Family. The speech of Wüinpumuin (the northeastern region) is distinct from that of Wopumuin (the southeastern region), although the two are mutually intelligible.

**Demography.** A full census has not been taken. It is generally accepted, however, that the Guajiro number more than 100,000 (without taking into account mestizos or those who do not speak the language and are outside the lineage system). In 1938, as in 1981, there were approximately 47,000 Guajiro in Colombia. There are an estimated 60,000 in Venezuela, about two-thirds of whom live on the margins of the territory, in the city of Maracaibo, or in other areas.

### History and Cultural Relations

In the southern part of the peninsula, there existed a population from around 1500 B.C. to just before the Conquest that, like the Guajiro, had a custom of double funerals; however, there is nothing to indicate that they were the ancestors of the Guajiro, who, from the linguistic evidence, originated in Amazonia. The Spaniards reached the coasts of Guajiroland in 1499 and began their penetration into the peninsula in 1526. According to chroniclers, there were several indigenous groups coexisting in the area (e.g., Anate, Atanare, Canoa, Caquetio, Cocina, Guanabucare, Makaira), but it is possible that they attributed several names to a given society, each one referring to various economic and social aspects of that society. The only other

group that exists in the vicinity of the Guajiro today is the lacustrine Paraujano, who speak a closely related language and who are on the road to extinction.

### Settlements

In the traditional territory, the settlements are widely dispersed. The residential unit (*miichipala*, "place of houses") is an aggregate of dwellings, often separated by many tens of meters, that provides shelter for nuclear families sharing the same water source. There are generally between a few dozen and several hundred persons in a *miichipala*. The latter are all named, and sometimes divided into subunits, which are themselves named. The *miichipala* are, on average, several kilometers distant from one another, and large stretches of the interior of the Guajira Peninsula remain uninhabited. Traditional dwellings are comprised of a small house where hammocks are hung at night; a kitchen, which consists of a surrounding wall of cactus or branches, sometimes covered by a roof; and a porch roof, made of a flat overhang on posts, under which daily activities and the entertainment of visitors take place. Located farther out are the sheep and goat pens and the garden, which is protected by a fence.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Formerly, Guajiro society was probably egalitarian, based on an economy of horticulture, gathering, hunting, and fishing, depending on the region. Today, it is a strongly hierarchical pastoral culture. The first livestock arrived from Europe around the beginning of the sixteenth century. Hungry, curious, and adventurous, some of the Guajiro obtained livestock by raid and theft until they had semiwild herds of cattle and horses. Pastoralism progressively became widespread, probably facilitated by missionaries, who made many attempts at pacification; by Dutch, French, or English pirates hostile to the Spanish and in quest of food; and finally by the Black slaves who, by choice or by force, settled among the Guajiro. At the end of the nineteenth century, pastoralism was nearly general except, it seems, in the region of the Sierra Kusina, where it has developed since. The keeping of cattle, sheep, and goats is still the principal source of livelihood for the majority of the Guajiro on the peninsula. Horticulture, hunting, and fishing have become marginal as opportunities for smuggling and occasional wage labor have developed, even assuring essential income for mestizo families or families that have emigrated to urban zones. Livestock are destined for consumption or the market, but they are also a prestige item that is good to accumulate. Formerly, horses and mules were, along with cattle, the most valued animals. The former have practically disappeared. The wealthiest Guajiro now buy trucks or pickups.

**Industrial Arts.** Women weave hammocks of cotton with very rich motifs and coloring and belts decorated with similar motifs. They also crochet small bags that they sell at local markets or in Maracaibo. Men principally make sandals and produce colorful wool rugs using the saddle-blanket technique.

**Trade.** For centuries the Guajiro have sold Whites brazilwood (*Hematoxylon brasiletto*) to make dyes, *divi-divi*

fruits (*Caesalpinia coriara*), and skins. In the northwest of the peninsula, they fished for lobster and pearls and produced salt, an activity that still continues. There are weekly markets in many localities along the margins of the peninsula.

**Division of Labor.** Women tend to domestic chores, make the essential items of material culture, and work beside the men in pastoral activities and horticulture. Some occasionally hold political office. In the late 1980s eight of every ten shamans were women.

**Land Tenure.** Land is not owned, but its usufructs are associated with pasturage rights for visiting groups.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Guajiro are organized into some thirty nonlocalized clans (*matrisibs*) called *eiruku*, a term that also means "flesh" or "meat." Each one is associated with a proper name (or "flesh name," *sünülia eiruki*) and a totemic animal, a "clan animal" (*uchii shiiruku*). These clans are actually agamic and noncorporate, however. Filiation is matrilineal. Persons recognized as relatives, designated by the general term *wayuu kasa tanain* ("the people who are something for me"), constitute two groups: *apüshi* and *oupayu*. The former are uterine relatives in the strict sense—an Egocentric group or matrilineage, depending on the author—who gather together in the same cemetery the bones of their dead and act as a corporate group. The term "oupayu" refers to the close uterine relatives (*apüshi*) of Ego's father. The complementarity of these two groups becomes apparent: at the time of bride-price negotiations (in general, the price is determined by the father of the bride if it is his first daughter or, for the other girls, by their uterine relatives), in situations of conflict (in general, compensation is claimed by the victim's father if the wound is superficial, and by the victim's maternal uncle if the injury is serious or mortal), and, finally, in funeral arrangements (it is often the father or other uterine relatives of the deceased who are responsible for organizing the first obsequies, since the second funeral is always the responsibility of the *apüshi*).

**Kinship Terminology.** Guajiro kinship terminology is of the Crow type.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage entails a bride-price (*apan'na*). The amount varies greatly according to the hierarchical position of the bride's lineage as well as her specific qualities (e.g., skillfulness in weaving and commerce, beauty). Matrimonial exchanges are generally limited to certain very limited circuits. Virginity is valued. It was long believed that the Guajiro adhered to a rule of matrilineal residence (a new couple living in the same *miichipala* as the bride's mother). No single rule, however, is strictly applied. A couple can change residence several times during a lifetime, the previous configuration corresponding to the most stable situation. For the majority of young couples, residence is initially uxori-matrilocal; then it can change several times, possibly to patrilocal (patri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal) or neolocal. The coresidence of sisters and brothers is the next most common form. The choice of

residence is the result of two processes: the mode of marriage and the logic of household formation. Polygyny is highly valued and characteristic of rich men.

**Domestic Unit.** An individual is affiliated with three distinct groups—two of kinship and one of residence. This explains the great mobility of Guajiro society. A common household consists of a cohabiting group of siblings.

**Inheritance.** Property is owned both by lineages and individuals. Men and women both possess their own animals. The animals of a dead man not sacrificed during his funeral are generally distributed to his brothers and uterine nephews, who often share their portions with their sisters. A woman's children inherit her livestock at her death. Maternal uncles usually offer animals to their nephews. A father can also give animals to his children, a tendency that has developed during the twentieth century. In fact, the transmission of property is a complex process, varying according to the status of the lineage involved.

**Socialization.** Children are raised in a rather permissive fashion, but they participate in economic activities at a very young age—little girls in household tasks, boys in tending the livestock. Pubescent girls were formerly subjected to a period of seclusion, which today is sometimes more symbolic than real.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The dominant functional units of Guajiro society are the groups of *apüshi*, the matrilineal relatives in the strict sense.

**Political Organization.** One or several groups of *apüshi*, in general not localized, can recognize a dominant male figure, an *alaüla*, a term that designates a maternal uncle, an "elder," and, by extension, a "chief." In fact, the *alaüla* of a matrilineage functions in all three capacities. He is the keeper of "Guajiro custom" (*sükuaitpa wayuu*). The group to which he gives coherence is an economic unit. All of its members contribute to the payment of compensation for a misdeed caused on the outside by one of its members, to members' burial costs, and to the bride-price obligations of male members. In theory, the office of *alaüla* is inherited by one of the sons of the former's eldest sister, or failing that, by the most competent of his uterine relatives. In fact, situations of conflict among the constituent lineages can arise. The *alaüla* from the minimal lineage that considers itself the most wealthy can lay claim to the office, and fission can result.

**Social Control.** An *alaüla* is responsible for maintaining daily order in the domestic unit in which he resides.

**Conflict.** Serious offenses (homicide, body wounds) committed against members of different lineages are no longer, as formerly, subject to retaliation. Theoretically, there is always a way to arrive at a peaceful settlement. Each person who has suffered a wrong (*ainjala*) is a victim (*asirü*). The dispute (*putchi*) is submitted to a go-between (*pütchipu*, *püchējachi*, or often an *alaüla*), chosen by lineages in conflict and considered neutral. The dispute is settled by the payment of compensation (*maüna*) consisting of livestock, jewels, and money. The sum is accumulated by the lineage of the wrongdoer (*womuyü*) and

remitted to the victim's familial group. The amount paid depends on the recognized worth of the victim, that is to say on the status of the victim's lineage. On the other hand, Guajiro history shows that if the groups in conflict are unequal, the stronger can refuse all mediation in order to appropriate the weaker's assets and capture and enslave certain of its members.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Guajiro are little inclined to religious practices. They do not appeal to their divinities directly, and their rites few. Although their conception of the world is extremely dualistic, the Manichaeism of the Christian religion has made little impact on them.

The Guajiro invoke Maleiwa, their culture hero born from the remains of his mother, who was devoured by Jaguar. After having rejected Jaguar in the wilderness of Nature, which he personifies, Maleiwa created humans and differentiated the world, in which originally everything was anthropomorphic and related. Maleiwa, who is sometimes confused with the God of the Whites, is of little importance today. Guajiro mythic concepts are based on an opposition between two fundamental supernatural beings: Juya (rain), the hypermasculine hunter, and Pulowi, the subterranean woman, mistress of animals, who is associated with drought and death and who manifests herself in numerous places such as holes or little rises, which are called *pulowi* and are avoided by the Guajiro for fear of disappearing or falling gravely ill. The elements of the symbolic world are divided into two equivalent and complementary classes of which Juya and Pulowi, who are husband and wife, are the representations and revelations. Several other supernatural beings are also recognized: *wanulüü*, *akalpu*, *keeralia*, *juyain*, and others. The Guajiro also accord great importance to the ghosts of the dead, the *yoluja*, who haunt their dreams, dictate much of their behavior, and are the cause of many illnesses.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans as well as diviners still continue to corroborate traditional representations and beliefs, for example by curing sickness or epizootic disease or foretelling the appropriate site of new houses.

**Ceremonies.** Formerly, collective horticultural work was accompanied by a ceremony, which has today disappeared, called *kaa'ülayawaa* (goat dance), often accompanied, among the wealthy, by courses of horse meat (*awachira ama*). It was an occasion for competitions, games of skill and team games, and for rendezvous between young people. Today the *yonna* dance, which is danced by a couple to the beat of a drum, is the most common collective demonstration. It is organized to celebrate an economic success; the visit of an important person, Guajiro or foreign (*alijuna*); the end of a period of seclusion; and similar events. The dance is also frequently prescribed by a shaman at the end of a cure. But funerals, both first and second, remain the most important Guajiro ceremonies.

**Arts.** Songs (*jayeechi*), sung as solos, often accompany gatherings; they can last for hours and so can become for men a true test of endurance. Their content can be biographical, historical, or anecdotal (love stories, lullabies,

etc.). The Guajiro also play, also in solo, several types of flute and the Jew's harp.

**Medicine.** The Guajiro distinguish two types of sickness. Beyond a certain threshold of pain and when the domestic treatments by plants, firebrands (*asijai*), and the like are found to be ineffective, the sickness is considered to be of the *wanülüü* type: its cause is supernatural. Nosology is of the etiological type. It distinguishes three great types of causes: encounters with or aggression by supernatural beings (*oustaa*), aggression by ghosts of the dead (*yolujasiraa*), and contamination (*kapülainwea*) by animals or by those who have handled remains of the dead or the bodies of murder victims. Traditionally, only shamans could assure a cure. Today many Guajiro follow winding therapeutic itineraries that take them from shamans to doctors at "health centers" and, in passing, to the healers or "sorcerers" of the neighboring rural areas.

**Death and Afterlife.** According to the Guajiro, humans are part of a fatal cycle. When they die, their souls cross the "way of the dead Indians," the Milky Way, and they go to Jepira, the peninsula of the dead, passing from the state of person (*wayuu*) to that of yoluja. To Jepira, the yoluja constitute a society comparable or opposed to that of the living, and then, "a long time after," "they are lost." Everything happens as though Juya and Pulowi were assimilating them. Long-dead Guajiro are then found on earth in the form of rain, which assures the rejuvenation of vegetation and life, or in the form of *wanülüü*, who bring sickness and death. The double funeral corresponds to the double fate of the dead. At the time of the second burial, to which the Guajiro accord extreme importance, the remains of the members of the same matrilineage are reunited, signifying anonymity and oblivion but also the force and the permanence of the group.

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MICHEL PERRIN

## Guambiano

ETHNONYMS: Silveños, Wampi-misamera

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Guambiano, a South American Indian group in Colombia, call themselves "Wampi-misamera" or "people of Guambia." The mestizos of the area frequently call them "Silveños," referring to the people in the environs of Silvia, a small town in the heart of Guambian territory.

**Location.** The Guambiano live in the municipalities of Silvia and Jambaló. A few others are to be found in the municipalities of Totoro, Caldono, and Toribio in the department of Cauca in the southwestern part of Colombia on the mountainous foothills of the Cordillera Central. The average elevation of the area varies between 2,000 and 3,000 meters, making it an extremely cold and rainy area with a mean temperature of 12° C and an annual precipitation of 13.7 centimeters. The vegetation of the region was formerly richer and more varied; nowadays it is scarce. Overexploitation of the land and the kind of agricultural techniques employed have resulted in the exhaustion of primary vegetation. Cutting down the woodlands of the mountain ranges has caused the disappearance not only of traditional vegetation but also of the animal species that used to live there.

**Demography.** Demographic information is not very reliable, and often it is contradictory. Schwarz has made a careful survey of population growth in Guambia during the twentieth century and believes that in 1900 the population included 1,500 men and in 1970 consisted of 7,030 people (Schwarz 1973, 240). Government sources speak of 10,180 people in 1980, whereas the Organización Nacional de Indígenas de Colombia, (National Organization of Indigenous Peoples of Colombia, ONIC) reports for 1980 a figure of 18,000 Guambiano. An analysis of existing census data shows a population structure that is eminently "young," with a median age of 22.63 for men and 21.26 for women. Data suggest a heavy burden of dependency on the reproductive sector and a considerable effort by this segment to ensure community survival. Census data analyzed on the basis of age groups show that the number of women decreases with age; thus, females in Guambia have a higher mortality rate and a lower life expectancy than do men.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The language of the Guambiano, Wampi-misamera-wam, has been classified within the Guambiano-Kokonuco Group of the larger Chibcha Language Family. According to more recent investigations, it is believed to be an isolated language and of dubious classification (Matteson 1972). The majority of the Guambiano speak Spanish, especially the young people. Although they consider Spanish essential to survive in and withstand the hostility of the White world, the Guambiano nonetheless resist losing their own language, which is an essential aspect of their ethnic and cultural identity.



### History and Cultural Relations

After the Indians of the valley of Popayán had been conquered by the Spaniards, the natives of Guambia, located in the richest and most fertile territories of the region, were given in *encomienda* (grant of Indians for tribute) in 1562 to Francisco de Belalcazar, son of the conqueror of Popayán. In 1589 the *encomiendas* of Ambaló and Usenda, with a Guambiano population, were given to Lorenzo Paz y Maldonado and his wife, Catalina de Belalcazar, granddaughter of the conqueror. Historical documents show that there was exploitation of Guambiano labor from the very beginning of the Conquest and that the entire colonial period was marked by bad relations and conflicts between natives and the *hacendados* (owners of large landed estates) to whom they were given in *encomienda*. Belalcazar's heirs, *encomenderos* (holders of *encomiendas*) of Guambia, who also owned property in various other parts of the region, continuously removed Indians, assigning them to other exploitative enterprises such as sugar mills and mines. There were constant complaints on the part of the Indians, who maintained that they had to neglect their own fields because the *encomenderos* left them no time to work their land. Despite these remonstrations, the Indians were taken in chains to Popayán to comply with their obligations.

In 1700 King Philip V granted Indians, represented by the legendary chief Juan Tama, three *resguardos* (protected territories) and the rights to the land contained in them: Guambia, Pitayó, and Quichaya, the last two with a Páez Indian population. Although the population within the Guambiano reserves was numerically small and debilitated, the economic backwardness of the region and the protectionist policies associated with Indian reserves allowed Guambiano to slowly recuperate demographically and, above all, culturally and politically. Even though the reserves of this region of Colombia survived, the development of White haciendas at the expense of reserve lands was destructive and uncontrollable from the beginning. The Indians, dispossessed of their land, were reduced to the condition of tenant farmers on the haciendas of Whites, where in exchange for living in a small hut and planting a piece of land, they had the obligation to work on the owner's land for several days a month. It was in protest against this situation of servility, abject poverty, and complete lack of ownership of land, that the Guambiano rose up and still continue their struggle. Displaying great sociocultural flexibility throughout the years, they have adopted new cultigens, new techniques, new tools, and new housing and have accepted the Spanish language and Catholicism. Despite the great number of extraneous elements introduced into their culture and the familiarity with which they move in the White world, they continue to be Guambiano, speaking their ancestral language and reinterpreting events in the light of Guambiano thought.

### Settlements

The Guambiano have a dispersed settlement pattern; their dwellings are located along the trails and in the open spaces that traverse their territory. Their ancient rectangular huts of plaited cane and wood, with straw roofs and small circular rooms for menstruating women, have practi-

cally disappeared from the landscape. Nowadays, their dwellings are structurally very homogeneous. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the colonial style L- or U-form house, usually of adobe blocks and tiles, has imposed itself. Bamboo, *guadua* (a variety of bamboo), and, above all, eucalyptus timber are always found in regional dwellings. Whereas the typical colonial house predominates, the use of space continues to be determined by tradition. The kitchen is the most important place in Guambiano dwellings, since it is the social space par excellence. Not only is food stored, prepared, and distributed in it, but it is also where visitors are received and where on cold Andean nights and dawns the family converses by the heat of the hearth, the fire of which is kept permanently burning.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Guambiano are traditionally an agricultural people. The main source of their subsistence comes from working their land, and its development not only transcends daily life and the vital cycle but the existence of the community itself. For the Guambiano, land represents a kind and benevolent reality, the Mother Earth who must be respected, cared for, and looked after. Cultivating the land is the ideal way of accomplishing this. One must help the earth to produce, so it is necessary to feed, maintain, and warm her, to dance, to sing, and, above all, to accompany her. Land and collective labor are two realities closely associated in Guambiano thought. Community and land constitute a unity neither part of which can survive independently. The potato is perhaps the basic staple of the Guambiano economy. Cultivation technology is rudimentary: plows and rakes are used to break up the soil, and during weeding and harvesting the traditional hoe is used. More than eight kinds of potatoes are cultivated, typically grown in association with cultigens of secondary importance. Thus, potatoes may be grown together with onions and garlic. Maize is cultivated in lower-lying and warmer terrain. It is highly valued culturally, and, prepared in a variety of ways, it is never absent from the Guambiano diet. Two or three varieties of maize are cultivated; whereas potatoes and wheat are grown for the market, maize is essentially cultivated for consumption, and only the domestic group that will later eat it participates in its production.

The following crops are also grown: cabbages, *Arracacha* (*apio*), pumpkins, wheat, barley, and *ulluco* (a tuber typical of Andean economy and diet that is cultivated in the high and cold areas of the territory). Vegetable gardens or domestic enclosures are never without aromatic and medicinal herbs, which women tend carefully. Cattle are seen as an important investment, and generally every family raises one animal. Sheep, which belong to the women, are also important in the domestic economy; their wool, carefully shorn, washed, and spun, is the prime material that Guambiano women transform into clothing.

**Division of Labor.** The male world is associated with what is public and external to the community, whereas the female world is related to domestic life. Exclusive male activities are those that are done with "the head" and pertain to political, mercantile, and magico-religious life. Women

do all those things having to do with "the lower and median part of the body," such as the numerous activities related to the life and reproduction of the domestic group. This strict division of labor between men and women has been losing ground, however, because of transformations that have taken place within the community. As a result of this process, women have widened the radius of their activities, entering the very core of production in farming and animal husbandry and sharing all activities with men.

**Land Tenure.** Land tenure is within the framework of communal forms of property characteristic of Indian reserves in Colombia. A basic trait is that it is collectively owned, and the Indians have the right of usufruct but not of transferral. Traditionally, the main role of native town councils has been to adjudicate plots of land for each family. Plots revert to the community at the death of the head of the family that worked them and are then newly adjudicated by the council. In new adjudications, the tendency is to favor the previous owner's heirs. Although the legal framework of the reserves has been kept more or less constant throughout their existence (Law 89 of 1890 is still in force), in actual practice regional dynamics have resulted in the penetration of alternate forms of possession such as private property or leasing, evidence of a process of decomposition, or at least transformation.

In order to have the right to own land one must be a member of the reserve, be at least 18 years of age or married, and without enough land to cover family needs. The expansion of White haciendas since colonial times has resulted in distressing and problematic conditions regarding land for indigenous communities in this part of Colombia. Landless natives, unproductive small farmsteads, payment for renting land in the area's haciendas—such problems are familiar to specialists and especially to the Indians, who throughout history have developed multiple survival strategies not only to resolve this difficult situation but to revitalize themselves ethnically. One strategy, overexploitation of plots of land, involves the transformation of traditional technology, a decrease in the time arable land can lie fallow, and a change in crop rotation and the adoption of new agricultural products. Colonization of hot lands requires the purchase of small farms located outside the reserve, one of the more interesting answers to the land shortage. The lands that have been sought are those where principally coffee is raised as a cash product. It is important to note that the majority of Indians who have bought land elsewhere continue to own their small plot of land on the reserve, as well as their homes. They resist abandoning the reserve and their ancestral lands. Another trait worth mentioning is the familiar form of work used for the exploitation of these plots. Sometimes day laborers are employed, including Guambiano who are paid a small salary and given lodging, food, and products grown in "the hot climate" to take back to their families on the reserve.

The widening of the "agricultural frontier" within their own territory is another answer to the scarcity of land. Lands of the high mountain ranges, the *Páramo*, formerly untouched by agriculture, are being exploited with traditional Guambiano technology. Humidity, excess moisture of the earth, and strong winds that batter the region are ably managed by the Indians, who have a precise knowl-

edge of the topography of the terrain and distinguish between slopes on the high mountain ranges that can or cannot be used for agriculture. The recuperation of land is the most radical and effective innovation that has been developed by indigenous communities of the Cauca and especially by Guambiano town councils. They have recuperated land that once belonged to White-owned haciendas and used it to provide a supply of maize, the cultivation of which is so highly valued culturally and which had begun to become increasingly scarce on the reserve.

### *Kinship*

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is of the Eskimo type. The institution of *compadrazgo* (relationship between parents and godparents of a child) is found among the Guambiano and plays an important role within their social structure.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The Guambiano exhibit a tendency toward community and ethnic endogamy and neighborhood (*vereda*) exogamy. Young people choose their mates freely and only rarely are marriages arranged through the intervention of the parents, as was formerly usual. Relations between young people develop spontaneously, with sexual relations permitted after puberty but without the implication of a formal commitment. The advantage of a possible union is discussed with the parents, who, besides considering the economic aspect, also give great importance to the reputation and the prestige in the community of the potential family of in-laws. Although trial unions (*amaño*) are less in vogue among modern Guambiano because of religious indoctrination and acculturation, they continue to be considered a basic prerequisite for harmonious conjugal relationships. Marriage as an institution is still characterized by a great deal of autochthonous cultural content. The marriage ceremony, however, has evolved within the context of Catholic ritual and is generally performed in Silvia or in other major municipalities, where the bride presents herself, accompanied by relatives and godparents.

**Domestic Unit.** Domestic units are generally made up of a nuclear family that occupies its own house. Sometimes family groups are made up of more than the members of the nuclear family. Such situations tend to be transitory, however, and are associated with the presence of male children who have formed their families but have not as yet built their own homes. Postmarital residence is virilocal. Only under special circumstances will the young couple reside with the wife's family. Even though neolocal in residence, a newly founded nuclear family forms part of the husband's domestic unit of orientation, in which the authority of the father must be accepted. The husband works with his father and the wife collaborates in domestic work with her sisters-in-law under the tutelage of her mother-in-law.

**Inheritance.** Although land is community property, usufruct is inheritable. Even if the land passes to the town council as established by law, the tendency is to give these plots to the sons of the deceased. Although, in principle, all natural and adopted children should inherit equally,

men inherit more than women, and there is evidence that the oldest son may receive more than his younger brothers.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Political Organization.** In Guambia, politics is by tradition a male arena. It is considered to be an activity performed by the "upper part of the body" and a "matter for the head." Women, although indispensable for productive processes, are thought of as "having a very small head" and unsuited for political and intellectual roles in community life. The native town council (*cabildo*) is the basic institution that structures Guambiano political life and articulates the norms that constitute a true community. Members of the *cabildo* include the governor, mayors, constables, and secretaries. The Guambiano think of the council as a body, with the governor as its "head," or superior part, from whom one expects that "he think correctly" and "find a way out." The *cabildo's* functions are varied, but the supervision, care, and use of the territory are its basic concerns and responsibilities. In addition, the *cabildo* enforces the moral code and public order and has the power to impose fines or sanctions on persons who fail to fulfill their domestic obligations. Community activities of collective interest must also be organized and supervised by the *cabildo*. In former times, punishment was meted out by locking culprits into stocks or by subjecting them to lashing with a whip. Although these practices have disappeared, some Guambiano believe that at least the stocks should be brought back to guarantee the proper functioning of the community. Since the 1970s there has been evidence of a renewed strengthening of the *cabildo*. This development has run parallel to intensified social struggles so characteristic of the recent history of indigenous communities of southwestern Colombia; the *cabildo* once more serves as the key institution to coordinate political action vis-à-vis new realities. Today the Guambiano speak of a "new *cabildo*" that is strong and able to lead the community in its struggle for recovery and efficient exploitation of lands and, above all, one that is finally capable of enhancing the chances of the community's survival.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Medicine.** The Guambiano attribute the origin of illness to supernatural beings. Pishin, a water spirit, is especially feared by menstruating women, since he can impregnate them. Another anthropomorphic spirit is Kalyim, a ghost, that is implicated in the etiologies of many illnesses. This "spirit of the mountains" harms only people who are contaminated. "Contamination" and "purity" are two basic concepts in Guambiano thinking—they submit houses, tools, clothes, and persons to rituals of purification by religious specialists. The concept of contamination is the key to understanding the role of illness. Although people can be contaminated or become impure through contact with spirits of the dead or other spirits, women are the main sources of contamination. With their menstrual blood or postpartum bleeding, they are contaminated themselves and contaminate everything around them.

**Death and Afterlife.** After a person dies, a purification ceremony must always be performed. Many people attend

these rituals, the object of which is to free the spirit of the deceased and permit it to travel to the other world. The spirits of the dead must not be allowed to remain roaming around the places where the deceased once lived and worked. That is why after a person's death his or her house and fields must be submitted to a purification ceremony. The ceremony is performed by one or several shamans who, while drinking *aguardiente* (hard liquor), chewing coca, and smoking cigarettes or tobacco, go through the rooms of the house and its surroundings using a long pole of *chonta*-palm wood to capture malevolent spirits. While one of the shamans captures and purifies the spirit, the other one plays a potentially divinatory role. He has the ability to "feel" and to receive "signals" from the beyond, which indicate whether the ceremony has been successful.

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XIMENA PACHÓN  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

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## Guarayu

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ETHNONYMS: Araibayba, Carabere, Chiriguano, Guaraniete, Guarayo, Itatin, Moperequoa, Nyandeva, Oréva, Pirataguari

The Guarayu of northeastern Bolivia are probably descendants of the Guaraní-Itatines of Paraguay. They were brought to this region 400 years ago by the Spanish explorer Ñuflo de Chavez, who led an expedition of 150 Spaniards and 1,500 Guaraní Indians across the Chaco and founded the town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the eighteenth century Jesuit missionaries brought a group of Guarayu to their mission of San Javier, but the Indians soon left the mission. In 1840 Franciscan missionaries assumed responsibility for settling the Guarayu and over the years founded five mission villages: Yotau, Ascención, Urubichá, Yaguarú, and San Pablo, where most of the Guarayu still live. Nowadays, however, many migrate to work on surrounding ranches and plantations.

Under the tutelage of the Franciscans, the Guarayu led regimented and protected lives. Every morning the community was gathered in the mission church to hear Mass and sacred music played by an orchestra of Guarayu musicians. The "Misa Guarayu," which is still performed, is the only complete Mass in a native South American language that has survived from early mission times to the present. After Mass men and women went to work in the fields or at the various crafts taught by the missionaries, and the children attended school to learn Spanish and catechism. The Indians worked three days a week for the mission, but on the other three non-Sabbath days they were free to work in their own fields or to hunt and fish. Periodically the padres distributed tools and clothing made in the mission workshops or purchased from the sale of mission produce. The missionaries set up native authorities, whose role was indicated by decorated staffs, to assist in keeping order. Transgressions were punished either by the pillory or by the lash.

In early days the Guarayu found life in the missions, which involved giving up their religion and ceremonials, hard to tolerate. In particular, they were reluctant to abandon polygyny and accept marriage by the Church. One of the most notable features of Guarayu religion is the cult of Tamoi, who taught humans agriculture and the preparation of *chicha*. Tamoi was invoked in an early nineteenth-century revivalistic movement that involved resistance to mission settlement; men danced and sang, hoping that Tamoi would take them to his celestial home.

In 1939 the missions were secularized, and the administration of the villages was taken over by civic authorities, but Franciscan priests and nuns of the Apostolic Vicariate of Ñuflo de Chavez still work in the villages.

Estimates of the Guarayu population range from 1,000 to 5,000. Guarayu is a daughter language of Guaraní and belongs to the Tupí Family. At present most Guarayu speakers speak Spanish as well.

The Guarayu are agriculturists who raise subsistence

crops in small fields using only hand tools. The principal crops grown are maize, sweet manioc, upland rice, sugarcane, bananas, and peanuts. They grow tree cotton of good quality, which was an article of trade in the nineteenth century. The Guarayu clear and prepare fields in groups; men sow maize, and women plant manioc and assist in harvesting. Their main hunting weapon was formerly the bow and arrow, but at present they use shotguns obtained from the missionaries. They fish with bows and arrows, with poisonous drugs, with spears, and with nets. The women make *chicha* from maize or manioc, which the Guarayu drink in large quantities at every celebration.

The Guarayu make a variety of baskets, pottery, cotton cloth, gourd containers, and bark cloth. The women are skilled spinners and weavers and make colorful hammocks for sale.

The Guarayu are very fond of music and dancing. The native violin, on a European model but made by Guarayu craftsmen, is played at dances and religious ceremonies. The Guarayu celebrate Carnival with great enthusiasm.

In the mission villages there are two types of houses. Along the streets of the town, long buildings of wattle and daub have tile roofs and wide eaves. Interior partitions divide these buildings into separate family dwellings. Single-family houses on the outskirts of the town have palm-leaf roofs and walls. Houses are furnished with food storage platforms, cotton hammocks, benches for men, and mats for women.

Before the missionaries came, the Guarayu wore no clothing except abundant feather ornaments and paint. Later the men adopted long bark-cloth tunics, but women wore only a skirt. At present the men dress like other lowland Bolivians, and the women wear long dresses, often made from cloth woven in the village.

Most of what is known about traditional Guarayu customs comes from accounts of the early missionaries, since the Guarayu have been so heavily proselytized that most of these customs have died out. Informants can recount the ancient myths, however, and underneath a veneer of Catholicism, the Guarayu probably retain many of their traditional beliefs.

Guarayu boys were named by their grandfathers or other male relatives. Boys were often scarified and bled in order to make them strong. Girls were secluded for a month at puberty, fed a restricted diet, and tattooed on their arms and breasts. Cross-cousin marriages were preferred, as well as those between a man and his sister's daughter; polygyny was common. A girl or woman could not marry without the consent of her father and brother. Postmarital residence was matrilineal at first, and then neolocal. Pregnant women had to observe certain food taboos. The *couvade* was practiced: a father idled in his hammock for three days following the birth of his child in accordance with the belief that a child's soul follows its father and may be injured if it exerts itself immediately after birth.

The dead were buried in their huts wearing their paint and ornaments. It was believed that after death the soul travels a long distance to the land of Tamoi, the Great Ancestor. The road is fraught with dangers and temptations, including the crossing of a dangerous river on the back of a caiman, looking at colored grasses without being blinded,

and being tickled by a monkey without laughing. At the end of the journey, Tamoi washes the soul and causes it to look young and attractive.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Hoti

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ETHNONYMS: Chicana, Chicano, Chikano, Joti, Shikana, Yowana, Yuana

The approximately 300 to 400 Hoti inhabit parts of the northwestern Guiana highlands from 5°20' N to 6°25' N and 65°10' W to 65°40' W. Their language is an isolate, although it may be related to Piaroan or Yanomaman. Because of the inaccessibility of their habitat, they had no contact with non-Indians until the latter half of the twentieth century; their history therefore remains virtually unknown.

The permanent houses of the Hoti are rectangular structures with gable roofs and walls of palm thatch. Their temporary houses are lean-tos consisting of several upright posts and a framework of sticks supporting a cover of palm fronds.

The Hoti economy is based on swidden agriculture, hunting, gathering, and fishing. Plantains are the staple food; other crops include bananas, maize, sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, taro, yams, pineapples, sugarcane, and peppers. The Hoti also cultivate several nonvictual garden products: cotton and *curagua* (*Ananas erectifolius*), from which they extract fiber; *lágrimas de San Pedro* (*Coix lacryma jobi*) for necklace beads; annatto (*Bixa orellana*) for red dyestuff; several medicinal plants; and tobacco. Whereas large animals such as tapir and peccaries are hunted with iron-tipped lances, smaller game, including birds, monkeys, and squirrels, are shot with blowguns from behind blinds, using plain or curare-tipped darts. The Hoti do not use bows and arrows. On day-long foraging expeditions, they gather more than thirty varieties of wild fruits and vegetables, several kinds of crabs and grubs, and honey from various species of bees. Fishing, principally with *barbasco* and hooks, is of lesser importance. Although the

Hoti keep a large variety of birds and other animals, they do not raise them for economic purposes.

The division of labor is very flexible among the Hoti. Both sexes participate in most subsistence activities and in the production of artifacts. Men clear new garden plots of trees and underbrush, but all the other work pertaining to planting, weeding, and harvesting is done by men and women alike. Men cut trees when foraging for honey, but women, teenagers, and children collect fruits, wild vegetables, and other edibles. Hunting is considered men's work, but women sometimes accompany their husbands. Fishing is almost always done by a lone man; when fishing as a couple, the husband prepares the poison and his wife joins him in mixing it into the water and in securing the catch. Women haul water and firewood and prepare most of the food. House construction is carried out jointly by the members of a nuclear family. Both men and women spin cotton and make hammocks, mats, baskets, crude pottery, and wooden graters. The making and playing of musical instruments, including rattles, reed and bone flutes, and a particular string instrument, is a male specialty.

Although some Hoti continue to go naked, others wear rectangular pubic covers of woven cotton. Some women also use leaves or bast for this purpose. Both adults and children tie bast fibers, human hair, and woven cotton bands around their wrists, legs, and ankles and wear necklaces made of seeds, bones, bird beaks, and peccary hoofs. Some individuals also wear pieces of cane or animal bone in their earlobes.

Local groups vary in size and may include one or more nuclear and extended families. Group cohesion is very flexible; autonomous nuclear families are free to move and join other groups. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but polygyny has also been observed. In general, however, Hoti social organization and kinship structure have not been adequately studied. The oldest active male of the group is looked upon as the headman. His authority as po-

litical leader is generally limited to matters pertaining to food acquisition, group movements, and changes in residency. The political leader also serves as the healer of his group. He occasionally bleeds patients suspected of suffering from "bad blood." Other cases are treated with herbal medicaments such as those prepared from several varieties of sedge (*Cyperaceae*). Light massages soothe pain caused by agents other than "bad blood"; the healer blows intermittently over the ailing body part to capture the pathogen under his massaging hand, extracts the pain from the patient, and expels it to some distant place. Healing séances are conducted in silence, and Hoti curers do not make use of chants, rattles, or psychotropic drugs to practice their art.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

## Huarayo

ETHNONYMS: Chunchu, Eceeje, Ece'je, Echoja, Ese Eija, Ese Ejas, Ese-Exa, Guarayo, Tiatinagua

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Huarayo are a South American Indian group in the Peruvian department of Madre de Dios and the Bolivian department of Pando. The name "Huarayo" or "Guarayo" probably dates to the time of Inca rule. Since the end of the nineteenth century, "Huarayo" has been a common name for all related groups and subgroups. The autodenomination "Ece'je" means "people."

**Location.** The Huarayo traditionally occupied the right side of the Madre de Dios River Basin to the Andean east slopes, the region demarcated by tributaries of the Inambari and Beni rivers. In the 1990s the Huarayo live only in a few scattered locales: on the banks of the Madre de Dios (the larger villages of Palmareal in Peru and Riberalta in Bolivia), on the Río Heath (a small camp), and on the Río Tambopata (Chonta and the settlement of Caserío de In-

fierno). Some individuals live near a Dominican mission, El Pilar. The lower flows of rivers are in the Selva Baja (lower forest) region; upper flows of the tributaries of Río Madre de Dios reach the Selva Ceja region (cloud forest), where there is increased precipitation.

**Demography.** At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Huarayo population was roughly estimated at 3,000. Population reports from 1973 listed 510 individuals (97 in Palmareal, about 300 in Riberalta, 54 in Caserío de Infierno, 30 in Chonta, about 25 on the Río Heath, 1 man at El Pilar, 1 man in Lago Valencia, and 2 persons in Puerto Maldonado).

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Huarayo language, together with its not-very-diverse dialects from the Tambopata and Heath regions, belongs to the Tacanan Family. The Huarayo language has morphological similarities to languages of the Panoan Family and genetic similarities to those of the Arawakan Family.

### History and Cultural Relations

In the past, the Madre de Dios and Beni valleys were probably one of the migration routes for the Proto-Arawakan, the Proto-Maipuran, and possibly the Proto-Panoan tribes. No archaeological evidence of the Huarayo exists, but according to early chronicles, they were likely vassals of the Inca or perhaps their servants guarding the Anti-soyo, the forested eastern slopes of the Inca Empire. There are indications of intensive contacts between the Huarayo and the Inca via trade or tribute. It was said that the Huarayo were entitled to collect the tribute from other groups for the Inca and also to capture their youths for service in the Inca army. Their knowledge of weaving, raising maize, and the use of the sling is diffused from the Andean Indians. Juan Álvarez Maldonado, the first Spanish conqueror, who descended the Madre de Dios in 1567, used the names "Huarayo" and "Guarayo" in his *Relación*, but mainly the name "Chunchu."

Huarayo contacts with Westerners began in 1539, when Pedro Anzules de Camporedo reached the Río Beni. The expedition of Pedro Candia and Mercedian missionaries Diego de Porres and Diego Martínez came to the region of the upper Inambari from 1587 to 1588. In the seventeenth century missionaries of the Jesuit and Franciscan orders entered the area but were few in number. The reports of missionaries and travelers are confused. The Franciscan mission of La Concepción de Apolobamba was founded in 1690 on the left bank of the Beni; the missions of San José de Uchupiamonas and San Antonio de Ixiamas were established in 1713 and 1721 respectively. Under pressure to assimilate to Western ways, the Huarayo moved nearer to the Río Madre de Dios.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, Dominican missionaries started to operate in the Madre de Dios region. Later, the temporary missions of Lago Valencia (1933), El Pilar (1943), and Fundo Concepción (1950) were founded, and an Adventist mission opened in Palmareal (1972). The second wave of the rubber boom (1941-1945) had a harmful effect upon the Huarayo. After 1955 the remaining Huarayo families from the Tambopata and Inambari regions settled on the left bank of the Madre de Dios. In 1960 they chose a place on the op-

posite side of the river and built the village of Palmareal. The Huarayo living in the Caserío de Infierno, Chonta, and Riberalta are highly acculturated, whereas the Huarayo in Palmareal are less so.

### Settlements

Huarayo settlements have always been located on river banks. In the past, they were divided into many local groups—apparently lineages or extended families usually named themselves after the rivers they inhabited (e.g., Ybabianiji, Shanauajo, Na'ó, Potoaja, Shamesó). In the 1950s about 150 Huarayo were living at the Fundo Concepción mission, but, after a series of epidemics, the mission stopped its activity. The village of Palmareal consists of two settlements 3 kilometers apart. The lower and larger settlement is a semicircle open toward the Madre de Dios shore. The upper settlement is on the high bank of the Río Madre de Dios, where the Huarayo from Río Tambopata dwell. In the past, the Huarayo lived in a communal house (*maloca*), but today each family lives in its own rectangular pile house with a separate kitchen built close to it. Some of the houses still represent the intermediary type between *maloca* and rectangular pile house. In this kind of dwelling, the kitchen and the living space are not separated, the wooden floor of the living section is raised on piles, and the kitchen floor is earthen. This sort of residence also has separate gable roofs of *yarina*- or *kisnei*-palm-leaf thatch for the living area and the kitchen. The walls are made of inferior-quality boards obtained from lumberjacks working there some years ago.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Some of the Huarayo are mainly involved in hunting and fishing, although the number of those who practice slash-and-burn horticulture is increasing. The *chacras* (fields) in which they raise plantains, sweet manioc and some maize, sugarcane, and rice, are located on the opposite river bank. In the village, they grow *guayaba*-fruit trees. The traditional exchange relationships between kin still function. In order to marry, a young man has to serve his parents-in-law for several years and provide them food.

**Industrial Arts.** The Huarayo never manufactured pottery; vessels were made from calabashes, Brazil-nut shells, and reed *paca* (especially for cooking small fish), or aluminum wares brought by Whites were used. In the past, the Huarayo produced stone axes, wooden knives, and long sleeveless shirts (*cushmas*). The fabric for *cushmas* consisted of bark beaten to the required shape with wooden clubs. The shirts were decorated with patterns such as zig-zags, jaguar patches, and bird footprints using the red pigment *achiote* (*Bixa orellana*). Today, however, all Huarayo wear ready-made clothes obtained in exchange for game and skins. Men still manufacture wooden objects such as mortars, paddles, rafts, canoes, cooking utensils, and bows and arrows. The women are skillful in making baskets, fans, and mats using different plaiting techniques—lattice weaving, twilling, wickerwork, and checkerwork. The materials mainly used are *isliana tamische* (*Carludovica trigona*) and *shapajá*-palm (*Sheelea werberbaueri*) leaves. Formerly,

the production of cotton fabric (e.g., for hammocks) was also a woman's task.

**Trade.** The chronicles mention Huarayo trade with the Inca. Today the Huarayo in Palmareal occasionally exchange goods when frontier guards or traders visit their village. The Huarayo do not trade among themselves anymore because of the considerable distances between settlements. Only on rare occasions does a motorboat come with Huarayo visitors from Bolivian Riberalta.

**Division of Labor.** Hunting with bows and arrows or, rarely, with stolen shotguns is strictly a men's task, as is fishing, except in the case of fishing with *barbasco* poison (e.g., *Tephrosia cinerea*, *Lonchocarpus nicu*), in which women also participate. Gathering wild fruits and catching small animals is women's activity, but men collect Brazil nuts and honey. In agriculture, men and women work together. Men do the heavier jobs (preparing chacras, felling and burning trees, carrying loads at harvesttime, and the like). Women take part in planting and harvesting. They also care for the small children, cook, wash, and do all the housework. For a fee, men roast and smoke meat or fish, manufacture weapons, and build houses and canoes.

**Land Tenure.** Men are responsible for preparing the chacra; it is then given to women for use as property.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Huarayo lineages or extended families named themselves after the rivers along which they dwelt. The name "Kwiñaji" (others' Huarayo), which is synonymous with the name "Hajipya," indicated a Huarayo outside his or her own group. "Na'okwiñaji" signified a Huarayo living on the Río Na'ó (i.e., Malinowski), "Sonenkwiñaji" referred to a Huarayo living on the Río Sonene (i.e., Heath), "Bahujakwiñaji" meant a Huarayo living on the Río Bahujaja (i.e., Tambopata), and "Kwekwiñaji" was the name of a Huarayo living on the Río Kwe (i.e., Madidi) in Bolivia. These groups no longer exist, but their descendants live in Palmareal. They are distinguishable from each other in appearance and complexion. Some information suggests a traditional pattern of bilateral descent. Most Huarayo believe that they derive from a mythical forefather, Gemasho.

**Kinship Terminology.** According to certain indications, we can assume that Huarayo kinship is Iroquoian. In Huarayo kinship terminology, the differences in the referential and appellative terms are preserved.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** In the past, a young man had to work in the house of his parents-in-law for one or two years. He had to help his future father-in-law in hunting, cultivating the chacra, or building canoes. This tradition is partly maintained today. Polygyny was and still is the privilege of chiefs and shamans. Owing to exogamy, women were often kidnapped and raped, and women are sometimes obtained by rape today. In 1973 a case of sororal polygyny was observed. Marriageable age is between 17 and 18 for men and between 14 and 16 for women. The marriage ceremony no longer exists. The young couple simply moves to their new house, which is built with the help of their par-

ents. According to a former custom, old men were to marry young women, and young men were supposed to marry old women. The common practice of placing children with childless families to be raised and educated gave men the possibility of taking small girls into their households, where they were then raised by their future husbands. Divorce is equally easy for men or women; one or the other leaves the house. There is also some evidence of levirate and sororate in the past.

**Domestic Unit.** In the past, a number of extended families occupied a single communal house, with each nuclear family assigned a place on the perimeter of the maloca. Now the Huarayo use separate dwellings for each extended or nuclear family. It seems that bilocal residence prevails.

**Inheritance.** Men and women "own" things that they need for their activities. In the past, when a man died, all his belongings were destroyed: his weapons were broken, his dog killed, his chacra destroyed, his house set afire. The corpse was wrapped up in his cushma, deposited in a canoe, and shipped down the river. Today, owing to missionary influence, the dead are buried. The corpse is wrapped in his cushma and put in a grave together with his diadem, food, and favorite animal (e.g., a monkey). The Huarayo no longer burn the deceased's house, but smaller articles such as utensils or weapons are still destroyed.

**Socialization.** Children are socialized at home and according to the situation (in the bilingual missionary school in Riberalta or in a Spanish Adventist school in Palmareal). Only babies are looked after by their mothers; other children are in the care of their older brothers and sisters, who teach them customary behavior and how to behave in the forest.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Huarayo society was traditionally egalitarian, with men serving as chiefs of separate local groups. A man's status was based on his knowledge of the environment and herbal medicine and his ability to narrate myths; today knowledge of Spanish is also necessary.

**Political Organization.** Communities are linked primarily by kinship and marriage. The Peruvian Huarayo participated in the Indian unification movement and became members of La Federación Nativa de Madre de Dios (FENAMAD), which was established in 1982. Only since 1987, however, when FENAMAD became a component of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Amazónicas del Perú (CONAP), have the Huarayo (on the Río Tambopata) been represented on the committee and become active.

**Social Control.** In the past, *masato*-drinking bouts were common. They provided an opportunity for general release of suppressed aggression, especially between men, who settled their disputes with violence or combat. In cases of adultery or a rape inside a village, the matter is settled publicly. In such a case, nearly all adults give their opinions. The opinion expressed by the majority is used as a recommendation, not an order.

**Conflict.** In the past, raids and wars among the local Huarayo groups were very frequent. The main purpose was stealing women. The men were killed, and women and girls

were raped. Huarayo also fought with Atsahuaea, Iñapari, Arasairi, Piro, Mashco, and Toyeri groups. Although Dominican missionaries worked in the Huarayo region in the twentieth century, their influence was meager; the Huarayo were warlike even in the 1920s and 1930s. The death of the missionary Manuel in 1926, caused by the Huarayo Shajaó, is often mentioned. In this case the Peruvian army intervened, and the offender was punished. Shajaó was imprisoned in Cuzco, where he died in 1942. Missionary activities eventually helped end raiding and alleged cannibalism. The Adventists began to operate in Palmareal in 1962 after an epidemic of smallpox and measles decreased the number of inhabitants from 250 to 80 people. Bolivian rubber tappers (*caucheros*) have raided Huarayo territory.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The influence of Christianity in Palmareal is not especially strong. According to the accessible information, animism still prevails. A greater influence of Christianity is found in the combined settlements, at the El Pilar mission, and in Riberalta. The Huarayo feared several evil spirits. Practically every thing or class of things or beings is thought to have a spirit component. The most powerful spirits are Edosikiani and the water spirit Enashagua. The Huarayo believe that animals originated by metamorphosis from humans.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman (*eyámitecua*) is an important personage: he mediates between living people and the souls of the dead and the spirit world, which most commonly is approached only through him. The shaman is primarily a healer and seer. He is the only person with an extensive and special knowledge of medicinal herbs and their uses. This knowledge is, as a rule, passed on to his eldest son. The shaman has a broad repertoire of curing practices. A form of surgery is used, and by means of very high-pitched whistling, the ulcers on the bodies of the patients open by themselves without being touched, and the worms jump out. In the past, the Huarayo, by drinking ayahuasca, reached a dream state in which they struggled with enormous animals. The shaman explained the dreams, interpreting who or what was responsible for illness, who was the enemy, and the way to win the battle.

**Ceremonies.** The Huarayo no longer drink fermented drinks from sweet manioc (*masato*) or from plantains. In the past, as part of their initiation rite, boys consumed these drinks to foresee their future. The boys were circumcised, and the girls were ritually deflowered. The drinking feasts of the fermented plantain drink *eshaha poi* were very frequent.

**Arts.** Huarayo art is limited to body and face painting. Red (*achiote*) and black (*huito*; i.e., *Genipa americana*) pigments were used. Sometimes they also painted cushma and manufactured elaborate feather diadems and necklaces from animal teeth and from shells. Drinking bouts were accompanied by music (drums and flutes) and chants. The most important culture heroes are the deer Dokuel and forefather Gemasho. Mythology treats the origin of the Huarayo and the Flood, but its main emphasis is on the animals in the times when they used to live as people.



**Medicine.** The Huarayo believe that a supernatural cause of disease is the thorn of the *chonta* palm sent into victim's body by a *malinga* shaman or by the evil spirit Edosikiani. A cure may be accomplished with herbs or by shamanistic means: blowing tobacco fumes over the patient, singing, massaging the affected part of the body (biomagnetism), performing sleight-of-hand tricks, and sucking the painful place. On the third night the curing process ends. From the victim's body the shaman sucks the bloody thorn and then destroys it. Today, spraying alcohol from the shaman's mouth over the body of the patient is also part of the curing process.

**Death and Afterlife.** According to Huarayo belief, the deceased leaves the settlement in the guise of a peccary (*huangana*) and proceeds to the River of the Dead (Kwei ay enama). With the help of Edosikiani, the peccary swims across the river. On the other side it transforms again into a human and settles there. Only in the guise of a *huangana* is it possible to visit people again; therefore the *huangana* is considered to be a dead relative. Contact with the *huangana* is secured by a shaman.

Every Huarayo possesses at least three souls. The first thinks and talks and after the death of the human being

settles beyond the River of the Dead. The second—*enashahus*, the soul of rivers—leaves for the depths of waters, and the third, *ekwikya*, stays and looks after the dead body. The *ekwikya* is able to bite and even to kill; therefore food is buried with the corpse to keep the *ekwikya* with the deceased.

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MNISLAV ZELENÝ

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## Itonama

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ETHNONYMS: Machoto, Saramo

The Itonama live primarily on the Río Iténez and Iténez Lake, but also on the Baures and San Simón rivers, all of which are in the department of Beni in Bolivia. Itonama may also be found in the towns of Magdalena, San Ramón, and Huacaraje. Estimates of their population range from 2,000 to 5,000. Only 110 speak the Itonama language, which is a language isolate. In 1700 the Itonama population stood at 6,000 people; it has decreased owing to the effects of contact and assimilation. The Itonama also lost many people to slavery—in 1720 mestizos captured and enslaved 2,000 of them. For many decades in the eighteenth century, most Itonama lived at the Mission of Santa Magdalena. Today, they live and work in much the same manner as do their mestizo neighbors. The Itonama raise cattle or live as subsistence farmers, growing maize, manioc, rice, and tobacco.

Traditionally, children went naked until puberty, at which time young women began to wear loincloths, and young men cotton or bark-cloth shirts. The women were famous in the Mojos area for their spinning and weaving of

cotton. They spun cotton by putting one end of the spindle in a notched stick and by rolling the other end on a log. The weapons of the Itonama were bows and arrows, double-edged clubs, bolas, and slings. Men supported their wives on the basis of the number of children born. Fathers still observe several taboos, including a prohibition on swimming in deep water. The Itonama tie the feet of their infants, in the belief that they would follow their fathers if they were not bound. Even though they are now Christians, the Itonama still affianced their children soon after they are born.

Until 1900 or so, the Itonama respected their deceased ancestors by fallowing forever the land that they had tilled and by not using the trees that had belonged to them. They were animists who believed that ghosts could appear as hummingbirds, butterflies, or snakes. Ghosts are believed capable of capturing the souls of people, thus causing illness and death. This belief sometimes led the Itonama to close the nose and mouth of a mortally ill person so as to prevent the soul from escaping to injure or kill another; as a result, many sick people suffocated to death. Shamans, who could be men or women, cured by rescuing souls; this involved the shaman going into a drug-induced trance, which in the twentieth century was purportedly caused by opium.

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## Jamináwa

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ETHNONYMS: Iamináwa, Jambinahua, Jaminaua, Jaminawá, Yamanawa, Yamináhua, Yaminaua, Yamináwa, Yumináwa

The Jamináwa live widely dispersed in the state of Acre in Brazil, in eastern Peru, and in northern Bolivia. Estimates of their population vary from 1,200 to 2,467. Some 359 live on the Chandless, Iaco and Acre rivers in western Brazil. Another 200 to 600 are located in Peru on the Curijua and upper Purus rivers; on the Mapuya, Huacapishtea, and possibly other upper tributaries of the Juruá; and also possibly in the Manu Biosphere Reserve. A third group of 150 Jamináwa occupy part of the Tahuamnu in Bolivia.

The Jamináwa speak a Panoan language, although whether it is a language separate from those spoken by the Sharanahua, Mastanawa, and Marinahua is unclear, since they can understand one another's speech to some extent. Subgroups of the Jamináwa living at Paititi, the community on the Río Huacapishtea, are: Chandinahua (Chaninawa), Masronhua (Masrodawa), Nishinahua (Nishidawa), Chitonahua (Chitodawa), and Shaonahua (Shaodawa). The latter two seem to have a lower social position than the others, possibly because their ancestors were captives. The Jamináwa are culturally closely related to the Marinahua, Choshinahua, Cashinahua, Sharanahua, and Fichinahua peoples.

An important factor in Jamináwa history was the rubber boom of the early twentieth century, which caused significant depopulation in this region owing to slavery, violent confrontation, and disease. Some of those that remained, among them probably the Jamináwa, fled up the rivers to isolate themselves from Whites.

The Jamináwa traditionally were mobile, obtaining much of their food by foraging. During the 1960s some of them came into continuous contact with Whites and have become more agricultural. In exchange for merchandise, men of the Paititi community work for a Peruvian *patrón* as loggers and hunt animals for their skins. For subsistence

they depend on slash-and-burn agriculture, hunting, and fishing. They still prefer mobility to a sedentary life, however, and this has rendered their agricultural efforts less profitable. They now speak Spanish or Portuguese in addition to their own language and wear Western clothing.

The various Jamináwa bands are in differing stages of acculturation, and some remain extremely isolated. Intertribal raids, which contribute to dispersion, still take place. In the late 1980s the Paititi community was attacked by the Marinahua, and relations with the Amahuaca are not always friendly.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Jebero

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ETHNONYMS: Chébero, Hevero, Shiwila, Xebero, Xevero, Xihuila

The Jebero Indians formerly lived between the Marañón and Huallaga rivers in Peru but left that area to live in Catholic missions. Today, the 2,300 to 3,000 Jebero live along the Río Platanayacu and on the Papayucu Lagoon (on the Río Marañón) in the district of Jeberos, in Peru. Only the older people speak the native language, which belongs to the Cahuapanan Family and is intelligible to Chayahuita speakers (and vice versa). The use of Spanish and Quechua is common, and the survival of the Jebero language is in doubt.

In the seventeenth century the Jebero accepted the protection of the missions because they were terrified of the punitive expeditions against the Maina Indians. In 1640, 2,000 Jebero were gathered at Concepción de Xevero. They left this mission because of fear of being enslaved but later returned because of famine and the threat of being taken as slaves to Borja. In 1690 they were gathered with other groups in missions where they remained through the eighteenth century. In 1859 an estimated 3,000 Jebero worked as peons at Moyobamba.

The Parapapura Indians are a group whose ancestors were Jebero but who left Moyobamba to escape slave raiders and intermarried with the Munich Indians, whose language they adopted.

The Jebero population was reduced greatly by the influx of rubber tappers in the early part of this century. They are presently well assimilated into mestizo society.

Traditionally, the Jebero were horticulturists who grew sweet manioc, maize, cotton, and, after they were introduced, bananas and sugarcane. Jebero land is not very fertile, so they moved to new gardening sites every two years. The traditional Jebero horticultural implements were the dibble stick and a cultivating stick.

The Jebero area also had little game; they hunted what there was with blowguns, spears, and traps. Manatees were caught in nets and speared, and fishing was with bow and arrow. The Jebero were renowned for their cotton-weaving abilities. Their pottery, decorated with fingernail markings, was white on top and red on the bottom.

The Jebero formerly practiced warfare. They kept trophy heads and ate the livers, intestines, and hearts of the people they killed.

Jebero puberty rituals for girls involved beating them and putting hot pepper in their eyes. Bride-service was once practiced. The deceased were traditionally buried in urns.

The Jebero believed that illness was caused by supernatural thorns sent by a sorcerer and cured by a shaman who pulled them out.

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## Jews of South America

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ETHNONYMS: none

Jews in South America are a small, though distinct, ethnic and religious minority. The Jewish population in the ten South American countries where they live was as follows in the late 1980s: Argentina, 228,000; Bolivia, 6,000; Brazil, 150,000; Chile, 17,000; Colombia, 7,000; Paraguay, 900; Peru, 5,000; Suriname, 350; Uruguay, 44,000; and Venezuela, 20,000. Jews in South America are mostly Ashkenazim descended from Jews who arrived in South America from Germany, eastern Europe, and Russia. Sephardic Jews (descendants of Jews from Spain and Portugal) form a minority of the Jewish population, constituting 50 percent of the Jewish population in Venezuela, 20 percent of that in Brazil, 15 percent of that in Argentina and Peru, and 12 percent of that in Uruguay. The Sephardic community is composed both of descendants from early settlers from Spain and Portugal and those whose Sephardic ancestors came later from Middle Eastern nations such as Morocco, Syria, and Lebanon. Sephardic identity remains an important marker of social identity within the Jewish community.

The first Jewish settlers were Conversos (Marranos), who accompanied the earliest Spanish and Portuguese explorers to South America. Forbidden from practicing Judaism in Spain and Portugal, some of the settlers formed practicing Jewish communities in the New World. With the exception of a few communities in Brazil, however, most of these early Sephardic settlers were eventually assimilated into Christian European society in South America. The major influx of Jews came in the period from 1880 to 1914, when many arrived from both the Middle East and

eastern Europe and settled in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Most Jews in South America are descendants of these people, with their numbers increased somewhat by refugees who arrived in the 1930s from Germany and eastern Europe. Jewish settlement in South America compared to North America is characterized by a high out-migration rate, especially to Israel. This reflects, perhaps, the less-than-full acceptance of Jews in South American society. The Jewish community is aging and decreasing in size as a result of out-migration, a high intermarriage rate, and a rejection of Jewish values by some in the younger generations.

The earliest Jewish settlers tended to establish themselves as small-scale traders and craftsmen. Over the generations, these activities expanded into ownership of large-scale industries and wholesale and retail outlets and, later, into employment in the professions and service industries. Despite the economic success of some, Jews have never dominated any economic sector in any South American nation. Although some individuals have achieved personal political influence, Jews as a group have never been a political force, in part because of their small numbers. Unlike the situation in North America, there is a marked tendency in South America for Jewish economic success to be accompanied by assimilation into Christian European society. Until recently, religious belief and practice rigidly followed the Orthodox tradition. Only since the 1970s have Conservative and Reformed traditions been accepted.

Jews have been the frequent target of anti-Semitism, which in South America is part of the popular culture, has often been supported by right-wing political movements and governments, and of late has also been adopted by some left-wing organizations that sympathize with the Palestinian cause in the Middle East.

DAVID LEVINSON

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## Jivaro

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ETHNONYMS: Aents, Chívari, Chiwaro, Gíbari, Givari, Gívaro, Híbaro, Jibaro, Jívara, Jívira, Macusari, Mainu, Shuar, Shuara, Sívaro, Xíviri, Xivaro, Zíbaro

The 30,000 to 32,000 Jivaro live in the foothills of the Andes Mountains of Ecuador, particularly on the Zamora, Upano, and Paute rivers in Morona-Santiago Province (2° to 5° S, 77° to 79° W). There are four major subgroups: the Antipa, the Aguaruna, the Huambiza, and the Achuale. They speak a language belonging to the Jivaroan Family, but some speak Quechua in addition. When the Spanish first contacted them, the Jivaro were repelling the hostile advances of the Inca, who sought the gold in Jivaro territory. Later, the Jivaro fought off the Spanish, who also came to their territory looking for gold. A gold rush to the area in the 1930s caused the Jivaro to fight the new arrivals; the Roman Catholic Salesians, who had a mission among the Jivaro, were able to stop the war by persuading the Ecuadoran government to provide the Jivaro a reservation. Since then, relations between the Jivaro and Whites have been essentially peaceful, although the Jivaro cannot be considered completely pacified. The Jivaro are nowadays swidden horticulturists who produce sweet manioc, maize, and other crops. They have acquired a strong taste for trade goods, and many of them have entered the work force as laborers to earn the money necessary to buy such items.

Traditionally, the Jivaro raised sweet manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tuber beans, *macabo* (*Xanthosoma* sp.), pumpkins, plantains, tobacco, cotton, and, later, the introduced species of banana, sugarcane, taro, and yam. Planting and other horticultural rituals are very important. The Jivaro fish and forage for wild fruits, cacao, nuts, and other foods. They used to hunt deer and tapir, but in the middle of the twentieth century they gave up eating these animals out of fear of the spirits in them. Hunting is done with bows and arrows, spears, and atlatls. Larger game is hunted by groups of people accompanied by dogs; blowguns are used for small game. There is much magic associated with hunting, including the use of pepper in the eyes of hunters and dogs to improve vision. The Jivaro traditionally domesticated llamas and guinea pigs and later the introduced dog, chicken, and pig.

An entire Jivaro community of from 80 to 300 people (30 to 40 people in the twentieth century) lives in one house (*jivaría*), which, for defensive purposes, is built on a steep hill at the upper end of a stream. The house itself is approximately 13 meters by 26 meters, elliptical in shape, and has a thatched roof. Men and women sleep at opposite ends.

Each community is politically independent and has its own headman. It is located 4 or more kilometers from its nearest neighboring community. The community is made up of people patrilineally and affinally related. In times of war, two or more villages may unite to fight a common en-

emy, as was the case when the Spanish attempted to conquer them.

There are rituals for both boys and girls upon reaching puberty. Men may marry their cross cousins and their sisters' daughters. Polygyny is common, and this would appear to be adaptive since so many men die in warfare. Levirate is obligatory. Men either pay a bride-price or perform bride-service. Deceased adults are buried in hollowed-out logs in special buildings and are given food and drink for two years, after which they are believed to transform into animals or birds. Children are interred in urns.

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## Kadiwéu

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ETHNONYMS: Cadiguebo, Cadioeo, Caduveo, Caduvéu, Caduví, Cayua, Kadiveu, Kadiweu, Kaduveo, Kaiwa, Mbayá-Guaikurú

The 1,400 Kadiwéu are the last surviving group of Mbayá, who were a large and powerful tribe that once controlled parts of Paraguay and large parts of Brazil. Today, the Kadiwéu live on a large reserve (established in 1903) between the Serra da Bodoquena and the Nabileque-Niutaca and Aquidabán rivers in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil (57° W, 22° S). They speak a Guaicuruan language.

In the eighteenth century the Mbayá numbered 4,000 and lived in a highly stratified society. They did not then practice horticulture but preferred to raid, enslave, and gather tribute from other peoples; the introduction of the horse assisted them in these activities. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Mbayá population had greatly diminished owing to smallpox and influenza.

The Brazilian government granted the Kadiwéu a large parcel of land in the Pantanal and the Serra de Bodoquena in gratitude for Kadiwéu assistance in fighting off a Paraguayan invasion between 1865 and 1870. In 1870 some Kadiwéu moved to Argentina; their descendants in that country now number 1,000. The Kadiwéu have leased or sold to cattle ranchers most of the land that they received from the Brazilian government. The Kadiwéu are hunters and foragers who have adopted horticulture.

The Kadiwéu live in villages of fewer than twenty households, although some families live independently in the jungle. Households may include nuclear families or a collection of sisters and their nuclear families, or they may be a group including slaves, their families, and their owners

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and their families. Girls may marry after puberty, and boys whenever they can find a wife, although the relative scarcity of women means that men do not marry until quite a bit later than girls or women; however, both may marry earlier if so arranged by their parents. Marriages are quite unstable and short-lived, and only first marriages are celebrated. The Kadiwéu are monogamous.

The slave class is made up of people captured from other tribes, and the children and grandchildren of those captured. Slaves speak respectfully to their owners, do what their owners tell them to do, and give part of what they make to their owners.

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## Kagwahiv

ETHNONYM: Parintintin

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Kagwahiv, known in Brazilian literature as "Parintintin," are a small, once warlike, Tupí-speaking tribe, who during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries terrorized rubber gatherers along 400 kilometers of the Rio Madeira, driven there from the Rio Tapajós in the mid-nineteenth century. The popular denomination "Parintintin" may be of Mundurucu derivation, although it does not fit Mundurucu phonological patterns (Robert Murphy, personal communication). The group's name for itself, "Kagwahiv," in its widest sense encompasses "friendly people," as opposed to the *tapy'yn*, "enemy."

**Location.** Pacified in 1923 (a classic pacification led by Curt Nimuendajú), the Kagwahiv now live in clusters of small settlements scattered along tributaries through the territory they once dominated, which borders the east bank of the Rio Madeira from the Rio Marmelos (8° S) to the mouth of the Machado. To the west, they fought with the Pirahã and Diahoi for control over the Marmelos. The hostile groups with which they were surrounded included the Brazilian rubber tappers along the Madeira, the indigenous tribes they found in the area when they arrived (of which the Mura Piraha are the chief survivors), and a number of small, culturally and linguistically affiliated tribes—the Pai'i and Kutipai'i, the Diahoi, the Jupa (Bocas Pretas), and the Apeiran'di to the south; the Juma, west of the Madeira; and the Tenharem, who share the Kagwahiv moiety system. Only the last two survive as cultural entities.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Kagwahiv speak a Tupí-Guaraní language of the "h" variety, one of several closely related dialects spread along the Madeira and Machado rivers, which include the Tupí-Cawahib. They are one of the group of upper Tapajós tribes denoted by Carl Friedrich von Martius "Central Tupí," which includes Kayabi and Apiaca.

### History and Cultural Relations

There is scant record of the Kagwahiv prior to their pacification by an expedition led by Nimuendajú in 1923, save for numerous melodramatic accounts of their raids on rubber tappers on the Madeira. Phonological affinities with the Urubu (Ka'apor) of Maranhão suggest an ultimate coastal origin, confirmed by legendary accounts of a journey upriver to their present location from "a land without water," crossing an expanse in which the shore was out of sight for two days (the lower Amazon above Marajó). The first historical references to them, however, do not occur until the end of the eighteenth century, when, according to Nimuendajú's researches, they were located at the confluence of the Arinos and Juruena rivers on the upper Tapajós. Nimuendajú (1924) has reconstructed the history of their ancestral tribe, denoted "Cabahyba" by Martius,

from the first mention of them on the Tapajós in 1797, whence they were driven by the Portuguese-armed Mundurucu in the mid-nineteenth century, scattering westward and distributed in fragments along the Machado (where Lévi-Strauss encountered the "Tupí Cawahib") and to the present location of the Kagwahiv on the Madeira.

Fission was a continuing process; a Pai'i chief described to one backwoodsman how the Kutipai'i split off from them over a leadership issue. In the late nineteenth century, Byahu (who met his end ambushed by a Piraha) may have been chief over all those who call themselves Kagwahiv, but after his death they divided into subregional groups, with Dai'i holding sway in the upper Maici region, where Nimuendajú established his pacification post in 1923, and Byahu's son Pyrehakatu in the Rio Ipixuna region, which he had opened up with a few of Dyahu's sons-in-law. After pacification, separate Indian Protection Service (SPI) posts were set up at Canavial on the Ipixuna (under Antonio Lobat and a series of successors) and at the mouth of the Maici Mirim near Calamas. The SPI mandate was terminated in 1942, and the Canavial post was turned over to the appointed chief Paulinho Neves (Ijet, Pyrehakatu's son-in-law), but Garcia de Freitas stayed on as *patrão* at the Calamas post and was succeeded by his son Benjamin.

Groups also live near Tres Casas, on the *seringal* owned by the progressive descendants of the enlightened landowner Manuel Lobo (who instigated the pacification to end the state of war between the Kagwahiv and the rubber tappers) and near Nimuendajú's pacification outpost just east of Humaita. The Kagwahiv were nominally converted by Salesians and have abandoned traditional ritual but maintain their beliefs, social patterns, and food avoidances. A team of Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant organization) missionary-linguists, Helen Pease and LaVera Betts, were at Canavial from after 1960 to 1976 doing linguistic research and rendering medical treatment, but they made no converts. Economically dependent on the gathering of *sorva* latex, a jungle product used in natural plastics, the Kagwahiv are hard-pressed economically and are diminishing in numbers. It is difficult for young people to find appropriate spouses of the opposite moiety, and the outlook for preservation of their social system is not bright. Many Kagwahiv retain a strong pride in their history and values, however, and despite the universal contempt for *índios* in Amazonas, the Kagwahiv retain a certain local respect for their past valor and continuing determination.

### Settlements

The small settlements now average three nuclear families, or sixteen people; the largest prepacification settlements of Pyrehakatu numbered little more than two or three times that size. Settlements are always located on *igarapes* (waterways) for access to canoe transportation and resources.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Kagwahiv economy is based on hunting, fishing, and shifting cultivation, principally of maize, manioc, and several varieties of potatoes. Fishing is done with bow and arrow from canoes

during the dry season, from platforms during the rainy season, or by poisoning pools with *timbó*. Hunting, now done with shotguns, was done with feathered arrows of bamboo with notched hardwood tips inserted for small game or a corner-notched bamboo point attached to a hardwood tip for large game and warfare. Shifting fields are cleared annually for gardening in jungle areas assigned by the headman. An individual might call a collective work party to help, feasting them in return. Women plant and harvest, although this is increasingly done in family groups. Fruit and potatoes are also planted at the edge of the settlements. Fruit, honey, and turtles and their eggs are gathered, mostly by women and children.

**Industrial Arts.** The main transportation is by canoe; they were once made of bark, but today wooden canoes are purchased from Brazilians. Pottery has not been made in the memory of living informants. Hammocks are woven from cotton planted in the settlements.

### *Kinship and Sociopolitical Organization*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Nonlocalized exogamous patrimoiety are named after birds, the *kwandú* (harpie eagle) and *mytum* (curassow). The Kwandú moiety was also associated with the macaw, *taravé*, the name of the corresponding Tenharem moiety. The system is complicated by a Kwandú subgroup, the Gwyrá'gwara (associated with the *japú* bird), who intermarry with other Kwandú as well as with the Mytum, constituting a third de facto patrisib.

**Kinship Terminology.** The kin terminology is a two-line system appropriate to moieties, with sibling terms extended to same-generation members of one's own moiety, all cross cousins of the opposite moiety designated *amotehe* (a term for "lover" in other Tupí languages), and so on. Married *amotehe* observe a formal avoidance of one another.

**Marriage.** Marriage was determined by a series of arrangements beginning at birth. An infant was named by a selected mother's brother (*tuty*), establishing a betrothal with the latter's infant of the opposite sex. When of age, the betrothed pair were married, the bride given away by two real or classificatory brothers who thus gained the right to name one of her children and claim that child in betrothal to one of their own children.

Marriage was effected by a period of bride-service to the father-in-law (*tuty*)—5 years for the first wife and less for later marriages—after which the son-in-law was theoretically free to leave, but usually remained in uxorilocal residence.

Polygyny was practiced, preferably sororal, but was never widely popular because of the complexity of familial relations involved: a man with five wives was scoffed at as imprudent. When a man took a second wife, his first might leave him if she so desired.

**Socialization.** An infant is given a "first name" or "play name" (*mbotagwahav*) by a mother's brother and, in later childhood, a moiety-associated name by a father's brother (*ruvy*). Thereafter, new names (selected from moiety sets of age- and sex-appropriate names) were assumed on entering new stages of life, on major changes of status, or at certain special events. Boys received their first *ka'a*, penis

sheath, from a father's brother. A woman, on her first menarche, was isolated for ten days in a hammock behind a partition, observing strict taboos, at the end of which she was carried to the river by her father and ritually bathed. Her first wedding followed the ceremony.

**Conflict and Social Control.** Raids were organized by any warrior moved to call one and led by two *nimboy-para'ga*, "raid callers," whose position lasted only for the duration of the expedition. A principal objective was to take an enemy head, which would be exhibited at an *akagwera toryva* ("head-trophy feast"), a lavish ceremonial display celebrating the exploit, cosponsored by the head taker (who thus achieved the honored status of *okokwahav*) and another prominent warrior. There is some evidence for ritual consumption of parts of the slain enemy. The killer was obliged to undergo a period of ritual seclusion (like a woman's menarche seclusion), and he assumed a new name.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs and Practices.** The cosmological frame is laid out in the myth of Pindova'umi'ga, the powerful ancient chief who, annoyed by quarreling among children, lifted his house and the best natural resources to the sky. He is to be distinguished from the trickster/culture hero Mbahira (Mair of other Tupí mythologies), who originated many important cultural items and processes but has little to do in the current world. A third ancestor, the "Old Woman" (Gwaivi), was cremated by her sons and transformed into Kagwahiv crops. These myths and a few others form the core of Kagwahiv mythology. Food taboos are an enduring and central part of ritual life. One set applies to all parents, from the birth of their first child until old age. Others obtain during pregnancy and the months following birth; still others apply to sick individuals and their primary relatives. Agouti, which makes one lazy, is prohibited for young warriors. Handling manioc in any form is dangerous to a sick person. Sexual activity is also prohibited under certain circumstances; during a fish poisoning by *timbó* it will interfere with the action of the poison, and between parallel cousins it will cause the death of parents and/or children of the offenders. Certain acts will make a hunter *panem*, unable to kill a particular species or any species with a particular weapon.

**Religious Practitioners.** Curing, beyond the herbal level, was done by a shaman (*ipaji*) in a ceremony called *tokaia*. The *ipaji* went into trance (without drugs) behind a small screen or shelter (*tokaia*) set up in the plaza and made a spiritual journey through the various levels of the cosmos, concluding with an encounter with Pindova'umi'ga, chief of the Sky People. The *ipaji* (or a helping *ipaji* outside the *tokaia*) greeted each spirit encountered on the journey and asked for its help; the spirit replied in a characteristic song through the voice of the *ipaji* in trance. Dreaming is associated with shamanism. An *ipaji* or a layman may encounter spirits in dreams or predict (and, for a shaman, alter) the future through them. Dream predictions are mostly of success in hunting or of illness and death. *Ipaji* were born via dreams; a shaman would dream of a particular spirit of Sky Person, who announced that he would be born to a particular woman as a future *ipaji*. Her

next-born son would then be marked for apprenticeship to the dreaming shaman, and the spirit reborn in him would be his *rupigwara*, the spirit agent of his power. The chain has been broken by the death of the last Kagwahiv ipaji before he could pass on his knowledge to his "dreamed one."

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WAUD KRACKE

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## Kaingáng

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ETHNONYMS: Aaingáng, Aweikoma, Caingáng, Coroado, Coroados, Coroasos, Guayaná, Ingain, Kaingangue, Kayapo del Sur, Southern Cayapo, Tupy

The 10,426 Kaingáng speak a language belonging to the Gê Family and live in southern Brazil (between 22° and 27° S and 50° and 53° W). They are an offshoot of the Guayána and traditionally lived on the open savannas. Culturally and historically, they are closely related to the Xokleng. The Kaingáng were foragers who harvested the *Araucaria* pine nut, with which they made bread; hunters of monkeys, tapir, and peccaries; and small-scale horticulturists. The Kaingáng moved into the more protective forests to flee other Indians and Portuguese slave raids. In the early 1800s there were 6,000 Kaingáng living in twelve villages.

The major obstacle to their pacification was their disinterest in trade goods, which both missionaries and the Brazilian government used elsewhere to entice aboriginal peoples into permanent settlements. During the early 1800s settlers were allowed to enslave those Kaingáng whom they captured, despite the decades-old illegality of the practice. By 1850 many Kaingáng were assisting Brazilians in fighting other Indians. At the same time, many were settling permanently. This settlement of various groups in concentrated areas meant insufficient hunting grounds for some, however, and the result was warfare among Kaingáng groups that lasted until the 1860s. The last Kaingáng group was pacified and settled in 1911. Today, there is wide variation among Kaingáng groups in terms of their assimilation and acculturation.

Traditionally, the Kaingáng hunted and practiced horticulture. They raised pumpkins, beans, and three varieties of maize, and they ate their crops as they came into season, storing none for winter. The tiller of a garden had exclusive rights of ownership; if he died before the crop matured, his plants were destroyed. Pine nuts, obtained by climbing trees, were basic to the Kaingáng diet. The Kaingáng also gathered wild tubers, honey, birds' eggs, papayas, and several other fruits. Manioc flour has now replaced the once-important *pindo*-palm sago in cooking. Hunting activities consume great amounts of time.

Both individuals and groups hunt; formerly the hunting of peccaries involved the entire band. In group hunts, the hunters use drives and encircling techniques. Dogs, which were not aboriginal to the Kaingáng, are now invaluable members of the hunting party. In the past, the Kaingáng caught parrots by using tame parrots as decoys. Transportation was always by foot.

The Kaingáng traditionally lived in lean-tos, which became gabled roof structures when two lean-tos were placed together. When traveling, they make rudimentary shelters or a nest in a tree. The Kaingáng traditionally wore no clothes save a belt and, in cold weather, a cloak.

The Kaingáng were divided into exogamous patrilineal moieties, each of which was further divided into two subgroups; members of a moiety considered each other cousins. Chiefly authority generally extends no further than the initiation of group activities. The chief gives gifts to his followers, and feasts are given in his name. An unpopular chief is simply no longer followed. The chief is succeeded by his son if the members of the band agree. If a man has been offended by another member of his own group, he shouts his grievances from in front of his own hut as his enemy does the same from the other end of the village. Later, the two men and their respective supporters fight with wooden clubs but avoid killing. In warfare against other groups, which involved surprise attacks at dawn, defeated men lost their heads, but women and children were adopted.

Kaingáng children are raised indulgently. Men usually marry girls or women younger than themselves. If a man reaches the marriageable age of 18 to 20 but his bride has not reached puberty, he lives with her family until she begins to menstruate. Parents must observe food and other taboos when their children are born. Death is believed to be caused by an abduction of the soul. The Kaingáng bury their dead in a flexed position.



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## Kalapalo

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ETHNONYMS: Apalakiri, Apalaquiri, Kalapalu, Nahukwa

The Kalapalo, who numbered 110 in 1968 and perhaps more than 200 in the early 1990s, speak a Carib language and live in the village of Aifa (meaning "finished") in the upper Xingu Basin of Mato Grosso, Brazil. Their village is located within the Indian reservation known as Xingu National Park. They moved to the park in order to have fewer contacts with outsiders and to receive medical assistance at the government-run Leonardo Villas Boas Indian Post there. The Kalapalo are now known to Carib speakers as "Aifa otomo" (People of Aifa). Their aboriginal homeland is three days' travel by canoe downriver and remains of considerable symbolic importance to the Kalapalo. The region is a remote and rugged area, and the neighboring Shavante and Kayapó discouraged outside intrusion. Thus, the Kalapalo went uncontacted until perhaps the early twentieth century (the date of first contact is not known with certainty). Contact has had negative consequences: the Kalapalo became the targets of slave raiders, victims of a measles epidemic, and, finally, reluctant inhabitants of the reservation.

The Kalapalo subsist mainly by fishing in rivers and lakes and raising bitter manioc, piquí fruit, and maize. They also grow peppers, beans, and sweet manioc and produce salt from a variety of the water hyacinth. They hunt little and eat little flesh, believing that hunting is aggressive behavior, and thus improper. For this reason, they have made the hunting of many animals taboo.

The river traditionally supplied much of their food. The Kalapalo possessed exclusive rights to portions of riv-

ers, which they fished with nets, baskets traps, weirs, fish dams, and by using bait to lure fish to the surface where they could be shot with bows and arrows. Modern manufactured tools and equipment such as firearms, fishing gear, and razors began replacing traditional manufactures shortly after first contact with Whites.

Kalapalo sociopolitical organization focuses on village and household groups. Only those born at Aifa or in the former village of Kanugijafiti are considered members of the Aifa village community. Others are considered members of neighboring villages, such as those of the Kuikuru or Mehinaku. The village consists of oval-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a large clearing. Households are composed of two core nuclear families and bilateral kin of both in various combinations. The reciprocal preparation and exchange of food is an important unifying force among individuals and household groups and for the village as a whole. A complex set of kinship and marriage ties extends across all upper Xingu villages and links the village groups (Kuikuru, Migiyapei, Kamayura, Awiti, Waurá, Mehinaku, Suyá, Kayapó). Village groups specialize in the manufacture of goods that are exchanged with other villages. The Kalapalo specialize in the production of shell belts and necklaces and gourds. Leadership brings with it more obligations than rights and generally extends only over the household group; those in leadership positions also serve as village representatives in matters that involve other upper Xingu groups.

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## Karajá

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ETHNONYMS: Carajá, Javaé, Javahé, Shambioá, Xambioá

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Karajá are an Indian group of Brazil. They are subdivided into the Karajá proper, Javaé, and Xambioá.

**Location.** The Karajá are established in central Brazil in the region of the Rio Araguaia, where it splits to flow around the island of Bananal. They inhabit the interior of the island as well as the longer arm of the river. Some local

groups live off the island, along the Araguaia to the north and south.

**Demography.** Reliable estimates of the total Karajá population tend to fall near 2,000 for the three subgroups. One of the censuses done by the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI) in 1990 showed a total of 2,200 Karajá.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Karajá language belongs to the Karajá Family of the Macro-Gê Language Branch. Dialect differences, principally phonological, occur among the three subgroups. There are also differences between male and female speech.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

It is probable that the first contacts of the Karajá with "civilization" date to the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, when explorers began to arrive in the Araguaia-Tocantins Valley. They came from São Paulo by land or by the rivers of the Parnaíba Basin, looking for Indian slaves and gold. When gold was discovered in Goiás around 1725, miners from several regions headed there and founded villages in the region. It was against these men that the Indians had to fight to defend their territory, families, and freedom. A military post was established in 1774 to facilitate navigation. Karajá and Javaé lived on the post that was called the Nova Beira colony. Other colonies were founded later but none was successful. The Indians had to adapt to a new way of life and were subject to various contagious diseases to which they had no immunity and for which they had no treatment.

A new phase of colonization began in Goiás when the gold mines became exhausted toward the end of the eighteenth century. With Brazilian independence, the government became more interested in preserving the territorial unity of Goiás and restructuring the economy. In 1863 Couto de Magalhães governor of Goiás, descended the Rio Araguaia. He intended to develop steam navigation and to promote colonization of lands along the border of the river. New villages were founded as a result of this initiative, and steam navigation increased along the Araguaia. Only recently has the region been drawn into the national economy, however. The Service of Protection to the Indians (SPI) permitted cattle raisers to occupy the fields that border the river, gradually involving the Karajá, Javaé, Tapirapé, and Avá (Canoeiros) Indians and causing much change in their lives, as the Indian territories were invaded by the cattle herds during the rainy season. When the military government took power in 1964, the SPI ceased to exist, and the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI) was created, with similar functions. Reports of writers, travelers, government workers, and ethnologists indicate accentuated depopulation among the Karajá from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.

### *Settlements*

The Karajá have always inhabited linear villages along the river, unlike the other tribes of central Brazil. Houses previously had an elongated rectangular shape and an oval

roof and housed extended families. Now the houses are smaller, built for nuclear families, and have a square shape and four-sided roofs.

The cemeteries are located near the villages, generally at the riverside; some are contiguous to the village. The extended families have the right to use their land in the cemeteries, which are replicas of the villages of the living.

Early in the twentieth century, there were summer camps where entire families would stay while collecting eggs of the *tracajá* (*Padocnemis unifilis*) and other wildlife products and visiting relatives in other local groups. Today, visits to other villages are frequent at all times of the year, especially during the dry season. Beaches are no longer used for camping except as short-term resting places during subsistence activities; they are never used for leisure activities. The Karajá use motorboats belonging to people in the region or boats belonging to FUNAI for their trips to other villages.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Fishing has always been the principal means of subsistence. The Karajá catch, among other fish, pirarucu (*Arapaima gigas*), *pirarara* (*Phractocephalus hemiopteros*), and *tucunaré* (*Cichla* sp.). Today, part of the catch is sold to the local population. In the early 1970s the Karajá worked for commercial fishermen who exploited them. Since then FUNAI has controlled commercial fishing among the Indians. Besides fish, the Karajá sell handicraft products for the tourist trade.

The Karajá also practice subsistence farming, combining slash-and-burn cultivation with modern farming techniques taught by Brazilian government agents. They cultivate manioc, watermelons, bananas, maize, sweet potatoes, and also rice and beans, which are relatively new cultivars.

At one time the Karajá hunted deer, tapir, wild pigs, and other mammals. These animals have now become scarce, and the Indians prefer to eat beef. Birds are captured and killed for their feathers or kept as pets to please the children. The birds hunted most often are macaws and river birds, especially the *colhereiro* (*Ajaia ajaja*) and the *jaburu* (*Micteria americana*).

The Karajá collect seasonal fruits from the underbrush: coconuts, *pequi* (*Caryocar brasiliense*), and *fava do jatobá* (*Hymenaea stigonocarpa*), among others. They also collect honey from bees, formerly from wild bees but now from those introduced as a result of interethnic contact.

The Brazilian government gave them some cattle in 1983; today there are some 5,000 head on the island of Bananal on farms managed by FUNAI. There are approximately 450 cattle directly in the hands of the Indians.

**Industrial Arts.** Karajá art features several handicraft modalities, there being specialties that are traditionally masculine and others that are feminine. Among the former are sculpture in wood (dolls and anthropomorphic figures), modeling in wax, feather art, the making of weapons with feather tufts, and ornamental weaving. Women's handicrafts include ceramics and the weaving of cloth. Weaving has always been done by both sexes; however, there are types of weaving dominated by males and other kinds by

females, depending on the raw materials and the methods used in the weaving. (Today, handicrafts are free of rigid rules with respect to the division of labor by sex.) Currently, weaving is the most commonly pursued handicraft in all of the Karajá villages. The Karajá use these woven articles themselves and also sell some to tourists. The production of ceramics is of greater importance only in the village of Santa Isabel do Morro (Hawaló). Body painting is practiced by both sexes, usually by the young, although individuals of other age groups also ornament themselves on ceremonial occasions. Ornamentation features a number of basic patterns that subdivide into innumerable variants and complex combinations.

In the past, the Karajá hunted and made war with weapons such as clubs, spears, bows, and spear-thrower darts. They would make miniatures for children and weapons for older boys, the dimensions being calculated according to the age of the user. Today, they hunt and fish with instruments acquired from the Whites—rifles, metal fish-hooks, and nylon fishing lines.

**Trade.** At the beginning of the twentieth century the southern Karajá obtained wood for the making of bows, stones for hatchets, domesticated macaws, and other items from the northern Karajá. The southern Karajá also received raw materials from the Tapirapé, a nearby Tupí tribe, and from the subgroup Javaé; from the latter they imported tobacco plants, manioc roots, and arrows. They also traded with the Brazilian population of the regions and with outsiders: the Karajá supplied with manioc and fish in exchange for salt, farinha (manioc crumbs), tobacco, beads, and large steel knives. Handwork already played a part in this trade, and the Indians made use of river transportation as well. Cash purchases and intratribal barter continue to take place. The production and sale of handicraft items to tourists has acquired major economic importance.

**Division of Labor.** Men and women perform differentiated agricultural jobs; the more difficult and time-consuming tasks are undertaken by the men, whereas the women occupy themselves with the lighter, auxiliary jobs. With respect to the harder farm tasks, the men of each local group get together and help one another in a communal undertaking. The principal subsistence activity is fishing, which is a male activity.

The collection of wildlife products for food and handicraft materials can be done by both sexes, respecting their specializations. The herbalist medicine men collect the medicinal herbs. House building is male work. Cargo baskets are made by men, as are the weapons that formerly were used in hunting and war but today are intended only for rituals or for the tourist trade. Feather craft is a masculine specialty but women can make certain smaller, less complex pieces. Wood carving and wax modeling are male activities, although some exceptions occur with respect to figurative art.

**Land Tenure.** The Karajá acknowledge the existence of territorial dominions, proper to each village and historically assured by consuetudinary law. These dominions are characterized by the sum of the possessions of local family groups, which are adequate for hunting and fishing as well as for the collection of raw materials and wildlife products

for home construction and the making of handicrafts. If usable natural resources are located outside their territory, interested individuals direct themselves to the chief of the respective territory for authorization to exploit the resources. The Karajá make relatively long trips outside of the territorial dominion of their own village to fish, to collect, and to exchange or buy raw materials and Indian-made and industrial products.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Karajá kinship system is classified as being one of double descent. The mother's line is emphasized and defines an individual's ties to the village, whereas traditional chiefhood (the office of *isádinudú*) and inclusion in tribal moieties are patrilineally inherited.

**Kinship Terminology.** Karajá kinship terminology has not yet been clearly classified. One infers that it is of the Hawaiian type, presenting itself, however, in probable combination with other types.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** There are tribal moieties that do not regulate matrimony, having only a ceremonial role. It has been observed by researchers of various Gê groups of central Brazil that, among such segmentary societies, there occur non-exogamic but ceremonial and cosmological moieties.

There do not appear to be impediments to matrimony with parallel or cross cousins, but marriage between people belonging to different generations is censured, even though there are several such unions. The avunculate is important and cases of levirate and sororate occur. There are also cases of sororal polygny. Monogamy is generally prevalent, but there are frequent separations and successive unions. There is a tendency toward village endogamy.

**Domestic Unit.** Until about 1960 the domestic unit was composed of an extended matrilineal family occupying just one house. Even then, however, there were exceptions to the rule. Today there is a tendency for siblings (or married sons, if the parents are alive) to occupy houses next door or nearby, such nuclear-family households resulting from the subdivision of larger groups. These, according to common law, must always occupy the identical territory inside the area of the village. Individuals of the same extended family have their burial grounds located in the same territory of the general cemetery.

**Inheritance.** The right to ownership of a house that shelters a household in the territory of an extended family was transmitted from mothers to daughters, even though the constructed dwellings were, and still are, burned after the death of the head of the household, either man or woman. Some objects of individual use accompany the dead person, some are given to the burial party (which may or may not include the person's relatives). The remaining objects go to the family, which, however, generally prefers to give them away, even though they may be very valuable. A man can acquire for his son the right to take part in rituals performed with specific dance masks.

**Socialization.** The children receive an informal education at home and learn from their maternal and paternal

relatives to conduct themselves according to the expectations of Karajá society. Their relatives teach them the techniques of domestic jobs as well as those of subsistence and handicraft. The children start to receive notions about myths, cosmology, and tribal history.

The feminine relatives exercise a great influence on the socialization of the young people, even with respect to the boys, a pattern that continues as they become young men. At times, married men show more solidarity with their mothers and sisters than they do with their wives. Between 10 and 12 years of age, boys start to receive a more formal education on topics concerning religion and ethical questions related to consuetudinary law after their solemn entrance into the men's house at the feast of Hetohokã ("Big House").

Youngsters of both sexes attend regional public schools and/or bilingual schools for the Karajá. Some of the older boys (those over 15 years of age) have attended schools in Goiânia, the capital of the state of Goiás.

The use of corporal punishment has always been rare because the Karajá prefer to treat the improper behavior of youngsters ironically, inducing them to avoid being ridiculed. This method of correction persists with respect to adults: Karajá women normally laugh in a screeching and sarcastic manner at everyday events that involve someone's unacceptable behavior.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The Karajá moieties are clearly apparent in the complex Hetohokã ritual, which marks the initiation of 7-year-old boys (piercing of the lower lip to receive a distinctive adornment of the masculine condition) and of 10 to 13 year olds (the solemn entrance into the men's house, or the Masks of Aruanã). In this house are guarded the vestments that represent the supernatural beings of the bottom of the waters, the woods, and the sky.

Three houses are built for these ceremonies: the Big House (already mentioned), the Small House (*hetorioré*), and the Middle House, which congregates the *ityamahadú* (Middle people) and is situated between the other two. Since the Karajá say that everybody belongs to either the Big House or the Small House, the group of the Middle is probably made up of individuals who, besides being bonded to one or the other of the main groups, perform the role of ritual mediators. They impede the competitiveness among the components of the two divisions during the feast from intensifying to the point of disturbing the correct performance of the ritual. Ceremonial pairs occur in the Hetohokã, in which, traditionally, two villages in territorial proximity always associate themselves.

**Political Organization.** Karajá political organization was based on an equilibrium of complementary functions exercised by different individuals—traditional chiefs belonging to the Council of the Elderly and those hereditarily responsible for the houses that congregate the tribal moieties at the feast of the initiation of the boys.

Since the nineteenth century there have been two complementary chieftaincies—that exercised by the *isãdinudú* with respect to religious questions and that exercised by the *idjesudú* ("captain of Christian") with respect to

problems of a practical nature, especially those pertaining to interethnic contact.

**Social Control.** Until around the 1960s social control was exercised by the Council of the Elderly, which was comprised of mature men with grandsons, heads of extended families that constitute matrilineal domestic groups. The complementary opposition of age groups is very clear, there being distinct terms among individuals of the same generation that qualify them as "older" or "younger."

Modifications of social structure as a result of interethnic contact provoke dissension between the old and the young, which has eroded the equilibrium of the past.

**Conflict.** In former times, the Karajá fought with nearby tribes such as the Tapirapé, the Xavante, and the Kayapó. Today the conflicts are individual, factional, or generational. The conflicts are more intense among the local group of Hawaló (Santa Isabel do Morro), which is more exposed to government agents, tourists, and regional non-Indians. Anomic situations occurred there as a result of interethnic contact, which has been eroding the Karajá social structure. Beginning in 1970, FUNAI started organizing the Indian Guard, enlisting in its ranks the boys of the village. A gradual weakening of the power of the Council of the Elderly ensued. The council mediates conflicts between individuals and families. The guard was disbanded in 1981, but, since the traditional authorities and chiefs had lost their prestige, factionalism increased, making individual conflicts more dramatic, sometimes resulting in death.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Karajá believe in supernatural beings—inhabitants of sky, woods, and water. They look like humans but, in the words of bilingual Indians, they are "spirits of animals." Only shamans, who in life and after death hold the power of going to the sky and to the bottom of the river, can see them. The Karajá believe in the survival of the souls of the dead. Souls are classified according to the type of death: *uní* (in case of a violent death—by drowning, killing, or suicide) and *worasã* (in case of a death considered normal—by sickness, old age, or as a victim of witchcraft). Even though accusations of witchcraft are common on the occasion of someone's death, the supposedly guilty parties are buried in the same manner as their victims, be the suspects shamans or anyone else. *Uní* souls are dangerous (cannibalistic), as much to the living as to the souls of the dead, which they have the power to annihilate. For this reason they are buried away from family tombs. There are primary burials and secondary burials in funeral urns. Food offerings are deposited in the cemetery by relatives of the dead.

**Religious Practitioners.** There are men and women who have a wide or specialized knowledge. They are called *ohutibedú*. There have been instances of shamanism, even though its manifestations (trance and the shamanistic trip) seem less dramatic than those seen in other Indian groups in Brazil. It is characterized by supernatural vision and intense contact with the supernatural world. There are herbalists who treat maladies. Ehrenreich (1948) observed in 1888 that Karajá shamans used suction techniques to

withdraw noxious material from the sick person's body, and that they also used the sound of maracas (*werú*) to scare away the supernatural causers of disease. Currently, there are also herbalist medicine men who, for a fee, take individuals, from their own village as well as from other local groups, into their houses for treatment. The term *hori* is applied to shamans with supernatural vision, and the use of their power implies dual behavior that can cure as well as kill.

The *isādinudú* (traditional chief) is frequently considered to be a *ohutibedú* since it is expected that chiefhood be exercised by individuals who were educated for the office, are able to resolve individual and group conflicts, and have a lot of cosmological, ceremonial, and genealogical knowledge. He may be a herbalist, he may or may not have the power of supernatural vision, and he dominates the classifications of fauna and flora. Another authority, the *ioló*, is responsible for the knowledge of the judicial system and must see that the common law is observed.

**Ceremonies.** The spirits of nature are personified in rituals in which male dancers, usually in pairs, carry characteristic masks of each of these beings. Such ceremonies are called *Aruanã* (*Idjasó*), which is the name of a fish of the Rio Araguaia.

Other ceremonies have the purpose of pacifying the souls of enemies killed by the Karajá a long time ago, such as the *Xavante* and *Tapirapé*. The rites de passage are various and elaborate, the most important ritual complex being that of *Hetohokã*, which concerns the initiation steps to adult life and the religious knowledge of the younger male generation. There are also seasonal feasts, such as the honey feast held in August.

**Arts.** The Karajá have vocal music associated with dancing, whose rhythm is marked by the maraca (*werú*), a gourd rattle that accompanies the rituals of *Aruanã* and is important in the sphere of shamanism.

Chants are sung in falsetto to convey the impression that the beings personified by the dancers are not human. The chants refer to Karajá history, to their everyday life, and to mythical and cosmological affairs.

Iconographs, those related to geometric features as well as those that represent everyday, ceremonial, and other events, are extremely complex with respect to their meaning and formal aspects.

**Medicine.** There are many types of diseases according to Indian conceptions, including those transmitted by non-Indians: tuberculosis, pneumonia, chicken pox, venereal diseases, flu, and others. The Karajá believe they can be cured by treatment in hospitals and by taking chemical remedies administered by doctors and nurses in regional health posts and in larger cities like Goiânia, Brasília, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro.

With respect to diseases considered to be Indian diseases, many are thought to be the result of witchcraft and must be treated by herbalists and shamans.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Karajá theory about normal death explains it as resulting from disease, old age, or witchcraft. People who died by violence, whose malignant souls are called *uní*, besides having to be buried in a place separate from the other tombs, are buried face downward

to make it more difficult for them to see, capture, and devour benign souls, *worasãs*.

The soul of the *hyrí* (shaman), classified in the modality *worasã*, meanwhile, has great power over this type as well as over the *uní* type. Both understand his orders. In addition, the soul of the shaman enjoys special mobility, being able to meet with supernatural beings in the heavens and under the waters.

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EDNA LUISA DE MELO TAVEIRA AND  
MARIE HELOISA FENELON COSTA  
(Translated by William R. J. Schaper)

## Karihona

ETHNONYMS: Ajaju, Carijona, Guaque/Huaque, Mesaya, Murciélagos, Omaua/Umaua (and variants)

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Karihona" is the autodenomination. "Umaua" is the name applied by the Karihona's Eastern Tucanoan-speaking neighbors and means "toad" (not to be confounded with "Omagua," the Tupí from the Rio Solimões); "Murciélagos" (Spanish: bat) was applied to the Karihona because they were considered bloodthirsty. The names "Mesaya" and "Ajaju" derive from rivers of the

Karihona territory. No explanation for "Guaque/Huaque" is available.

**Location.** The Karihona occupied the Rio Yari and the upper Rio Apaporis and their affluents. The Yari is an affluent of the Rio Caquetá-Japurá in the Colombian part of the northwestern Amazon. Information concerning a considerably larger territory of the Karihona probably refers to the trading and raiding area. At present, the last few Karihona are living dispersed, mainly throughout the upper Rio Uaupés and the Colombian Rio Caquetá near the border with Brazil.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Karihona language is one of the Carib languages.

**Demography.** Various thousands or even more than 10,000 Karihona are mentioned in the two preceding centuries; very few quite acculturated persons remain at the end of the twentieth century.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Karihona probably migrated centuries ago from Guiana to the northwestern Amazon and adopted, in the course of time, cultural traits—such as masks, bark trumpets, and patrilians or patrisibs—from the surrounding ethnic groups. The enemies of the Karihona were the Witoto to the south; the expression *witoto* refers likewise to foes and slaves or captives. Well into the nineteenth century, the Karihona were better protected than other groups from the harmful influences of the advancing White population because their territory was away from the main rivers. At least from the second half of the seventeenth century on, the Karihona traded with Spaniards of the Colombian area to the west and, later, also with Brazilians to the east. The Indians exchanged slaves and forest products like beeswax for iron tools and other manufactured objects. In the second half of the eighteenth century some Karihona settled in Franciscan missions on the upper Putumayo, although the attack against another mission (on the Rio Mecaya) was attributed to the Karihona. Beginning about 1900, some Karihona worked as rubber gatherers; probably from the 1920s on, a great number of the men did so for different employers. To this end, one group of the Karihona emigrated to the Caquetá, and another went to the middle Apaporis and from there to the upper Uaupés. A different group of Karihona escaped from persecution by the Witoto and allied with the Peruvian Casa Arana by moving to the Rio Ortegusa, where they were integrated with the Korewahe. Because of close contact with the nonindigenous population at these locations, various epidemics decimated the Karihona during the following decades. The few surviving Karihona are widely dispersed in southeastern Colombia.

### *Settlements*

The dozens of inhabitants of a village lived together in a large circular house with a conical roof, ordered internally according to nuclear families. The slash-and-burn fields were nearby. Houses were of pole construction with leaf-thatched roofs. Separate square family dwellings became usual after about 1900, most with elevated floors and internal partitions.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Karihona subsistence economy involves shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, and collecting. The staple is *cazabe* bread made from bitter manioc, supplemented by cooked or roasted meat or fish. Crops include sweet manioc, maize, yams, bananas, pineapples, sugarcane, peppers, tobacco, and various tree fruits. Hunting was done with blowguns or bows and arrows before the introduction of guns. Nowadays fishing is mostly done with hook and line; fish poison or dams with traps are still used occasionally. Since about 1900 the Karihona have been wage laborers.

**Industrial Arts.** Karihona men constructed houses and canoes and fabricated equipment such as furniture, musical instruments, and weapons both for hunting and war. During the 1800s the Karihona were famous for their *curare* (made by the men during a time of diet restrictions) and their hammocks (made by women). Men wore a painted bark cloth wrapped tightly around the trunk below the armpits like a corset; women went naked.

**Trade.** Apart from trading with non-Indians the Karihona exchanged industrial goods, dogs, salt, and slaves with neighboring Indians, with allies like the Ka'wiari (Arawak, who offered blowguns among other items) or Andoke, as well as with foes like the Witoto.

### *Kinship*

The Karihona were divided into patrilineal, exogamous sibs. Various sibnames—Chohone, Hianakoto, Kaikusana, Mahotoyana, Sahasaha, Werewereru, Yakauyana—sometimes appear as tribal names in the literature. In Ego's and the first ascending and descending generations, the Karihona have a two-section relationship terminology (i.e., kin are bifurcated according to a parallel/cross distinction and terms for cross relatives and affines are the same). Most kinship terms indicate sex difference; sibling terms refer to relative age.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The norm was real or classificatory cross-cousin marriage; sister exchange was desirable. Inter-marriage with other language groups, which is now so common, is said to be a new development (owing to population loss), although this practice is usual among neighboring Indians of the region. The practice is encouraged by the Catholic missionaries. While talking to the parents about marriage with their daughter, the fiancé is punched by his future father-in-law and insulted by his future mother-in-law to test his endurance. The son-in-law is required to reside uxorilocally and to work for his parents-in-law during their lifetime. According both to the recollections of the elders and the literary sources, localized patrisibs existed in former times; if true, this would mean that earlier on the bride-service lasted only for a restricted period. Polygynous marriage occurred among the Karihona. After the birth of a child, the father has to observe dietary restrictions and avoid all strenuous tasks for some time because of the interrelationship between him and the baby: every exertion made by the father means an analogous and dangerous exertion for the young child.

**Socialization.** Mothers devote much attention to small children; if a younger sibling is born, however, the previous child is quickly rejected and placed in the care of elder sisters or other persons. Girls start to help with household chores at an early age. Nowadays school attendance begins before the teens. At puberty, a girl was secluded in a hut apart from the communal house and had to live on a restricted diet. At the termination of this seclusion, she underwent an ordeal including the pulling out of her hair and whipping, among other things, in order to make her industrious. With the same intentions, young men were whipped after communal clearing of fields. For success in hunting and raiding, men had themselves stung by ants and wasps. Boys between about 12 and 15 to 17 years of age, before they started with lovemaking, were held to be the most successful hunters. Young people enjoyed their sexuality, restricted only by incest taboos. Married couples had to endure the jealousy of their partners. During menstruation and at childbirth (and for some weeks thereafter), women were secluded in a hut separated from the communal house in order not to harm the shamans.

#### *Sociopolitical Organization*

No reliable information about this subject is available. Open conflicts between the inhabitants of a village were avoided. In the twentieth century some shamans, accused of sorcery against their own people, were killed.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Opposition between the Karihona and *manakini* (animals, demons, monsters, human antagonists, or enemies), is one of the most prominent themes in their mythology. Conflicts with *manakini* often result in open fighting wherein the Karihona outwit their foes. The culture heroes and apical ancestors of the Karihona, Tukuchimobë (meaning "out of the egg of a hummingbird") and his elder brother, are occupied in such conflicts with the *manakini* during most of their saga. At the end they transform to sun and moon; no worship is related to them. The Karihona compare Tamekemī or Kuyugu (king vulture) to the Christian God, but he seems to be a pale figure, perhaps of missionary influence. The culture hero Kuwai shows suprahuman knowledge in his dealings with his adversaries and his faithless wife. The essence of life of persons and *manakini* is called *omore*. An important personality in mythology and everyday life is Itutari, the ugly and malicious master of the forest and its animals. Most of the useful plants except manioc originated from his cremated body. The father or master of the aquatic animals is called Ikuchayumu (father of the fishes), who is of less importance in the daily life of the Karihona than Itutari. Karihona ascribe much importance to dreams and other omens, such as the singing of the small bird *kuiminari*.

**Religious Practitioners.** During his apprenticeship the future shaman (*hiyachi*) becomes a seer by consuming hallucinogens (drinks made from *Banisteriopsis* and *Virola*), supported by fasting and sexual abstinence and guided by an experienced shaman. In his visions he travels to other regions in order to enlist demons (*manakini*) and even God himself as advisers. By these means he acquires

knowledge of hidden dimensions. His erudition is manifested by the acquisition of jaguars and other animals as helpers, by the memorization of effective songs and texts, and by the acquisition of quartz and various stones (*mara*), some of which are mystically introduced into the body of the *hiyachi*. *Mara* are generated out of lightning, and, according to the Karihona, there is an association of shamans and thunder in different ways. The shamans were called on to fend off the attacks of hostile *manakini* and to protect people against them, to cure the sick, to attract game to the surroundings of the village, to ensure success in hunting, and, in earlier times, in warfare. Shamans are the protectors of ordinary Karihona against various kinds of menaces and misfortunes and are themselves continually endangered by the attacks of other shamans as well as by women in special conditions (menstruation, childbirth). That is the Karihona explanation of the sexual antagonism prevalent among many Indian groups of the area.

**Ceremonies.** The Karihona celebrated different kinds of communal dance festivals, for which village invited others. The hosts prepared the drinks (beer), and the visitors brought smoked meat or tree fruits. During the ritual reception, men played trumpets—among them two bark trumpets called *notihëimë* (lit., "old women"), which the women were not allowed to see. Aquatic animals (caimans, anacondas, tortoises) were painted on the soil with pounded *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) and ritually destroyed. The hiding of the trumpets and the "killing" of the paintings were effectuated to protect the women from harm. Ritual whipping of the men and song duels between participants took place. Another kind of festival was the mask dance, usually or always celebrated at funerals. They were performed during the daytime while the shaman guarded the village against dangers from *manakini*. The mask dancers demonstrated by songs and pantomime the peculiarities of the *manakini* represented by them. According to the literature and the reports of informants, the Karihona celebrated anthropophagic festivals in the past. A Witoto was made drunk before he was killed and finally ceremonially consumed.

**Arts.** Masks, similar to those of other ethnicities of the area, were adopted from the neighboring Ka'wiari.

**Medicine.** Sick Karihona rest and diet. In former days they used herbal medicine but nowadays rely mostly pharmaceutical products. Certain afflictions were cured by a shaman in a *séance*. He took hallucinogens and sought the support of his mystical advisers in order to find the cause of the malady. Afflictions were often attributed to the attacks of hostile shamans who sent *manakini* to do harm, to the introduction of noxious objects into the body, or to loss of *omore*. Healing practices included blowing tobacco smoke over the body, sucking out noxious objects, and bringing back the *omore* to the body.

**Death and Afterlife.** After the death of a person, his or her house is burned down. Death is usually attributed to the machinations of malevolent shamans. After death, the *omore* of Karihona men goes to one region in heaven, the *omore* of women to another. The deceased resemble humans and live in houses just as on the earth, in a beautiful surrounding. There are no illnesses nor any other difficul-

ties or problems, and therefore all live peacefully. Shamans inhabit yet another region, where they enjoy hallucinogens. After the death of a person, a dangerous ghost (*iwo*) originates. Riding around on a night swallow, it is much dreaded by the living.

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HELMUT SCHINDLER

## Kashinawa

ETHNONYMS: Cashinahua, Kaxinaua, Kaxinawa

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Kashinawa are an indigenous people of Amazonia who share a common identity and language. Although they accept the denomination "Kashinawa" (*kashi*, "bat," and *nawa*, "outsiders, foreigners"), their auto-denomination is "Huni Kuin" ("real men"—*huni*, "man," and *kuin*, "real") as opposed to "Huni Kuinman" ("not-real men," i.e., any non-Kashinawa). As Huni Kuin they speak a common language, *hancha kuin* ("real words").

**Location.** The Kashinawa live in approximately twenty settlements scattered along the upper reaches of two of the main tributaries of the Amazon, the Juruá and the Purus, or their headwater tributaries, in both Brazil and Peru.

**Demography.** There are approximately 3,000 Kashinawa, 2,000 living in the Brazilian state of Acre and 1,000 in the Peruvian state of Coronel Portillo.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Kashinawa language belongs to the Panoan Family.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Kashinawa probably have lived in the general area where they are presently located since no later than A.D. 1200, but our knowledge of their presence in the region dates from reports of the English geographer William Chandless in the 1860s. Beginning about that time, Brazilians from the state of Pará began to make expeditions during the dry season to exploit rubber, sarsaparilla, cacao, and copaiba oil. Later, colonists from northeastern Brazil settled in the area. These early contacts seem to have been peaceful. In 1898 Peruvian *caucheros* (rubber workers) staged planned massacres of the indigenous peoples, which, along with the epidemics that accompanied contact with outsiders, decimated the indigenous population of the region. Beginning about 1910, some Kashinawa worked rubber for Brazilian bosses under the debt-peonage system, as some still do today. Others fled to the headwaters of the Rio Curanja, a tributary of the Purus, where they lived in relative isolation until the late 1940s. In Acre, the Kashinawa lived with Brazilian settlers, tapping rubber and hunting for them. They became Catholics like their Brazilian bosses, the men learned Portuguese, and the residential basis for their sociopolitical organization was lost. They continued to see themselves as Kashinawa, however, because the Brazilians regarded them as *índios* or *caboclos*—not "civilized."

The building of the BR-364 highway into the state of Acre, beginning in 1970, opened up the state to land speculation and cattle ranching, with an ensuing battle for control over land between ranchers and the *seringalistas* (rubber tappers), a battle that continues. As a result of the development of an indigenous movement in Acre, some of the Brazilian Kashinawa now live on their own land within "indigenous areas" established by the Brazilian government, with bilingual schools and economic cooperatives.



U.S. Protestant missionaries began work with the Peruvian Kashinawa in 1955, resulting in the establishment of bilingual schools under the auspices of the Peruvian Ministry of Education and in the conversion of many of the Kashinawa to Protestant Christianity. Despite these acculturative influences, the Kashinawa continue to maintain much of their indigenous culture, adopting and adapting to Peruvian and Brazilian elements where useful.

### Settlements

Traditional Kashinawa villages consisted of a single large house situated in the middle of a garden near a large stream that provided water and bathing sites. Each house, made of hardwood posts and poles with a thatched roof that came to within a meter of the earthen floor, contained at least two extended families, linked by consanguinity and affinity, with a total population of 25 to 100 individuals. When they moved to the banks of larger rivers that flood seasonally, the Kashinawa adopted local Peruvian-Brazilian architecture with raised palm-bark floors and walls enclosing at least the sleeping areas. Each house provides living accommodations for a single nuclear or extended family. Small cooking huts are constructed near or attached to the house. When a new village is established, it is constructed in a new garden, with additional new gardens being made in areas cleared in the forest surrounding the village at a distance of up to one hour's walk.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Hunting and slash-and-burn horticulture, supplemented by gathering and fishing, are the basis of Kashinawa subsistence. Although horticulture provides the bulk of the diet, hunting is viewed by both males and females as the single most important economic activity because meat, the product of the hunt, is the most highly valued component of the diet. A meal requires both meat and garden products to be complete, however. The significance of meat is indicated by the words for hunger; *buni* means to be hungry in general, whereas *pinsi* indicates hunger for meat. After a large feast consisting only of vegetables and fruit, people frequently complain that they are hungry, *pinsi*.

**Industrial Arts.** The Kashinawa made all of the material objects necessary for their normal activities. All such objects are gender linked. Women spun and wove cotton into skirts, hammocks, and other textile objects used by men and made ceramic pots, water jugs, toasters, bowls, and the like. They also fashioned several types of baskets and jewelry made of seeds and teeth. Men made bows and arrows, clubs and spears, some types of baskets, canoes, wooden grinding boards and rockers, and wooden mortars and pestles, as well as various wooden objects used by women in cooking and weaving. They also made feather headdresses and all ritual attire. Stone axes and turtle-shell hoes have been replaced by steel axes and machetes, and shotguns have become the major weapon for hunting, although the Kashinawa have not completely replaced bows and arrows.

**Trade.** Historically, the Kashinawa were not involved in trade. They exchanged goods among themselves and with other villages and tribes, but such exchanges were not the

source of items new to their inventory of goods. Contact with Brazilians and Peruvians introduced trade, usually of labor for goods, within the context of debt peonage. In the second half of the twentieth century the Kashinawa have begun to sell or exchange rice and other food products and artifacts to obtain a wide range of Brazilian and Peruvian goods. A cooperative was established in one village, but it has not proven successful because most Kashinawa do not understand the market system.

**Division of Labor.** Certain tasks are defined as exclusively those of men or women. Kashinawa men hunt, protect women and children from spiritual and nonspiritual dangers, clear new garden areas from virgin forest, and assure the tranquility of their villages through their political and ritual activities. Women bear and care for children, tend and harvest gardens, cook vegetables and meat, and plant and harvest cotton. Fishing and foraging are primarily defined as men's work, but women may join in fish-poisoning expeditions and may forage on their way to or from the gardens. Chopping and carrying firewood and carrying water are primarily defined as women's work, but under certain circumstances men may assist their kinswomen in these chores.

**Land Tenure.** Land is never thought of as owned by anyone. Garden areas, hunting trails, fishing holes, and the like are frequently identified with a man but he has only rights of usufruct; others use these areas only with his permission. Although men make the gardens and build houses, ownership is vested in their wives. When a marriage is terminated, the wife keeps the house, the gardens, and the dependent children; men keep only their hammock, weapons, and other personal possessions.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Every individual is a member of one of the two patrimoieties, subdivided by gender. The male moieties are *inubakebu* and *duabakebu*; the sisters of *inubakebu* are *inanibakebu* and the sisters of *duabakebu* are *banubakebu*. A woman belongs to the group of her father's sister, and father's father's sister, and/or mother's mother. The patrimoieties are each divided into two marriage sections composed of those members of the moiety in alternating generations. *Inubakebu-inanibakebu* are members of either *awabakebu* or *kanabakebu*; *duabakebu-banubakebu* are members of *yawabakebu* or *dunubakebu*. A man is a member of the same marriage section as his father's father and son's son; a woman is a member of the same marriage section as her mother's mother and daughter's daughter. At the same time, a man's father and his son are members of the other marriage section of his moiety and a woman's father's sister and her brother's daughter are members of the other marriage section of her moiety. *Awabakebu* marry *yawabakebu* and *kanabakebu* marry *dunubakebu*. Apart from regulating marriage, the moieties function largely within the ritual context.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kashinawa kinship terminology is of the Kariera subtype of Dravidian. In Ego's generation all individuals are either siblings of the same sex (*betsa*), siblings of the opposite sex (*pui*), or cross cousins (i.e., either brothers/sisters-in-law, *chai/tsabe*, or wives/husbands, *ain/*

*bene*). Siblings and parallel cousins may also be classified as older or younger. Older brothers (*huchi*) are equated with father's father, younger brothers (*ichu*) with son's sons (male speaker) and daughter's sons (female speaker). Older sisters (*chipi*) are equated with mother's mother (actual mother's mother is called *chichi*), and younger sisters (*ichu*) are equated with son's daughters (male speakers) and daughter's daughters (female speakers). Males refer to older female cross cousins as *xanu*, the term used for father's mother; females refer to older male cross cousins as *chaita*, the term also used for mother's father.

Within the first ascending generation, all individuals are either fathers (*epa*), father's sisters (*achi* [male Ego] or *yaya* [female Ego]), mothers (*ewa*), or mother's brothers (*kuka*). Within the first descending generation, sons and daughters are called *bake*, although men may refer to their sons as *beden*. Men refer to their sister's sons (also daughters' husbands) as *dais*, the same term women use to refer to their brothers' sons and daughters' husbands. Men refer to their sister's daughters (also sons' wives) as *babawan*, the same term women use to refer to their brothers' daughters and sons' wives. All grandchildren may also be called by the term *baba*.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The ideal is for two male double first cross cousins to exchange sisters in marriage (i.e., each man marries a woman who is both his mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's son and each woman is married to a man who is both her mother's brother's son and father's sister's son. Since the ideal rarely obtains, a first cross cousin is preferred over more distant members of the linked marriage section. Sexual relations with persons other than those in the appropriate marriage section are considered incestuous, but only incest with primary kin is prohibited. Polygyny is considered desirable by most Kashinawa, both male and female, but only seventeen of sixty-four males were in polygynous unions in Peru between 1955 and 1968; one man had four wives, one had three, and fifteen had two wives. The ideal polygynous marriage is for a man to marry two or more actual sisters.

**Domestic Unit.** The Kashinawa recognize the nuclear family or, in the case of polygynous unions, a woman and her children and the husband she shares with another woman, as the basic building block of the society. But for social, economic, and political purposes, this unit has little autonomy because it almost always operates as part of a larger unit, the extended family. Postmarital residence is with the parents of the wife; the husband is obligated to assist his parents-in-law and support them politically and economically. A man makes a garden for each of his wives and provides each of them with game from the hunt. His wives cook some of the meat but distribute much of it to their mothers, sisters, and other kin. In polygynous families, each wife has her own cooking hearth and utensils and prepares food for herself, her children, and her husband. Generosity and sharing of food is a hallmark of Kashinawa sociality. Men and, to a lesser extent, women share work activities and the products of those efforts. Thus, although the nuclear family is basic to the produc-

tion process, the extended family and, to a degree, the entire community are the basic unit of consumption.

**Inheritance** Men and women own the tools they make, use, and/or exchange. They are expected to be generous with these possessions during their lifetime, but at death their possessions are buried with them; steel axes, machetes, knives, and shotguns are often exempt from this practice. Names are inherited; a man gets his names from his father's father, a woman from her mother's mother.

**Socialization.** Children are socialized within the context of the extended family-household. Although parents, particularly the mother, have primary responsibility for training children, the maternal grandparents and paternal grandparents, if resident in the village, play a significant role in socialization, as do older sisters, who have considerable responsibility for assisting their mothers with child care. Corporal punishment is rarely used; it usually occurs when a parent has become exasperated with a child's intransigence. An adult who strikes a child (or even another adult) is thought to have committed an offense worse than the one that precipitated the physical attack.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** In addition to the moieties and marriage sections, the most fundamental unit in Kashinawa society is the village (*mae*). The ideal village, *mae kuin*, consists of two extended families related through the marriage of two male cross cousins who have exchanged sisters in marriage and whose sons have exchanged sisters in marriage, plus other kin who have attached themselves to this "atom of social organization." Ideally, the village is simultaneously the basic social, economic, and political unit in the society.

**Political Organization.** Kashinawa society is highly egalitarian. No person may give an order and be assured that it will be obeyed. Should the order be disregarded, there is little that one can do to get compliance. Cooperation is based on good will and conviction of the rightness of a person's expressed wishes. Although men express their superiority over women, women acknowledge men's right to formal control of politics and ritual but never give assent to male assertions of superiority. Men operate in the public sphere of ritual and politics; women control their households and economic activities. Each village has at least one man whose leadership is acknowledged because of his knowledge and skills. These headmen have no coercive authority; they lead by example and persuasion. Although linked by kinship, marriage, moieties, and marriage sections, villages are autonomous; there is no political organization that unites them.

**Social Control.** Social controls are largely informal. Norms of behavior are widely shared, and deviations from them result in rebukes (usually indirect), shaming, gossip, and ostracism. Parents often "look through" the misbehavior and tantrums of a child, acting as if the child is not there.

**Conflict.** Disputes are usually settled by close kin of the parties. Raised voices or resorts to physical violence are sources of great discomfort, and close kin immediately try to separate and cool down the parties and resolve the mat-

ter. Where such mediation does not work, the problem is discussed within the men's circle with advice from the women's circle sitting nearby. Myths are used as statements of "legal" precedents on such occasions. Traditionally, the Kashinawa raided other tribes to avenge deaths resulting from physical or magical attacks or to discourage encroachment into their hunting territories, but only those informants who were in their 50s in 1955 could remember such raids during their youth.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditionally, the Kashinawa were animists, believing that all of nature, including humans, has an invisible, spiritual component called *yushin*. Humans have the right to use the visible, physical part of the world. Spirits use the invisible part. Spirits, like humans, can be capricious and playful or mean and spiteful. They can be seen during dreams, while unconscious, and while under the influence of the hallucinogen *nishi pae*, a brew made of the vine *Banisteriopsis* and a species of the shrub *Psychotria*. Men imbibe a pint or more of the brew in order to communicate with the spirits and learn the causes of illness or of matters occurring elsewhere in time and/or space that will have an impact on their lives. The teachings of Catholic and Protestant missionaries have introduced new religious ideas but have not eliminated these traditional beliefs.

**Religious Practitioners.** Although all individuals could and sometimes did interact with spirits, only shamans could do so with relative impunity. They served as mediators between members of the community and the spirit world.

**Ceremonies.** The Kashinawa have three primary ceremonies: initiation rites (*nixpu pimai*), fertility rites (*kachanawa*), and the headman's ritual (*chidin*). Initiation rites are a monthlong series of rituals held every four or five years during the "green corn moon" (between the late December full moon and the full moon of January) to initiate children between the ages of 9 and 12 into adulthood. Children, who are considered adults following the rites, are permitted to participate in the other rituals and are expected to begin to take on adult responsibilities. Fertility rites are held one or more times a year to attract the spirits of fertility to the village and to new gardens. The headman's ritual is held whenever tensions within the village threaten the social fabric; it emphasizes the unity of the men.

**Medicine.** The Kashinawa have no extensive knowledge of the efficaciousness of herbal medicines (*bata dau*, "sweet medicine"). Some men, *huni bata dauya*, have special knowledge and provide herbal treatment when asked. Illnesses not responsive to herbal remedies are thought to be caused by spirits and may be treated by a shaman (*huni muka dauya*, "man with bitter medicine").

**Death and Afterlife.** At death, some of a person's spirits die with him or her. One relives the life of the individual and ultimately dissipates into the mist in the forest. Others join the spirits of the ancestors, occasionally returning to visit the living.

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KENNETH M. KENSINGER

## **Ka'wiari**

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ETHNONYMS: Cabiyari, Cabiyary, Kabillary, Kabiaryi, Kauiyari, Kawillary

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The listed ethnonyms are generalized names given the Ka'wiari by Whites. Although there is no translation for it in their own language, "Ka'wiari" is the name by which they refer to themselves. In the language of their Taiwano neighbors, however, a possibly pejorative translation designates them "children of the crab." Apart from using the generic "our people" ("Ichumari"), the Ka'wiari use the ritual name "people of the anaconda A'sha," stemming from the belief that they are descendants of the water snake. The social identification of an individual is established by the ascription of mythical descent from a clan, the name of which is used as an eponym. The toponym of the clan ancestor's place of origin could also be used to designate a social group sharing this filiation. Every individual has a ritual name and a nickname. Ritual names are inherited every fourth generation and are secret.

**Location.** In the region of the Colombian Vaupés, the Ka'wiari live along the Río Cananari (an affluent of the Río Apaporis), as well as near its mouth—that is, at approximately 1° N and 71° W. There are also some members of the group scattered along the Río Miriti-Paraná, a tributary of the Río Caquetá, in the territory of the Yucuna. According to the Köppen system, this area has an Af climate. It is characterized by humid tropical forest with abundant rainfall (350 centimeters annually) and a relatively high temperature (26° C). Rains decrease somewhat in the dry seasons from December to February and from July to August.

**Demography.** In 1976 the Ka'wiari population was estimated to be approximately 100 individuals, exclusive of the small segments on the Miriti-Paraná, who moved there in former times.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Ka'wiari speak a language of Arawakan affiliation, that is, a variety of Eastern Proto-Newiki (Waltz and Wheeler 1972). In contrast to various neighboring groups that are multilingual, the Ka'wiari speak only their own language.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Uaupés or Vaupés region, first mentioned by Perez de Quesada (1538) and Pérez von Hutten (1541), was at the time virtually inhabited by the "Boape" Indians. Systematic expeditions to the Rio Negro in Brazil were only begun toward the middle of the seventeenth century, a time when the first mission villages and fortresses were established (S. José do Rio Negro, Taruma). In the eighteenth century the eagerness of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns to establish economic control over the area encouraged expeditions and settlements to defend the border zones. At the end of that century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Luso-Brazilian expeditions reached as far as the Uaupés, fostering the establishment of haciendas, animal farms, agricultural production, manufacturing, and handicrafts. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, centers of trade have grown. Because of abuses by missionaries and civilians, the Indians began to manifest discontent, and several messianic movements succeeded one another. From the end of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth centuries, the extractors of balata, chicle, and rubber treated the indigenous population ruthlessly. Toward the middle of the twentieth century, the Amazon area began to be settled by Andean colonists. The cultivation of coca and the extraction of gold have also had considerable impact on the Indians in the area. Only recently have efforts been made to legally recognize ethnic territories, and health and education programs have been gradually implemented by the Colombian government in the Vaupés region.

There is daily exchange of goods, women, and rituals between the Ka'wiari and their neighbors: the Barasana to the southwest, the Taiwano to the west, and the Tatuyo to the northwest. Horticultural groups of the Colombian Vaupés area share common structural elements (e.g., horticulture, fishing, hunting, gathering, segmentary social organization, partilineality, virilocality, Dravidian kinship terminology, and prescriptive symmetrical marriage alliances). Social distance between ethnic groups is based on descent from a particular Anaconda, traversing a specific ancestral river, and having a particular territory, language, mythology, type of shamanic exorcism, and repertoire of songs and dances.

### *Settlements*

The settlements are dispersed along the rivers. The traditional residence unit was the *maloca*, a large rectangular communal house (about 10 by 15 meters) covered with a two-sided thatched roof. The interior space is divided in half—that is, a feminine part toward the back and a mas-

culine part toward the front. "Residents" occupy the former and "visitors" the latter. Ideally, the hut is oriented according to the movement of the sun. In 1976 the average number of people living in a residence unit was ten. When gathering wild fruit or on prolonged hunting excursions, temporary camps are built in the forest. Since 1982, when a school for Indians was built at the mouth of the Río Cananari, houses of nuclear or composite families have tended to be concentrated in the village of Villa Gladis, although a communal house still functions as the center of daily life and ceremonial gatherings.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Economic activity is based on shifting cultivation and the slash-and-burn system. Small plots of land (1 to 3 hectares) are planted with bitter manioc as well as other tubers and fruit. This crop cultivation is complemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering. Surplus that sporadically accrues is redistributed among relatives.

**Industrial Arts.** Items of material culture are made of basketry, wood, bark, ceramics, and calabashes, although the latter tend to be replaced by Western products. Blowguns, bows, arrows, and wooden fish traps are also produced.

**Trade.** Intergroup trade is limited and restricted to products the primary material of which is not obtainable in the area, for example manioc graters. A few products are traded in the White market for shotguns, machetes, axes, knives, hammocks, aluminum pots, clothes, battery radios, and watches.

**Division of Labor.** The division of labor is according to age and sex. Women's tasks include planting, tending, and harvesting the field; gathering wild foods; processing food; and making pottery. Men's tasks include felling and burning the land for planting, fishing, hunting, basketry, and woodworking. There is no specialization of crafts, although it is recognized that some artisans are better than others. Tree cutting in preparation of fields, peccary drives, and fishing with *barbasco* poison are collective male activities.

**Land Tenure.** Communities are concentrated around places from which their ancestors emerged. According to the Ka'wiari, the Cananari and part of the Apaporis were bequeathed to them by their ancestral father; this is the river axis of their present-day territory, although they are not its exclusive occupants. Toward the headwaters of the river there are new Cubeo settlements, and in the village of Villa Gladis the Ka'wiari share space with Taiwano, Barasana, and Tatuyo. The area forms part of the Vaupés Reserve, a legal mechanism by which the state recognizes the right of several Vaupés groups to collective territorial ownership of the Comisaría.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Ka'wiari are composed of clans of shallow genealogical depth. Each clan is made up of one or several patrilineages whose members recognize one another by their filiation with a living or recently deceased ancestor. The lineage is made up of nuclear families, which function as the basic units of production. The

Ka'wiari include themselves in a phratry that includes the Bara, sometimes the Tukano proper, and the Yuruti, whom they call "brothers." They consider the Yukuna uterine relatives ("mother's children"). This set of groups forms an exogamic unit. Among their allies, the Ka'wiari distinguish segments of the Taiwano and the Barasana as long-term affines. Together, this set of consanguineal relatives, uterine relatives, customary allies, and actual allies constitutes the kinship universe. Filiation is patrilineal. Among phratric relatives, kinship terms differentiate the Bara as "older brothers" and the Yuruti and Tukano as "younger brothers." Clans relate to each other through their respective ancestors as "older brothers" and "younger brothers" and according to their identification with certain bodily parts and segments of the ancestral Anaconda (head, body, intestines, tail), which gives them the right to exercise certain specialized functions.

**Kinship Terminology.** Ka'wiari kinship terminology is of the Dravidian type. Genealogical depth does not exceed five generations—Ego's generation and those of two ascending and two descending generations. Sex is marked by relevant suffixes. There are variations in kin terms of address and reference, and individualized terms are used by each sex for certain categories of relatives. Terminologically consanguineal kin are differentiated according to the order of birth (anterior or posterior), but this is not the case with affines. Terminologically consanguineal kin in Ego's generation are divided into older and younger. Besides differentiating between cross cousins and parallel cousins, a terminological distinction is also made between certain uterine kin called "mother's children," who are children of potential wives and who have married or will marry members of groups different from Ego's.

#### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Postmarital residence is virilocal. Marriage is prescriptive. Kinship vocabulary designates the category of possible mates within opposite lines of filiation and implies sister exchange among affinal groups. There is a preference for marrying bilateral cross cousins; however, supplementary formulas also present the possibility of marriage between more distant cross cousins, deferred marriage, and marriage with allies. Marriage is prohibited with real and classificatory consanguineal relatives, "mother's children," and between different generations. Couples separate most frequently because of the lack of progeny. Infidelity is also a cause for divorce, in which case the man claims paternity over his children.

**Domestic Unit.** The traditional domestic unit was constituted by a group of nuclear families of a patrilineage and, possibly, a number of other consanguineal and affinal relatives living in the house. Presently the nuclear family is the key domestic unit. Where communal houses still exist, they are distributed around their respective family hearths along lateral sides of the building. The new residential pattern is the mission village, in which nuclear or composite families live in houses of close proximity.

**Inheritance.** Land is the society's basic form of property. It is passed on from father to son, along with the knowledge of ancestral places and the origin myths that legiti-

mize it. Landownership is made evident through its cultivation by a man and his ancestors before him. Items of paraphernalia and ancestral flutes and trumpets are the ritual heirlooms of the lineage.

**Socialization.** Cultural learning takes place through observation, imitation, and comparison, with norms of behavior transmitted within the domestic unit. At about the age of puberty, acquiring knowledge of myths and ancestral narratives, which exemplify, in denotative or metaphorical ways, forms of relating to the society and the environment, becomes an important aspect of the process of enculturation.

#### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Political Organization.** According to the sequential order of birth, adscription of rank among clans is associated with the corporal segmentation of the ancestral Anaconda. Each segment considers itself affiliated to a specific role: chiefs, singers/dancers, shamans, warriors, or "workers." This adscription, which can be observed only in ritual and in the relationship between different ethnic groups, apparently corresponded to the internal distribution of the territory in which the older members lived at the mouth of a river and the younger ones lived at its headwaters. In daily life, interpersonal relations, mediated by signs of respect between relatives, do not express subordination. In the community it is the "owner of the house" or the "captain" of the village who, more than exercising real authority, organizes, animates, and coordinates daily activities.

**Social Control.** Religious and cultural beliefs regarding the order of society and the environment, as recorded in myth, are the referents that legitimize individual behavior. Rumor and scolding are direct mechanisms of social control. Interpersonal disputes, grudges about material goods, and quarrels concerning a woman's infidelity are solved relatively quickly. In serious cases or in instances of repeated offenses, the use of "witchcraft" may end in the illness and death of one of the antagonists.

**Conflict.** According to both myth and current lore, when the Anaconda established the internal social order, territorial distribution, and adscription of specialized functions, one segment of people usurped primogeniture and had itself recognized as "older" than two earlier-born segments. The usurpers thereby initiated a sociopolitical dispute that runs counter to the ideal order. Although myths record intertribal wars, these are not waged today. Conflicts with Whites, because of the overexploitation of the indigenous labor force, are latent.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The ordering of the universe is associated with the mythical cycle of the Mujnuyi and Kua, primordial ancestors who ordered the cosmos and appropriated the natural world. The origin of human beings is related to the mythical cycle of the ancestral Anaconda, which recounts the origin of humankind and the structuring of society. At the beginning, from the base at the eastern end of the world, the Anaconda went up the fluvial axis of the universe. It moved to the center of the world, the Río Apaporis, where it gave birth to humanity.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman (jaguar) is the most important religious practitioner in the sacred life of the Ka'wiari. He is the keeper of knowledge about the order of the cosmos, the environment, beings and spirits of the jungle, and of the community's treasure of myths and history. In ritual, he is in charge of communicating with ancestral spirits. Other functions, like that of the singer-dancer, still exist.

**Ceremonies.** Collective ceremonies may be held at the beginning of the gathering of jungle products, the foraging for animals or plants, the harvesting of cultivated products, or, on occasion, the clearing of the forest for new fields. The most important ceremony was associated with male initiation, known in the Vaupés area as *yurupari*. In the course of the event, initiates were introduced for the first time to the ancestral flutes and trumpets. Females and uninitiated boys were excluded from this ceremony.

**Arts.** Ritual paraphernalia combines elaborate feather headdresses, a necklace with a cylindrical quartz pendant, a belt with wildcat teeth, a loincloth exquisitely ornamented with red vegetable dye, and pendants on arms and legs tied to ribbons woven with *cumare* fiber. Musical instruments include wind and percussion instruments such as ancestral flutes, trumpets, panpipes, ocarinas, animal shells, stamping tubes, rattles, and rattles of dried seeds. Body painting is done with black and red vegetal dyes.

**Medicine.** Illness is a latent state that demands constant shamanic intervention. It may be caused by seasonal conditions, events in a person's life cycle, violation of social or environmental norms, or aggression and sorcery by third persons. Although each individual has elemental knowledge of shamanism, shamanic curing is the prerogative of the practitioner whose prophylactic and therapeutic practices include exorcisms and blowing on food and objects. Shamans have the ability to potentiate, reconstitute, and preserve benevolent powers.

**Death and Afterlife.** Disposing of the dead is a secular act; there is no special ritual associated with it. The deceased is brought to the house and buried under his or her hammock, together with the utensils of his or her daily use. Women weep and join the men in recounting the virtues of the deceased. Dead members of the group are reincarnated in their descendants, who every fourth generation carry their names.

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FRANÇOIS CORREA  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Kogi

ETHNONYMS: Arouaques-Kaggaba, Cágaba, Cogi, Cogui, Kágaba, Kauguía, Kögga, Pebo

### Orientation

**Identification.** The self-name "Kogi" means "jaguar"—the Kogi trace their origin to mythical jaguar beings. The term "Kágaba" means "people," whereas "Pebo" means "friend."

**Location.** The Kogi live in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, in northern Colombia, inhabiting mainly the northern slopes of the valleys of the Palomino, San Miguel, and Garavito rivers, with a few settlements on the eastern and western slopes. They practice agricultural transhumance on these slopes, which range from about 500 to about 2,500 meters in elevation.

**Demography.** Exact demographic figures are unavailable; in 1988 the Kogi population was estimated at about 4,000.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Kogi language, together with those of their immediate neighbors, the Ika and Sanha, belongs to a subgroup of the Chibchan Family.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Kogi claim to be the descendants of the ancient Tairona Indians who, in prehistoric and early historic times, inhabited parts of the northern and western flanks of the Sierra Nevada and who had created a society that, at the time of the Spanish Conquest, was more advanced than most of the chiefdoms of interior Colombia. Some archaeological and mythological evidence seems to support this claim. In the early sixteenth century the narrow coastal strip lying to the north and northwest of the Sierra Nevada was inhabited by warlike tribes that offered fierce

resistance to the Spanish invaders. Even after the founding of the town of Santa Marta in 1526 and the establishment of an uneasy peace, local rebellions occurred frequent. Only during the violent Spanish campaign of 1599–1600 were the Indians finally subdued. Their fields and villages were burned and sacked, chieftains and priests were executed, and those who survived, now decimated by force of arms and spreading diseases, fled into the mountains. During the seventeenth century these scattered remnants of different ethnicities reorganized in the more inaccessible valleys and began to form three or four groups, each with its own, but related, language. During the same century, the name "Tairona" was introduced by Spanish chroniclers as that of the ancient Indians of the Santa Marta region, the archaeological remains of whom are known to this day under this designation. It is to these semimythical and archaeological Tairona that the Kogi refer in their traditions.

Although the Kogi had been exposed to sporadic missionary influences since early Conquest times, the first permanent mission stations were founded only during the eighteenth century. Many Kogi became nominal Catholics but otherwise continued to resist changes in their religious and cosmological beliefs. During the last centuries, however, the Kogi have adopted many old-world food plants together with iron tools, some cattle, domestic fowl, and trousers for men, a selection carefully controlled by the native priesthood. In Colombia, Kogi culture is related to that of the ancient Muica of the Bogotá highlands and to that of the present-day Tunebo Indians. The possibility of ancient Mesoamerican influences in Kogi culture cannot be dismissed.

### Settlements

Kogi villages, consisting of five to more than fifty circular, single-family houses, are not permanently inhabited but are social and ritual centers where people gather only at certain times of the year or for short overnight stays while on the way to their fields. People spend most of their time in scattered homesteads spread over the mountain flanks at different altitudes. A family might own up to five or more houses, each one located in a small field clinging to a slope or nestling in a narrow bottomland area. All houses have one door, are windowless, and have a dirt floor; the diameter of an average house is 3 meters. The walls are traditionally made of plaited, flattened canes or, more recently, of wattle and daub. In the cold highlands the walls of some houses are built up of rough stones. The conical roofs of all houses are thatched with mountain grass.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** At the time of the Spanish Conquest, some native groups of the Sierra Nevada constructed terraces for agricultural purposes, with retaining walls of boulders and stones, the remains of which can still be seen in many parts of present-day Kogi territory. At that time the staple food was maize, but when, during the following centuries, creole peasants pushed the Indians higher up into the mountains, the Kogi had to readapt; maize cultivation declined and was largely

replaced by plantains, squashes, and tree crops. Game has become very scarce; people collect some beetles and river crabs and occasionally hunt birds or small rodents.

**Industrial Arts.** Kogi material culture is extremely simple. The men weave coarse cotton cloth for the entire family, but spinning may be done by both sexes. The women weave cotton or agave fibers into small carrying bags for personal articles; basket weaving is almost unknown. Household items such as benches, string hammocks, open-net bags, cooking vessels, gourd water jugs, gourd spoons, and wooden mortars are of coarse manufacture.

**Trade.** Trade relations have been going on for centuries. The Kogi manufacture primitive sugarcane presses and exchange or sell bricks of raw sugar to the Colombian lowland peasants who, in turn, provide the Indians with bush knives, cast-iron vessels, salt, sun-dried fish, steel needles, and similar items. In recent times some Kogi families have been growing coffee for sale in the lowlands. Wage labor is practically unknown.

**Division of Labor.** Both men and women work in the fields, help in house construction, and spin cotton thread. In other activities, however, a marked division along sex lines is observed. Weaving is a strictly male activity, and so are pottery making and coca planting. Carrying water, cooking, and laundering are female tasks, whereas the men procure firewood, clean the village premises, build bridges, and maintain the mountain trails, the fences, and the roof thatch. Most ritual activities are carried out by men, and women are forbidden to enter the temple or other ceremonial enclosures.

**Land Tenure.** All cultivated lands are privately owned. Hunting and gathering territories are communal property, but occasionally some wild-growing fruit trees have individual owners. Several years ago the Colombian government established a large Indian territory in the Sierra Nevada and began to buy up many small farms owned by encroaching creole settlers and returning them to the Indians. Lately, the Indians have been laying claim to many archaeological sites, which they consider to be a sacred heritage from Tairona times, and problems are arising between tradition-minded tribal authorities and government agencies in charge of prehistoric monuments.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The basic structural principle is parallel descent, by which a son follows his father's lineage and a daughter follows her mother's. Some of these lineages lay claim to lordly or priestly status; some claim to be direct descendants of the Tairona, whereas others admit to being of mixed origin or trace their lineages to historical or mythical groups that were not related to the Tairona. Among men, membership in a certain lineage is a matter of pride; women sometimes ignore the names and attributes of their lineages. Inter-marriage with Hispanic or Black elements is nonexistent, but rape and concubinage, probably going back to Conquest and colonial times, cannot be ignored in the present genetic constitution of the Kogi.

**Kinship Terminology.** Traditional terminology seems to follow the Hawaiian system.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Patri- and matrilineal are ranked and named; each descent group has a mythical ancestor and place of origin and is associated with a certain "male" or "female" animal species. The traditional ideal was a marriage between the male predator and the female prey. During the last three or four generations, these marriage rules have been largely ignored, although most active priests continue to insist upon them. Polygyny is uncommon but, in view of the frequent scarcity of convenient, young, marriageable women, a young man might marry a woman considerably older than himself and later on marry a young girl; the first wife stays on as a "cook."

**Domestic Unit.** Nuclear families are the rule. In Kogi homesteads, husband and wife traditionally occupy separate huts, but in the village the men will pass the night in the temple dancing, chanting, or discussing village affairs.

**Inheritance.** Fields, houses, and domestic animals are passed from father to son and from mother to daughter. Tairona heirlooms, lime containers, and other ritual objects are male property; bone needles, cooking vessels, or necklaces of Tairona beads are female property.

**Socialization.** Child training is very strict, much emphasis being put upon obedience, collaboration, food sharing, respect for elders, self-control, and silence. Aggressiveness is severely punished, as is any manifestation of infantile sexuality. Physical or verbal contact with the father is uncommon during infancy.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Hierarchical structures are very important in mythical thought and in the daily appreciation of social and natural phenomena. Esoteric knowledge carries great prestige. Earthly possessions are of no importance, the Kogi value system being antimaterialistic and, at the same time, exalting the moral and ethical qualities of their religious and intellectual elite. The entire sociopolitical orientation is based upon their concepts of occupying the "center" of the world, of being the "elder brothers" of all humankind, and of leading an exemplary life. These cultural truths are constantly being extolled as the leading principles of Kogi society, family life, and individual behavior.

**Political Organization.** Remnants of the Spanish colonial *cabildo* (village council) system are combined with the authority of native priests. Civil and religious authority have been closely linked since early colonial times and, possibly, before that. Some priestly lineages claim to be the overlords of certain regions and are respected as such. Most family and village affairs are taken before the local *comisario* or priest, but some cases are taken before the Colombian authorities in one of the neighboring lowland towns.

**Social Control.** Kogi society condemns all manifestations of aggressiveness: murder, arson, rape, and vandalism are almost unknown. Petty thefts do occur and drunken fistfights are fairly frequent. The Kogi are a quarrelsome people; they like to indulge in long-winded discussions of personal or community misgivings. A major control system

is provided by the native institution of public confession, which covers a wide range of offenses mainly relating to sexual matters or interpersonal hostilities. Punishments consist of beatings, short-term hard-labor tasks, or religious penitence. The main threat for misbehavior is supernatural punishment by illness.

**Conflict.** Kogi traditions speak of many conflict situations in the past, some of them going back to the Spanish Conquest, whereas others refer to past intertribal warfare. There has been no tribal revolt against established authority since 1600, and the Kogi pride themselves on their peaceable attitudes in the face of outside pressures or occasional interpersonal tensions. Local nativistic movements, mainly in the 1940s, were of little consequence, and, at present, sporadic revivalistic movements have only a few followers. The concepts of opposition and alliance constitute recurrent themes in Kogi cosmology, myth, and philosophy; however, in spite of apparent dualistic classifications and categories, the concept of "balance" is predominant.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The creation myth describes the process of embryogenesis in a cosmic womb, paralleled by the unfolding of individual consciousness and the first structuring of the universe. The creator-goddess is the Mother, a self-existent and initially self-fecundating Magna Mater. Next to the Mother are her sons, who are the Lords of the Universe; together with their divine sister-spouses, they are in charge of all aspects of nature and of people's behavior. The Mother also created Sun and Moon, to establish a precise cosmic clockwork order. There also exist a large number of male or female spirit beings, rain and thunder beings, animal spirits, and others. The three basic dimensions of divine creation are: a nine-layered universe, a nine-tiered temple, and a nine-month-phased human womb. Religious activities refer mainly to fertility and to the need to achieve balance between the opposing forces and tendencies in nature and human minds.

**Religious Practitioners.** Kogi priests must undergo a long and very exacting training period, during which they must develop a strong and dominant personality of high ethical standards together with a broad understanding of political and ecological issues. Priestly activities are centered upon temples that, apart from being sun-watching stations, symbolize the womb of the Mother.

**Ceremonies.** The annual ritual cycle is marked by the four solstitial and equinoctial ceremonies, dates that coincide with the onset of the rainy or dry season. Masked dances or minor ceremonies are celebrated to honor a host of spirit beings throughout the year. Local priests are in charge of all rituals of the individual's life cycle. Private ritual actions are very frequent, consisting of offerings to the Mother or to the ancestors, public confessions, dietary or sexual restrictions, solitary pilgrimages to sacred sites, and the learning of dances, songs, and traditions. During some of the major ceremonies, priests wear ancient Tairona ornaments such as carved masks, ritual objects of polished and carved stone or wood, and pectorals or wristlets of gold or *tumbaga* (tombac).



**Arts.** Singing and dancing are the principal Kogi artistic expressions and are highly formalized. Rhetoric, the recital of cosmogonic myths accompanied by prescribed stances and gestures, is an important art form. Applied decorative arts are nonexistent except for some colored stripes on clothes or carrying bags, the function of which is lineage identification.

**Medicine.** Minor Kogi priests, who have a lower, shamanic status as healers, have a good knowledge of herbal medicine. Many diseases, however, are attributed to malevolent spirit beings, vindictive ancestors, or social dysfunctions; in these cases the priests, elders, or family members prescribe adequate offerings or confession.

**Death and Afterlife.** At death the soul-stuff returns to the Mother's womb because life is but a brief period between two intrauterine states. Earthly annihilation is followed by the soul's wandering to the Land of Death, where it is accused, judged, and punished. The soul then proceeds, over one of the many trails assigned to it, to its final destiny.

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GERARDO REICHEL-DOLMATOFF

## Krikati/Pukobye

ETHNONYMS: Krikati: Caracaty, Gaviões, Křikateye, Křikati, Pökateye (most recent self-designation); Pukobye: Irobmkateye (most recent self-designation), Paicogês, Pïocobgêz, Pöpeykateye, Pukobyé

### Orientation

**Identification.** There is no common term used by Krikati or Pukobye for themselves; it is only outsiders who lump them together. The set of names they both use is, for Krikati, "Poökateye" (people of the savanna) and for Pukobye, "Irobmkateye" (people of the forest). The term "Pukobye" has become functionally moribund, although it is recognized by some older people. By contrast, the Krikati still use the term "Krikati" as their most common self-

designation. Village names are another source of identification used in casual conversation, even when the reference village no longer exists.

**Location.** In west-central Maranhão, along the headwaters of the Rio Pindaré, the Krikati have two villages near the Brazilian town of Montes Altos, and the Pukobye have three villages near the town of Amarantes. The Krikati are now residing in the northeastern part of their original territory; the Pukobye are migrants into this area from their original homeland to the east.

**Demography.** The 1919 government census and the first visit by an anthropologist (Curt Nimuendajú) in 1929 suggest a population of about 300 for each of these tribes. By the 1960s their numbers had diminished to about 200 people in each tribe, their smallest recorded population. After the visit of the first medical team and establishment of government posts, each tribe increased to just under 300 by the mid-1970s, and by the mid-1980s, following the installation of well water, to almost 350.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Krikati and Pukobye are dialects of Timbira, which is a branch of the Gê Language Stock. There is no satisfactory basis on which to characterize these dialects as more similar to each other than to that of any other Timbira group, except for changes that must be occurring through contacts and intermarriages during recent generations.

### History and Cultural Relations

The names of these tribes appear for the first time in records of the nineteenth century, during which period the Timbira tribes were pacified and reduced in number by war and disease. The first mention of the Pukobye locates them east of their present territory, near the Rio Grajáú. The Krikati were first situated near the Rio Tocantins, to the west of their present site. Protracted conflict with a rancher in the 1920s led to the abandonment of the village of Canto da Aldeia and to a period in which they attached themselves to Brazilian homesteads or lived as isolated family groups before reuniting again by 1935 in a village called Itaboquinha. That village was also abandoned after many died in an epidemic. In the early 1960s they united again in their present location. Kindred feelings do exist between individual Krikati and Pukobye, but the social stance of each group is to mute their ancestral diversity and to emphasize locality as the important criterion of tribal identity.

### Settlements

Krikati and Pukobye, as do all Timbira, position their houses in a circle, with a front door facing the village center and a rear door toward the cookyard area and bush. Multiple villages and even double rings of houses are said by them to have once existed in each of these tribes. In this century, no more than three villages have been known to exist at the same time. One is the principal village, which houses the majority of the population and in which the community ceremonies take place. Both tribes prefer places that are higher in elevation than the surrounding countryside and relatively clear of vegetation. In historic times they have chosen sites far from large rivers and, since

midcentury, they have had easy access to roads. The relative placement of houses and their residents is an indicator of social and political alignments—as people's situations change, houses are rearranged to conform to the new social reality. In about 1970 government agents were stationed permanently in the main villages, and a set of special-purpose buildings surrounded by barbed wire (the agent's residence, a clinic/nurse's residence, a school, and a store) were erected. These make up a large arc of the village inner circle; from the time of their construction a double ring of houses has existed. In Krikati and Pukobye house building there is now more emphasis on adobe and mud-brick walls in place of frond.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Horticulture based on slash-and-burn techniques, the gathering of wild-plant foods, hunting, and fishing are the traditional and still-important food sources. The aboriginal Timbira emphasis on potatoes of several varieties, as well as on sweet and bitter manioc (in the form of giant, leaf-wrapped pies cooked in earth ovens), is still evidenced by the particular use of these crops in ceremonial contexts. However, rice and farinha (a form of manioc, grated and cooked to a dry, coarse meal) have become the most important foods in terms of quantity and storability. Other crops include peanuts, squashes, maize, melons, beans, cotton, *urucú* (for red body paint), and historic additions of sugarcane, bananas, *caroa* (a fiber for cordage), tobacco, and marijuana. Game animals include armadillos, deer, coatis, peccaries, anteaters, sloths, monkeys, lizards, bats, and many birds. Certain domestic animals, particularly pigs and chickens, have become important, especially as the wild game in the area becomes scarce. Dogs are used in hunting. Grubs found in palm nuts may be eaten or used for their fatty content as a cosmetic base. *Buriti*, babassu, and *bacaba* palms provide nuts or fruits as well as the most important fronds used in basketry and in house construction. Other gathered fruits include the *piquí*, *mangaba*, *caja*, *bacuri*, cashew (nut and fruit), and the historically introduced mango.

Individuals or families sell their labor to Brazilian farmers, especially to harvest and process manioc into farinha. There is economic reciprocity to a small degree between Indians and some individuals of the surrounding Brazilian community. Commercial transactions predominate in the economic relationship between members of these ethnic communities and are fraught with foreseeable clashes. Krikati and Pukobye have a concept of "payment" that is invoked between all except very close kin, for compensation of economic loss or in cases of social misconduct. Such payments can now be made in cash but are still more commonly made in goods.

**Industrial Arts.** The focus of technological skills is on basketry. These include many kinds of containers, flexible and rigid, for transport and storage of food and goods; a tubular manioc press; strainers; mats for sleeping; and ceremonial paraphernalia. Basketry techniques consist principally of interlacing, with some weaving and twining. In the late twentieth century coiled/sewn baskets are being produced commercially. Cotton is used mainly for twined hammocks

(the Krikati and Pukobye are the only Timbira who make cotton or twined hammocks) and for a number of items of personal decoration used in ceremonies. The technique of producing decorative cordage—square in cross-section—is in decline. Featherwork is mostly restricted to the embellishment of larger artifacts. The macaw is increasingly scarce, and the traditional men's headdress, requiring its long tail feathers, is now rare. Woodwork continues in the form of hunting bows (now increasingly embellished with woven cover work and feathers), ceremonial staffs, and spoons. Wood, as well as cattle horns and gourds, is used for several kinds of wind instruments. The Krikati and Pukobye have never made pottery.

**Trade.** Pukobye have sole access to *guarumã* (a vine used in baskets), *scleria* seeds (used for beads), and a type of palm used for bowstring cordage. These raw materials, as well as the finished products made from them, are important trade items.

**Division of Labor.** Men clear the forest for the family gardens; both women and men plant, and women harvest. Groups of related women or families go on fruit-gathering expeditions. Men hunt and fish, although women and men go together to drug fish for several days at a time during the dry season. Women do the cotton work, and men work with fronds, wood, and feathers. The different food- and artifact-production tasks are thus ideologically associated with gender, providing for the dramatic effect of role reversals in ceremonial contexts. In practice, informal exceptions exist in almost every activity and are met with minimal comment.

**Land Tenure.** It is use rights that matter; individual plot ownership is not long term. Conflicts over the use of arable land arise only with neighboring Brazilian settlers. Demarcation of reservation lands has been the most important issue of the last two decades and is still unresolved even as the area fills up with squatter settlements.

### Kinship

**Kinship Groups and Descent.** The descent principle is weak, in view of the importance of locality. The kindred in a given house or house cluster is variable and changes frequently. Descent is bilateral and extends as well to cases of marriage between Krikati and Pukobye. In cases of mixed-tribal parentage, the issue of identity is settled by location after marriage. Thus, the flexibility of the bilateral choice also functions to maintain the boundary of the village cluster.

**Kinship Terminology.** The primary kinship terms are bifurcate-merging in the first ascending generation. The terms applied to father and mother extend to the acknowledged sexual partners of either parent. Another pair of terms includes the opposite-sex siblings of each parent and both sets of grandparents. In Ego's generation, siblings and parallel cousins are classified together, in contrast to cross cousins. A series of overriding nongenealogical relationships, each with its own set of terms, eclipses the primary kin terms. The most important of these is the system for name givers and receivers. Important obligations and ceremonial prerogatives are transmitted with names. Other relationships that alter the terminology used are those of

ceremonial trading partnership and formal friendship. It is the terms applied to cross cousins in the overriding naming system that have a Crow bias.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** There is no marriage ritual. Children are recognized as the offspring of the mother and all the men who have had intercourse with her during pregnancy, a fact made public by the practice of *couvade*. Thus, marriage is not the exclusive social relationship for either sexual relations or the production and care of offspring. Monogamy, albeit serial, is the rule, but several cases of polygyny have been noted. Divorce and temporary separations are common and may be initiated by either spouse. The preference, and the majority pattern, is tribal endogamy.

**Domestic Unit.** A series of households, based on sisters' nuclear families, forms a domestic cluster—the significant unit of food production and exchange.

**Inheritance.** Goods generally fall to a surviving spouse and/or to close kin of the appropriate gender. Rights to the harvest of a garden plot go to female kin.

**Socialization.** An infant is constantly with its mother until weaned at about 3 years of age, by which time it is acceptable for a woman to resume sexual relations. Boys and girls 8 to 12 years of age go through a one- to three-month period in seclusion. Traditionally, before seclusion, boys had their earlobes pierced—to be gradually stretched to accommodate a 5- to 7.5-centimeter disk. This practice ended in about 1960.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The integrating feature of these societies is the elaborate ceremonial order, which is derived in part from kinship, in part from a system of naming, and to some degree from personal choice. It is believed that the disappearance of age classes promoted the use of naming as an organizing device. Factions, which among other Gê are associated with the age-set system, here arise from the domestic clusters and are countered by the myriad ceremonial groupings. Dualism characterizes the ceremonial order in both social and symbolic forms.

**Political Organization.** Individual ties of kinship and honorary relationships provide visitors with hosts in other tribal villages. Indications since the 1980s of increasing ties to the national bureaucracy include the designation of "head of household" (only in one case a woman), documents confirming birth date, driver's licenses, and recognition of status for retirement benefits. Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI) post personnel increasingly assume the role of intermediary with the outside world, and a "second chief" is named and paid by FUNAI.

**Social Control.** Ceremonial chiefs harangue the village as a whole, from the center plaza. Elder women can lecture their younger male kin. People who feel they have been wronged will avoid the offending party. Stealing occurs, but confrontations are avoided because of the victims' shame about calling the act to public attention. The externally appointed political chiefs mediate disputes between domes-

tic clusters, and their decisions usually involve "payments." Accusations of witchcraft can be made against both men and women within the tribe and from other tribes; the last killing of a witch was in the 1930s.

**Conflict.** Krikati have not had organized warfare with Brazilians or other Indians for over a century. One of the ceremonial moieties that has become moribund is believed to be the one that organized the age grades from which a warrior age set would have been recruited.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Numerous food and activity restrictions apply to parents of infants or ill children. Illness and insanity can result from breaking food and activity taboos, as well as from witchcraft. There is a belief in omens (e.g., a black circle around the sun signals the death of an important person). Each person has a spirit, which leaves the body during sleep and may linger around the village for a time after death. There is no belief in gods. Myths are prevalent, but ceremonies are not myth based and have the character of secular drama.

**Religious Practitioners.** For serious illness, Krikati recruit and host curers from other tribes—interestingly, not from the Pukobyé, but from the Kraho and Apaniekra. Two ceremonial chiefs, one each from the moieties of one system, determine the timing and procedure of ceremonies once an eligible sponsor sets the ceremony in motion. Although their authority never extended to other spheres of activity, their importance has been seriously eclipsed by the new political chiefs and FUNAI agents. U.S. fundamentalist missionaries inhabit the villages but have made few converts.

**Ceremonies.** Ceremonialism unites the tribe and invigorates the culture. The year is divided into wet and dry ceremonial seasons, during which one of the several moiety systems is active, depending upon the ceremony performed. Ceremonial groups of cooperating individuals are formed season by season, as one ceremony ends and a new one begins. The *wu'tu* ceremony, a celebration of subgroup diversity to confirm societal unity, is the most complex and frequently performed ceremony and the one for which Krikati and Pukobyé most often visit one another. Participation is by choice, and the ceremony may be a device for the incorporation of remnant Timbira tribes.

**Arts.** Ceremonial life is the inspiration for both performing and visual arts. In the performing arts, the Timbira are outstanding vocalists, using stylized movements to accompany the singing. Women are the principal singers, and there are a few men who know how to lead them with a rattle. Ceremonial paraphernalia are made over the period that a ceremony is in force. Among the very few objects that have utilitarian or postceremonial value are cotton-woven items of personal decoration. Another ceremony is the occasion for the production and redistribution of burden baskets—in an exchange of food between particular men and women. Making expendable paraphernalia (frond masks, bamboo relay-racing rods, batons, staffs, decorated logs) promotes the skills of frond interlacing, woodworking, and the painting of the human body.

**Medicine.** Food and activity restrictions are central to prophylactic and curative medicine. In addition, characteristics of plants or states of matter (such as heat or cold) can be used in a metaphoric sense to connect a cure to a particular ailment. Urucú is applied for health and beauty and is used as a curative on a particular body part. Amulets are tied around the neck (for a cough), or under the knee (for snake bites).

**Death and Afterlife.** The corpse is prepared and wept over—a stylized *keen*—by kin. It is then wrapped in mats and buried outside the village. Placement is horizontal, with the head toward the west, in a grave that may have a log structure on top. Close kin observe a period of activity restrictions, at the end of which their hair is cut. In a ritual to dispatch the spirit of the deceased, men or women (conforming to the gender of the deceased) run a log into the village and prepare food to be eaten in the plaza.

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DOLORES NEWTON

## Kuikuru

ETHNONYMS: Cuicuru, Cuicutl, Guicuru, Kuikuro

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Kuikuru, who comprise a single village, refer to themselves and other groups of the upper Xingu as "Ukuge" ("my people") and to all other Indians as "Ngikogo" ("Wild Indian"). "Kuikuru" is a phonetic variant of the autodenomination "Kufikugu," deriving from *kufi*, a kind of fish, plus the suffix *-kugu*, meaning "place,"

referring to a village site occupied by the Kuikuru a century ago.

**Location.** From about 1860 or 1870 on, the Kuikuru village was located at 12°34' S and 53°7' W between Brazil's Kuluene and Kuliseu rivers. Around 1962 the village was moved north to be included within the Xingu National Park. Its present location is the old village site of a now-extinct Carib-speaking group (the Ipatse or Itsufa), at 12°23' S and 53°12' W. The Kuikuru habitat is dry tropical forest, with extensive areas of human-made savanna nearby. Precipitation—roughly 190 centimeters—occurs mainly during the rainy season. The dry season, April to September, includes three completely rainless months.

**Demography.** In 1892, when first visited by Europeans, the Kuikuru village had 202 inhabitants. In 1954 there were 145 persons in the village. In 1975 the population was down to 120, but some 50 Kuikuru were then living among the Yawalapití. The emigrés moved back into the main village in 1976, bringing the population up to some 175.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Kuikuru speak a Carib language. Only a minor dialectal difference exists between Kuikuru and the language of the neighboring Kalapalo and Nafukuá.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Kuikuru became a separate village following a split in a parent community. The leader of the dissident Kuikuru faction brought his group to the shores of Lake Lamakuka, where they settled, occupying four successive sites over the next hundred years. Around 1962 they left this locale and moved north, setting up a new village on the east bank of the Rio Añafuku, an eastern tributary of the Kuliseu. Around 1973 they moved again, to a site about 3 kilometers southeast of this earlier one, near a small lake. While the Kuikuru were residing in their two most recent locations, some 50 of their number left the village over allegations of witchcraft and went to live in the Yawalapití village near the Leonardo Villas Boas Indian Post; the two groups reunited in the main village in 1976.

Near the Kuikuru in the upper Xingu Basin are villages representing four different language families: Carib (Kalapalo, Nafukuá, Matipú), Arawak (Waurá, Mehinaku, Yawalapití), Tupian (Kamayura, Auetí), and the isolated Trumai. These groups, the so-called Xinguanos, isolated for centuries from surrounding tribes, are all very similar culturally and engage in joint ceremonies and sporting events, trade with each other, and intermarry. There has been no warfare among these nine upper Xingu villages since they were discovered by Karl von den Steinen in 1884. Hostilities have occasionally occurred, however, between Xinguanos villages and surrounding groups of "Wild Indians" such as the Suyá, Shavante, Chukahamay (Mekranoti), and Txikão.

### Settlements

Until they moved to a new locale in the early 1960s, the Kuikuru had, for a century or so, occupied sites only a few hundred meters apart, near a medium-sized lake 13 kilometers west of the Rio Kuluene. Settlement close to a river or

lake is considered essential in order to have access to water for cooking, bathing, fishing, and canoe travel. Kuikuru houses, which are built from an elliptical ground plan, look like large oval haystacks but have a solid pole framework with two center posts and a heavy ridgepole. Houses are thatched with *sapé* (*Imperata*) grass, the roof and walls forming a continuous curve. Each house has two small doorways, one facing the plaza, the other on the opposite side, facing the forest. The village plan is circular, with usually nine to eleven houses arranged around a central plaza. Houses average about 20 meters long, 11 meters wide, and 7 meters high. In the center of the plaza there is a men's house and near it a harpy-eagle cage, where an eagle is kept for its feathers.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Kuikuru subsist largely by slash-and-burn cultivation, domesticated plants accounting for 85 to 90 percent of their diet. The principal crop is manioc, which provides 80 to 85 percent of their food. Some forty-six varieties of manioc are grown (all of them poisonous), but six of them provide more than 95 percent of the harvest. The next most important cultigen is maize. Only four or five men have maize fields, but the harvest is shared villagewide. Sweet potatoes are a minor crop. Peppers are grown for seasoning. *Piquí* trees (*Caryocar brasiliense*) are planted in mature manioc plots and begin to yield several years after the plots are abandoned. Gathered in November and December, piquí fruit is seasonally important. Nonfood crops include gourds, *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*), and tobacco. Gardens are cleared in tracts of primary forest surrounding the village and must be fenced against predation by agoutis, deer, and, especially, white-lipped peccaries. They average two-thirds of a hectare in size, yield over 8 metric tons of manioc tubers a year, and continue to be cultivated for three or four years. To remove the prussic acid from the tubers, the Kuikuru grate them and squeeze the pulp through a mat strainer into a large, flat-bottomed pot. The coarse flour remaining on top of the strainer is placed in the sun to dry, as is the fine flour (tapioca) that settles to the bottom of the pot after straining. A gruel is made from the coarse flour and *beijú* cakes from a combination of coarse and fine flour. Maize may be roasted on the cob or boiled and made into a gruel.

Hunting is negligible, providing less than 1 percent of subsistence. The only mammal eaten is one species of cebus monkey. A few people eat one or two species of birds. The gathering of fruit is not important except for piquí. Honey, a delicacy, is acquired by smoking the bees out of their hives or by felling the trees where they live. Fishing, the most important supplement to horticulture, provides 10 to 15 percent of subsistence. Almost 100 species of fish are caught. Fishhooks are common today but were lacking aboriginally. Fishing is done mostly with the bow and arrow and secondarily with fish traps of four different kinds. The highest yields are obtained through the use of the *timbó* vine, sections of which are pounded in the water. A fish-poisoning expedition, carried out in a lagoon or the shallow arm of a river when the water is low and the current slow, may yield about one-half metric ton of fish.

**Industrial Arts.** The Kuikuru are skilled in making a variety of artifacts such as bows and arrows, hammocks, stools, bark canoes, fish traps, feather headdresses, composite combs. They use pottery extensively for food preparation and cooking, but do not make it themselves.

**Trade.** Craft specialization, which exists to some degree among the nine villages of the upper Xingu, serves to promote intervillage trade. The most important trade item bartered by the Kuikuru is pottery, which they get directly or indirectly from the Waurá, the only people who make it. Along with the neighboring Kalapalo, the Kuikuru specialize in making shell necklaces and waistbands, which they use themselves and trade to the other upper Xingu villages for their specialties. From the Kamayura, the Kuikuru get fine bows made from *pau d'arco* wood, which does not grow in Kuikuru territory. A standardized set of trade equivalences exists in the upper Xingu: 1 bow = 1 pot = 1 hammock = 1 stool = 1 shell necklace, and so on. Intervillage ceremonies are occasions for trade. Considerable exchange takes place within the Kuikuru village itself, some of it carried out by a formal trading game that proceeds from house to house.

**Division of Labor.** There is a well-defined division of labor by gender. In manioc cultivation, men clear the plots, plant the cuttings, fence the gardens, and weed. Women harvest the tubers, bring them home, and do the long and tedious work of processing and then cooking them. In crafts, men make most of the tools, weapons, ornaments, and utensils, including baskets. Women make hammocks and mat strainers. No full-time specialties exist, but a number of crafts are part-time specialties. These include the making of canoes, stools, sacred flutes, combs, and certain feather headdresses.

**Land Tenure.** The land surrounding the Kuikuru village is owned communally. In the case of garden plots, however, a system of usufruct prevails. Plots become the possession of the man who cleared and planted them and remain his as long as they continue to yield. Once a garden plot is abandoned, though, the land reverts to communal ownership. Piquí trees are an exception. They remain the property of the man who planted them or of his heirs, even after they have gradually become part of the forest. Areas improved by individual effort, such as places in rivers or lakes where weirs and fish traps are set, are privately owned.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The basic kin unit is the nuclear family, but it is often augmented by the addition of other kin, such as a widowed parent. Two or more married brothers, or a man and his wife and their married son, may sometimes reside in the same house, giving rise to an extended family. Descent is entirely bilateral. Even claims to the headmanship can be asserted equally through one's father or one's mother.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kuikuru kinship terms are basically Iroquoian, except that brother and sister terms have been extended to include not only parallel cousins but cross cousins as well, making the nomenclature Hawaiian for Ego's generation. Vestigial cross-cousin terms exist,

though, indicating that at one time the terminology was consistently Iroquoian.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** In 1954 marriages among the Kuikuru were 70 percent village-endogamous. Exogamous marriages were contracted mostly with other Carib-speaking Indians, especially the Kalapalo, and secondarily with the Arawak-speaking Yawalapiti. Most marriages are monogamous but polygyny is permitted. Three of some forty married men in 1954 had more than one wife, two men having two wives each and the third having three. In courtship the groom must persuade the girl's parents as well as the girl herself to consent to the union. A suitor places a large load of firewood outside his would-be mother-in-law's doorway, and if she takes it in and uses it, his suit is considered accepted. The marriage ceremony consists primarily of the payment of a bride-price to the girl's parents. Should a groom lack the bride-price (usually shell necklaces and waistbands) he must perform bride-service instead. Post-marital residence is matri-patrilocal, the matri-phase usually lasting one to three months. Since the village is largely endogamous, shifts in residence at marriage generally involve, at most, a change of house. Marriages are fairly brittle and divorce is easy: a spouse merely has to move out of the house, or even just to the opposite end of the house, to accomplish it.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family is the basic domestic unit, and there are usually three to five of them in a communal house. Each nuclear family has its own hearth near one of the center posts, and the family's hammocks radiate out from this post to various wall posts. A wife strings her hammock beneath her husband's so she can tend the night fire more readily. Coresidents of a communal house frequently cooperate in subsistence and food processing, even if they are not closely related.

**Inheritance.** At the death of the owner, no material property passes from one generation to the next. Some of it is buried with the deceased, and the rest is broken and thrown away. Thus, a woman's pots may be broken and dropped into the river, the idea being to keep surviving kin from seeing them again and being reminded of the death of a loved one. An exception to the rule against inheritance of material property is provided by fruit trees. Any piquí trees a man planted pass to his sons at his death. Each Kuikuru ceremony has an owner, and at his death, ownership of that ceremony is transferred to his heir, who may be a daughter.

**Socialization.** Children are treated indulgently and raised permissively. They are virtually never beaten or even spanked, physical punishment being seriously frowned upon. When a child has a tantrum a parent will often walk away, leaving persons in the rest of the village to laugh at the angry child, which usually puts an end to the outburst. By the age of 6, a girl is learning adult domestic chores, including manioc processing, and by 8, she may already be adept at spinning cotton. Boys are not expected to learn adult skills so young. During puberty seclusion, both sexes spend from several months to a year or even two living within a specially partitioned section of the house. At this

time they are expected to learn or perfect various adult arts and crafts.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Although today the Kuikuru are egalitarian, there are traces of an earlier system of social ranking among them. Thus, to become village chief or a trading-game captain, a man must be *aneti*, that is, a member of a bilateral "lineage" to which former chiefs belonged. The chief today does little in the way of mobilizing labor. Most activities requiring the cooperation of persons beyond the nuclear family are planned through informal discussion, the organizer of a work party repaying with food and drink those who helped him.

**Political Organization.** Chieftainship is presently not a strong institution among the Kuikuru. In 1953-1954 the incumbent headman was a quiet individual who played a very small role in village affairs. Another, more vigorous individual, though not an *aneti*, took over the *de facto* role of chief. In 1975 there were three Kuikuru chiefs. The oldest served mostly in a ceremonial capacity, for example, when the village engaged in intervillage ceremonies. The next oldest exercised more authority in economic matters, such as the distribution of goods and the mobilization of labor for fish poisoning. The third *aneti* chose to play no leadership role at all. The Kuikuru tell of past chiefs, like Afukaká, who, because of the strength of his personality, exercised considerably more control of village life than did later chiefs. A recognized chiefly function is to exhort teenage boys and young men to rise early, bathe in the nearby lake, and live up to tribal norms.

**Social Control.** Scarcely any formal means of social control exists in the Kuikuru village. The chief plays no role in maintaining order or in punishing offenders if norms are violated. However, the Kuikuru are strongly socialized from childhood to be amiable and to refrain from expressing anger. Indeed, fights among men in the village are unknown. A dislike of being thought stingy, quarrelsome, or aggressive keeps village life running smoothly. Allegations of witchcraft within the village are not uncommon, and fear of being thought a witch serves as a strong deterrent against antisocial behavior. This fear, moreover, is well grounded, since at least four village members have been executed as witches over a period of twenty-five years. If a death is suspected as being the result of witchcraft, the father, brother, or son of the victim asks the shaman to ascertain the witch's identity; the deceased's relatives may take it upon themselves to kill the alleged sorcerer. Beyond this, there is no recourse against any offense committed within the village except "bad-mouthing" the guilty party to others.

**Conflict.** Ever since the upper Xingu Basin was discovered in 1884, the Kuikuru and their immediate neighbors have been at peace with one another. The one incident of violence involving the Kuikuru was their murder, around 1935, of five visiting Yarumá from a now-extinct village of Carib-speaking Indians located east of the Rio Kuluene. Several groups outside the upper Xingu Basin, recognized by the Kuikuru as Ngikogo, have attacked Xinguano villages at various times. These hostile tribes include the

Shavante to the east, the Suya to the northeast, the Chukahamay (Mekranotí) to the north, and the Txikão to the west. There is archaeological evidence in the form of defensive trenches to indicate that, centuries ago, warfare was prevalent in the upper Xingu. However, no oral tradition of this survives.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Gods cannot be said to exist in Kuikuru religion, but Sun is a culture hero of considerable importance. Sun, the older twin brother of Moon, created all the "Wild Indians" and also taught the Kuikuru many of their arts and crafts as well as several of their customs. But Sun no longer intervenes in human affairs. The Kuikuru believe in a large number of spirits (*etseke*), most of whom are associated with a variety of animals and a few trees. As a rule, spirits are ill disposed toward people and therefore dangerous. Anyone except a shaman who comes face to face with a spirit is liable to sicken and die. Harm comes not only from the malevolence of the evil spirits but also from witches, who are deemed to be actual individuals living in the village.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman is the only supernatural practitioner. His main function is to diagnose and treat illness, including soul loss and ailments brought on by witchcraft. A shaman is aided in his practice by spirit helpers, whom he contacts by smoking tobacco and through the use of religious paraphernalia, especially a gourd rattle. A shaman may also be asked to locate lost or stolen objects and to determine the identity of a thief or a witch. He is paid for his services, but not in food—he engages in normal subsistence activities, like other men.

**Ceremonies.** The Kuikuru have some seventeen ceremonies, all of them named after a particular spirit. Yet a ceremony is never performed to attract or placate its spirit. Indeed, the Kuikuru prefer not to have a spirit attend his ceremony, lest people see him and die as a result. Each ceremony is organized by a ceremonial team consisting of the owner, who must give permission to have his ceremony performed and then provide food and drink during it; petitioners, who formally request the owner to allow it to be held and then help arrange the performance; and musicians, who play the instruments and sing the songs associated with the ceremony. The most important ceremony in which the Kuikuru take part is Kuarup, the Feast of the Dead, which takes place during the dry season, rotating among the nine villages of the upper Xingu. Each year, the eight other upper-Xingu villages gather at the host village to help commemorate persons of the chiefly line from that village who have died since the ceremony was last held

there. This ceremony, which takes place in the evening, is followed the next morning by intertribal wrestling, during which an upper Xingu champion usually emerges.

**Medicine.** The Kuikuru regard most illness as supernaturally caused. Witchcraft is blamed for many ailments, from toothaches to fatal illnesses. An invisible magical dart blown into the victim is the sorcerer's principal weapon. For serious ailments, the shaman is called upon for diagnosis and treatment. Lesser complaints are treated by the ill person or a close relative, using mainly medicinal plants gathered from the forest.

**Death and Afterlife.** The death of a person occasions a villagewide funerary rite. Sewn into its hammock, the corpse is carried around inside its house and then taken outside and buried in a grave dug in the plaza. Most people are buried, flexed and wrapped in their hammock, in a cylindrical grave. However, *aneti*, persons of a chiefly line, have a more elaborate grave. Two cylindrical holes are dug 3 or 4 meters apart and then connected by a tunnel. A post is set into the bottom of each hole and the hammock containing the *aneti*'s corpse is then strung through the tunnel and tied at each end to the posts. After this, the holes are filled in and the grave is temporarily marked with a low log fence of hourglass shape.

The village of the dead is said to be in the sky, directly overhead, and the journey to it involves hazards and obstacles that the soul must avoid or surmount if it is to reach its destination. Should the soul slip and fall while crossing a slippery log bridge, for example, it would go up in a puff of smoke and disappear forever. Once in the village of the dead, a recently arrived soul is nurtured and brought back to health. It then continues to live there, enjoying a life not unlike that on earth, but easier and more pleasant. Kuikuru souls in the village of the dead are occasionally attacked by the souls of the dead birds, however, which live in their own village nearby. If killed in such a raid, a Kuikuru soul ceases to exist.

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ROBERT L. CARNEIRO

## Lengua

ETHNONYMS: Enelhit, Enlhit, Lengua-Maskoi, Lengua-Sur

The 10,000 Lengua Indians live in the Gran Chaco area of Paraguay (23° S and 58° W) and constitute the largest Indian group in that region. They speak a language belonging to the Maskoyan Family. Although they were a large and powerful tribe at contact, the Spanish Conquest had almost extinguished them by 1800. The Chaco War (1932–1935) between Paraguay and Bolivia also cost many Lengua lives.

Major developments in the Lengua region have accelerated the processes of their acculturation and assimilation: as the Chaco was opened up to settlement by the construction of the Trans-Chaco Highway, large cattle ranches and Mennonite farms occupied the traditional Lengua hunting grounds. By the early 1900s the presence of Anglican missionaries attracted Lengua from different regions—breaking up territorial divisions, mixing members of different subtribes, and precipitating a period of acute culture change. Many Lengua now work as cowhands or laborers on ranches and farms, as migrant workers, and as wage laborers. Lengua families are dispersed according to the availability of work, although 2,000 to 2,500 may assemble at the mission for Christmas and Easter festivals.

Nowadays, the Lengua build houses with palm-leaf thatch and walls according to the general Paraguayan rural model. Sparse household furniture includes plank benches and tables. Abandoning their earlier custom of sleeping on hides or in hammocks, the Lengua have adopted the use of wooden bedsteads with supporting strips of cowhide. Traditional house types included three kinds of structures consisting of frames of sticks tied together with the bast of the bottle tree (*Chorisia insignis*) and covered with bulrush mats. Animal hides, especially of vicuña, were frequently used as walls and separations. Oval or semilunar-cupulate communal houses without interior subdivisions sheltered the members of extended families, and beehive huts or windscreens provided housing for nuclear families. Beehive huts were usually constructed in juxtaposed pairs, featuring a division between the two units. With their frontal sides oriented toward the north, three to five communal or a larger number of single-family houses were arranged in a semicircular line to form a settlement that faced a plaza for ceremonial or secular activities.

Traditionally, the Lengua led migratory lives as hunters, gatherers, and fishers. Hunting, the prerogative of men, was the principal food-quest activity, and a pronounced hunting ethos pervaded the entire culture. On individual and collective hunts, on foot or on horseback, larger animals such as tapir, peccaries, deer, and rheas were killed with bows and arrows, spears, bolas, or clubs and by applying methods such as chasing, corralling, smoke and fire drives, and camouflage. Smaller game—armadillos, coatis, iguanas, turtles, a variety of rodents, and different birds—was also eagerly sought. For two to three months during the rainy season, waterfowl became abundant, and birds were hunted with sticks or, at night, by blinding torchlight. Even today, depending on their location, re-

gional groups try to supplement their diet by exploiting what is left of the once rich and variegated fauna of their territory. During the nineteenth century the Lengua hunted for skins and rhea feathers. Although this practice boosted trade with the Paraguayans, commercial exploitation soon led to a decline in large game. Today individual hunting, with hunting dogs, has replaced collective hunting with bows and arrows.

Women contributed significantly to Lengua subsistence by gathering algaroba pods and a large variety of fruits, roots, and palm shoots; it was men, however, who collected honey.

Fishing played a minor role in Lengua subsistence and was carried out in the rainy season with the bare hand or by means of special gear such as fiber gorges, hooks, bows and arrows, spears, gill and barring nets, weirs, and plunge baskets. Whereas fishing was primarily a male occupation, women did assist in basket, weir, and gill-net fishing or by capturing fish with their bare hands. Fishing was done from the shore, by wading into shallow waters, or, during the rainy season, from canoes.

Agriculture was traditionally of little importance to the Lengua. Missionaries and colonists, however, have contributed to the present sedentary life-style of the Indians and the concomitant intensification of subsistence and cash-crop agriculture. Crops include maize, sweet manioc, beans, pumpkins, *anco* (squashes), watermelons, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and cotton.

During the dry season the lack of potable water often becomes acute. Whereas sedentary groups rely on deep wells, roaming bands of hunters and gatherers turned to the water accumulating in wild plants and trees to quench their thirst. Prior to the introduction of commercial containers, water was carried and stored in calabash bottles or crude pottery vessels manufactured by the women; utensils such as cups, plates, ladles, and spoons were made of gourd sections (*Lagenaria siceraria*). Meat was roasted, and tubers were baked in the ashes of the fire, but all households now have an iron cooking pot.

Domesticated animals other than the already-mentioned horses and dogs include sheep, goats, and chickens. In the nineteenth century sheepherding became important as a source of wool from which women wove ponchos and sashes for trade. Cattle ranching has now supplanted sheep raising, and women who weave today must buy their wool.

Cordage from bast fiber, especially *caraguatá* (*Deinacanthon urbanianum*), was twisted by elderly women. Besides tumpline carrying bags for females, women manufactured shoulder bags for males, protective vests for men who distinguished themselves in combat, carrying nets, net strainers, and ropes for hauling heavy loads. Fishing nets were made by men. Twisted fibers were often dyed to produce articles of red, black-bluish, and black on natural color decorations. The Lengua did not make baskets for carrying or storing goods.

Lengua society was composed of exogamous bands, each consisting of an extended uxorilocal family. Several bands were traditionally allied to form an endogamous subtribal unit whose members congregated periodically for social and ritual purposes. The headmen of a band could not impose unpopular decisions, and many held their positions



as a result of their power as shamans. They provided for their people and shared their personal property with them. They also served as contact men and speakers with foreigners. The subtribal chief spoke on behalf of his constituent bands and held his position on the strength of his personality.

The kinship system of western Lengua groups appears to differ from that of eastern groups, the former being of the Iroquois and the latter of the Hawaiian type. The Lengua employ teknonymy and mourning terminologies. Descent is bilateral with certain matrilineal tendencies.

Although not particularly warlike, the Lengua did engage in intertribal warfare with the Sanapaná, their arch-enemies, and with the Angaité, the Chamacoco, the Toba, and the Maká. They went to war to defend their territory, avenge the death of one of their own group killed by violence or sorcery, obtain artifactual goods and livestock, and capture women and children. Scalps were taken as war trophies.

Shamans were important to Lengua daily life. They healed the sick, averted attacks by evil spirits, regulated rainfall and repelled stormy weather, guaranteed fertility of the land and its plants and animals, and helped bring about success in warfare. Shamans practiced sorcery to cause sickness and death. Although contemporary shamans are all male, powerful female shamans figure in the oral tradition, and women were potentially free to become initiated into the office. Shamans cured by chanting, sucking, and recapturing the soul of their patients.

Death in older people was believed to occur naturally as a consequence of skeletal deterioration. Young people who died other than through warfare were said to have suffered unnatural deaths owing to sorcery and spirit aggression. Upon determining the origin of the evil that caused the death of a young person, shamans made public the culprit's name during a ritual of revenge. Funerary rites included the mutilation or fracturing of the dead person's skull and the placing of a candescent stone into the corpse's stomach. The stone was believed to fly to the Milky Way, whence it fell to earth as a meteor to kill the murderer. The corpse was buried as soon as a grave had been dug in the nearby mountains or forests, immediately following the performance, at the gravesite, of a rite of vengeance. Upon closing the grave with soil and decorating it with branches, the lamenting people left and never revisited the site. Influenced by missionaries and Paraguayan settlers, modern Lengua bury their dead in cemeteries.

To avoid being visited by the soul of the dead, the Lengua used to destroy the belongings of the departed, burn their houses and rebuild them in situ, or move the

village to a different location. Shamans conducted special rituals to prevent the living from being accosted by the souls of the dead. Mourning practices included observance of food taboos, hair cropping, and the wearing of mourning garb. The land of the dead was believed to be situated in the west, where the souls congregated in groups or families. The souls of shamans went to reside in the Milky Way, and those of other people turned into animals, especially birds. Profound culture change notwithstanding, religion, shamanism, and mythology continue to be of considerable significance to contemporary Lengua Indians.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

## Macuna

ETHNONYMS: none

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Macuna" is of foreign, probably Gera, origin. As used in the ethnographic literature it refers to a speech community, composed of two exogamous, intermarrying sets of clans (sibs). The Macuna generally use clan names to identify themselves.

**Location.** The Macuna are a tropical-forest people of the northwestern Amazon. They occupy their traditional territory around the confluence of the Pirá-Paraná and Apaporis rivers in the Colombian Vaupés region. The area is roughly from 0.5° N to 0.5° S and from 70° to 70.5° W.

**Demography.** There are no reliable census data for the entire Macuna population. In 1973 it was estimated as comprising about 400 individuals. On the basis of a partial census in 1989, the present population is thought to include some 600 individuals. Despite the considerable increase, the Macuna hold that the population was much bigger in the past.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Macuna speak a language belonging to the Eastern Tucanoan Language Family. It is said that in the past the different clans now forming the Macuna speech community spoke different languages (dialects). There are still slight dialectal variations among the clans. An adult Macuna normally speaks the languages of several neighboring groups (e.g., Barasana, Tuyuca, Tucano).

### History and Cultural Relations

The Macuna speak of continuous violent conflicts in past centuries with their southern neighbors, particularly the Yaúna and Tanimuka (both Eastern Tucanoan groups). Little is known about the early history of Indian-White contacts. The Macuna are mentioned in Portuguese chronicles from the eighteenth century. More regular contact dates from the late nineteenth century, when the commercial exploitation of wild rubber began in the Colombian Amazon. Although the most affected areas lie south of the Vaupés region, the Macuna also experienced the devastating impact of the rubber boom. Men were rounded up and taken away by force to work for White rubber patrons. The pattern was repeated in a less crude form during World War II. Intermittent contact with Catholic missionaries has existed at least since the eighteenth century, but the first mission station in the Pirá-Paraná area was established in the 1960s.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Pirá-Paraná experienced a new economic boom based on growing coca leaves for illegal cocaine production. The Macuna, like most of the Pirá-Paraná and Apaporis groups, were heavily involved in the cultivation and trade of coca leaves with White patrons who established themselves in the area. The coca trade brought great quantities of money and trade goods to the region, but the boom ended as abruptly as it commenced. By the mid-1980s no Macuna produced coca leaves for sale, and the White traders had left the area.

Other powerful economic forces have since affected Macuna society. Gold has been found along the Río Taraira only a few days' distance from Macuna territory, and thousands of White gold miners have entered the area, many through Macuna lands. The Macuna utilize the gold rush as a new source of income and White trade goods. Many young men occasionally go to the gold fields for shorter periods—between a couple of weeks to a few months—to dig for gold on their own or to look for temporary employment with a White patron. Work in the gold fields has not yet led to debt bondage or dependence on White patrons, but it is producing important changes in Macuna society: differential access to White trade goods and the occasional neglect of subsistence production because of the periodic absence of young men. The creation by the government of two *resguardos* (Indian reserves), which include most of the Macuna territory, has been an important development for the Macuna in their struggle for control over their land.

### Settlements

The traditional Macuna settlement consisted of a single, large multifamily longhouse, usually referred to as a *maloca* in the ethnographic literature. The malocas were widely dispersed along streams and rivers in the forest. In the early 1970s this was still the dominant settlement pattern. There are basically two types of malocas: one round, common in the Apaporis area; the other rectangular and prevalent in the Pirá-Paraná area. The latter type could measure 30 meters in length, 20 in width, and 10 in height. Both types can still be seen among the Macuna, but now rather as ceremonial centers in village communities composed of a number of small single-family houses. Early accounts describe huge malocas containing some 100 inhabitants. At present, the size of the residence group inhabiting a maloca generally varies between 10 and 20. During important collective ceremonies, however, 70 or more people are easily accommodated in the maloca. In the 1970s the maloca commonly contained three to five agnatically related nuclear families—an aging father and his married sons or a group of young or middle-aged married brothers (who were later likely to split up and form independent settlements). The malocas, in turn, were vaguely grouped into extensive neighborhoods of agnatically and affinally related residence groups; elderly brothers and brothers-in-law lived in separate but adjacent malocas. Today these local groups of neighboring malocas have largely turned into village communities that are based on the same structural principles of agnation and marriage alliance but subdivided into small family units, each inhabiting a separate house.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Macuna still essentially subsist on swidden cultivation, hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild forest resources. The staple is bitter manioc, but a large number of other food plants are also cultivated, including plantains, sweet potatoes, bananas, pineapples, and sugarcane. Fish is the principal source of protein, but considerable time is also spent on hunting. The most important game include pacas, peccar-

ies, and tapir. Large birds, monkeys, and caimans also constitute a significant part of the diet. The fur trade (particularly of the skins of jaguars, ocelots, and otters) played an important part in the Macuna economy until the 1970s, when it was prohibited. Farinha (a gruel prepared from manioc roots) has been traded with Whites for centuries and is still important as a means of exchange and a source of White trade goods.

**Industrial Arts and Trade.** Indigenous crafts, still produced largely for domestic use, principally consist of pottery and basketry. Arrow poison is produced by the Macuna on the Río Apaporis but mainly obtained from Macú groups in the forests on the northern bank of the Apaporis. Traditionally, a large-scale trading system seems to have operated over the entire Vaupés region, integrating many of the tribal groups of the area. In the Pirá-Paraná area, different groups are still recognized as being specialized in certain crafts: the Macuna deem the Barasana to be expert basket makers, the Tuyuca skillful potters, and the Macú poison makers and producers of a particularly valued type of basket. Grating boards are obtained from Arawak-speaking groups north of the Río Vaupés. Salt is said to have been produced locally in various areas along the larger rivers of the region but is now exclusively obtained from Whites. Aluminum pots have replaced much of the traditional pottery. All metal tools—including axes, knives, machetes, and much of the hunting and fishing gear (hooks and nylon lines, shotguns, and ammunition)—are bought from White traders.

**Division of Labor.** Women do most of the gardening: they plant, harvest, and process the principal food crops. Men clear and burn the fields but engage in no other gardening activities except cultivating and harvesting the “male” tobacco and coca plants. The roasted and pounded coca leaves are used as a stimulant and ritual food by Macuna men. Men do all the hunting and most of the fishing. Both men and women collect wild forest fruits, nuts, and seeds, as well as certain edible insects such as ants, termites, and various kinds of larvae. Crafts also follow a strict division of labor. Women make the pottery, whereas men do all the basketwork, including the weaving of hammocks. This traditional division of labor is still strictly upheld.

**Land Tenure.** Each Macuna clan is considered the owner of a certain tract of land along specific affluents of the Río Pirá-Paraná. This ownership derives from the myth of creation. Within this clan territory, every member of the clan has the right to hunt, fish, and clear fields for cultivation. Forest and river are thus communal property. Individual families have exclusive usufruct rights only to their cultivated fields.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Macuna are divided into patrilineal and exogamous descent groups (*masa*; lit., “people”), called clans or sibs in the ethnographic literature. These are in turn categorically related to one another as elder/younger “brother people” or “brother-in-law people” (affines). Marriage is prohibited between clans classified as “brothers,” but permitted and encouraged between those

referring to one another as “brothers-in-law.” The Macuna clans thus form two exogamous and intermarrying phratic sets. The clans of each phratic set are hierarchically arranged in order of seniority, defined by the mythical birth order of the clan ancestors. Each clan is further symbolically associated with one of five specialist roles: chief, chanter or dancer, warrior, shaman, and servant. Today, however, this organizational scheme is purely conceptual; it portrays an ideal social order with no counterpart in present social practice. Each clan collectively owns a set of sacred instruments (trumpets and flutes), called *yurupari* in the ethnographic literature, which represent the clan ancestors. These instruments can be seen, handled, and played only by adult (initiated) men; women and children are prohibited from seeing them. The clan also “owns” a body of individual “spirit” names. A newborn child ideally receives the name of a deceased grandparent. Names are thus recycled within the clan in alternating generations.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Macuna have a two-line relationship terminology of the Dravidian type.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Consonant with the prescriptive kinship terminology, the ideal Macuna marriage takes the form of a sister exchange between bilateral cross cousins. Most marriages today involve actual, genealogical cross cousins. Owing to the close genealogical ties between the families involved, the immediate exchange aspect of the marriage is not stressed. The guiding principle in the Macuna marriage system is the continuation of established marriage alliances over generations. No marriage ceremony is performed; marriages are negotiated between senior men of the families involved. Today most marriages are local. Bride-capture was common in the past. Polygyny is considered a prestigious form of marriage but is not common in actual practice. Virilocal postmarital residence is the norm. Traditionally, divorce in established marriages was extremely rare or even legally nonexistent. Annulment, implying the dissolution of a marriage before it is fully completed, is increasingly common.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family traditionally formed part of the larger residence unit inhabiting a single maloca. The nuclear family was the basic domestic unit, although certain productive activities (like clearing forest) involved the cooperation of the entire residence group. At least one meal daily was consumed jointly by the residence group, and most fish and game were shared among the families of the maloca. Today each nuclear family tends to form an independent domestic group, inhabiting a separate house. Food sharing and cooperation are consequently reduced.

**Inheritance.** There is little property to be inherited. Land is not individually owned, and most traditional artifacts—household goods, tools, and weapons as well as the house itself—do not enter a formalized system of inheritance. Only the ritual wealth—the sacred feather headdress and other ceremonial paraphernalia—seems to be formally inherited, ideally from father to eldest son.

**Socialization.** Children are raised permissively. Young children are taken care of by the mother and elder siblings. By the age of 10, the children already know the rudiments

of their distinct sex roles; girls accompany their mothers and elder sisters during garden work and domestic chores, whereas boys accompany their fathers and elder brothers on hunting and fishing trips. Today there are government-sponsored primary schools in most villages, attended by most Macuna children. Formal schooling was introduced into the Macuna territory in the late 1970s.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Social life among the Macuna is very much structured around the rules of descent and marriage. The traditional residence group inhabiting a maloca was a local descent group. Larger spatial groupings—the former neighborhood and actual village—are based on the interplay between the two principles of descent and marriage alliance, forming closely tied kinship communities.

**Political Organization.** Macuna society is unstratified and lacks centralized leadership. The conceptual scheme of five specialist roles, polarizing chiefs and servants, provides a hierarchical political ideology that has no counterpart in actual political practice. Every maloca had—and still has—its headman. Sometimes an influential headman gains authority over an entire neighborhood or a larger territorial group. Nevertheless, his authority, which is based on charisma, sacred knowledge, and political skill, remains limited. Status as headman or chief is not hereditary. Authority is acquired, maintained, and displayed principally by sponsoring communal rituals where manioc beer and coca (and occasionally smoked fish and meat and wild forest fruits) are redistributed among participant families. This competitive and informal political organization underscores the egalitarian character of Macuna society; structural inequality is practically limited to relations between sexes and elder and younger brothers. Although men dominate women and elder brothers have authority over younger ones, even these authority relations are essentially expressed in terms of mutual complementarity. Today every village community has an administrative leader (*capitán*). Traditionally, it was the task of the headman to ensure peace and social harmony. Respect for local shamans and the force of tribal norms embedded in religion and kinship relations provided—and still provides—an informal yet highly effective system of social control. Infractions of social norms are believed to result in supernatural sanctions, disease, and misfortune.

**Conflict.** In the remote past, tribal wars were fought between the Macuna and their traditional enemies; these wars were grounded in cosmological beliefs and apparently had no practical ends such as the acquisition of land, women, or ritual property. Bride-capture was a common source of political conflict as well as a means of expressing it. Today, the competition for political leadership occasionally leads to social conflicts. Unequal distribution of White trade goods and the individualization of the domestic economy tend to create tensions in the village community.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** According to the Macuna, the world and everything in it were created by four godlike mythical heroes (*Ayawa mesa*) and the Ancestral Mother of all peo-

ple, referred to as the Woman Shaman (*Romi Cumu*). The sexual union between the mythical heroes and the Ancestral Mother gave birth to the first clan ancestors. The mythical heroes are manifest today in thunder and lightning, whereas the Ancestral Mother is alternatively conceived of as a star constellation (the Pleiades) or the earth itself. The celestial bodies—sun, moon, and stars—play a significant role in mythology. The mythical heroes and first clan ancestors are mystically represented by the yurupari instruments that are brought forth and played during the most important of Macuna rituals. According to myth, the Woman Shaman owned the primordial yurupari instruments. These were later stolen from her by the mythical heroes, who thus established the present social order of male supremacy. The clan ancestors were believed to have the form of huge anacondas, which transformed into people. The Macuna think of all animals as sharing certain fundamental spiritual properties with people; animals once were and still are—in another mode of perception—people. Hence, interaction with the animal world is guided by the same fundamental principles of reciprocity that guide human social interaction. Traditional religion is still vigorous and continues to be practiced.

**Religious Practitioners.** The important religious functionaries are the shaman (*cumu/yai*), the chanter (*yuam*), and the ritual dancer (*baya*). Their presence is necessary at every collective religious ritual. The shaman mediates between people and the spiritual beings. There are shamans who specialize exclusively in managing the relations between this world and the spirit world of ancestors and mythical beings. Other shamans are fundamentally healers; it is their duty to cure afflicted people. The chanter is the “voice” of the shaman. Whereas the services of the shaman are required continuously, the chanter’s role is essentially limited to ritual performances. The chanter ceremoniously recounts the mythical creation story, which is dramatically reenacted during the major dance rituals. The dancer is the lead dancer during all collective rituals. Today only men hold these important ritual offices, but it is said that in the past there were several female shamans.

**Ceremonies.** The Macuna have a rich ritual life. The major stages in the individual’s life cycle—birth, initiation, and death—are accompanied by ritual acts. Perhaps the major Macuna ritual is the male initiation rite—a collective, public, and large-scale ritual during which the ancient yurupari instruments are shown to the initiates. Other major communal rituals are the exchange ritual (referred to as *dabucurí* in the literature), at which smoked meat, fish, and forest fruits are exchanged between affinally related groups, and the spectacular spirit dance (*baile de muñeco*), which is held during the harvest season of the *chontaduro*-palm fruit. During this dance, men and male children wear masks and bark-cloth costumes representing 100 or so different animal spirits and mythical beings. Throughout the year, other communal-dance rituals are held, during which the male dancers wear ceremonial headdresses of macaw feathers and the down, plumes, hairs, and bones of other animals.

During the rituals, only ceremonial foods are consumed: coca, tobacco, locally brewed beer, and occasionally the hallucinogenic drug *yage*. All these communal rituals

dramatize and symbolically reenact mythical events related to the creation of the world and the people inhabiting it; the ancestral beings are brought back to life, represented by the dancers, and the maloca turns into mythical space, the cosmos itself.

**Arts.** Macuna art is fundamentally embodied in their crafts, architecture, and ceremonial property. Body painting and decoration of ceremonial regalia are basically geometrical. These arts are fundamentally structured by collective tradition but leave room for individual creativity. Pottery is undecorated, and there are no sculptured or graphic representations of deities. In the Macuna territory, there are ancient petroglyphs elaborated by those to whom the Macuna refer as "ancestral people."

**Medicine.** A characteristic feature of the Macuna, distinguishing them from many other Tucanoan groups, is that they utilize no plant medicines. Prevention and healing of illness basically involve the practice of blowing and silent chanting over foods, drinks, or certain magical substances. These acts of blowing and chanting can be performed by any knowledgeable adult man. Certain serious afflictions are treated by curing shamans (*yaiá*; lit., "jaguars") who suck out the disease agent (usually a dart) or remove it by pouring blessed water over the patient. The Macuna disease etiology centers on food as the fundamental disease agent. All food is considered inherently dangerous; it has to be blessed by blowing before eaten. Most diseases are believed to be caused by eating food that has not been properly blessed.

**Death and Afterlife.** At death, the soul is believed to wander off to the sky world or down into the underworld and finally, on the earth, settle in the ancestral birth house ("peoples' waking-up house") of its clan. The Macuna believe that, at birth, the soul of a deceased grandparent enters the newborn baby, who receives the name of its soul giver; there thus exists among the Macuna a belief in the reincarnation of souls in alternate generations. The funerary ritual, like the birth ritual, is essentially a private ceremony. The body of the deceased is buried in the longhouse. The grave consists of a deep hole with a cave on one side, where the corpse is placed. After the burial, the shaman burns bees' wax in the house. The smoke is said to carry away the soul of the dead. The ritual is referred to as the "throwing away of sorrow."

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KAJ ÁRHEM

## Maká

**ETHNONYMS:** Cochaboth; Enimacá; Enimagá; Etaboslé; Imacas; Inimacá; Lengua (ancient); Maccá; Maká (in Spanish and Guaraní); Mak'á; Makká; Namaká (in Mataco); Nimaqá, Njimaqá, Njomaqá (in Toba and Pilagá); TawaLáj Lawós (in Chulupí [Nivaklé]); TowoLi (in Lengua). The pronoun *jekhweliL* of the first person plural exclusive is the most appropriate alternative to ethnic auto-designation.

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Maká are a group of South American Indians that used to roam in the Gran Chaco—the enormous plain that occupies part of the present-day republics of Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay—and today live in the city of Asunción del Paraguay. A suprasegmental trait distinguishing them from the rest of the inhabitants of the Chaco is that adult men and women wear their hair long without ever cutting it, even when in mourning.

**Location.** The Gran Chaco is an enormous wooded plain with a subtropical climate and a dry season (winter); average rainfall does not exceed 80 centimeters per year. Its inland location gives it great thermal range, with maximum temperatures easily reaching above 40° C, whereas the lowest are well below 0° C. It is a plain of alluvial origin covered with vegetation, frequently spiny, in which *leguminosae* predominate. The terrain's relief is proof of intense fluvial activity: dry riverbeds, ravines, and *madrejones* (temporary or semipermanent lagoons caused by overflowing rivers). The Bermejo and Pilcomayo rivers have scarred the terrain by shifting their courses. They run in a parallel fashion, traversing the central area in a northwest to southeast direction. The Pilcomayo disappears at its central course in an area of extensive swamps, lagoons, and marshlands. This is the area where the Maká once lived. At the beginning of the twentieth century, they formed two separate tribes, settled at the mouths of the Montelindo and Confuso rivers (right tributaries of the Río Paraguay) respectively, with an additional band, which was allied with the Pilagá, located to the south of the Pilcomayo. After the Chaco War (1933–1936), the Maká were resettled in the periphery of Asunción.

**Demography.** Although their population appears to have diminished in the past fifty years, the Maká still number about 600 individuals. It is unlikely that they ever numbered more than 1,000, which is approximately the population of the typical Chaco tribe.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Maká belongs to the Mataco-Maká Language Family. In Maká phonetics, voiceless sounds predominate. Maká differs especially from Mataco in the universality of gender category and the presence of deictic markers along the lines of Gauycurúan languages.

### History and Cultural Relations

The ancestors of the Maká were almost certainly a south-eastern tribe of the Mataca area; by around the mid-eighteenth century they were living on the right bank of

the central Río Bermejo. There they absorbed the full impact of massive immigration of peoples on horseback, a result of colonial pressure in the west of the region. They adopted an equestrian life-style, and migrated toward the north, occupying the eastern portion of the Pilcomayo Delta, in the midst of the Patiño marshlands of Paraguay. From then on, they were at least partially identified with the late-eighteenth-century Enimagá because they became part of the groups of marauders and robbers who kept the Paraguayan border of the Gran Chaco in a state of war until well into the nineteenth century. Immediately before the Chaco War, the Maká were contacted by explorers and travelers who began to penetrate the area from Paraguay. Among the newcomers was Juan Belaieff, a Russian military topographer-ethnographer in the service of the Paraguayan armed forces. Some Maká formed a privileged relationship with this military humanist, and, for the services they rendered as scouts and auxiliaries to General Belaieff behind Bolivian lines, the Paraguayan government rewarded them with possession of land opposite the city of Asunción, land that they now occupy.

Besides Western influence, which has intensified recently, the Maká have maintained cultural relations with many other inhabitants of the Chaco during their tangled history of the last 250 years. In Maká locations to the south of the Río Bermejo, Toba, Mocoví, Pilagá, and Vilela influences were superimposed on a cultural base that was surely Mataco. Later the Maká established relations with the Mbayá-Guaycurú of the northern Chaco. At the end of the nineteenth century, the northern nucleus was allied to the Lengua and the central nucleus to the Chulupí (Nivaklé) and Toba-Mirí. Both groups warred, especially against the southern Toba and Pilagá. The southern nucleus, on the other hand, lived with the Pilagá, possibly from the end of the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century.

### Settlements

The main present-day settlements are in the periphery of Asunción del Paraguay (Limpio, Puerto Botánico) and Ciudad del Este, although there are approximately fifty individuals who remain dispersed in the Gran Chaco. Until their definitive removal from Chaco territory in 1940, however, the Maká lived in small villages and temporary camps composed of a simple band or, in times of social concentration, of several bands. In the camps, huts made of branches were built only if cold weather or rain made it necessary. The huts were usually dome shaped but could be built longer if more shelter was needed. Formerly, the Maká, like other equestrian peoples, used mats as roofs.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Maká have traditionally been hunter-gatherers, although there is an elementary form of agriculture (especially of pumpkins) which, on the basis of its distribution and other characteristics, is probably very ancient. The main game animal was the rhea, which was caught using techniques of game starting and camouflage. Gathering was no doubt the most important traditional source of subsistence, based on the exploitation of the immense resources of the Chaco forest.

Nowadays, the Maká have integrated into the market economy and live principally from tourism, selling handicrafts, and charging fees to pose for photographs for international travelers who visit Asunción del Paraguay. It is fairly common for the Maká to go into the interior of the Gran Chaco in small groups for long periods of time, however, to return to their traditional form of life and to obtain ostrich feathers and animal skins, which they trade in Asunción.

**Industrial Arts.** Ethnographically, the Maká are central *chaqueños*, that is, they share with the Mataco, Chorote, Chulupí (Nivaklé), Toba, and Pilagá a considerable number of cultural values that are typical of hunter-gatherers. Some handicrafts have been replaced by industrial items. Nonetheless, the Maká conserve a rich traditional ergology, which must not be confused with what they fashion for the tourist market. The latter items, in contrast with the former, lack originality, functionality, and chromatic exuberance, and are made of nontraditional materials. Typical are grotesque small bows and arrows (40 to 50 centimeters), wrapped with cotton strings of the brightest contrasting colors possible. The Maká also make small bags and hair bands woven from cotton thread, in which the colors of the Paraguayan flag prevail.

**Trade.** Ancient forms of trade in the northern Chaco involved the circulation of bead necklaces, tobacco, and iron arrow points.

**Division of Labor.** Hunting, fishing, and collecting honey are male activities, whereas gathering and weaving are female tasks. Agriculture is the patrimony of the old men, whereas the harvest—incorporated with gathering—is performed by women.

**Land Tenure.** Traditionally, land for hunting, fishing, and gathering was established for each band, although there were continuous inter- and intraethnic conflicts regarding it.

### Kinship

**Kinship Groups and Descent.** Bands are integrated by demes of bilateral descent, which bind extended families together with maximum solidarity. Within the deme most cooperative activities were organized according to sex and age.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is of the Hawaiian type for cousins and linear for the first ascending and descending generations, with mourning terms.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is monogamous, although some remember polygyny among ancient chiefs. The choice of a partner is frequently the result of negotiations between parents, but the marriage proposal always comes from the woman. Levirate and sororate are frequent, emphasizing the importance of marriage as a means of allying kinship groups. Relations with fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law are reserved. The rules of exogamy are proscriptive and inhibit relations with all those considered to be related. Former tribal limits must have coincided with those of endogamy because social relations outside them had to be

limited by latent or active confrontations. Residence is characteristically matrilocal. Divorce is frequent in the first stages of a marriage, although rare after children are born. In the case of divorce, the man leaves, taking with him only items of personal use.

**Domestic Unit.** The extended family household consists of a couple and its unmarried sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandchildren, and, from time to time, adult relatives—of either spouse—who are no longer in a position to organize their own household.

**Inheritance.** The few goods that are personal property are normally destroyed at the time of death.

**Socialization.** Children learn informally when they accompany their mother and a group of her female relatives in their daily search for food and, after puberty, when boys accompany their father. Learning also takes place within the age group as children play with miniature tools, intended to perfect physical dexterity, that imitate those of adults. Children are never punished, which furthers self-confidence and independence.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

Until they were united as a people in Asunción, the Maká grouped together in tribes, that is, in groups of allied nomadic bands that shared a territory and remained together more or less permanently. Many times in their history Maká bands integrated members of various tribes.

**Social Organization.** The social fabric is based on an institution of potential kinship. There are men who, although not of recognized genealogical kinship, maintain a privileged relationship that includes reciprocal services. The *wajká* ("friends") live near one another; they share game when hunting and formerly shared the hazards of war. Each organizes ceremonies that pertain to his partner's family. This relationship is hereditary (normally it passes to the firstborn son). It ends only when marriage results in actual kinship, in which case the obligations that correspond to this institution are replaced by those typical of affinal kinship.

**Political Organization.** Families were traditionally headed by adult males whose ranked relationship with one another was determined by their fighting ability, that is, by the scalps they had obtained, and by their oratorical skill, which played a decisive role in social control. In periodic skirmishes between allied bands, rank between warriors was actualized in drinking ceremonies in which each warrior related his deeds. In this way, preeminence was established and tribal leadership determined. In modern times, oratorical skill has in great measure taken the place of warrior prestige. It has been reformulated as the ability to speak Guaraní and Spanish, which is a stipulation of present-day rank in negotiations with Paraguayan society at large. Ancient forms of leadership have not been completely abandoned, however, even though the last scalps were obtained during the Chaco War. This continuation of past practices is made possible through the mechanism of inheriting warrior power, especially through songs that symbolize the scalps taken.

**Social Control.** Social control is exerted by leaders through counsel they render in a special and characteristic style of discourse. Fear of witchcraft and gossip limit individual action, imposing respect for generally recognized values and regulations.

**Conflict.** Each adult Maká male, who even today in some way considers himself a warrior, can physically intervene to defend the rights of his relatives. Murders of shamans accused of witchcraft still occur. Blood feuds and other conflicts mark lines of tension that show a permanent tendency to fission in this society that has been somewhat arbitrarily unified. Traditional Maká society was centered mainly on war. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it, together with groups of other equestrian nomads, integrated the hordes of roaming peoples who kept the Spanish frontiers of the Gran Chaco in check. But even among these allied tribes, war was not infrequent.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The traditional religion of the Maká was based mainly on mythical knowledge and the conviction that an ordered reality is constituted by the social world of the *inwometec* (nature spirits), with whom the shaman (*weihetáx*) could communicate. As throughout the central Chaco, there prevailed in Maká ideology an anthropogonic motif of a humanity, in the form of birds, that lacked an explanatory antecedent, the transformation of which gave origin to the beings that nowadays people the world, including humans. Carancho, the Hawk, is one of the most relevant mythical personages in Maká tradition, combining characteristics of the savior-hero with those of culture bringer. The world is populated by the *inwometec*, which function as masters of the environment; they associate with personages of power and volition, who are named after animal and plant species and maintain social relations among each other. There are also *witsinqalic*, free souls of slain warriors or dead jaguars, which pose a danger to those who have not captured them. The Maká believe that various monsters and frightening beings, such as large water snakes or a mythical cannibal ogress, inhabit the forest. These beliefs were gradually replaced by various syncretic forms and Christianity. Initially, the Maká adopted messianic and nativistic motifs in which the icon of Juan Belaieff, who was glorified after his death, played an important role. Nowadays, fundamentalist evangelical and Pentecostal cults prevail.

**Religious Practitioners.** The most important traditional religious agent is the shaman, who is in charge of the physical well-being of his group and who mediates with the powers of nature.

**Ceremonies.** Although the Maká had no ceremonial calendar, the most important gatherings were held during periods of social concentration, during the rainy season, when the ripening of wild fruit and an abundance of honey guaranteed sufficient provisions to feed the groups who had come together. Festivals of female initiation, when a young girl reaches her menarche, were very important. After a period of seclusion during which the girl had to pass a number of proficiency tests, a series of dances was performed in which the women danced with staves.

The rite was completed with dances of young people of both sexes; an ambush by males disguised as supernatural beings, who were driven back by the girl's relatives; and drinking ceremonies. Other important celebrations took place when a man drank *chicha* for the first time, at the close of a mourning period, and on other occasions. Drinking together is in itself a key ceremony for the Maká. There are also evangelical cults, in which traditional mysticism is not completely absent.

**Arts.** Ceremonial music and dance are integral to Maká religious, propitiatory, and therapeutic beliefs and practices. Important components of Maká art are personal adornment with body painting, anklets, diadems, and feather crowns; music played on tin-can violins or the Jew's harp; and social events like wooing and warrior parades. Maká art is also manifested in the graphic abstraction of the cat's cradle, in the pyrographic decoration or encaustic painting on gourds, in techniques of weaving wool or *Bromelia* fibers, and in the theatrical presentation of indigenous life as performed for tourists.

**Medicine.** Illness is attributed to soul loss or object intrusion caused by an enemy shaman. Therapy continues to be the domain of the shaman, who, aided by his *lewanhej* (tutelary spirits), seeks to recapture the soul or extract the pathogens from the patient's body by blowing, sucking, and the laying on of hands.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is never attributed to natural causes. Funerary rites include stoning and drubbing the corpse in the belief that harm will then revert to the evildoer who caused the person's demise. According to some, the souls of the dead are guided to a celestial paradise (*in-inkhap*), although their shadows, veritable phantoms, will haunt the living, seeking their ruin.

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JOSÉ BRAUNSTEIN  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Makushi

ETHNONYMS: Macoushi, Macuchi, Macusi, Macuxi, Makuschi, Makuxi

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Makushi speak the Carib language, live in the northeast of the Brazilian state of Roraima and in the Socialist Republic of Guyana, on the frontier of Brazil, and are predominantly of the Christian faith.

**Location.** The state of Roraima is located in the extreme north of Brazil. The Rio Branco is its principal hydrological resource. This region presents two natural zones, tropical forest in the south and savanna in the north. The state of Roraima is located between 5°16'19" N and 1°27'00" S and 58°58'30"E and 64°39'30"W. The area of the state is 230,104 square kilometers. The state of Roraima was part of the state of Amazonas, from which it was separated in 1943 with the denomination of the Federal Territory of Rio Branco; the name was changed to the Federal Territory of Roraima in 1962.

**Demography.** The Makushi population is estimated at 8,000 in Brazil (the non-Indian population of the state of Roraima is about 200,000).

### History and Cultural Relations

Effective contact between the Makushi and Whites dates back to the second half of the eighteenth century, but contact began perhaps many years before that. The present state of Roraima was populated by Whites after the introduction of cattle by the Portuguese and the founding of São Joaquim Fortress to defend the region against invasion by other Europeans.

### Settlements

Villages range in population from about 100 to 600 persons. There are about fifty villages, but some people live in isolated houses, on cattle ranches, or in the capital of Roraima. Makushi villages are located in the savannas, their traditional habitat, and they do not have a regular type. The houses are rectangular with roofs made of palm stems and walls of clay. This style of housing is common for poor people throughout the Amazon region. Some years ago, the Makushi house was typically square, round, or elliptical, either very small or very large, built for one family or sufficiently large to provide accommodation for many families. Today the houses accommodate only a few persons.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Subsistence agriculture dominates the Makushi economy. Traditional methods are used along with iron instruments. A small amount of produce is sold. The land is held in common and in general is used by members of each family living in the same place. The principal products are manioc, yams, and beans. Fishing is not an important activity for subsis-



tence or commercial activities. Domestic animals include pigs, chickens, and some cattle.

**Industrial Arts.** Some villages have women specialists in pottery and cotton weaving.

**Trade.** The Makushi are now highly acculturated, having been in regular contact with settlers, particularly cattle ranchers, since the late nineteenth century. They are not, as a whole, totally adjusted to the changes, although they take wage labor from the ranchers and sell surplus cassava flour.

**Division of Labor.** The traditional division of labor was modified by contact with the Whites, but some traditional ways of life continue. The women cook, tend babies, clean house, wash clothes, make pottery, and weave cotton. The men are mainly responsible for subsistence agriculture and other related activities. Both men and women undertake permanent or seasonal migration in search of wage labor.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Two types of kin groups have been described: small village clusters with independent households of kindred joined through work reciprocity, and linked hamlets of kin living at a distance and joined through shared rituals or dancing. Descent is bilateral.

**Kinship Terminology.** The kinship system in the first ascending generation is bifurcate-merging. Iroquois cousin terms are used. The social emphasis on age is reflected by the relative ages of people in most kinship terms.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Although polygamous marriage has long been a part of Makushi culture, most marriages today are monogamous. There is quite a bit of freedom in the choice of marriage partners. In the past, marriages theoretically were arranged by the parents. Marriages are usually endogamous. Cross-cousin marriage is allowed and desirable. The couple resides for a short time with the wife's family. Generally, after the first son is born, an independent family household is established, but matrilocality, as the prevailing rule of residence, is still practiced.

**Domestic Unit.** The people who cook and eat around the same hearth are considered a family. This group not only lives and consumes goods together but also farms cooperatively. The nuclear family is the minimal family unit. Membership in the household unit requires that one perform an acceptable amount of work.

**Socialization.** Infants and children are raised both by parents and siblings, who almost never use physical punishment in child rearing.

### Sociopolitical Organization

Each settlement has a chief; there is no chief of the tribe as a whole.

**Social Organization.** Makushi society is organized on the basis of age, kinship, and rule of residence. There are no social classes, since the Makushi are a tribal society. They have retained some degree of sociocultural stability in their process of integration into Brazilian society. The ma-

majority live in tribal villages, but some are dispersed among regional people. There is no physical segregation in their daily contact with Brazilians, but the latter control the wages for their manual labor, and there is evident discrimination in regard to commercial activities and economic opportunities. Land ownership is also an interethnic issue.

### Religion

Christianity is the dominant religion in Brazil. Makushi culture is being greatly modified by interethnic trade, contact, and integration of the tribe as a whole into regional Brazilian society. The Makushi now say that their religion is Christianity (Catholicism and Protestantism), but they continue their own ritual practices. Shamanism has great influence in Makushi society. The shaman or medicine man is the religious head of the village and the controller of all kinds of spirits. The office of shaman was formerly hereditary, but this is apparently no longer the case. The shaman uses traditional home remedies in curing.

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EDSON SOARES DINIZ

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## Marinahua

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ETHNONYMS: Agouti, Aguti, Horunahua, Marinawa, Morunahua, Onicoin

The approximately 150 Marinawa ("Agouti people") live in the region of the upper reaches of the Río Purús (11° S, 72° W), primarily in Peru, and possibly in adjacent regions of Brazil. Their language belongs to the South-Eastern Branch of the Panoan Family and is intelligible to Sharanahua speakers; indeed, many authorities consider the Marinahua a subgroup of the Sharanahua who speak a dialect of the Sharanahua language. A fairly large percentage of people have some facility in Spanish. The Marinahua lived in the upper Río Tarauacá region to the north at the time of contact but left that area circa 1900 because other Indian peoples, fleeing the rubber tappers, pushed them out. Later, they were found living on the Río Furnaya, a tributary of the Embira. They reached their present location in the 1940s; this suggests a generally eastward pattern of movement. In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the Marinahua fell victim to epidemics of whooping cough and measles, which cut their population in half.

The Marinahua hunt and fish and raise maize, manioc, peanuts, bananas, and plantains in swidden plots; some sell animal skins for cash. Today, a few also work as migrant laborers. The Marinahua did not acquire the technology of canoes and fishing nets until the 1960s.

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## Maroni Carib

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ETHNONYMS: Cariña, Galibi, Karaïb

The Maroni Carib are Carib speakers who live near the mouth of the Maroni River, which separates Suriname from French Guiana. They live in several villages (5° to 6° N, 54° W) on both sides of the river, and their population totals approximately 2,400.

Prior to contact the Carib shared the area with Arawakan people, with whom they frequently fought. Spaniards who wanted to establish a colony were the first to contact the Indians of the region, and thus relations between them were hostile. British and Dutch explorers, however, had peaceful relations with the Indians, because their only concern was to locate gold. In 1667 the Dutch took control of a sugar plantation, which was attacked several times by the Carib until a peace treaty was concluded in the 1680s; this treaty also gave protection from enslavement to all Indians in Suriname, causing the Carib to raid other Indians for their slaves. Later, the Carib assisted the Dutch in the latter's control of their Black slaves; the Carib were concerned about the rising population of escaped slaves in the forests. By and large, however, Whites allowed the Carib to pursue their own interests. Exceptions were the efforts to convert the Carib to Christianity. For many years these attempts failed, but at the end of the nineteenth century Roman Catholic missionaries began to succeed. In the twentieth century the Suriname government recognized and paid Carib chiefs, imposed Suriname law, and gave the Indians schools and medical services. Presently, the Maroni Carib are acculturating and beginning to assimilate.

The Maroni Carib depend greatly on both fishing and swidden horticulture, and to some degree on hunting. Traditionally, fishing was done with bows and arrows and poison, but today is done primarily with several types of nylon net. Fishing is now for both subsistence and commercial purposes; in the 1970s, a day's catch could be sold for

enough food to feed a family for a week (20 to 40 Suriname guilders). The Maroni Carib swidden is used to grow bitter manioc (their staple food) bananas, plantains, sugarcane, pineapples, peppers, sweet manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, taro, watermelons, pumpkins, and maize. They clear forest (both old and new growth) in August, leaving the trees where they fall and burning the garden in October and again in November just before the rains. The Maroni Carib also gather mangoes, breadfruit, cashews, guavas, and *maripa*- and *awara*-palm fruits; they get coconuts from trees planted by missionaries.

Each village has its own chief. He acts primarily as a liaison with the national government, although he also mediates disputes and reports crimes to the police. Chiefly authority depends upon personality, and followers who disagree with a chief may not obey him or may even leave to establish a new village.

Puberty is recognized with a ritual for girls, but boys are not considered mature until they marry. A young man initiates the marriage process by informing his parents of his intentions. The parents then offer a cigar to the prospective bride's father; if he smokes it, he demonstrates that he is in favor of the marriage. Later, the groom gives the bride some fish, and she reciprocates, after which the bride removes the groom's hammock to her house, and after the couple sleeps together they are considered married. Later residence may be virilocal, neolocal, or remain essentially uxorilocal. Divorce is easy, and most who divorce remarry. Women have their children in the corners of their houses. Children are named some time after birth. The deceased are washed, dressed, and waked. Previously, they were buried in or near the house, although today cemeteries are used.

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## Marubo

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ETHNONYM: Marúbo

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Marubo live in the southwest of the state of Amazonas in Brazil. Although "Marubo" may be a word taken from their language or from some other lan-

guage of the Panoan Family, it is not their autodenomination. They have names for their subgroups but no general tribal name.

**Location.** The land occupied by the Marubo roughly forms an irregular quadrilateral figure that has its angles at 5°56' S, 71°32' W; 5°35' S, 72°6' W; 7° S, 73°8' W; and 7°8' S, 71°53' W. The Marubo population is concentrated in the southern third of the region, to which all moved in the middle of the 1900s. The expansion to the north resulted from the creation of two Indian posts by the Fundação Nacional do Índio (the Brazilian National Indian Foundation, FUNAI), one for the Matis Indians on the Rio Ituí and the other for another Indian group and to assist the Marubo on the Rio Curuçá. These rivers run respectively near and along the eastern and western sides of the region, and both are tributaries of the Rio Javari, which marks the frontier between Brazil and Peru. The area varies in elevation between 100 and 300 meters and is covered by tropical rain forest. The year is divided into a heavy rainy season (from October to May) and a not-too-much-drier season (from June to September). The annual average temperature is around 24° C, and the precipitation during the year is between 225 and 250 centimeters.

**Demography.** The Marubo numbered 397 in 1975, 462 in 1978, and 594 in 1985, revealing a rapid population increase. It is possible that the Marubo were decimated during the rubber boom at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. After a period of disorganization, they concentrated along the Maronal Brook, from where they began a new demographic and spatial expansion.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Marubo speak a language of the Panoan Family.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Marubo were encountered by Whites when the latter occupied the southwestern part of Amazonia during the rubber boom, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prior to this time a people named Marubo once occupied the village of Maucallacta at the mouth of Cochiquinas Brook on the Amazon River in Peru, but there is no firm evidence that they belonged to the same culture. The Marubo kept some commercial notes written in Spanish dating from 1906 to 1912. According to these documents, there were relations with Peruvians who were coming down from the headwaters searching for rubber and felling the *Castilloa ulei* trees, and Brazilians who went up the rivers collecting the latex of *Hevea brasiliensis*. There is not much information about those times, but it seems that it was a period of suffering, disorganization, and decimation for the Indians. After the Amazonian wild-rubber business collapsed in 1912 because of lower prices for Malaysian rubber, Whites began to abandon the Javari Basin. The powerful traders who previously lent merchandise to White and Indian rubber workers in exchange for latex were replaced by poor adventurers who could not maintain the commerce. Even these adventurers became rare, and from 1938 to 1950 the Marubo were almost

abandoned and forgotten by the Whites, a period that they now remember as a time of living by themselves, completely isolated.

Lacking iron tools, firearms, and ammunition, the Marubo began to look for Whites, and by 1950 they contacted a trader and rubber-estate owner on the Rio Juruá. With him the Marubo exchanged rubber and furs for industrial items, carrying them by foot across the watersheds between the Javari and Juruá basins. In this period the first New Tribes Mission agents began to visit them, and in 1962 these missionaries established themselves in the Ituí headwaters, where they remain today. After the arrival of the missionaries, the Marubo were contacted by lumber workers coming from the towns of the Amazon-Javari confluence. With the riverboat traders from these towns, the Marubo began to exchange wood, rubber, furs, ceramics, chickens, and even pigs for iron tools, guns, ammunition, batteries, salt, and plastics, and the trade along the Rio Juruá became less important. After 1970 FUNAI began to operate in the region, but the demarcation of a reserve for the Marubo or a park also including the lands of their Indian neighbors has not yet been accomplished.

The extent of Marubo contact with other Indian groups before the arrival of Whites is unknown. At the beginning of the present century, some Marubo lived near the Remo Indians on the upper Javari. In 1960 a group of Mayoruna attacked a small expedition of Marubo who were looking for turtle eggs on the Rio Curuçá, abducting three women and killing at least one man and a child. Some time after this event the Marubo, armed with guns obtained from the Rio Juruá Whites, mounted an expedition on the tributaries of the left bank of the Curuçá, returning after having killed some Mayoruna. The migration of Marubo to the Indian post built by FUNAI on the middle course of the Rio Ituí put them in contact with their northern neighbors, the Matis. The move to the other Indian post, on the middle Curuçá, put the Marubo in contact with a small group of Kalina. The employment of some Marubo by FUNAI and their frequent visits to regional towns, principally to Atalaia do Norte, Benjamín Constant, Tabatinga, and Leticia to the north and Cruzeiro do Sul to the south, has increased their contact with other Indians who also frequent these towns. The discontinuance of facial tattooing probably dates from the beginning of the second period of contact.

Contemporary Marubo wear clothes and cut their hair like the regional Whites; there is no information about their previous type of haircut, although a possible translation for the name applied to them, "Marubo," might be "the bald ones." An increasing number of men speak Portuguese. The mission maintains a school on the Rio Ituí, where the Marubo are taught to write in their own language. For a time, FUNAI mounted a Portuguese literacy campaign on the Rio Curuçá.

### *Settlements*

Frequently a local group coincides with a domestic group and occupies a single large hut, the plan of which is a decagon with two parallel sides much longer than the others. Two small doors opposite each other are located in the angles formed by the shorter sides. The palm-thatched

(*Phytelephas macrocarpa*) roof slopes from the ridge to the ground. It is supported by four parallel lines of wooden pillars, the two innermost of which are higher, creating a central rectangular space. Between this space and each of the hut's longer sides there are three or four square areas, the angles of each marked by two long and two short pillars, separated from each other by a space of 3 meters. Each of these squares can be occupied by a nuclear family, with its hammocks and cooking fire. Generally this hut is inhabited by fifteen to thirty-five people and stands on the top of a small hill.

Around it, where the ground begins to slope, there are some other constructions, built according to Amazonian rural-White style: small rectangular huts built on stilts with a palm-thatched roof and palm-bark (*Iriarteia* sp.) walls and floor. These buildings are used as stores for objects that are generally of White origin: cups to collect latex, knives to incise rubber trees, iron cables to tie to the tree trunks floated in the river, aluminum pans, iron tools, salt, clothes, and even sewing machines. Under the floor, many overturned ceramic pots are kept on the ground. The slopes of the hill and the surrounding ones are covered by gardens. The distance between settlements is at least 1.5 hours by foot. There are, however, some settlements that diverge from this pattern, with two huts on top of the same or neighboring hills, or even substituting for the indigenous hut several residential small huts on stilts. The latter pattern is found only near the FUNAI Indian posts, not near the mission post. At the mission there is a concentration of traditional huts. Thus, both the FUNAI and mission posts have a concentration of Marubo around them.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Subsistence slash-and-burn agriculture dominates the Marubo economy; sweet manioc, bananas, and maize are the main staples. The cultivated palm *Guilielma speciosa* is valued for its edible fruits and is also used for its strong black wood and to make beer. Hunters using firearms, and helped by dogs, generally return with meat. The most frequent game are wild pigs (*Tayassu*) and two species of monkeys (*Ateles paniscus* and *Lagothrix* sp.). Tortoises (*Testudo tabulata*) and turtles (*Podocnemis unifilis*) are kept in "corrals." The dry season is the best time for hunting the rodent *Cuniculus paca* and for fishing activities, with hook and line or with poison. Wild fruits from the palms *Mauritia* sp., *Oenocarpus bacaba*, *Euterpe edulis*, *Oenocarpus bataua*, *Orbignia speciosa*, and *Leopoldinia piassaba* (this could be *Attalea funifera*) are important foods.

**Industrial Arts.** Beads, pottery, cloth, and basketry are the principal items produced. Beads are produced by breaking and piercing snail shells, putting them on strings, and then polishing them. These are used as body ornaments. The strings used for beads and for hammocks are made from *Bactris setosa* palm fiber. Pottery includes small bottles to store the vine *Banisteriopsis caapi* (ayahuasca) juice, dishes for eating and drinking, jugs for carrying and keeping water, and big pots for cooking and making beer. A simple loom tied to a pole and to a woman's waist is used

to weave thin bands and a very small skirt. There is no metalwork.

**Trade.** Trade with other Indian societies is nonexistent but with Whites it is very important. The Marubo earn some cash or obtain White items by working for missionaries or by extracting rubber and wood and raising chickens (and sometimes pigs) for the riverboat traders. The selling of artifacts to the shops maintained by FUNAI for this purpose is sporadic. Some Marubo men borrow merchandise from White traders and lend them to other Marubo, who must pay rubber or wood to the lender; the latter transfers these forest products to the White creditors. Thus, some Marubo have become middlemen in the Amazonian commercial system.

**Division of Labor.** Division of labor is based on gender only. Men hunt, fish with hooks, clear wooded areas for new gardens, and do some kinds of agricultural work, such as planting bananas or storing maize in the dwelling hut. They build houses, make certain kinds of baskets, and sing curing chants. Women cook, make beer, care for children, draw water from streams, make pottery and beads, weave, and collect wild fruits and do other kinds of agricultural work, such as the gradual harvesting of manioc and bananas. Men and women together poison the streams for fish and harvest the fruits of the cultivated palm. There is at least one part-time specialist, the shaman.

**Land Tenure.** Land is owned collectively by the society as a whole or perhaps by each local group.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Every Marubo is member of a section. Each section has a name. A person never marries a member of his or her own section or his or her mother's section and always belongs to the same section as his or her mother's mother. Thus, it is possible to suppose the existence of matrilineal units, each formed by two sections. As of late 1990, there are twelve such units (there were more in the past), but two of them will become extinct because they do not have women.

**Kinship Terminology.** Generally, each kinship term or one of its variants is applied to people of alternate generations; there are some distinctions between the term a person applies to members of his or her own matrilineal unit and the others. The crossing of these two sets leads to four clusters of kinship terms. The Marubo are reticent in declaring their personal names; these are transmitted, like section membership and the distribution of kinship terms, through alternate generations.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Sororal polygyny is frequent, although most marriages are monogamous. Unions are generally stable. There is a preference for marriage with the daughter of the *koka*, a term applied to a kin category that includes, among others, the mother's brother and the sister's son.

**Domestic Unit.** Each elementary family has an open square room inside the hut to sleep, cook, and store some objects and horticultural products that are ready to be prepared. If two or more women have the same husband, they

do not occupy contiguous rooms. Each married woman has a portion of the garden. The composition of the distinct domestic groups is not uniform. Perhaps the nucleus of a domestic group would be a man, his wife (or wives), his wife's brother (younger than him), and the latter's wife (or wives). Changes over time lead to very different compositions of the domestic group—for example, a married man and his married sons or a married man and his sister's married sons.

**Socialization.** Infants and children are raised by their parents, helped by the other members of the domestic group. The Marubo do not use physical punishment in child rearing, but mothers menace or even treat their disobedient children with a species of cultivated stinging nettle, to which are attributed powers of liveliness and good luck in hunting. Children spend a large amount of time playing with their hut companions, especially their brothers and daughters by the same mother. Depending on their age and physical capacity, they can help the adults in their work.

#### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Marubo society is organized on an egalitarian basis according to sex, age, and kinship.

**Political Organization.** Each domestic group occupying an isolated Marubo hut seems also to be a local group and an autonomous political unit. Generally, the eldest man is the leader of the domestic group. Some of these leaders, who are generous and amiable hosts, promote great feasts, inviting everybody and clearing the paths from the other local groups for their members to attend. They thus create an atmosphere of peace, obtain great prestige, and are recognized by the honorable title of *kakáya*. There is some difficulty in recognizing the political unit where the indigenous huts are very close to each other, or where they have been replaced by clusters of small huts built on stilts, even when the spatial convergence has not been induced by outsiders. The domestic group inside a traditional hut always maintains itself as a ritual unit, however, with its own collective meals, feasts, and wooden drum.

**Conflict.** Violence among the Marubo was more frequent and bloody in the past than it is today. Conflicts generally arise between sections united by marriage or which dispute the same women. As regards outsiders, after the raids of the 1960s, relations between the Marubo and the Mayoruna remain difficult. In 1976 some Marubo killed a White man who had taken two of their women as wives, disturbing previous marriage arrangements.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Marubo admit the existence of two categories of spirits: the *yové*, which have human appearance and engage in social life, are generally benevolent, immortal, highly adorned, powerful, and healthy; and the *yochĩ*, which are like humans or animals but are harmful and lack adornments and social life, although they are powerful and immortal. Human beings have several souls, but probably these coalesce into two—that of the right side and that of the left side.

The land was created by Kana (reference to a section)

*Voã*; the flora were created by Kana Mari (the same name as the rodent *Dasyprocta aguti*), who it appears also made the river and its living beings; cultivated plants were created by Oni (the same name as the *Banisteriopsis caapi*, meaning “the single one”). Slaughtered animals' meat and bones were the main raw material for these creations. Human beings emerged from the ground near the mouth of a big river, each section through a different hole. In the long walk up the river basin, the Marubo learned the items of their culture, several of them from animals.

**Religious Practitioners.** When one of the few Marubo shamans is present, frequently at night, his right-side soul travels to some *yové* huts, where a series of *yové* come successively to occupy his body, animating it and making it talk, sing, and dance. Although the shaman's performance can be promoted for practical purposes such as curing, its main purpose seems to be to arrange contact by men and women with the *yové*.

**Ceremonies.** Major rites mark the maize harvest, the visit of invited domestic groups for a big meal or to drink beer, and the arrival of a new wooden drum into the hut. There is no information about initiation rites.

**Arts.** The wooden structure of a hut, the delicacy of the strings of beads, the details of liana or string tying and knotting, the variety of cooked dishes, and persistence in reciting chants are all expressive forms.

**Medicine.** Long curing chants over the body of a sick person or a pot of porridge the patient will eat are common treatments. Curing singers use tobacco powder and *Banisteriopsis caapi* juice before each chant. The shaman, who use the same substances, invites some of the spirits he receives to cure the patient. The subcutaneous application of the secretion of the frog *Philomedusa bicolor*, the touching of a species of stinging nettle, and the bite of the ant *Dinoponera grandis* are used to dispel laziness and to bring good luck in hunting. A resin colored with *Bixa orellana* is used to paint aching parts of the body. Many medicines are prepared from plants.

**Death and Afterlife.** In the past Marubo practiced osteophagia after the incineration of a corpse. Today they bury the body. At physical death the soul on the right side takes a path to reach a certain celestial layer (there are several layers above and below the ground where humans live). If the dead person had lived according to Marubo rules, his or her soul escapes more easily from the dangerous and seducing *yochĩ*, which wait for it along the way and try to destroy it or transform it into one of them. If the soul overcomes all the obstacles and reaches the end of the path, a mythical being, whose name is the same as that of a species of monkey (*Pithecia monachus*), will change its skin for a new one and the soul will be transformed into a *yové*.

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JULIO CEZAR MELATTI

## Mashco

ETHNONYMS: Chuncho, Harákmbet

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Mashco" is of unknown origin, and in the Peruvian departments of Cuzco—in the tropical zone toward the northeast—and Madre de Dios, the word has been synonymous with "assassin" or "criminal." The various Mashco factions identify themselves as "Xarangbütñ" (human beings), but they also call themselves by some toponym, which refers generally to a river on which they live.

**Location.** The Mashco are located between 71°35' and 69°23' W and 11°35' and 13°40' S. This is an inland area which, descending abruptly from the Andean mountain ranges, leads into the northwestern portion of the Amazon Basin. The river system of the Madre de Dios has an intricate net of tributaries in the Mashco area, with numerous streams and some rivers with a copious flow of water. The boundaries of Mashco territory are formed by the Andean slopes below the mountain line of Tres Cruces-Marcapata, the western border of the Kosñipata Valley, the Río Madre de Dios up to where it joins the Río Inambari, and the latter in the direction of Marcapata, including a stretch of the Río Manu. From a climatic and phytogeographic perspective, this area is characterized by a subtropical strip of rain forest, monsoon forest, and cloud forest. The climate is typically tropical, divided into a dry season and a rainy season. The former—between May and October—is characterized by limited precipitation and icy winds coming from the south, which, intensifying during July and August, lower the temperature considerably. When these winds blow, there is a heavy downpour, which brings with it an increasing abundance of water in rivers and streams, but these diminish rapidly after a few days. The humid sea-

son follows, with heavier rainfall—over 200 centimeters between November and April. The water level in rivers and streams remains at several meters above normal.

Mashco territory can be divided into two clearly differentiated areas: the high jungle, or *montaña*, and the low jungle. The former occupies the greater part of the area, including the sources and a large portion of the median courses of the rivers that descend from the western chain of the Andean mountain ranges. It is characterized mainly by soft hills, the last spurs of the aforementioned mountain range. The lower jungle is formed by the course of the Madre de Dios, from Manu and the lower stretch of the Inambari to Puerto Maldonado, with an elevation of 200 meters, whereas the Kosñipata Valley reaches an elevation of 700 meters.

**Demography.** An estimated 6,000 Mashco inhabit an area of around 24,910 square kilometers, which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, had a population density of 0.24 inhabitants per square kilometer.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** At first the Mashco language was classified as pre-Andean Arawak, together with Piro, Machiguenga, and Campa. Later studies showed that it was an isolated stock with a large number of Arawakan elements. That is why the Hararákmbet Language Family includes several dialects like Araseri, Amaracaeri, Wachipaeri, Toyeri, and Zapiteri—names, which, at the same time, designate various factions.

### History and Cultural Relations

Written data about the Mashco and the Madre de Dios area come from post-Conquest sources. According to these sources, the following historical periods can be demarcated: pre-Hispanic; Viceroyal; rubber-tapper incursions at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries; and the establishment of missions, colonization of the territory, and present-day situation (from 1950 on). The Inca endeavored to extend their dominion to the eastern slope of the cordillera, giving that unexplored section of its territory the name "Antisuyo." Around 1430 in Inca chronology, people of the sierra began their slow infiltration from Paucartambo toward the east.

In an eloquent text, Garcilaso de la Vega ("el Inca"), the Hispanic-Indian chronicler, narrates how the Inca Roca decided to send his son to conquer the Antisuyo; for this enterprise he had 15,000 warriors. Likewise, in 1450 the Inca Yupanki decided to conquer the Mojo and penetrated the Kosñipata Valley. His men, estimated to number around 1,000, were annihilated by the "Chuncho," who can have been none other than the Mashco. The Quechua called the upper Río Madre de Dios "Amáru Mayo" (Snake River)—because of its winding course—or "Mayu Tata" (Father of the Rivers)—because it is the source of so many rivers. One of the reasons that motivated the Spaniards to penetrate this Amazonian area was the legend of Paititi or El Dorado; they began their incursions toward the end of the first half of the sixteenth century. Among the most important ventures were those of Juan Alvarez de Maldonado, who in 1566 and 1567 made two expeditions, fought with the "savages," and returned with tales that only heightened the interest in reaching Paititi.

Some scholars and travelers visited the area in the republican era, and Father Bovo de Revello, an Italian Carmelite, was responsible for changing the name of Amáru Mayu to Madre de Dios after finding an image of the Holy Virgin on a rock. The image, which had fallen victim to indigenous sacking, had been thrown into the river and was seen by the Christian neophytes on Ascension Day. Rubber-tapping expeditions contributed nothing toward knowledge of the Mashco; instead, they brought only blood and death. In 1902 two important events took place that gradually contributed to pacification and knowledge about this ethnic group. One was the setting up of a missionary post by the Dominican order, which established contact with the Wachipaeri and led to the evangelization of the Kosñipata Valley. The other was the founding of the city of Puerto Maldonado on the lower course of the Madre de Dios, in the vicinity of its confluence with the Tambopata.

From then on, the area was to be the base from which all attempts at catechization were to be undertaken from the north. The Dominican missionaries began an intensive study of the Mashco language and wrote ethnographic descriptions that slowly informed the scientific world about the Mashco and their respective factions. With the publication of this information, linguists and ethnologists began their work, creating an extensive bibliography. Mashco groups have had permanent confrontations with each other, which on occasion alternated with alliances to fight an adversary faction that was more numerous and warlike. Relations with neighboring groups—for example, the Machiguenga from the Pantiacolla ranges—were far from peaceful. The traditional enemies of the Mashco, however, have been the so-called Amiko; that is, foreigners of European origin.

### Settlements

All Mashco groups favor the large communal dwelling, which houses a group of nuclear families that are related to each other by kinship. The house has an elliptic form, with an entrance at each end. The two entrances are connected by a central corridor on whose sides families arrange themselves on their platforms. The size of the dwelling is approximately 30 meters in length by 10 in width. Some fifteen nuclear families, with about eighty members, could find room in such a house. In it the most important social events took place, like the Amaracaeri male-initiation ceremonies or the Wachipaeri and Zapiteri feasts at which *masato* (a fermented drink brewed from sweet manioc) is consumed.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Subsistence activities of the Mashco, in the order of their importance, include tropical-forest shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, gathering wild fruits, and raising wild animals. Daily food for all the members of the community is guaranteed by the production of vegetables, a family enterprise. The Mashco grow *achiote* (annatto), peppers, manioc, various kinds of plantains, pumpkins, peanuts, papayas, and many other vegetables given to them by a mythical woman called Káya. For agricultural work iron axes (Wachipaeri and Zapiteri)

were used or small stone axes (Amaracaeri) and a digging stick. Cultivation was the task of women, except for the felling of trees.

Even though hunting occupies a secondary place, the Mashco ethos is profoundly geared to it, and there exists a special relationship between humans and animals of the forest. This is true to such an extent that many animals not only are among the ancestors of the Mashco, but human society also finds its paradigm in animal life. There is much empirical knowledge related to the art of hunting—the identification of animal trails, their smells and associated insects, and their calls and the imitation of animal voices. The most abundant animals are tapir, deer, four species of jaguars, anteaters, white-lipped peccaries, bears (in some peripheral areas) that descend from the mountain ranges, sloths, armadillos, varieties of monkeys, toucans, parrots, turkeys, and many other species that exemplify the exuberant fauna of this southern Amazonian enclave. Bows and various types of arrows are the principal weapons, but the Mashco also use traps, hunting blinds, cages, and ropes for climbing high trees.

Fishing can be considered an extension of hunting when bows and arrows are used for this purpose. This is done from the shores of rivers with crystalline, calm, and shallow waters. Despite the shallowness of the rivers, the prey, such as *pacú* and *dorado*, are of considerable size and weight. Another procedure for fish of considerable size, especially among the Zapiteri, utilizes a hook made from deer antlers in the form of an anchor. The Mashco also catch *surubi*, *bocachico*, *sábalo*, sardines, catfish, and many other smaller species. Women collaborate with the men in fishing with *barbasco*. Eels and alligators are also taken.

There are two aspects to food collecting: the collection of animal products and that of plant species. The gathering of animal products is generally done by women with bare hands; it includes shrimp, crabs, river snails, palm-borer grubs, turtle eggs, and *carachama* fish, which hide in riverbanks. Special precautions are taken when gathering wild fruit, since everything that grows in the forest belongs to Tóto, a demon, and any violation, carelessness, or squandering can infuriate him and bring misfortune of various kinds. The number of edible fruits is enormous, and forty-five species have been counted. These are carried in baskets and bags; some are eaten raw, others cooked (i.e., boiled or roasted).

**Industrial Arts.** The Mashco have developed a very extensive ergology, which includes bows and various types of arrows, snuff inhalators, small ritual rods for coca-chewing drums, spindles, boxes made of plant fiber for keeping feathers, basketry, pottery, bark and cotton bags, tunics of bark cloth, necklaces, feather ornaments for the head and other parts of the body, rattles, axes made of polished stone, graters, and many other items that demonstrate the richness of their heritage.

**Trade.** More than trade (especially as regards the Wachipaeri faction), the Mashco from early times have maintained an exchange first with the Inca and later with the Spaniards. The Indians were especially interested in items made of metal and offered feathers, exotic birds, and monkeys in exchange. There exists among the Mashco an expository opinion of mythical character expounding the

meaning of the concept "gift"—understood as a retribution and an obligation on the part of the Amiko to give metal items.

**Division of Labor.** Men are in charge of hunting and fishing with bows and arrows and are the creators of the entire male heritage. Women have dedicated themselves to horticulture and gathering. There are other, shared, tasks, for example, fishing with barbasco.

**Land Tenure.** The Mashco have always been very conscious of landownership. There is land that belongs to the communal house, and there is the territory comprised of the land of all communal houses, which integrates a specific faction.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Various nuclear families live together in a communal house as an extended family. Descent is patrilineal.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is classificatory as well as descriptive. A special ceremony called *endikoré* (name change) was performed when cross cousins married. From then on a man no longer called his mother's brother "uncle" but addressed him as "father-in-law."

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Marriage between cross cousins was preferred, and customary clan exogamy was still practiced by the Amaracaeri in the 1960s and remembered by the Wachipaeri and Zapiteri. Women were frequently abducted from another communal house.

Clans operate more in a classificatory sense and do not have a specific place in the communal dwelling. They regulate exogamy and patrilineality, as well as virilocal residence. Divorce was quite frequent, given the variety of amorous practices, especially the one associated with the erotic theophany called *Atúnto*, which instituted the abduction of women in Mashco society.

**Domestic Unit.** The smallest domestic unit is the nuclear family, but numerous in-laws live in the communal house despite the fact that they belong to different clans.

**Inheritance.** A dead person's property is completely destroyed.

**Socialization.** The basic concept of life centers on the idea that each brother owns a branch on the mythical tree called *Wanámei*, which is a simile of his existence. Male initiation ceremonies contribute to a man's development and situate him in a different phase of his life.

Among the Amaracaeri a male had to go through two initiation ceremonies instituted by two mythical personages, *Péimpi* and *Séki*, who appear in the extensive myth of *Atúnto*. These ceremonies were gatherings in which a boy danced to achieve the status of a young man, (*wámbo*) and a young man to achieve the status of a man (*ombukérek*), that is, an adult. Both had specific apparel, ornaments, painting, and songs.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The communal house or local group belongs to a regional faction made up of several

house communities, as, for example, among the Wachipaeri of the Kosñipata Valley. They are divided into four local groups, corresponding to the cardinal directions, and recognize a regional chief. Leadership was based on kinship or valor acquired in battle. Each faction constitutes a cultural and political community within clearly stipulated territorial boundaries. The cultural homogeneity among factions is manifested in a common language with minor dialectical differences.

**Political Organization.** The Mashco are conscious of their ethnic identity vis-à-vis other Amazonian tribes, but they do not recognize central authority, and expressions of political solidarity are accidental as, for instance, in wartime, when the entire faction organizes to pursue a common goal. Local chiefs become subordinate to a regional chief. Social stratification is dual: the chief (*wantópa*) together with people of high respect (*waíri*) form an upper social level and the inferiors (*wanámba*), a lower social level. For example, the *wantópa* of a herd of pigs is the one who directs them; the members of the herd are *wanámba*. This social paradigm, as expressed in myth, is common to all Mashco factions and applies to the animal and human worlds.

**Social Control.** Even though chiefs exerted social control over their respective communities, the shamans and "dreamers" were more important overall. Indeed, both announced the likelihood of war, exposed witches and other harmful people, and pointed out cases of adultery and other events that affected life in a communal house.

**Conflict.** The Mashco have historically demonstrated great bellicosity. Periodically, and at a certain time of the year, they engaged in repeated fighting with adversarial factions.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** When considering the mythico-religious universe of the Mashco, two general and basic structures must be recognized: the opposition between *xarangbütn*, or human, and *tóto*, or demonic, which determines the reality of native life. The Mashco differentiate three orders or circuits of the demonic: *Tóto* personified, entities that belong to *Tóto*, and beings that are in a state of *tóto*.

*Tóto* is purported to have a body similar to that of humans, but disfigured by mutilations such as a missing eye, an oversized mouth, a semifleshless body, and a lack of some body parts. *Tóto* is of a permanently orgiastic disposition, practices cannibalism, and causes illness and death. With the exception of those of the peach palm, all fruits of the forest belong to *Tóto*. If they are improperly gathered, it can result in the transgressors' illness and death.

Those who are in a state of *tóto* are the animals of the forest, of the water, and of the air (unless they have undergone a special process of "humanization"); the masters of animal species; the hunters who have been initiated by one of the leaders of the animals; the Amiko, who have caused numerous types of harm, as, for example, the introduction of illnesses for which no cure is known; the Wachipaeri and Zapiteri shamans (*topakéri*), who have entered a state of *tóto* through initiation;



witches (*tshiwembáe*) whose harmful activities are revealed by the shaman or the "dreamer" and who are submitted to a real trial to identify them, determine their culpability, and punish them; various artifacts, which in the moment of the coming apocalypse, will show their true demonic nature; and the souls of the deceased who live in the underworld (*Seronháí*).

The mythico-religious complex of the Mashco distinguishes between mythic narratives and chants (*esüva*) for various purposes. There is no generic term that designates myths, but every narrative is particularized by mentioning its most important spiritual protagonist and the event that gives it meaning.

The cosmos is considered to be dome shaped. The Amaracaeri distinguish only a single sky, whereas the Wachipaeri and Zapiteri recognize several tiers. The terrestrial level is circular, and below it is the underworld of the souls of the deceased. Religion permeates all aspects of Mashco life. All natural beings, like the animals, for example, are believed to be demonic.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman is initiated by the animals of the forest and learns how to separate his soul from his body. Like everybody else, he lives in the communal house, but he also lives with his animal wives in the interior of the forest. Among the Amaracaeri, shamanism is less complex an institution than among the other factions, and they prefer to speak of "dreamers" rather than of "shamans." In curing, agricultural rites, sorcery, and love magic, a very important role is played by the specialists in the performance of powerful chants. Witches are persecuted, and if the plant bundles with which they cause harm cannot be located, they are executed.

**Ceremonies.** The main Amaracaeri ceremony is centered on the male-initiation dances. Among the Wachipaeri and Zapiteri, drinking masato beer (made from sweet manioc) at a social gathering has a ceremonial character. It permits the resolution of personal conflicts by means of special songs containing metaphorical imagery.

**Arts.** Besides feather ornaments, there are small bags and tunics of bark cloth, adorned with geometrical designs like dots, crosses, and stripes of different meanings. Body painting is done on festive occasions.

**Medicine.** The shaman is in charge of medicine but does not completely monopolize the field. Instead, there are other curers whose therapeutic practices involve the use of *esüva*, which have become instituted in Mashco culture by means of etiological myth.

**Death and Afterlife.** In general, death is attributed to the malefic action of *Tóto*. The soul (*wanokire*) goes to a place located in the underworld. The souls of shamans and hunters go into the forest, where they live with the animals. The Mashco have been catechized by missionaries of the Dominican order and by linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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MARIO CALIFANO

(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Mataco

ETHNONYMS: Churumatas, Coronados, Mataco-Güisnay, Mataco-Noctenes (Oktenai, Nocten), Mataco-Véjoz (Bejoses, Wejwos, Hueshuos), Mataguay, Wenhayek wikyi', Wichí, Wikyé

### Orientation

**Identification.** The fact that the Mataco have been identified with a series of denominations indicates the fragmentary knowledge that we have of all their different dialects and subsections. The name "Mataco" seems to be derived from Spanish *montaraces* (bush people), a pejorative word for those living in the little-known dry forests of the Gran Chaco.

**Location.** Ever since their habitat was first established, the Mataco have lived in northern and central Gran Chaco, roughly in the area between the Pilcomayo and Bermejo rivers, from the foothills of the Andes in Bolivia to the town of Las Lomitas in Argentina. This part of the Gran Chaco is known as the hottest region of South America, and, apart from a few chilly days during the period from June to August, day temperatures range between 30° and 40° C, with the average summer temperature ascending to more than 30° C. Precipitation is normally sparse, around 60 centimeters per year, which results in a semidesert climate with xerophytic vegetation.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Mataco language belongs to the Mataco-Mak'á Branch of the Macro-Guaicuruan Language Family. Lately, the latter has been associated with the Ge-Pano-Carib Language Group. Mataco has for centuries been divided into three dialects: Noctenes, Güisnay, and Véjoz, but this partition may prove insufficient.

**Demography.** According to official figures, there are 12,000 Mataco in Argentina and some 2,000 in Bolivia. These numbers are most certainly too low, however. In 1988 an Argentine newspaper *El Nuevo Diario* assessed the number of Mataco in Argentina alone to be about 60,000.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Comparative studies by Erland Nordenskiöld in the early years of this century suggest that the Macro-Guaicuruan are descendants of the first immigrants to South America. They were well established in the Gran Chaco before the Guaraní immigration in the sixteenth century and the arrival of the Spanish in the seventeenth. The first recorded contact between the Mataco and the Spaniards took place in 1628, but White penetration was slow, and the area cannot be considered to have been fully "colonized" until after the Chaco War (1932-1936).

Archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic evidence show that the Mataco had extensive, early contacts with the Andean peoples, chiefly with the Quechua. In historical times, the Mataco traded with and worked for the Chiriguano. During the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, they migrated to the cane mills of northern Argentina. Nevertheless, they have exchanged fairly little by way of language and culture with other peoples. In most parts of their territory, the Mataco have resisted integration or interacted very reluctantly with the Whites and the mestizos. This attitude has made them the object of numerous negative evaluations by development planners, missionaries, and the local population.

### *Settlements*

The Mataco live in villages of varying size, comprised of from 1 to 100 extended families. Because of lack of water and the abundance of fish, most settlements are situated along the rivers. Those who are not riverine Mataco also prefer the vicinity of waters. The spatial layout of the village reflects the social relations, usually family ties, of the inhabitants. The traditional beehivelike grass hut disappeared as a permanent dwelling around the time of the Chaco War and is seen only occasionally at temporary fishing camps. Today the Mataco live in square wattle-and-daub houses or, if residing in urban areas, in adobe or brick houses.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Mataco are gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but supplement these activities with a simple agriculture. Women gather tree fruits, tubers, herbs, and roots, whereas men forage for honey. The Mataco know over twenty species of honey-producing bees. Men fish with several techniques but most often with nets. The most common and economically important catches are of *sábalos*, *dorados*, and *zurubís*. Hunting decreased in importance after the Chaco War, and communal hunts have disappeared. Today the customary practice is to hunt with dogs. The most frequently taken game are armadillos, rheas, and iguanas. Slash-and-burn cultivation has been replaced by a more permanent cultivation. The main crops are maize, pumpkins, squashes, watermelons, and cassava. In the 1970s the northernmost Mataco developed a fishing industry, based on seine fishing. The Mataco adopted the idea from a missionary and based the work organization on traditional collective barraging-net fishing. Since then commercialized fishing has become the single largest source of income for these

Mataco. In other areas, lumbering and unskilled day labor provide the Mataco with the necessary cash.

**Industrial Arts.** Aboriginal crafts include pottery, making of *caraguatá* string bags, basketry, and the production of items from calabash and tools and ornaments from wood, bark, skin, bone, and teeth. The string bags have received special attention because of their beauty and variety of design; they are now also produced for sale. In the 1950s the Mataco started producing wickerlike furniture, and in the 1960s they started a home industry of baskets and balsa wood. In both cases, commercialization has been very successful, and these products constitute the second-largest source of income for the Mataco in the northern half of their habitat.

**Trade.** The group maintained a considerable precontact trade with the Quechua and the Chiriguano; there was probably an Amazon-Pampean trade route that passed through the Gran Chaco. Today the Mataco buy kerosene, maté, macaroni, rice, sugar, and clothes from the mestizos and sell fish, handicrafts, honey, some agricultural products, and labor.

**Division of Labor.** Women are responsible for the gathering of most foods and light firewood, fetching water, cooking, and making handicrafts out of clay, *caraguatá* fibers, palm leaves, wool, and cotton. Men gather honey and heavy firewood; they fish, hunt, and manufacture handicrafts of wood, bark, skin, leather, bone, and metal. Men also undertake most of the activities that relate to the national society: employment, work migrations, contacts with authorities, and trade. Both sexes help out in agriculture, and women sometimes sell their own handicraft products.

**Land Tenure.** Individuals have the right to occupy, hunt, and cultivate any unoccupied land. This right of possession lasts as long as the land is cultivated or inhabited. There is no individual ownership as regards land. With the help of missions or national agencies, Mataco village communities have acquired legal rights to portions of their former territory.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Mataco society was traditionally divided into a series of *wikiyi'*, or groups (i.e., named, geographically localized and exogamous social units). Each group was regarded as a single entity, but each split into bands that varied in size according to the season. After the Chaco War, these groups developed into *wikiyi'* categories and are now spread out over large areas. Nevertheless, it is easy to find a correlation between a concentration of *wikiyi'* members and its traditional locality. Apart from *wikiyi'* membership, there is little emphasis on descent. There is no descent ideology, and when a person dies, he or she is immediately cut out of the kinship system. Even his or her name is quickly ignored and sometimes tabooed.

**Kinship Terminology.** The system of kinship terminology is based on cognatic principles and could be classified as a variant of the Hawaiian type. Almost all kinship terms are generational and can be used in several genealogical positions. No difference is made between full siblings and first cousins. However, six core terms are specific (Ego, wife, mother, father, daughter, sister). These represent key

concepts in Ego's family of orientation and that of procreation.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The formation of a matrimony extends over considerable time, and the couple may follow any of the following procedures. According to the Mataco codex, discussions should precede initiatives toward sexual liaisons, and these should be followed by a phase of trials. Only thereafter do the parents celebrate the wedding or consider the couple to be married. Another, and nowadays more common, alternative is to escape for some time after the first, passionate encounter. The period away from home is equivalent to the trial, and if the liaison proves to be durable, the couple is regarded as "married" upon returning to the original community. Marriage should be followed by bride-service until the first child is born. After the initial, uxorilocal residence, the couple may move to any place they wish. Divorce is fairly frequent, especially among those contracting marriage at an early age.

**Domestic Unit.** The basic socioeconomic unit is the extended family, which lives in a single or several adjacent huts. It may be constituted by one or two pots, but is characterized by generalized reciprocity and close cooperation in all socioeconomic activities.

**Inheritance.** There is no inheritance among the Mataco. When a person dies, his or her property is destroyed.

**Socialization.** Children are supposed to learn through imitation and instruction, not by correction or punishment. An increasing percentage of them now attend primary school. Until the 1980s, however, no Mataco had ever gone beyond secondary school.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** All Mataco, men and women, young and old, are supposed to be equal; all share the right of free speech and partake in all activities. Nevertheless, eloquence (only acquired with age) is crucial; therefore elders, and often old men, enjoy a special status.

**Political Organization.** Formerly, each wikyi' was an autonomous political entity, guided by the community council and represented by the *niyat*, the spokesman. The council, which was constituted of all the adults of the group, handled all kinds of political, judicial, and legal issues. Today, the village council fulfills these roles.

**Social Control.** Within the family or the community, open face-to-face conflict, as well as gossip, slander, ostracism, and social withdrawal are, and have been, important forms of social control. Taboos and fear of supernatural powers cannot be disregarded, however. Between wikyi' and extended families severe crimes, like homicide, were settled through negotiations or blood revenge.

**Conflict.** There are no means of external intervention in internal familial controversies. Disputes between families often evolve into open clashes, necessitating the intervention of the village council. In these fights or scuffles, women, more often than men, are the protagonists. In bygone days, clashes between wikyi' could result in armed ag-

gression, but such tension was often prevented by recurrent games of hockey.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Mataco believe in an interrelationship between humans and animals, the sky and the earth, and the natural and the supernatural. A distant and vague Creator is complemented by a rich pantheon of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures who intervene very little in a person's life if he or she adheres to the Mataco codex or keeps to the human zones. Breaking of taboos, or any other type of border crossing, brings a person in direct contact, or even conflict, with the supernatural. A characteristic feature of Mataco religion is the existence of "lords" over different phenomena central to the Mataco, like honey, caraguatá, or peccaries. The Mataco worldview is expressed, outlined, and explained in their rich mythology and in their oral tradition. There are numerous supernatural individuals and categories in the Mataco cosmos. Some of the most important are Lawo', the rainbow or giant serpent, who controls tempests, storms, and cyclones and is easily irritated; Ahââtaj, the head of all evil; Ijwala, the sun and the evil master; and Thokwjwaj, the feared but cherished trickster who represents "Mataconess." Most Mataco adhere to a type of parallelism, a combination of traditional beliefs and Christian faith spread through Anglican and Pentecostal missions.

**Religious Practitioners.** The only religious specialists are the shamans, who have advisory as well as curative functions. Through shamanic trips, they have knowledge of the supernatural and the unknown and pass this information on to the people. Whenever a person fears supernatural intervention, he or she goes to a shaman for advice or curative rituals. Shamans have no direct political authority, but may, through their extensive knowledge, influence decisions. Missionary teachings have diminished the number of shamans and their caseloads.

**Ceremonies.** Traditional rituals included a rite of passage for girls, a wedding ceremony, and a funeral. Besides these, there were several types of shamanistic rites. Most of these have disappeared as a result of the influence of Christianity.

**Arts.** Mataco artistry reaches its supreme height in the string-bag designs, based on natural or symbolic patterns and closely related to their mythology. Several natural dyes are used and some fifteen basic patterns, with hundreds of variants. Aesthetic expression is also found in carvings, pottery, and, in bygone days, facial paintings.

**Medicine.** The Mataco are familiar with a large number of herbs that are used for most somatic ailments. Aside from these, there are natural and supernatural forces that are accessible only to the shaman.

**Death and Afterlife.** When a Mataco dies, he or she is buried with a jug of water, an important item for a trip in the barren Chaco. The deceased is supposed to initiate a long journey and must do so to avoid disturbing or molesting the living. The deceased will continue his or her afterlife in the underworld, much as he or she lived on earth. Some Mataco philosophers believe in metempsychosis,

however (i.e., in successive transformation of humans into ghosts, bats, and spiders before they vanish totally).

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JAN-ÅKE ALVARSSON

## Matsigenka

ETHNONYMS: Anti, Ashaninka ("our kind"), Kogapakori (isolated, uncontacted Matsigenka referred to as "wild ones"), Machiguenga, Nomatsigenka (an enclave residing within Campa territory)

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Matsigenka" means "people." It refers to a closely related group of people with minor local differences in dialect and material culture. They are sometimes considered a subgroup of the neighboring Campa, although both groups regard each other as distinct.

**Location.** The Matsigenka inhabit the tropical rain forest of the upper Amazon of southeastern Peru, primarily the eastern foothills of the Andes Mountains, along the Río Urubamba and its tributaries, and in the headwaters of the Río Madre de Dios. These Amazon headwaters originate near the ancient Inca capital of Cuzco and flow past abandoned Inca roads and terraces to the high forest (*selva alta*) of the Matsigenka. Here there is profuse rainfall (250 to 500 centimeters per year), spread evenly through a wet season from October through March and a less wet, but still rainy season from April through September. Temperatures range from 14° C on the coolest nights to 32° C during the hottest days, with an annual average around 24° C. The high-forest habitat is mountainous tropical rain forest with steep inclines, rushing mountain

streams, and hazardous trails, making interregional travel difficult.

**Demography.** The Matsigenka population is estimated at between 7,000 and 12,000. The population is steadily growing in size after suffering staggering losses from European diseases and social atrocities during the rubber boom of the early 1900s. Historically, they were pressed from the Andes by farmers who established farms in the upper reaches of their territory to grow coca and other tropical crops and from the north and east by neighboring groups competing for hunting and fishing territories. Today they are again being pressed by highlanders moving into their lands, driven by overpopulation and poverty in the highlands.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Matsigenka is an Arawakan language of the Pre-Andean Subgroup, which also includes Campa, Piro, and Amuesha. Current opinion favors the view that these societies are descendants of the ancient inhabitants of this region, who migrated to it at least several thousand years ago. Despite evidence of historical contact with Andean culture, there is very little language borrowing from Quechua.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Matsigenka have inhabited their present territory since long before the Spanish Conquest. It may be called a "refuge zone," in the sense of being a niche in a somewhat less favorable environment than surrounding ones, where they have sought to live peaceably and to be left alone. The Matsigenka were surrounded to the north, east, and south by Arawakan and Panoan groups, among whom warfare was endemic. Evidence of Panoan pottery in the Arawakan zone indicates the groups traded with one another. At least as early as the mid-nineteenth century, the Matsigenka were described as less fierce than their neighbors and more likely to avoid violence.

Contact between the forest people of the high forest and the highland groups of the Andes predates the Inca empire. Matsigenka and their neighbors provided the highlanders with cacao, bird feathers, palm wood, cotton, herbal medicines, and tropical fruits. In return they received stone and metal tools and bits of silver used in jewelry. Otherwise, the influence of highland culture was very slight. The uninhabited cloud forest has been an effective barrier separating the highlands and the high forest. Furthermore, low population density and an absence of regional political organization made it impossible for the Inca to exercise effective control over the Matsigenka. Consequently, the Matsigenka historically were able to maintain their distance from both the Inca Empire and the Spanish Conquest. Catholic missionaries also had little influence in the region, often being martyred in raids by Matsigenka and Campa.

In the early 1900s, however, the rubber boom and slave trade had a significant disruptive impact, abetted by Matsigenka strongmen who traded their own people into slavery in exchange for shotguns and steel tools. Although the rubber boom collapsed after a few years, the practice of raiding continued on a smaller scale until the 1950s because colonists persisted in their demand for laborers and household servants. By the 1960s, Peruvian police, devel-

opment agencies, and missionary programs finally curtailed the slave trade. Despite their growing dependence on Western medicine, clothing, steel tools, and aluminum pots, present-day Matsigenka retain most of their traditional culture.

### Settlements

The Machiguenga traditionally live in small semipermanent settlement clusters of 7 to 25 individuals, composed of one to four families, situated on hilltops and ridges for fear of slave raids. In the past, charismatic leaders or shamans attracted several hundred people along a tributary stream. Since the 1960s, Matsigenka schoolteachers, trained in Pucallpa by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant group), have successfully drawn people out of their isolation into school communities with airstrips. But most Matsigenka households continue to be scattered in traditional hamlets to avoid competition over resources. Individual families periodically leave on foraging trips for several days or weeks at a time. Matsigenka school communities range in size from 100 to 250 individuals and consist of nuclear and extended family households averaging approximately 6 individuals per household. Houses are constructed entirely from local materials; they are built with heavy hardwood posts tied with bark, palm-wood walls, and a thatched palm-leaf roof. Houses were traditionally low, oval-shaped structures; today many have raised palm-wood floors and are larger and rectangular in shape. Houses are located at the edge of a river or a stream and are usually surrounded by a clearing with a small kitchen garden at the perimeter.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Matsigenka are slash-and-burn horticulturists; the main cultivated crops are manioc, maize, plantains, and pineapples. Garden activities produce about 90 percent of all calories, supplemented by hunting, fishing, and collecting, which provide the most highly prized foods. Most hunting is done with bows and arrows and traps. Individuals with shotguns are more successful and share their catch with local households to offset resentment. The most common game include monkeys, birds, peccaries, and tapir. Fishing is done with hooks and lines, nets, and *barbasco* poison; the latter is the most successful but requires communal effort in damming up waterways. Commercial activities have been almost nonexistent in traditional communities. Communities with schools typically try to develop commercial crops such as coffee, cacao, peanuts, and beans for sale, but as of the early 1980s these provided only a small proportion of household income. Money has only recently been introduced into the local economy.

**Industrial Arts.** The Matsigenka manufacture nearly everything they use except machetes and axes, and now aluminum pots and factory-made cloth. Men make houses, bows and arrows, and fiber twine for netting used in fishnets and carrying bags. Women primarily spin cotton and weave cloth, but also make mats for sleeping and sitting and plaited sifters and strainers used in food preparation.

**Trade.** Historically, trade with the Inca was important. Today Western goods such as machetes, axes, aluminum

pots, and cloth are obtained through barter, by working for farmers in the major river valleys, or through the schoolteacher, who serves as a link with the commercial world.

**Division of Labor.** Women provide most child care, prepare nearly all the food, manufacture cotton cloth, and grow certain "women's crops," such as yams and *cocoyam* (*Xanthogoma nigra*). Men do all the hunting, most fishing, and the bulk of agricultural work, accounting for the vast majority of calories in the diet. Men and women occasionally work together in the garden or on foraging trips, complementing one another's tasks. Starting at age 5, children begin to acquire adult skills by accompanying the parent of their sex to work. The only other division of labor is on an individual basis, as people with particular skills such as hunting or bow manufacture share their products with others in exchange for material goods or prestige.

**Land Tenure.** Although land is not owned as such, territories are informally demarcated. Men announce in advance their intentions to clear gardens in specific locations; later, abandoned gardens revert to the public domain. Hamlets may remain in the same vicinity for several generations, although individuals frequently travel and visit to learn of prospects for resources or mates.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Matsigenka do not have named kin groups. At most, they have bilateral kindreds, in the form of hamlets of intermarrying families, but these hamlets frequently split for periods of time when nuclear-family households go off on their own. Newly married couples initially prefer matrilocal residence, so that a woman can be near her mother when her first child is born. Afterwards, residence is highly fluid and opportunistic. There are no descent rules determining access to group membership (no kin groups), territories, or ceremonial rights. Most material possessions are destroyed by burning upon an individual's death, so inheritance rarely arises as an issue. Kin relations are traced bilaterally through both parents.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Matsigenka kinship system is a straightforward Dravidian system with the cross/parallel ("lineal vs. affinal") distinction maintained in Ego's generation and those immediately preceding and following it. Opposite-sex cross cousins are defined as potential spouses.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Some marriages are arranged at an early age, although in communities with schools it is more common for girls to marry after puberty. Everyone on Ego's generation is either a sibling or a cross cousin, with prescriptive cross-cousin marriage. The system favors a pattern of two families intermarrying over time and living together in the same hamlet or vicinity. Demographics often falling short of this ideal, unmarried individuals of both sexes must visit other settlements seeking mates. Marriage is initiated when each partner addresses the prospective spouse's relatives as "in-laws" and the male assumes bride-service responsibilities.

**Domestic Unit.** The typical domestic unit is a nuclear family household in a 5-by-10 meter house, situated in a clearing either alone or near other households in a hamlet. In the small number of cases of polygyny, each wife has a separate hearth at her own end of the house, which is considered her living space. Co-wives are cordial but separate: they tend to manage their own food supplies, rear their own children, and control the distribution of the products of their own labor. Single relatives, including widowed elders, may live in the household as additional members, but not with their own hearth. Households of more than one married couple are temporary arrangements occasioned by death, divorce, or migration into a new area.

**Inheritance.** Generally, property is not inherited. Durable valuables, such as an axe or a mirror, may be passed on from mother to daughter or father to son.

**Socialization.** Infants are fed on demand and cuddled and enjoyed. Discipline after 1 year of age is by verbal reprimand and the rarely enforced threat of corporal punishment. Weaning is between 3 and 4 years of age and is loudly protested by the child, but parents do not relent. After age 5, children gradually acquire adult, gender-appropriate behaviors. Scolding is common, but the process is gentle and gradual.

#### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The nuclear-family household is the basic social unit. Each household is virtually self-sufficient, even when aggregated in hamlets of several related households. Wild foods, particularly game and fish, are shared generously within the hamlet, and cross-cousin marriages may tie the hamlet group together over the years, even when households take up separate residence for periods of time. Hamlet dwellers exchange visits, but larger groups are amorphous and unstructured.

**Political Organization.** The basic rule of political organization is household autonomy. There are no headmen or councils to set policy, and the Matsigenka are notorious for leaving an area when their autonomy is compromised. Traditionally, charismatic leaders and shamans did become centers of loose regional aggregates of households, brought together through beer feasts with meat sharing, singing, and dancing. Today, communities that have schools strive with limited success to overcome individualism. The government supplies a school curriculum that emphasizes Peruvian nationalism and political participation in the nation-state, and these communities register as Native Communities under Peruvian law. The Matsigenka have formed a multicomunity union and an elected council head to deal with oil exploration and other extractive industries moving into their territory.

**Social Control.** No overarching legal system exists to punish wrongdoing. Gossip and shaming are used to try to prevent serious breaches such as homicide or incest. Individuals who commit such crimes are punished by being ostracized or expelled from the community. Early socialization and shaming are quite effective in teaching people to control aggressive impulses.

**Conflict.** Late in the twentieth century, conflict with outside groups is at a minimum. Conflicts within the

household and hamlet occur occasionally, usually after drinking at a beer feast. Arguments take the form of verbal fights with limited physical contact. Fights usually result in one or more members leaving the community, either temporarily or for good.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** A Creator made the world by mounding up mud into land. He contended with a Trickster figure who created the bad things of this world, like biting flies. Many animals are the degenerated descendants of humans who violated norms in the past, for instance by theft or incest. Not all, but many features of the world are imbued with spirit. Animals have spirit rulers that must be appeased if one of their kind has been killed. Various demons, often with enlarged penises, haunt the forests and are especially dangerous to women, whom they can impregnate with a demon child. The alkaloid hallucinogen *ayahuasca* (*kamarampi*; lit., "death medicine") is ingested to allow the spirit to fly to the land of the Unseen Ones, spirit helpers who can inhabit one's body and perform cures, divine the future, and give instruction. The soul also lives on after death and can reach a better layer of the cosmos if not eaten by dangerous spirits during its post-mortem journey. The heroically good (and bad) figures who created the world are no longer active. Good and bad spirits continue to be present, especially away from inhabited areas. Some shamans practice sorcery to bring harm to others, but these are generally thought to reside far away in other communities.

**Ceremonies.** Ceremonial life is minimal. Curing and spiritual encounters are conducted by individuals in the privacy of their homes. Beer feasts are occasions for drunkenness, music and dance, and ribald humor blending into ridicule and humiliation, but they do not invoke spiritual forces. Calendrical festivals and ancestor worship are absent.

**Arts.** The Matsigenka are good singers; they sing in groups of up to four, with hypnotic repetitions and counterpoint. Drums, flutes, and panpipes are widely used. When drinking manioc beer, men drum in rapid 4/4 time and dance by darting and whirling around the clearing. Women dance by walking behind the men, holding hands, and singing. Men and women occasionally decorate their faces with *achiote* (annatto). In the most traditional areas, women still wear small silver nosepieces. Cotton cloth is usually decorated with small geometric designs in the weave. Sculpture, painting, and other plastic arts are lacking, as is pottery.

**Medicine.** A large number of herbal remedies are known, many of the most common from plants raised for that purpose in kitchen gardens. Shamans identify spiritual causes of illness and treat them by sucking magic darts or blowing smoke and by invoking the powers of friendly spirits.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death can occur through natural or supernatural causes. If the soul dies through attack by an evil spirit, the body will wither and die. In any case, the soul will linger in sorrow near the house of the deceased. The house must be burned down and the remainder of the

family must move away so the soul will have no reason to linger and will begin its journey to the higher level of the cosmos, where people live just as they do here on earth but without suffering or death.

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ORNA R. JOHNSON AND ALLEN W. JOHNSON

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## Maxakali

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ETHNONYMS: Atonoxó, Caposhó, Cumanashó, Kaposhó, Macuní, Mashacalí, Mashacari, Mashakali, Monaxó, Monochó

The Maxakali number approximately 500 to 600 and live 160 kilometers inland in the Mariano de Oliveira and Pradinho Indian parks in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, near the Bahia border. They are monolingual speakers of Maxakali, a language that belongs to a family of the same name; many authorities consider the Maxakali Family to belong to the Macro-Gê Stock. Originally situated at the borders of Minas Gerais, Porto Seguro, and Bahia states, the Maxakali were forced to move to their present location by their traditional enemies, the Botocudo Indians. The Maxakali fought the Portuguese who encroached upon their land in the eighteenth century. Later, in the 1790s, they came into permanent contact with the Portuguese, with whom they allied themselves to fight the Botocudo. By the 1970s they were living on the Indian reserve, where they were in sustained contact with non-Indians.

In the early nineteenth century, the Maxakali raised maize, sweet potatoes, beans, and cotton, but only some

groups grew manioc. Hunting and gathering were important, fishing much less so. The traditional house was made of branches, which were stuck into the ground and bent over into a dome; it was then covered with palm fronds. From cotton, women made hammocks and net bags for storage, and from black clay small globular pots. Bows had a groove for holding a spare arrow while shooting, and arrows were fletched some distance from the butt end.

Postmarital residence was usually virilocal. Cross-cousin marriage was permitted and possibly preferred, but parallel cousins were classed as siblings and covered by the incest taboo. Sororal polygyny was the only type of plural marriage allowed.

Men slept in the men's hut, which was forbidden to females at all times, and after dark, to boys who had not been initiated as members of the spirit cult. Inside the hut, spirits of the dead revealed themselves to the men in their dreams; they could also be summoned with a whistle. The annual initiation of boys was a lengthy process and involved nightly singing lessons. In these initiation rituals, men dressed up as spirits of the dead wielded bullroarers and whips. After the season of initiation passed, a special pole was set up in front of the men's house to conduct the souls of the deceased down to earth as the men danced. The Maxakali buried their dead in the squatting position. Souls were believed to be capable of turning into jaguars.

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## Mayoruna

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ETHNONYMS: Matses, Maxirona, Mayiruna, Mayo

The Mayoruna live in widely scattered groups along the Rio Javari, which over much of its course marks the boundary between Brazil and Peru. On the Brazilian side there are several small settlements with a total population of about 250 on the upper Javari. Across the river on the Peruvian side, the Mayoruna villages, with a total population of approximately 350, are between the Javari and its tributary, the Río Galvez. In 1978, after a clash between Mayoruna factions, about 100 Mayoruna migrated far

downriver and founded a new settlement some 80 kilometers above the confluence of the Javari with the Solimões. There are believed to be uncontacted groups of Mayoruna living in the regions of both the upper and lower Javari.

The Mayoruna speak a language of the Panoan Family; only a few speak Spanish or Portuguese fluently. "Mayoruna" is apparently a name of Quechua origin, derived from the words for "river" (*mayo*) and "people" (*runa*). It was applied in colonial times to several groups similar in language and appearance that were in contact with Spanish Jesuit missions on the Solimões, Huallaga, and Ucayali rivers. Some settled at these missions, whose populations, however, were often reduced by epidemics and mass desertions. After the Jesuits left in 1769, the missions were taken over by Franciscans, and, although some Mayoruna remained settled, others became hostile, gaining a reputation as fierce nomadic cannibals who made it impossible for Whites to explore the stretches of the Javari they controlled. In 1866 the Mayoruna attacked members of the boundary commission surveying the frontier between Peru and Brazil.

At the time of the rubber boom, Peruvian and Brazilian rubber tappers moved into the Javari region. Little is known of the Mayoruna during this period; they may have retreated to the headwaters of tributaries on the Peruvian side. The account of an elderly Mayoruna indicates that they were intent on avoiding contact. After this man's father was killed around 1920 in a fight with hunters of animal skins, some of his group, which was then living on the upper Río Galvez in Peru, left to explore the vicinity of the Río Pardo, a tributary of the Curuçá in Brazil. After some months, five men returned, relating that they had found a region without Whites and where there was plenty of game. The rest of the exploring party had remained there to clear fields and build houses. The entire group then made the long migration of over 240 kilometers, carrying with them maize seeds, banana shoots, and manioc stalks to plant in the new gardens. When they arrived after three months of travel, they found that the manioc stalks had dried up and were useless. A few young men took a canoe and paddled downriver until they came upon the homestead of a settler, from whose garden they stole fresh manioc stalks for planting.

This group lived undisturbed for forty years, until Protestant missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics attempted to contact them. The missionaries' planes began to make low flights over the Mayoruna village, dropping presents such as knives, cooking pots, and cloth. At first the villagers refused to touch these things, pushing them into the river with sticks or burning them. The missionaries persisted, however, and on a day when the headman was away, some villagers, overcome by curiosity, gathered the presents.

Beginning in the early 1960s, the Mayoruna increasingly came into contact and conflict with Peruvians and Brazilians who were opening roads for logging and rubber tapping. There were killings on both sides, and the Mayoruna kidnapped several White women. The missionaries' efforts also continued, and eventually two women missionaries were able to live with a Mayoruna group and study their language. Through emissaries from contacted groups, they persuaded the Pardo group to move nearer to Peru,

but in 1969 the Mayoruna again dispersed, some rejecting contact and returning to isolation.

The Mayoruna live in large communal houses, rectangular in shape, with an entrance at each end. The walls are built of vertical bamboo posts, and the palm-leaf roof has overhanging eaves. In the interior there are eating and storage areas, an enclosed sleeping area, and a separate cooking place for each wife. At the doorway of each house the Mayoruna display monkey skulls mounted on poles and bones of the game animals they have killed. These bones give clues to the prevalence of game, as the more smoke-darkened the bones the longer since the animal was killed, whereas the bones of more recently killed animals are white.

Mayoruna women seldom marry outside the tribe, except for those who are kidnapped, sometimes as children. The Mayoruna and other groups often steal children, including Whites, whom they adopt and raise as members of the tribe. A young husband lives with his wife's family for a period of time, and nowadays, as well as working for his father-in-law, he is expected to bring presents such as radios, wristwatches, and rifles, which confer high prestige among the Mayoruna, to his wife's parents. Preferred marriage is with a cross cousin, either matrilineal or patrilineal.

A boy receives his name from his father's father or from his father's father's brothers, either biological or classificatory. Girls' names are inherited from the mother's mother or from sisters of the mother's mother. A girl child was traditionally betrothed at birth to a small boy, which imposed on the boy's parents important responsibilities toward her; they were expected to provide the future bride with food up to the age of marriage, generally at puberty.

Although it is known that the Mayoruna on the Brazilian side have shamans in their villages, little is known to outsiders about their shamanistic practices, nor has Mayoruna cosmology been studied.

Hunting has always been a very important factor in Mayoruna subsistence, and movement in search of game probably contributed to their nomadism. Present-day Mayoruna hunt with bows and arrows, a practice they learned from the neighboring Marubo. The Mayoruna formerly used the blowgun, but for unknown reasons they have abandoned it. Women accompany hunting parties, helping with the pursuit of game and carrying the animals. Meat is distributed according to well-defined rules, and the meat of certain kinds of animals cannot be consumed at the same meal as that of certain other kinds. A hunter never eats the game that he himself killed. Fishing is a dry-season activity, and collective fishing parties may produce large quantities of fish, which the Mayoruna preserve by smoking. They also gather a number of different wild fruits.

The Mayoruna practice slash-and-burn agriculture, preferring dark soils on high ground. Their fields average 300 meters by 100 meters in size. Men plant manioc and maize, and women plant bananas and most minor crops except tobacco. Besides their staples, the Mayoruna grow yams, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, *barbasco* (fish poison), arrow canes, cotton, *achiote* (for skin paint), and other plants. The missionaries have introduced citrus fruits, rice, mangoes, and cacao. Women harvest maize, and men weed



the gardens. The owner of the crop is the family that planted the field, but men invite other men to help them weed in exchange for some of the produce of the field. Before the Mayoruna let a field go fallow, they dig up the rest of the manioc tubers and make flour from them. The plot is then no longer weeded, but they return to pick the fruit from trees they have planted.

All Mayoruna—men, women, and children—have a line tattooed around the lips and across the cheeks to each ear. The tattoo instrument is a sharp fish bone. They also make small perforations across the upper lip and sometimes in the nostrils, into which they stick bristles. These “jaguar whiskers” give the face a feline look that is fundamental to the Mayoruna image. Faces are painted with achiote and cord anklets and wristlets are worn. All Mayoruna women make hammocks for their close relatives, and they also make pots to store water and to cook meat and sweet manioc.

The Mayoruna have occasionally worked for Whites as skin hunters or loggers, but they are still little involved in the regional economy. On the Brazilian side, the Mayoruna at one government Indian post have cut and sold timber through the intermediary of the Indian agent, using the proceeds to buy salt, kerosene, batteries, clothing, tools, and other Western goods to which they have become accustomed.

The health of the Mayoruna is probably now suffering less than that of most other recently contacted groups because, on both the Brazilian and Peruvian sides of the border, they have received some immunizations. A recent census of the Brazilian settlements shows that more than 65 percent of the population is estimated to be under 20 years old. This indicates that the population is growing rapidly, but the lack of people over 50 suggests that epidemic diseases must have taken a heavy toll in former years. On the Brazilian side of the border, the project for the Javari Indian Park, with a proposed area of over 80,000 square kilometers will, if carried out, provide land for the Mayoruna as well as for a number of other Amazonian groups.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Mehinaku

ETHNONYMS: Mehinaco, Mehinacu, Meinaco, Meinacu

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Mehinaku village is located approximately four-fifths of a kilometer east of the Rio Kulesau (one of the major tributaries of the Rio Xingu) in the Xingu National Park in central Brazil. The Mehinaku are similar in their technology and culture to tribes of the South American tropical forest, but they are located just beyond the southernmost extension of true rain forest in central Brazil.

**Location.** The appearance of the environment is heavily dependent on the season of the year. During the dry season (May to August) there is hardly any rain at all. The rivers retreat to narrow channels, which are typically bordered by a narrow band of permanent gallery forest. Beyond the forest is a hard, sun-baked floodplain extending as much as 1.5 kilometers or more to permanent dry forest, where the Indians of the Upper Xingu region make their villages. During the wet season (September to April) the rivers overflow their banks, cover the floodplain, and inundate portions of the forest. The villagers take advantage of the abundance of water by taking shortcuts in their canoes across the floodplain and through the forest.

**Demography.** As of the fall of 1989 there were approximately 135 Mehinaku, all but a few of whom were living in the village of Uyaipyuku (the Mehinaku name for the *Jatoba* tree). At the time of first recorded contact with Europeans in 1887, the Mehinaku lived in three separate villages with a population that probably exceeded today's by two or three times. At that time, they were virtually free from epidemic disease. During the following years, waves of illness—including flu, whooping cough, and most devastating of all, measles—swept through the Xingu villages. In one measles epidemic that occurred a few years prior to 1967, at least 15 individuals died. By the early 1960s the Mehinaku population was reduced to approximately 75 persons. Since that time, however, there has been a rapid recovery owing to relatively excellent medical services, vaccination against measles, and, perhaps, newly acquired resistance to outside illnesses.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Mehinaku language is a member of the Arawakan Language Family and is closely linked to the language of two other tribes in the Xingu National Park, the Waurá and Yawalapití. Speakers of Waurá and Mehinaku can understand each other, but their dialects of the Arawakan Family are understood by no other groups.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Mehinaku participate in a wider cultural system, that of the tribes of the Xingu National Park. At present, there are ten single-village tribes representing four major language groups. Despite the linguistic differences that separate them, the tribes of the region have developed a similar cultural basis: peaceful trade, participation in one another

er's rituals, and intermarriage. How this system of indigenous acculturation evolved is a matter of speculation. It is possible, as proposed by Robert Carneiro, that the Xingu tribes are an example of cultural devolution from a more warlike chieftainship that existed prior to Columbus and contact with Western diseases. Alternatively, the Mehinaku and their neighbors may be refugees from more aggressive Gê-speaking tribes who live to the north of the Xingu peoples. In the absence of systematic archaeological evidence, the history of the region will remain somewhat speculative, since the Xingu culture pattern was already well established at the time of the first European contact in 1887, and the villagers' oral culture offers only mythological explanations. It is likely, however, that the Mehinaku and other Arawakan cultures played a particularly central role in the creation of that culture, since many of the intertribal songs are sung in archaic Mehinaku, even though the singers may be speakers of different languages.

The more recent history of the Mehinaku has been one of avoiding warlike tribes outside the Xingu region and establishing friendly relations with Brazilians. Until the pacification of the Carib-speaking Txicão tribe in the 1960s, the villagers lived in fear of attack. Xingu women and children were kidnapped by the Txicão. One of the Mehinaku chiefs still bears a scar from one of their arrows. After a particularly violent assault, the village was moved closer to the Brazilian administrative center, Posto Leonardo Villas Boas. With the pacification of the Txicão and other tribes, the villagers are now returning to traditional Mehinaku territory.

A second factor in Mehinaku history has been contact with Brazilians and others. Until the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Xingu region was a protected area beyond the reach of missionaries, ranchers, and plantation owners. Even in the early 1990s there are no roads through the reservation and neither wage labor nor regular schooling. Native culture persists, yet contact is significant. The villagers are now increasingly dependent on steel tools, fishhooks, Brazilian medical services, and (improbably) bicycles. All of these innovations have had a positive impact on village life and have substantially reduced the work required for subsistence. As of 1989, the Mehinaku had nearly twenty wide-tired bicycles, which are extremely efficient in transporting the villagers across the dried floodplain and along forest paths. The bicycles have revolutionized transportation and communication between the tribes. Interaction between the tribes has intensified, and the villagers now regularly exploit distant gardens and rivers that were once too difficult to reach.

Perhaps the most significant trend in relationships with the outside is the villagers' conviction that they must retain their traditions and control of their lives if they are to survive as a people. Today the Xingu tribes are in charge of the Indian post. They hire and supervise the Brazilian personnel who serve the tribes in the region. They are militantly opposed to incursions on their land, and they are anxious to acquire the skills needed to deal with the outside world. Far more than in the past, the villagers see themselves as allied with other Indian tribes in a struggle for cultural survival in modern Brazil.

### *Settlements*

Seen from the air, the Mehinaku village is a great circle with paths radiating out to gardens, to boat landings along the river and to other tribes. Around the perimeter of the circle are the villagers' houses. Each house is a haystack-shaped windowless building, with doors facing onto the central plaza and the backyard. The well-built house is constructed entirely of native materials, including a timber-and-pole framework and thatch. Undivided in the interior, the house is some 30 meters in length and 9 meters in width and height. Inside, the villagers live in family groups, suspending their hammocks from a common house pole and having their own water supply and hearth.

The center of the village is a broad plaza in which all of the public activities of the community take place. Here the men wrestle (the main Xingu sport), and the villagers dance, conduct rituals, and organize collective projects. Here, too, is the men's house (see "Social Organization").

Ideally, all Mehinaku communities follow a similar settlement plan. The trail to the major river, "the path of the sun," extends east and west of the village. The houses of the village chiefs, who are the nominal owners of the jointly maintained trails, are adjacent to these paths. The men's house faces the rising sun, which passes across and bisects the village each day.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Mehinaku, like the other tribes of the upper Xingu, are slash-and-burn horticulturists of manioc and maize. In older gardens, they plant piquí trees, which produce an oily fruit (somewhat similar to an avocado in taste and consistency) that is an important part of the diet in the fall of each year. Fish is the major source of protein. The rivers around the village are extraordinarily rich in fish, and it is a rare fisherman who returns empty-handed. During the months of the dry season, the retreating waters strand fish in pools of water isolated from the main channels. The villagers use fish poison to paralyze the fish. A successful expedition may bring home 45 kilograms or more of small fish.

Fish are shared among residence mates and distributed to kin in other houses. In contrast, manioc, the staple crop of village life, is produced by families and close kin and is seldom shared publicly. For the most part, however, the village economy is based on reciprocity. Labor, fish, and even valued possessions are freely given, shared, or easily traded.

**Industrial Arts.** The Mehinaku make a remarkable array of material goods that are typical of a tropical-forest tribe: bows and arrows, baskets of different designs, feather head-dresses, wooden benches in the shape of animals and birds, hammocks woven from native cotton, and dugout canoes. In recent years they have also begun to make ritual masks and other items for sale to Brazilian entrepreneurs who visit the Xingu reservation by barge to purchase the villagers' trade goods. In 1989 the prices for these items were extremely high. A moderately competent artisan could earn more than \$5.00 per hour, a rate many times the Brazilian minimum wage. The income from these sales was used to purchase fishing equipment, bicycles, beads, and other Brazilian goods.

**Trade.** Each of the Xingu tribes has a trade specialty, such as ceramics, shell belts and necklaces, or hardwood bows. The Mehinaku traditionally make salt from water hyacinth, which they export to neighboring tribes. The trade monopolies are not based on the variable availability of resources or on secret skills. Rather they are markers of tribal identity and bases for the social relationships that spring from visiting and trade.

**Division of Labor.** The major division of labor is by sex. A husband and wife are an economic team who have the skill to produce virtually all of the necessities of life. The husband provides the fish, but no meal is complete without manioc bread, which the wife supplies. A husband may affectionately (and humorously) refer to his wife as "my little hammock," simultaneously referring to the sexual-emotional and economic bond that holds them together.

**Land Tenure.** Land is owned only to the extent that it is worked. There are no lines of demarcation around the communities, or even a clear sense of where "Mehinaku earth" begins or ends. Nonetheless, valued resource areas, such as places to dam streams for fish traps or groves of arrow cane, are regarded as belonging to particular tribes. These sites, as well as traditional settlements, cannot be alienated. Hence, the previous Mehinaku village (Jalapapuh, "Place of the Leaf-Cutter Ant") was borrowed from the Yawalapití tribe when the villagers feared a new attack by the Txicão tribe. Even after twenty years of habitation, they never felt it truly belonged to them and were pleased to return to their traditional village in 1989.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** In the broadest sense, all of the Mehinaku regard themselves as kin and use the phrase "all of us" to mark their special relationship. More narrowly, kinship is reckoned bilaterally, through both parents' lines. "Our grandfathers," the villagers will say in justifying a kinship tie, "were of one group," meaning that they were siblings or at least cousins. In some respects, the system of descent follows lines of same-sex individuals, in that the chieftainship descends from father to son and from mother to daughter. Moreover, children are said to be "the former selves" of their parents of the same sex, replicating the qualities and attributes of their fathers and mothers. Often the Mehinaku are vague about precise relationships, since genealogies are shallow. Individuals are seldom able to name their grandparents' siblings. This pattern, combined with endogamous marriage, makes for an extraordinarily flexible system in which distantly related individuals can choose among the multiple ties that may associate them. Hence, a man and a woman who are romantically involved may choose to be cross cousins (a relationship appropriate for sexual interest) even though it would have been possible to reckon a different tie.

**Kinship Terminology.** Mehinaku kinship follows a pattern reported elsewhere in the upper Xingu. Grandparents and their siblings are called by terms that recognize differences of sex, as is also true of relatives of the generation of one's grandchildren. One's parents and their siblings, and one's own siblings and cousins, however, are distinguished by both gender and the sex of the linking relatives. Follow-

ing this form of bifurcate-merging terminology, mother's brothers are distinguished from father's brothers (who are called by the same term as father), and mother's sisters (who are called by the same term as mother) are distinguished from father's sisters. The children of persons called father and mother are labeled by sibling terms, whereas the children of mother's brothers and father's sisters are differentiated by special terms.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** As the form of kinship terminology suggests, the proper marriage is to a cross cousin. Ideally, this should be a classificatory cross cousin, since a parent's sibling's child is often regarded as "too close" for marriage and sex. First marriages are usually arranged by parents and involve a young woman (of approximately 14 years) and an older man (approximately 18 years). The ritual of marriage is quite simple. The young man's hammock is carried across the village plaza to his bride's house, while the men of tribe, assembled in front of the men's house, imitate the cries of a newborn baby ("wa, wa, wah . . .") to ensure that the marriage will be fecund.

Once settled in the bride's house, the groom must provide a wide range of services for his wife's family, including fishing, cutting a garden, and making a canoe. Only after the birth of several children can he move back to his own house. In practice, however, the rules of post-marital residence are quite flexible, so that some of the villagers live in the house of the groom, and others switch back and forth as they and their parents wish.

**Socialization.** Children are greatly valued. A woman who does not become pregnant is looked down upon and is very much ashamed. As soon as a child is born it is bathed and cradled by the mother in her hammock. The mother and infant will remain in intimate association, sleeping together in one hammock until the birth of a new infant (often about two and one-half years later). Most mothers wean their children very gradually. On occasion, even a 5-year-old will attempt to nurse, although the mother will almost certainly push the child away in favor of a younger sibling. Other separations are also gently managed. Just before the birth of a new child, for example, a mother moves her toddler to his own hammock. This is accomplished by waiting until the child falls asleep and then placing him in the new hammock. If he awakens, he is rocked to sleep in his mother's hammock and patiently moved again.

By the third year, a child is cared for by older sisters, who may carry him about the village. With further development, he or she joins a play group, where many of the activities of the adult world are replicated in the form of games. Children play at being shamans, chiefs, husbands, wives, and even extramarital lovers.

At adolescence, boys and girls enter a period of seclusion during which they must live behind a partition, honor a variety of food taboos, speak in a soft voice, and refrain from going outdoors during daylight hours. They must master various crafts taught them by their parents. The period of seclusion is remarkably long, lasting for several years. The object is growth into a handsome and productive adult. To this end, young men take root medicines de-

signed to make them strong. They are told to direct their thoughts to wrestling, which is the hallmark of masculinity. Both boys and girls are watched over by an invisible spirit, "the master of the medicines," who ensures their development, provided that the rules of seclusion are followed. The villagers believe that physical appearance, personal energy, and success as an adult depend on the choices made in childhood. Failure to follow the rules of seclusion is said to lead to laziness, stunted growth, and weakness.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Other than kinship, the most significant basis of social conduct among the Mehinaku is gender. In the center of the community is the small building that serves as a clubhouse and a temple for the men of the tribe. Here the men work on crafts, organize collective work, and share fish, which they generously bring to the other men. Above all, they joke. "There is no shame in the men's house," they say, indicating that the normal codes of respect owed to older kin and to in-laws are suspended in the men's house. The women are somewhat distant observers of the men's activities, since they are forbidden to enter the men's house or see the cult objects that are stored within.

**Political Organization.** The Mehinaku community is divided into chiefs and commoners. Perhaps a fifth of the villagers can claim chiefly descent, but only a few are recognized as leaders. They are persons who are inaugurated in a special ritual of ear piercing in childhood, who are well regarded by the community, and who "speak well to people" in addresses delivered to the tribe at dawn. The quality of oratory is particularly important, for the villagers attribute the morale and peacefulness of the community to the chief's addresses to his people. Although the chief has no coercive authority over his community, the position is of considerable significance to the integration of the tribes of the region. The chief is a representative of his people and is responsible for greeting and negotiating with outsiders. Moreover, the major rituals of the upper Xingu culture region concern the inauguration of new chiefs and the commemoration of chiefs who have died.

**Social Control.** Mehinaku ideology is generally antiviolent. Although they have participated in retaliatory raids against the warlike tribes surrounding the upper Xingu Basin, war is regarded as an ugly act, typical of "wild" (non-Xingu) Indians and Whites. Within the village, violence is limited to relatively rare altercations between spouses and, more significantly, to witchcraft killings. Allegations of witchcraft are common, and deaths from natural causes are invariably attributed to witches. The impact of belief in witchcraft is twofold. Fearing witches, the villagers avoid confrontations, accede to requests, and conduct themselves more courteously than would otherwise be the case. The same fear limits the power of chiefs, who continually worry about whether they have provoked village witches.

A second mechanism of social control is gossip, which is prevalent in the village. The community is small, everyone is known to everyone else, and privacy is difficult to obtain. In this setting, gossip, with its attendant threat to each person's good name, constrains misconduct.

**Conflict.** The sources of conflict in the Mehinaku community are familiar. They include sexual jealousies, envy over others' possessions, and competition for status and power. In general, disputes within the village are handled by avoiding confrontation. A victim of theft (which is frequent) responds by gossip rather than by directly seeking the return of the stolen property. If the goods are of great value, the victim may make a speech in the village plaza, but without mentioning the name of the suspect: to do so would be a more serious breach than the act that provoked the speech. As a result, even bitter personal quarrels are worked through nearly invisibly, below the apparently tranquil surface of village life. On rare occasions, however, they have flared up in the form of "big anger": melees of pushing, shoving, and shouting in the village plaza.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Mehinaku believe that their community is surrounded by spirits in the forest, the rivers, and the air. All of these spirits are potentially malignant, and include those that devour their victims ("spirits that eat") and those that cause illness by stealing away the souls of the villagers. Once induced to return a soul, however, the spirit forms a special relationship with its former victim, who becomes a sponsor of ceremonies on the spirit's behalf. These rituals, in which food and gifts are presented to the sponsor in the spirit's name, are pleasing to the spirit, which refrains from taking the souls of others, and (in some cases) ensures abundant crops. From the perspective of the villagers, there is a reciprocal relationship between them and the spirit world, in which they "take care" of the spirits and are themselves looked after in return.

The Mehinaku are aware of Christian religion and actually had a missionary living in their village for some months during the 1930s. Christianity, however, has had minimal impact on indigenous beliefs. Jesus, for example, is regarded as a spirit like many others in their pantheon. He has, however, a special role in beliefs about the afterlife, in that he burns the souls of witches and thieves.

**Religious Practitioners.** Most of the adult Mehinaku men are shamans. They achieve their status by being taught by an accomplished shaman or by being directly chosen by spirit, who makes the novice shaman ill and remains as a kind of familiar spirit after his recovery. Crucial to being a shaman is tobacco smoking, so much so that the word for smoker is identical to that for shaman (*yetama*). Prior to becoming a shaman, the novice enters a period of seclusion during which he "learns how to smoke." Smoke is the "food of the spirits" and is essential for curing the sick (smoking and curing are also called by the same term). Once out of seclusion, the new shaman joins the circle of shamans who meet each evening in the center of the village. He (a woman may occasionally also become a shaman) is the most junior of the fraternity, and the last one in the line of shamans as they move through the village to cure those who are sick.

**Ceremonies.** Hardly a day goes by when the villagers are not participating in or preparing for a ceremony. Many of the ceremonies are part of an ongoing effort to propitiate spirits. Characteristically, the ritual involves "bringing the

spirit" into the community, which is accomplished by dancers imitating the spirit entering the village from the direction of the forest or the rivers. Once in the village, the dancers perform in the center of the plaza. Their songs, dances, and costumes must be aesthetically pleasing to the spirit. The spirit is usually "fed," often with manioc flour produced from a garden collectively made in the spirit's name. Finally, the spirit is formally asked to leave the village and not to make anyone ill: "Go, go, go back to your home in the forest; do not harm us!"

A second type of ceremony is more political and secular in nature. Centering on the inauguration and mourning of the village chiefs, it requires the participation of the other Xingu tribes to be properly conducted and involves elaborate, yearlong preparations and dancing, wrestling, and trading between members of different Xingu tribes. To a remarkable extent, the political integration of the Xingu cultures is based on a common ceremonial life.

**Arts.** The villagers have a rich aesthetic life. The visual arts are represented by ceramic pots, sculpted benches, the painting on the beams of houses, and the adornment of the human body. Recurrent, conventionalized designs unify these media. A "piranha-tooth" design, for example, may appear on bowls, benches, and on the backs of wrestlers in the form of body paint. To a degree, the system of designs has a meaning when it adorns individuals, signaling age, sex, and whether the individual is a champion wrestler, a chief, or a shaman.

**Medicine.** Disease is said to be caused by witchcraft or spirits. Shamans cure the sick by restoring the lost soul ("shadow") of the victim or by removing foreign objects (tiny arrows or bits of material) that were shot into the body of the patient. These objects are produced through sleight of hand and shown to the audience of shamans and the patient's family, who are assured that the sickness will now pass. The Mehinaku also attempt to treat illness with herbal medicines and, increasingly, with the assistance of the medical staff at Posto Leonardo Villas Boas in the Xingu National Park.

**Death and Afterlife.** The dead are buried in their hammocks, in a grave dug in the center of the village plaza. An invisible road leads from the grave to "the village in the Sky" where the deceased return to the house of their fathers. There, in an immense village, they live in abundance without having to work. There is no gossip, witchcraft, or strife.

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THOMAS GREGOR

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## Mennonites

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ETHNONYMS: Anabaptists, Mennists, Plain People

Mennonites are a German-speaking people distinguished by their life-style and religious beliefs, which derive from the Anabaptist movement of the 1520s and 1530s. There are about 80,000 Mennonites in Latin America, with the largest numbers in South America in Paraguay (15,000), Bolivia (8,000), and Brazil (6,000) and smaller numbers in Uruguay and Argentina. The largest, most visible, and best-described Mennonite community is that located in the Chaco region of Paraguay. The region was first settled by about 2,000 Mennonites fleeing repression in Canada who founded the Menno colony in 1926. In 1930 and 1947 the Fernheim and Neuland colonies were settled by Mennonites fleeing persecution in the Soviet Union. Mennonites also established the town of Filadelfia, which has become a major agricultural center in the Chaco. The Mennonites were drawn to Paraguay by offers of free or inexpensive land, exemption from military service, and religious and other freedoms.

Whereas the semiarid Chaco has proved unproductive for others, Mennonites since the second generation of their arrival have been notably successful agriculturists and dairy farmers. They are now not only self-sufficient but also provide 50 percent of the milk, butter, cheese, and yogurt for the entire nation. The Mennonites have always existed as a separate community within Paraguay and collect their own taxes, maintain their own schools and hospitals, erect German-village-style housing, dress conservatively, and eschew certain worldly pleasures such as dancing. Relations with neighboring Indian groups have been generally friendly, and the Mennonites have routinely employed Indians as wage laborers on their farms. The Mennonites have also resettled Indians on Mennonite land, converted many to Christianity, and provided other services through the

Association of Indian-Mennonite Cooperative Services. Since the 1970s, however, the Mennonites have been criticized by some for taking a paternalistic stand toward the Indians and for attracting a large number of landless people to the region, who come in hope of finding work on Mennonite farms. To remedy the situation, the Mennonites have organized an administrative council composed of Mennonites and Indian representatives.

Improved means of communication, such as the paved Trans-Chaco Highway to Asunción, have also drawn the Mennonites into Paraguayan society and led them to seek political office in order to protect their interests in the region.

See also Mennonites in Volume 1, North America

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DAVID LEVINSON

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## Mocoví

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ETHNONYMS: Amókebit, Frentones, Mbocobí, Mocobí, Mogsosnae, Mokoit, Mosobiae

An estimated 3,500 Mocoví live in the departments of O'Higgins, Chacabuco, Fontana, and San Lorenzo in the southern part of the province of Chaco, and in the departments of Garay, Obligado, San Javier, San Justo, and Vera in the northeastern part of the province of Santa Fe, in Argentina. Linguistically they belong to the Guicacruan Family.

When conquered by the Spaniards, the Mocoví lived in the middle reaches of the Río Bermejo. Toward the end of the seventeenth century they began to migrate southeast to occupy the plains between the lower Bermejo and Salado rivers. Beginning in 1743 the Mocoví came under the influence of Franciscan and, especially, Jesuit missionaries who attracted thousands of them to their colonies. The Indians obtained cattle, and the missionaries began to transform the Mocoví (who were by then equestrian) from migratory hunters and gatherers into sedentary farmers. Today, all Mocoví settlements are in permanent or frequent contact with centers of Western civilization, where they work as farmers, ranch hands, migrant harvesters, lumberjacks, laborers, and domestics. As a result of this prolonged and intensive contact, the Mocoví have become increasingly assimilated into the Argentinian hinterland population, their culture has undergone substantial change, and fewer than half of the modern Mocoví have retained their native language. Although a fair amount of ethnographical information has become available since the middle of the eighteenth century, the Mocoví have remained

one of the least-studied aboriginal societies of the Gran Chaco.

Although the Mocoví usually preferred to live without shelter, they sometimes built temporary camps consisting of windbreaks made of stick frames covered with skins. They also slept on skins.

Mocoví subsistence depended heavily on hunting, fishing, and collecting; farming was of little importance. Armed with bows and arrows, lances, spears, bolas, or clubs, men pursued game alone or in groups, or they conducted collective drives from horseback by encircling the animals within a wide area and driving them toward the center, where they were killed by hurling clubs at them or by clubbing them at close range. Mocoví hunters also built a light fence around a space between two thickets. Inside they placed a fresh animal skin covered with flies as bait for rheas. When the birds entered the encircled area through an opening in the fence, the hunters closed it with string and captured them. Automatic spring traps in combination with pitfalls were sometimes set, and caimans were speared or harpooned along the river banks. The favored species of game animals included deer, peccaries, and rheas. The first hunter to hit an animal became its owner, whether or not he actually killed it.

Fishing was of considerable importance during the rainy season. Men fished with nets and crude harpoons, the long recovery cords, of which were held in the fisherman's hand.

Traditionally, Mocoví women and men acquired a large part of their diet by collecting wild plant foods like algaroba (*Prosopis alba* and *P. nigra*), *tuscas* (*Acacia monoliformis*) pods, *chañar* (*Gourliea decorticans*) and *mistol* (*Zizyphus mistol*) fruit, the edible portions of various species of palm, *poroto del monte* beans (*Capparis retusa*), *tasi* (*Morrenia odorata*), *tunas* (Barbary figs; *Opuntia* sp.), and many other species. Honey and roasted locusts, which could be stored, constituted important food resources. Despite the relative variety and abundance of wild fare, its seasonality triggered periods of scarcity and occasional famine.

Because of the dryness and intermittent flooding of their habitat, horticulture was of relatively little importance to Mocoví subsistence. In parts of their territory, soils were particularly unsuited for agriculture, and laboriously prepared gardens had to be protected from animals by building thorn fences around them. The Mocoví raised maize, sweet manioc, beans, pumpkins, *anco* (squashes), watermelons, sweet potatoes, tobacco, cotton, and other species.

The Mocoví keep dogs as watchdogs and for hunting. From stock acquired from Whites toward the end of the seventeenth century, the Mocoví raise horses, sheep, and goats.

During the dry season, water often becomes dangerously scarce. Before wells of 4 to 6 meters in depth were dug, the Mocoví had to resort to drinking the water that collects in *caraguatá* leaves (*Bromelia* sp.) and *čipóy* tubers (*Jacaratia hassleriana*). Water and other liquids were stored in gourds and in pottery water jugs. Female potters also made crude cooking pots and bowls. Rather than dugout canoes, Mocoví men manufacture bullboats to ferry old people and infants across rivers or to transport their belongings. Basketry was not practiced, but women made

cordage, fishing nets, carrying nets, and bags from caraguatá fiber. Cotton and wool were spun on vertical looms.

Mocoví society consisted of extended families or bands embracing at least two generations of nuclear families, the members of which owed allegiance to a local chief. Bands were predominantly exogamous and combined with several others to form endogamous subtribes. Generally identified by ethnonyms of geographical connotation, subtribes were largely endogamous. Because subtribal boundaries were unstable and less than hermetically closed, marriages beyond subtribal borders and interethnic unions were not uncommon. The various subtribal bands congregated periodically for social and religious purposes, fostering a spirit of group cohesion under regional political authorities that became important in times of war. Marriage accompanied by bride-price was monogamous, but instances of sororal polygyny have been reported. Postmarital residence was uxorilocal, descent reckoning bilateral, and the kinship system of the Hawaiian type. Mourning terminology was traditional, but the application of teknonymy was apparently not practiced.

Following the adoption of an equestrian mode of life, the Mocoví began to distinguish between nobles and commoners. The noble class was endogamous and comprised of members of military societies. Commoners used special forms of speech when addressing nobles. Women and children captured in war formed a social stratum of slaves.

The Mocoví engaged in frequent warfare, occasionally joining warriors of other Indian societies to raid Spanish settlements along the frontier. Intertribal warfare was largely retaliatory in nature, seeking redress for violence suffered in the form of death and property loss. In battle, the men formed two lines around their chief according to their relative degree of closeness to him. Engagement of the enemy by warriors on horseback preceded the attack by warriors on foot. While the main contingent of the Mocoví force was involved in combat, smaller groups concentrated on raiding the livestock of their enemies. The Mocoví took skulls and scalps as war trophies, and victorious warriors fastened a new feather to their spears for each enemy they killed. Upon their return from battle, warriors were hailed by the shouting, dancing, and drum beating of old women. Daily for one month, the women danced around the trophies, which were suspended from a post. The old women impersonated warriors during an elaborate childbirth parade. Horsehair symbolizing scalps, ceremonial bows and arrows, and other gifts were presented to a baby boy. The baby of a chief was taken to spend the night with another baby boy who would become his brother-in-arms.

Relatives often assisted a fatally ill and suffering patient to die. Upon death, women wailed for several nights in the funerary hut. A widow lamented loudly the death of her husband, accusing him of deserting her and his children. During the day the bereaved woman remained indoors, cropped her hair, and covered her head with a net bag that she wore until she remarried. The Mocoví wrapped their dead in skins or nets and buried them in shallow graves. Offerings of food and water were deposited near the grave, and children were buried with one hand uncovered to help them partake of the food their parents brought. Victims of sorcery were cremated while a chanting shaman shot an arrow into the dead person's heart and

another one into his or her throat so as to destroy the guilty sorcerer. Close relatives of the deceased changed their names as a precaution against the return of the soul that might drag them into the otherworld.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

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## Mojo

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ETHNONYMS: Ignacio, Lorenzano, Moxo, Trinitario, Zamuco

The 17,000 Mojo Indians live throughout the lowlands of south-central Beni, a department of Bolivia. Concentrations may be found in the towns of Trinidad, San Ignacio, San Lorenzo, and San Loreto. Approximately 5,000 speak the Mojo language, which belongs to the Arawakan Language Family. First contacted in 1580 by the Spanish, who were amazed at the size of their fields, the Mojo fought off two attempts to conquer them in the early seventeenth century. In the 1660s the Jesuits began to establish missions among the Mojo, and by 1715 there were fifteen of these. After the Jesuits were expelled from South America

in 1767, the Mojo were left unprotected; they were exploited by the government, and many were captured by slave raiders. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Mojo were forced to work for rubber tappers—gathering rubber, working as servants, and transporting rubber on rivers. In the process of working in the rubber trade, the Mojo became dispersed, which is the reason for their current extensive range. As a result of these exploitive contacts with Whites, the Mojo population fell dramatically. Not a few Mojo became believers in the nativist religion, Lomo Santa, the tenets of which included opposition to Whites. The Mojo became sedentary in the 1950s and now live primarily as subsistence farmers, raising manioc, bananas, and maize and selling a small surplus of these crops.

Traditionally, the Mojo were successful hunters, fishermen, and agriculturists. They planted sweet manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, *arracacha* (*Arracacia esculenta*, an aboriginal root plant), peppers, papayas, bananas, sugarcane, tobacco, gourds, and cotton. Men hunted individually for monkeys and birds in the forests. In the open plains, groups of men with dogs used drives to hunt deer. In the wet season, men would scare the animals from the islands on which they had taken refuge, and others in boats would club them as they tried to swim away. They caught jaguars in pitfalls, but it was the chief's privilege to kill them. Most fishing was done when the floods receded, leaving fish exposed in small pools or on dry land. The Mojo domesticated ducks, which were eaten at the conclusion of drinking bouts or when a man wished to thank another who had helped him work his fields. They made their garments out of the bark of the *bibosi* tree, and women also spun and wove cotton, which had a natural red color. Mojo pottery was tempered with sponge ashes, the spicules giving the pottery great resistance.

The power of the Mojo chief (*achiaco*) was informal, depending on his personality, although he was shown great respect. Chiefs who were also shamans had much greater power than those who were not. The chief's power was greater during war and while hunting; during those pursuits his orders required strict obedience. During war, he had to work to ensure success by observing several taboos; for example, he could not cut or even comb his hair.

Mojo marriages were fragile and were entered into with little or no ritual. Postmarital residence was patrilocal. Although polygyny was accepted, it was rare. It was possible for a man to marry a woman and her daughter. A man could punish his wife for committing adultery, because her actions were believed to endanger his hunting luck and his life. If a woman died in childbirth her infant was buried with her since children could only be nursed by their own mothers. The father of the second-born of twins was believed to be a spirit, and twins had to marry other twins or remain unmarried. The Mojo practiced secondary burials.

Of great importance to Mojo religion, jaguars were the object of cult worship. Men injured by jaguars became shamans with extraordinary powers, which they used to protect the village from jaguars. Persons who killed jaguars enjoyed special prestige.

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## Moré

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ETHNONYMS: Itén, Iténe, Iteneo, Iténez

The 100 to 150 Moré live at the juncture of Mamoré and Iténez rivers in the north-central area of the department of Beni in Bolivia. In the early part of the twentieth century, many crossed the Iténez into Brazil (where it is called the Río Guaporé), so that in the 1940s there were more of the then 3,000 to 5,000 Moré in Brazil than in Bolivia; some, at least, joined the Chácobo and Sinabo tribes. Until the mid-twentieth century, the Moré inhabited the large area between the Mamoré and Guaporé rivers and between the Machupo and Itonama rivers (12 to 13 S, 63 to 64 W). The Moré language belongs to the Chapacuran Family. In 1700 the Moré numbered 3,000, but in the eighteenth century they were exposed to slave raiders and to diseases introduced by gold prospectors; in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they were exploited by rubber tappers. During the eighteenth century, many Moré lived in Catholic missions. In 1938 they were provided a school to hasten their pacification, which was incomplete at that time. The Moré live in the tropical forest and raise maize, cotton, and plantains and are assimilating rapidly; many are protected by ranchers in the area of the Mamoré and Iténez rivers. The number of Moré has dropped greatly in the latter half of the twentieth century owing to assimilation, and the culture is likely to disappear altogether within a few generations.

In 1940 the life-style of the Moré was still essentially traditional. They were swidden horticulturists who raised maize, sweet manioc (their staple food), sweet potatoes, yams, pineapples, gourds, bananas, papayas, cotton, and red peppers. They gathered Brazil nuts, *mangaba* (Han-



*cornia speciosa*), wild cacao, and palm fruits, as well as the eggs of turtles and caimans. They hunted, primarily peccaries, but avoided deer, which were taboo to them. The Moré fished with bows and arrows, basket traps, and with poison. They traveled in 10-meter-long dugout canoes, and both sexes wore long bark-cloth shirts.

The Moré, who are monogamous, traditionally built their shelters, lean-tos 5 to 14 meters in length, near their gardens. Each hut was inhabited by up to eight families. When mosquitoes became troublesome, they moved into small cabins tightly covered with *patoju* leaves. Other buildings were constructed to serve as workshops and as men's houses. Moré huts contained cotton hammocks and benches for ceremonial use. Each residential unit was politically independent and led by the head of the household, who held little authority.

Music is important to the Moré. They use at least twenty kinds of musical instruments and sing songs pertaining to horticulture and hunting.

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Ana mission in the second half of the nineteenth century. Today, the Movima live in much the same way as the neighboring mestizos. They are subsistence farmers; some work on cattle ranches and others also in the rubber forests.

Traditionally, the Movima were horticulturists, hunters, and fishers. They raised beans and peanuts on sandy beaches in the dry season. They traveled in 10-meter-long, 45-centimeter-wide dugout canoes. For weapons, they used spears, atlatls, and bows and arrows; the fletching of the arrows was of the wrapped (Arara) type. By 1922 the Movima had become prosperous agriculturists and animal husbanders. By that time as well, they had become essentially acculturated and of their traditional material culture had retained only clay pans with clay-stump supports and bows and arrows.

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## Movima

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ETHNONYM: Movina

The Movima Indians live close to Santa Ana on the Río Yacuma, as well as on the lower Río Rapula, and on the Matos and Apere rivers in the central part of the department of Beni in Bolivia. Estimates of their population range from 1,000 to 2,000. The Movima language, which has not been classified as to its affiliation, is spoken by only half of the Movima people. Those who consider themselves Movima are declining in numbers owing to advanced assimilation.

Fairly early in the recorded history of the Movima, the Jesuit missionaries settled them in the missions of San Luis and Borja on the Río Maniqui, as well as in the mission of Santa Ana at the confluence of the Yacuma and Rapulo rivers. Their relationship with the Catholic priests was not always easy, and in 1709 they killed Father Baltazar de Espinosa. Some Movima escaped the Santa

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## Mundurucu

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ETHNONYM: Munduruku

### Orientation

**Identification and Location.** The Mundurucu live just south of the equator in the Brazilian states of Pará and Amazonas. They were known in early Brazilian history as warriors who took enemy heads as trophies. There are two separate groups of Mundurucu, who live in the basins of two major tributaries of the Amazon, the Tapajós and Madeira rivers. There appears to have been little, if any, contact between the two groups since the 1880s. The discussion here refers only to the Río Tapajós group. The climate is characterized by a rainy season (December to April) and a dry season (May to November).

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Linguists generally classify the Mundurucu language as Tupian in origin. Most of the men

and a lesser number of women also speak Brazilian Portuguese.

**Demography.** In 1980, some 1,100 to 1,250 Mundurucu lived on their reservation, which is a botanical preserve about half the size of New Jersey. Much of this land is savanna that is not arable.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

In the early 1770s the Mundurucu raided Portuguese settlements along the Amazon. In response, the governor of Pará sent a military expedition against them in 1775. The expedition, armed with guns, soundly defeated the Mundurucu, who fought with bows and arrows. Afterward, the Portuguese recruited Mundurucu men to serve as mercenaries against other Indian groups in the region. The alliance gave the Mundurucu access to metal tools and other manufactured goods, which they received in exchange for military service. By the late 1800s the region's Indian groups were under Brazilian control and mercenaries were no longer needed. Instead, world demand for rubber tires brought rubber tappers to the Tapajós River Basin, where wild rubber trees (*Hevea brasiliensis*) grew in abundance. The tappers traded goods to the Mundurucu in exchange for manioc flour. The Mundurucu learned to tap and cure rubber latex and became part of the patronage system that controlled the rubber trade. During the mid-1950s, prospectors discovered gold north of the reservation. Miners bought manioc flour and hired young Mundurucu men to dig alluvium from creeks. The sediment was run through sluices and panned for gold dust. These young men returned to the reservation and began to mine placer deposits, a more lucrative activity than rubber tapping.

The Mundurucu have some contacts with other Indian groups. A few Apiaca and Kayabi live among them. To the east live the Kayapo, whom the Mundurucu regard as enemies. Four Indian posts are located within the reservation, and its administrative center and a clinic are near the town of Itaituba. These are staffed by the Ministry of Interior's National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI). Contacts with Brazilian peasants, riverboat traders, FUNAI staff, and Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries from Germany, the United States, and Switzerland have influenced Mundurucu culture and society.

### *Settlements*

Mundurucu villages are found along the banks of the upper Río Tapajós and its tributaries and on the savannas between the tributaries. The more traditional villages are on savannas. In the savanna villages there are men's houses, which once played a very important role in defense and ceremonies. On the savannas the insects are less noisome, but there are fewer opportunities for trade than in riverine villages. The desire for better access to trade goods is the motivating force that has induced entire communities to abandon the savanna for sites near the rivers. By 1980 only four villages remained on the savanna. The Franciscan mission on the banks of the Río Curura has more than 400 Mundurucu residents, making it the largest Mundurucu settlement. The second largest is Sai Cinza, which is both a Baptist mission and a FUNAI post. Sai

Cinza is the northernmost Mundurucu village on the banks of the Río Tapajós and is within walking distance of the Trans-Amazonian Highway. From Sai Cinza, it takes only a few hours by canoe to reach the Brazilian town of Jacareacanga.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Mundurucu are subsistence horticulturists who use slash-and-burn techniques to raise manioc, bananas, rice, and other crops. Their primary sources of protein are fish and game. They hunt with shotguns and rifles, or, infrequently, with bows and arrows. Among the animals hunted are peccaries, agoutis, tapir, pacas, and various species of New World monkeys. Fish may be caught using hooks and lines or, more rarely, bows and arrows. Occasionally, the Mundurucu poison a section of a stream and collect stunned fish floating to the surface and unable to breathe.

**Trade.** The most important products Mundurucu offer for trade are gold dust and rubber. Some households gather Brazil nuts for sale. Where a Brazilian settlement is close enough to make it practical, part of the game taken in a successful hunt may be sold to Brazilians.

For many years, itinerant riverboat traders have visited Mundurucu villages to sell aluminium pots and pans, fishing line and hooks, ammunition, clothes, cloth, sugar, salt, coffee, cooking oil, and, sometimes, illegal alcohol. The Trans-Amazonian Highway makes access to Brazilian shops much easier. These shops offer a wide variety of goods. In some areas, a patronage system still controls trade. Patrons extend credit to clients to pay for goods and expect repayment in cured rubber or in gold dust. This is a system of barter and credit, but by the late 1970s, the system was deteriorating in favor of cash-based transactions.

**Industrial Arts.** Among the Mundurucu, basket weaving is strictly a male activity. Baskets are woven from the fronds of palm trees and are used to carry firewood, food, and household goods. These baskets function as backpacks and include a tumpline of bark cloth that is placed over the forehead or around the chest of the carrier. The fronds are also used to make small baskets for sale to Brazilians. From the bark of vines, men weave manioc presses. Men also weave sieves for straining manioc pulp and cages used to transport chickens. Some men make necklaces using fishing line and figurines they carve from nutshells. The figurines include recognizable representations of turtles, alligators, fish, and various game animals. These are worn or sold to FUNAI agents or missionaries for resale in Brazilian cities.

**Division of Labor.** Most tasks are strictly defined as the sphere of males or females. For example, hunting and clearing plots are male responsibilities, and processing manioc flour and washing clothes are female preoccupations.

**Land Tenure.** Garden plots are considered owned by the household of the men who clear them of trees and brush. The garden is planted, weeded, and harvested by women. It is used for two or three years and then abandoned. After lying fallow for ten or more years, it may be reclaimed by anyone in the village.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The important kin group is comprised of closely related female coresidents and their husbands and children. Descent is patrilineal, with only clan names and, for some men, shamanistic knowledge inherited from the father. Property is normally not inherited from an individual's father.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Mundurucu use bifurcate-merging kin terms on the parental level.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is regulated by a moiety system, which groups each clan into the "red" moiety or the "white" moiety. A man or woman is expected to select a spouse from the opposite moiety. Typically, a young man leaves his village to visit other Mundurucu villages in search of an eligible mate of the correct moiety. If a man and woman decide to marry, he brings fish or game to her and moves into her family's household. Exceptions are sons of headmen, who bring their wives to their father's villages. Formerly, this alone constituted marriage but, between 1979 and 1981, it was also common practice for Mundurucu couples to be married by the Franciscan priests or by the Baptist missionary. Divorce is simple; either the wife leaves her village and returns with another man, or the husband abandons his wife and her village. In both cases, the community recognizes the divorce.

**Domestic Unit.** The married couple usually lives in the wife's family's household with her parents, her sisters, her brothers-in-law, her sisters' children, and her unmarried brothers. The household has a strong core of related women.

**Inheritance.** The personal property of the deceased is burned. Large or expensive items including canoes, tables, stoves, rifles, and sewing machines belong to the household rather than to the deceased and are not destroyed.

**Socialization.** Girls work with their mothers and other women of the household in tending gardens, processing manioc flour, cooking, washing clothes, and other female tasks. Boys are free, for the most part, to play in the woods, to hunt with toy bows and arrows, and to fish with hooks and lines. They have few responsibilities until they marry.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The Mundurucu are nominally patrilineal, but live uxorilocally. Patrilineality describes the Mundurucu only to the extent that a Mundurucu clan name, moiety, and some shamanistic knowledge are passed from father to child.

**Political Organization.** Mundurucu villages are autonomous units. Each village has a headman, most often the most influential of the men who married into the village. Because the headman's sons and their wives usually live virilocally, the headman has a group of sons and sons-in-law to draw upon for support. If a shaman lives in the village, all accord him respect, but his powers are in the spirit world. Some villages have "captains" appointed by a river-

boat trader or another outsider to facilitate trade. None of these three men has any authority over others.

**Social Control.** Mundurucu villagers are expected to cooperate with one another. Strong sanctions encourage this cooperation and discourage shirking work at hand. A woman who does not work or who flouts male authority may face the threat of gang rape by male villagers who disapprove. No case of this occurred during fieldwork conducted in 1979-1980, and it may be a completely forgotten sanction. If one or several people become seriously ill in the village, an uncooperative male may be suspected of sorcery. Two Mundurucu men living in the reservation were murdered for this reason during the period 1979-1981.

**Conflict.** Except for these sanctions, the Mundurucu rarely resort to violence, and fighting meets with community disapproval.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Years of effort by Franciscan, Baptist, and Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) missionaries have resulted in some Roman Catholic and Protestant converts. In the early 1950s Mundurucu adults would tell traditional tales and myths as they sat with children beside the evening fires (Murphy 1958). This practice had waned considerably by 1980, when children were more likely to hear radio programs or records played on battery-powered phonographs than traditional lore. Important in their view of the world is the mischief, illness, or death caused by sorcerers. These sorcerers are said to hate everybody and are blamed whenever someone falls ill, has an accident, or dies.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans are healers. When someone falls ill or dies, a shaman identifies the sorcerer, whom other men of the village attempt to kill. The most likely suspect is another shaman, who is known to have spiritual powers that could be used to practice sorcery. Both shamans and sorcerers are almost always male (Murphy 1958, 29-49).

**Ceremonies.** Ceremonies reported by Murphy as occurring in 1952-1953 were not held during 1979 and 1980. In Cabrua, the three *karoko* (sacred flutes) were kept in a section of the men's house away from the sight of women, but men did not sleep in the men's house, and the sacred flutes were not played. At one village, a missionary encouraged the community to hold their traditional dances, but most of the teenagers lost interest, went to a nearby house, turned on their record player, and danced as couples to Brazilian country music.

**Arts.** Mundurucu men weave baskets, make necklaces of figures carved from Brazil-nut shells, and, infrequently, make bows and arrows. Women sew clothes from purchased cloth, make small fishing nets, and, very rarely, weave hammocks and make clay pots.

**Medicine.** The Mundurucu believe that sorcerers cause illness by spreading *caushi* (infectious objects that cause illness or death). Shamans cure by blowing smoke on the body, patting it, and then flinging or sucking out the *caushi*, which are then burned. If an individual experiences depression or malaise, this is attributed to soul loss. The

shaman calls the lost soul to encourage it to enter a tapir skull and then to return to its proper place in the person from whom it wandered. When ill, Mundurucu also seek industrially manufactured medicines to effect cures.

**Death and Afterlife.** Just after a person dies, men from the moiety opposite to that of the deceased burn personal items belonging to the dead person, make a coffin, and bury the body. Their concept of afterlife is now greatly influenced by the Christian notion of heaven. Mundurucu formerly buried their dead under the clay floors of their houses, and this may still occur in some villages. Missionaries and Indian agents have encouraged villages to use cemeteries instead.

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STEVE BRIAN BURKHALTER

## Nambicuara

ETHNONYMS: Mahibarez, Mambyuara, Nambikwara, Nambiquara

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Nambicuara" was given to this group of Brazilian Indians by neighboring Indian groups. It means "hole in the ear" (*nambi*, "ear," and *kuara*, "hole"). Nambicuara subgroup self-names are based on local ecological features.

**Location.** Aboriginally, the Nambicuara occupied the northern parts of what is now the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil, in the region of the Rio Guaporé, primarily near the tributaries of the Juruena and Roosevelt rivers, between 11° and 14° N and 57° and 61° W. As of the early 1990s, the following groups are reported as occupying the Guaporé Valley from north to south: Mamainde, Negarote, Hahaintesu, Waiksu, Alakatesu, Alentesu, Wasusu, and Sararé.

**Demography.** An expedition led by General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon in 1907 estimated the number of Nambicuara at 20,000. In 1912 only 1,000 to 1,500 were reported, and by 1985 the number had decreased further to 658.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Nambicuara speak an independent language with several local dialects.

### History and Cultural Relations

There is no trustworthy information as to from where the Nambicuara arrived and when they first settled in their homeland. The first European contact was evidently with Antonio Pires de Campos, who found them at their current location between 1718 and 1723. The first ethnographic description of the group was provided by Karl von den Steinen at the end of the nineteenth century, although they are considered to have been "officially" discovered by Rondon in 1907 and first described by Edgar Roquette-Pinto. Contact with the group was often difficult, as they were considered fierce and aggressive and often were at war with neighboring groups. Later in the twentieth century, Nambicuara groups suffered relocation and further depopulation as the result of non-Indian migration into the area made possible by the 1,600-kilometer-long paved road cut through their territory.

### Settlements

The two forms of Nambicuara settlement represent adaptation to different seasonal conditions. In the rainy season they live near rivers, in villages consisting of one or more beehive dwelling huts and a smaller ritual hut, the "flute-hut." Since the 1950s, the pitched roof has been replacing the beehive design. Many everyday objects common to tropical groups are not found among the Nambicuara. For example, the sleeping hammock is not used, leading one neighboring group, the Paressi, to call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground." In the dry season, the Nambicuara lead a more nomadic existence and dwell in

simple shelters constructed from palm leaves attached to a frame of poles.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Nambicuara live in an ecologically marginal environment. The region is criss-crossed by rivers and streams; the vegetation is mostly of the savanna type; the red, dry soil is barely suitable for farming; and game is not especially abundant. The Nambicuara subsist through a combination of hunting; gathering berries, fruit, and insects; fishing; and slash-and-burn horticulture. The bow and arrow is the main hunting weapon, and the digging stick is used for gathering and planting. During the rainy season, they slash and burn plots in the gallery forest and plant maize, beans, tobacco, cotton, and two varieties of bitter cassava. Cassava is the staple food; cassava flour is often stored for later use as the main ingredient for *chicha* (a fermented drink).

**Industrial Arts.** Compared to those of other tropical groups, the Nambicuara tool kit is rather limited. As a rule, pottery making is absent, although crude pots were found among the Western Nambicuara. The primary materials for their tools are palm wood, bast, leaves, various types of reed, shell, bone, tusk, claws, wax, and cotton thread. Baskets and gourd vessels are used for food storage and transport. Objects are sometimes decorated with thin straps fingerwoven from spun cotton. Ornaments are made from shells, teeth, nuts, berries, and feathers.

**Trade.** Trade among the various subgroups was important in aboriginal times. The Western Nambicuara groups traded pots for wax, feathers, and bows and arrows.

**Division of Labor.** Men hunt, fish, prepare the garden plots, build the huts, and make baskets and hunting weapons. Women gather, prepare food, transport firewood and water, and care for the children. Both men and women make shell earrings, which are emblematic of tribal membership.

### Kinship, Marriage, and Family

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the traditional kinship terminology is of the bifurcate-merging type.

**Marriage.** Marriage between cross cousins is preferred, although marriage between a father's brother and brother's daughter is common. Most marriages are monogamous, but a chief may take two or three wives, depending on the size of the band. Postmarital residence is virilocal; however, upon reaching puberty, girls return to their mother's band.

### Sociopolitical Organization

The Eastern and Western Nambicuara were divided into eight groups with a chief for each. The chief's authority was limited to matters such as assigning band members to build huts or to hunt and conducting religious rites if the band had no shaman. Chieftanship is not hereditary—a chief selects his successor, usually someone who is an especially able member of the band, such as a successful hunter. The names for the Eastern groups lend support for the presence of territorial bands. The bands were never

unified under a single chief, however, and interband relations were based mainly on trade, intermarriage, and joint rituals.

**Conflict.** In the past the Nambicuara had a reputation for being extremely aggressive, with frequent wars against neighboring groups as well as much interband conflict.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs and Practices.** Despite contact with missionaries since the 1930s, the traditional Nambicuara religion has changed little. "Power" is a basic religious concept and it is believed to be present in all humans, animals, and inanimate objects. According to Lévi-Strauss, the Nambicuara consider lightning to be a Supreme Being. Additionally, the forests, bushes, and hills are thought to be inhabited by spirits and demons, which can be exorcised or propitiated in times of need. In the rainy-season settlements, men gather in the flute-hut to make music and to ask ancestors for fertility. Major events in the life cycle are marked by ceremonies, with name giving to the newborn and initiation of youths especially significant events. Almost every territorial group has a shaman who leads the ceremonies, contacts the supernatural forces, and heals the sick.

**Arts.** Instrumental music and singing are important activities, both for ritual and recreational purposes.

**Medicine.** Illness is believed to be caused by malevolent spirits. "Easy" ailments, such as headache or indigestion, can be treated by massage administered by anyone in the community. More complicated disorders require intervention by the shaman, who uses herbs and the sucking out of the evil from the victim's body. To appease the spirit causing the illness, he must also chant, as he must win the assistance of the spirit in order to discover the cause of the illness.

**Death and Afterlife.** The dead are buried in a hunched or a fully extended position, with their feet toward the east. The souls of the dead are thought to linger about the grave for a few days before finally departing to the rocky hill that the Nambicuara consider their original homeland.

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LUIZ BOGLÁR

## Nivaclé

**ETHNONYMS:** Ethnonyms in the earliest sources that possibly refer to the prehistoric Nivaclé are Guentusé, Mathlelá, and Lateshelechí-Maiceros. Other ethnic groups refer to them as Ashlushlai, Suhín, Sotirgaik, and Wentusij. Creoles call them by many other names that are based on the latter. In Argentina they are generally called Chulupí and in Paraguay Churupí.

### Orientation

**Identification.** The self-denomination Nivaclé means "human" in a generic sense. The Nivaclé are divided into five large subgroups: the first two have the common name of "Tovoc Lhavos" (River people) and are the "Chishamnee Lhavos" (people from above) and the "Shichaam Lhavos" (people from below). Then there are the "Yita' Lhavos" (Forest people), also called "C'utjaan Lhavos" (Thorn people); the "Jotoi Lhavos" (people of the *esparto* grass); and the "Tavashai Lhavos" (people of the *savar.na*).

**Location.** Nivaclé territory covers a large triangle in Paraguay, the base of which is formed by the Río Pilcomayo and the vertex by Mariscal Estigarribia. There are a few Nivaclé living in the department of Tarija, Bolivia, and in the province of Formosa and the Chaco highlands of Salta, Argentina. The Tovoc Lhavos occupy both banks of the Río Pilcomayo. From the middle Pilcomayo, upstream, live the Chishamnee Lhavos and downstream, the Shichaam Lhavos. Deep in the thorny scrub forests of Mariscal Estigarribia are the Yita' Lhavos. The Jotoi Lhavos live in the grasslands of Mennonite settlements, and the Tavashai Lhavos live in the savannas that reach from General Díaz to Tinfunké to the north of the Patiño swamplands. This territorial distribution has gone through great changes following the Chaco War (1932–1935). Ecologically and geographically the Chaco is an area of transition between the tropical forests of the north and the arid pampas of the south. The Pilcomayo, which originates in the Andes, shifts its bed frequently, flooding large areas. There the vegetation is relatively rich, but toward the north it becomes stunted, spiny, and serophilous.

**Demography.** Population estimates vary from 5,195 to 12,628 Nivaclé, but official records give a total of 7,030 for Paraguay. The greatest demographic concentration is in Mennonite settlements and around the Paraguayan central Chaco, where the 1981 census tallied 4,090; on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, 2,152; and in the vicinity of Mariscal Estigarribia, 361. It is estimated that there are 100 Nivaclé in the department of Tarija, Bolivia. In four sites of the departments of Rivadavia and San Martín in the province of Salta there are 526, and there are an indeterminate number in the province of Formosa, Argentina.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Nivaclé language belongs to the Mataco-Macán or Mataco-Mataguayo Language Family. There are small dialectal differences among the groups.

### History and Cultural Relations

It is not very clear if "Mathlela" and "Guentusé" were names given to historical Nivaclé or groups that mixed with them during their migration from the Río Bermejo to the north of the Pilcomayo. There are references to commercial routes that linked the Nivaclé to Andean cultures, by way of the Chané, the Chorote, and the Chiriguano. It is possible that in pre-Columbian times ancestral Nivaclé not only worked periodically for Tonocoté and Ocloya agriculturists in exchange for grain, but that they also traded wood and reeds with which to manufacture bows and arrows for Tonocoté and Ocloya stone implements. They may have obtained goats and sheep from the Mataco and Chané toward the end of the seventeenth century and stolen horses from their traditional enemies, the Toba, in the eighteenth century.

Until the Chaco War, White penetration to the north of the Pilcomayo did not extend beyond the Río Paraguay to the east, nor the Andean spurs to the west, where Franciscan missions were established in the second half of the eighteenth century. "Paraguayan Chulupies" have been registered in sugar mills and tobacco plantations of Salta and Tucumán since 1920. In winter, the greater part of the Indians from the Pilcomayo migrated, looking for work. Later, small fortifications were built by Bolivians advancing from the west and by Paraguayans advancing from the east. The Nivaclé were in the crossfire of these two forces, and if they tried to escape to the south, the Argentinian army shot at them with machine guns. Eventually, the Nivaclé placed themselves under the protection of the Oblate missionaries who settled in places now called Pedro P. Peña, San José de Esteros, and San Leonardo de Escalante. During the 1940s, because of decreasing work opportunities in northern Argentina, the Nivaclé changed direction and went to look for work in the Mennonite settlements, situated in the ancient territory of the Jotoi Lhavos and the Lengua.

### Settlements

The Nivaclé settled on riverbanks or at lagoons or watering places. They had U-shaped villages. Around the bend were the huts of their head chief, in the open space the water, and in the center, the sports arena and ceremonial plaza (*clôija'vat*). The huts (*jpôyich*) were dome shaped and had an oval base; they were linked by interior corridors and had several exits to the exterior. Occupied by extended families, they were separated according to territorial clan relationships (*tachifas*). Although there was a men's or guest house, a rectangular hut, its presence did not imply the existence of a secret society nor was the hut strictly out of bounds to women. Each extended family had its own pile storehouses. In hunting camps the Nivaclé use screens (*vanônilh*) to protect themselves from the wind and the sun. During the 1920s there were more than thirty villages of the Tovoc Lhavos alone, some with 2,000 people. Nowadays, the horseshoe-shaped villages have changed to a lineal form, especially in the Mennonite settlements, although houses are still grouped according to a pattern of factions and territorial clans. There are four agricultural

settlements and six in workers' districts. The Oblates minister to twelve less-acculturated villages and the Mormons to one, all of them on Paraguayan territory.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Nivaclé subsistence was based on hunting, gathering, fishing, horticulture, and herding. Minor hunting was collective and major hunting sometimes individual. Rheas are the most important game. Gathering and fishing are always collective except when fishing with large scissor-shaped barring nets. The Nivaclé cultivated their crops on cleared plots of forested land. In the swamplands, they grew two crops per year. Until the 1920s maize fields were said to reach to the horizon. The Nivaclé also planted sweet potatoes, squashes, manioc, and melons (including watermelons). Missionary prohibitions against the performance of their religious ceremonies did away with horticulture. Today there is a renaissance of agriculture for commercial purposes in cooperatives created at Mennonite insistence. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the Nivaclé raised llamas (*Lama guanicoe* and *L. Glama*). Because of pillaging by Whites, the Indians lost their vast herds of goats and sheep.

**Industrial Arts.** Handicrafts in the form of ceramics, weaving, and braiding and dyeing with natural dyes lost their practical use and became items of trade. The Nivaclé have begun to make zoomorphic wooden figurines. The missionaries and Asociación Indigenista have furthered this trade.

**Trade.** Before contact, the Nivaclé traded intensively with neighboring groups, especially the Chorote. Since the 1920s there has been much trade in furs. Presently, cooperatives sell cotton, peanuts, maize, sorghum, and *kafir* (*Sorghum caffrorum*, or *Panicum* c., a plant originating in Africa but introduced through Asia), with the Mennonites as intermediaries.

**Division of Labor.** Nivaclé men clear the fields, plant, and weed; women harvest. Men hunt and carve; women cook. Men deal and trade and fish in the river; women fish in watering places with conical baskets. When men have a large catch, women help to carry and clean the fish. Women gather plants; men collect honey. Men braid and manufacture all their tools; women also braid, and they are the potters, spinners, and weavers. Women build and own the houses and the domestic animals that they care for, including the horses used by the men. Nowadays, the men have gained in prestige within the family because they are the wage earners. Now that the women have lost their herds, they are confined to their houses. Their status is further decreased owing to the male chauvinism of the Creoles and Mennonites, who only deal with men.

**Land Tenure.** Land boundaries, although fixed, were not rigorously guarded by local groups with fraternal ties. The breakup of this territorial distribution and the corresponding aspect of Nivaclé culture was the result of intensive contact with other indigenous groups and migration to the sugar mills; Bolivian military penetration and settlement; the Chaco War; the missionizing influence of the Oblate Fathers; and the establishment of postwar Para-

guayan Creole cattle ranches as well as the stern evangelization by the Mennonites and the attraction presented by their work centers. Presently, according to law, each nuclear family has the right to 100 hectares of land, which translates into a total of 140,600 hectares. Thus far 79,801 hectares have been made available with certainty, and 60,799 are still outstanding.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The largest Nivaclé kinship group is the territorial clan, a group that originated in a particular geographic region and bears its name. Descent is bilateral, and a distinction is made between male and female kin: *ats'avot* and *ats'ichei*, respectively.

**Kinship Terminology.** In Ego's generation, sibling terminology is Dravidian. The four terms are applied collaterally, whereas terminology for cousins appears to be Hawaiian. Consanguineal and affinal terms are always separate. Consanguineal terminology is symmetrical, with no differentiation between male and female lines; it is ambilateral. There are mourning terms that are applied to relatives who have lost a son and who have gone through the corresponding ceremony.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Residence is uxorilocal, and marriage is generally monogamous except for leaders and shamans, who practice sororal polygyny (within areas of missionary influence this is not practicable). Marriage takes place after long friendship and premarital sexual relations in which the woman must take all the initiative. Men are fought over, with rival women aided by their female relatives. Men have a passive attitude toward sexual matters. Divorce is possible if either spouse wishes it. However, it is generally the woman who, as owner of the house, throws her husband's belongings out and expels him from the home.

**Domestic Unit.** The Nivaclé domestic unit consists of an extended matrifocal family in which up to four generations live together. The oldest grandmother is the highest-ranking authority. Nowadays, within the Mennonite sphere of influence, the nuclear family is predominant.

**Inheritance.** The role of shaman is generally inherited, as are some songs, passed down from father to son and mother to daughter. All the deceased's belongings are burned on the grave. Today money is inherited by the spouse or the children. Domestic animals remain in the possession of the daughters, and cultivated fields pass to the sons.

**Socialization.** Children are the tyrants of the family. There is no punishment other than a smile or ridicule, although reminders of the dangers of retribution by supernatural beings also serve as a means of socialization. Grandparents are in charge of education, which is imparted through discursive lore and examples. From the age of 8 or 9, children are forced to behave correctly. Punishment for misbehavior is meted out by an elderly woman from another domestic unit, who acts at the request of the parents. There is a great deal of school absenteeism, and very few young people go to secondary school.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** There are no social classes, but there is a fine line in status differentiation—those having the highest standing are expected to render the greatest service to the community. The preeminence of women has decreased with the loss of the herds. As of the late twentieth century, prostitution with Creole and White men is causing havoc. Young people are dazzled by Western glitter, and the old people weep over their loss of freedom. A deep and heartrending generational trauma is beginning to develop.

**Political Organization.** Nivaclé political organization is based on distribution and the territorial clan. In leadership the *caanvacle*, warrior, is most prominent; he acquires status according to the number of scalps he has taken in combat. More than five scalps of various ethnic groups makes him an *uj caanvacle*, a great chief. His authority is restricted to martial activities. The *tsôt'aj* has a relationship with the masters of the animals and the forest. At the beginning and end of the day, he harangues the people. He plans and directs work. As the interpreter of the general consensus, he is what ethnographers have come to call the "peace chief." Nowadays, local councils are being formed, a syncretism between the former council of the elders and the Western parliamentary system.

**Social Control.** Gossip, giving the cold shoulder, and ridicule, as well as the fear of punishment for violating taboos, have been the most common forms of social control. Traditionally, the price for a crime or sorcery was blood vengeance carried out by the victim's clan. In disputes about love, men performed song duels. In many other instances the informal council of elders intervened. Since before the Chaco War, legal matters have been in large part in the control of missionaries or military commanders. Today, the law establishes the value of indigenous customary law "in all that is not incompatible with the principles of public order."

**Conflict.** Until about 1930 there was conflict with neighboring ethnic groups, especially the Toba, over hunting and fishing grounds and cattle. At the end of the 1940s a "crisis cult" developed, with Pentecostal and healer characteristics. Originating after an earthquake in northern Argentina, the movement extended to Mennonite settlements. Hardly had the cult come to an end, when in 1960, there was an uprising over land rights in the Mennonite colonies. From 1974 to 1978 the Marandú Project supported Indian ambitions of self-determination but it became perverted by the machinations of the Paraguayan dictatorship, which corrupted the principal native leadership with large sums of money given to the Asociación de Parcialidades Indígenas (Association of Native Indian Groups). In 1980 there developed another crisis cult, supported by the Mormons. A group of Nivaclé had migrated to one of their ancient tribal grounds, where they were not allowed to remain because the area had become private property. At the root of these crisis cults are interethnic friction and the struggle for land, in which the Indians have the Oblate Fathers as their main allies.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Fisôc'oyich is the culture hero and original father of the Nivaclé. He was identified with God by the first Christianized Indians. Before contact with the missionaries and with General Iván Belaieff, the Nivaclé had no belief in a supreme creator of the world. The world has always existed and has gone through various cataclysms: the exchange of position of the sky and the earth, the collapse of the sky, a world conflagration, and a deluge. For the Tovoc and Jotoi Lhavos, the cosmos is made up of three levels; for the Tavashai Lhavos, of five, and for the Yita' Lhavos, of seven. The levels are united and supported by four tree trunks, behind which lies the region of darkness. Humans have three souls, *sôc'ôclit*, which at the same time are only one. The *shaic'u*, egg soul, is the keeper of health and life; the *jeche*, eggshell soul, is the custodian of moral qualities and health; and the *ajplecl*, shadow soul, is the seat of the soul. All things have subtle doubles, which are their spirits and possess their powers or qualities.

The P'alhac are the mythical humans who fell on the infraearth when the sky took up the space formerly occupied by earth. The Yina'ôt Lhavoquei (Women of the Water), the mothers of the Nivaclé, lost the teeth of their vulvae through a dance organized by primogenial men. The Sa'ônjalhai (Mangy Ones) are owners of tobacco and brothers who killed their mother, a *dema* deity, who was the wife of the birdnester; later they ascended to the sky by means of a chain of arrows. The Ôjô'clôlhai are men who were transformed into birds because of the evil acts of women. The Fanjas and Ôjô'clôchat are birds that are owners of rain and lightning respectively. The Chivosis and Chivositaj are spirits of the souls of aborted fetuses and murdered children. The Tsich'es are malignant beings, and the Tsantaj are monsters who eat human flesh. The Catiis (Stars) are supernatural women. Jincuclai, the Sun, and Jive'cla, the Moon, are men. The latter has an enormous penis with which he deflowers women every month and causes their menstrual flow. Nowadays, a large number of Nivaclé profess a syncretism of their ancient beliefs and Christianity, and some are in the process of accepting a newly indoctrinated faith.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman (*tôiyeej*), who may be either a man or a woman, is curer, sorcerer, and soul guide (one who leads the soul into the other world). The male or female *caasnaschai* is master/mistress of the initiation ceremonies that prepare young people for adult life, giving them tutelary spirits and songs to communicate with them. To ensure success in hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture, the *tsôt'aj* establishes communication with and propitiates the masters of animals and the forest through his song (*shich'e*). The souls that inhabit his scalps help the *caanvacle* against his enemies, by indicating their whereabouts to him. When old and no longer able to fight, he throws away his scalps, but the souls of his victims continue to help him. He communicates with them through his songs, and, through his skill in xenoglossy, animals will reveal to him his adversaries' movements. Nowadays, there are native Protestant pastors and Catholic deacons.



**Ceremonies.** The caanvacle prepares the scalps, fumi-gates himself with *naranja del monte* (*Capparis speciosa*), and gives a feast. In old age, when he destroys his scalps, he offers another feast. The most important ceremony is the puberty initiation of girls. Next in importance is the initiation of pubescent boys. Upon becoming a father, men undergo another ritual. There is a ceremony at the beginning and the end of a period of mourning. All ceremonies involve a type of potlatch.

**Arts.** Plastic arts are the composite of visual forms that express the Nivaclé relationship with their surroundings and their world perception, constituting signs of ethnic identity. In times past, these took the form of string figures, tattoos, body painting, feather ornaments, glass-bead embroidery, ceramics, wool weaving, and cordage making. Nowadays, only the latter four survive, but wood sculpting has been added to the repertoire. Songs are composed of alliterative syllables that have no meaning in the Nivaclé language and are learned as glossolalia when communicating with certain spirits. They are performed in vigils, and, more generally, in dreams. Dancing accompanies moments of happiness, and *totôn*, the marching dance, is for victory celebrations. Ceremonial ritual is the synthesis of all Nivaclé art.

**Medicine.** The shaman is the healer/curer, and his or her therapeutic methods consist of sucking, massaging, chanting, possession, ecstasy, the externalization of his or her own soul to recapture those of patients, flight to different cosmic planes, and the administration of substances that activate spirit helpers (*avtôî*). The three main causes of illness and death are soul loss, spirit intrusion, and abandonment by one of the tutelary spirits (*accheche*). Since the arrival of stupendously effective penicillin in 1944, shamanic influence has declined.

**Death and Afterlife.** At death, the ajplecl becomes an animal. The shaic'u and its shell go to Yincôp (the Nivaclé paradise), where eternal summer reigns and people dance continuously, drink large quantities of maize beer (*niôtsich*), and make love freely. Souls condemned by evil shamans are eaten by their spirit helpers or hidden in inaccessible places.

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MIGUEL CHASE-SARDI  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Noanamá

ETHNONYMS: Chanco, Chocama, Noenama, Nonama, Waunana, Wounaan, Woun Meu

The Noanamá are a constituent group of the Chocó people. They originally inhabited the lower Río San Juan Basin and the upper Cauca Valley in Colombia, but in recent years many have left to live in Darién Province in Panama; presently, 2,000 of the 3,000 to 4,000 Noanamá live in Panama. The Noanamá speak a Chocó language. Many speak Spanish in addition to Noanamá. Also, many have married Afro-Colombians since World War II.

The Noanamá were first contacted by Spanish missionaries sometime after 1654. The missionaries wished to convert the Noanamá and tried to concentrate their population, but the Noanamá moved further upriver and away from the missionaries. Later, gold miners enslaved some to work in the mines.

Relatively little is known about the traditional culture of the general area in which the Noanamá live because the presence of Spanish conquerors, who found gold there, had devastating effects; disease, slavery, and warfare left but a tiny fraction of the pre-Conquest population of this once densely inhabited area. Following the Conquest, the remaining Noanamá became Catholics and were largely assimilated. It is known that they farmed maize and manioc, and that conditions were good for horticulture. Fish were caught and preserved by smoking. The Noanamá wore bark-cloth breechclouts. They lived in large houses in large villages; ten to fifteen houses were grouped together, and houses sat close to one another. Chiefs had considerable authority and received tribute from their subjects. The polygynous chiefs married nieces and/or sisters, probably in an effort to maintain a ruling class. Both intertribal trade and intertribal warfare were common. The Noanamá fought with lances, darts, wooden clubs, and wooden shields. Slain enemies were eaten, their skins stuffed with wood ashes, and their skulls covered with wax figures; they were then displayed with weapons in their hands in the houses of their slayers. Among the Noanamá's culturally similar neighbors, the Gorrón, women also went to war in the quest for these trophies. Shamans communicated with supernatural beings and practiced divination, magic, and sorcery.

Present-day Noanamá make their living by swidden horticulture, raising plantains, bananas, sweet manioc, sugarcane, and maize. They hunt with bows and arrows and blowguns with poisoned darts, but the shotgun is now the most common hunting weapon. Fish, which are an important source of food, are obtained with harpoons, hooks and lines, or poison. Almost the only source of cash for the Noanamá living in the Pacific lowlands of Colombia is felling forest trees and selling the timber to sawmills along the rivers.

The Noanamá are expert canoe builders and sell some canoes to their Afro-Colombian neighbors. Women paddle

seated, using short paddles, whereas men stand and use long paddles or pole their canoes through the shallows.

The Noanamá live in round houses with overhanging eaves raised on stilts. They sleep on platforms covered with sleeping mats made from the bark of a tree. Today many Noanamá own sewing machines.

The Noanamá are skilled woodworkers; they carve many wooden household utensils and ritual objects. Their pottery is ornamented with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs. Pots are used largely for storing water or fermented sugarcane juice, as ceramic cooking pots have been replaced by aluminum. The Noanamá also make clay tobacco pipes. Basketry is highly developed; the women make a great variety of baskets as well as straw hats.

The girls' puberty ceremony involves eight days of isolation and fasting, after which the girl is ceremonially painted and taken on a round of visits in the community. Premarital sex is permitted, but a new household is formed only when the young man is considered sufficiently skilled at canoe building, hunting, fishing, and farming to maintain a family. At the start of marriage young couples usually live with the wife's family, but eventually build their own house nearby.

Women wear kilts of brightly colored cloth and go bare breasted. At festivals they wear many strings of beads, and their kilts are heavily embroidered with coins and beads. The traditional costume is falling into disuse, however, and most men now wear shirts and pants.

The Noanamá are nominal Catholics and celebrate such festivals as Christmas, Easter, and St. John's Day with singing, dancing, and drinking. They make *chicha* and also distill a kind of homemade rum from sugarcane.

Among the Noanamá living along the Río San Juan in Colombia, the shaman is still a powerful figure. He is usually one of the tribal elders and acts as a healer as well as religious leader. The shaman has a great deal of knowledge

about the medicinal plants that he uses in curing. A man who wishes to be a shaman must first apprentice to a master shaman. An important part of the apprenticeship is carving a set of wooden figurative batons. The carving is appropriate to the use of the baton in curing: most human illnesses require a baton carved with a human figure, but for snakebite a baton carved with the likeness of a snake is necessary.

The initiation of a shaman takes place in a solemn all-night ceremony attended by members of the community. During the ceremony *chicha* is distributed, the spirits are called by the shaman's assistant, and the new shaman receives his "spirit helpers," represented by a number of small carved wooden figures in a miniature canoe. These will assist him in curing diseases and other human ills.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Otavalo

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ETHNONYMS: Indígenas de Otavalo, Otavaleños, Runa (Quichua for "people") de Otavalo

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Runa" dates from the post-Inca Conquest, whereas the names "Otavaleño" and "Indígena" date from the post-Spanish Conquest. The main tribes in the area when the Incas arrived in the late-fifteenth century were the Caranqui and Cayambi.

**Location.** Aboriginally, these groups occupied the Andean cordilleras and the valleys of what are now Imbabura and Pichincha provinces from the contemporary border of Colombia to Carapugno (modern Calderón) at the northern edge of Quito. Most Otavalo still live in the Otavalo Valley in Imbabura Province, but there are large numbers in Quito and smaller colonies in every Ecuadoran population center; in Bogotá, Popayán, and Pasto, Colombia; and in Venezuela, Brazil, and Spain. The Otavalo wear a distinct costume combining pre-Hispanic, Spanish colonial, and modern elements. This dress has changed over the centuries, but serves to identify wearers as members of the Otavalo ethnic group. It is possible for Indians to hide

their ethnic identity by adopting White-style dress, but this is rare.

**Demography.** In 1990 the indigenous population of the Otavalo Valley was estimated at 45,000 to 50,000, including 3,000 in the town of Otavalo, with another 5,000 to 8,000 Otavalo living in expatriate communities in Ecuador and abroad.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The pre-Inca aboriginal language has been lost except for a few place-names, patronyms, and loom terms. It was affiliated with the Barbaoco Group of the Chibchan Language Family, as is the language spoken by the contemporary Cayapa in the western lowlands. Quichua was introduced into Ecuador in the fifteenth century by the Incas and was spread by Spanish missionaries as a lingua franca. According to the 1974 Torero classification, the Otavalo speak the Quichua B dialect of the Quechua II Language Group. (Linguists disagree whether Quichua B is a dialect or a separate language.) The Otavalo call Quichua *runa shimi* (the people's tongue). Most Otavalo are bilingual in Quichua and Spanish (*castellano*) and a few also speak Portuguese, English, French, or German.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Caranqui and Cayambi lived in small, socially stratified city-states. They united to resist the Inca invasions of Ecuador in the second half of the fifteenth century but were finally defeated around A.D. 1495. Sarance (modern Otavalo) and Caranqui became Inca administrative centers. Before the Incas had a deep hold on the region, the Spanish, under Sebastián de Benalcázar, conquered Ecuador in 1534. By 1535 land in the Otavalo region was being given to Spanish settlers. Because Ecuador lacked the mineral resources of Peru and Bolivia, the Spanish put the indigenous population to work in Crown-owned and private textile factories under highly abusive conditions. By the mid-1550s a conquistador had been given a large *encomienda* (population grant), which included Otavalo. He set up an *obraje* (weaving factory) in Otavalo that employed up to 500 males at its height, but it reverted to the Spanish Crown in 1581. Other *obrajes* were also established in the region. The *encomienda* system evolved into large, privately owned landholdings (*haciendas*), and in the eighteenth century Indians were conscripted to work in *hacienda* textile factories through the *mita*, a system of forced labor. Ultimately, many Indians became permanently attached to the *haciendas* under a system of debt servitude (*wasipungu*), which included weaving for the *hacienda* in *obrajes* as well as agricultural work. Textile production in Ecuador was the mainstay of the colonial economy, with exports to what are now Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia. In 1964 debt servitude was outlawed, and some land reform was realized under the Law of Agrarian Reform and Colonization. The contemporary prosperity of the Otavalo through their involvement in the manufacture and marketing of textiles has resulted in more respectful and equitable treatment of them by Whites.

### *Settlements*

Aboriginal settlements probably consisted of small towns where chiefs and priests resided, surrounded by small

farms. Today there are about seventy-five small, dispersed communities, usually organized along a Spanish model around a central plaza with a church and school. Tile-roofed adobe or concrete-block houses are set among gardens or farmland. The town of Otavalo is a major tourist center with White- and Indian-owned hotels, restaurants, tour agencies, and craft shops.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The production of textiles has been important for centuries in the Otavalo region. Until the twentieth century, when a full-time weaving and merchant class arose, most textile activity was integrated into the agricultural cycle, and the Otavalo were subsistence farmers raising potatoes, corn, *haba* beans, quinoa, cherries (all indigenous crops), garden vegetables, and guinea pigs. Since the Spanish Conquest the Otavalo have also raised wheat, pigs, chickens, cattle, sheep, and occasionally horses.

**Industrial Arts.** Even before the arrival of the Incas, the Indians of the Otavalo Valley were known as weavers and merchants, using such indigenous technology and materials as the hand-held spindle, backstrap loom, and cotton and possibly camelid fibers to weave clothing and blankets. The *obrajes*, although oppressive, introduced production weaving and the technology upon which the modern economy is based: hand carders, walking spinning wheels, treadle looms, and sheep's wool. Because of a wool shortage, cotton and such synthetic fibers as acrylic are also used. Modern textile production is primarily a cottage industry with family members helping with production. About 25,000 males and females over age 16 work part- or full-time in the textile industry. Children also help after school. Involvement ranges from families who make two handspun wool backstrap loom-woven ponchos a month to families who produce hundreds of acrylic shawls a day on electric looms with the help of hired workers. The Otavalo produce clothing for themselves, for other Ecuadorian Indians and Whites, and high-fashion clothing for the export and tourist markets, as well as blankets, bedspreads, tapestry wall hangings, handbags, and electric machine-knit socks, to give a partial list. There are some wage workers in textiles but there is no industrial proletariat. Those not working in the textile cottage industry are subsistence farmers, day laborers in farming or construction, or both farmers and producers of other crafts. Families and villages have specialties. Mats are made from *tatora* reeds in communities around San Pablo Lake; others fashion pottery, leather goods, and baskets.

**Trade.** From pre-Inca times through the early Spanish colonial era, a separate merchant group (*mindalaes*) traded cotton textiles, beads, and other luxury goods throughout the sierra. Later, nonhacienda Indians continued to travel and market textiles. Today there are part- and full-time merchants who travel throughout Ecuador and to other Latin American countries, North America, and Europe selling textiles made by the Otavalo and by Whites and Indians from other parts of Ecuador, including wool or cotton sweaters hand-knit by White women in Ibarra, Mira, San Gabriel, and Cuenca. Substantial merchandising also occurs at the Saturday and Wednesday Otavalo markets.

**Division of Labor.** Women traditionally spun with the hand-held spindle and men did the weaving. Today men predominate as weavers, but women also weave on both the pre-Hispanic stick loom and the European treadle loom. Both sexes spin, dye yarn, sew, finish textiles, garden, herd, farm, and sell items in the market and in stores. Women generally cook and care for infants, but men help. There is a high degree of gender equality, which was probably even greater before the Spanish Conquest. From a very early age children of both sexes help with textile and agricultural tasks, carry water, wash clothes, gather firewood, and care for their younger siblings.

**Land Tenure.** Information is lacking on Caranqui and Cayambi land tenure. Under the Inca empire land was communally owned and redistributed annually, with parcels farmed for the Sun (region), the Inca, and individual family consumption. Landownership has always been important to the Otavalo, and in the twentieth century, even before the agrarian reform, they bought back hacienda land whenever possible. In the 1990s small, individually owned landholdings are the norm.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** It is not known if the Caranqui or Cayambi had clans or moieties, but if so they have disappeared. Colonial documents mention the *ayllu*, a Quechua term for a corporate landholding group based on presumed common ancestry, but today "ayllu" simply means "family." There is no rule of village exogamy. Most Otavalo marry within the ethnic group, but there are some marriages with Whites. Descent is bilateral. Children have a patronym and matronym, and men and women keep both names after marriage. The practice of extending the family network through *compadrazgo* (coparenthood, fictive kinship) has religious, social, and economic importance. Godparents to a child at baptism, first communion, or confirmation became *compadres* to the child's parents. *Compadres* recognize an obligation to help one another in various ways, including economically, so families frequently choose *compadres* from a higher socioeconomic bracket. Godparents are supposed to supervise the religious education of their godchildren but usually help the godchild with secular matters (gifts, money for education, jobs) and may be asked to raise the child if he or she is orphaned.

**Kinship Terminology.** Evidence from the 1940s suggests that Otavalo Quichua kinship terminology was similar to that of the Inca: a bifurcate-merging system with classificatory three-generation cycles in both maternal and paternal lines. Today Spanish and some Quichua terms are used according to a European system, except that an affinal or consanguineal aunt is called *pani* (Quichua for sister) as well as *tía* (Spanish for aunt). The Quichua *mama* and *taita* (mother and father) are used for parents and as honorifics for elderly people in general, whereas the Spanish *tía* and *tío* (aunt and uncle) are used for these kin and as honorifics for younger adults. Children often call their godparents by the Quichua terms *achimama* or *achitaita* (godmother or godfather).

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** A person is not considered an adult until he or she marries, and marriage is the norm. It appears that aboriginally there were trial marriages; children resulting from such unions were considered legitimate. There is still no stigma attached to children born out of wedlock nor is virginity in either partner particularly valued. Until the mid-twentieth century most marriages were arranged by the couple's parents. Today young people meet and court at the Otavalo market, while running errands in town, at fiestas, or while attending high school. They generally marry between the ages of 18 and 24. The traditional giving of food by the groom's family is still practiced, together with the procession of the young man's parents to the home of his prospective bride to discuss the marriage. The food does not necessarily represent bride-wealth, since the bride's family does not lose her labor and the young couple may reside with them. Nor is a dowry given.

Exchanges of food between the families after marriage as agreed upon are a recognition of the reciprocity and the complementarity of opposites, which are core values in indigenous society. Appropriate marriage partners include anyone of the opposite sex except a first cousin or closer consanguineal relative. The mayor of the community places a rosary around the necks of the couple in a short ceremony and the union is recognized. Later, civil registration of the marriage is followed by a church wedding and fiesta if the man's family has the money to pay for the celebration. Divorce is rare.

**Domestic Unit.** Neolocal residence is the ideal, but until a young couple can build or buy their own house, they live with either set of parents depending on the families' resources; extended families are common. Unmarried or handicapped adults usually live with their parents or another relative, and orphaned children live with relatives.

**Inheritance.** Land and property are divided equally among all children, resulting in successive divisions of landholdings and a proliferation of tiny plots. The youngest child usually is given the parents' house while they are alive, with the understanding that he or she will care for them in old age.

**Socialization.** Children are given much attention and affection and are raised relatively permissively. They are included in all activities, but they are also expected to help with household, farm, and textile chores; to obey adults promptly; and to respect them. Physical discipline, such as spanking, is infrequent. Ridicule, stern looks, or harsh words are usually sufficient to ensure proper behavior. Most children attend primary school. Increasing numbers are going on to high school and some to the university.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** There is scant information on aboriginal social organization, but it appears that age was respected. Genders were equal, but priests and hereditary leaders (*kurakas*) had high rank. Today wealthy weaving and merchant families are beginning to form an indigenous upper class.

**Political Organization.** The village (*parcialidad*) is an unofficial subdivision of the parish (*parróquia*), with no single authority. Instead, kinship and reciprocity bind the community. Each village has two mayors (*alcaldes*), appointed by the local political chief, and an elected council (*cabildo*). The political mayor calls collective work parties for such jobs as road repair but has no formal mechanism for enforcement. Indians have the right to vote and participate in politics at the local, provincial, and national level. Some Otavalo are active in nationwide indigenous federations.

**Social Control.** The most common and effective mechanism for social control is the disapproval of one's family and community. Outside authorities such as the civil guard or town police are rarely, if ever, called in. Relatives and compadres informally mediate many marital and familial conflicts. Intractable conflicts, especially those over land-ownership or money, often end up in the local courts.

**Conflict.** The Caranqui and Cayambi forcibly resisted both the Inca and Spanish conquests. In the colonial era, there was an uprising in the Otavalo area against the Spanish in 1777. Through the 1970s and 1980s there have been conflicts with local haciendas over land, including the 1978 occupation of the Hacienda La Bolsa by Indians until they were dislodged by the army.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Spanish converted the Indians to Roman Catholicism, and indigenous celebrations were adapted to Catholic feast days. Today most Otavalo are Catholics with a substrate of pre-Hispanic beliefs. Since about the 1960s evangelical Christian sects and the Latter Day Saints have made converts through their missions in Otavalo.

Catholic saints, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Trinity are worshiped, but the last drops of liquid in a glass are always poured on the ground as an offering to Pachamama (Earth Mother). Offerings are also made by women wanting children to a *lechero* tree on a hill overlooking Otavalo to the east. There is some belief in nature spirits, especially in the spirits of streams and waterfalls. The rainbow is feared as an evil omen that can cause flesh to petrify or lead to insanity or death. The two dormant volcanoes that dominate the Otavalo Valley are called Taita Imbabura and Mama Cotacachi; they figure in folktales and legends but are not worshiped as such. A smaller peak, Mojanda, is considered their *wawa* (baby).

**Religious Practitioners.** Because of colonial conversions to Christianity and Spanish suppression of indigenous religion, there are no practitioners of aboriginal religion per se, although there are traditional healers.

**Ceremonies.** The aboriginal ceremonial cycle was organized around solar events and the agricultural cycle. Today Christian feasts (Christmas, Holy Week, Easter, etc.) are observed, but the most important fiesta is that of San Juan on 24 June, which coincides with the winter solstice. For this fiesta men wear elaborate costumes and the celebration includes all-night music and dancing and ritual drinking for nearly a week. Until about the middle of the

twentieth century a ritual battle between the men of different communities was held in front of the chapel of San Juan at the edge of Otavalo, and the blood of the wounded or dead was considered an offering to the Earth Mother. The fiesta of San Luis Obispo, called Coraza, was observed in Otavalo on 19 August until the 1940s, but by the early 1990s it was limited to the community of San Rafael. Various saints' days and local fiestas are celebrated in different communities throughout the year. Music, dancing by men and women, quantities of food, and the ritual consumption of alcohol are considered essential at all fiestas. The sponsorship of a fiesta by a couple has traditionally been a source of great prestige, although success in the textile business is now another route to high status.

**Arts.** Besides textiles, traditional music is an important art form. Young Indians form folklore groups (*conjuntos*). Men play indigenous wind and percussion instruments as well as European stringed instruments, whereas both men and women sing traditional Quichua and some Spanish songs. Otavalo conjuntos play locally, compete in national music festivals, and sometimes record their music and perform abroad.

**Medicine.** Aboriginal and medieval Spanish beliefs have been syncretized in Otavalo culture. Illnesses are considered hot or cold and are believed to be caused by fright (*susto* or *espanto*), evil wind (*huyrashka* or *malviento*), evil spirits, or the entry of a foreign object. The town of Iluman is especially noted for its traditional healers. Male or female healers (*curanderos* or *brujos*) treat illnesses with herbal remedies or rituals to suck out the foreign body, absorb the evil wind, or drive out the evil spirits. Healers often travel to the Amazon or coastal lowlands to study with jungle healers. Local midwives (*patiras*) attend childbirth, and women stay in bed and observe a special diet for a month after giving birth, attended by a relative or a paid helper. Indians sometimes resort to Western-trained doctors in Otavalo, Quito, and Ibarra in addition to local healers.

**Death and Afterlife.** Syncretism is also evident in Otavalo concepts of death and the afterlife. The Otavalo believe in the Catholic heaven and hell, but many bury the dead with objects to help them in the afterlife. Baptized children are believed to go straight to heaven and become angels. On 2 November (the Day of the Dead) and on Holy Thursday, families carry offerings of wreaths, food, and drink to the cemetery. Food is shared with relatives and friends, given to beggars who say prayers for the dead, and left on graves because of the belief that the souls of the dead return for twenty-four hours and must be propitiated.

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LYNN A. MEISCH

## Páez

ETHNONYM: Paez

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Páez live in southwestern highland Colombia and speak the Páez language. They call themselves "Nasa" to distinguish themselves from neighboring ethnic groups, including the Guambiano, the Guanacas, and the townspeople of mixed Spanish and indigenous or African descent.

**Location.** The Páez heartland of Tierradentro in Colombia is comprised of some 1,300 square kilometers, located on the eastern slopes of Cordillera Central, at 2°30' N and 76° W. Páez settlements can also be found on the western slopes of the cordillera, and some Páez colonists have recently settled in the Caquetá lowlands to the south-east. Over 80 percent of Tierradentro lies above 2,000 meters in elevation, with one-third of the territory in the páramo, the high northern Andean swampy plateau that begins at 3,000 meters. This cold, mountainous country is crosscut by deep valleys, most notably those of the Páez, Moras, and Ullucos rivers, confining settlements to the mountain slopes overlooking these waterways. In Tierradentro, the rainy season extends from May to November, with the heaviest rains in May to June and October to November; on the western slopes of the Cordillera seasons are reversed.

**Demography.** The 1972 census calculates a Páez population of only 35,724 persons, with 40 percent living in Tierradentro. Nevertheless, most experts estimate that there are between 60,000 and 80,000 Páez. An excessively high rate of infant mortality on the western slopes of the Cordillera has resulted in a negative rate of population growth in some communities.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** There is no agreement among scholars on the affiliation of the Páez language. Although it has been traditionally associated with the Chibchan Family, some linguists hesitate to classify Páez as a Chibchan language; it has been suggested that it is a linguistic isolate, together with neighboring Guambiano. According to some estimates, 75 percent of the Páez are bilingual in

Páez and in Spanish, and 25 percent are monolingual Páez speakers. But in many communities more than half the population is composed of monolingual Spanish speakers. Páez is an unwritten language, and native linguists are beginning to develop an alphabet for purposes of bilingual education.

### History and Cultural Relations

At the time of the 1537 Spanish invasion, the Páez were organized in a series of warring chiefdoms coexisting in Tierradentro with other ethnic communities, including the Guambiano, the Pijao, and the Yalcón, and linked with them through relations of warfare, trade, and marriage. During the first century of the Conquest, the aboriginal population of approximately 10,000 was halved through war and disease. The Spanish forced the Indians into centralized villages so that they would be more easily exploitable as a source of labor and tribute. Communities began to migrate to the western slopes of the cordillera, founding new towns. In the early eighteenth century native leaders validated their political authority and the territories under their dominion through the creation of reservations, or *resguardos*, legitimized through titles granted by the Spanish Crown. During the nineteenth century the communal landholdings of the resguardo were challenged by non-Indian landowners, by gatherers of quinine bark, by the ravages of civil war, and by national legislation that sought to privatize landownership throughout the country. At the turn of the century the Páez joined a political movement led by sharecropper Manuel Quintín Lame, who fought to reclaim lost lands and to free Indian sharecroppers from paying rent for the plots they tilled. Non-Páez sharecroppers evicted from their lands in neighboring regions colonized Tierradentro in the 1930s, arousing heightened militancy among the land-poor Páez. During the 1950s, Tierradentro was beset by violence and civil war, and some communities were forced to disperse.

### Settlements

The Páez live in twenty-one settlements with populations ranging from 100 to 4,500 inhabitants. Although most communities are marked by towns, the majority of the population follows a dispersed mode of settlement, building adobe or wattle-and-daub houses with tile or thatch roofs,

located near their fields on the mountain slopes. Some towns are composed of only ten to twenty sporadically inhabited houses, a school, a church, and a few tiny stores, whereas others are regional urban centers with large non-Indian populations and a governmental infrastructure. All of these towns are built in the traditional Spanish style, with a central plaza and, if there is more than one street, in a grid pattern. Most settlements are linked by unpaved highways constructed in the 1970s and 1980s; individual households are connected to towns by bridle- and footpaths.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Páez are peasant farmers; they raise potatoes, coffee, or hemp (depending on the altitude at which they live) for sale and grow plantains, manioc, maize, or Andean tubers for domestic consumption. There is also some coca grown in the lower reaches of Tierradentro, consumed by the ever-shrinking number of older people who still chew it. Crops are generally cultivated with hand tools available on the regional market; commercial technology is used for processing hemp and coffee for sale to intermediaries. Crops raised for domestic consumption are generally grown on small plots, using slash-and-burn techniques; coffee, coca, and hemp are more permanent crops. In the nineteenth century quinine bark and laurel wax were gathered in many communities; most of the quinine forests were severely depleted at this time. Domestic animals include pigs, cattle, turkeys, and chickens.

**Trade and Labor.** In most settlements a number of small stores stock commercial goods, but the population sells most of its produce and purchases goods at regional markets. Individual households are also connected by barter relationships with other communities, as well as with the neighboring Guambiano. Some of these relationships provide households with products grown in other ecological zones, as in the exchange of coca for potatoes. In other instances, exchange relationships link households on the two slopes of the cordillera, thus ensuring a steady supply of maize even in times of shortage between harvests. The Páez economy is also characterized by multiple modes of labor exchange that connect households in a web of reciprocal obligations; festive labor exchanges also characterize communal work projects. In some communities a considerable proportion of the population has migrated either temporarily or on a more long-term basis to nearby cities, as well as to coffee plantations to work as wage laborers.

**Land Tenure.** Seventy percent of the land in the Páez region is resguardo territory, meaning that it is communal land granted in usufruct to community members and administered by an elected council, or *cabildo*. The vast majority of the Páez are resguardo members, although between 15 and 20 percent are landless; land-claim activities have done much to integrate the land-poor into the community economy, especially on the western slopes of the cordillera.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The most basic social and economic unit of Páez society is the nuclear family. Families are related to one another through networks of ex-

change of labor and agricultural products, community political processes, and ritual. Members of each community have a limited number of surnames. Although some scholars have suggested that in the pre-Columbian era descent was patrilineal, among the contemporary Páez descent is bilateral, and this also appears to have been the case in colonial times. Exchange partners are recruited out of each individual's personal kindred.

**Kinship Terminology.** Although Páez kinship terminology displays many of the characteristics of the Dravidian systems found in the Colombian northwestern Amazon, there is no indication that it was ever accompanied by bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The Páez marry, for the most part, within their own communities or with individuals from neighboring resguardos; marriages seldom take place between Páez from distant communities. There are almost no instances of marriage with the neighboring Guambiano or with local non-Indians, and it is said that Juan Tama, the Páez culture hero and an eighteenth-century chief, ordered his people to marry only within their ethnic community. Marriages are performed by Roman Catholic priests based in the urban centers of each municipality. Residence is virilocal: after a short period of residence with the husband's parents, a couple will build its own house, generally in the husband's community.

**Domestic Unit.** The domestic unit is usually composed of a nuclear family that shares a house and works the land communally. The average domestic unit has 5.5 members, although with an infant mortality rate of 36 percent in some communities, many more children are born to a family than survive to adulthood.

**Inheritance.** Inheritance of resguardo land is regulated by Colombian law. Use-rights are legitimized and passed from one individual to another through the mediation of the *cabildo*. The *cabildo* is also authorized to mediate disputes over the inheritance of movable property.

**Socialization.** Infants and children are raised by the members of the nuclear family. Children accompany parents in all activities. Into the 1930s women were confined at childbirth and first menstruation to a small hut and isolated there for a specified period of time, whereas young men were initiated at sacred lakes. Primary schools have been built in most communities, frequently under the supervision of the church, and most children are now receiving at least two to three years of formal education.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social and Political Organization.** Páez sociopolitical organization is similar to that of other native highland populations in Colombia because it conforms to the dictates of national Indian legislation. The Páez live in resguardos, the boundaries and historical legitimacy of which are founded on eighteenth-century titles granted to native communities by the Spanish Crown. The *cabildo*, elected annually, serves as an intermediary between the Colombian government and the native community, administering usufruct rights to communal lands. Eighteenth-

century cabildos enjoyed considerably more authority than do their modern counterparts. Cabildo authorities receive no remuneration for their services, and all men are expected to serve at least once in their lifetime. Cabildo members carry staffs of office to identify themselves as community authorities, a Spanish symbol ubiquitous throughout the Andes. Parallel to the cabildo is the *capitán*, or captain, whose office is hereditary; the *capitán* organizes communal work projects to maintain bridle paths, churches, cemeteries, and other community holdings.

The Páez *resguardo* differs from its counterpart in other native communities in its ideological underpinnings. It is based on an oral history that centers around culture heroes and heroines and the chiefs (*caciques*), who are said to be of supernatural origin and to have saved the Páez from indigenous and European invaders, founded the *resguardos* in which the Páez live, and then disappeared into highland lakes. The mythic narratives that recount the exploits of the *caciques* are elaborations upon the Spanish *resguardo* titles, the contents of which provide a framework for recasting Conquest-era mythology.

**Social Control.** The cabildo mediates disputes over land. Other areas of social control have been usurped by the non-Páez political authorities appointed by the Colombian government, although until the late twentieth century cabildos still used stocks and whipping to punish minor offenses. Colombian police, mayors, judges, and the army clash frequently with cabildos in struggles over the means of social control.

**Conflict.** Memories of valiant Páez warriors have led members of the dominant Colombian society to enlist Páez participation in the conflicts of the broader society. The Páez fought in the civil wars that raged throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. Tierradentro has also been a stage for political organizing by the Indians themselves, who recently formed pan-Indian ethnic rights organizations to reclaim land and political autonomy. Because of the success of their agenda, the Páez have become targets in the political violence that characterizes contemporary Colombia.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

The majority of the Páez were converted to Roman Catholicism by the eighteenth century, and a church stands in each Páez town. A significant number of people have been converted to evangelical Protestantism.

**Religious Beliefs.** Although the Páez have been Catholic for at least three centuries, the landscape of Tierradentro is populated with a variety of supernatural beings. Seventeenth-century Spanish chroniclers noted the importance among the Páez of highland lakes, sometimes the abode of Kpish, the Thunder. Colonial sources also mention hilltop oracles into which the sun rose and set. Pre-Columbian ceramics display images of snakes and serpents. Many of these ancient symbols are articulated today in the political arena. The mythic *caciques* are the children of the star, a wedding of the pre-Columbian symbol of divine heavenly bodies with the legal titles that legitimize post-Conquest communal landholdings. Those *caciques* not fished from the waters in which they float are transformed

into serpents that eat villagers. The *caciques* defend their people with slings given to them by Kpish. They disappear into highland lakes from whence they have returned to defend the Páez against interlopers, just as Kpish sometimes does. In addition to these politically inspired beings, there are numerous water and mountain spirits that inhabit the landscape, inflicting harm on unwary passersby. Pre-Columbian burial sites are considered to be the abode of the *pijao*, dangerous spirits of the ancestors.

**Religious Practitioners and Medicine.** Just as myths of *caciques* and Kpish are political expressions of the belief system, shamans operationalize this wedding of myth and politics in everyday life. Called to their profession by the *caciques*, shamans perform divination and cure diseases caused by supernatural beings, assist the cabildo in ceremonially cleansing its staffs of office each year, and act as intermediaries between the supernatural and the human worlds. They are, moreover, active participants in the ethnic-rights movements through which land claims and cultural revitalization are coordinated.

**Ceremonies.** Each Páez community celebrates a number of Catholic saints' days, as well as Christmas, Easter, and Corpus Christi; festival sponsors go to great expense to organize communal festivities. Each January cabildos used to withdraw to highland lakes to commune with their *caciques* and bless their staffs of office; in the late twentieth century this custom is being reintroduced by the ethnic-rights movement. Important ceremonies take place on such occasions as the completion of the construction of a house, when mythic history is reenacted by households.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Páez bury their dead in shaft-tombs, after having given them a Catholic wake. Shamans are charged with ceremonially cleansing the house of the impurities that come with death.

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JOANNE RAPPAPORT



## Paï-Tavytera

ETHNONYMS: Ava, Caaguá, Caingua, Caiwá, Kaa'wa, Kaingúá, Kaiowá, Kaiwá, Kayova, Montese, Paï, Paï-Cayuã, Paï-Tavyterã, Paingua, Pan, Tavytera

Approximately 14,000 Paï-Tavytera live in dispersed communities in eastern Paraguay, mostly in the department of Amambay, and across the border in Brazil on several small reservations in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul. Eight thousand to 10,000 live in Paraguay and about 6,000 in Brazil.

The Paï-Tavytera are Guaraní speakers who, over centuries of interaction with the dominant society, have maintained their distinctive language, culture, and religion.

The ancestors of the present-day Paï-Tavytera were probably the Itatin Guaraní, who were settled by Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century in the *reducciones* of eastern Paraguay. Not all the Itatin accepted settlement. Some who were settled returned to tribal life after slave raiders from São Paulo decimated the missions, forcing the Jesuits to move south with the remnants of their flocks. In the eighteenth century the tribal Guaraní became known by the general term "Caaguá" (there are numerous variants of this name) or "Montese." "Paï-Tavytera" is the name given today to the most northerly of the Guaraní tribes in eastern Paraguay. They distinguish themselves from two other Guaraní tribal groups, the Chiripá and the Mbyá, who are somewhat different in language and custom.

After the War of the Triple Alliance in the 1870s, the population of Paraguay was greatly reduced. This caused vast areas of eastern Paraguay to be left for many decades as public lands or latifundia, used only for lumbering and collecting *yerba maté* or "Paraguay tea." Indian labor was exploited in these extractive industries but the Paï-Tavytera were otherwise left largely undisturbed. Although in contact with the dominant society, they were little influenced by it. In contrast, the Paï-Tavytera on the Brazilian side, where they are called "Kaiowá," have been, since the late nineteenth century, subjected to an official policy of concentration, missionization, and acculturation. In recent years, however, the lands around the dispersed Paï-Tavytera communities in eastern Paraguay have been occupied by colonization projects or individual settlers, reducing opportunities for hunting and fishing. Many of these communities have gained collective title to their land, making them largely self-sufficient. Most Paï-Tavytera men, however, work on farms outside their communities for at least three months of the year.

The habitat of the Paï-Tavytera is subtropical forest with some open country. They practice slash-and-burn agriculture with relatively short fallow periods—between three and five years. Both traditional and adopted varieties of maize are grown. It is culturally their most significant crop and is planted only one or two years in the same plot, whereas manioc is planted for several more seasons. They plant fruit trees (including citrus), bananas, and pineapples, as well as cotton and medicinal plants near their houses. Some introduced crops such as rice and soybeans are grown, primarily for sale. The total cultivated area per

family is 1.5 to 6 hectares. They keep chickens, pigs, and occasionally cattle; most communities have horses and donkeys.

Although hunting is no longer as crucial to subsistence as it once was, it is a favorite occupation of men and boys. They use shotguns, rifles, and various kinds of traps. Preferred game animals are tapir, pacas, agoutis, armadillos, deer, and monkeys. Fishing is less important than hunting. Hooks and lines, bows and arrows, nets, and fish poison are used. Because it is consumed daily, *yerba maté* is the most important product gathered. In addition, a number of other wild fruits are collected, and many different kinds of wild honey are distinguished and actively sought.

A traditional house provides a home for an extended family and also serves a religious and ceremonial function. It has a thatched roof rising from the ground and three entrances—on the north, the east, and the south, with a wide patio at the eastern entrance. Inside are an altar with religious paraphernalia and jars for storing *chicha* beer. Most people, however, live in smaller houses of the type common to rural Paraguay. The house is furnished with benches, homemade beds and hammocks, gourds, and other utensils. Pottery is made only by women and basketry only by men.

Traditional clothing is worn only on ceremonial occasions. Festival dress includes cotton diadems with toucan feathers for both men and women, feather bracelets and anklets, and cotton sashes and ponchos. The face is painted with *urucú*, a red vegetable dye derived from annatto (*Bixa orellana*) seeds. The lower lip is pierced to accommodate the distinctive lip ornament or labret made of resin.

Paï-Tavytera communities are autonomous, and the chief is a religious leader who delegates part of his political authority to his assistants. These officials have considerable influence, especially in matters relating to outsiders. Important decisions that affect the whole community are never made without discussion in the community council, which consists of all adult men and women. Deliberations continue until a consensus is reached. Communities police themselves to a great extent, except for cases of murder, when the suspect is handed over to Paraguayan civil authorities. Young men serve as policemen and messengers.

Family relations are defined by the extended family composed of bilateral kin. Young couples may live with the parents of either spouse before establishing an independent household.

The most important Paï-Tavytera ritual is the boys' initiation, which takes place every few years, when there are enough boys in the age group between 10 and 14. The celebration, which involves the whole community, requires the preparation of a great deal of food and especially *chicha*. The boys are isolated in a special hut for a month, where they fast and are instructed in ritual songs and dances. On the day that the boys' lips will be pierced, the whole community assembles, the boys are painted by their fathers and taken to a house where they are seated on benches in rows. In preparation for the lip piercing, *chicha* is given to the boys until they are drunk to the point of insensibility. As each boy receives his labret, the audience applauds and the boy is carried off to his hammock to sleep and recover.

After initiation, the boys are full members of the community. At the time of first menstruation, girls are kept in seclusion for several weeks, and their hair is cut short. When the hair has grown again to shoulder length, they are eligible for marriage.

Paï-Tavytera religious belief includes an extensive pantheon with a creator god who became weary of his own creation and went up to the sky, leaving the further organization of the world to his son. When the son, in turn, went up to heaven, he left his wife on earth, pregnant with twins. The many adventures of these twins provide subjects for myths and cautionary tales.

The Paï-Tavytera worship their gods by singing, dancing, and invocation. Maracas (gourd rattles), flutes, and musical bows are used as instruments, along with stamping tubes made of a bamboo section closed at one end that make a dull thud when pounded on the ground. Used only by women, these tubes mark the rhythm of the dance. Drinking chicha beer is central to every religious ceremony as well as to secular festivities. Leaders insist that knives and other potential weapons be left at home so that any fights occurring as a result of excessive beer drinking will not have serious consequences.

An important element in Guaraní religious thinking is the belief in a "Land Without Evil," a paradise that can be attained on this earth as well as in heaven. The many migrations of the Tupí-Guaraní peoples, often led by messianic prophets, have been associated with this belief. The Guaraní believe in an approaching apocalypse—monsters and fire sent by the gods to destroy the earth and all its inhabitants.

The Paï-Tavytera believe that each person has two souls. One is a spiritual soul, centered in the throat and manifested through speech. When a person dies, this soul goes up to heaven. The other is the soul of the body which, during a person's life, is his shadow. When a person dies, this soul remains on earth and may be incarnated in an animal. This soul, or ghost, may attempt to seduce living relatives and is hence regarded as dangerous. The Paï-Tavytera have a strong sense of immortality, and family and friends comfort the dying with talk of those who have gone before, whom they may expect to meet again. The dead are buried with all their personal belongings; their houses are often burned to destroy the corporal souls that may lurk there.

The Paï-Tavytera regard epidemic diseases as punishments of the gods. Only prayer and ritual can effect purification. Evil spirits can also cause illness, especially to those who do not protect themselves with prayer and flute playing. Most feared are sorcerers, men or women who work unknown evils by introducing noxious objects into their victims' bodies. Only the sorcerer who casts the particular spell is able to remove it, so he or she must be found. When a sorcerer is identified, he or she may be expelled from the community or killed. Many health problems, however, such as toothache, cuts, local infections, and other minor ailments are thought to issue from natural causes. For these discomforts, the patient may consult a healer—a man or woman with an extensive knowledge of medicinal herbs.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Palikur

ETHNONYMS: Aricours, Aukuyene, Karipúna-Palikúr, Paricura, Paricuri, Parucuria, Parikwenê

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Palikur" was initially recorded in 1507 by Vicente Yañez Pinzón, who stated that he had discovered *la mar dulce* (the Amazon) and the province of Paricura in 1500. Nowadays, the members of the group bearing that name call themselves Parikwenê, with the suffix *wenê* (or *yunê*) translated as "nation" in French or "race" in Portuguese. The name can be considered generic for "people" because the Palikur extend it to other indigenous groups as well, placing it before the name of each one, for example "Parikwenê-Galibí," "Parikwenê-Karipúna," "Parikwenê-Oyampik."

**Location.** In the sixteenth century the Palikur lived in the coastal region, north of the mouth of the Amazon River, in what is today the Brazilian state of Amapá, between 1° and 3° N and 50° and 51° W. In the first half of the eighteenth century they were living further west between the headwaters of the Calçoene and the Curipi rivers, on the upper Uaçá, and the Urucaúá. Toward the end of the nineteenth century they were concentrated in the Urucaúá region, where they had as their closest neighbors

the Galibí-Marawone (upper Uaçá) and the Karipúna (Rio Curipi). In 1902, after the end of the Franco-Brazilian Dispute, they (with the exception of one family) migrated to French Guiana, although later the majority of the group's members returned to the Rio Urucauá, which they considered their homeland. Members of the Brazilian and French Guianan groups, however, who are linked by kinship, often visit each other. Families and individuals also frequently change their place of residence.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Palikur language is affiliated with the Arawak Language Family; 44 percent of its vocabulary is similar to the Mehinaku language (Upper Xingu) and 39 percent to that of the Moxo (Bolivia). Palikuran is also related to several Arawakan languages of the upper Río Negro; that is, Baniwan, Kuripakan, Tarianan, and so forth. In former times the Palikur language was divided into several dialects, of which the dialect of the now-extinct Kamuyenê clan prevailed as the group's language. Besides those dialects, there was a lingua franca, Kaptũnka, that was used in interclan contacts and in ceremonies; some of the oldest men of the group still speak it. The men and some women also speak the patois of French Guiana, which is used in communicating with the Galibí-Marawone and the Karipúna, who generally speak this language. In the village of Flechas (lower Urucauá), populated by Palikur, Galibí, and Black immigrants from the Rio Cunani, patois is also the usual means of communication.

**Demography.** By the middle of the seventeenth century, the indigenous population living between the Cassiporé and Maroni rivers (French Guiana) was estimated at 3,500 people, of which a total of around 1,200 were Palikur (including the Karipúna), with almost 400 bowmen. In 1730 it was estimated that there were 480 Palikur, distributed among 160 families or houses. In 1787 there were 484 Indians living on the lower Oiapoque (or Vicente Pinzón) and its environs, among them 141 Palikur. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when they migrated to French Guiana, the Palikur numbered between 200 and 300. In 1984 there were 572 Palikur on the Urucauá, occupying six villages, and a total of 405 Palikur were living in French Guiana.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The first explorations in the area of Guiana were made by the English, Dutch, and French, especially following the expedition by Lawrence de Keymes in 1596, who reported the presence of a dozen indigenous nations. The area to the north of the Oiapoque was then occupied by the Carib (Caribbana) Indians, and that to the south by the Arawak (Arowachi, Arowacas). In 1604 the Frenchmen Sieur de Ravardière and Guy de Mocquet made a reconnaissance of the Guianan littoral. They found that the Yayo and Karipúna-Palikur Indians had formed a confederation to attack the Galibí. In the 1680s the Palikur and the Galibí were still enemies, until a certain M. Ferolles made an attempt to reconcile them. He arranged a ceremony in which the chiefs of both groups had fistfights, embraced, and then said their good-byes. As of the beginning of the eighteenth century, there are no more recorded conflicts between the Palikur and the Galibí. D'Anville's map of 1729 shows the Palikur living between the Calçoene and Curipi rivers, with

the notation that they were friends of the French. In 1783 a Jesuit priest, Father Fauque, established a short-lived mission among the Uaçá Palikur, but was not able to evangelize even the small group with whom he had strong ties. At the end of the eighteenth century, when Portugal and France were at war with each other, a Portuguese expedition occupied the contested territory, burned all Indian villages—including those of the Palikur—and carried off the inhabitants into the interior of Brazil. Because of this, the Palikur remained isolated during the nineteenth century, and there are few reports about them. As soon as the disputed territory was conceded definitively to Brazil in 1900, the Brazilian authorities began to oust the immigrants and merchants from French Guiana (Creoles, Malayans, etc.) who had settled in the Oiapoque-Uaçá area. As late as the 1920s the Urucauá Palikur still continued to sympathize more with the Creoles than with the Brazilians. This was because they had not forgotten the enslavement of their ancestors by the Portuguese, and because the majority of the Brazilians despised the Indians and faulted them for speaking patois and not Portuguese. Baptisms of the Palikur continued to take place in the city of Saint Georges (French Guiana), and the indigenous captain of Urucauá went on wearing a French-style uniform even though more than twenty years had passed since the end of the Dispute. In 1936 the War Ministry of Brazil sent an emissary, Major Tomaz Reis, to Uaçá to study the possibility of gathering the Indians in a single village and using them as border guards. The emissary did not think this possible, however, because of intertribal differences. In 1942 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (SPI, the Indian Protection Service) installed a Nationalization Service at the confluence of the Uaçá and Curipi rivers, intending to integrate the natives of the area into the larger Brazilian society. The plans that were put into practice did not fully reach their objectives, however, owing to the lack of good environmental and ethnological studies, especially on the Palikur. They were not given school instruction at that time because of the reaction of the Palikur elders, who believed school to be a form of slavery. But as of 1967, when they began adopting Pentecostalism, and when contacts with Brazilians improved, the Palikur became amenable to formal schooling and to the various programs the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI), created in 1967, introduced in the region. Historically, the Palikur were divided into two regional groups of several villages, each of which was occupied by only one clan. Apart from family dwellings, they built larger houses away from the single-family units, spacious enough to accommodate between 30 and 40 people. Territorial separation no longer prevails, and clan groups are distributed indistinctly between several villages. On the Rio Urucauá, until 1970, population figures varied between 15 and 70 persons. In the village of Ukumenê, however, where a Pentecostal church was built in 1980, there were 350 people, that is to say, more than one-half the Palikur population on the Urucauá. The rectangular houses, usually occupied by only a nuclear family, are without walls and have two-sided straw roofs and eaves; the floors are of planks or *paxiuba*-palm stems, averaging 4 meters in length by 3 meters in width. Houses are built with no fixed plan, with the exception of the village of Ukumenê, where they line a

street. The Palikur traditionally slept on woven cotton hammocks. In the twentieth century, however, they have begun sleeping on rush mats, which they learned to make from the Blacks of the Rio Cunani. As of 1942, when SPI's Nationalization Service was installed in the area, the Palikur began using mosquito nets.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** As with numerous other tribes of Guiana, fishing has always been of prime importance to the Palikur. From 1942 on, horticulture, which had been neglected for many years, began once again to be practiced. Hunting and fishing are complementary subsistence activities. Fishing is done with bows and arrows, harpoons, and cotton fishing lines with hooks. Fishing with *timbó* poison is slowly falling into disuse. Shotguns are used for hunting, and in horticulture, iron tools are used.

Manioc is the principal cultivated plant, but sweet potatoes, sugarcane, peppers, gourds, and cotton are also grown. From the Europeans the Palikur have adopted papayas, mangoes, citrus trees, and coffee. Maize, a traditional cultivar, is rarely grown today. Rice was introduced by the SPI but its cultivation is also rare because of the abundance of rats in the area. Bitter manioc was traditionally used in the preparation of flat cakes and beer. The Palikur learned to make roasted manioc flour from the Creoles of French Guiana and the Blacks of the Rio Cunani. It is processed by using a wooden grater with metal chips, cylindrical cassava squeezers for the extraction of manioc juice, wooden troughs for stirring the mass, and clay ovens or imported iron ovens for roasting. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the main commercial surplus was roasted manioc flour. In the 1940s and 1950s the commercialization of alligator skins took first place, for example, among the Uaçá Galibí and the Karipúna. This trade diminished because of the near-extinction of these animals.

**Industrial Arts.** Palikur material culture includes basketry, pottery, and objects of wood, bone, feathers, and cotton seeds. The Palikur use plaiting and coiling techniques in the manufacture of large carrying and storage baskets, fans, and manioc squeezers. Pottery for daily and ceremonial use is simple and variously decorated. Wood is used in the manufacture of weapons, small dugouts, paddles, mortars, troughs, clubs, zoomorphic benches made of one piece, and musical instruments. From the time that hammocks became unfashionable, cotton thread has been used only for ornamentation.

**Trade.** Commercial relations between the Palikur and the Europeans began to intensify around the beginning of the eighteenth century, with an exchange of products from the forest and rivers for manufactured goods (e.g., tools, harpoons, glass beads, clothes). For many years after the French-Portuguese Dispute was over, the Palikur continued to prefer negotiating with the Creoles from French Guiana. Nowadays, they deal with both Creoles and Brazilians, including FUNAI agents.

**Division of Labor.** Men fish, hunt, and prepare the land for planting. They make wooden objects, baskets, and feather ornaments. Women make pottery, spin cotton, har-

vest the crops of the gardens, and prepare manioc flour and beer. Both sexes make reed mats. Formerly, only men paddled canoes, either with poles or paddles, an activity today also performed by women.

**Land Tenure.** The territory originally occupied by the Palikur, located in the lower and central portion of the area drained by the Araguari, Amapá, Cunani, Calçoene and Cassiporé rivers (which flow into the Atlantic Ocean), was subject to continual variation because of the sedimentation laid down by the current of the Amazon River. The Palikur therefore lived scattered in several areas occupied by their clan units. A similar situation still obtains on the Rio Urucauá, where the villages are removed from each other, on tongues of land in the interior of swampy areas. Each family's claim to its houses and planted fields is respected by the others. Between 1977 and 1981 FUNAI identified and demarcated the boundaries of a common area for the Palikur, Uaçá Galibí (Galibí-Marawone), and Karipúna, with an area of 434,660 hectares, including the major portion of the Uaçá-Curipi-Urucauá Basin. The lands recognized and used by the Palikur have the Rio Urucauá as their axis and extend midway between the Uaçá and Curipi rivers.

### *Kinship*

**Kinship Groups and Descent.** The Palikur are organized into patri-clans designated by composite names of animals, plants, and natural phenomena, and the suffix *wenê* (or *yunê*), people. In the remote past, there were around eighteen clans, possibly endogamous, with some of their members originating in other ethnic groups. Nowadays, there are six exogamous clans whose members, contrary to tradition, live among other people in the same villages. Marriage and funeral ceremonies are maintained as cooperative events of each clan, but clans do not function as distinct economic units, and no differences in traditional feasts are observable. Although only patrilineally related clan members are considered to be true Palikur, their recognition amounts to nothing more than a nominal distinction because even those who do not have a Palikur father can now be buried in a place reserved for the members of their Palikur mother's clan.

**Kinship Terminology.** The kinship terminology is bifurcate merging for the first ascending generation and of the Iroquois type in Ego's generation.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** As in ancient times, monogamy continues to be rigorously observed. Not only are marriages between members of the same clan forbidden, but also those between close relatives who belong to different clans. As is typical of most Guianan tribes, the acquisition of a bride was traditionally preceded by bride-service performed by the bridegroom-to-be for his future in-laws. Nowadays, this practice is no longer observed, and it is not unusual for a boy and girl to begin living together after a dance. Divorce used to be frequent but has diminished considerably owing to the influence of the Pentecostal church. The traditional rule of virilocal residence, which existed because of clan endogamy, lasted until at least the middle of the twentieth century but was limited to cases involving the marriages of

the sons of chiefs. Nowadays, temporary uxurilocality is practiced.

**Domestic Unit.** Traditional domestic units composed of extended families have now been replaced by nuclear-family households.

**Inheritance.** Upon the death of his wife, the widower generally keeps all her possessions. A widow keeps the dwelling, garden and other planted areas, domestic utensils, and agricultural tools. The most important valuables (including purchased items) do not accompany the man to his grave but generally go to the firstborn son or, in his absence, to his oldest brother. If the couple was separated, the division of goods varies from case to case; the male interest usually prevails, especially when a woman does not have relatives to support her claim.

**Socialization.** When there were extended families, relations between husband and wife were generally satisfactory because of the rigorous obedience demanded of sons-in-law by their in-laws. After this type of family disappeared, however, husbands frequently began physically punishing their wives (although only very rarely their children). In the latter half of the twentieth century, men's behavior has undergone change owing to the incorporation of Western norms and the influence of religious institutions and agencies. Both children and adults have begun enthusiastically to attend school to receive instruction either in Portuguese or Palikur and to learn about the Bible.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

Social stratification has always been lacking in Palikur society, not only within the clans but within society at large. The oldest men were and still are respected, however, and their advice is sought on special occasions. Members of other ethnic groups that incorporated into Palikur society participate fully in tribal life, except in those rituals that are restricted to clan units.

**Political Organization.** In the past, chieftainship was generally held by the oldest men, who were chosen on the basis of their capability and popularity rather than by heredity. A short spear (or scepter) was the only outer distinguishing mark of chiefs. Later, the French administration began to confer military privileges and uniforms, which are still used, on the chiefs on the Urucauá. The SPI continued conferring privileges on indigenous leaders, whose prestige, however, was always slight because real authority was exercised by the official administration. Nowadays, chieftainship is vested in the religious leaders of the Pentecostal church.

**Social Control.** Supernatural powers always directed the fate of the Palikur, be it in situations of danger, in social happenings, or in economic activities. The influence of the Catholic church was only evident in baptism, marriage, and *compadrazgo*. Nowadays, however, Pentecostal pastors who belong to the individual local groups exercise strong control over the behavior of their members, including their smoking and drinking habits.

**Conflict.** There were conflicts caused by mutual distrust of individuals and families and by malevolent shamans and sorcerers. Past wars between the Palikur and the Galibí

have had no lasting negative effect on present-day intertribal relations. Open hostility, to which the Portuguese had subjected the Palikur and which had reflected on their relationship with Brazilians, no longer exists thanks to the acceptance by the Palikur of religious ideas promulgated by the Pentecostal church.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The name "Ohogri" is applied to the Christian God, and Jesus Christ is called "Ohogri Kamkaen" (God-son). The devil is called "Wapetpiyé." Mentioned among the various tiers of heaven are Nikene, Ena, and Inoliku, the last being the lowest level and the dwelling place of Ohogri. The Palikur also refer to the existence of a small but special heaven called "Yonoklin" where the Yumawali (mythical shamans) live. Among them, Karumayará stands out for having lived for some time on earth and for having performed there great deeds before returning to Yonoklin upon death. The Palikur posit the existence of several hells, among them Minila and Wimpi, and the universal myth of the flood is present in their mythology. Caused by Ohogri, the deluge left vestiges of its occurrence on Mount Karupina, between the Urucauá and the Curipi, where the people took refuge.

According to tradition, numerous spirits are said to frequent the air, rivers, lakes, forests, and mountains. They can turn into animals and trees and temporarily remain in the shaman's paraphernalia and in the places where these are kept. Many of these spirits are thought to live on Mount Karupina. They are also referred to as demons, but without attributing to them characteristics typical of demons in Christian mythology. Despite the assimilation of elements of Catholic doctrine, traditional beliefs continued to prevail until they were supplanted by the Pentecostal religion.

**Religious Practitioners.** There are shamans and sorcerers (better known as blowers) who, especially the former, have been exercising considerable influence over Palikur society since time immemorial. Among the Urucauá Indians, however, this influence began to diminish after the introduction of Pentecostalism. The native agents of the supernatural renounced their ancient beliefs and the majority joined the Pentecostal church.

**Ceremonies.** The most important ceremony is called Aramteme (Feast of the Turé), the aim of which is to pay homage to the benevolent spirits. The ceremony is also performed by the Uaçá Galibí and the Karipúna, generally at full moon. Of great importance to the Palikur is the Kisepa ceremony, which is performed to pay last respects to a deceased person, generally about a year after his or her death. Two other ceremonies are the Wasapina (dance of the rattle) and the Mayapina (dance of the clubs). After joining the Pentecostal church, most Palikur have discontinued performing these ceremonies.

**Arts.** Numerous songs and dances that were known and performed during traditional ceremonies have been replaced by Christian hymns.

**Medicine.** Although the Palikur make use of numerous native remedies, illness was basically said to be caused by supernatural agents. In the treatment of such illness, sha-

mans act under the influence of these forces, and each shaman's capacity varies according to the power of his tutelary spirits. The sorcerer (blower) no longer depends in his practice on the power of the spirits but on his own power, which he transmits to the sick person through his own breath or the blowing of tobacco smoke. Since the establishment in 1942 of an SPI agency among them, the Palikur have accepted Western treatment and medication.

**Death and Afterlife.** Formerly, there were both primary and secondary burials, the latter taking place in ceramic urns. According to Palikur tradition, people were buried facing east, with the exception of shamans, who were buried facing in the opposite direction to stop them from doing harm. A dead person's spirit was said to go to the upper world irrespective of his or her conduct on earth. Initially, however, the spirit remains in a kind of purgatory for the same amount of time as the person had spent on earth. After that it is free to enter into heaven. These, like the other beliefs previously mentioned, are being abandoned by the Palikur under the influence of Christian ideology.

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EXPEDITO ARNAUD  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Panare

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ETHNONYM: E'ñepa

### Orientation

**Identification.** "E'ñepa" is the self-designation, but "Panare" is the most common name in the literature and probably derives from the word for "friend" or "ally" in the languages of neighboring Indian groups in Venezuela.

**Location.** The Panare inhabit the middle and upper reaches of certain right-bank tributaries (Suapure, Manapire, Chavirapa, Cuchivero, Guaniamo) of the middle Río Orinoco. This area falls between 5° and 8° N and 65° and 67° W and lies mostly within the Cedeño District of Bolívar State, Venezuela. Throughout the territory there is a marked alternation between undulating savannas at less than 100 meters above sea level and the forest-covered mountains, which in most parts of the region reach over 1,000 meters. It is warm throughout the year, but there is a marked difference in precipitation between the rainy season (May to November) and the dry season (December to April).

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Panare clearly belongs to the Carib Language Family, although it has certain traits that distinguish it from other Guianese Carib languages.

**Demography.** The Venezuelan Indigenous Census estimated the Panare population at 2,379 in 1982. They are scattered over some 20,000 square kilometers, but this area is also extensively settled by non-Indians. The available evidence suggests that the Panare population has been increasing rapidly.

### History and Cultural Relations

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Panare were confined to the upper Río Cuchivero, but then they began to expand to the north and west, occupying the territory of other indigenous groups that had become extinct. In doing so, they came increasingly into contact with criollo peasant agriculturists and cattle herders who were moving into the area as well. Until the 1960s, however, this contact had relatively little cultural impact on the Panare. Although they traded actively with the criollos, there was virtually no intermarriage and very few Panare learned to speak more than a few words of trade Spanish. No Panare would willingly work for a criollo master. Since that time, both the number and sophistication of the local criollo population have increased greatly following the building of new roads into the area and other developments in the local economy, including the discovery of rich deposits of diamonds and bauxite. At the same time, the area has been penetrated by missionary groups, both Catholic and evangelical. As a result, although most Panare communities continue to resist intermarriage and other forms of social and economic integration with the criollos, many groups have now abandoned traditional forms of dress and settlement. In the evangelized communities, traditional forms of belief and ritual have disappeared, and in most other communities they are becoming increasingly attenuated. Only in the upper Cuchivero, among the most isolated communities, do they remain strong. This is also the only area in which relations with other Indians remain significant. Here, the Panare communities are in regular contact with neighboring groups of Hoti.

### Settlements

Under traditional circumstances Panare settlements were usually sited close to a river's edge, at a point close to the conjunction of savanna and forest so that they could exploit the resources of both environments. Settlements were

generally small, most consisting of between 20 and 40 residents, although under certain circumstances the population might reach as many as 90. In recent years, as the Panare have begun to congregate around missions and other non-Indian centers, settlement size has increased greatly. In April 1989, Colorado, an evangelical mission village, had 407 inhabitants.

Settlements traditionally consisted of one or sometimes two large collective longhouses, with possibly one or two smaller houses nearby. Houses were made of palm branches lashed to a wooden structure. The overall house form could be oblong or conical, depending on the species of palm available in the vicinity. Within a collective house, nuclear family hearths were arranged around the perimeter, and bachelors slept in the central area. The smaller houses nearby could be cooking sheds, or they might belong to a family unit in the process of breaking away from the main collective house. After about five years, the palm thatch would begin to let in too much rain and the settlement would be moved to a new site. Nowadays settlements tend to be more permanent, as traditional materials are replaced by zinc panels for roofs and mud or even concrete blocks for walls.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Panare have a mixed subsistence economy based on slash-and-burn swidden cultivation, fishing, hunting, and gathering. The principal cultivated crops are manioc, yams, plantains, and maize. All these crops are usually eaten boiled or mashed in the form of broths or drinks. Only limited quantities of cassava bread are made. In some areas rice and sugarcane, both recently imported crops, have become important. Other edible crops include papaws, pumpkins, hot peppers, and peanuts. Cotton, tobacco, and fish poisons are also grown.

Of the sources of animal protein, fishing is more important in the dry season, when the rivers are low and fish are easy to catch, whereas hunting is more important in the rainy season. Fishing is frequently aided by poisons released by certain plants when crushed and dunked in the river. These poisons bring the fish to the surface and make them very slow in their movements. They can then be easily harpooned or even picked out by hand. Nets and traps are never used, but fishing with hook and nylon line is now becoming increasingly common. The shotgun is now widely used for hunting, although the blowgun, charged with curare-tipped darts, is still used for hunting canopy-dwelling game such as monkeys and birds. The most frequently hunted game animals are various species of giant rodent (agoutis, pacas), peccaries, and tapir. Various species of birds and monkeys are also hunted, as is a species of small forest deer.

The most important gathered food in terms of dietary contribution is undoubtedly palm fruit, but the most appreciated by far is honey, and a great deal of time and effort are expended in collecting it. At certain times of year, flying ants and palm grubs are eaten as snacks, usually after being briefly toasted on a griddle.

**Industrial Arts.** Women weave loincloths and hammocks from cotton grown in the gardens or, increasingly,

bought from the criollos. In most communities traditional pottery has been displaced by aluminum ware, but where the former is still found, it is women who make it. It is a very simple ware, painted black inside and out but otherwise without decoration. Men make hunting weapons (harpoons, spears) by shafting slivers of steel fashioned out of old machete blades. They do not make blowpipes since the bamboolike reed used for the inner tube does not grow in their territory. But they do make the darts and the curare with which they are tipped. Men also make musical instruments of various kinds, including long flutes, nose flutes, panpipes, and maracas. They also make rattles from a cluster of toucans' beaks or peccaries' hooves, which are attached to sticks and used as percussion instruments by the women.

The artisanal activity on which men spend most time, however, at least in Western Panare territory, is undoubtedly basket weaving. Carrying baskets and mats are woven from *kokorite* palm leaves (*Maximiliana regia*), whereas manioc sieves and presses, as well as storage baskets of various kinds and a circular decorative basket known as a *wapa* are woven from *itiriti* (*Ischnosiphon obliquiformis*). The majority of storage baskets and all the *wapa* are made for sale to tourists. The Panare also make a cheese mold that they sell to local criollo cattle herders.

**Trade.** Some Western Panare groups traditionally traded their curare for blowpipes produced by their southern neighbors, the Piaroa. This trade has more or less ended, however, since the Piaroa are no longer making many blowpipes. Some communities in the extreme south of Panare territory trade with the neighboring Hoti, exchanging steel goods, aluminum pots, beads, and other industrially produced items for game or the promise of labor in the Panare's agricultural plots. In most parts of Panare territory, however, trade with the criollos is by far the most important. In order to be able to buy industrial goods, the Western Panare sell decorative baskets, whereas those from the south and east sell agricultural produce. In most parts of Panare territory, men also collect tonka beans and sell them to local criollo intermediaries, who then pass them on for use in the industrial manufacture of soaps and perfumes.

**Division of Labor.** The only significant division of labor is along the lines of gender, and even here there is some overlap. Men hunt, cut down and burn trees for swiddens, collect honey, play the leading role in fishing, weave baskets, and trade with criollos. Women predominate in child care and the planting and harvesting of gardens. They do all the cooking, make pots, weave cotton hammocks and clothing, and gather palm fruits.

**Land Tenure.** Although a local group is thought to have a vaguely defined right over nearby resources, there are generally no alienable individual rights to land. When a family has prepared a swidden plot, they are thought to have an exclusive right to it, but this is no more than a right of usufruct; when the swidden reverts to forest, their right is thought to lapse also.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** There are no terms in Panare for "family" or any other kind of kin grouping, although those who share the same settlement (who are often a bilateral kindred) may sometimes be referred to collectively. Descent is traced bilaterally but only to a very limited extent: if a person's grandparents died while he or she was still a child, it is quite likely that the grandchild will not even know their names. On the other hand, the lateral tracing of kinship relationships is theoretically infinite, and even two Panare who have never met before will usually quickly be able to identify a "real" or classificatory relative in common and thereby establish their own relative status.

**Kinship Terminology.** This apparently paradoxical circumstance is a particular property of the kinship terminology that in Ego's own and the two adjacent generations largely conforms to the ideal-typical two-line symmetric or Dravidian model, with Iroquois cousin terms and bifurcating avuncular terms. In the generations two above and two below Ego, however, there is a greater elaboration of terms that can be associated with the practice of alternate-generation marriage.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** There is a positive rule of marriage that obliges an individual to marry someone from a category that includes cross cousins as well as certain members of the generations two above and two below. Marriages of the latter kind are usually between distant relatives, but a number of marriages of men with their "real" daughter's daughter have been reliably recorded. Such marriages are seen as means whereby the wife's father can pay his father-in-law back for the daughter whom the latter gave him as a spouse. An emphasis on the importance of reinforcing marriage ties between families through reciprocation also influences marriages within generations, with the result that there is a high degree of sibling-group intermarriage.

There is no clear break between courting and marriage and there is no associated rite of passage. A man simply moves his hammock to his prospective wife's family hearth and begins to supply her and her family with food. The union will simply be consolidated by time and/or children. Once children arrive, the new couple will establish an independent hearth within the longhouse and eventually move out altogether, either to found their own collective house with their siblings or to join the husband's residential group. Divorce is relatively rare, but men sometimes take more than one wife, in which case the first union tends to become less significant.

**Domestic Unit.** The domestic unit typically consists of a nuclear family. Between them, a man and a woman can carry out most subsistence tasks by themselves, but there is usually some degree of collaboration between nuclear families and pooling of the food produced within the residential group. The principal occasion for this collective consumption is the joint meal, one for each gender, which takes place on most evenings in a Panare settlement.

**Inheritance.** Individuals have very little personal property other than their clothes, hammock, hunting weapons, and tools. All these are buried with the deceased or de-

stroyed. Dogs and other domestic animals are killed. Modern goods such as shotguns, cassette players, and motorbikes, which are expensive and difficult to replace, are usually sold to someone outside of the community, preferably a criollo.

**Socialization.** Shortly after birth, a child is given certain body adornments that vary according to gender. No name is given a child until at least the age of 2 years, when she or he is assigned one of a long list of names specific to children. Children lead a carefree life, doing largely what they like and rarely receiving any reprimand. Social and technical skills are learned by example rather than by formal instruction. It is noticeable, though, that from a very early age boys and girls play separately. This gender division is accentuated when a boy is about 10 and leaves the family hearth to sleep alongside other bachelors in the center of the collective house. Shortly thereafter, he is initiated by being dressed in his first loincloth during a special public ceremony. He will then adopt one of the six possible adult male names, but he is unlikely to get married until he is at least 18. A girl's initiation ceremony takes place shortly after her first menstruation, but this is a private event, for her immediate female relatives only. She will then adopt one of the four possible adult female names and marry within two or three years.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The largest group that has any collective identity is the settlement. Although anthropologists have distinguished between Western, Eastern, and Southern Panare on the basis of minor cultural and linguistic traits, these terminological distinctions are not recognized by the Panare themselves. Each settlement group is an autonomous entity, owing no allegiance to any other.

**Political Organization.** Panare society is highly egalitarian. Although men generally exert some control over women, one adult has very little power over another of the same gender in day-to-day life. There is no word for "chief" as such, though the term *i'yan* is used of someone with leadership qualities; there can be one, many, or no *i'yan* in a given community. The authority of an *i'yan* is very limited and rarely extends beyond his own settlement.

**Social Control.** There are no formal institutions of social control. Deviant behavior receives only adverse comment from other members of the settlement, but this is very effective since deviance is rare. Serious misdemeanors and irreconcilable conflicts are simply resolved by one of the parties leaving the settlement.

**Conflict.** Oral tradition includes accounts of warfare in the distant past, but physical violence is abhorred by the Panare and is almost unknown today.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The Panare believe that the world was created by their culture hero, Mareoka. Their first ancestors lived at a place called Arewa, which some Panare associate with a mountain from which the Rio Cuchivero springs, and other Panare with the banks of the Orinoco. From here they spread out to populate the world, but not before Mareoka had turned many of them into the game



animals on which the Panare now depend. Despite his importance as its creator, Mareoka no longer influences the world, and no living Panare ever seeks his intervention. Indeed, most of the Panare's traditional religious behavior consists of trying to avoid contact with the supernatural, since any misfortune or illness is attributed to one of the many malignant but invisible spirits thought to roam the world.

**Religious Practitioners.** Those with shamanic qualities are described as *i'yan*. They enjoy no special privileges, but they are thought to be capable of curing the sick and/or leading the singing at public ceremonies. In order to become a shaman, one has to undergo a rigorous but largely self-directed training, one of the main purposes of which is to establish control of a number of jaguar familiars.

**Ceremonies.** The most elaborate ceremonies are funerals and male initiation. The forms of both were taught to the Panare by Mareoka long ago. The male-initiation ceremonies culminate with the dressing of boys between 10 and 12 in their first loincloths, but there are many preliminary rites in which the Panare's hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities are also celebrated. The main purpose of the funeral ceremony is to ensure that the soul of the deceased returns to Arewa and does not remain in this world to pester the living. All ceremonies involve much dancing and chanting as well as the consumption of great quantities of mildly alcoholic sugarcane or cassava beer. For this reason these ceremonies have been opposed by evangelical missionaries and have been abandoned in the evangelized communities.

**Arts.** Public ceremonies are the most developed form of artistic expression, not only in terms of music and dance, but also in relation to body decoration and ritual paraphernalia. Otherwise, the only significant artistic activity is the weaving of decorative baskets for sale to tourists.

**Medicine.** There is no elaborate pharmacopoeia, although emetics are widely used to cure stomach disorders. Shamanic curing largely consists of trying to suck out the darts blown into the victim by evil spirits.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death occurs when the soul (*inyeto*) leaves the body. The body is buried, but the soul becomes a *ko'cham*, a dangerous spirit roaming this world unit; during the funeral ceremony, it is invited to dance with the living for one last time and then dispatched back to Arewa.

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PAUL HENLEY

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## Paraujano

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ETHNONYMS: Alcojolados, Aliles, Añu, Anuu, Onotos, Parahujano, Paraogwan, Paraokan, Paraqgwan, Parauano, Parawkan, Parhowka, Sinamaicas, Toas, Zaparas

The 2,600 Paraujano Indians live in the general area of the Lagoon of Sinamaica, in northwestern Venezuela (11° N, 71°50' W). They refer to themselves as "Añu." Earlier in their history, they also inhabited stretches of the seacoast, the western shore of Lake Maracaibo, and the banks of the rivers south of Sinamaica. Discovered in 1499 by Alonso de Ojeda and visited by Ambrosius Ehinger in 1520, the Paraujano have occupied their habitat since pre-Columbian times. Today, some of the more assimilated Paraujano live in four settlements (Caño Morita, La Boquita, Boca del Caño, and El Barro) around the lagoon where they make their living through commercial fishing, and many have married non-Indians.

Their language belongs to the Arawak Family; however, there are only twenty Paraujano, mostly women, who still speak it.

Traditionally, the Paraujano were fishermen who supplemented their diet with wild fruit collected in the hinterlands of the lagoon. Fishing furnished a reliable source of food the year round, making a sedentary life-style possible. Hunting played a minor role. Today, the staple foods are fish and bananas; meat, maize, and other vegetables are occasionally part of the diet. The introduction of the coconut palm in the nineteenth century made it possible for the Paraujano to trade coconuts and various by-products of the palm with the surrounding criollo population. Other trade goods include dried fish, straw mats, and pork from pigs they raise around the house. Salt is obtained from deposits around the lagoon; it is used in cooking and the preservation of fish and meat. Modern creolized Paraujano often leave their homes to work as laborers in the oil fields, in industrialized agriculture, on ranches, and in the fishing industry.

Fishing is done with harpoons, short lances, bows and arrows, nets, and weirs; the latter two are often used in combination. Weaving and pottery are not practiced, but basketry was formerly an important craft. Women made basketry containers of various sizes as well as mats for domestic use and trade. Division of labor is by sex and age.

The Paraujano live in small rectangular dwellings

erected on stilts in irregular rows close to the shore. The houses have saddle roofs covered with palm thatch. Walls of wooden boards have replaced the more traditional walls of reed matting. The floor is sometimes covered with straw mats. In addition to the house itself, there is a separate kitchen located either adjacent to the dwelling house on the same elevated platform or on a separate one. The kitchen consists of a rustic shed covered with a thatched roof but lacking walls. The house compounds are separated from each other by narrow channels. Sometimes neighboring houses are also connected by bridges made of narrow planks, but generally communication among the villagers is by paddled or poled dugout canoes of varying sizes.

Paraujano women adopted the long full-length dress customary among the Guajiro, their Arawakan-speaking neighbors. Paraujano women used to wear their hair loosely around their shoulders, but modern women wear long braids. The traditional dress of the men was a loincloth. Facial paint seems to have been applied by both sexes in earlier times.

Traditionally, Paraujano society was unstratified, and differentiation existed mainly along the lines of age and sex. The headman had little political authority, but his office was sometimes passed to one of his brothers or sons. Nowadays the basic social and economic unit of the Paraujano is the nuclear family, the members of which identify themselves with the local endogamous group with which they reside. The extended family is of little significance. Intragroup loyalty is based on consanguineal and affinal kin ties as well as on common residence. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type, and descent is bilateral.

Polygyny was practiced by political leaders and by any man who could provide for a large family. Co-wives sometimes lived in separate houses with their children, but the first wife had authority over the other(s). Marriage rules, along with other traditional traits of Paraujano culture, are changing, with monogamy becoming more prevalent. Residence is neolocal.

Socialization takes place within the confines of the nuclear family and relies heavily on imitative learning of parental behavior. There are no puberty initiation rites for boys. Girls, upon reaching puberty, were traditionally isolated in a corner of the house; there they lay on a mat, cut off from communication with the outside world. The initiate could not touch the floor or any utensils, and her diet was limited to water and unsalted food. The shaman chewed tobacco and used his rattle to propitiate the spirits on her behalf. The smoke from a close-by fire was believed to ward off evil. Following the isolation period of ten to fifteen days, the mother bathed her daughter in the sea or in the river.

The Paraujano believed in a supernatural being who lived with his consort in the sky. He was the creator and culture hero who divided the land and distributed its wealth among the peoples on earth. The distribution took place during a festival that the culture hero sponsored shortly before departing from earth. All Indian groups had been invited, but the ancestors of the Paraujano came too late and had to contend with the leftovers.

The office of the shaman was passed from father to son, its outer sign being a necklace of alligator teeth. Shamans could cure and cause sickness. The souls of the dead

were also believed to be the cause of sickness. Curing shamans chewed tobacco and used a ritual rattle when curing. They blew on the patient and sucked out the sickness-causing agents. It is uncertain to what extent the Paraujano still follow the traditional customs of their culture.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

## Paresí

ETHNONYMS: Ariti, Haliti, Parecí, Paressi, Pareti

Approximately 640 Paresí live on several reservations in the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Parecí and Juruena rivers, tributaries of the Tapajós. The Serra dos Parecis, named for the tribe, border their territory on the west. Their habitat is upland savanna with gallery forest along the rivers and streams. The Paresí speak an Arawakan language and are among the southernmost representatives of Arawakan language and culture.

"Paresí" is a general term ascribed to three groups similar in language and culture, living in adjoining geographical areas. The Kashinití (Cashinití) traditionally lived farthest east, and the Waimaré (Uaimaré) lived to the west of the Kashinití and north of the Kozárene (Cozárini, also Paressi-Cashibí or Cabishí). Members of these groups maintain group identity, although there is a long history of intermarriage.

The Paresí were first noticed in the early eighteenth century when the discovery of gold mines in Mato Grosso brought gold seekers and slavers into Paresí territory. An early observer described them as an orderly, peaceful, and industrious people who were skilled farmers and lived in populous villages. The Paresí population is estimated to have been 10,000 to 20,000 at this time. In spite of the favorable opinion that the Portuguese authorities often expressed regarding the Paresí, numbers of them were enslaved to work the mines of Mato Grosso. The tribe was decimated and driven almost to extinction. By the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the remaining Paresí had retreated into the Serra dos Parecis but sometimes appeared in the towns to trade their crops and handicrafts,

particularly featherwork and woven cotton hammocks, for metal tools. Occasionally, they were hired to collect ipecac roots. Late in the eighteenth century the Paresí, especially the Kozárene, were reported to be hostile, raiding farms and even the outskirts of towns.

In 1908 Colonel Cândido Rondon, who later founded the Indian Protection Service (SPI), oversaw the laying of a telegraph line west from Cuiabá. Among the first Indians he met were Paresí, whose labor was being exploited by rubber tappers. Rondon convinced them to move nearer the telegraph line and to set up schools. He trained some Paresí to work on maintenance of the line.

During the 1920s telegraph stations sometimes doubled as Indian posts. Within a few years, however, radio had rendered the telegraph obsolete, and the line was abandoned. A new highway following the route of the telegraph line was built in the 1960s and was paved in the 1980s, opening up the area for development. The highway runs along the southern border of a Paresí reservation and some Paresí live beside the highway, where they sell homemade rubber balls and rhea feather dusters to passing motorists.

Because the region north of the highway consisted of poor land without water, the demarcation of the Paresí reservations was a matter of dispute for some years. Several Paresí villages, on better land, were situated south of the highway. The Paresí had become politically aware, and Daniel Cabixi emerged as a leader in the national Indian movement. Acceding to Paresí demands for recognition of their lands, the government agreed to establish three additional small reservations to protect these villages.

The traditional Paresí were settled swidden agriculturists. In large fields they raised maize, beans, sweet potatoes, pineapples, sweet and bitter manioc, yams, tobacco, and cotton. In the eighteenth century they may have lived in a more fertile region than they now occupy. In the savannas, they make their fields in the gallery forests alongside rivers and move their villages often when the soil becomes less fertile. They also gather cashews, jaboticaba, *tucum*-palm (*Astrocarium* sp.) nuts, wild pineapples, and many other plant foods, including *tarumá*.

The Paresí hunted the savannas using bows and arrows, hunting dogs, portable blinds, fires to drive game, pitfalls, and decoys. They killed deer, rheas, and other animals. Because the rivers in their territory are deep and clear, fishing is less productive than hunting as a food source. The Paresí were among the few South American Indians to domesticate bees, which they kept in gourds with two openings, one for the bees to enter and the other, sealed with wax, for removing the combs. Modern Paresí raise dogs, chickens, ducks, and pigs.

Traditionally, Paresí men went naked except for a penis sheath; women wore a short cotton skirt. Today they dress like rural Brazilians. According to old accounts, the Paresí excelled at featherwork. The women wore beautiful feather aprons and feather headdresses; feathers were also thrust through the pierced septum of the nose. Both sexes were tattooed, a custom that has since been abandoned.

Ancient Paresí villages were made up of ten to thirty round or oval houses, each 10 to 13 meters in diameter. An arched roof of thatch stretched from a ridgepole to the ground. People slept in cotton hammocks suspended from

the rafters. Each village also had a ceremonial hut. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Paresí villages consisted of only one or two communal houses, with an average of six families each.

Travel from village to village was by road. According to old documents, these roads were broad and well kept. The Paresí seldom used canoes; instead, they crossed rivers on bridges or makeshift rafts. Each village was autonomous, governed by a chief and a shaman, who were often the same person. Chieftainship was determined through primogeniture. In the past there were chiefs who probably controlled more than one village.

Traditionally, boys and girls were betrothed while still small children. Sometimes a grown man reared a girl from childhood and married her at puberty. Sororal polygyny was common but gave way to monogamy. Only the chiefs lived matrilocally.

The Paresí make baskets and spin and weave cotton for bags, baby slings, and hammocks, as well as armbands and belts. They used rubber to make cylindrical bands that women wore on their legs and to make rubber balls with which they played a game between two teams. Theodore Roosevelt described and photographed this game in 1915 when he accompanied Rondon on an expedition through Mato Grosso, visiting Paresí villages. The two teams butt the ball back and forth with their heads only. A team scores when its opponents fail to return the ball, instead letting it fall to the ground.

The Paresí made different musical instruments, many of which were considered sacred—especially the great flutes, which were kept in the ceremonial hut and which women were forbidden to see.

The Paresí are animists, believing that the woods and rivers are inhabited by spirits. A serpent spirit and his wife were worshiped in the men's hut, where the serpent spirit was represented by a trumpet and his wife by a flute. There, where the men danced and drank, women were forbidden to enter. The Paresí men drank beer to assuage the serpent spirit's thirst and ate large quantities of meat to satisfy his hunger.

Diseases are treated by shamans, who are reputed to be able to fly. The shamans cure the ill by using medicinal plants and by blowing tobacco smoke on their patients. Sorcerers cause illness by throwing poison at their victims, or by putting it in their drinks.

The dead were buried in their huts with their possessions. The souls of the dead had many obstacles to face on their way to the sky, including a large fire and a dangerous doglike creature. If they reached the sky, a supernatural being and his three brothers received them.

The Paresí have a rich cosmology, as shown by the many Paresí myths that have been collected. According to their origin myth, the Paresí emerged from a rock near a place where a natural rock bridge arches over a tributary of the Rio Sangue. Two serpents engendered them, along with many animals and birds, within this rock. The first Paresí remained there, dancing with the sacred flutes, until a little bird flew out from a crevice in the rock, returning later to tell the people how beautiful it was outside. Then Wazaré, the culture hero, persuaded different birds and animals successively to enlarge the crevice until all the people could venture forth. Wazaré named the headwaters of the

rivers and designated them as habitats for the different groups. When the Paresí first came out from the rock, they were dark and hairy and had tails; like ducks, they had webs between their fingers and toes. Soon after emerging, however, they cut off their tails, plucked out their body hair, and severed the webs, assuming their present form. But there was one, called Kuytihoré, who did not pluck out all his body hair. This man was rich: he had cattle, horses, and steel tools that he offered to share with Wazaré. This angered Wazaré, who said, "I don't want cattle because they will dirty the space in front of my children's houses. I don't want tools because they are poisonous and will kill my children. You go away across the Stone Bridge and don't mix with the Paresí." Kuytihoré went far away and stayed with the Whites, and he had many children.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Pauserna

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ETHNONYMS: Araibayba, Carabere, Guarasug'we, Guarayuta, Itatin, Moterequoa, Pau Cerna, Pauserna-Guarasug'we

The thirty or so Pauserna live on the left side of the upper Río Guaporé in the southeastern part of the department

of Beni, in Bolivia (14° S, 61° W). The people derive their name from the fact that the *pao cerne* tree is abundant in their area. Only a few of the older people speak the Pauserna language, which is a daughter language of Guaraní and a member of the Tupí Family. The Pauserna's ancestors are the Guaraní, who came to the area to raid fringe regions of the Inca Empire. The Guarayu and the Pauserna once made up a single group; one part of that group, the ancestors of the Guarayu, was moved into missions, and the other part remained independent and is known as the Pauserna. Their first significant contact with Whites came in the 1880s, when rubber tappers came to Pauserna territory.

Originally foragers, the Pauserna have since become horticulturists. They raised a great variety of food and other plants available before contact but now have ceased raising manioc and have adopted the cultivation of rice and *caripo* (yams). Groups clear and prepare fields for planting. Men plant maize, and women plant manioc and assist in the harvest. Some also collect rubber and ipecac, which is used to make pharmaceuticals. The Pauserna once lived in multifamily dwellings but now live in single-family open sheds. Inside the house are food-storage platforms and cotton hammocks. For sitting, men have benches; women have mats. The Pauserna make and wear bark cloth and woven cotton garments but go naked in religious ceremonies. Women spin cotton thread using a drop spindle and a vertical loom. Pots are made with clay tempered with crushed potsherds.

Boys were often scarified and bled to make them strong. Girls were secluded for a month at puberty, fed a restricted diet, and tattooed on their arms and breasts. Cross-cousin marriages and those between a man and his sister's daughter were preferred. A girl or woman could not marry without the consent of her father and brother. Polygyny was common. Postmarital residence was matrilineal at first, and then neolocal. Pregnant women had to observe certain food taboos. Fathers observed *couvade* by remaining in hammocks for three days following the birth of their children—it was believed that a child's soul follows the child's father and might be injured if it exerted itself immediately after birth. The dead were formerly buried in graves, over which a hut was built; today they are buried in their huts, wearing their paint and ornaments, wrapped up in mats, and facing west.

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## Pemon

ETHNONYMS: Arecuna, Arekuna, Camaragoto, Kamarakoto, Taulipang, Taurepan

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Pemon" is a self-name meaning "people." "Arekuna" is used by Pemon and others to refer to neighboring groups of Pemon speakers, particularly those in the northern part of their territory. Southern Pemon are referred to as "Taurepan," and those Pemon living in the valley of Kamarata, Uriman, and parts of the Paragua drainage are called "Kamarakoto."

**Location.** Pemon territory includes the Gran Sabana (4°34' to 6°45'N, 60°34' to 62°50' W) and the valleys of the Caroní, Carun, and lower Paragua rivers (4° to 7° N, 62°30' to 64°20' W), all in southeast Estado Bolívar, Venezuela. There are also Pemon in the valleys of the Cuyuni, the upper Kamarang, and Venamo rivers and some in Roraima Territory in Brazil.

**Demography.** In the late 1970s Pemon within Venezuela numbered about 8,000; the 1982 Venezuelan census registered 11,600. Population growth rates have averaged about 3 percent per year since 1970.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Pemon language, with three regional dialects (Arekuna, Kamarakato, and Taurepan), belongs to the Guayana Group of the Carib Stock.

### History and Cultural Relations

Pemon territory is bordered on the east by that of the Akawaio and the Patamona. On the south are the Makushi, and the Arawak-speaking Wapisiana. To the west, in the mid-Paragua and Caura drainages are the Yecuana. All of these groups maintained extensive intertribal trade relations in colonial times, as at present. The Pemon intermarry with the Makushi, the Akawaio, and the Patamona. Pemon entered the Western historical record in the mid-eighteenth century when they were encountered by Spanish missionaries in the Caroní and Icabaru river valleys. In 1817, with the collapse of the Spanish missions, this pressure subsided. Early reports from the 1770s indicated raiding and hostilities among Pemon in the Caroní region, and nineteenth-century reports refer to raiding among settlements in the Roraima area and elsewhere. No extensive warfare has been reported among the Pemon during the last 200 years, however. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the syncretistic Hallelujah religion first swept through the eastern and southern Pemon areas; Hallelujah is now found throughout Pemon territory.

Their land is bounded by mountains on all sides, and

these protected the Pemon from extensive incursions until the early twentieth century. Direct continuous contacts between the Pemon and Europeans, Venezuelans, Guyanese, and Brazilians were minimal until after 1900. Major outside influences have been the Capuchin and Adventist missionaries. Capuchin missions exist at Kavanayen, Kamarata, Uonken, Uriman, and Santa Elena; Adventist settlements are found at Yuruani, Apoipo, Morokmeru, and Maurak. Diamond mining in the streambeds of the region has been a strong economic and social influence, particularly since 1945. In the last quarter-century, the Venezuelan government's presence has increased substantially in the area of Santa Elena along the border with Brazil. Road penetration of the eastern portion of the Gran Sabana dates from the early 1970s. Land entitlement for Pemon communities is the most pressing issue facing them in the early 1990s.

### Settlements

Pemon settlements range from a single family to a maximum of six or seven families (i.e., from four to seventy people). They prefer to locate dwellings in open savanna, not far from streams and within a walk of an hour or two to their fields in the nearby gallery forest. In the western valleys and tributaries, Pemon often settle in the forest and put up houses close to their plots. Larger ceremonial centers having a round house (*waipa*) for dances and ceremonies draw large groups for periods of several weeks. Mission sites and Adventist villages have produced larger, nontraditional settlements. Pemon dwellings may be round, oblong, or rectangular and usually house a nuclear or extended family. Houses are of mud or slatted walls with thatch roofs and are open and undivided inside; less frequently, they are mission-type houses with interior rooms patterned on criollo styles.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Pemon are slash-and-burn cultivators, fishers, hunters, and gatherers of wild fruits and insects in season. Bitter manioc, peppers, and a leafy vegetable known as *aurosa* are the mainstays of the Pemon diet. Yams, *ocumo*, *batata*, bananas, plantains, maize, pumpkins, and sugarcane are secondary food crops. Cotton is still grown for hammocks. Tobacco growing has diminished because of the increased availability of commercial cigarettes. Fish, the bulk of daily protein intake, are taken with hook and line, fish poison, and weirs. Hunting, formerly less important, is now done with single-shot shotguns; game includes tapir, deer, peccaries, pacas, agoutis, and birds. Palm fruits, flying ants, and certain larvae are gathered and eaten. Gourds are raised in the fields alongside food crops and are used for water and manioc-beer containers. Money made in the alluvial diamond mines or at mission labor sites has produced a partial cash economy of small purchases alongside traditional subsistence patterns.

**Industrial Arts.** Pemon make decorated basketry, clay bowls, wooden dugout and bark canoes, paddles, and bows and weave hammocks and baby carriers. They make neck-

laces from trade beads and weave small fish scoops from twine.

**Trade.** An extensive long-distance trade network links the Pemon with neighboring tribes and involves direct exchange of shotguns, blowpipes, manioc graters, bowls, and bead necklaces, among other items. Pemon have managed to mesh cash purchases of outside goods with traditional exchange at fixed rates, thus keeping all Pemon in the network whether or not they have cash.

**Division of Labor.** Work roles are sex-specific, but overlapping. Men hunt, fish, weave baskets, cut fields, build houses, gather wild foods, work for pay in mines and missions, and go on trading expeditions. Women cook, tend and harvest fields, make manioc beer, fish, gather wild foods, weave cotton articles, assume primary responsibility for children, and also go on trading expeditions. Pemon perform a wide variety of wage labor in Santa Elena and at a number of tourist sites.

**Land Tenure.** Every Pemon family has usage rights to the fields it cultivates, and when fields go fallow and return to secondary forest, the land reverts to the community at large. Family groups tend to fish and cultivate within a two hours' walk of their settlement, and Pemon would not think of fishing near another's settlement without first informing their neighbors. Hunting, singly or in groups, is done far from settled areas, and no specific rights to hunting territories exist.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Descent in Pemon society is bilateral, and every person traces an Ego-focused kindred of relatives on both mother's and father's sides. An individual's kindred consists of relatives, including in-laws, up to the grandparental generation and downward to the grandchild generation; Pemon do not trace genealogies beyond their grandparents. There are no corporate groups outside of the household. A neighborhood is made up of groups of siblings linked by marriage bonds, with some in-marriage outsiders from more distant settlements. Age categories (infant, child, adult, aged) are used at times, but most references to other Pemon are kinship references. Personal names in Pemon are taboo, though criollo names have been adopted, are used to some extent, and are not taboo.

**Kinship Terminology.** Traditional terms approximate the Iroquois type, with variation in the cousin terms. Criollo kin terms, especially that for brother-in-law, are sometimes used by bilingual Pemon.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage ties form the links that bind different settlements together, and the overall pattern of residence can be thought of as the result of ties to parents, brothers, and sisters, on the one hand, and in-laws on the other. Married couples form the basic economic units of Pemon society, and formerly the families of the betrothed spent considerable time discussing the proficiency, or lack thereof, of the prospective spouses at subsistence tasks. Upon marriage, the groom takes up residence with his parents-in-law to perform at least one or two years of

bride-service. There is no marriage ceremony; the relationship becomes public when the groom slings his hammock in the house of his father-in-law. Pemon have a rule enjoining marriage with a category of relative that includes the opposite-sex cross cousin, although the rule is only partially followed in practice. Marriage with a category of relative that includes the sister's daughter is also found. Polygyny is practiced, with about 8 percent of all marriages involving a male and two or more co-wives; co-wives are often sisters. Divorce rates are low; about 10 percent of all ever-married individuals have been divorced.

**Domestic Unit.** Nuclear families predominate, although two- and three-generation extended families build up as sons-in-law marry in or sons bring their wives back home after bride-service. A settlement may have two or three households within five minutes' walk, the members of which span several generations of one or two families.

**Inheritance.** In the past, an individual's personal belongings were destroyed at death, but nowadays valued items such as shotguns or manioc graters may be passed on to near relatives, usually a child or sibling of the deceased. Houses were formerly burned or abandoned upon the death of the head of household.

**Socialization.** Pemon children learn by example and are given free rein. Early on, both boys and girls begin helping parents at subsistence tasks such as gathering firewood and hauling water. The Pemon do not approve of anger or displays of hostility; if an adult strikes a child at all, it is so mildly as to be merely a reminder. Some Pemon children spend time in mission boarding or day schools, through the primary school years and sometimes beyond.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Heads of settlement are usually the oldest economically active males. Reciprocal visits for beer parties and seeing relatives tie neighborhoods and even whole regions together, and the prestige of a settlement is often gauged by the quality and quantity of manioc beer offered by the hosts. Other than the subordinate role of the son-in-law vis-à-vis his wife's parents, hierarchical relationships outside the domestic unit are based solely on age and personal prestige or special skills.

**Political Organization.** Regional leaders, called *capitanes*, (Pemon: *epuru*) may wield influence throughout a river valley area. Their leadership is diffuse; they are men who exhort, speak well, and inspire followers, not men who give orders. For the most part, their role lies in defusing conflict before it escalates and also includes being a community representative vis-à-vis non-Pemon. Shamans, both male and female, practice their curing powers and sometimes align themselves with capitanes in disputes. Female and male prophets of the Hallelujah religion and of other syncretistic religious movements have wide followings. The egalitarian nature of Pemon society is everywhere evident. There are severe limits on the building up of power by any one person or group.

**Social Control.** Overt conflict, anger, and fighting are strongly reproved by the Pemon. Gossip, ridicule, and sometimes ostracism are principal forms of social control. The dispersion of settlements acts in concert with the ten-

dency to avoid interaction between disputants to ensure that the main means of social control is not allowing the conflict to break out in the open in the first place. In extreme cases where sorcery is believed to have been confirmed, an assassination attempt may be mounted against the wrongdoer, or the wrongdoer is put on notice not to return to a given river valley area. Homicide is very rare. It is difficult to gather people for vengeance against the perpetrator, who generally flees the territory and does not return. Pemon say trouble occurs over women and false gossip. Sorcery accusations can be leveled when serious or widespread illness strikes a settlement or neighborhood. The basic response of the Pemon to conflict is to withdraw from the conflict situation, often by taking an extended visit to relatives living elsewhere and waiting for things to calm down. Individuals who get in fights at beer parties are quickly labeled as angry men and are avoided by all. Venezuelan police and courts are not much in evidence outside of border towns and diamond mines. The Pemon, for the most part, have little recourse to them except in cases involving disputes with criollo miners. Missionaries may be called upon occasionally to discuss conflicts, but most mediation is done directly by heads of settlement or capitanes.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Pemon traditional beliefs centered on soul concepts, plant and animal spirits, Kanaima (the spirit of evil in all its forms and manifestations), and spirits of the dead (*mawari*). Various celestial and subterranean spirit worlds can only be reached by shamans in ceremonial trance. Spirits of the dead live inside the mountains and can cause harm to the living. Plant spirits, such as the "grandfather of tobacco," are helpers and can be used by a shaman to combat the evil effects of the spirits of the dead. Kanaima, the spirit of evil, is mostly believed to come from outside one's settlement or neighborhood, never from close by, and there is a tendency to implicate non-Pemon outsiders as Kanaima. Kanaima may take possession of a person and cause the person to do evil. Ancestral beings are portrayed in a magnificent oral literature that documents the origin of the Pemon world and its spiritual, geographical, and social aspects. Religious movements led by prophets combining Pemon and Christian beliefs have sprung up over the past 100 years, including Hallelujah, Chimiding, Chochiman, and San Miguel. Shamans cure disease by communicating with the spirit world. Knowledge of plant medicines is commonly held, and masters of magical formulas (*taren*) provide others with specific invocations serving to ward off disease or to ensure a successful outcome from a dangerous situation, such as childbirth. Various food taboos surround pregnancy and the period immediately after the birth of the child; these taboos are to ensure the health of the child and the strength of its soul.

**Ceremonies.** Dancing and beer accompany Pemon ceremonies, except in Adventist Pemon settlements, where manic beer is prohibited. Lines of male and female dancers, arms linked, circle inside the round house for Hallelujah ceremonies or traditional dances, while people slip in and out for conversation or a gourdful of manic beer. Informality is the key to the ceremonial gatherings, which are

often held in the dry season. Smaller neighborhood gatherings may occur throughout the year with no fixed schedule. Mission services are attended by some Pemon living at mission sites.

**Arts.** Storytelling, basketry, and pottery are the principal Pemon art forms, and outstanding persons are recognized in all of these areas for their individual skills. Pemon distinguish quickly between everyday basketry and the more elaborate forms, which can become valued trade items. Some women are renowned for the quality of their clay bowls—the making of pottery is not a skill possessed by many females. Good clay sites are limited. Clay bowls are mainly made in the Kamarata area by women who have acquired the skill from their mothers; the bowls are then dispersed in the trade network.

**Medicine.** Pemon use bark and leaves to make poultices for wounds and cuts. Specific food prohibitions apply to various illnesses. Pemon quickly attribute injury and illness to natural causes—only if healing does not occur in the expected time or if the patient dies are supernatural causes invoked. Death is attributed to Kanaima, even though a natural cause is also cited. Introduced diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, and measles have at times caused widespread illness. Mission-provided antibiotics and vaccines have reduced Pemon infant mortality rates. A hospital is located in Santa Elena.

**Death and Afterlife.** Upon death, the soul joins the *mawari* and migrates beyond the sky. The death of an adult is accompanied by much wailing and mourning by the female relatives of the deceased; sorrow over the death of a child is deeply felt but mostly private. Pemon may have a memorial service held at a mission if the deceased is to be buried there rather than near the settlement.

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DAVID JOHN THOMAS

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## Piapoco

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ETHNONYMS: Cuipoco, Deja, Dzase, Dzaze, Enagua, Piadoco, Piapóko, Tsase, Yapaco

The 3,640 Piapoco live in the region of the Meta, Guaviare, and Vichada rivers of the Llanos Orientales of Colombia and also on the Venezuelan side of the border. They were originally concentrated on the midsection of the Río Guaviare (3° N, 70° W). They dispersed in the eighteenth century to escape Jesuit missionaries and later to avoid rubber tappers, settlers, and cattle ranchers.

Approximately 3,000 speak Piapoco, a language of the Arawakan Family, although most of these also speak Spanish.

Like other peoples of the Llanos, the Piapoco plant their crops in fields cleared from the gallery forest. They plant in March—at the beginning of the rainy season—and may plant a second crop in August. They traditionally observed the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades to regulate the agricultural cycle. Manioc, both bitter and sweet, is by far the most important staple food. The Piapoco grow many different varieties, interplanting up to a dozen in a field, to assure a long harvest period. A new manioc field begins to yield eight months after planting, and, because each family has several fields in different stages of production, manioc is always available. Women process the tubers to make manioc cakes and tapioca, and an additional manioc field is often planted to assure a supply to make manioc beer.

Although the Piapoco also grow maize, it is less important than manioc. They plant bananas in low or humid areas. Pineapples, beans, sweet potatoes, and yams are grown in small extensions of the manioc fields. Citrus fruit trees, mangoes, papayas, and medicinal herbs are planted near the homestead.

Native groups of the Llanos, even those who were expert horticulturists like the Piapoco, depended greatly on hunting, fishing, and gathering, especially in the dry season. Using gorget hooks and lines, poisoning, traps, nets, and bows and arrows, the Piapoco made good use of the many rivers and streams in their territory. They also collected wild fruits, honey, insects, and reptiles. Palm fruits and palm cabbage were especially important; the *buriti* palm supplied fiber for textiles and cordage. Hunting was practiced with bows and arrows, dogs, and drives, although it was common for men to hunt alone or in pairs. Deer, monkeys, and peccaries were the favored game animals, but virtually all species were hunted.

In precontact times, Piapoco fields were probably smaller than they are today. Using stone axes, men working in groups girdled trees to kill them, waited for them to dry, and then burned them. Probably because food-production technology was not particularly efficient, Piapoco villages tended to be well under 200 inhabitants in size.

Among the Piapoco, family organization is based on the authority of the father-in-law. Postmarital residence is matrilineal, and a young man works for his father-in-law for

a number of years, although as the young family grows he usually builds a separate house in the vicinity. Kin terminology divides the tribe into two groups from the viewpoint of each individual: "the group one belongs to" (siblings, parents, and father's brothers and mother's sisters and their children) and "the group one marries into" (father's sister and mother's brother and their children). The Piapoco have totemic clans, and the clan system is more inclusive than the tribe; for example, a member of the Tapir clan may be Piapoco, Sikuani (Guahibo), or Achagua. The Piapoco often intermarry with these tribes.

Among the Piapoco, adult men and older women may become shamans after a period of apprenticeship that includes fasting and taking hallucinogenic drugs. During training, the Piapoco shaman develops a special organ in his or her throat that allows him or her to grasp and spit out the agents of disease—small particles that are sucked from the body of the patient. Drugs and paraphernalia used in rituals, as well as shamanic knowledge, are exchanged within and between groups.

At the time of the European Conquest, the larger river valleys of the Llanos were occupied by horticultural peoples, but in the interfluvial regions groups depended more on hunting and gathering. There was active trade in products of different ecological zones among these groups, using the medium of shell money. In colonial times, trade was expanded to include iron tools and other European products. The more powerful groups sold war captives as slaves to the Europeans. The slave trade and epidemics among populations concentrated at missions led to the collapse of the vast network of trade and intertribal marriage that supported the socioeconomic system of the Llanos.

In more recent times, cattle ranching and the migration of peasants from the Andes have increased pressure on the land. Most Piapoco today work as hunters, subsistence swidden horticulturists, or laborers.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS



## Piaroa

ETHNONYMS: Adole, Ature, De'arua, Dearuwa, De'at<sup>h</sup>-ihã, Huo, Mako, Thihã, Ttö,ja, Uwotjuja, Wõt<sup>h</sup>-ihã, Wóhuha

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Piaroa" is not an aboriginal name, and its etymology is open to speculation. The native terms "De'arua" (owners of the forest), "Wõt<sup>h</sup>-ihã" (knowing people), "De'at<sup>h</sup>-ihã" (forest people), and "T<sup>h</sup>-ihã" (people) are all self-designations, the form used varying according to audience and situation.

**Location.** The traditional territory of the Piaroa lies on the right bank of the Río Orinoco within the geographical coordinates of 4° to 6° N and 66° to 68° W in what is today the Territorio Federal Amazonas, Venezuela. The approximate boundaries correspond to the middle Río Parguaza in the north, the lower Río Ventuari in the south, the Orinoco in the west, and the Río Manapiari in the east. The area is predominantly tropical forest habitat, with the terrain broken by abrupt sandstone mountain formations in the interfluves and headwaters. The major river basins settled were those of the Autana, Sipapo, Cuao, Samariapo, Guayapo, Cataniapo, Manapiari, Parguaza, and Marieta. Out-migration since the 1950s has extended the geographic frontiers in all directions: west into Colombia, up the Mataveni and Zama rivers; south, up the Orinoco as far as the evangelical mission station of Tamatama; and north to the lower Parguaza, upper Suapure, and Guaniamo rivers.

**Demography.** The official Indian Census of 1982 counted 7,030 Piaroa in Venezuela, although several hundred Mako were lumped in with this figure. Another 300 to 600 Piaroa are estimated to be living in Colombia. Population size in past eras is unknown but was probably smaller than that of today. Recent geographic expansion—the takeover of lands occupied by neighbors, the near-defunct Mapoyo and Yabarana—suggests that the Piaroa population is increasing.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Piaroa language belongs to the small Salivan Family. Dialectal differences are considerable and have a regional basis, but they have not been systematically documented. Variations in pronunciation distinguish speakers of at least three regions: Sipapo—middle Orinoco, upper Cuao—Parguaza, and Ventuari-Manapiari.

### History and Cultural Relations

Historical and ethnographic records indicate that the Piaroa have occupied much of their present territory since pre-Conquest days but also may have mixed with other populations. One hypothesis states that the extinct Adoles, who inhabited the Orinoco floodplain until they disappeared in the nineteenth century, became Piaroa after being pushed off the main river channel. The relationship between Piaroa and Mako (or Wiru) is also intimate and murky, showing close linguistic, cultural, and genealogical

ties still to be sorted out by investigators. On the ethnic frontiers were Carib peoples—Yecuana, Panare, Mapoyo, Yabarana—surrounding the Piaroa on the north and east, the nomadic Guahibo and settled Saliva of the Colombian savannas on the opposite Orinoco shore, and Arawakan groups—Piapoco, Puinave, Baniwa, Bare—in the southwest Guaviare-Inírida zone. Extensive interethnic contacts involving trade, intermarriage, and cultural borrowing characterized the region in pre- and early contact times. In view of the evidence of interethnic contacts, as well as the great similarity of cultural traits regionwide, some investigators hypothesize that the middle Orinoco region, perhaps the entire Guiana region, comprised a culturally and ethnically interdependent system. By contrast, interaction between Piaroa and White society was infrequent and short-lived prior to the 1970s.

First contacts were with Jesuit missions founded along the middle Orinoco in the late seventeenth century, but the Piaroa quickly gained a reputation for being aloof and unattracted to the mission life-style. They insulated themselves deep in the forest, far upriver from the main river corridors, and avoided exposure to Whites, who they thought to be cannibals. Except for brief contacts with explorers and traders, the relative isolation of the Piaroa from White society persisted until the 1950s, when they came under the acculturative influence of a new wave of missionaries as well as agents of the Venezuelan government. Large numbers of Piaroa youth began to attend the Salesian Catholic mission school at Isla Ratón in the middle Orinoco, learning the Spanish language and White customs. Meanwhile, the North American-based New Tribes Mission converted many Piaroa to born-again evangelical Christianity. They attracted Piaroa converts to the Tamatama mission center, where they were trained as disciples before returning to their home communities to proselytize relatives and neighbors. Contemporaneous with and possibly related to these developments, epidemics of foreign diseases such as measles, malaria, and venereal disease ravaged the Piaroa population, compelling many to leave the interior in search of modern medical attention. A number of them came into contact with Dr. Hans Baumgartner (1954) and other personnel of the Malaria Service, who provided modern medicines and studied the health status of the population. Many Piaroa were thus persuaded to relocate nearer to the White centers, where Western health care was available.

Contact and acculturation to White society have intensified greatly since 1970. An estimated 80 percent of the population has converted to Christianity, and rural schools run by Piaroa teachers are found in over twenty communities. Advances in means of transportation, including roads, outboard motors, and airstrips, have given a major boost to cultural and economic integration. Regular contact with White society, including frequent trips to White towns to sell manioc flour or other cultivated or forest products and to buy Western goods, has become the norm for most Piaroa. Only 5 percent of the Piaroa—mostly those in the upper Cuao-Parguaza-Cataniapo watershed—remain largely isolated from White society and still conform to a traditional life-style.

### Settlements

The traditional Piaroa settlement pattern was interfluvial, dispersed, and seminomadic. Communities consisted of a single communal house, the *isode*. A traditional-style house has a conical or rectangular wooden pole frame completely covered with palm-leaf thatching from crest to ground level. The household ranges from five to sixty or more people, comprising a simple nuclear unit or a large extended family of up to four generations. House membership is always fluctuating because of long periods spent visiting relatives in other communities and the constantly shifting allegiances of families and individuals. Indeed, an independent-minded minority maintains active membership in two or more different communities. Houses are typically spaced from a few-hours' to a two-days' journey apart. The strength and frequency of trade, marriage, kinship, and ceremonial ties between the households of a given region point to the existence of informal neighborhoods or territories of interlinked houses.

The ideal location for a Piaroa house is next to a small headwater stream, away from the larger river courses, often in the middle of an open garden clearing cut at the foot of a hill. The occupation of a house site is usually short-lived, major moves coming at intervals of one to five years. Related to this pattern of mobility is the practice of owning from two to four separate house-garden sites differing in age and maturity of crops and occupied in different seasons. The contemporary settlement pattern is much changed following the widespread migrations around the middle of the twentieth century of former headwater dwellers to downriver locations close to the White urban centers or points of access to the outside world. The majority of the population now lives in nucleated and permanent multihouse communities ranging in population from 40 to 300 inhabitants. These modern towns have been heavily subsidized by Venezuelan government programs, including funds for construction of rural schools, medical dispensaries, electric and running-water plants, and, in some places, matchbox-style cement-block housing.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** As is typical of other Amazonian peoples, Piaroa subsistence is based on the varied mix of shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, and collection. Cultivation provides the bulk of calories in the diet. The major food crops are bitter manioc—the carbohydrate staple—followed by maize, root crops like sweet potatoes and yams, and fruits such as bananas and pineapples. A quick rotation of gardens is the traditional practice, with plantations being actively harvested and weeded through the first manioc crop, which lasts about two years. With more sedentary settlements have come prolonged cropping periods and more intensive management, such as the replanting of up to three successive manioc crops and the staggered cropping of late-maturing orchard crops to follow the initial manioc phases.

Most of the protein and fats in the diet derive from hunting or fishing of a wide range of species. The indigenous hunting technology consists of the blowgun, lance, and several kinds of traps (snares, cones, gummed sticks), but the shotgun has come to be the main tool. Fishing is

done with hook and line, cone traps, suffocants, dams, scoop baskets, and bows and arrows. The relative importance of each differs according to the local ecology: hunting is dominant in the headwater zones, fishing is more prominent in the downriver sites. Significant seasonal or daily nutrition also comes from collecting wild forest plant and animal foods, among them palm fruits, frogs, honey, ants, termites, caterpillars, spiders, earthworms, and grubs. The diversified resource-exploitation system permits all houses to be virtually self-sufficient in the direct acquisition of food, but they still depend on trade to obtain certain tools, for instance manioc-grater boards, pots, blowguns, and steel cutting tools.

The traditional resource system and the economic autonomy that goes with it are being lost in the modern nucleated and sedentary towns. Current economic trends include reduced importance of hunting and gathering for subsistence; loss of native ethnobotanical and zoological knowledge; increased emphasis on agriculture and cash cropping; adoption of new crops and domesticated animals, especially cattle; increased time given to wage labor or extractive enterprises such as gold mining or vine collecting for sale to makers of rattan furniture; increased use of cash in economic exchanges; increased purchase of packaged foods; increased consumption of Western luxury goods such as watches, radio-cassette players, and tennis shoes; and the establishment of communitywide businesses to market agricultural produce. Additionally, a new economic upper class is being formed by Piaroa professionals (schoolteachers, nurses, commissaries, and electric-plant operators, who draw government salaries) and businessmen—bodega owners and motor-boat operators.

**Industrial Arts.** The traditional craft items are baskets, unpainted pottery, hammocks and loincloths (woven on looms), braided string, benches and mortars (carved from wood), bark cloth, feathered crowns, and painted ceremonial masks. Some of these skills, especially loom weaving, are being lost in the more acculturated communities.

**Trade.** The Piaroa have a reputation as consummate traders and are famous for the high-quality curare they produce and sell to other ethnic groups. Other indigenous products traded, both intra- and interethnically, include grater boards, blowguns, canoes, pots, magical plants, *peraman* wax, *carraña* (a minty resin), red dye, baskets, cotton hammocks and loincloths, religious fetish items, feathered head bonnets, and dogs. Important Western goods incorporated into the trade network are beads, fishhooks, and steel tools. The traditional trade system has declined both inter- and intraethnically in recent years as the Piaroa have become more oriented to the urban markets and goods of the White society.

**Division of Labor.** Many tasks are assigned by gender; for example, men cut garden clearings and plant maize, tobacco, and magical plants, whereas women plant the manioc and other root crops, weed, and do most harvesting. With the recent trend to cash cropping, men are assuming a greater role in the planting, weeding, and harvesting of the gardens. Women also perform the nonstop chore of processing the manioc into edible form—peeling, washing, grating, pressing, and baking into bread. Meanwhile, men do the hunting and most of the fishing, build the houses,

and perform religious labor. Men are the basket makers and principal potters, whereas women are the experts at loom weaving.

**Land Tenure.** There is no formal conception of land ownership among the Piaroa. Land is transformed into property through the input of labor, as in the case of making a garden, and exists as property only as long as it bears resources resulting from that labor. In this sense, communal gardens are owned in individual sections according to who put in the work of clearing and planting a particular area. Likewise, secondary forests containing resources are considered the privilege of their makers. In a larger sense, land is controlled by the community that occupies and uses it. Rights to occupy a place are enhanced by having known ancestors who once lived there. With permanent, nucleated settlement have come changing attitudes toward landownership. Over thirty communities have now received collective land titles from the government, but most of these grants are small.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Descent is cognatic, shallow, and flexibly figured so as to allow for relationship of a wide circle of kin. A major distinction is made between "close kin" (*tiki awarua*) and "distant kin" (*ot'ho awarua*), where closeness is often equated with coresidence. In this sense, the basis of Piaroa social organization is the cognatic kindreds that reside together. The residential groups are temporary and fluid; they have no true corporate status. Continuity of the residential kindred is founded on a rule of preferential endogamy. This causes the local group to be characterized by multiple overlapping ties, blurring the distinction between consanguine and affine.

**Kinship Terminology.** The terminological system is of the Dravidian type, which establishes a two-line structure contrasting consanguine from affine in the 1, 0, and -1 generational levels. By way of teknonyms, affinal kin are referred to as consanguines in a show of local group unity.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The ideal marriage is between bilateral cross cousins who reside in the same house. An endogamous match cannot always be made, however, and marriages between distant classificatory cross cousins are sometimes arranged to form political alliances between families. A rule of initial uxoriality obligates a groom to pay bride-service to his father-in-law until at least the birth of the first child, although this requirement may be waived in the case of a groom who is the son (and apprentice) of a prominent religious leader. In the past polygyny and divorce occurred occasionally; polygyny has almost disappeared today under Christian influence, but the incidence of divorce is increasing.

**Domestic Unit.** Extended families typically comprise the households, but the main unit of productive and reproductive importance is the nuclear family. Within the house each nuclear family has its own cooking fire and designated space along the house wall. A man may also move his family to another community.

**Inheritance.** Favorite personal possessions were traditionally buried with the deceased owners, but nowadays close relatives often divide the belongings of their dead among themselves.

**Socialization.** Children are disciplined verbally but rarely with physical punishment. Posttoddlers play in packs until the age of 8 or 9 years, when they begin to accompany older youth and adults in daily rounds. In the acculturated communities, youths from 8 to 15 years of age attend a rural school (ranging from the first to the sixth grades) for half-day sessions. They learn Spanish-language literacy skills and Venezuelan culture.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The highest mark of status in traditional society is conferred on the curing shamans. It is an office based on the acquired ability to sing the sacred songs or chants and show good results in curing sickness or protecting one's close kin from supernatural danger. In the acculturated communities a leadership role falls more to those who have a strategic relationship with White society—schoolteachers, nurses, and other salaried government employees. The major difference between past and present conceptions of rank is that the high status once reserved for the elderly bearers of cultural tradition is now given to the young and acculturated.

**Political Organization.** All house groups have a leader or chief, the *isoderua*, who also must be a capable shaman. Under his leadership the local group is largely autonomous in economic and political affairs. Interhouse alliances do form temporarily within a limited territory, however, usually linking a neighborhood of households in trade, marriage, and religious matters. Such alliances center around a highly respected shaman who provides curing and spiritual protection and sponsors the semiannual *sãrĩ* (fermented manioc beverage) ceremonies that bring together members of all the territory. The modern nucleated communities are also basically autonomous, each having their *capitán* (captain) and/or commissary. Following the first Piaroa congress of 1984, a tribewide political body has been taking shape, consisting of a council of consensually elected representatives from seven districts: Parguaza, Cataniapo, Sipapo, middle Orinoco, upper Orinoco, Ventuari, and Manapiari.

**Social Control.** Control of temperament is considered the mark of a powerful man. In general, the Piaroa are very pacific in all aspects of life. Fear of black witchcraft and magical revenge as well as easy migration are the principal mechanisms regulating asocial behavior. Other means of control include gossip and avoidance. In the acculturated towns, alcohol consumption combined with underemployment and erosion of traditional values is the source of problematic behavior by young men, including domestic quarrels or even suicides.

**Conflict.** Personal conflicts between individuals or families within a community are defused by fission from the local group. A modern wedge of greater social impact is the virtual segregation of the tribe into evangelical Christian and traditional, non-Christian sectors. Most commu-

nities tend to follow one or the other faith, with little mixing between them.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Native religion can be considered biotheistic, including belief in mythical culture heroprogenitors, good and evil spirits associated with environmental elements that control human destiny, and the hallucinogenic experience as the vehicle for communicating with the spirit world. A pantheon of culture heroes or gods lived in mythical times and created the world, bringing the gift of culture and knowledge of agriculture, fishing, and hunting to humankind. The hero Wahari, who was incarnated as the tapir, is considered the benevolent creator of the Piaroa. A complex of harmful, sickness-causing spirits is associated with various animals, the most dangerous being that of the jaguar. Counteracting these is a set of human-aiding spirits, associated with both animals and plants, that are invoked by shamans through songs and other ritual language.

**Religious Practitioners.** Although many adult men are shamans to a varying degree, each household has only one or two highly regarded curers or spiritual leaders. Their function is to cure sickness and give spiritual protection. There are two grades of shaman, the *meñerua* (master of song) and the more accomplished *ñüwãrua* (master of hallucinogen). The constant aid of the shaman is the hallucinogenic snuff (*ñüã*) derived from the seeds of *Anadathera peregrina*. Taking it enables him to sing superlatively all night long in order to contact the spirits of good will.

**Ceremonies.** The most prominent ceremony is the *sãrĩ*-drinking and dancing festival held in the rainy season and attended by visitors of neighboring households. Other group rituals are the manhood tests given yearly at the end of the rainy season and the exorcism rites upon the death of a community member. Individual rites usually imply food taboos during different life-cycle stages.

**Arts.** Singing is the art of the shaman. The songs are composed of an archaic language form stylized by metaphor and set to musical cadence and pitch.

**Medicine.** All sickness is believed to be brought by evil spirits (*mãrĩ*) and caused by violating taboos and norms, failing to placate the spirit of killed game animals, or being the target of an enemy sorcerer. Shamans sing to their special spirit helpers among the pantheon of good spirits to defeat the evil spirit and cure the patient. Plant medicines are also used alone or in combination with songs to cure ailments. Western medicine is highly valued, however, and is replacing many of the native remedies.

**Death and Afterlife.** In traditional culture the dead are mummified and placed with personal items in a cave in the rocky hilltops. Among the Christian Piaroa, corpses are buried in the ground. No matter what the circumstances, death is always attributed to *mãrĩ*. The soul or ghost (*awetĩ*) of the deceased wanders on earth until the killer spirits are exorcised (*warawã*) by ritual acts. The soul then returns to the spirit world and the spirit clan (*hãdök<sup>w</sup>ãt-ĩ*) whence it originated.

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STANFORD ZENT

## **Piro**

ETHNONYMS: none

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Piro refer to themselves as "Yine" (people) or "Wumolene" (our kinfolk). Identification is based on recognition of kinship and on the use of the Piro language, since the people are of mixed blood through intermarriage with surrounding tribes.

**Location.** At present the principal territory of the Piro extends for about 150 kilometers along both sides of the Río Urubamba in the rain forests east of the Andes Mountains in Peru. The southernmost village is Huau, upstream from the Spanish-speaking village of Atalaya. There are smaller communities of Piro on the Río Cushabatay, which empties into the Río Ucayali above Pucallpa, and on the Río Madre de Dios near its confluence with the Río Manu, not far from the borders with Bolivia and Brazil; there are isolated families living in White communities. Closely related Manchineri (an endogamous division of the Piro tribe, represented also on the Urubamba) are found on the Yaco and Acre rivers in Brazil.

**Demography.** The Piro of the Urubamba numbered 400 or 500 in 1953. By the end of 1981, the population of the Urubamba Piro was 1,263. Piro married to Whites are included in the census, but their spouses or children are not unless they primarily speak Piro. A dozen or more of the Manchineri brought from the Yaco to the Urubamba were included in the 1981 census. The total number of Piro in the villages of the Madre de Dios and Cushabatay probably

does not exceed 100. The near tripling of the Urubamba population was probably the result of a decrease in the use of fermented beverages (and the consequent decrease in poverty) as well as the introduction of additional plants and livestock, health education, and the limited service of medical doctors.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Piro language belongs to the Arawakan Family. It is almost mutually intelligible with the language of the Manchineri of Brazil.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Early contacts between the Piro and Whites are mentioned by missionaries and travelers—E. Richter in 1685, Francisco Carrasco in 1846, and P. Agustin Alemany, 1879–1881. In the early twentieth century rubber dealers attempted to enslave the Piro, resulting in violence on both sides and a significant reduction in the Piro population. After that the Piro were virtually slaves because of debts incurred on receipt of trade goods from *patrones* until direct contact with the Peruvian government was established in 1953. Peruvian Seventh-Day Adventists maintained a school in Huau. There were also Franciscan and Dominican Catholic schools. In all, some twenty-four of the Piro had learned to read and write Spanish, although most of them understood little of what they read. By that time a scientific alphabet for the Piro language had been provided by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (a Protestant organization), and the New Testament was being translated. This provided strong motivation for literacy. In 1953 the government established a highly successful system of bilingual schools. In 1981 nearly all the village Piro old enough to read and up to about the age of 40 were included in the bilingual school system; they were literate in Piro and able to hold simple conversations in Spanish. One young Piro woman had graduated from the University of San Marcos with a degree in medicine. In 1989 the Piro reported that eighty-eight of their young people, their secondary education completed, were in Pucallpa seeking degrees.

Until at least 1950 there was continual fear of raids from surrounding tribes. The Piro themselves had taken children of their neighbors into slavery. No intertribal attacks have been reported during the past five decades, however, except that two young Piro men returned with arrow wounds after lumbering alone. Beginning in the late 1940s intertribal relationships became increasingly cordial, as did relationships with Whites. One factor was the training of teachers for the bilingual schools, which brought the Piro into close contact with other jungle communities and with educators and government officials. During the 1950s the Peruvian government established a penal colony on the Urubamba. Some former prisoners have married Piro women of downstream villages, and a mixed population is developing there.

### *Settlements*

At the time of the 1953 census, the Piro of the Urubamba were seminomadic, and their thirteen villages ranged in population from 4 to 125. The 1981 census showed sixteen villages with populations ranging from 6 to 259 inhabitants each; village life had become stabilized. Usually Piro vil-

lages extend along the rivers. Sites are chosen with high-water season in view, since the level of the Urubamba varies as much as 8 meters from dry season to rainy season. All of the large trees are cleared from a village site, and the areas immediately surrounding the houses are periodically scraped clean with machetes. Houses are typically rectangular with woven palm-thatch roofs and palm-bark sleeping platforms. Formerly the houses were without walls, but with the increase of population and of visits from outsiders, some families now build walls of cane, palm bark, or undressed boards. Tools, nails, and boards are not uncommon now, whereas the jungle formerly supplied all materials used in the construction of the house and its furnishings. Nearly every village has one structure that serves as a church. The larger villages have well-kept soccer fields. Plantings surround the village. Acquisition of land titles has made it necessary to extend the duration of villages beyond the ten to fifteen years characteristic of slash-and-burn agriculture.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Piro had been hunters and gatherers, but by the late 1940s their principal foods were fish and ripe plantains. Manioc was next in importance, and they raised more than sixty other kinds of produce. Agricultural courses introduced concepts of reforestation, grafting of fruit trees, crop rotation, breeding of livestock, and much more. These courses were timely because the influx of White settlers into Piro territory was depleting the supply of fish and game and diminishing the available arable land. By 1984 the Piro were raising cattle in the larger villages, had bred better livestock in general, and were able to maintain a sufficient yield from their plantings without the accustomed migrations. Commercial crops had greatly increased in profit, and the Piro were selling their own lumber. Outboard motors have replaced poles and paddles, making it possible to spend nights in the villages even when crops need tending on distant beaches or when trips are necessary for hunting, fishing, gathering, or business. Hunting and gathering are still popular, but the gun has replaced the bow and arrow.

**Industrial Arts.** Until quite late in the twentieth century homegrown cotton was seeded, carded, and spun by hand, woven on a girdle loom, and painted with geometric designs for men's robes and hunting bags and women's wrap-around skirts. Women's blouses were made of material bought from the Whites. Now, because of economic pressure, homespun is rarely seen, even on festal occasions; metal pots and pans have largely replaced clay cooking pots; enamelware has superseded painted clay bowls and platters; bark cloth is rare. Mats are still woven for straining the plantain beverage and for beds. Crude benches are made instead of turtle-shaped seats.

**Trade.** There is informal communal interchange of food and possessions among the Piro. Indians of other tribes help themselves to Piro produce for immediate needs, and freely supply the needs of traveling Piro. Crops, livestock, lumber, and artifacts are sold to Whites.

**Division of Labor.** Women are generally responsible for the upkeep of the home and care of the children, for

meals, clothing, the supply of coiled pottery and mats, and the routine care of livestock and pets. Men hunt and fish; make weapons, rope, canoes, paddles, and fishing gear; build houses and furnish them; slash and burn for new clearings; carry heavy loads; take responsibility for the protection of the family and for travel; make baskets; and provide holiday regalia, apart from clothing. There is still a trace of the former matriarchal authority, usually limited to verbal expression. The entire family participates in planting, harvesting, and gathering from the forest.

**Land Tenure.** Formerly, lacking legal right to their land, the Piro feared that planting fruit trees or otherwise increasing the value of their land would lead directly to its seizure. As of the 1980s they have titles to the areas surrounding the larger villages, but still lack titles to much of the land they are cultivating.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Legends indicate that there were previously at least six endogamous divisions of Piro. Today the names of those divisions function primarily in establishing relationships among the Piro and in providing surnames for dealing with Spanish speakers. When members of different clans are married, children usually receive the father's clan name or surname, and occasionally also that of the mother. This corresponds to the practice of Spanish speakers.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship is assumed and kinship terminology is employed among all members of the Piro community. Use of proper names is avoided.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Restriction to marriage within the obsolete endogamous clan is not observed, but marriage of parallel cousins is strictly avoided. Suit is traditionally made to the prospective mother-in-law, and after the wedding feast uxorilocal residence and bride-service are expected. Formerly, marriage might be respectably consummated as early as the bride's 12th year, although 14 was considered a more proper age. Divorce was frequent and informal: either party might "throw out" the other. However, marriage has become comparatively stable since the late 1940s. Desire for education has discouraged early teenage marriages.

**Domestic Unit.** The extended family may occupy one large house with separate mosquito nets, or separate houses in the same clearing. There have been a few polygynous marriages; the wives lived in the same house. Meals are shared by all, the men forming a separate circle.

**Inheritance.** The personal property of a deceased person is usually burned, thrown into the river, or buried. Occupants of his or her house continue to live in it.

**Socialization.** Since kinship among all Piro is assumed, routine activities are often communal. Parents are held responsible for the behavior of their children. Discipline is lax until a child is spanked severely with nettles at the age of 2 or 3. For several years thereafter, the threat of nettles is sufficient correction.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Awareness that their society was once matriarchal is usually enough to secure equality of authority for a woman. Age prestige is general.

**Political Organization.** Each village has a chief, whose role is one of leadership rather than authority, although he might lead the men in beating an offender for a serious crime. Murder is referred to White civil authorities. Prior to contact with Whites, the husband of an adulterous wife was expected to kill his rival, thus initiating a series of revenge killings. Now a man may beat his wife, and an adulterous man's wife may publicly pull her rival's hair.

**Social Control.** In the small, isolated Piro villages, where avoidance is impossible, unhappy relationships are intolerable. Grudges are rarely nursed. It is the custom to "forget" offenses or to move away from the village.

**Conflict.** The only suggestion of major conflict among the Piro is the former fissioning of some communities, along with mention of hostile separations in legends.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The traditional religion is polytheistic and does not completely distinguish between gods and demons. Roman Catholicism, introduced in the seventeenth century, has never been fully accepted. Seventh-Day Adventists contacted the Piro around 1930. Much of their practice of Levitical law was temporarily added to the Piro system of taboos. Beginning in 1949 the Piro have had their own translation of the New Testament and have developed a Piro hymnody.

The chief hero-trickster god is named Tsla. Three brothers called "the First Ones" assist him. Woods, air, and rivers are considered to be inhabited by demons. Individual creatures such as jaguars, manatees, boas, lizards, and certain birds are often thought to be embodied demons.

**Religious Practitioners.** The term *kahonchi* refers to a man with supernatural power to heal or to cause sickness. There is a different term for one specializing in malignant practice. Supernatural power is said to be acquired by drinking ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) or by contacting *satanasyo*. Christian services are led by lay members of the community.

**Ceremonies.** There was no worship of gods, but an individual might drink ayahuasca or another drug or fast to induce a god to appear to him. Shamans and medicine men practiced magic formulas. Present-day Christian worship is quite informal; the service is in part copied from Whites, and in part a Piro development.

**Arts.** Basketry, beadwork, and painting of geometric designs on cloth, pottery, and occasional figurines are the only formal art. Artistic ability is often displayed, however, in the graceful form of a carved paddle, turtle-shaped seat, or even a dugout canoe, as well as in the form of pottery utensils.

**Medicine.** Apart from the *kahonchi*, there are many herbalists, both male and female, with knowledge of a great variety of herbs, some wild, some cultivated.

**Death and Afterlife.** Bodies are usually wrapped in mats and buried in graves about 2 meters deep. Two ghosts were traditionally feared: the ghost of the soul and a rattling ghost of the bones. Powerful witch doctors and others whose sins were comparatively few were thought to go to heaven and become gods. For a while after death other souls haunt familiar areas and eat papaya.

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ESTHER MATTESON

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## Puinave

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ETHNONYMS: Épined, Guaipujinave, Guaipuño, Puinabe, Puinabi, Puinabo, Puinahua, Uaipí, Winave

At present, most Puinave Indians live along the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela. They are especially concentrated in the Guainía territory of Colombia and in the Venezuelan State of Amazonas, although some have moved to the Orinoco River, and even into Brazil. Estimates of their population range from 1,800 to 3,491. Many live on government reservations in Colombia. In 1988 these reservations and their Puinave populations were as follows: Remanzo-Chorro Bocón (490), Coayare-El Choco (184), Caranacoa-Yuri-Laguna Morocoto (326), Almikdon-La Gelba (138), Bachaco Buena Vista (186), Guaco Bajo y Guaco Alto (265), and Cano Bocón Brazo Amanaven (103).

The Puinave speak an isolated language related to Máku, although they differ from the Máku tribe in material culture and mythology, both of which indicate a strong Arawak influence.

In the early records of their history, the Puinave were found along the Nooquéne and Inírida rivers, living near a culturally related people, the Caberre. The Puinave have moved many times in the past to avoid White colonizers.

In the sixteenth century, they moved to the Macuco to escape from Jesuit missionaries who had attempted to settle them on missions. More recently, their lives have been affected by rubber tappers, settlers, cattle ranchers, and evangelical missionaries. The Puinave population has been decimated by introduced diseases, and at present they have a high incidence of tuberculosis.

Puinave food production depends primarily on slash-and-burn agriculture and fishing and secondarily on hunting and collecting. Their traditional belief system included the use of applied astronomy to track environmental changes; the movement of the constellations across the sky signaled to them the start of the rains, the rise and fall of the rivers, and the reproductive cycle of animals and fishes.

The Puinave habitat is transitional between the tropical forest and savanna, with a dry season lasting about two months. In March, at the end of the dry season, the Puinave burn over their fields in preparation for planting at the first rains. Only bitter manioc is planted in the same field for two seasons. A Puinave family clears a new field every year and normally has three fields in different stages of the production cycle: a field recently cleared and planted, a field producing its first crop, and a field that was harvested the previous season and that will soon be abandoned except for fruit trees. The Puinave recognize many different soil types and their appropriate uses. Village territory is collectively owned, but households have individual rights to the produce of the fields they cultivate and to the wild fruits and fishing sites in the same area.

Fishing is economically important because of the rich resources that the rivers provide. Fishing sites and techniques vary with the season: in the dry season, when the rivers are low, the Puinave fish with hooks and lines, bows and arrows, and harpoons. Collective fishing parties of men, women, and children use *barbasco* poison. In the rainy season the Puinave set fish traps at spots to which they hold individual rights. Fishing has recently become less productive because of settlement and population pressure. The use of the shotgun and commercial hunting for skins has also affected the abundance of game. Previously, the blowgun was a common hunting weapon; darts were tipped with curare poison obtained through intertribal trade.

Puinave kinship terminology distinguishes cross cousins from parallel cousins. Preferred marriage is between cross cousins, and marriage between parallel cousins is prohibited. Newly married couples live with the wife's family for a period of bride-service. Later they move to the husband's village, where they make their permanent home. The tribal territory was formerly occupied by a number of small mobile groups of five or six families linked by patrilineal ties. The large sedentary villages of the present day are heterogeneous, and often the headman is also a native evangelical pastor. The Puinave are beginning to intermarry with other linguistic groups, most frequently with the Curripaco but also with groups from the Vaupés who have moved into Puinave territory.

In Puinave cosmology, mythic time is divided into several stages. In the beginning there were four siblings; the eldest brother began to create the universe with the sun, moon, and stars, but did not finish the earth. Another brother was murdered, and from his bones was born

Dukjin, the culture hero who made mountains and rivers, animals, birds, fishes, and wild fruits and taught men to hunt and fish; he established clans and rituals and proper rules of marriage. It was left to Dukjin's successor, Tudon, however, to complete the world by teaching people how to grow crops.

The Puinave social system formerly included a ritual hierarchy that young men entered through training and initiation characterized by periods of fasting and sexual abstinence and the taking of hallucinogenic drugs. As part of their training, they learned the mythology they would recite during rituals. Since evangelical missionaries have suppressed the native religion, these traditions, which regulated Puinave relations to their environment, are no longer transmitted to younger generations.

The Puinave suffered greatly at the time of the rubber boom in the early 1900s, when their territory was invaded by rubber traders who brought with them epidemic diseases. Although some Puinave worked in rubber tapping, their traditional social and belief systems were largely intact until 1943. In that year a charismatic evangelical missionary, Sofia Müller, came to live among the Puinave, initiating what has been described as a messianic movement. She brought the Puinave back to claim their traditional territory, settled them in large sedentary villages, and discouraged them from working for the rubber traders who exploited their labor. Later, with the establishment of a New Tribes mission, Puinave children were taught the New Testament in their native language. The aim of the missionaries has been to eradicate all aspects of the native belief system and to train native pastors to carry on their work. Young people have been taught to reject their own cultural traditions, but nothing has effectively replaced them. Like many other Amazonian groups, the Puinave have lost more than they have gained from the "civilizing" process.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Pume

ETHNONYMS: Capuruchano, Saruro, Yaruro, Yuapín, Zaruro

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Pume live in southwestern Venezuela and call themselves "Pume" (people). If asked, the Pume further distinguish between the Bea Khonome Pume, who live along the major rivers, and the Ciri Khonome Pume, who live in the open savanna. The name "Yaruro" is applied by criollos (non-Indian Venezuelan nationals) to the Bea Khonome Pume and has been the most common ethnonym used in the literature, whereas the term "Capuruchano" is used by criollos to refer to the Ciri Khonome Pume.

**Location.** The Pume are located between 6° and 8° N and 67° and 70° W. This area of Venezuela is known as the Llanos, or plains, of the Río Apure and is a subregion of the vast neotropical savanna region of Venezuela and Colombia forming the western half of the Orinoco River Basin. This vast region is extensively flooded during the wet season, which lasts from May through September; the dry season lasts from October through April and is characterized by excessive drought. The Bea Khonome Pume constitute approximately 83 percent of the population and live on the banks of the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Riecito, and lower Cinaruco rivers. The Ciri Khonome Pume constitute the remaining 17 percent of the population and live along seasonal tributaries of the Capanaparo, Cinaruco, and Riecito rivers in open savanna.

**Demography.** The First National Indian Census of Venezuela, performed in 1982-1983, enumerated a total of 3,859 Pume. Earlier census attempts among the Pume largely estimated the population (incorrectly) and are too unreliable to establish the current rate of population growth. Only about 3 percent of the total Pume population are urban dwellers (most of these live in and around San Fernando de Apure); the remaining 97 percent live in rural areas.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** There is no consensus among scholars on the affiliation of the Pume-mae language, still spoken by nearly all Pume. Some classify it with the Jivaroan languages of eastern Ecuador, others group it with the Chibchan languages of eastern Colombia, and still others maintain it is an independent language. Pume-mae is polysyllabic and nontonal, with twenty-one consonants and fifteen vowels. Pume-mae has been reduced to a phonetic alphabet that the Venezuelan government is attempting to introduce among Pume children attending grammar school.

### History and Cultural Relations

The first record of the Pume by the Spanish explorers of the New World dates from 1589. In northern South America, the history and presence of groups such as the Pume that belong to independent language stocks remain enig-



matic since Arawak-speaking groups were culturally and numerically dominant at first Spanish contact in 1498. Jesuit missionaries established the first Catholic mission among the Pume in 1739 by militarily confining the essentially nomadic Pume to a mission site. Between 1767 and 1800 Capuchin missionaries following the Jesuits' steps after their expulsion from Spanish dominions established several more missions in the Llanos that included Pume in their congregations. The Venezuelan War of Independence (1810–1820) caused an 80 percent drop in the criollo population in the Llanos of Apure. There followed a 100-year period during which the area stagnated economically, and there was little contact between Pume and non-Indians. During the 1930s the first neocolonial cattle ranches were established along the Río Capanaparo, marking the beginning of the modern economic development of the area. At present, all Pume villages, no matter how remote, come into occasional contact with criollo ranchers, and many Pume work as migrant laborers during the dry season. The Venezuelan Office of Indian Affairs maintains four field offices among the Pume that are meant to provide technical, educational, and medical assistance to them.

### Settlements

The 1982–1983 census noted a total of 100 Pume communities ranging in size from 3 to 274 people with an average size of 39 people. Villages are spatially discrete and tend to be located at 5- to 16-kilometer intervals. The Bea Khonome Pume locate their villages on the river levee less than 1 kilometer from the channel. These villages tend to be permanent, some having been continuously occupied for over thirty years. The Ciri Khonome Pume, more mobile than the Bea Khonome Pume, maintain a wet-season and a dry-season village, each occupied for approximately six months of the year and relocated every three to five years. In addition, up to nine different camps may be used during the dry season for periods of a few days to a few weeks. Villages of both the Bea Khonome and the Ciri Khonome Pume are compact in area and have as their characteristic feature a large, circular plazalike area on their eastern side, which is used during the *the* ceremony (see "Ceremonies"). Houses are built of poles tied together with vines and covered to within 50 centimeters of the ground with *moriche* palm fronds (*Mauritia flexuosa*) or corrugated iron. Houses generally lack walls, enabling free circulation of air. Shelters in the camps used by Ciri Khonome Pume during the early and late dry season, when rainfall is possible, consist of small conical structures 1 to 2 meters in diameter and thatched with palm fronds; camps used in midsummer, when rain is no longer a problem, have shelters consisting of a few upright leafy tree limbs that simply provide protection from the sun.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Fishing provides approximately 17 percent of the calories and 64 percent of the protein in the Pume diet, whereas slash-and-burn farming of manioc and corn provides about 62 percent of the calories and 8 percent of the protein. Addi-

tional food resources providing smaller percentages of the diet consist of various species of waterfowl, three species of dwarf caimans, savanna armadillos, various species of wild tubers collected in the savannas and forested areas, and rice and pasta products obtained as compensation for manual labor performed for local criollo ranchers. Over one-half of the total time dedicated to subsistence activities is spent fishing; this activity is performed with bow and arrow (from platforms and blinds), hook and line, spear, and poison. Domestic animals maintained by the Pume include chickens, pigs, and dogs.

**Industrial Arts.** Items of everyday use such as hammocks, baskets, mats, and other woven products are fashioned as needed by the members of each household. There are five Pume villages that specialize in making water jugs, cassava (manioc cake) griddles, and other pottery objects for retailing. Some Pume families manufacture *alpargatas* (sandals with a rubber tire sole and uppers of woven nylon cord).

**Trade.** Visiting Pume commonly barter for woven household items, arrows, hallucinogenic *virola* seeds (*Anadenanthera peregrina*) and freshwater mussel shells (various species) for making *nan* (a hallucinogen), commercial clothing, and metal implements such as knives, machetes, and fishhooks. Pottery artifacts and *alpargatas* are sold directly to consumers or to middlemen who come to the villages where these items are manufactured.

**Division of Labor.** There is a well-defined division of labor among the Pume. Fishing and hunting are almost exclusively male activities, except for poison fishing and armadillo hunting, in which women occasionally participate. Only men and boys over 10 years of age engage in wage-labor activities, consisting of fence building and paddock weeding. Most gardening activities are performed by men and women, although clearing and burning of fields is performed by men only. Women collect wild tubers, prepare and cook food, clean house, and care for babies and infants.

**Land Tenure.** There is no concept of individual land-ownership among the Pume, but members of each community recognize an area of approximately 200 square kilometers surrounding the main settlement as their area of rightful use and exploitation. Individual and communal slash-and-burn gardens are established here, and most wild tuber collecting, hunting, and fishing activities take place within this area. Without outside interference, communities apparently remain within the boundaries of these areas for many years; even the more mobile Ciri Khonome Pume can use these areas for fifteen years or more. Extensive cattle ranching by criollos now causes land-access problems for most Pume. Conflict arises over lakes and ponds where the Pume fish and the cattle drink water, but the most serious problem has been the actual dispossession of many Pume of their traditional resource areas. Criollos have fenced the land, which is typically nationally owned, and forced the Pume off in the process. As a result, many Pume have been pushed into seasonal migrant work in order to meet the subsistence needs of their families.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Descent has minimal significance among the Pume. The largest cooperative or aligned kin group is the nuclear family.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Pume use Dravidian terminology, which systematically distinguishes parallel and cross relatives. Relative age is recognized among classificatory siblings.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Up to 30 percent of nuclear family groups in a village may be polygynous. A polygynous man typically marries two women, but may marry up to four; these plural wives are generally sisters or half sisters. The preferred marriage is to a cross cousin, which for a man would be either father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter. There does not seem to be a preference for patrilineal or matrilineal cross cousins. Marriage may be either locally exogamous or endogamous depending on the availability of partners. New families typically reside with a close relative of one of the partners—usually mother's brother—for one to two years before establishing an independent household. Divorce is not common, but when it occurs children remain with their mother.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family, comprising three to four individuals, is the basic domestic group that lives together, eats together, and forms an independent economic unit. Although multifamily houses formed of close relatives are occupied seasonally among the Ciri Khonome Pume and year-round in some Bea Khonome Pume villages, households are still only nuclear-family based. Widowed men (who are more common than widowed women) usually maintain their own house, but give any food items they obtain from fishing or hunting to a brother's, sister's, or daughter's family unit and receive cooked food in return.

**Inheritance.** Personal property is minimal, and upon the death of an individual useful items such as bows, arrows, knives, or clothing are simply divided among surviving family members.

**Socialization.** Infants and young children receive primary care from their mothers but are also watched over by their mother's close female relatives. Emphasis is placed on independence and self-reliance to the point that children beyond the age of 3 or 4 years are seldom under direct or active parental supervision for most of the day. Physical punishment of children is not practiced.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Pume society is organized by family and residence only; there is no social hierarchy or class structure. Villages are composed of between four and thirteen nuclear family units, and residence in a village determined by kinship.

**Political Organization.** Villages are politically autonomous, each having a headman referred to as *ote* (old one). The headman lacks true authority since he cannot order or punish individuals; rather he serves as a focal point of information about villagewide events, such as seasonal moves, and acts as a social host to village visitors. Traditionally,

headmen probably assumed their position through personal charisma as well as their social abilities. As the Pume come into increasing contact with criollos who do not speak Pume-mae, it is often the individual who speaks Spanish who becomes the headman. Recently, some Pume have been appointed by the Venezuelan government or have appointed themselves representatives of all Pume. Given the lack of a cultural precedent for such a leader, few Pume acknowledge the apparent authority of these individuals.

**Social Control.** Villagewide participation in most social and religious events provides the basis for community cohesiveness and orderliness in Pume society. The headman of a village does not impose social control, but individuals going beyond the norms of acceptability are jokingly jostled and pressured by their peers to conform.

**Conflict.** Interpersonal conflict among the Pume is rare and is generally avoided by not allowing the situation to develop. For example, to avoid having to give visitors bows and arrows (which are often in short supply), these items are hidden in the grass or forest beyond the village (once asked for, an item cannot be denied if it is visible). Physical injury resulting from a conflict is socially censured and causes great consternation among the Pume. Such an action is now generally attributed (often rightly) to getting drunk on commercially available alcohol, for which the Pume have a low tolerance; many Pume object to drinking commercial alcohol out of fear of its effects upon their behavior and community solidarity.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The Pume are polytheistic and have a pantheon composed of five culture heroes and numerous minor spirits called *tio*. The five culture heroes of the Pume are a woman called Kumañi; her two younger sisters, Hareroñi and Pareapañi; her younger brother Aetanerea, or Ichiai; and Poana, a giant anaconda. Minor spirits provide personal guidance, assistance, or protection and act as guardians of the sky, the water, and the earth. Living in the forests and certain areas of the savanna are evil spirits called *yarka*, said to cause illness and death.

**Religious Practitioners.** Each village usually has a religious specialist—shaman—but at some level all men and women are free to communicate with otherworldly beings. The shaman has a dual role in the village. First, he is the guardian of the rocks called *tio ikara* (spirit box) that contain or represent guardian and assistance spirits for members of that community. Second, the shaman performs most of the cures that involve "sucking" an evil spirit out of the sick person's body.

**Ceremonies.** The principal religious ceremony, the, is an all-night event of singing and dancing. Practiced once or twice a week year-round, these events are held so the living may communicate with the spirits of dead relatives living with Kumañi in her otherworld located in the western sky. Other important rites and ceremonies are associated with puberty, menstruation, postpartum, curing, hunting, and fishing.

**Arts.** Women often paint their faces with geometric designs in preparation for a the ceremony. Men carve animal

figurines from jet that the women wear on bead necklaces. Men also carve the gourd rattles used during this ceremony with figures representing Kumañi, Poana, the jaguar spirit, and dead relatives. The rattle is the only musical instrument used by the Pume, but song is a well-developed form of Pume expression. The singing at a the is performed by a soloist, who is answered in song by a choir of all the men and women in the village.

**Medicine.** Illness is attributed to possession or the actions of yarka. Cures are performed with numerous plant remedies and by singing, sucking the evil spirits from the ill person, and spitting water on him or her.

**Death and Afterlife.** The death of someone is a sorrowful event, but also transcendent because it signifies that a spirit will now join those of previously deceased relatives. The dead are buried in a semiflexed position on their right side at a depth of about 130 centimeters. The grave is marked on the surface with a log up to 100 centimeters in length laid lengthwise to the body. The spirit of the deceased is believed to go to the land of Kumañi, where everything is clean, there is no illness, and no one suffers from hunger.

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TED L. GRAGSON

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## Quechua

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Quechua designates the language that the Inca, in the course of their military expansion, disseminated across wide expanses of the Andean highlands. Many of the groups they conquered learned Quechua as a second language or adopted it in lieu of their own tongues. Indicative of the former geographical extension of the Inca Empire is the far-flung distribution of their language in modern times. The speech forms of Quechuan peoples range from southern Colombian (Inga) and Ecuadoran (Quichua), to Peruvian, Bolivian, and northern Argentinian (Runa Simi). Dispersed throughout this vast region of western South America, an estimated 8.5 to 11 million people speak more or less closely related dialects of Quechua, which makes it the most widely spoken surviving Indian language of America.

In Peru, Quechua is recognized as a co-official language, and in Bolivia it functions as the second national language of the country. This recognition simply takes account of the prominence that Quechua commands in these two countries. In the highlands of Peru and Bolivia, 90 percent of the people understand Quechua, 80 percent

speak it, and 50 percent are said to speak it as their only language. Although Quechua is spoken by mestizos in rural and urban areas, it tends to become increasingly identified with the lower-class Indian peasantry within the nation-states of its contemporary distribution.

Descendants of the Inca themselves and of the peoples they conquered constitute a large part of the Indian and mestizo highland population of Peru and adjacent countries. Living in dispersed homesteads, communities, and townships, they possess an intricate culture composed of autochthonous and European elements. Thus, the Quechua people cannot be considered Indians in the aboriginal sense. In colonial times, they acquired many Spanish cultural elements such as oxen and other domestic animals, plows, and new crops, as well as local governing councils and religious brotherhoods. Many modern Quechua are hacienda workers or have become assimilated as laborers in highland towns. Furthermore, in the twentieth century, the highland Quechua have increasingly intensified the colonization process of the Montaña rainforest regions on the eastern Andean slope, a process that began as far back as Inca times.

Quechua culture, as described in the Mountain Culture Area section of the Introduction, is concentrated

heavily in the central Andean highland communities. For variant forms of contemporary Quechua culture, consult separate entries under Callahuaya, Canelos Quichua, Cotopaxi Quichua, Otavalo, Salasaca, and Saraguro.

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## Rikbaktsa

ETHNONYM: Canoeiro

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name by which these Brazilian Indians refer to themselves is "Rikbaktsa," meaning "human beings." They are called "Canoeiro" by the local non-Indian population because of their custom of using canoes.

**Location.** Their present-day territory consists of two contiguous areas: one between the Jurueña and Sangue rivers, the other between the Jurueña and Arinos rivers; they total 228,384 hectares and are located in the state of Mato Grosso, Brasil, between 10°30' and 11°40' S and 58°05' and 58°30' W.

**Demography.** The 1989 population of the Rikbaktsa was 626 persons. In 1957 there were around 1,000 individuals, 70 percent of whom died of measles, influenza, and smallpox during the the early phase of their relatively late contact with the Western world.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The language of the Rikbaktsa belongs to the Macro-Gê Linguistic Stock.

### History and Cultural Relations

The first reports about the Rikbaktsa date to the decade ending in 1940 when rubber tappers first penetrated the equatorial forests of the Sangue, Arinos, and Jurueña

rivers. The absence of previous historical references and archaeological studies makes it impossible to determine the antiquity of the occupation of Rikbaktsa territory. Extensive and detailed knowledge about the fauna, flora, and geography of the area and its surroundings exists, however, which leads to the conclusion that human occupation has been rather lengthy. The Ribaktsa, known for their warlike ethos, had hostile relations with all nearby tribal groups: the Cinta Larga and Suruí to the west, in the Rio Aripuanã Basin; the Kayabí to the east and the Tapanhuma to the southeast on the Rio Arinos; the Iranshe, Paresí, and Nambicuara to the south, on the Rio Papagaio and the headwaters of the Jurueña; the Mundurucu and Apiaká to the north at the lower course of the Rio Tapajós. The Rikbaktsa fought with the rubber tappers until 1962, when they were pacified by Jesuits who were financed by the owners of rubber-tree plantations. The high mortality rate after contact destroyed Rikbaktsa society. A large number of the children were taken from the tribe and brought almost 300 kilometers away, to the Utiariti Jesuit school on the Rio Papagaio, where they were educated together with children from other tribal groups. The remaining adults were gradually transferred from their original villages to larger and more centralized ones, also under the control of the Jesuits.

In 1968 a small part of Rikbaktsa territory was marked off, the children were returned to the tribe, and missionary activities were centralized on the reservation. From 1970 on, there were several attempts to invade Rikbaktsa territory owing to increasing population density in the general area. This was accentuated during the 1980s by heavy mi-

gration, caused by the Programa Polonoroeste, the main activity of which was paving the Cuiabá-Pôrto Velho highway (financed in part by the World Bank). After armed conflict and judicial court action, the Rikbaktsa were able to achieve the demarcation of another area of their territory in 1986. They have had serious health problems and have been devastated by malaria and tuberculosis. Their relations with neighboring tribal groups are those of political alliance in defense of their territories and indigenous rights. Missionary influence has diminished considerably, and the Rikbaktsa will not permit officials of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI) to stay in their territory. The Rikbaktsa have bilingual schools staffed by native teachers and try to gain access to Western knowledge as a way of protecting their autonomy.

### Settlements

Traditional villages were composed of one or two dwellings inhabited by extended families, and a men's house (*makyry*) where widowers and adult single men lived. In 1957 there were forty-two villages located in the interior of the forest, near the headwaters of small streams and linked to each other by forest trails. After being centralized by the Jesuits, villages became larger and less numerous, located along the right bank of the Rio Juruena. Between 1970 and 1984 there were seven large villages (each with between sixty and eighty people). After recovering part of their territory, the Rikbaktsa increased the number of villages built along traditional lines. In 1989 there were twenty-three villages, accessible only by boat, along the Juruena, Sangue, and Arinos rivers; they were located along the borders of their territory so that the Rikbaktsa could watch over their lands.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Hunting, fishing, gathering, and agriculture are the Rikbaktsa's means of subsistence; they derive revenue from the extraction and commercialization of rubber and the sale of feather ornaments, with which they acquire now-indispensable consumer goods like clothes, salt, coffee, sugar, weapons, and tools. They grow maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, *inhamé* and *cará* (both yams), beans, cotton, *urucú*, bananas, pumpkins, squash, peanuts, rice, sugarcane, and other crops, using the slash-and-burn system. Fields are rotated every three or four years. The Rikbaktsa collect Brazil nuts (a very important source of food), honey from various kinds of bees, numerous wild fruits, roots, larvae, and a large variety of plants used for medicine and handicrafts. Hunting is the activity most highly valued by men and a major source of protein and raw materials for ritual ornaments (animal feathers, teeth, bones, and hides). The Rikbaktsa eat almost all terrestrial animals as well as birds, but there are food prohibitions, and some animals must not be killed or eaten. From the rivers they extract a wide variety of fish, two kinds of turtles and their eggs, and fish eggs.

**Division of Labor.** There is a sex-based division of labor. Men hunt, catch the large fish, clear land, and make arrows and bows, clubs, flutes, and featherwork items.

Women catch small fish, gather and prepare food, take care of the children, spin cotton, weave hammocks, sew, and make pottery, seed necklaces, and bracelets from armadillo tails and nut burrs. Planting and harvesting is done by men and women. The sale of market products and the use of money is an almost exclusively male prerogative.

**Land Tenure.** Land belongs to the entire community. The choice of where to plant, live, and hunt is based on kinship. There is no permanent division of the land. The shifting-cultivation system and the depletion of animals and other resources around the villages results in a constant repositioning of kin groups within the territory.

### Kinship

Rikbaktsa society is divided into exogamous moieties, which are associated with the yellow macaw and the *arara cabeçuda*—a kind of scarlet macaw—and subdivided into various clans that are associated with animals and plants. In the past the clans were more numerous and had associated body painting, ornaments, and special activities. Nowadays these associations are found only among moieties and apparently no longer exist among clans. Descent and filiation are patrilineal. Kinship terminology is similar to that of the Iroquois system.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is between moieties. During the 1970s there were some incestuous marriages among the members of the same moiety, partly because of the drastic population loss after contact and partly brought about by the Jesuits' interference with traditional Rikbaktsa marriage rules. Since the 1980s the Rikbaktsa have adhered firmly to traditional practices. The preferred form of marriage is between cross cousins. Residence is uxorilocal. The norm is monogamy, but polygyny is permitted and occasionally practiced. The marriage ceremony is quite informal. After agreement has been reached between the parents of the pair, the village chief removes the bridegroom's hammock from his house (or from the *makyry*) and ties it next to that of his wife in his father-in-law's house. The bridegroom will live with his in-laws during the first years of his marriage and later move to live near his married brothers. Divorce is common, especially during the first months of marriage, and is easily obtained by either of the two partners.

**Domestic Unit.** The domestic unit is the extended family.

**Inheritance.** All the goods of the deceased are burned and destroyed after death.

**Socialization.** Children accompany their parents, helping them with their tasks. They become familiar with the forest and its resources and secrets through shared living and teachings transmitted by myths told by the oldest men of the local group. Of the traditional rites of passage, only boys' ear piercing remains. This is performed during a large feast at the end of the ritual cycle that accompanies land clearing. Formerly girls' faces and boys' chests were tattooed in a rite of passage leading to adulthood. This was followed by a period of ritual seclusion, which could last over a month and during which they could not be exposed to sun-

shine or seen by anyone who was not a very close relative. Reclusion, tattooing, and boys' use of earplugs (some old men wear light wooden ones 15 centimeters in diameter) were abandoned after contact. Traditionally, after reaching the age of 12, boys lived in the *makyry*, where their education was completed by a mentor. Nowadays they live with their parents until they marry and then move to the home of their father-in-law, who serves as their tutor.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Each domestic group constitutes a unit of production and consumption, with political autonomy and links to a specific territory where villages are established. Rikbaktsa society, however, is based on a system of reciprocity between clans belonging to the two moieties of the kinship group. They exchange women in marriage, goods, and labor during festivals that the moieties alternately hold for each other, and they reciprocally help one another in felling trees for clearing land. This interdependence is also evident in hunting—a hunter always gives his bag of game to his companion, generally his brother-in-law, who belongs to the opposite moiety in the kinship system.

**Political Organization.** Each domestic group forms a political unit. Traditionally the Rikbaktsa did not have "chiefs," although they had and have leaders whose influence goes beyond their own house or village. Centralized chiefdoms imposed by missionaries were of short duration and not very effective. The most influential leaders are those who have the largest group of relatives or brothers-in-law. In the late twentieth century, another kind of leadership is becoming evident: that of young men who studied in Jesuit schools. They are more knowledgeable about the society that surrounds them and can provide better answers to problems raised by contact with outsiders.

**Social Control.** The main means of social control are gossip, ostracism, and social avoidance. In tense situations there is the threat of witchcraft or poisoning.

**Conflict.** A disruption of the system of reciprocity (particularly as regards marriage) is causing attrition and discrepancy in the links between the various clan subgroups. Before contact, there were rivalries between the Rikbaktsa who lived on the Rio Arinos and those living on the Sangue and the Juruena rivers. Today the fight for physical and cultural survival has emphasized bonds of internal cohesion.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Rikbaktsa believe in an immanent universal order that harmoniously unites all living things, both in the natural and supernatural worlds. In primordial times all living beings spoke "the same language," but the secret of this compatibility was lost. Nowadays only the initiated can understand and intervene (always for the purpose of restoring original harmony) with forces that govern the world. Rikbaktsa religion is pantheistic, and apparently there is no belief in a Supreme Being. Forests and rivers are the habitat of a large number of mythical and supernatural beings, which are always remembered in myths and songs known to almost the entire community. The Rikbaktsa believe that animals and stars are human beings

who in mythical times broke some taboo and suffered for it by being transformed.

**Religious Practitioners.** The Rikbaktsa have several shamans with considerable influence. Their traditional knowledge is not effective, however, in the treatment of illnesses introduced by Whites. Shamanistic knowledge is passed on, by means of a long and dangerous initiation, to those young men who show the greatest inclination for it. Initiates live in seclusion for over a year, guided by an experienced shaman. During this time they learn about the power of certain plants (with curative or poisonous properties) and how to control specific supernatural forces. Jesuit catechization has not changed traditional religious beliefs but has made their practice more secretive.

**Ceremonies.** An annual ritual cycle accompanies agricultural activities, during which ear piercing and name giving take place. There is a green-corn festival (in January), one for land clearing (in April), and a large feast (during May/June) when moieties and clans show their body painting and feather ornaments, play their flutes, and sing their characteristic songs. On such occasions mythical episodes or incidents of war, as they were lived by men in historical time, are taught.

**Arts.** Rikbaktsa are extraordinary flutists, and traditional music is played and sung at all their festivals. Most striking is their featherwork, however, which is multicolored and varied and among the most beautiful made by Brazil's tribal societies.

**Medicine.** Illness is seen as a bodily imbalance caused by breaking taboos or as the result of magic or poison. In curing, medicinal herbs are used as well as rituals of purification. Nowadays the Rikbaktsa also use Western medicines to combat illnesses introduced by Whites.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Rikbaktsa believe that the destiny of the dead is determined by the life they lived on earth. Those who lived better lives can make the transition to a happy world in which there is abundance, peace, and youth. Others can be reincarnated as animals (a certain kind of monkey, jaguar, or snake) or even as Whites.

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RINALDO ARRUDA  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Salasaca

ETHNONYMS: none

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Salasaca," the name of an ethnic group of Ecuador, is derived either from the name of the zone to which they were sent as *mitimaes* (settlers) from Bolivia, or from two common surnames, "Sala" (a Panzaleo name found in eastern Ecuador) and "Saca" (a Puruhayes name found in the west of the country). The Salasaca notion of being a culturally distinct group is clearly expressed in their manner of dress. The men wear white trousers, white shirts, and black and/or white ponchos. The women wear black skirts, black blouses, and brightly colored shawls fastened with a silver needle. Both men and women wear belts. Women may wear several belts, the combined length of which may be 20 meters. For everyday purposes, most people wear highland hats. For special occasions, however, white felt hats with wide brims are worn. T-shirts may be worn instead of traditional shirts and blouses.

**Location.** The Salasaca zone, which is about 12 square kilometers in extent, is situated at 1.3° S. and 78.4° W. It is a plateau, 2,500 to 2,900 meters above sea level, in Tungurahua Province of central Ecuador. Rainfall is between 50 and 100 centimeters a year, and the average yearly temperature is between 12° and 18° C. The climate is one of relatively warm days and chilly nights.

**Demography.** According to the National Population Census carried out in Ecuador in 1974, the Salasaca numbered 4,236. A more recent census, conducted in 1982, counted only those Salasaca who lived along the main road. Because Salasaca are reluctant to take part in censuses, the actual population can only be estimated; it was approximately 8,000 in 1989.

### History and Cultural Relations

A much-discussed theory is that the Salasaca were brought from Bolivia in the fifteenth century by the Inca ruler Pachacutic (Yapangui II). Within the framework of his newly introduced *mitimae* system, a small number of men and women were supplied to colonize the present Salasaca zone. Salasaca origin as *mitimaes* is supported by certain characteristics in family names, terminology, fiestas, and music. Another suggestion is that the Salasaca are a fusion of two former communities, one from an eastern zone in Tungurahua Province and the other from the Chimborazo Province. Although the Salasaca fiercely defend their ethnicity, interrelationships of an economic and ritual nature are frequent. Regular interaction is maintained with the Niton and Chiquichas peoples to the east, the Chivaleos to the northwest, the Picayhuas to the northeast, the Rumipata people of the Chimborazo Mountain range to the west, and the Canelos Quichua in the eastern lowlands. Relationships with people in towns and abroad are increasingly common and enable economic exchanges and coparenthood.

### Settlements

The Salasaca parish is divided into sixteen sectors (*manzanas*) that are evenly populated. The road between Ambato and Banos, which was constructed in 1934, bifurcates the zone. The parish has several wide, open areas, but in the central square there is a Catholic church, an Evangelical church, a convent, a school, a post office, a medical post, a communal house, and a cooperative. There are also several saloons and boutiques, with living quarters upstairs. The traditional compound consists of three generally separate buildings, which are more or less rectangular. There is a main house with a single door, which always faces north. The other two buildings in the compound are smaller houses—one on either side of the main house. These smaller houses face the center of the compound.

Houses are of three different styles. In the past the houses were made entirely of grass, agave fibers, and bamboo sticks and had a roof touching the ground. This particular style of house is still constructed, although the skills required are rapidly disappearing, as is the grass. The second style has mud walls reinforced with bamboo and a roof of reeds and is the most common style of house in the zone. The third and most recent style uses locally produced cement blocks and corrugated iron. Although the older styles of house are said to be warmer and more resistant to earthquakes, houses of cement are considered more prestigious and are thus favored. Families have small shelters in their fields; these were originally used at night for guarding cattle from thieves but are now used mainly for cooking meals during the agricultural season.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Salasaca Indians are primarily horticulturists. They practice a system of shifting cultivation and mixed cropping, which includes more than seventy species of cultigens. The most important crops are maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and alfalfa (*medicago sativa*). Crops are sown or planted, each at particular times throughout the year. Tools are rudimentary and are produced either locally or in nearby towns. Fields are separated by neat lines of agave plants (three or four species are grown). Eucalyptus is the most common tree, followed by the *capuli* (genus *prunus*). Salasaca recognize four different species of *capuli*. It has cherrylike fruits and is much appreciated as a subsistence crop during February and March. The fruits are also sold for cash. Fields are irrigated every six weeks using water from five major irrigation canals. The water flows for twenty-four hours on each occasion, and people lead and regulate the flow of water into and along their fields. All families have a number of animals such as rabbits, guinea pigs, and fowl. Most people also own cattle and pigs, and some have a horse or a donkey. Many plants and fruits are used for food, medicine, and religious purposes. These may be cultivated or collected from the wild on the slopes of nearby Teligote Mountain.

Family income is supplemented by the occasional sale of eggs, milk, rabbits, guinea pigs, and fowl. Larger animals, such as cattle and pigs, are usually sacrificed for ceremonies. As land is limited and the population is growing, many men and young women are forced to migrate in

order to earn money off the farm. A second reason for migration is to accumulate enough money to sponsor a fiesta. Men are employed principally as construction workers, whereas women find employment as shepherdesses or as maids in the cities. All households have a European loom that is used mainly for making clothes. The backstrap loom is used for weaving belts and hair ribbons, whereas the European loom is used for larger pieces of material and also for tapestries.

**Industrial Arts.** Attempts have been made to copy the successful commercialization of Otavalo weaving. In 1969 a cooperative was created with the assistance of a Peace Corps volunteer. In spite of the fact that the cooperative has about 200 members and a house to exhibit and sell its crafts, many Salasaca sell their wares individually. Since 1982 a market for tourists has been held each Sunday in the main square.

**Trade.** Goods and services are exchanged with neighboring Indian groups and with the mestizo population. For example, cupuli cherries are bartered for small woven baskets (*chigras*), grains, and tools. The Salasaca are famous for their aggressive bulls and vicious cows, which they take to bullfights and fairs all over the country.

**Division of Labor.** Women traditionally did the domestic work, including bringing up the children; men did most of the work in the fields. As a result of both the commercialization of weaving and the increased migration, however, women are now carrying more and more of the agricultural work load in addition to their traditional duties.

**Land Tenure.** Within the zone, only Salasaca are entitled to cultivate land. The few mestizos who live in the zone are engaged in small-scale trading. Between Salasaca, land can be bought and sold, although few have legal title to their properties. All land is divided among the Salasaca; the only communal land is on the slopes of Teligote Mountain. A major problem is the fragmentation of land as it is inherited by succeeding generations.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** All relatives up to and including first cousins are considered close kin (*nucuchi pura*). Those outside this group are referred to as *mana nucuchi pura*. Male in-laws belong to *masha*, whereas females belong to *cachun*. Descent is bilateral. Ritual relations, for example, coparenthood, are established through baptism and marriage and are considered equal to blood ties. *Padrinos* (godfathers) and *madrinas* (godmothers) therefore belong to the *nucuchi pura* group.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kin terms follow a linear system concerning for first ascending generation and the Eskimo system for the first descending generation.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Salasaca are endogamous, and a spouse has to be chosen from the *mana nucuchi pura* group. It is through the marriage ceremony that members of this group are said to be "made close kin." The ceremony lasts for several days, and there is much celebrating in the salon

and in the houses of the bride's and bridegroom's parents. Marriage is sealed by both civil and Catholic acts and by ceremonies performed by the elders of each family. During the ceremonies, the leading roles fall not to the bride and the groom but to their selected coparents. A newlywed is supposed to be given land and a house by his or her parents. Because of poverty and land shortages, however, couples now tend to live with the family of either the bride or the groom. The couple tries to set up their own residence as soon as possible. Divorce is said to be more common now than in the past. This can perhaps be partly explained by the increased necessity of migration to seek wage labor.

**Domestic Unit.** A household is usually composed of a small nuclear family. Should an aging parent be left alone, he or she will join the household of a son or a daughter.

**Inheritance.** Among contemporary Salasaca, sons and daughters inherit equally. Traditionally, an inheritance was distributed through a game called *huari tullu*, which is played during different stages of a funeral. The game is played with a die made from a donkey bone. The deceased is said to influence the game. Today the game is played at every funeral but is no longer considered to affect the division of the inheritance.

**Socialization.** Children learn the demands of life early; little boys and girls learn their respective roles by taking part in the daily work of their parents. There are six primary schools and a secondary school in the parish.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Rights and obligations between consanguineal, affinal, and ritual kin form the basis of society, and the household is the central unit of social organization. The prestigious *alcaldes* maintain cultural and social continuity. There are temporary organizations such as the *ayudana*, which consists of four to six people within a *nucuchi pura* group; it is formed to clear a field or build a house. A *minga* (reciprocal labor-exchange unit), involving numerous participants, is called together by the *teniente político* (political lieutenant) to perform communal work.

**Political Organization.** The Salasaca community was legally established in 1962. In 1963 a *junta campesinado* (peasant council) was formed with an elected representative from each sector. The community became a parish in 1972, and a *teniente político* was elected to represent the government. The main functions of the *junta campesinado* are to maintain the irrigation system, to organize nightly patrols to guard the livestock, and, with the *teniente político*, to coordinate administrative and practical matters. The Salasaca do not pay taxes, a prerogative granted them by an Ecuadoran president after they purportedly saved his life.

**Social Control.** Order is maintained by surveillance of each other in daily interaction. Gossip is an important means of communication, and the Salasaca are ingeniously able to keep track of people's whereabouts by simply observing footprints on paths. Retaliations, transmitted by a type of witch doctor called a *brujo*, are a constant fear.



**Conflict.** Internal conflicts are usually settled within the community by the *alcaldes*, men in respected positions whose main function is to uphold the religious and social order. Serious crimes, perhaps involving outsiders, are handled by lawyers in the nearby town. There is an ever-present conflict between the Salasaca and the national society, and the violations on Salasaca and their territory are innumerable: the most serious are cattle theft and the building of roads and power lines that destroy their fields and houses. Agreements, if ever reached, have always been to the disadvantage of the Salasaca, an ethnic group regarded as culturally inferior by the mestizo population.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditionally, Salasaca saw the sun, *Inti-yaya*, as their father, who gives them life. The moon, *Quilla-mama*, was the mother. Wild and domestic animals and the surrounding mountains played an important part in their conception of the universe. In the early 1940s a Catholic priest lived among the Salasaca for several years. Shortly afterward *Madres Lauritas* established themselves in the community and built a school and a convent. At about the same time the evangelical Christian and Missionary Alliance built a church on the opposite side of the road. Today Salasaca traditional beliefs are synchronized with Catholicism, whereas the Evangelical church has only a few followers.

**Religious Practitioners.** Apart from the Catholic priest, the *alcaldes* are regarded as religious leaders. The *curador* (curer) and the *brujo* also deal with the supernatural world. The favors of good spirits can be obtained by paying for a mass, by lighting candles, or by sprinkling blessed water in sacred locations. Evil spirits dwell in black animals and in looms. A particularly dangerous spirit, *Koko*, inhabits large ovens, large trees, stones, deserted houses, and rabbit holes (*utkos*). Protection against evil spirits is obtained by keeping blessed water and onions on the patio.

**Ceremonies.** Apart from *boda*, rites de passage that mainly concern the family (for example, baptism, first haircut, first trousers, marriage, and burial), the Salasaca practice a cycle of twelve major religious fiestas that involve a greater number of people than are involved in the *boda*. Half of these fiestas are sponsored by the *alcaldes* and the other half by ordinary men who, through sponsorship, gain social status and prestige. The most important ceremony of all, which concerns every Salasaca, is the *aya caray* on All Souls' Day, when food and drink is symbolically shared with dead family members.

**Arts.** Ideas are artistically expressed in, for example, the embroideries on men's trousers and in the patterns on woven belts. Designs depict important animals and constellations of stars in the mythology. In this way, beliefs are exhibited on everyday clothes and ceremonial dresses. Traditional dances and instruments, like the *bocina*, which is made from a bull's horn, and *cupuli* leaves are important in all ceremonies. Contemporary national music is increasingly appreciated, however. Lullabies are sung to children. Several folklore groups have been formed to perform music, dance, and drama.

**Medicine.** Diseases are thought to be transmitted by evil spirits. The *curador* uses a wide variety of medical plants and often resorts to the purification rite using a guinea pig. Knowledge of herbal medicine is impressive, and such remedies are often effective. The Salasaca fear hospitals and rarely go to them. There is a government-sponsored medical post in the center of the parish.

**Death and Afterlife.** The cosmos is divided into three spheres: *pamba*, which is life on earth; *hauapacha*, which is the place where Jesus lives with the good spirits; and *hukupacha*, where demons, the evil spirits, and a dwarflike being called *pipon*, dwell. Burial is regarded as the most important ritual in the life cycle. After death, a person goes first to *hauapacha*, where Jesus will decide if he or she is allowed to stay or should continue to *hukupacha* and stay there forever. If the person is unfortunate, he or she has to pass *Mama Abuela*, the *Tungurahua* volcano, where he or she has to eat a meal of black beetles before proceeding to *hukupacha*.

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KRISTINE IVARSDOTTER

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## Saliva

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ETHNONYMS: Chimere, Chimero, Saliba, Saliua

The 2,000 Saliva people today live primarily in the department of Meta and in the territories of Vichada, Guanía and Vaupés in Colombia; a small population also lives in southwestern Venezuela, near the Colombian border. Many of those living in Colombia are on government reservations. About 500 Saliva live in several small settlements near Orocué on the upper Río Meta.

Before the nineteenth century the Saliva lived along the middle reaches of the Orinoco. Little is known about their history before the expansion of Jesuit missions along

the Orinoco in the late seventeenth century. The Saliva were settled in a number of missions at this time, but they suffered greatly from epidemics and Carib slave raids. The Jesuits found the Saliva to be a docile group that willingly accepted settlement in the missions, perhaps seeking protection from the warlike Caribs with whom the Saliva maintained an ambiguous relationship—they traded with them and even intermarried, although they were often the victims of Carib raids. At the end of the seventeenth century, some of the Saliva left the missions and migrated to the upper Meta region. In the eighteenth century the Jesuits attracted most of these to the missions they founded in the new Saliva territory. A new wave of epidemics hit the Orinoco area in the 1750s, which, more than the force of government arms, put an end to Carib raiding but decimated all native populations. At the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, few Saliva remained, and these lived in two missions, one on the Orinoco and one on the upper Meta. The Saliva were well known for their allegiance to the church and for their skill, taught them by the Jesuits, at playing instrumental music. With the decline of the missions in the nineteenth century, the Saliva returned to seminomadic life, settling among other groups of the region.

The Saliva habitat is the Llanos, a vast savanna region of eastern Colombia and western Venezuela. There are pronounced wet and dry seasons; in the rainy season the plains are flooded. Early observers reported an abundance of game as well as fish and amphibians.

The Saliva were primarily an agricultural people, among the most diligent of the region. They preferred to settle along minor watercourses where water was available, and the gallery forests provided the best agricultural land. Originally they lived in large communal houses, but later, as Carib raids increased, dwellings were dispersed to facilitate flight.

The Saliva grew maize, sweet and bitter manioc, and a number of different fruits, especially pineapples and papayas. They probably grew such introduced crops as sugarcane and rice since early colonial times. Chili peppers were their preferred condiment. Among nonfood crops were tobacco, cotton, *carguate* (a kind of agave) for fiber, gourds, and various dye plants. Fields were cleared in the gallery forest, generally by male work groups. For better drainage, manioc was planted in raised mounds; other crops were simply planted among the charred tree trunks and stumps. Except for clearing and burning, women did most of the agricultural work. The Saliva did little weeding; when a field became choked with weeds, they abandoned it and opened a new one.

Hunting and fishing were important secondary activities. Game included deer, peccaries, tapir, armadillos, anteaters, tortoises, and iguanas. Iguanas were a favorite food, and so abundant it was reported that hundreds could be captured in a single hour. The Saliva fished the rivers and, in the rainy season, flooded areas of the savanna. Many different fishing techniques were used; one of the most ingenious was for catching fruit-eating fish. Two fishermen would cooperate, one dropping a piece of fruit into the water. When a fish rose to the bait, the other fisherman was ready with bow and arrow.

Collecting turtle eggs was an important seasonal activ-

ity, as hundreds of thousands of turtles laid their eggs on the beaches of the Orinoco and its tributaries. The Saliva extracted oil from the eggs that they used in cooking, as a base for body paint, and as an article of trade.

Women spun cotton and used a primitive loom. Basketry was the exclusive work of men, whereas only women made pottery. Women also processed manioc tubers and made manioc bread. The Saliva were expert makers of dug-out canoes, and some were large enough to carry ten or twelve people.

There is very little information about traditional Saliva social organization. The earliest reports come from eighteenth-century Jesuit missionaries when Saliva society had already been altered by mission life. Communities were probably independent, and local headmen gained their position through a combination of personal qualities and patrilineal descent. Polygyny was common and divorce frequent. There is ample evidence that the Saliva often intermarried with the Achagua and with Carib groups. The Saliva practiced the *couvade*, which imposed a period of inactivity and fasting on both parents of a newborn child. Young men were frequently submitted to flagellation rituals, perhaps as part of an initiation ceremony. Funerals were elaborate, and secondary burial was practiced.

The Saliva made a favorable impression on early European observers as a clean, peaceful, and hardworking people. The men were found to be somewhat effeminate and vain of their appearance, and the women spent a great deal of time grooming and applying body paint to their husbands and other male family members. On ceremonial occasions both sexes wore necklaces and pendants of animal teeth and shell money obtained through trade. The Saliva participated actively in the trade networks of the Llanos, even after contact. They manufactured manioc graters and made paints and dyes for body decoration, specifically for trade.

Little is known about Saliva cosmology. Puru was the creator, living in heaven with his son. When a great serpent devastated the Orinoco region, Puru sent his son to kill it. From the serpent's decomposed body emerged worms, which turned into the feared and hated Carib peoples. The sun, moon, and stars were also supernatural beings. Shamans were the religious specialists who fasted and used hallucinogenic drugs to make contact with the spirits.

The Saliva who now live near Orocué are survivors of the missions of that region. They are subsistence farmers, selling their surplus crops to buy necessities. They keep chickens and pigs and occasionally a few head of cattle. Neighborhoods are formed of two to a dozen homesteads. Men often work as wage laborers on surrounding farms and ranches. At present, their lands are under pressure from settlers.

Modern Saliva are nominal Christians, but their religious beliefs and practices are an amalgam of Catholicism and the native system. They practice trial marriage: a young couple first lives with the wife's family and only if the trial is concluded successfully (usually with the birth of a child) do they have a church marriage and form an independent household. The shaman is still the principal religious specialist, and Saliva shamans are renowned for their knowledge of medicinal herbs.

Over 300 years of contact the Saliva have maintained

their ethnic and cultural identity. Most are bilingual in Sáliva and Spanish, using their own language in daily life and speaking Spanish only to outsiders.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Saraguro

ETHNONYMS: Indígenas, Runas

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Saraguro" is Quichua for "Land of Corn," reflecting both its traditional role as a food-exporting region of the Inca Empire and the present close bond between the land, the people, and their agricultural livelihood. The Saraguro Indians generally call themselves "Saraguro," *indígenas*, or occasionally *runas* (people). Local non-Indian townspeople (*blancos*) often use the pejoratives *indio* and *chinita* when referring to the indigenous population.

**Location.** The Saraguro Indians occupy the Andean intermontane valleys surrounding Saraguro town (3.7° S, 79.3° W, elevation 640 to 910 meters), Loja Province, Ecuador. Originally covered mostly by tropical mountain forest, Saraguro territory is now dominated by croplands, managed pasture, woodlots, houses, and Saraguro town itself. To escape the intense competition for land, some Saraguro have recently settled in the moist tropical forest of the Yacuambi Valley on the eastern slopes of the Andes, in territory traditionally belonging to other indigenous groups.

**Demography.** Although available census data are unreliable, the approximate indigenous population of the canton of Saraguro is 10,000, with an additional 6,000 Saraguro

spread throughout the other southern provinces of Ecuador. Complaints of intensifying land pressure suggest that the Saraguro population is growing rapidly.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Most Saraguro are bilingual in Spanish and Quichua, a distinctive southern Ecuadorian highlands dialect of the Quechuan language. Among Saraguro and non-Indians, local Spanish pronunciation and inflection retain both Quichua and colonial Castilian features. Although assimilation pressures have threatened the extinction of the Quichua language, a national campaign for Quichua literacy and radio programs in Quichua have revitalized the native tongue.

### History and Cultural Relations

Despite the fact that the human occupation of the Saraguro region dates from as early as 10,000 years ago, the Saraguro did not exist as a distinct settlement or society until the region was incorporated into the Inca Empire during the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. During the period of Incan domination, Saraguro town was founded as a way station (*tambo*) along the road between Cuenca and Loja. The ancestors of the present Saraguro population are thought to have been forced migrants (*mitimaes*) from Bolivia who married into local Canari or Palta families. Although European colonial rule began as early as the 1530s, Saraguro town remained largely under Indian ownership and control until 1900. During colonial and republican rule, as in Incan times, Saraguro's primary function was as a way station; consequently, the Saraguro Indians escaped the enslavement and loss of lands associated with the imposition of haciendas and *encomiendas* elsewhere in Ecuador. Since the construction of the Pan-American Highway in the 1940s, the Saraguro town center has come to be owned and politically dominated by non-Indians. Today most Indians live in dispersed neighborhoods or barrios surrounding the town center, but the Saraguro maintain claims to the site of the old *tambo* and several small plots of town land.

Since its founding 500 years ago, Saraguro has never existed as a fully autonomous, pristine society. Daily contacts with a dominant, organized state have forged a resilient Saraguro personality, emphasizing individualism and the ready exploitation of new economic opportunities combined with a strong sense of ethnic identity and family autonomy. Although interactions between the Saraguro and non-Indian townspeople are frequent and polite, a fundamental distrust pervades most interethnic relations.

### Settlements

Since Incan times the dominant features of the local human landscape have been Saraguro town itself and its surrounding barrios. Even though the indigenous population has largely lost its holdings in the town, the center remains an important economic and religious hub, and most of the surrounding countryside is still under Indian ownership. In the mid-1980s Saraguro town had electricity and piped water, two Catholic churches, a large Sunday market, a livestock market, shops, pharmacies, several schools, a government hospital, local administrative offices, rural police, a post office, a telegraph office, and a bank. The pop-

ulation of the town center consists of about 5,000 blancos (people of pure Spanish or mestizo descent) and a few Indians employed as domestics or schoolteachers. Most Saraguro live and work in the dispersed barrios surrounding the town. Saraguro houses are usually single-story structures with three rooms; they are built of adobe bricks and have tile roofs. Land pressure in the barrios closest to town has prompted some families to build larger, two-story houses. Each house has a covered patio, a yard, and a small kitchen garden producing fruits, vegetables, and medicinal and culinary herbs. Individual houses are separated by smallholder agricultural plots averaging about one-quarter hectare each. Rising above the town of Saraguro is Mount Puglla, the "spiritual center" of the Saraguro universe.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Saraguro's basic agro-pastoral adaptation is shared by most rural indigenous and mestizo communities in highland Ecuador. Maize, potatoes, wheat, barley, and beans are tilled by bullock-pulled plows. Important capital improvements include field drainage and stone-and-agave field borders. Terracing and irrigation systems used in precolonial times are not maintained today. Harvests are dried and stored for household consumption and are rarely sold. Cattle are kept in private and communal pastures on plateaus overlooking the barrios. Milk, fresh cheese, and cattle are the primary sources of cash, which is used to purchase tools and consumer goods and to finance economic ventures and religious cargoes (see Religious Practitioners). Households also raise sheep for wool and guinea pigs, swine, rabbits, and chickens for meat.

**Industrial Arts.** The Saraguro spin and weave wool, sew, do bead work, embroider blouses, and make household furnishings, musical instruments, tools, and utensils. Most craft items are used in the household, but a small fraction are sold to Indians, blancos, and the occasional tourist.

**Trade.** Cattle and cattle products are the major means of obtaining cash storing and wealth. Some households also sell eggs, swine, and wool. A few households engage in commercial crafts production, and one barrio has established a weaving cooperative. Some men work as day laborers in house construction, and a few Saraguro are employed in health care, teaching, and other professions.

**Division of Labor.** Men engage in heavy agricultural labor, weave, and do most of the large-scale commercial work. Women perform lighter agricultural tasks and manage most domestic activities and interhousehold trade. Both men and women tend livestock and prepare crops for storage. Older children spend considerable time assisting parents in child care and in crafts, preparation of food, and production for cash.

**Land Tenure.** Most cropland and pasture are owned by individuals. Holdings are often dispersed throughout the barrio. Some pasture is held communally by each barrio. Cropland and pasture are freely rented, bought, and sold to other Indians. Although ownership of barrio land by non-Indians is officially illegal, some Saraguro have lost land to townspeople for nonpayment of loans.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Clans and lineages are not recognized in Saraguro society. Although there is a preference for barrio endogamy, barrio solidarity is based largely on proximity and common cause rather than common descent. Descent is reckoned bilaterally and egocentrically, with some "patrilineal contamination," wherein patronyms take precedence in official documents.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Saraguro use both Spanish and Quichua terms to distinguish affinal and consanguineal kin within an Eskimo system of reference.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Both men and women may marry at age 17. First-cousin marriage, especially among cross cousins, is permissible and sometimes viewed as advantageous. Parents express a clear preference for barrio endogamy, although barrio exogamy is tolerated. Despite the mild disapproval of premarital sexual activity, many Saraguro women are pregnant at the time of marriage and some bear several children before marrying. Courtship is usually conducted in secret, although interactions between cousins tend to be less formal. Patrilocal residence predominated in traditional times, but residence has become highly flexible and most contemporary couples express a preference for neolocality. The Saraguro are monogamous. Although divorce and abandonment draw criticism, they are not uncommon.

**Domestic Unit.** Small extended (three-generation) families are the predominant residential and economic unit, although wealthier families with large holdings often reside in separate nuclear-family houses.

**Inheritance.** Property is commonly left to offspring who remained in the natal household to care for their parents. Sons and daughters inherit equally, and parents who can afford to do so purchase land for married offspring. Daughters inherit silver jewelry and other heirlooms from mothers and grandmothers.

**Socialization.** Offspring are raised in a relatively permissive atmosphere. Acculturation is informal and based on observation, imitation, and correction. Corporal punishment and physical force are rarely employed. By age 5 children begin to assist their parents in gender-appropriate tasks. Since the 1970s Saraguro children have been required to attend primary and secondary school, and a growing number pursue university education in larger Ecuadorian cities.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Unlike many other indigenous subcultures embedded in a class-structured national society, the Saraguro are neither at the bottom of the hierarchy nor themselves divided into distinct classes. Nevertheless, strong status differences exist within Saraguro society, conferred by age, wealth, and community religious and political involvement. Wealthier Saraguro hire both Indian and non-Indian laborers, and it is not uncommon for poor townspeople to beg from wealthy Indians. Whereas Saraguro men tend to wield greater public power, women have significant control over household decisions and resources.

Both men and women can acquire social power through religious and political activities. Rejection of traditional dress and hairstyles and marriage to a non-Indian incur loss of status and Saraguro identity.

**Political Organization.** The Saraguro maintain a strong ethic of household autonomy. Consequently, barrio political and economic groups tend to be highly fractious and unstable. Such groups have nevertheless been instrumental in rural development. Traditional cooperative work groups (*mingas*) are involved in public construction and maintenance projects.

**Social Control.** Although local police and priests attempt to enforce legal and moral standards, gossip networks remain the most powerful mechanism ensuring social restraint.

**Conflict.** The Saraguro have clashed violently with non-Indians since the Conquest. Today both the Saraguro and town residents publicly declare relations to be peaceful and amicable; however, both indigenous and blanco residents privately voice continuing mutual distrust and resentment. The traditional enemies of the Saraguro are the Jivaro (Shuar) Indians, who were displaced from their tropical-forest settlements by Saraguro colonists.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Precolonial beliefs combined animistic spirituality with the worship of gods introduced during Incan rule. The Saraguro now profess strong Catholic beliefs; nevertheless, their religion remains highly syncretic and combines Christian and pre-Conquest elements. Thus, Saraguro worship is essentially polytheistic. Catholic saints and virgins are revered along with animistic spirits associated with rainbows, rivers, and the wind, Incan sun and moon gods, *supalata* (agricultural spirits), and *supai* (demons).

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamanic specialists have practiced in the region since pre-Conquest times, but under church suppression shamans have been labeled as witches and have failed to attract apprentices. Several Saraguro assist priests with Mass and church maintenance. Most attend Mass on Sundays and religious holidays; families are organized to finance church celebrations through a *fiesta cargo* system.

**Ceremonies.** The Catholic religious calendar has come to overlay the traditional sowing and harvest celebrations of the Saraguro. Household rituals focus on the family life cycle, commemorating births, marriages, construction of new homes, and deaths.

**Arts.** Saraguro bands perform traditional Andean folk-songs on flutes, panpipes, and drums and have begun to play guitars and accordions. The Saraguro are renowned in southern Ecuador for their crafts. Women create elaborate floral displays for church each Sunday. They are also skilled spinners with the distaff and hand spindle, producing very fine "S" and "Z" twist yarn. Women weave intricate belts, and some possess special knowledge of natural dyes. Men, however, are regarded as master weavers, and produce large bolts of wool fabric on backstrap looms. Women fashion this homespun fabric into the distinctive

Saraguro wardrobe. Men wear a tunic, short pants modeled after colonial pantaloons and covered on formal occasions by wool chaps, a poncho, and a wide, hand-tooled belt decorated with silver coins. Women wear a wool underskirt with a pleated overskirt, a colonial-style hand-embroidered blouse of brightly colored satin, and a shawl fastened with a large silver shawl-pin or *topo*. Men and women both wear wide-brimmed white wool-felt hats. Women also wear large, distinctive, antique silver earrings and hand-beaded collar necklaces. All wools, except men's white chaps, are dyed a deep blue-black. By tradition, the Saraguro are said to wear black in perpetual mourning for the death of Atahuallpa, the last Inca.

**Medicine.** Traditional curers such as midwives, herbalists, and shamans continue to practice in Saraguro. Pharmacists and Indian nurses have been available for consultation since the 1950s, and a government-sponsored hospital opened in the town in 1980. The most common form of health care, however, is provided by Saraguro mothers, who diagnose and treat most family illnesses at home with a combination of medicinal plants, purchased pharmaceuticals, massage, and diet.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Saraguro follow Catholic teachings on death and believe that behavior in life determines salvation or damnation. Baptized children who die before first communion are said to become angels. A special wake is held, and the child is placed on an altar in the home and dressed as a winged angel. Guests eat a special meal, a band plays through the night, and parents dance in celebration of their child's holy transformation.

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RUTHBETH FINERMAN AND ROSS SACKETT

## Saramaka

ETHNONYMS: Saramacca, Saramaka Bush Negroes, Saramaka Maroons

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Saramaka are one of six Maroon (or "Bush Negro") groups in Suriname. ("Maroon" derives from the Spanish *cimarrón*, itself derived from an Arawakan root; by the early 1500s it was used throughout the Americas to designate slaves who successfully escaped from slavery.)

**Location.** The Republic of Suriname, formerly Dutch Guiana and independent since 1975, is located between 1° and 6° N and 54° and 58° W. The Saramaka live in the northern extension of the Amazonian forest along the upper Suriname River and its tributaries, the Gaánlió and the Pikilíó, and—since the 1960s—along the lower Suriname River in villages constructed by the national government after the flooding of approximately half of tribal territory for a hydroelectric project.

**Demography.** The 22,000 Saramaka are one minority within the multiethnic nation of Suriname, which includes approximately 37 percent Hindustanis or East Indians (descendants of contract laborers brought in after the abolition of slavery); 30 percent Creoles (descendants of Africans brought as slaves); 16 percent Javanese (descendants of contract workers brought during the early twentieth century from Indonesia); 3 percent Chinese, Levantines, and Europeans; 2 percent Amerindians; and 12 percent Maroons. Together with the other Maroons in Suriname and neighboring French Guiana—the Djuka (22,000), the Matawai, the Paramaka, the Aluku, and the Kwinti (who together number some 6,000)—the Saramaka constitute by far the world's largest surviving population of Afro-American Maroons.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Saramaka, the Matawai, and the Kwinti (in central Suriname) speak variants of a creole language called Saramaccan, and the Djuka, the Paramaka, and the Aluku (in eastern Suriname) speak variants of another creole language, called Ndjuka. Both are closely related to Sranan-tongo (sometimes called Taki-taki), the creole of coastal Suriname. About 50 percent of the Saramaccan lexicon derives from various West and Central African languages, 20 percent from English (the language of the original colonists in Suriname), 20 percent from Portuguese (the language of the slave masters on many Suriname plantations), and the remaining 10 percent from Amerindian languages and Dutch. The grammar resembles that of the other (lexically different) Atlantic creoles and presumably derives from African models.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The ancestors of the Saramaka were among those Africans sold into slavery in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to work Suriname's sugar, timber, and coffee plantations. Coming from a variety of African peoples speaking many different languages, they escaped into the

dense rain forest—individually, in small groups, and sometimes in great collective rebellions—where for nearly 100 years they fought a war of liberation. In 1762, a full century before the general emancipation of slaves in Suriname, they won their freedom and signed a treaty with the Dutch crown. Like the other Suriname Maroons, they lived almost as states-within-a-state until the mid-twentieth century, when the pace of outside encroachments increased. During the late 1980s a civil war between Maroons and the military government of Suriname caused considerable hardship to the Saramaka and other Maroons; by mid-1989 approximately 3,000 Saramaka and 8,000 Djuka were living as temporary refugees in French Guiana, and access to the outside world had become severely restricted for many Saramaka in their homeland.

### *Settlements*

Traditional villages, which average 100 to 200 residents, consist of a core of matrilineal kin plus some wives and children of lineage men. Always located near a river, they are an irregular arrangement of small houses, open-sided structures, domesticated trees, an occasional chicken house, various shrines, and scattered patches of bushes. (The so-called transmigration villages, built to house the 6,000 Saramaka displaced by the hydroelectric project, range up to 2,000 people and are laid out in a grid pattern.) Horticultural camps, which include permanent houses and shrines, are located several hours by canoe from each village, and are exploited by small matrilineal groups of women. Many women have a house in their own village, another in their horticultural camp, and a third in their husband's village. Co-wives live in separate houses. Men divide their time among three or four houses, built at various times for themselves and for their wives. Saramaka houses are barely wide enough to tie a hammock and not much longer from front to back; with walls of planks and woven palm fronds and roofs of thatch or, increasingly, of corrugated iron, they are windowless but often have elaborately carved facades.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The economy is based on full exploitation of the forest environment and on periodic work trips by men to the coast to bring back Western goods. For subsistence, the Saramaka depend on shifting (swidden) horticulture, hunting, and fishing, supplemented by wild forest products and a few key imports such as salt. Gardens are planted most heavily in dry (hillside) rice, but include many other crops, among them cassava, taro, okra, maize, plantains, bananas, sugarcane, and peanuts. Villages have domesticated trees such as coconut, orange, breadfruit, papaya, and calabash. Garden produce, game, and fish are shared among kin. There are no markets.

**Industrial Arts.** The Saramaka produce the great bulk of their material culture. All men build houses and canoes and carve a wide range of wooden objects for domestic use, such as stools, paddles, winnowing trays, cooking utensils, and combs. All women sew and embroider clothing and

carve calabash bowls. Some men also produce baskets, and some women make pottery.

**Trade.** Men devote a large portion of their adult years to earning money in coastal Suriname or French Guiana to provide the Western goods considered essential to life in their home villages, such as shotguns and powder, tools, pots, cloth, hammocks, soap, kerosene, and rum. Since the 1960s small stores have sprung up in many villages, and outboard motors, transistor radios, and tape recorders have also become common.

**Division of Labor.** Once the men have cleared and burned the fields, horticulture is mainly women's work. Hunting, with shotguns, is the responsibility of men, who do most of the fishing as well. Wage labor outside the tribal territory is a male prerogative.

**Land Tenure.** Land is owned by matrilineal clans, based on claims staked out in the early eighteenth century as the original Maroons fled southward to freedom. Hunting and gathering rights belong to clan members collectively. Within the clan, temporary rights to land use for farming are negotiated by village headmen. The establishment of transmigration villages has led to land shortages in certain regions.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Saramaka society is firmly based on matrilineal principles. A clan (*lò*)—often several thousand individuals—consists of the matrilineal descendants of an original band of escaped slaves. It is subdivided into lineages (*bèè*)—usually 50 to 150 people—descended from a more recent ancestress. Several lineages from a single clan constitute the core of every village.

**Kinship Terminology.** In keeping with matrilineal ideology, a strongly generational pattern is broken by bifurcate merging of males. Joking relationships prevail between consanguineal and affinal kin of alternate generations.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The application of complex marriage prohibitions (including *bèè* exogamy) and preferences is negotiated through divination. Demographic imbalance owing to labor migration permits widespread polygyny. Although co-wives hold equal status, relations between them are expected to be adversarial. Marriages tend to be brittle; men average seven wives and women four husbands during their lifetime. The Saramaka treat marriage as an ongoing courtship, with frequent exchanges of gifts such as men's wood-carving and women's decorative sewing. Although many women live primarily in their husband's village, men never spend more than a few days at a time in the matrilineal (home) village of a wife.

**Domestic Unit.** Each house belongs to an individual man or woman, but most social interaction occurs outdoors. The men in each cluster of several houses, whether *bèè* members or temporary visitors, eat meals together. The women of these same clusters, whether *bèè* members or resident wives of *bèè* men, spend a great deal of time in each others' company, often farming together as well.

**Inheritance.** Matrilineal principles, mediated by divination, determine the inheritance of material and spiritual possessions as well as political offices. Before death, however, men often pass on specialized ritual knowledge (and occasionally a shotgun) to a son.

**Socialization.** Each child, after spending its first several years with its mother, is raised by an individual man or woman (not a couple) designated by the *bèè*, girls normally by women, boys by men. Although children spend most of their time with matrilineal kin, father-child relations are warm and strong. Gender identity is established early, with children taking on responsibility for sex-typed adult tasks as soon as they are physically able. Girls often marry by age 15, whereas boys are more often in their twenties when they take their first wife. Protestant missionary schools have existed in some villages since the eighteenth century; such elementary schools came to most villages only in the 1960s. Schools ceased to function completely during the Suriname civil war of the late 1980s.

### Sociopolitical Organization

The Saramaka, like the other Maroon groups, maintain considerable political autonomy within the Republic of Suriname.

**Social Organization.** Saramaka society is strongly egalitarian, with kinship vertebrating social organization. No social or occupational classes are distinguished. Elders are accorded special respect and ancestors are consulted, through divination, on a daily basis.

**Political Organization.** The Saramaka have a government-approved paramount chief (*gaamá*), a series of headmen (*kabitèni*), and assistant headmen (*basiá*). Traditionally, the role of these officials in political and social control was exercised in a context replete with oracles, spirit possession, and other forms of divination, but the national government is intervening more frequently in Saramaka affairs (and paying political officials nominal salaries), and the sacred base of these officials' power is gradually being eroded. These political offices are the property of clans (*lò*). Political activity is strongly dominated by men.

**Social Control.** Council meetings (*kuútu*) and divination sessions provide complementary arenas for the resolution of social problems. Palavers may involve the men of a lineage, a village, or all Saramaka and treat problems ranging from marriage or fosterage conflicts to land disputes, political succession, or major crimes. These same problems, in addition to illness and other kinds of misfortune, are routinely examined through various kinds of divination as well. In all cases, consensus is found through negotiation, often with a strong role being played by gods and ancestors. Guilty parties are usually required to pay for their misdeeds with material offerings to the lineage of the offended person. In the eighteenth century people found guilty of witchcraft were sometimes burned at the stake. Today, men caught in flagrante delicto with the wife of another man are either beaten by the woman's kinsmen or made to pay them a fine.

**Conflict.** Aside from adultery disputes, which sometimes mobilize a full canoe-load of men seeking revenge in a

public fistfight, intra-Saramaka conflict rarely surpasses the level of personal relations. The civil war that began in 1986, pitting Maroons against Suriname's army, brought major changes to the villages of the interior. Members of the "Jungle Commando" rebel army, almost all Djuka and Saramaka, learned to use automatic weapons and became accustomed to a state of war and plunder. Their reintegration into Saramaka (and Djuka) society remains problematic.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

The Western category "religion" encompasses every aspect of Saramaka life. Such decisions as where to clear a garden or build a house, whether to undertake a trip, or how to deal with theft or adultery are made in consultation with village deities, ancestors, forest spirits, and snake gods. The means of communication with these powers vary from spirit possession and the consultation of oracle-bundles to the interpretation of dreams. Gods and spirits, which are a constant presence in daily life, are also honored through frequent prayers, libations, feasts, and dances. The rituals surrounding birth, death, and other life crises are extensive, as are those relating to more mundane activities, from hunting a tapir to planting a rice field. Today about 20 percent of Saramaka are nominal Christians—mainly Moravian, but some Roman Catholic and, increasingly, evangelicals of one or another kind.

**Religious Beliefs.** The Saramaka world is populated by a wide range of supernatural beings, from localized forest spirits and gods that reside in the bodies of snakes, vultures, jaguars, and other animals to ancestors, river gods, and warrior spirits. Within these categories, each supernatural being is named, individualized, and given specific relationships to living people. Intimately involved in the ongoing events of daily life, these beings communicate to humans mainly through divination and spirit possession. *Kúnus* are the avenging spirits of people or gods who were wronged during their lifetime and who pledge themselves to eternally tormenting the matrilineal descendants and close matrilineal kinsmen of their offender. Much of Saramaka ritual life is devoted to their appeasement. The Saramaka believe that all evil originates in human action: not only does each misfortune, illness, or death stem from a specific past misdeed, but every offense, whether against people or gods, has eventual consequences. The ignoble acts of the dead intrude daily on the lives of the living; any illness or misfortune calls for divination, which quickly reveals the specific past act that caused it. Rites are then performed in which the ancestors speak, the gods dance, and the world is once again made right.

**Religious Practitioners.** Major village- and clan-owned shrines that serve large numbers of clients, the various categories of possession gods, and various kinds of minor divination are the preserve of individual specialists who supervise rites and pass on their knowledge before death. A large proportion of Saramaka have some kind of specialized ritual expertise, which they occasionally exercise, and for which they are paid in cloth or rum.

**Ceremonies.** Saramaka ceremonial life is not calendrically determined but rather regulated by the occurrence of

misfortune, interpreted through divination. The most important ceremonies include those surrounding funerals and the appeasement of ancestors, public curing rites, rituals in honor of *kúnus* (in particular snake gods and forest spirits), and the installation of political officials.

**Arts.** Saramaka life is permeated with aesthetic concerns, and activities from planting a garden to verbal repartee are judged in aesthetic terms. All men are woodcarvers and some are adept at the related art of engraving the exterior surfaces of calabash containers. Women are responsible for the decorative sewing on clothes and the carving of calabash bowls. Body arts include hairstyling and complex cicatrizations. The arts of performance—singing, dance, drumming, tale telling—are widespread and highly appreciated.

**Medicine.** Every case of illness is believed to have a specific cause that can be determined only through divination. The causes revealed vary from a lineage *kúna* to sorcery, from a broken taboo to an ancestor's displeasure. Once the cause is known, rites are carried out to appease the offended god or ancestor (or otherwise right the social imbalance). Since the 1960s, Western mission clinics and hospitals have been used by most Saramaka as a supplement to their own healing practices.

**Death and Afterlife.** The dead play an active role in the lives of the living. Ancestor shrines—several to a village—are the site of frequent prayers and libations, as the dead are consulted about ongoing village problems. A death occasions a series of complex rituals that lasts about a year, culminating in the final passage of the deceased to the status of ancestor. The initial rites, which are carried out over a period of one week to three months depending on the importance of the deceased, end with the burial of the corpse in an elaborately constructed coffin filled with personal belongings. These rites include divination with the coffin (to consult the spirit of the deceased) by carrying it on the heads of two men, feasts for the ancestors, all-night drum/song/dance performances, and the telling of folktales. Some months later, a "second funeral" is conducted to mark the end of the mourning period and to chase the ghost of the deceased from the village forever. These rites involve the largest public gatherings in Saramaka and also include all-night drum/song/dance performances. At their conclusion, the deceased has passed out of the realm of the living into that of the ancestors.

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RICHARD PRICE AND SALLY PRICE

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## Sharanahua

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ETHNONYMS: Onicoín, Saranahua, Sharánahua

The Sharanahua ("Good people") Indians live in the area of the upper reaches of the Río Purus, primarily in Peru, but there are some in Brazil as well. In addition to Sharanahua Indians themselves (who numbered only ninety in 1973), the Sharanahua tribe includes the remaining populations of Mastanawa, Chandinahua, and perhaps some Jamináwa people. Many authorities consider the Marinahua to be also a part of the Sharanahua tribe. The population of this mixture of culturally similar and intermarrying peoples has been estimated at 1,350 to 1,850. Their language belongs to the Central Branch of the Panoan Family.

The Sharanahua lived in the upper Río Taruacá region, to the north, at the time of contact. Fleeing a Peruvian attack, they migrated to the Río Curanja in about 1935. They left the Curanja after a measles epidemic and reached their present location in the 1940s, where they fought the Jamináwa. In the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the Sharanahua fell victim to epidemics of flu, whooping cough, and measles, which cut their population in half; they believe that these epidemics were caused by Peruvian bombs. Strangers to living on a river until the 1940s, the Sharanahua did not acquire the technology to make canoes and fishing nets until the 1960s. Since then, a few Sharanahua have become migrant laborers in order to obtain goods and cash. They trade with merchants who come up the river, exchanging animal skins (especially the valuable skins of jaguars and ocelots) for guns, metal pots, rum, clothing, needles, flashlights, lipstick (for face painting), kerosene (for lamps), soap, matches, and other goods. The Sharanahua also go downriver to sell skins and turtle eggs. In earlier times, Sharanahua would kill a trader who they felt had cheated them; after learning the serious consequences of such an act, they took to displaying their anger by refusing to pay debts incurred on credit advanced against the value of skins to be delivered in the future.

Until the 1940s or 1950s, all Sharanahua gardening was done in upland gardens. When they moved to the Río Purus at about that time, they learned to use the floodplains to grow some crops, and now there is a basic distinction between the types of crops grown in floodplain

gardens and those grown in upland gardens. In the spring, in the floodplain gardens, women raise fast-maturing maize, watermelons, and peanuts and harvest these crops before the fall rains raise the river's water level. Men, on the other hand, grow slow-maturing manioc in soils that never flood and bananas, plantains, and sugarcane in lands that flood intermittently. Gardens produce approximately 60 percent of Sharanahua food.

Women gather vegetables, fruits, and fungi from the forest and take shrimp and small fish living in waterlogged bamboo from the river. Using shotguns, men hunt for the most desirable game (deer, tapir, peccaries, capybaras, and pacas), but sometimes may end up with only a less desirable bird, monkey, turtle, or armadillo. Hunting is considered the chief occupation of older boys and young and middle-aged men and provides approximately 30 percent of the food eaten. When the dry season comes, the Sharanahua use poison to stun the fish in the shallow river, and then men use spears to catch the larger fish from canoes while women catch smaller fish floating on the surface and remove fish from the spears. A fish belongs to the person who first sees it, not to the one who catches it.

The Sharanahua village is small, usually well under 200 people, and is laid out in two parallel lines of houses. Houses are large versions of the style of house used by Peruvians living in the jungle; they sit 1.2 to 1.8 meters above the ground on posts, have thatched roofs and, often, bark walls. Their elevation from the ground protects them from surface water during the rainy season and presents a barrier to the nocturnal entrance of domestic dogs and chickens. There is also a separate cook house. The area around the house is cleared of vegetation to prevent it from harboring mice, insects, and snakes.

Sharanahua social organization is based on patrilineal descent. Sister exchange is often practiced, and descent groups often have other descent groups with whom they customarily intermarry. Some personal names are customarily associated with each patrilineage. Postmarital residence is matrilocal, and a couple's daughter's husband's family of origin supplies the couple with meat after a hunt.

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## Shavante

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ETHNONYMS: Akwê-Shavante, Akwén, A'wé, Chavante, Crisca, Crixá, Tapacua, Xavante

Approximately 6,000 Shavante live on seven separate reservations in southeastern Mato Grosso, Brazil, located between the Rio das Mortes, a tributary of the Rio Araguaia, and tributaries of the upper Rio Xingu. They speak a language belonging to the Central Branch of the Gê Language Family.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, the Shavante lived east of their present location in what is now the state of Goiás, between the Araguaia and Tocantins rivers. They came in contact with outsiders in the early eighteenth century, when gold seekers from São Paulo penetrated the region and discovered gold; a gold rush ensued. Because of the wealth of the mines, of which one-fifth was paid to the king of Portugal, a governor was sent to bring order to the new captaincy. The Shavante and other Central Gê groups soon clashed with the miners. To defend the mining camps, the governors raised militias, but they were seldom successful in finding the Shavante, as the Indians would abandon their villages and disperse until their attackers became discouraged and returned to their settlements. In the late eighteenth century one governor succeeded in pacifying several thousand Shavante and settling them at missions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the gold mines of Goiás were largely exhausted, and many settlers left the region. The Shavante who remained at the missions after epidemics had reduced their numbers returned to their villages and were again accused of attacks on farms and towns.

Sometime around the middle of the nineteenth century, Shavante groups began to move westward, crossing the Araguaia and thus separating from the related Sherente, who remained in Goiás near the Tocantins. According to one Shavante legend, the Shavante were those who had the courage to cross the great river on the backs of river porpoises, whereas the Sherente were those who were left behind. The Shavante remained isolated for some eighty years: their hostility and bellicose reputation prevented settlement in their territory. The Indian Protection Service (SPI) undertook the pacification of the Shavante in the early 1940s. Although the Shavante killed several members of the first team that attempted to contact them, efforts continued, and within a few years a Shavante group near the Rio das Mortes accepted peaceful contact. Once Shavante resistance began to crumble, collapse was rapid. The lands that the Shavante had once controlled were sold off to private investors by the state government of Mato Grosso, isolating Shavante villages from one another. By the late 1950s all Shavante villages except one were attached either to government Indian posts or to Salesian missions. Eventually, the government allocated tracts of land of various size as Shavante reservations.

During the years after contact, epidemic diseases reduced the Shavante population, estimated at 5,000 in the

early 1940s, to less than 2,000 in the 1960s. In spite of depopulation and factional disputes, Shavante social and political organization is largely intact. Delegations of leaders from different villages often go to Brasília to confront top officials of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI) and demand redress from illegal occupation of their lands. In one case, ranchers who had tampered with a survey to obtain land titles within a Shavante reservation were expelled owing to Shavante pressure. Some Shavante work on farms outside their reservations, and others grow dry rice for sale. In the 1970s FUNAI initiated an economic development project for the Shavante to grow rice on a large scale using farm machinery and fertilizers, but this was largely unsuccessful and has since been abandoned. A number of young Shavante have sought education outside the reservation and one, Maria Juruna, was elected by the state of Rio de Janeiro to the national Congress, where he served for several years.

The Shavante habitat is savanna, with pronounced wet and dry seasons; during the dry season, which lasts from May to September, hardly a drop of rain falls. Most of the land that is suitable for swidden agriculture lies along rivers and streams, in the gallery forests. The Shavante clear gardens during the dry months, plant in October and November, and harvest beginning in February. In the 1950s their staple crops were reported to be maize, beans, and pumpkins, and they spent relatively little time on agriculture. Their staple has now become rice, but they also grow sweet manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, papayas, sugarcane, pineapples, and some minor crops.

Before they were confined to reservations, the Shavante used their base villages as centers from which they went on long foraging expeditions, living on wild foods. The most important of these were edible tubers and hearts of palm, but many kinds of wild fruits were also collected. Shavante women still go on collective gathering trips lasting all day, and wild-vegetable foods continue to make a significant contribution to the Shavante diet.

The Shavante consider themselves to be primarily hunters, and men hunt both individually and collectively. During the dry season, when the savanna vegetation is parched, a group of hunters sets fire to the scrub and waits downwind for the game fleeing the fire and smoke. Formerly, the Shavante hunted with bows and arrows, or by running down and clubbing game, but at present shotguns and rifles are the hunting weapons. Large game species, such as tapir, peccaries, and deer are preferred, but the Shavante also hunt smaller animals such as anteaters, pacas, and coatis. Meat is roasted and preserved by smoking, which blackens it on the outside but keeps the inside edible for several days. When a successful hunter returns home, he gives the game to his mother-in-law or his wife, who cuts it up and distributes it among the household members and, if it is a large animal, to women from other households, who crowd around the doorway to receive a share.

Fishing is less important than hunting in most Shavante villages but is often practiced in the dry season, when families make a trip to a river for this purpose. Fishhooks and lines were introduced after contact and are now a popular fishing method; fish poison is also used. When

large numbers of fish are taken, they may be preserved by smoking.

Shavante villages are laid out in a horseshoe configuration, usually with the chief's house at one end and that of his eldest son at the other. A short distance from the other houses is the "bachelors' hut," where young boys live until their initiation. Adult men do not have a men's house, but their open-air meeting place is in the center of the village. Traditional Shavante houses, which are still seen in many villages, are shaped like beehives and are constructed by planting a circle of flexible saplings and tying them to a center pole. In the interior is a central fireplace, and around the perimeter are the sleeping places of the house owner, his wife or wives and young children, and his daughters with their husbands and children. Sleeping platforms are lined with palm leaves and covered with mats. Belongings are kept in baskets of many different sizes.

Shavante women made pottery at one time, but soon after pacification ceramic pots were replaced by aluminum. Gourds are used to hold water and seeds kept for planting. Women make baskets for all carrying purposes; babies spend their first months in a large basket, often slung on the mother's back while she is walking or working. Women also make large mats for sleeping and smaller ones as plates for food. Cotton is grown in the gardens, and women spin it to make the cotton neck cords that all Shavante men wear, as well as other kinds of ceremonial necklaces. Before contact, Shavante men wore only a penis sheath, and women were unclothed. Body paint has ritual significance, and designs specific to the ceremony being celebrated are worn by both men and women.

Shavante social organization is based on principles of kinship and age status. Exogamous moieties, with membership by patrilineal inheritance, exchange spouses. At the time of his initiation, each young man is formally betrothed to a girl of the opposite moiety, but she is usually too young for marriage; consummation occurs when she reaches puberty. The beginning of marriage is marked by a "wedding hunt," when the bridegroom presents game to the mother's brother of his bride. Postmarital residence is matrilocal, but the husband usually only takes up residence in his wife's household after the birth of their first child. When a man marries more than one wife, they are usually sisters, and there is a strong preference for brothers to stay together by marrying into the same household.

The Shavante have eight named age sets, spaced approximately five years apart. Young boys, usually between the ages of 8 and 13, leave their family households when the previous age set is initiated and go to live in the bachelors' hut. After about five years, the age set is initiated. The cycle of initiation rituals takes a year and culminates in a ceremony at which the boys' ears are pierced and a short stick is inserted that symbolizes Shavante manhood. Girls belong to the same age set as their male age mates but have no initiation ceremony; they are usually already married when boys of the same age set are still in the bachelors' hut. However, young women who have had their first child are given their formal adult names in a public ceremony. After initiation, boys enter the young men's age grade; when the next age set is initiated, they will enter the age grade of young mature men, and finally that of elders.

As men enter the older age grades, they are expected to participate more in the nightly council meetings, be more involved in factional disputes and in the affairs of the village as a whole, and become skilled orators. The oldest and most respected men develop a special connection with the ancestors, whom they will join in the final age grade, that of the immortals.

Both men's and women's age sets make up teams that participate in log races. The teams are not mixed; men race against men and women against women. In log races, which are rituals as well as athletic contests, two lengths of palm trunk, each weighing 90 to 125 kilograms, are cut at some distance from the village and then carried back to it. Each log is carried on a man's shoulder and transferred as quickly as possible onto the shoulder of a fresh teammate. Women's log races are similar except that the logs are smaller and men run alongside the women and help to roll the log onto another woman's shoulder. The two teams carry their logs into the center of the village and throw them down with a shout. After racing, the teams sing together.

Also central to Shavante society is the Wai'a ceremony, which takes place several times during the dry season. Men, starting as young boys, are gradually initiated into the secrets of the Wai'a. The men go to a special clearing in the forest near the village, and while the older men sing and shake their rattles, the young men paint and put on ceremonial headdresses. Later, the men of the intermediate age grade, who have been hidden in the forest, emerge and execute an aggressive dance in front of the younger men, who must remain still, with heads bowed, not breaking their composure while the others grimace and "attack dance" at them. Essential parts of the Wai'a ceremony are still secret; participants will only tell outsiders that through it, they make connections with the spirits.

Both collective singing and myth telling are important in transmitting Shavante cultural traditions from generation to generation. In dreams, men learn new songs from the ancestors, which they then teach to others to be sung in unison. Collective singing takes place almost every day in a Shavante village, and it is a powerful expression of unity. Myths are usually told by Shavante elders, both as entertainment and to remind the young people of their collective origins and identity. Many myths tell of the creation by the ancestors of things important to the Shavante, such as maize, fire, and clan organization. Leaders may make references to these myths in speeches to illustrate their teachings and to exhort their listeners to continue in Shavante ways, the ways of the ancestors.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Sherente

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ETHNONYMS: Akwẽ, Cherente, Serente, Xerente

Approximately 850 Sherente live on two reservations located on the east bank of the Rio Tocantins in the Brazilian state of Tocantins. Until around 1812 the Sherente were not clearly distinguished from the Shavante, whom they closely resemble in language and customs. The Sherente language, like that of the Shavante, belongs to the Central Branch of the Gê Language Family.

The Sherente and Shavante came into contact with outsiders in the early eighteenth century, when gold seekers from São Paulo penetrated the area. Both groups soon clashed with the miners, and the governors of the captaincy made a number of attempts to pacify and settle them. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the gold mines of Goiás were largely exhausted, and many settlers left the province. The Indians, who were still numerous, resumed hostilities and were again accused of attacks on farms and towns. By 1814, the Central Gê groups east of the Tocantins who were raiding eastward toward Maranhão were called "Sherente," and those to the west of the Tocantins were referred to as "Shavante." The Sherente population was estimated to be around 4,000 at this time. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Shavante had moved westward; they crossed the Rio Araguaia and became separated from the Sherente, who remained in the vicinity of the Tocantins. Italian missionaries gathered some 2,000 Sherente into a mission settlement, but their numbers continued to diminish. By the early twentieth century

the remaining Sherente, whose villages were hemmed in by White settlements, had become largely acculturated and were living in impoverished conditions. More recently, with the demarcation of two reservations, their situation has become somewhat improved, and they have been undergoing a cultural revival.

The Sherente habitat is upland savanna; most of the land on which swidden agriculture can be practiced is to be found in the gallery forests that abut rivers and streams. In gardens cleared from the gallery forest, they raise their staples—yams and sweet potatoes—as well as maize, bitter and sweet manioc, cotton, and *kupá* (*Cissus gongyloides*), an original domesticate of the Gê peoples. They do not use the basketry press (*tipiti*) to squeeze the poisonous juice from grated manioc but press it in a band of *buriti*-palm bast.

They also gather wild-plant products; particularly important are the *babassu* and the *buriti* palms, each of which supplies both food and textile materials. So important were palms that disputes over the control of their stands might be cause for warfare.

Using bows and arrows as well as lances and clubs, men hunt all animal and bird species, with the exception of vultures. Women sometimes dig armadillos from their burrows. In former times, collective hunts using grass fires to drive game were common. Deer were sometimes shot from tree stands. The Sherente fish with bows and arrows, traps, and poison. They had no indigenous watercraft; travel was by foot, and rivers were crossed on log bridges.

The Sherente steam or bake food in earthen ovens and use spits for broiling and grates for barbecuing meat. Before they had metal pots, they sometimes boiled palm fruits by placing them in an earthen pit with heated stones. Before contact the Sherente, like other Gê peoples, had no intoxicating drinks. They have adopted pigs and chickens as domestic livestock from Whites and keep tamed peccaries as pets. They probably did not have dogs prior to contact and, even now, seldom use them in hunting.

Sherente villages were laid out in horseshoe formation with a bachelor's hut in the center. Around 1900 the traditional design was abandoned, however, and present-day Sherente settlements consist of scattered houses built in the rural Brazilian style. Most recently, some have adopted a circular formation, probably borrowed from the Craho, a neighboring Northern Gê group.

The Sherente are divided into two patrilineal moieties, each of which has four clans. In the traditional village, the dwellings of the two moieties were on opposite sides of the village horseshoe, and each clan also had its assigned place in the horseshoe.

At about 8 years of age, a boy became a resident of the bachelors' hut, received a name, and had his earlobes pierced. Six age grades were recognized within the bachelors' hut, but only the highest was considered ready for marriage. The patrilineal moieties were exogamous: a young man could only marry a girl from the opposite moiety, and cousin marriage was only allowed with father's sister's daughters; girls who were mother's brother's daughters, and therefore belonged to his mother's clan, were excluded. Polygynous marriages were usually sororal, and there was a preference for a group of brothers to marry a

group of sisters. The Sherente stressed premarital chastity and expelled from the bachelors' hut any boy who succumbed to temptation; virginity in girls was also valued. There was a class of women, however, who did not marry but freely engaged in sexual relations. Hunting parties would take along girls of this status as cooks and mistresses. Postmarital residence was matrilineal, at least at first; later a couple might settle with the husband's parents.

The regulation of marriage by the patrilineal moieties has fallen into disuse, and boys no longer live in the bachelors' hut. Men do divide into two moieties for the ceremony at which names are bestowed on children. Male names belong to specific moieties and clans.

The Sherente make baskets and palm-leaf mats for many purposes. They decorate gourds with incised designs and make whistles and flutes. The Sherente traditionally went unclothed but decorated their bodies heavily with feathers and red and blue-black paints.

In former times the Sherente practiced secondary burial. A specific clan was in charge of burials, and in the grave corpses were protected with a roof of mats suspended from forked posts so that the earth should not come in direct contact with the body. One of the most important ceremonies was a feast of the dead honoring distinguished members of the tribe.

Log racing is both a sport and a ritual. The Sherente assign every boy to one of two log-racing teams for lifelong membership. Typically, the logs are made from a section of a palm trunk about a meter in length and about 40 to 50 centimeters thick; they may weigh up to 125 kilograms. The runners start from the place where the log is cut, perhaps 2 kilometers from the village. One man carries the log on his shoulder as rapidly and as far as possible before rolling it onto the shoulder of a fresh teammate, until the last runners arrive in the center of the village. The Sherente have one racing log that is so long and heavy that it has to be carried by two men at a time. Sherente racing logs carried by opposing teams are sometimes painted with contrasting geometric designs.

Each village has a chief, and the position of chief usually passes from father to son. Villages are often divided by factional disputes. Village chiefs sometimes meet in tribal councils. The Sherente were frequently at war with various neighboring peoples, including Whites. They used bows and arrows and clubs, largely in surprise attacks, but also in pitched battles. Those who killed in battle went into isolation for at least two weeks and had to observe food and other taboos.

The major deities of the Sherente are the Sun and the Moon, each of which is associated with one of the patrilineal moieties. They are conceived of as two unrelated male companions, with Sun the superior in power and wit. The Sherente sometimes call Sun "Our Creator." Sun and Moon never appear directly to visionaries, however, who receive revelations from Sun's intermediaries—Venus, Jupiter, and some other planets—or from those of Moon, of which Mars is the most important. Visions of solar associates come to men of the Sun moiety, and vice versa. The Great Fast, the major Sherente festival, was held to propitiate these gods and persuade them to grant rain. Sherente shamans are associated with the planets; those of Mars suck

out disease in the form of maize kernels or bits of wood, whereas Jupiter or Venus visionaries own magic wands with which they can eliminate troublemakers.

According to Sherente belief, the dead live in their own village, and to arrive there departed souls have to face many dangers.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Shipibo

ETHNONYMS: Chama, Chipeo, Conibo, Cunibo, Pisquibo, Setebo, Shipiwo, Sipibo, Ssipipo, Xipibo

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Shipibo are a South American Indian group in Peru. The name "Shipibo" is derived from the Shipibo word *shipi*, their name for a marmoset (*Cebuella pygmaea*). Hence, they have been referred to as the "little monkey people."

**Location.** The Shipibo occupy the central Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru and its major western tributaries from Bolognesi to Contamana, with Pucallpa in its geographical center. Among the most significant of these rivers are the Sheshea, Pachitea, Tamayo, Aguaytía, Pisqui, and Cushabatay.

**Demography.** Population reports for the Shipibo vary, with estimates as high as 20,000 to 30,000. A census in 1974 reported the existence of 9,000 Shipibo and another 6,000 Conibo.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Shipibo language belongs to the Panoan Family. Dialectic differences exist between those who live along the Río Ucayali and others who occupy its tributaries, such as the Pisqui.

### History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence suggests that the origins of Shipibo culture lie in the Cumancaya tradition of the ninth century A.D., meaning that Shipibo culture, or something similar to it, has existed in the region for over 1,000 years. There are indications (the presence of head binding, panpipes, raised beds, and fire fans) that some Shipibo may have experienced contact with the Inca. Contact with Westerners began in the seventeenth century, when Franciscan missionaries entered the region. During this time, the Shipibo and Tupí-speaking Cocama/Cocamilla tribes were resettled in neighboring missionary-created villages. Because of their contact with Spanish colonists and their strategic location on the Río Ucayali, the Shipibo had access to guns and, in the nineteenth century, raided other Panoan and Arawakan tribes who lived nearby along "backwoods" interfluves. Shipibo were employed as wage laborers during the rubber boom of the nineteenth century and as *peones* (laborers) in agriculture and timber extraction for mestizo *patrones* (bosses) during this century. Other contacts with Whites have come from physicians and nurses, Protestant missionaries, and representatives of the Peruvian government. Today, the Shipibo range from the well-aculturated, such as those living near the frontier city of Pucallpa, to moderately acculturated groups who reside in remote areas downriver.

### Settlements

In the past the Shipibo lived in dispersed extended-family homesteads along rivers. Today they reside in villages with houses distributed along one side of a street, opposite *cocinas* (kitchens) and roughly parallel to the water. Villages are usually located on a beach alongside a river or a large ox-bow (i.e., crescent-shaped) lake. Some small households have their own *cocina*, whereas larger extended or polygynous family households may share a *cocina*, with each married woman maintaining her own earthen hearth. Today there are about 120 Shipibo settlements ranging in size from 100 to 500 inhabitants. Houses and *cocinas* are constructed entirely of materials extracted from the surrounding forest. Houses have raised floors of split palm wood and palm-thatched roofs; some are enclosed by bamboo walls. *Cocinas* are constructed of the same materials, but without elevated floors or walls.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Shipibo practice slash-and-burn agriculture and subsist primarily on plantains and bananas, together with some sweet manioc, potatoes, and maize. These crops are supplemented with fish, game, and other wild foods collected from the forest. Now that some Shipibo are producing rice to sell in regional markets, they are hunting and fishing less. Moreover, greater participation in a cash economy seems to be affecting traditional exchange relationships between kinsmen. For example, whereas in the past it was a man's responsibility "to serve" his parents-in-law by supplying food and labor, men are now refusing to lend their fathers-in-law money.

**Industrial Arts.** The Shipibo are known worldwide for the complicated geometrical motifs with which they decorate objects. Women make ceramics, cotton textiles, baskets, and bead work, both for personal use and for sale to tourists. Men still manufacture wooden articles such as canoes and paddles, tobacco pipes, cooking utensils, animal figures, and clubs, although clubs are made only for sale to tourists.

**Trade.** Historically, Shipibo traded with each other for items that were not locally available. For example, Shipibo on the Pisqui traded salt, vines for making houses and baskets, palm fiber for bow strings, whetstones, baskets, and fish; in exchange they received white earthen pigments used to decorate ceramics and wild cane used for arrow shafts, brought by Ucayali Shipibo. This activity has been discontinued; trade is now restricted to exchanges of food among matrilineal kin living in close proximity within the village.

**Division of Labor.** Both men and women traditionally performed all aspects of agricultural work with the exception that men did the arduous task of felling trees. Both men and women fish and collect wild foods, although the latter is more often done by women. Hunting with shotgun or bow and arrow is strictly men's work. Women also cook, care for children, perform most of the housework, and manufacture ceramics, textiles, and bead work. Men build houses, make canoes, manufacture weapons, and carve wooden artifacts but more typically work as wage laborers and may be away from their families for weeks at a time.

**Land Tenure.** Others' claims to land are ascertained before one establishes a garden on fallow garden land. As long as a garden is still producing crops, a man must ask permission of its owner before he can clear it. Permission to use old fallow garden land is not necessary, however. Men often mark valuable trees on their trips through the forest, and another must ask permission from its "owner" to cut and sell a tree that has been marked. In principle, all have equal access to hunting and fishing grounds, but certain men are recognized as being more knowledgeable than others about the animals in particular regions of the forest. Also, the owner of fish poison can regulate the number of participants on fish-poisoning expeditions by limiting the number of invitations he extends to others. In the 1970s Shipibo communities petitioned the Peruvian government for titles to land, but few titles have actually been acquired.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Shipibo term for "people" is *jonibo*, and they divide their social world among *noa jonibo* (we people) and *nahua jonibo* (less than people). *Rarëbo* includes kin, whereas *huëtsabo* are "others (like us)" —Shipibo who live a long distance away. Although some have claimed the possible earlier existence of Shipibo clans, there currently exists no evidence to support the existence of any descent or corporate groups based on relation to a common ancestor, fictive or real.

**Kinship Terminology.** Shipibo kinship terminology has been classified as being Hawaiian in one's own generation and Sudanese in the first ascending and descending gene-

rations. No distinction of others in one's own generation is made other than whether the sex of the other is the same or different (i.e., Hawaiian cousin terms). Separate reference terms are used for mother, father, and their siblings. Great-great grandparents/grandchildren are referred to by the same terms as great-grandparents/grandchildren.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Rules stipulate that one should not marry descendants of grandparents, who are distinguished as *kikin rárëbo* (true family) rather than *ochó rárëbo* (distant family). In the past Shipibo marriages were arranged by both sets of parents. The future bride was expected to deliver beverages to her future husband's family each day, and he to contribute fish and game to her family and sleep with her each night. This trial period usually lasted six to twelve months, after which time the two were married. Although young men and women seem to enjoy more freedom to select their own mates, marriage has never had an elaborate ceremony; a man, or his mother, merely moves his mosquito net to the house of his wife's mother and he assumes residence there. Marriages dissolve just as unceremoniously when men simply leave their wives and return to their own families.

Men traditionally tended to marry between the ages of 19 and 25, whereas women usually married when 14 to 16 years of age, after completing the female initiation ritual. Girls are no longer initiated, and there is a trend for men to marry at a younger age (15 to 20 years); thus they are marrying women closer to their own age. Polygynous marriages are not as common as they once were, possibly because of the influences of missionaries and resident government officials. There is also some evidence of levirate and sororate in the past. Marriage is most common among people living in villages located along the same river.

**Domestic Unit.** In the past, large extended families lived together in the same house. In the early 1980s, smaller extended families were becoming more common, and some men were establishing nuclear-family households, albeit in the vicinity of their wife's family.

**Inheritance.** Men and women each "own" those things that they tend to use most. In the past, when a man or woman died, he or she was buried under his or her house and then the house was set afire. All articles that belonged to the deceased were disposed of, usually by burning them or immersing them in the river. This was done so that relatives would not suffer the heartbreak of thinking of the deceased one so often. Now that adults accumulate money and objects purchased with it, items are left to one's spouse and children, which, according to some informants, has caused disputes. These days, the scarcity of building materials prevents many from burning the deceased's house, and some corpses are even buried in cemeteries.

**Socialization.** Children are socialized at home and in their bilingual school. Infants are always in the company of their mother or matrilineal kin, whereas fathers have less direct physical contact with their children. By Western standards, parents tend to raise their children in a permissive fashion. Social codes of behavior, particularly between

certain classes of kin, are well recognized among the Shipibo—a child learns these early in his or her life. Corporal punishment is rarely administered; when it is, it is usually by those who have spent more time with mestizos and Whites. Most Shipibo place a high value on formal education, and at about age 5 children begin school.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Traditionally, Shipibo society was egalitarian, with the male heads of the largest families exercising the most influence. The men with the highest status were the ones with the most wives or those who were respected for their oratorical skills, knowledge of herbal medicines, or hunting and fishing abilities. Although men are more active in political matters, women often exercise their will in private by influencing the opinions of their fathers and husbands. The Peruvian government has imposed a political structure on the Shipibo, but these elected positions carry little authority. These tend to be filled by younger men who speak Spanish, and this has begun to undermine the status and influence traditionally wielded by elders.

**Political Organization.** Communities are linked primarily by kinship and marriage, although the establishment of bilingual schools in many communities has linked them to administrative centers. Some attempts have been made to organize communities at a tribal level by creating artisan guilds and a Shipibo federation. Distance and lack of communication between villages, however, have made these organizations largely ineffective.

**Social Control.** Rules for proper conduct between classes of kin are recognized. One such relationship that demands extreme respect is that between a man and his in-laws. Tempers sometimes flare but kin usually intervene before disputes escalate to violence. Acts of infidelity and wife abuse occur; however, such behavior is met with social disapproval and the offender comes to know the power of public censorship. In the past grievances between men were often aired in public drinking ceremonies and settled with duels. Although these rarely resulted in fatal injury, the use of knives and clubs has all but disappeared under the influence of missionaries and government officials. Sometimes those who become ill after social misconduct are thought to have become the targets of male or female witches acting on behalf of the offended person.

**Conflict.** Wars and raids on neighboring Cashibo and Shipibo for wives and slaves were common, and place-names often refer to great battles that were fought there. First contacts with soldiers and Catholic missionaries created tensions that resulted in numerous attacks on missions in the seventeenth century, sometimes after the Shipibo formed alliances with other groups like the Cocama. After several massacres, missionaries ceased activities in the area until the mid-eighteenth century when, once again, Shipibo insurrection resulted in the destruction of a mission. It was not until almost the beginning of the nineteenth century that Catholic missionaries were able to establish a permanent presence; Protestant missionaries entered the region around 1930.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** It is difficult to separate traditional from Christian-influenced beliefs among the Shipibo; there is a blend of animism with Christianity. Moreover, accounts of religious concepts are often vague and vary among villages. Generally, it is believed that spirits and "gods" reside in the sky, and there is a stairway that joins the sky and earth along which spirits pass. Under the influence of ayahuasca, a *vegetalista* (herbalist) may climb this stairway and enter the spirit world. The Shipibo refer to supernatural beings as *yoshinbo*. These are spirits that reside in animals and plants and against which one must constantly be on guard. Those who have undergone religious instruction at nearby missions have adopted Christianity and its supernaturals.

**Religious Practitioners.** *Vegetalistas* traditionally possessed the most esoteric knowledge about the spirit world and the use of medicinal plants. To become a *vegetalista*, a man served an apprenticeship and observed strict dietary prohibitions. Some men who have worked for Protestant missionaries have established churches in their communities and function as self-ordained pastors.

**Ceremonies.** In the past, the *ani shrëati* (big drinking) was the most important ceremony, a time when young women were initiated into society and men settled disputes. This ceremony often lasted for three or four days and involved much drinking, fighting, dancing, and singing. It has all but disappeared and has been replaced by national fiestas.

**Arts.** The Shipibo are known for their intricate rectilinear designs on pottery, clothes, paddles, and the human body. Old men and women still tell vivid stories about the discovery of fire and crops and of legendary "great" floods. Traditional line and circle dances are gradually being replaced by more modern forms. Many old men and women are known for their songs, and the power of a *vegetalista* is, in part, determined by the "force" of his chants. Flutes and drums are still played during fiestas, but these, too, are gradually being replaced by modern recorded music.

**Medicine.** According to the Shipibo, there are two categories of disease—those of the "flesh" and others caused by *yoshinbo*. Although Western medicines are recognized as being effective for treating the former, one seeks the curing powers of a *vegetalista* to treat the latter. To effect his cure, a *vegetalista* must travel to the spirit world, where he can divine the cause of his patient's illness. The *vegetalista's* techniques include chanting, blowing tobacco smoke, and massaging. It is believed that one becomes sick when a foreign object has entered the body; by applying the above treatments, the object can be moved to an appendage where the *vegetalista* can "suck it out" and throw it away.

**Death and Afterlife.** After one dies, his or her soul passes into a spirit world, but this spirit may frequent a family's house for some time afterward. If a spirit is thought to be malignant, one may seek the assistance of a *vegetalista* to drive it away.

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CLIFFORD A. BEHRENS

## Siona-Secoya

ETHNONYMS: Ancutere, Angotero, Angutero, Bã Cieguae, Encabellado, Icaguate, Macaguae, Pã, Pioché, Piojé, Santa María, Secoya, Sekoya, Siona, Sioni, Wahoya Pã, Ychuate

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Siona" is of uncertain origin. The general term of self-reference is "Bã" (Siona) or "Pã" (Secoya) and means "people." Siona in Ecuador also use the terms "Sa'niwi Bã" (Upriver people), "Eno Bã" (Eno River People), and Gãtiya Bã (Cane River people; i.e., people of the Río Putumayo). "Secoya" comes from "Sekoya," which is the name of a small tributary of the Río Santa María. The Secoya use terms such as "Sekoya Pã" (People of the Sekoya River), "Wahoya Pã" (Battle River people; i.e., people of the the Río Santa María), and "Okana Pã" (Downriver people) for self-reference.

**Location.** At the time of European contact, speakers of Western Tukanoan occupied an area of 82,000 square kilometers along the Napo, Putumayo, and Aguarico rivers and their smaller tributaries and interfluvial regions. This territory extends from 1° N to 3° S and from 72° to 77° W and lies entirely within zones of wet tropical rain forest. Elevations range from 300 to 100 meters west to east. In modern times this area includes portions of Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Siona and Secoya are closely related dialects of the Western Branch of the Tukanoan (Tucanoan) Language Family. Siona is the predominant Tukanoan dialect of the western portions of the Aguarico and Putumayo river basins in Colombia and Ecuador, and Secoya is the predominant dialect around the confluence of the Aguarico and Napo rivers and on the Santa María, Angusilla, and Yubineto rivers in Peru. Owing to migration and intermarriage, speakers of various dialects and languages are found in most settlements, including speakers



of non-Tukanoan languages such as Kofán and Lowland Quichua.

**Demography.** In 1980 the combined Siona-Secoya population in Ecuador was estimated to be 347. The combined population of Siona and Secoya in Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru probably did not exceed 1,000 in 1980. The Western Tukanoan population is estimated to have been 16,000 at the time of European contact.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Linguistic analysis suggests a split of the Tukanoan Language Family into Eastern and Western Branches about 1,500 to 2,000 years ago. The Eastern Tukanoan area centers on the Río Vaupés of eastern Colombia and northwest Brazil and includes cultures such as the Cubeo, the Desana, and the Tukano. The Western Tukanoan area is located approximately 600 kilometers to the southwest in the Napo and Putumayo drainages. Witoto (Tupí Language Family) and Carijona (Carib Language Family) groups occupy the lands separating the Eastern and Western Tukanoans.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Jesuit missionaries referred to the Western Tukanoans of the Aguarico-Napo area as the "Encabellado" because of their long hair. Native groups bordering the Encabellado territory at that time included the Kofán (Cofán) to the west, the Záparo and the Awishira to the south, the Coto or Orejón (also Western Tukanoan) to the east, and the Witoto to the north. Relations among various Encabellado groups were brittle because of accusations of sorcery, which occasionally led to raiding. The principal enemies of the Encabellado, however, were the Awishira, who lived in forests south of the Río Napo. These two groups attacked each other back and forth across the Napo. The Encabellado were visited by Jesuit missionaries in 1599. In 1638–1639 the Portuguese expedition of Captain Pedro Teixeira was attacked by the Encabellado residing near the confluence of the Aguarico and Napo, and the Portuguese burned several native settlements in reprisal.

In 1683 a royal decree gave the Jesuits the authority to missionize the natives of the Napo and Aguarico rivers and the Franciscans authority over the Putumayo. The period from 1709 to 1769 saw much Jesuit activity—seventeen missions were founded in the Aguarico-Napo region. The strategy was to take the natives from their dispersed settlements in the forest and concentrate them in larger villages or "reductions" along the banks of the major rivers. The new missions proved unstable, as people left them to go foraging or abandoned them whenever illness or accusations of sorcery arose. In 1744 a native named Curazaba killed Padre Francisco Real and two assistants at San Miguel. Shortly thereafter, the Encabellado abandoned eight missions. In 1767 King Charles III ordered the Jesuits expelled from Spain's New World colonies, and their missions died out.

The records of the nineteenth century are limited to the accounts of a few travelers, who now referred to the natives as the "Santa María," "Angutera," and "Piojé." These Indians bartered with river traders, exchanging forest products and hammocks for iron tools, cloth, and manufactured items. In the early twentieth century some

settlements fell under the control of White *patrones* who exploited native labor to collect forest products and grow crops. By this time, epidemic diseases had greatly reduced the Western Tukanoan population. In 1941 Peru invaded Ecuador along the Río Napo, and the de facto boundary established at Pantoja bisected the scattered Western Tukanoan population. In the latter part of the twentieth century, Siona in Colombia live in small settlements along the Río Putumayo and its tributary, the Río San Miguel. In Ecuador, Siona and mixed Siona-Secoya communities are located along the Río Aguarico and its tributaries, the Eno and Cuyabeno. In Peru, Secoya and Angotero settlements are located on the Angusilla, Santa María, and Yubineto rivers.

### *Settlements*

Siona-Secoya settlements are semipermanent and are characterized by flexible arrangements that vary from isolated households, to clusters of households, to larger villages of a 100 or more individuals. At the time of contact, it appears that most groups were located off the major rivers and had settlements along secondary rivers and streams. Settlements are used as bases for foraging trips, so the number of persons present is variable. The average population density throughout the Encabellado homeland is estimated to have been 0.2 persons per square kilometer at the time of European contact.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The subsistence economy of the Siona-Secoya is based on shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, and collecting. Gardens are usually cleared, burned, and planted during the dry season, from November to January. Plots are polycropped and often contain over fifty varieties of food, medicinal, and utilitarian plants. The staples are manioc, plantains (post-Contact), maize, and peach-palm fruit (*Bactris gasipaes*). Over sixty species of animals are hunted. Among the most important are white-lipped and collared peccaries, tapir, woolly and howler monkeys, pacas, agoutis, guans, curassows, turtles, and caimans. Fishing varies in importance according to location and season. Many species of catfishes, characins, and cichlids are consumed. Wild plant foods contribute about 5 percent of the overall diet, but assume greater importance seasonally and when people travel.

Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries introduced iron tools, but the native economy has retained its basic subsistence orientation. Shotguns were introduced in the 1950s and have now replaced blowguns and spears for most hunting. The Siona-Secoya earn petty cash by selling timber, animal skins, chickens, pigs, maize, hammocks, pottery, and other artifacts. Some men have worked for oil-exploration crews for brief periods. Since the 1970s some tourists have reached native settlements on the Río Aguarico, but they are disruptive of native life and provide few economic benefits.

**Industrial Arts.** Aboriginal crafts include wood carving, pottery, featherwork, bark-cloth manufacture, and the weaving of hammocks, arm bands, netted bags, and bas-

kets. All are still practiced, but trade goods such as aluminum pots and textiles are increasingly common.

**Trade.** The extent of aboriginal trade is unknown, although indigenous exchange of artifacts and raw materials probably existed to cement social relationships and alliances. By the nineteenth century the Piojé were trading hammocks and sarsaparilla to outsiders.

**Division of Labor.** Men hunt and clear gardens. Both men and women fish and plant, weed, and harvest gardens. The harvesting and processing of manioc tubers is women's work. Women do much of the cooking and child rearing, but men cooperate in these activities. Men make houses, canoes, and hammocks, and do most of the wood carving and featherwork. Women make clothes, netted bags, pots, and other ceramics. Men may be shamans and headmen. Women may be herbalists and midwives. Boys are not expected to do serious work until late adolescence. Girls assist their mothers in household tasks. Older men and women work as their strength permits, often cooperating as members of extended households.

**Land Tenure.** Aboriginally, there was no formal system of land ownership, but local groups had territorial interests in particular rivers or sections of rivers. The average territory was about 1,150 square kilometers in size. Settlements were semipermanent and shifted within the territory. Individuals still make gardens on any land that is unused. Such gardens are "abandoned" after several years, but the cultivator claims harvest rights to the palm and fruit trees he plants.

Intermarriage, visitation, migration, and war give flexibility to social and territorial relationships. Introduced diseases have greatly reduced the Western Tukanoan population, and most of their former range has been occupied by Lowland Quichua Indians, mestizos, and Whites. Colombia has established a small reserve for the Siona at Buena Vista on the Río Putumayo. The Siona-Secoya in Ecuador have officially recognized communes at San Pablo on the Río Aguarico and Puerto Bolívar on the Río Cuyabeno. In Peru the Secoya communities on the Santa María and Yubinetto rivers have small reserves. Unfortunately, none of these reserves includes the full hunting and fishing territories of the native communities.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The foundation of Siona-Secoya kinship is the exogamous patrilineal sib that provides each individual with a reference group of "brothers" and "sisters." Unlike Eastern Tukanoan practice, Western Tukanoan sibs are not ranked in status, nor does each sib have a separate creation myth. In modern times the surnames used by Siona-Secoya individuals are based on sib names. For example, in the name "Eliás Piaguaje," the surname is derived from Pi'ã Wahì, the "living bird" sib.

**Kinship Terminology.** The terminology of the Siona of the Río Aguarico is of the Omaha type but has an elaboration in that certain terms in Ego's generation and the first ascending generation have age-grading prefixes. Secoya terminology is similar, but lacks age-grading prefixes in the first ascending generation.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The ideal practice is to seek a mate beyond one's patrilineal sib, and also beyond one's mother's immediate lineage, although individuals who carry their mother's sib name may be considered marriageable if they are not closely related to her. Both cross- and parallel-cousin marriages are prohibited. Depopulation has made it difficult to follow the rules in all cases. Marriages are arranged by parents. The ceremony is concluded when the bride sits with the groom in a hammock. Ideally, the husband provides a period of bride-service to his wife's household before establishing patrilocal residence. Marriages are monogamous, but polygyny is occasionally practiced. Either party can initiate divorce by stating a desire to separate or by moving out of the household.

**Domestic Unit.** The traditional household consisted of an extended family living in a large oval house set on the ground. Modern houses are often smaller and elevated and shelter a single nuclear family. Such houses may form clusters that reflect an extended-family pattern.

**Inheritance.** The Siona-Secoya have no clear inheritance rules. There is no private ownership of land, and those personal belongings that are not buried with the dead are typically smashed, burned, or thrown into the river as a sign of mourning.

**Socialization.** Children are raised permissively. Corporal punishment is rare, but a parent may threaten to brush the child with stinging nettles. Children's tantrums are sometimes ignored or ridiculed. Children are taught to fear forest demons known as *watí*, and this may serve as a sanction against undesirable behavior. Both sexes play together until age 9 or 10, when girls are instructed to spend their time assisting their mothers. Girls undergo a lengthy puberty ceremony at first menses. Schools were established in some communities in the 1950s.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Siona-Secoya society is fundamentally egalitarian. The basic social unit is the patrilineal, patrilocal, extended household, headed by the eldest male. In larger settlements the most respected elder shaman serves as the headman for the community. Headmen exercise influence rather than authority. Relations between the sexes are complementary and cooperative. Although women do not become shamans, individual women are respected for their intelligence and wisdom. Since the 1950s missionaries have promoted native schoolteachers as the new leaders of some communities.

**Political Organization.** There is little political cohesion among the scattered settlements. Each group has its own headman-shaman who looks after his community, diagnoses and treats the illnesses of its members, and performs rituals to protect against the sorcery of enemies.

**Social Control.** Face-to-face confrontations are avoided. Backbiting is used as an informal sanction against inappropriate behavior. Drinking parties are occasionally held and may lead to the statement of resentments and scuffles. The fear of sorcery serves as a supernatural sanction on social behavior.

**Conflict.** Accusations of witchcraft contribute to the brittle relations between settlements. Suspected sorcerers are sometime killed. Settlements may fission when internal relationships deteriorate. Conflicts with non-Indian settlers are increasing as traditional native territories are invaded.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Siona-Secoya religion is animistic; the natural order is explained without recourse to concepts of good and evil. The Siona-Secoya believe in a multitude of spirits that inhabit natural phenomena such as animals, trees, rivers, and stars. The culture hero Baina ("With the People") is the main protagonist of the origin story, and his deeds of transformation in mythic times account for the known earth. The Siona-Secoya believe in a tiered universe, with an underworld, the earth, and multiple celestial realms.

**Ceremonies.** The fundamental ritual of the Siona-Secoya is the *yahé* ceremony presided over by the shaman. These ceremonies do not follow a regular schedule but are held at varying intervals depending on the needs and desires of the community. The ceremony serves multiple purposes, including the diagnosis and treatment of illness, the identification and punishment of enemy sorcerers, the calling of game animals, appeals concerning the weather, communication with supernatural spirits and the dead, and the naming of individuals with special spirit names. The ceremony is a communal one, with the shaman acting as leader and guide. The hallucinogenic ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) potion is the medium through which contact with the spirit world is made.

**Arts.** Musical instruments include the one-stringed bow and vertical flutes of bamboo. Small drums are played—possibly a European introduction. Large ceramic trumpets are used for signaling. Men's songs are of the shamanic genre, whereas women sing of domestic life and its problems. Face and body painting are important modes of individual artistic expression.

**Medicine.** Most disease is thought to be caused by the magical darts of sorcerers. Some illnesses and birth defects are explained as the result of violating dietary or other taboos. Shamans diagnose and treat illness with rituals and plant medicines. Sucking and massage are employed to extract sorcerers' darts. Since the 1950s some modern medicines and clinical care have become available, but on an inconsistent basis.

**Death and Afterlife.** Most deaths are ascribed to sorcery. The dead person is wrapped in a hammock and buried under the house, which is then abandoned. The soul (*hoyo*) of the deceased travels to the sky world and lives among the "heavenly people" by a great celestial river. Such souls occasionally return to earth and cause mischief.

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WILLIAM T. VICKERS

## Sirionó

ETHNONYMS: Chori, Miá, Ñiose, Qurungua, Sirionó, Tirinié, Yande

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The name "Sirionó" is of foreign origin and comes from *síri*, *tucum* palm—hence designating these Indians as "Tucum-palm people." The Sirionó refer to themselves as "Miá," which may be translated as "the people." Besides using this name to identify themselves, the various bands of the society received their names from their respective chiefs or from the places they frequented most.

**Location.** The Sirionó inhabit a territory of considerable size (from 12° to 16° S and from 62° to 65° W) in Bolivia. The climate is tropical, with a rainy and a dry season. There is precipitation from October until May, and the dry season extends over the remaining months. The annual rainfall is around 160 centimeters, and there is a high degree of humidity. The dry season is short, and humidity decreases markedly. During the rainy season, precipitation is torrential and temperatures are high. The average annual temperature is 26° C, with a minimum of 24° C and a maximum of 28° C. Winds from the east and north predominate, although in the southern area, cold winds from the south make themselves felt.

**Demography.** Sirionó territory extends over some 2,400 square kilometers and is occupied by some 1,800 individuals: population density is 0.75 inhabitants per square kilometer.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Sirionó language is of Tupí-Guaraní affiliation, but it features certain archaic elements that distance it from the core languages of the family.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Jesuits were influential from 1580 to 1767, and the Franciscans from 1767 on. Sirionó narratives and historical consciousness are very limited. There is some information about raids by their southern neighbors, the Ayoreo.

### *Settlements*

A Sirionó community consists of a band that, during certain times of the year, settles in a specific area to which it

periodically returns. Settlements of this kind are relatively fixed and consist of several huts arranged around a central dwelling for the chief—this arrangement protects him from enemy attacks. The huts vary in size; each hut is occupied by five or six families. They are lean-tos made of palm fronds, frequently secured to trees that serve as posts.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The main economic activity of the Sirionó is hunting. The jaguar is highly valued as food because its meat confers physical power. Other animals hunted are tapir, several kinds of monkeys, deer, white-lipped peccaries, turtles, and several kinds of bird.

Fishing is an important economic activity of the dry season. Fish are caught with bows and arrows, *barbasco*, and weirs. Fishing with bows and arrows is a distinctly male activity and involves the capture of large fish like the *pacú*, the *bagre* (catfish), the *bocachico*, and others. Fishing with bows and arrows may be combined with weir fishing when large numbers of fish are trapped. *Barbasco* is extracted from a wild-growing plant (*Hura crepitans*); *palometa*, *ventón*, and *simbado* are the most coveted species taken using this poison.

Gathering is next in importance to fishing and involves collecting fruits and plants, rhea and turtle eggs, and honey. The oldest sources disagree on whether or not the Sirionó practiced agriculture at the time of contact. Some authors have suggested that they represent a deculturated society that gave up cultivation at some time in the past. There are some cultigens, however, that appear to be original with the Sirionó, that is, tobacco, cotton, *chuchío* cane, manioc, and maize. It is interesting to point out that of these five cultivars, three are not grown for food, which suggests that the Sirionó did not pay too much attention to horticulture. Nowadays, the crop assemblage has increased and includes calabashes, *urucú*, pumpkins, rice, sweet potatoes, plantains, and sundry minor plants. In order to prepare a plot of land for cultivation, the Sirionó chose a high and sandy place with sparse vegetation. There are community and family plots, and before the introduction of iron tools, clearing was done with a shaft of *chonta*-palm wood.

**Industrial Arts.** The material culture of the Sirionó is little developed and features cordage, baskets, cotton hammocks, spindles, chisels made from rodent teeth, ceramic vessels or gourds, fans, mats, clay pipes, digging sticks, bows and various kinds of arrows, fire drills, and feather ornaments.

**Trade.** Commercial relations with other ethnic groups and rural inhabitants have been practically nonexistent. At some time there may have been reciprocal gift exchange.

**Division of Labor.** Men dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to hunting—their social status depends on their effectiveness. They also collect honey and palm shoots. Horticultural work is performed by men and women. Women make hammocks, baskets, and clay pipes and do domestic work.

**Land Tenure.** Land is informally owned by the family and the group.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The basic socioeconomic unit of the Sirionó is the monogamous nuclear family; only chiefs could have several wives. Extended families are exogamous, and the chief of the band chooses the bride. Postmarital residence is uxorilocal until the birth of the first children. There is no concept of lineage or unilineal descent.

**Kinship Terminology.** On the basis of a terminological equivalence between father's sister's daughter and father's sister, the Sirionó kinship system has sometimes been regarded as being of the Crow type. In several other crucial respects, however, the system does not conform to the Crow pattern or to its underlying logic. Traces of parallel transmission of certain statuses have been noted. Terminological equivalence of a wife's siblings with mother's brother's children and of husband's siblings with father's sister's children are consistent with potential asymmetric cross-cousin marriage.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is most commonly monogamous. Polygyny is primarily the prerogative of chiefs. Only some men who put up a fight succeed in marrying two wives. Chiefs may have up to five wives, who place their hammocks around that of their husband, according to a specific order. In some instances, because of a lack of women or simply because of friendship, two men share the same woman, who practically has the status of a wife of both men. Wife lending occurs in the case of an elderly man incapable of hunting for himself. A younger man who hunts for him is given sexual access to the old man's wife. This often ends in the divorce of the woman from her old husband. *Niemondomóndo* entails wife swapping for extended periods of time. Of forty families in Eviato, twenty have engaged in this kind of exchange, some ending in lasting, rather than transient, arrangements.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family is the most important social group.

**Inheritance.** The only item that kin traditionally inherited were the fleshless bones of their ancestors, particularly their craniums.

**Socialization.** Young women between 10 and 15 years of age undergo an initiation ritual called *iratóse*. Married men around the age of 18 submitted to the *dshyarási* initiation ritual under the tutelage of the chief and the old men of the group. The initiants have their arms pierced with a stingray point and their legs are scarified.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The chief of a local group enjoys high social status. He is elected to office during a drinking feast and is chosen because of his virtues as a hunter and as a fighter against Ayoreo and Whites. During hunting parties, he has to distinguish himself as a man of stamina and of excellent knowledge of the forest and the savanna, of animals and their habits, of the directions to be followed, and a whole complex of attaining practices. The status of the chief was formerly transferable, as was that of

his wife, who performed the chiefly functions among the women.

**Political Organization.** The Sirionó distinguish between different groups of members of the local community. The first group is comprised of the children of both sexes. Then there are the young adolescents, the young people of marriageable age, and the adults. There are special terms for mothers with families and old people of both sexes. Only men and women who have gone through the initiation ceremony and have several children are exempt from food taboos and various other prohibitions.

**Social Control.** Carrying out justice and imposing sanctions on criminals are the responsibilities of the chief or some older person designated by him. Punishment is actually meted out by old men and women before all the members of the community. Actions that are considered criminal include homicide, adultery, the violation of food taboos, slander, and gossip.

**Conflict.** Among the Sirionó, war took on a different character depending on the adversary. With the much-feared Ayoreo, conflict was limited to defense, which in many cases ended with the Sirionó fleeing. Some chiefs fought the invaders until they either vanquished them or died under their clubs. Conflict with Whites was limited to surprise attacks carried out for the purpose of appropriating some of their iron tools.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The central myth of the Sirionó is about Dshyási, the Moon, who, after confiding his son to the care of the primordial ancestors of the Sirionó, discovered that they had not taken care of the little boy and that the jaguar had killed him. Full of indignation, he decided to leave them and to no longer give them the animals he hunted. Before leaving he became a culture hero by establishing the institutions of Sirionó society and by becoming the model of ethical hunting behavior.

In the mythical universe there are four entities that, although defined to a certain extent—mainly by their names—tend to blend into each other. They are the *éinge* (soul); the *abatshyekwáya* (lit., “who is it that remains unseen?”), a primarily evil being; the *etshiróke* (“the peeled one”); and the *kurúkwa* (“he lunges forward with blows”), referring to the Ayoreo whom in the past they perceived as having a mythical aura. As in the case of important game animals, it is important not to destroy or leave behind the bones of a deceased person, especially not the all-important cranium. The body used to be exposed on a platform until the flesh had decomposed; then the bones were recovered and brought back to the village.

**Religious Practitioners.** Initiation ceremonies for young people of both sexes and separate scarification rites are conducted by old men and women.

**Ceremonies.** There is a circular dance, which men perform either alone or with women. Embracing one another, the dancers sing monotonously as they look up to the moon. One objective of the dance is to keep illness away and to make people “lighter.” The dance also recalls the mythical age when Moon walked on earth and protected the first people.

**Arts.** Artistic expression is extremely limited. The most distinctive items are feather ornaments worn on the head.

**Medicine.** The Sirionó believe that an individual is healthy when he has “strength.” Health is maintained by morning baths during the cold season, by avoiding the sun’s rays and heat, and by performing periodic scarification. Illness is attributed to violations of food taboos, as well as to sun and heat, moon and cold, insects, wind, and shade. In a society without shamanism, illness is treated with scarification and a limited pharmacopoeia.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death was instituted by Moon after he left the primordial people. There is no land of the dead, and a “fleshless soul” wanders through the forest demanding that its bones receive proper care. A traditional complex funerary ritual involved a series of preventive measures prior to expiring, mourning, placement of the body on a mortuary platform, recovery of the bones, and readjustments after death. The influence of the Catholic church and Evangelical missions has modified the traditional funerary ritual in many ways, the most notable being the imposition of earth burial.

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MARIO CALIFANO  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Suruí

ETHNONYM: Paiter

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Suruí of Rondônia call themselves "Paiter," meaning "people," "ourselves." "Suruí" is the name given to them by non-Indians before contact with Brazilian society in 1969.

**Location.** Suruí territory covers a total of 248,000 hectares, part in the state of Rondônia and part in the state of Mato Grosso, between 10°45' and 11°15' S and 60°55' and 61°25' W, in an irregular shape. The distance between each of their villages and the Cuiabá-Pôrto Velho highway is about 50 kilometers. The Suruí area is part of the Aripuanã Indian Reservation, legally the biggest in Brazil (albeit considerably affected by encroachment), with 3.6 million hectares.

**Demography.** In 1989 there were 470 Suruí. The estimated population in 1969 was 700, two-thirds of whom died of measles and tuberculosis in 1971 and 1972. In 1979 there were 270 left. This population is divided into exogamous groups or clans: the *kaban*, *makor*, *gamep*, and *gamir*.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Suruí language belongs to the Tupí-Mondé Language Family, which in turn is one of the families in the Tupí Stock. Other languages in the Tupí-Mondé Family are those spoken by the Gavião of Rondônia, the Aruá, the Zoró, and the Cinta Larga.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Suruí lived in isolation in the heart of the tropical rain forest, occasionally waging war against rubber tappers and other encroachers on their land, until 1969 when the National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI), the government agency in charge of relations with indigenous peoples, made the first peaceful contact with them. They then lost half of their territory to settlement projects and companies. In 1976 the remaining portion of their land was demarcated and now has full legal protection, as well as an abundant cover of tropical forest. In 1981 the Suruí succeeded in forcing out the last remaining encroachers, eighty peasant families, but not without violence and some deaths. Between 1982 and 1987 their economic, cultural, and social lives underwent profound changes because of the drastic economic effects and in-migration to the region brought about by the Polonoroeste Program. This project centered on the paving of the Cuiabá-Pôrto Velho highway, which was partially financed by the World Bank. The Suruí have faced grave health problems—malaria, tuberculosis, and other diseases—and lack of medical assistance. Even so, the population is growing at 7 percent a year.

The Suruí are seeking economic and political self-reliance. They have organized an association and lend support to other tribes, including the Zoró, who were their traditional enemies. They have campaigned for Indians' rights, protesting against the tutelage and omissions of

FUNAI and the Brazilian government. They are seeking access to schools and education.

### Settlements

The Suruí have nine villages, dating from their occupation of the coffee plantations started by the peasant farmers they evicted. Groups of biological or classificatory sblings usually live in the same village, which can have as many as eighty inhabitants. Since 1987 all villages can be reached by car and even by bus. Until 1981 the Suruí lived in only two villages.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Suruí are farmers. A variety of subsistence crops including maize, cassava, potatoes, yams, cotton, tobacco, kidney beans, rice, bananas, peanuts, and papayas is grown on family plots by sibling groups. They use the slash-and-burn system of tillage and abandon a plot after two years. Each man usually farms 2 hectares. The Suruí are also good hunters and fishers. They have eating taboos: there are animals that must not be hunted or eaten. The Suruí are also gatherers of fruit, honey, larvae, hearts of palm, and other foods. After they seized the evicted peasants' coffee plantations in 1981, they began marketing coffee. They also market latex extracted in the dry season (May to October). The income from these products is spent on goods that have become indispensable, such as clothing, tools, and food. In 1987 the Suruí were induced by the Brazilian government and by lumber merchants to sell lumber on highly disadvantageous terms. They then purchased cattle and some vehicles. In 1988 they decided to stop felling trees and selling lumber.

**Division of Labor.** Whereas the Suruí men hunt, clear forest for planting, and make arrows, the women spin, make pots and baskets, cook, gather, harvest, and take care of the children. Both men and women fish and sow crops. Money is managed almost exclusively by the men. There are no rituals or activities that are secret or prohibited to women. In the past there were female shamans.

**Land Tenure.** For the Suruí, land belongs to the entire community and any relative arriving from a distant place has the right to farm it. Kinship ties govern the way in which land is divided out for farming, hunting, and dwelling purposes. The main basis for cooperation is the sibling group.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** All economic activities are organized on the basis of kinship. Descent is bilateral but membership in the groups (clans) is patrilineal.

**Kinship Terminology.** Nomenclature is similar to the Iroquois type but skewed because of the prevalent practice of marrying one's sister's daughter. Different terms are used for paternal and maternal lines and to distinguish between elder and younger brothers.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Suruí continue to practice polygyny. The preference is for a man to marry his sister's daughter; cross-cousin marriage is also recommended. The couple usually resides with the wife's father (i.e., the husband's maternal uncle) at the beginning; later on, they reside and work with the husband's brothers. Incest between brother and sister is considered the worst offense against the Suruí moral norms. With few exceptions, any children born of such incest must be killed.

**Domestic Unit.** A group of brothers with their wives and children live together in the same longhouse (*maloca*), usually with their father-in-law, who is also their maternal uncle. This is the basic nucleus for cooperative work on the land.

**Inheritance.** The deceased are buried along with all their belongings, and their dwelling is abandoned. Only the shaman's sacred staff seems to be inherited.

**Socialization.** The life of a Suruí is marked by rites of passage and confinement in small isolated huts, which are specially built for this purpose. During the menarche, after childbirth, when someone dies, during menstruation, or during any sickness, a woman must be kept in isolation, subjected to eating taboos, and protected from exposure to daylight. The men are also confined on certain occasions. If confinement rules are violated, the entire community is endangered and newborns may die as a result, according to Suruí beliefs. The very presence of a newborn is considered dangerous for anyone who is not a close relative. Rituals for warrior initiation and facial tattooing to mark the passage of both males and females into adulthood have been discontinued since contact with Whites.

### Sociopolitical Organization

The Suruí community is made up of groups or clans. Long before contact with Whites, these clans lived in separate villages and intermarried. Today the struggle for land and Indian rights has accentuated cohesiveness.

**Social Organization.** The Suruí are divided into halves or moieties, the forest half and the farming or harvest half. The two moieties exchange wives and possessions and cooperate in the work of farming and hunting. A Suruí belongs to one or the other moiety depending on his or her position in the system of kinship. A man always has brothers-in-law in the opposite moiety. During the many months of the dry season, the forest moiety camps in the forest to prepare gifts that it will give the farming moiety at the end of a period of collective sowing or clearing of forest. The latter is performed as a ritual, in which the forest moiety does all the work and receives in exchange food, drink, and celebration from the farming moiety. Every so often the farming moiety changes places with the forest moiety. This mutual help or cooperative labor system, in which the entire forest moiety does all the sowing or clearing work for one of the plots farmed by the harvest moiety, is one example of community rather than siblings collaboration. In addition to this general cooperation, brothers and brothers-in-law have the obligation to help each other.

**Political Organization.** The Suruí have a diffuse system of government. There are many headmen representing the various clans and villages. Those with the most brothers, brothers-in-law, and fathers-in-law are the most powerful. There are also ceremonial chiefs for collective work. In the late twentieth century, there has been a recent tendency to elect young headmen who speak better Portuguese and are more effective in mediating relations with the Brazilian government and with the towns.

**Conflict.** The Suruí have a tradition of being fearsome warriors, and they tell stories of cannibalism in remote times. Their fiercest enemies used to be the Zoró, their neighbors; in 1978 they killed a Zoró family in revenge for earlier killings. Since then they have channeled their warring instincts mainly toward the fight for their land rather than toward fighting other Indians. In 1988, during an expedition of various tribes to the Aripuanã Park, a Suruí was murdered by gold diggers and lumber merchants while he was defending the territory of his former enemies, the Zoró.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The Suruí have several shamans (*pajé*), who either inherited this office from their father or grandfather or assumed it as a consequence of some revelation by spirits in dreams or when they came into close contact with death, through illness or snakebite, and have hence made a visit to the land of the dead. A shaman always carries a *narái*, a bamboo staff crowned with brightly colored macaw feathers; it is believed that the staff is inhabited by spirits. The shaman must serve a long period of apprenticeship under an older shaman; he remains confined for several months, during which he is said to learn the chants and stories of his craft directly from the spirits. At the same time, he must overcome terrible obstacles such as fire or monsters, walk along the path followed by the souls of the dead, and visit the kingdom of the waters and that of the heavens. Many lack courage and give up before they are through. The last trial consists of running at top speed in circles around a tree until consciousness is lost.

There are several categories of spirit, ranging from those of the waters to those of the skies and the forest. They comprise hundreds of beings, each with its own history, narrated in the form of a myth and sung as a chant familiar to the entire community, even the children, who can recite or sing it. For example, there is the Moon, the name of which women may not utter and which in mythical times was a man who broke the incest taboo by falling in love with his sister. Or there is the Cricket, which makes people lose their way in the forest but can also help to find a lost person. These beings are both menacing and comforting. They are invoked in ritual festivals (*hoeietês*) to confer plenty and cure the sick. The day-to-day life of a village is permeated with fear, prohibition, and ill omens, necessitating the assistance of the spirits and the shaman's magic, in word and deed.

**Ceremonies.** The *hoeietês* may last many consecutive days and nights. They are led by the shamans, who, holding their staffs, dance in a circle of men who carry long bamboo poles of up to 4 meters, which are believed to be

inhabited by spirits. In another circle, men play reed flutes 1 to 2 meters long, also said to house spirits. These ceremonies are held whenever anyone is gravely sick. Another important ritual is the Mapimai, a feast held to celebrate the harvesting or sowing of crops. Here one moiety is host to the other and receives presents and help with farming its own plot in return. It takes months to prepare for the festivities, which require huge amounts of the traditional fermented drink. The complex ceremonies last several days and involve all members of the community, who wear necklaces, headdresses, and painted cotton waistbands. On the day when the ceremonial beverage is to be consumed, a long procession departs from the forest and walks to the village, chanting and performing ritual drama on the way. The wives of the ceremonial chiefs carry torches, which they must take care to keep alight; if the flames were to go out, this would be a sign both that they are to die soon and that the demiurge and creator of humankind (Palop, meaning "Our Father") refuses to visit and protect the village.

**Medicine.** The Suruí believe that sickness is caused by the various categories of spirits, which are also responsible for curing or preventing disease when invoked. Each of these beings has a myth of its own, with which all are familiar. The animals, for example, were originally humans; their metamorphosis into animals meant, in most cases, that they became supernatural beings with power over humans. The myths refer not only to these disease-inducing spirits but also to the origins of the moon, sun, night, fire, humanity, and so on. They are considered true as a history of the world, to which the Suruí compare European history, for example, when it is recounted to them.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Suruí believe that the souls of the dead must travel a long road full of hazards. These include a giant vulture that devours them; a rock that crushes them; the excrement of a huge lizard, which buries them; a man or woman with outsize genitals with whom they are obliged to have sexual intercourse; and many other strange torments. Courageous souls manage to reach the other side, an eternal safe haven inhabited by all the former shamans' souls. Cowards and violators of the incest taboo die a second time or have to remain in villages of useless souls. Death rituals are relatively insignificant. The name of the deceased must never be pronounced, so that his or her soul is not forced to hover among the living and can make the final journey in peace.

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BETTY MINDLIN

## Suya

ETHNONYMS: Beicos de Pau, Mekinsêji, Suiá, Suiás, Suyá, Tapayuna

### Orientation

**Identification.** This article refers to data collected about the Suya between 1971 and 1982 and is written in the past tense for that reason, although the group continues to live in the Xingu National Park. The Suya and Tapayuna spoke a dialect of the Northern Gê (or Jê) Branch of the Gê Language Family, whose members were related culturally as well as linguistically. As with many groups, the names by which they were known were bestowed on them by other Indians. The Suya name for themselves was "Mê" or "Mekinsêji," meaning "the people" or "the people of the wide cleared village places," reflecting the importance to their identity of their large, circular villages.

**Location.** Many parts of Brazil, including where the Suya lived, were in turmoil during the previous 300 years, as Brazilian settlers penetrated the interior of the country. The Suya said their original homeland was far to the east of their recent village sites on the Rio Suiá-missu near its mouth on the Rio Xingu, an affluent of the Amazon (11° S and 52° W) within the boundaries of the Xingu National Park, Mato Grosso. They said they moved west from their homelands, separated from the Tapayuna near the Rio Arinos on the Rio Tapajós, and then moved eastward again to the Rio Xingu.

**Demography.** In 1973 approximately ninety Suya and forty-three Tapayuna lived in a single circular village of six thatched houses; 44 percent of this population was under 10 years old. This relatively small population size can be traced to the effects of violence and disease on the groups—both Suya and Tapayuna had been attacked by Brazilians, their villages burned, and their populations ravaged by infectious diseases. The small population resulted in numerous intertribal marriages with other Xingu groups after 1959.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Gê is one of the four large language families in Brazil. It is usually divided into three branches: Southern (Xokleng and Kaingang), Central (Xavante, Xerente, and Paraná), and Northern (Northern Kayapo, Timbira, Apinaye, and Suya).



### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Suya describe their history as a series of cultural or material acquisitions from hostile beings—animals, enemy Indians, and Brazilians. During their migration from the east to the Xingu region, they met with a number of groups with whom they exchanged items and from whom they often obtained women and children. Around 1840 the Suya entered the Xingu region and encountered a group of tribes who spoke different languages but shared a similar culture, often referred to today as the “Upper Xingu Culture Area.” They adopted certain features of Xingu material culture (canoes, hammocks), foods and food preparation techniques (species of manioc and manioc preparation), as well as Upper Xingu ceremonies and body ornamentation but maintained a culture and social organization common to other Northern Gê societies. The first known contact between Suya and non-Indians was in 1884, when Karl von den Steinen visited. The Suya were peacefully contacted again in 1959 by a Brazilian government “pacification” expedition and subsequently moved back near their earlier villages on the Xingu, where the surviving Tapayuna were moved to join them in 1970. Since then the Suya have been protected from frontier violence and the national market economy by a reservation system that intermittently provides health care and material goods and involves them in a new multiethnic social system. The Tapayuna formed their own village in 1980 and later moved downstream, away from the Suya.

### *Settlements*

The Suya lived in large circular villages whose layout expressed important cosmological principles and their social manifestations. The villages themselves were temporary—the Suya moved to a new village site on an average of once every ten or fifteen years—but their organization was enduring. Regardless of the population size, the basic village structure was always the same. Extended uxori-local family houses were built in a circle around a large cleared plaza, in which one or two small men’s houses were constructed—one in the east and/or one in the west. The plaza was the public and largely male domain, used for ceremonies, meetings, and dancing. The moiety-based men’s houses served as sleeping places for bachelors and clubhouses for the adult men; membership in the clubhouses was determined by names (not by kinship). The eastern men’s house was associated with the men of the Amban ceremonial moiety, whereas the western one was associated with the Kren. The surrounding houses were female-dominated domains, occupied by families related through women. Every house had a name and a particular location in the village circle (for example “The White House” was located in the south, and “The House Where the Animal Dances Are Danced” was in the east).

Behind the houses, a zone of scrubby brush where people defecated and threw trash was known as “the dead area,” and beyond this were the old gardens (if the village was in a forested area) or the open savanna. The gardens were, in turn, surrounded by the still uncut forest. Each concentric spatial zone was less “social” and more dangerous than the one inside it, and the contrast between the social space in the center of the village and the domain of

wild animals in the forest was a central principle of dualism in the Suya cosmology. As the Suya moved and constructed village after village, each followed the same pattern, with the same groups and named houses in the same spatial relationships to one another. Each village re-established the relationships among enduring social groups and with the natural domain.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Suya lived by hunting, fishing, and subsistence horticulture, supplemented by the gathering of plants, wild fruits, nuts, and some insects. Unlike their upper Xingu neighbors, the Suya ate both fish and game (with certain restrictions by age and status), and their cuisine combined foods from the different communities they had encountered—upper Xingu, Juruna, Brazilian (when the ingredients were available), and Gê. The year was marked by two seasons, a dry season (April to September) and a rainy season (October to March). Within this large cycle were many smaller seasons during which certain fish or game were more plentiful, and specific hunting and fishing techniques were used. The jungle was cleared for new gardens annually. Trees were felled at the start of the dry season, allowed to dry, and then burned before the first rains. The gardens were planted in the ashes with maize, various types of manioc, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, and a few other crops on a smaller scale such as sugarcane and watermelons. In addition, fruit trees, cotton, and some crops were planted around the houses and in the gardens. These were often harvested after the village was abandoned for a new site.

Before their contact with Brazilians, the Suya—like many Gê-speaking groups—would leave their villages for weeks or months at a time after planting and before the harvesting of maize in January. During this period they would go on extended hunting and fishing trips in smaller groups, usually based on kinship, returning sporadically to the village. The entire village would reunite to harvest the green maize and would begin a series of ceremonies that continued through the dry season. Although they loved to raise baby birds and the young of other animals, the Suya did not raise domestic animals for food before they adopted chickens from the Brazilians.

**Industrial Arts.** With the exception of some Upper Xingu (Waurá) captives who specialized in making ceramic pots, craft specialization was along gender and age lines: most adult men and women could make most implements required for their gender’s subsistence and ritual activities. The most important objects in a person’s life were his or her ritual ornaments, which made extensive use of feathers.

**Trade.** After they began to fight with the Upper Xingu and continuing until 1959, the Suya did not trade much with outsiders but took objects in raids. After 1959 they engaged in some trading of artifacts for desired industrial objects with other tribes and Brazilians.

**Division of Labor.** The Suya divided tasks and knowledge by gender, age, and name-based ceremonial groups. In the gardens, men felled the trees, both sexes planted, women harvested the crops, and both sexes gathered. Men

did most of the hunting and fishing. Female children helped their mothers as they grew older; male children formed groups that engaged in small-scale fishing and hunting expeditions prior to their initiation. Different male age grades engaged in different kinds of collective subsistence activities, and the name-based moieties also went on collective hunting and fishing expeditions accompanied by unmarried women. Some types of knowledge and certain songs and singing styles were also specific to a certain gender, age group, or name-based group. So extensive was the raiding and introduction of outside women into the group that in 1970 the *Suya* had two distinct cultural tendencies—a women's culture resembling that of the Upper Xingu in terms of material culture, body ornamentation, and ceremonies, and a men's culture that in the same features more resembled that of the other Northern Gê.

**Land Tenure.** The *Suya* considered their territory to include all of the resources on either side of the Rio Suiá-missu above the junction with the Xingu. Other Indian groups were expected to leave this area alone. Within the *Suya* territory, land was not owned until it was planted. Then the crops belonged to the nuclear family that planted them.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** There were two fundamental types of groups in *Suya* society. One of these, the nuclear family, was based on the idea that parents and their children shared a common biological substance. The nuclear family was the basic unit of production and residence but was not stressed in the ritual system and had little temporal depth. The *Suya* contrasted the bodily relationship that characterized the nuclear family with the other form of group identity—names. Names consisted of fixed sets of words that an individual received shortly after birth from a certain relative, who in turn had received that same set as an infant from an older relative. With the names came an entire public social identity—membership in two pairs of ceremonial (not matrimonial) moieties, body-painting styles, song styles, and even particular ritual privileges that were passed from name giver to name receiver. A boy usually received his names (social identity) from someone classified as his "mother's brother" and a girl from someone classified as her "father's sister" (in what is usually referred to as the extended or classificatory sense). Names could not be passed within the nuclear family, and brothers were usually given names that placed them in opposite moieties. In this dual system, the enduring groups were those formed by name-set transmission, and knowledge and ritual prerogatives were passed through them.

**Kinship Terminology.** There were several sets of kin terms, the application of which was made more complex by the fact that every individual could trace more than one relationship to most of the other members of the community. The address terms showed an Omaha cross-cousin terminology. Terms of indirect reference revealed the importance of the house unit as a group. Most distant relatives were addressed by one of the words of their name set.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Following initiation at about age 16, bachelors lived in the men's house and visited their lovers until they fathered a child, at which point they moved to their wife's house for the rest of their lives. There was a stated preference for marriage with a matrilineal cross cousin. Sororal or captive polygyny was practiced. Couples sometimes separated after the birth of their first child, but after the birth of a second child couples tended to stay together. Both sexes took lovers.

**Domestic Unit.** The most important domestic unit was the house (or sometimes two neighboring houses) consisting of older women (sisters or co-wives), their married daughters with their in-marrying husbands, and these women's children. The large house would have a single cooking fire on which all food was prepared and shared among household members, but each nuclear family had its own sleeping space in the house. Boys left their natal houses at initiation and lived with their wives' families after marriage. Extensive kinship-based food-sharing networks among houses (especially those of in-laws) ensured a fairly wide distribution of food from one house to other houses in the village circle.

**Inheritance.** After a person died his or her garden was usually destroyed, personal ornaments and tools were buried with the body, and sometimes pets were killed as well. Knowledge and ritual identity were passed with names before death.

**Socialization.** Infants and children were raised by both parents, by older siblings, and by other members of the large residential houses, who were all kin. In later socialization the name givers and other ceremonial relations played important roles. The *Suya* were quite tolerant of children until the onset of puberty, at which point they were expected to listen and behave properly.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

The political unit was the village. Every *Suya* village had one (male) ritual specialist, one or more (male) faction leaders who headed kinship-based factions, and one or more individuals (male, female, or children) thought to be witches. Each of these played important roles in sociopolitical activities.

**Social Organization.** *Suya* society alternated between periods dominated by kinship relations and periods dominated by ceremonial relationships, during which the name-based moieties performed extensive rituals. There was thus a kind of "alternating current" of activities based on two contrasting principles of social organization. This was complemented by an age-grade organization that was active in both periods.

**Political Organization.** Through oratory and example, faction leaders were supposed to lead everyday events and activities; they had few coercive resources other than accusations of witchcraft and witch killing. Ritual specialists were supposed to override factions and speak for the entire village. Witches were said to cause all deaths and to help create ritual specialists by stealing people's spirits (and making them composers); they also served as scapegoats in

factional disputes. Witches were usually identified as people who did not live up to their social obligations, were stingy, or unusually demanding.

**Social Control.** Social control was maintained through public oratory, shame, and occasional witch killings.

**Conflict.** Conflict with other groups took the form of raids led by faction leaders. Conflict within the group usually resulted in a witch being killed by one faction or by the departure of one of the factions to set up its own village. The Suyá village fissioned and reunited in this fashion a number of times during the past century.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

The Suyá religion was based on the contrast between society and nature, as expressed in the village plan, myths, and myriad details of everyday life, and, to a much lesser extent, on the contrast between the body and the spirit. Nature, in the form of certain animals, was considered to be powerful and transformative. The spirit was said to come into being with the formation of the fetus, but to survive the body's decomposition. The Suyá, like other Gê-speaking groups and in contrast to most Tupí-speaking groups in Brazil, did not populate the universe with many types of supernaturals.

**Religious Beliefs.** Suyá religious beliefs were based on the transformative power of natural species.

**Religious Practitioners.** Whereas male and female specialists led rituals and composed new songs, the rest of the population participated in the long ceremonial cycles based on rites of passage.

**Ceremonies.** Suyá ceremonies were long (a ceremonial period often lasted several months) and organized around rites of passage—especially the initiation of boys into the men's house. The entire village participated in ceremonies, characterized by much singing and dancing, in which kinship-based relationships and food exchanges were replaced by ceremonial, name-based relationships and exchanges.

**Arts.** Important among the arts were body ornamentation, speech, and song, which were all determined largely by age, gender, and names. There was, however, room for inventiveness and creativity in each of these domains.

**Medicine.** The Suyá used both herbs and highly valued metaphoric songs to ensure rapid growth, strong wind, good health, and fecundity. Serious illness was attributed to witchcraft. After 1959 both Western medicine and shamans from other Indian communities were added to Suyá medical options.

**Death and Afterlife.** After a person died, he or she was painted, fully ornamented, and buried in the dirt floor of his or her residential house amid ritual wailing and angry speech about witchcraft. The spirit was said to leave the house, travel to the east, and climb a tree to the sky where it went either to a large village in which the spirits live in contrast ceremonial activity or to the village of the witches, if it was a witch's spirit. During mourning a person did not paint his or her body or sing. Several months after an adult's death the village would decide to begin a ceremony, and all of its members would take a purifying bath in the center of the village plaza, paint their bodies, and, by singing and dancing, return to full social life once again.

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ANTHONY SEEGER

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## Tacana

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ETHNONYM: Takana

The 5,000 Tacana Indians live primarily along the Beni, Tahuamanù, Abuná, Acre, and Madre de Dios rivers in the department of La Paz, Bolivia (12° to 15° S, 67° to 68°35' W). Many may be found in or near the towns of Ixiamas, Tumupasa, and San Buenaventura in that department. The

Tacana live in tropical forests and in the foothills of the Andes. Approximately 3,500 speak the Tacana language, which belongs to the Tacanan Family and which has two dialects (Tumupasa or Maracáni and Isiama or Ydiam). Pedro Anzules Camporeondo first contacted the Tacana in 1539, and in the sixteenth century Franciscan missionaries established missions among them. When the Franciscans came, many Tacanans spoke Quechua; the missionaries supported the use of that language, with the result that in some regions Quechua has entirely replaced the Tacana

language. Today, the Tacana increasingly work for cash as laborers and cattle raisers, although many are still subsistence farmers.

Traditionally, the Tacana depended primarily on foraging, especially for vegetables and fruits; most important were Brazil nuts and the fruits of palm trees, and honey and turtle eggs were also significant elements of the Tacana diet. Hunting was a group effort involving the encircling of game with people and dogs (dogs were introduced in the nineteenth century) and killing the game with bows and arrows. The Tacana use various methods in fishing. When the floods recede at the beginning of the dry season, they capture fish in the pools left by receding waters. They also shoot fish with bows and arrows and drug them with the sap of the *soliman* tree. Large siluroid fish are caught using a wooden double hook, the design of which is unique to South America. In addition to dogs, the Tacana raise chickens, and in the twentieth century adopted cattle and horse husbandry. The Tacana are also horticulturists whose gardens measure an average 50 by 20 meters; the gardens are scattered, and much time is spent in traveling from one to the other. They also have plantations of bananas and plantains along rivers.

Traditionally, some Tacana groups lived in dwellings averaging 18 meters by 6 meters and housing up to twenty families, although they slept in small huts that were designed to exclude mosquitoes and vampire bats. Other groups lived behind simple windbreaks constructed of a row of large leaves. Some groups used no furniture and slept on the ground, whereas others used pieces of bark as beds.

The Tacana are divided into exogamous patrilineal descent groups. A chief gains his position by virtue of personality, having a large family and being the son of the former chief. Sometimes a group splits if the new chief's brother wishes to be chief himself. A chief's followers must work for him.

Children marry at the age of 9 or 10, but marriage is not consummated until after puberty. Women deliver their children in the forest, and men observe the *couvade*. Marriages are very easily ended.

The Tacana play a ball game in which they hit the ball with their bellies, which they protect with belts of bark.

Among some Tacana groups, funerals begin even before the subject of the funeral has died. Some groups bury their dead in their huts, others in the bush with their possessions. Among one Tacana group, the ghost of the deceased is prevented from returning by moving the door of his or her house.

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## Tanimuka

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ETHNONYMS: Opaina, Tanimboka, Tanimuco, Tanimuka, Tanimuko, Ufaina, Yahuna, Yaúna, Yayuna

The Tanimuka Indians, several hundred in number, live along the lower Caquetá and Apaporis rivers in Amazonas, Colombia. They speak an Eastern Tukanoan language and are closely related to the neighboring Letuana and Yauna, with whom they sometimes exchange spouses.

The native peoples in this region, who escaped the decimating effects of the rubber boom, had little contact with Whites until the twentieth century. Although Jesuits established missions in the seventeenth century, Indian rebellions in the mid-eighteenth century put an end to missionary activity in the area for more than a century. Efforts at conversion to Christianity recommenced in 1914 when Catholic missionaries arrived; after World War II Protestant missionaries also attempted to convert the Tanimuka.

Most Tanimuka subsistence is gained through fishing, the production and sale of manioc, and foraging. The Tanimuka have grown dependent upon imported fishhooks, shotguns, and machetes. Today some live in the mestizo town of La Pedrera, where they work for wages and are subject to social disintegration.

The Tanimuka rely heavily on swidden horticulture and especially on the bitter manioc they raise to make manioc cakes, tapioca porridge, and beer. The soils of this region are relatively infertile, and in such soils bitter manioc is the most productive crop. Since there are no pronounced wet and dry seasons, manioc is planted in any season and harvested eight months later. Not all the manioc produced is consumed; some is processed into manioc flour for sale. A fairly wide variety of other crops is grown, some recently introduced, including sweet potatoes, bananas, plantains, squashes, pineapples, yams, mangoes, sugarcane, and a limited amount of maize. Tobacco, coca, chili peppers, and the *pupunha* palm appear to be traditional crops. Following a year or two of cultivation, the land must be left fallow to regenerate, but to extend the useful life of the gardens, fruit trees are planted that continue to produce for years. Women, who are responsible for growing and processing manioc, usually have several fields in different stages of production; they return to the fallow fields to gather fruit and firewood and occasionally to hunt with their dogs.

Although it provides a starch of high caloric content, the bitter manioc grown in this region is highly toxic, and it requires elaborate processing methods to remove the poisonous prussic acid. Women harvest manioc tubers every day. After being washed, the tubers are peeled and then grated on a board set with sharp flints. The mash is pounded through a tightly woven basket sieve set on a tripod; this separates out the liquid starch, which flows through and is left to dry, losing its volatile prussic acid. The thickened mash is put into a basketry squeezer, or *tipiti*, from which it emerges almost completely dry. It is then spread on a griddle to make flat manioc cakes or stirred and toasted into manioc flour. Fish are usually boiled with chili peppers, but may be barbecued or smoked; smoking preserves dried fish for more than a week. Coca leaves are chewed after being ground into a fine powder and mixed with leaf ash. Beer is brewed from manioc and consumed at all ceremonial and social gatherings.

Men hunt and fish, although hunting is of very limited importance to the Tanimuka. Fishing is a man's chief occupation and provides the group with most of its protein. The best seasons for fishing are the dry season, when rivers are low and the fish are confined to the deeper spots, and at the beginning of the rainy season, when the fish run upstream. Techniques include poisoning (when the water is low) and the use of bows and arrows, hand nets, and steel hooks and lines. The most successful methods of fishing, however, involve large fixed weirs requiring significant investment in construction and maintenance. Villages claim exclusive use rights over fishing spots in their traditional territory. Women also gather insects, roots, and wild fruits in season.

Settlements usually consist of a single multifamily house. The Tanimuka house has great cultural significance because its architecture is a symbolic representation of the universe. The social system based on the multifamily house persists in spite of pressure from the dominant society to break down the system and involve the native population in the regional and national economy. The house is built on a circular base 16 to 20 meters in diameter and has a conical thatched roof that rises to 20 meters at the apex. The top of the roof has two triangular openings oriented in an east-west direction. These have astronomical significance because, as the patch of sunlight that falls through the roof openings moves across the interior of the house, it serves as a sundial marking the time of day. The seasons are also marked, for as the sun moves south in summer the ray of sunlight moves toward the north wall of the house interior, and in winter toward the south. The position of the stars is also observed as they move across the roof opening. The Tanimuka use their astronomical knowledge to calculate the ceremonial and ecological cycles by which they regulate interaction with their environment.

The central area of the house interior is considered sacred and few everyday activities take place there. Surrounding the center is public space for ceremonies; the periphery is domestic space for cooking, eating, and sleeping—and burying the dead. Each family has its appointed place: the family of the house "owner" on the western side, his eldest son on the north, the next born on the south, and so on. The construction of a house may take several months owing to the time needed to assemble the materials which,

besides the tree trunks for supporting posts and the roof poles, may include as many as 500 bundles of thatch. A house lasts three to five years, the average time to exhaust garden sites in the vicinity. The house is then rebuilt at a new site, usually not far from the former one.

The Tanimuka are divided into patrilineages, each descended from a named ancestor and with its own place of origin. There is a hierarchy of lineages ascribed in accordance with the origin myth. In a group of coresident brothers, hierarchy follows birth order, with the eldest the "owner of the house." Younger brothers have the roles of "singer," "defensive shaman," and "aggressive shaman." The "owner of the house" must have extensive knowledge of the local habitat and the history of his own and other groups, because such knowledge validates the territorial rights of his lineage over fishing spots, building sites, and agricultural land. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, each group of coresident married brothers constituting a "minimal lineage"; these are linked with allied groups to form "medium lineages." The "major lineage," headed by a chief, is a confederation of lineages.

Marriage is generally monogamous, but heads of communal houses may be married to several women. Although a man may marry any woman of his generation other than his sisters and bilateral parallel cousins, sister-exchange marriages are desirable, and bilateral cross cousins are preferred marriage partners.

Before contact, women wore no clothes but were painted in elaborate designs. Men wore only a bark-cloth breechclout. Festival costumes, which are still worn, include multicolored feather headdresses, animal-tooth necklaces, and bark-cloth masks representing the spirits of nature.

Besides manioc production, which occupies most of their time, women make pottery. Men build houses and canoes and make baskets, musical instruments, and most household tools.

In former times, warfare was waged for revenge and to capture women and children as slaves. Trespasses by a distant group or tribe might precipitate hostilities that could continue for generations. The preferred weapon of war was a heavy club. Dead enemy warriors were eaten at a cannibalistic feast celebrating the victory.

The Tanimuka conception of the world is reflected in the multifamily house. Thus the levels of the roof represent the six levels of the upper world, and the four center posts are the four culture heroes and/or the spirit "owners" of the four elements: air, water, forest, and earth. For the Tanimuka, the year begins with the September equinox. Ceremonies are held to chase away the sicknesses of winter and welcome the season of fertility, agriculture, and fishing. From December to February the *chontaduro* dances are held. More than twenty men dance for forty-eight hours, representing different animals and symbolizing dominant social tensions. At the March equinox, the Yurupari rituals are held to "cool off" the earth and human minds and to bring in the "masculine" winter season of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The Tanimuka say that plants and animals have their own houses, with "house owners" and rights of use over their territories. The Tanimuka concept is that the spirit world is structurally similar to the human one, and, through the shamans, they visit, interact, and "negoti-

ate" with the spirits that control it. Shamans can turn themselves into the dominant predator of each habitat—a jaguar, a boa, an alligator, or a hawk—and thus can associate with their "owners."

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

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## Tapirapé

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ETHNONYMS: none

The approximately 200 Tapirapé live in a single village at the mouth of the Tapirapé and Araguaia rivers in northeastern Mato Grosso, Brazil. They speak a language that belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní Family. The Tapirapé share a reservation of 661.7 square kilometers with a group of Karajá, riverine Indians who speak an unrelated language.

The remote ancestors of the Tapirapé were probably the Tupinambá, who lived in the coastal region of Brazil at the time of European discovery. The Tapirapé, like the other small Tupí-speaking groups in central Brazil, probably migrated from the coast sometime after 1500. The coastal Tupí were practically wiped out during the first 100 years of Portuguese colonial rule. Although many aspects of Tapirapé culture indicate that they are closely related to the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have also acquired a number

of traits from their neighbors, the Gê-speaking Kayapó and the Karajá.

Around 1900, when the Tapirapé were still isolated, their population consisted of 1,500 to 2,000 individuals living in five villages on the Rio Tapirapé and neighboring tributaries of the Araguaia. Contact was sporadic until the 1940s, yet epidemic diseases to which they had no resistance, such as malaria, influenza, and even the common cold, rapidly reduced their numbers. In 1940 only 200 Tapirapé remained, living in one village. By 1947 there were only 100. In that year the Kayapó attacked their village, and the surviving Tapirapé scattered. Most of them reassembled and founded a new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé, but one small band, believing they were the only survivors of the Kayapó attack, wandered for twenty-five years in the forest until they were discovered by chance and reunited with their relatives. Since the 1960s, the Tapirapé population has gradually been recovering.

The Tapirapé are primarily a tropical-forest horticultural people who also exploit resources of the savanna and the river. In their habitat, wet and dry seasons are pronounced, with most of the rainfall between November and April. During the dry season, family groups would camp on the savanna while hunting, fishing, and collecting wild nuts and fruits. As horticulturists, they grow an extensive repertoire of crops, of which the most important is manioc, both sweet and bitter (twelve varieties). Among the others are maize, brown and lima beans, a variety of sweet squash, bananas (seven varieties), sweet potatoes, yams, peanuts, and cotton. Dry rice has become an appreciated crop. The Tapirapé clear their fields from June through September, either in groups or individually; planting areas, however, are always individually owned. Gardens are planted for two years and then abandoned; in the second year, only manioc is grown. Every five to seven years, as garden land within easy walking distance from the village was used up, the Tapirapé would move their village and not return to the same site for about twenty years, giving the forest time to grow again. On their reservation, they no longer have the same freedom to move, and suitable garden land may be several hours' walk from the village; some families therefore camp in their fields at planting- and harvesttimes.

The rainy season is best for hunting, when high water drives game onto islands of high ground in the savanna and in the forest. Men hunt individually or in groups, but group hunts are more productive. Until recently, the hunting weapon was the bow and arrow, although men would run down game animals, especially peccaries, and kill them with clubs. Game includes monkeys, armadillos, birds, and coatis in the forest and deer, peccaries, ducks, and geese in the savanna. Traditionally, certain game animals were tabooed food to different categories of people; in particular, parents of young children could not eat deer. These rules favored a wide distribution of meat, since a hunter who killed an animal tabooed to him and his wife gave it to those who were permitted to eat the meat.

Fish were available primarily in the dry season, when people were encamped on the savanna. The Tapirapé used fish traps and fish poison. Because their present village is on the river, fishing has become a more important food

source. They have acquired canoes by trading with the Karajá, and some Tapirapé have become excellent canoers.

Severe depopulation brought a number of changes to Tapirapé social organization. Residence was formerly matrilineal, and the extended family in a longhouse consisted of related women of two or three generations and their husbands and children. The Tapirapé are monogamous, although marital infidelity is commonplace. This is socially recognized by a term equivalent to "co-father," by which a child may address men other than the mother's husband who acknowledge having intercourse with the mother during her pregnancy and are therefore considered to have a biological role in producing her child. Kin terminology, which apparently once reflected a preference for cross-cousin marriage, is now Hawaiian in Ego's generation, so all cousins are addressed by the same terms as siblings. Only a negative rule regulates marriage, forbidding it within certain degrees of genealogical relatedness. In a shrinking population, people tend to be related in many different ways, making it difficult to find a spouse. Some Tapirapé men have married into the neighboring Karajá group.

For some time after the birth of a child, both parents were subjected to taboos limiting their activities, including sexual intercourse, and the foods they might eat. Formerly, the Tapirapé limited their family size to no more than three children, and no more than two of the same sex; any further children born were killed at birth. They cared greatly for the children they already had and gave as the reason for infanticide that three was the maximum number of children for whom a couple could adequately provide food. Before contact, this policy probably kept the population in balance with available food resources, but once diseases had diminished the population, it contributed to its rapid decline. By the 1950s infanticide was abandoned, in part owing to the efforts of missionary nuns, and at present couples often have five or six children.

The Tapirapé divide the life cycle into a succession of age periods, which determine how an individual should behave and how he or she should be treated by others. When a boy became a young adolescent, his body ornaments were changed, and he began to wear a penis band, the only clothing worn by Tapirapé men until recent times. Boys of this age status were expected to live in the men's house for up to a year while they were trained in manual arts and techniques of escaping from an enemy attack. The coming-of-age ceremony that followed was a test of endurance: a boy was expected to dance with the other men for hours wearing an elaborate feather headdress, beads, and other ornaments weighing more than 9 kilograms. After this ceremony he was allowed to marry and began looking actively for a wife. Girls had no equivalent ceremony to mark the transition to womanhood, and by the time of their first menstruation, they were usually already married. When women were young wives, they were subjected to painful facial scarification, which in Tapirapé eyes added to their beauty.

The dead were wrapped in the hammocks in which they had died; they, along with their personal possessions, were buried in the floor of the house where they had lived. House burial is no longer the custom; there is a small cemetery just outside the village.

The Tapirapé have a nucleated settlement pattern. In former times, the longhouses, which had the form of elongated overturned bowls, were placed in a circle around the village plaza, with a large men's house in the center. Houses were made by lashing together with bark strips a framework of wooden poles, which was covered with palm fronds. This circular village arrangement is still maintained, and there is still a men's house, but the dwellings, which are much smaller, now house only one or two nuclear families and are often built of wattle and daub in the rural Brazilian fashion.

Before contact the five Tapirapé villages were independent communities linked by kinship ties. Intervillage marriages occurred, and families occasionally migrated from one village to another. The same nonkin associations were also found in each of the villages, helping to tie them into a sociocultural whole.

The men's house in each village was the center of activity for the six Bird Societies, which were divided into two ceremonial moieties. The three societies in each moiety were related to male age grades, one for young boys, one for mature men, and one for older men. A boy usually entered the moiety to which his father belonged. The members of each society were "hosts" to specific spirits that came to inhabit the men's house, and one of their tasks was to construct the masks that embodied those spirits. In ceremonies, many of the spirits were represented by pairs of masked dancers wearing elaborate costumes. The Bird Societies had economic as well as ritual functions. They formed work parties to clear garden sites and joined in communal hunts. The Bird Societies have continued up to the present; today men often manufacture masks and other traditional artifacts for the tourist trade, selling them to Brazilian traders who purchase them for resale to collectors.

Each Tapirapé village also had Feast Groups, which included both men and women. Generally, a man joined his father's group and a woman her mother's, although people could change membership, especially to keep a man and wife in the same group. Feast groups met specifically to eat together, each at its appointed place in the village plaza. This helped to distribute the food supply: a group would be called together whenever one of its members had an unusual amount of food (e.g., a large game animal) on hand.

In another redistributive ceremony, those people who accepted and drank what has been described by observers as a "nauseating beverage" earned the right to claim personal possessions, even the most prized, from those who spat the drink out. The givers, however, gained prestige from their generosity.

According to Tapirapé cosmology, the world is filled with spirits of all kinds, most of which are dangerous to humans. The importance of the shaman lies in his ability to manipulate and control these spirits. The culture heroes, who made and organized the world as we know it, are believed to have been master shamans. The dream experiences of living shamans parallel those of mythical culture heroes: in both, spirits are outwitted and subdued. In an annual ceremony, the shamans as a group would pit their powers against those of the formidable thunder spirit. Shamans have healing powers, but when a person died from

disease, which traditionally was always assumed to have a supernatural cause, a shaman was often suspected of having caused the death and might be killed by the victim's relatives. During the epidemics, this led to a series of revenge killings. The Tapirapé say that the shamans of the present day are only "little shamans" who can treat children and minor ailments but cannot cure the sickness of grown people, who are more likely to resort to Western medicine.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Tatuyo

ETHNONYMS: Emñreke Pinz Makñ, Pamwa Mahâ, Sons of the Celestial Anaconda (used only in ritual)

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Tatuyo are part of the Tukano linguistic and cultural group. "Tatuyo" is the Nheêngatu translation of the indigenous word "pamô" (pl., *pamwa*), which means "armadillo." "Pamwa Mahâ" literally means "the armadillo people." This is a pejorative designation (since humans emerged from the earth, and not from the water of the river), used by the junior clan to refer to the senior clan. By extension, this term is used in the Tukano area to refer to the entire tribe.

**Location.** The territory occupied by the Tatuyo is that surrounding the upper course of the Río Pirá-Paraná, at its headwaters, which is where the people have always lived. In addition, there exists a Tatuyo clan (Owa Mahâ) that lives at the confluence of the Papurí and Yapú rivers and in a

few *malocas* (indigenous houses) on the upper course of the Caño Ti. The Pirá-Paraná is a small river that flows along the western margin of the Guyana flank, in Colombian territory. Tatuyoland is located between 69°50' and 71° W and between 0°20' and 0°60' N.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Tatuyo is part of the Eastern Tukanoan Group of the Tukanoan Language Family (formerly called Betoya).

**Demography.** In 1970 the population of the Tatuyo was estimated at between 250 and 300 persons.

### History and Cultural Relations

There are no historical documents on the ancient Tatuyo. Tatuyo mythology, for its part, tells of a vast migration and metamorphosis of a primordial people originally located in the east. They entered the world by traveling up a white river, called the Milk River. This myth, which is common to all of the tribes of the northwestern Amazon region, is probably based on historical reality. According to the myth, it was at the great Ipanore rapids that the Tukano tribes, which had been traveling together in a Great Anaconda dugout canoe, parted ways, each acquiring its own language and territory. Each tribe enjoys a distinctiveness, built upon the common foundation of Tukano culture. Although the Tatuyo are mythically related to all the tribes of the Vaupés, their strongest ties are to their closest neighbors, the Karapana to the northwest, and the Taiwano and Barasana to the south. The Tatuyo have had periodic contact with the world of Whites since the mid-twentieth century, through rubber tappers, traders, Catholic and Protestant missions, public schools, sanitation and public health services, ethnologists, and most recently, organized cocaine traffickers and guerrilla groups.

### Settlements

The maloca has largely been preserved in the Pirá-Paraná Basin. It consists of a long rectangular frame with a double pitch roof, each maloca housing a patrilineage. The houses are situated on the very banks of the Pirá-Paraná and its tributaries. They are ordered spatially (upstream/downstream, Pirá-Paraná/tributaries), according to the genealogical hierarchy of the clans and lineages. The travel times between malocas are from several minutes to several hours, both by dugout on the rivers and by foot along forest paths.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Tatuyo practice swidden agriculture, bitter manioc (*Manihot utilisima*) being the principal cultigen. The acquisition of the first manioc plant and the establishment of the first swidden are considered by the Tatuyo as the fundamental transformation from savage life to civilization. The manioc is principally used to produce a large, flat bread (cassava), which is the main staple of the Tatuyo diet. Manioc is also used to produce a flour (*fariña*), which can be preserved and sold, and a fermented drink (*chicha*), which is of great importance in religious ceremonies. The Tatuyo cultivate a number of other plants common to the societies of the northwestern Amazon region. The men are expert fisher-



men and, to a lesser degree, hunters (today guns have almost completely replaced the bow and arrow and the blowgun with curare-tipped darts). Both sexes gather wild products, which contribute significantly to the diet. Forest products in particular play an important role in ritual, in addition to their dietary value. During the rubber boom and sporadically into the 1970s, many Tatuyo worked as rubber tappers. More recently (in the 1980s), they have begun to increase the size of their coca (*Erythroxylum coca*) gardens, to sell the leaves, dried or made into a paste, to cocaine traffickers. Occasionally the Tatuyo sell Whites manioc flour, smoked or salted meat, and items of material culture such as baskets, pots, and blowguns.

**Industrial Arts.** Tatuyo women make pottery; men make baskets, dugout canoes, blowguns, bows and arrows, and magnificent feather headdresses.

**Trade.** Certain products and artifacts are the object of a series of exchanges with the other Tukano tribes: curare, manioc graters, river-snail shells, and ibis feathers (these feathers are considered the principal form of wealth and function as money among the tribes). Since the 1950s various items have been bought from Whites: salt, axes, machetes, knives, guns, fishhooks, flashlights, aluminum and plastic containers, hammocks, clothing, radios, and most recently, outboard motors.

**Division of Labor.** The division of labor is quite pronounced, both between men and women, and among men, the latter mainly concerning ritual and political tasks. Men build the malocas; make most wooden objects; weave baskets; prepare the *chagra* (swiddens); cultivate coca, tobacco, and chili; hunt; and fish. In addition, they have a monopoly on religious, ritual, and political work, all of which is highly specialized according to lineage and clan. Women tend the gardens, cook, and take care of the young children.

**Land Tenure.** Each Tatuyo clan occupies a territory, the "possession" of which is legitimated by the origin myth.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Tatuyo society is an exogamous unit organized hierarchically into five differentiated patrilineal clans.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology is of the Dravidian type.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Because all Tatuyo consider themselves related through common descent from the Celestial Anaconda, the men take their wives from the neighboring societies: Karapana, Taiwano, Barasana, Panena, Tuyuka, and Cubeo. The greater the distance between tribes, the rarer the marriages between them (although they are not forbidden). The ideal marriage is the exchange of sisters between two men belonging to two traditionally allied lineages. Marriages involving the exchange of women who are not sisters also occur, such as those of women exchanged between a man and his sister's son. Temporary residence can be matrilineal with bride-service, but it is ultimately virilocal. After a divorce a woman returns to her kin and

takes up with another man. There are several cases of sororate. Polygyny, although permitted, is rather rare.

**Domestic Unit.** The domestic unit is the nuclear family, which, in case of serious conflict, can survive alone in a house in the forest. In general, however, the nuclear family is part of a larger unit, the maloca or longhouse, which constitutes the local group. The maloca is ideally comprised of the families of full brothers, each of which occupies a particular space, determined by birth, in the longhouse.

**Inheritance.** The Tatuyo have little property to transmit, but sons inherit from their fathers and daughters from their mothers. Social, political, religious, and ritual offices and the songs, incantations, and objects attached to them are inherited in the paternal line according to principles strictly determined by Tatuyo social organization.

**Socialization.** The Tatuyo lavish their children with affection and use physical coercion only exceptionally. Early on, children are told stories about ghosts (*wáti*) that haunt the forest foot paths at night, devouring those who foolishly leave the protection of the maloca. Later, the children are told the myths that trace the major outlines of Tatuyo culture. Rites mark the major phases in the separation of the sexes. At every stage of socialization the emphasis is on the cohesion of the group of brothers that forms the core of the community and on the individuality of young girls, who enter at marriage into the network of alliances. For a generation or two the Tatuyo hid their children so that they would not have to attend the mission school. Since the 1970s, however, the Tatuyo have wanted their children to be educated so that they would be better prepared for interactions with Whites.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Tatuyo social organization is based upon a hierarchical principle, the senior/junior opposition, which manifests itself at the level of full brothers, lineages, and clans. Each clan is specialized in many respects. The aggregate of clans constitutes the Tatuyo society, an organic unit that is represented symbolically as the body of the Celestial Anaconda, the ancestor of the Tatuyo.

**Political Organization.** The aggregate of Tatuyo clans does not constitute a political entity, however. Political power is always centered around certain men who add to the prestige of their birth (as oldest lineage or clan member) a personal, intellectual, and moral prestige.

**Social Control.** The head of the maloca possesses little means other than his personal authority to maintain social solidarity. Situations involving serious conflict mean the destruction of the community: either dispersal of its members to other malocas or a solitary life in the forest. A desire to avoid the innumerable inconveniences caused by the dissolution of the core group of brothers is the basis of social control and local-group solidarity.

**Conflict.** The pan-Amazonian myth of the "Bird-Nester" is one of the best indicators of the pivotal role of conflict in an indigenous community. In the Tatuyo version, the protagonists are an elder and younger brother who are in competition for the same woman. Within the hierarchical

structure of the clans there also exists a structural conflict (portrayed in myth and continually acted out in everyday life) between the senior (Pamwa-Mahô) and junior (Peta-Huna) clans, which effectively rules out, before the fact, the establishment of senior-clan hegemony over the rest of the society.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Tatuyo religious life is inseparable from social, economic, and political life. Myth organizes these various aspects of existence not so much by imposing belief as by equating its mythological images with the reality of the natural and cultural world in which the Tatuyo live. Religious (spiritual) experience itself is essentially mystical and ecstatic in nature, based in particular on the powerful psychotropic plant *yahé* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*; i.e., ayahuasca). All the mythical beings are supernatural beings. At the head of the mythical pantheon is the Sun, the Father, who is at once the creator and supreme shaman. Then come the other major figures, such as the Celestial Anaconda (the biological ancestor of the Tatuyo); Yurupari Anaconda (the initiatory ancestor); Earth Jaguar (the wild ancestor of humankind); Romi-Kumu; the Woman-Shaman (the hard-hearted woman); the Adywaroas; the Celestial Workers (originally the first night, fire, and thunder); and Warimi, the culture hero, who is the intermediary between the sky and the earth, between myth and the tangible world, between the people (Mahâ, those who call themselves Tatuyo) and the Whites. In addition to the great mythological characters, there are the wâti, the cannibalistic ghosts that live in the forest.

**Religious Practitioners.** Men hold a monopoly on religious practices, and each man can be a practitioner. Nevertheless, certain men are recognized as great practitioners and are called *ka mahm* ("those who know") or *kumu* (shaman; generally called *payé* in Brazil).

**Ceremonies.** There are two types of ceremony among the Tatuyo: those in which the sacred flutes and trumpets (called *pohe* in Tatuyo and *yurupari* in Nheêngatu) are played and those in which the instruments are not played. The former type, referred to generically as the "festival of yurupari," are associated with the initiation of boys and with the appearance of the season's first fruits. It entails, by means of word, dance, and music, a reenactment of the "way of primordial water"—the creation of the world and people. The second type of ceremony is based on the exchange of forest foods by allies.

**Arts.** The feather ornaments and choreography of the religious ceremonies are the most notable forms of Tatuyo artistic expression.

**Medicine.** Virtually every type of activity, object, plant, animal, or food can be a source or vector of illness, the dangers of which must be counteracted by a shaman. The Tatuyo use relatively few plants to cure illness. Shamanic cures consist mainly of verbal pronouncements intended to dispel the evil causing the sickness. The Tatuyo no longer hesitate to avail themselves of Western medicine whenever possible.

**Death and Afterlife.** When a man dies he takes his hammock, machete, and all the possessions that were im-

portant to him, waves goodbye, and leaves. He passes to the other side and arrives in another maloca, the Baleful Maloca, where he is received by his deceased parents. He stays there, seated in a hole, for one year, during which time he has many dreams. After a year's time he goes down to the river to wash and to take off the feather ornaments in which he was buried. When he returns to the maloca it is changed; it has become the Maloca of the Primordial Opening, where people live before being born.

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PATRICE BIDOU

(Translated by Christopher Latham)

## **Terena**

ETHNONYMS: Etalena, Ethelená, Etnoe, Poké (self-designation, meaning "land"), Terenoá, Terenos, Terenue

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Terena are a Guana or Chane ("many people" in the Terena language) subgroup that originally lived in the northeast of the Paraguayan Chaco.

**Location.** At present the Terena are located almost entirely in the municipalities of Miranda and Aquidauana, in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso do Sul, except for a small group living in villages in the state of São Paulo. The Aquidauana-Miranda region lies between 20° and 22° S and 54° and 58° W. The elevation of the region is less than 200 meters. The climate is moist-tropical.

**Demography.** The Terena are among the few native Brazilian populations that have displayed population growth. In the 1840s, when they migrated into Brazilian territory, the Terena numbered about 3,000. At the end of the 1950s, there were around 3,800. Official data note approximately 12,000 village dwellers during the mid-1980s. Informal estimates suggest that up to 8,000 Terena live on the outskirts of the main towns in Mato Grosso do Sul. Birthrates are high, as are mortality rates. This gives the population structure of the Terena an appearance similar

to that of the Brazilian population in general—a pyramid with a broad base and a narrow top. Until the 1950s infectious diseases in general and tuberculosis in particular were the main causes of death. Today the causes of death are mixed, with infectious as well as chronic degenerative causes. Among children, the main causes of death are infectious diseases, especially gastroenteritis and respiratory infections.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Terena language is part of the Arawak Language Family, with elements of the Mbayá-Guaikuru cultural module.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The Guana people, traditionally cultivators, maintained a vassalage relation with the Mbayá-Guaikuru of the Paraguayan Chaco: they supplied them with food and textiles, receiving in exchange knives, axes, and protection. From the mid-eighteenth century on, as a consequence of conflicts with the colonial powers, the Guana people began to migrate to Brazilian territory—to the Miranda region where the Terena are located today. Of the four Guana groups that migrated, the Exoaladi disappeared soon thereafter, followed by the Layana in the twentieth century; only a few members of the Kinkinau survive with the Terena. The Kinkinau, who had been cultivators in the Chaco, continued to practice agriculture, bartering or selling excess food or textile articles to the region's Indian and non-Indian population. The Terena fought side by side with Brazilian troops during the war against Paraguay in the 1860s. At the end of the war, the Terena villages lay in ruins and the population had been dispersed to the region's farms, working under quasi-slavery conditions; in the early twentieth century, Terena reservations were established and their territories defined, enabling the population to regroup once again into villages.

### *Settlements*

The Terena are spread over thirteen indigenous areas totaling twenty-nine villages: of these areas, six have an exclusively Terena population and four have a predominantly Terena population; in three areas the Terena are in the minority. The areas with an exclusively Terena population are Aldeinha, Burity, Cachoeirinha, Nioaque, Pilade Rebuá, and Taunay/Ipeque. Those with a predominantly Terena population are Hraribá (Terena, Guaraní, and Kaingáng); LaLima (Terena and Kinkinau); Limão Verde (Terena and Guaraní); and Vanuire (Terena and Kaingáng). Those with a Terena minority are Dourados (Guaraní and Terena); Icatu (Kaingáng and Terena); and Kadiwéu (Kadiwéu and Terena). For the most part, the construction of Terena houses follows a pattern similar to the traditional one, with palm-tree-trunk or adobe-brick walls and thatched roofs; a few houses are of masonry. Houses generally have a living room and a bedroom; the kitchen may be inside the house or separate, in a contiguous shed. The toilet, not always extant, is some 10 meters away from the house. A few villages have electricity and running water, supplied by artesian or semiartesian wells.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Terena continue to be an agricultural people. Traditional crops (maize, cassava, rice, potatoes, beans, and sugarcane) are now joined by soybeans, vegetables, fruit, and the raising of poultry. Cattle and horses, which were also raised traditionally, are bred solely for use by the Terena themselves, rather than for sale. Food gathering continues on a regular basis, particularly of hearts of palm and citrus fruits, which along with mangoes are either consumed or sold at the regional market. Excess food is sold in the major municipalities of Mato Grosso do Sul, to which the Terena travel by train almost daily. A large number of young Terena men are hired to work on the region's farms and in sugarcane and alcohol mills for periods of up to ninety days, during which they are absent from the village.

**Industrial Arts.** The traditional crafts of the Terena were pottery, basket weaving, and the spinning of cotton to make hammocks, belts, and so forth. At present pottery is still the main activity among the Terena who make, both for sale and for their own use, generally zoomorphic kitchen utensils and decorative objects. In some villages there are artisans who work with natural fibers, making hats and fans; others fashion factory-made threads into armbands, scarves, belts, and necklaces of natural seeds. There are some goldsmiths who work metals into decorative objects.

**Trade.** Although the Terena at one time bartered their excess foodstuffs and their handicrafts with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, they started selling them after their move to Brazilian territory, turning them into important components of the regional city dwellers' supply. At present the Terena sell many of their excess farm products, especially beans and citrus fruit. Consumption of orchard, vegetable-garden, and poultry products is small; they are produced almost exclusively for sale. Mangoes are picked and sold while still green, for processing purposes.

**Division of Labor.** Raising crops, hunting, fishing, and making baskets were men's jobs; women took care of spinning, pottery, and household work. Both men and women were food gatherers. This has remained relatively unchanged, except that women share the agricultural work and there are some men engaging in spinning and weaving.

**Land Tenure.** Land is used among the Terena in three different ways: for individual or family work; for collective farming; and for collective farming in agricultural projects under the guidance and coordination of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (Brazilian National Indian Foundation, FUNAI). These projects tend to be exclusively of the cash-farming variety, as opposed to the first two, which are oriented toward subsistence farming plus sale of crop surpluses. In some indigenous areas where the population density is high (about 5.5 inhabitants per square kilometer as in Pilade Rebuá), farming is difficult, a fact that prevents the inhabitants from subsisting solely from their own land.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Terena society traditionally was of a dualistic nature, being divided into halves called, respectively, Sukirikionó and Xumonó. At the time of first contact, this dualism was reflected only in ceremonials and in social organization, the halves functioning solely as matrimonial classes. Besides being divided into halves, Terena society featured socially differentiated strata. The layers and the halves were endogamous. Today few Terena can say to which half they belong. Because of the great changes that occurred in the social organization of Terena communities, the endogamy of halves and layers has ceased to exist.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Terena kinship system is of the Hawaiian type. The same term is used to designate brothers and cross or parallel cousins, the only distinction made being that of sex. The same classification criterion appears for the second ascendant generation; in the first ascendant generation the same trend occurs, but there are terms for differentiating mother, father, and siblings. In the first descending generation there is only one kinship term for both sexes.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** In traditional Terena society marriage between consanguineal kin was not permitted. There were cases of levirate and sororate as well as cases of simple or sororal polygyny. Today, owing to the influence of Christianity, these unions are uncommon and are also condemned by the Terena community itself; monogamous unions are most common. Marriage traditionally implied certain socially consecrated behavior, which consisted of states intermediate to marriage. The bridegroom was taken by his parents to the bride's house and remained there for some time. Before the wedding, the groom's and bride's families cooperated in the collection of *mopó* (honey used in the preparation of drinks). The marriage was authorized by the father of the bride. Today these intermediate stages are no longer practiced. Nonetheless, the parents of the bride still exert much influence over the choice of the husband. Interethnic marriages are frequent, generally between a Terena woman and a "civilized" man.

**Domestic Unit.** The Terena originally lived in communal houses, in extended-family units. The houses were located around a central square. When the Service for the Protection of Indians (SPI) built the indigenous reservations, the familial pattern changed. At present domestic groups are generally made up of nuclear families.

**Inheritance.** In the past an individual's personal belongings were buried with the corpse. Today this practice is still followed in a few villages, but now that the Terena are part of a market economy, the deceased's children and other close relatives usually inherit his belongings.

**Socialization.** Children are socialized at home. At age 7 or 8 they start going to the schools on the indigenous reserves. In some villages there is bilingual instruction. While still at home the children are raised by the mother and other women in the family, the men having less contact with them. The treatment of children is generally quite

permissive, corporal punishment being rarely used. In traditional Terena society mothers would nurse their children until they were about 6 years old.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Terena society traditionally featured two strata—*naati* and *waherê-txané*. The *naati* were the chiefs and their kin, whereas the *waherê-txané* were the common people. There also was a third layer, *kauti*, made up of individuals from other ethnicities absorbed into the Terena society. The term "kauti" comes from the Portuguese word *cativo* (captive). Each local Terena group had a "chief of the people" and a "war chief." The latter was selected from members of the social group called *xuna-xati* if he displayed great military ability; consequently the existence of the *xuna-xati* group also provided a mechanism for social climbing. When the SPI established the indigenous reserves, administration of the villages fell to their appointee. At present there is an administrator for each indigenous post, appointed by FUNAI. As a result the head of the community has the scope of his activities restricted to handling the internal problems of the village. This person, called *capitão* (Portuguese for "captain," designating a military rank) is elected by the community. One institution that resisted historic and cultural change is the Council of Elders. The community's older prestigious men take part in this council.

**Political Organization.** Present-day forms of political activity in Terena villages consist of electing Terena representatives to the government's political institutions. Terena Indians are serving as elected aldermen in the municipal chambers of towns adjacent to their villages. This adds a local political dimension to the national level of the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI). Political expression is still limited, however, since Brazil's indigenous populations are wards of FUNAI, the governmental agency that holds decision-making power in indigenous matters.

**Social Control.** The village Council of the Elders is the most important institution for exercising social control in Terena communities. Family problems in the villages are discussed by the council, which often has the power to rule on a range of internal community matters.

**Conflict.** While still in the Chaco, the Terena had frequent conflicts with the Yláí and Yúaeno (cited in the ethnography of the period). After migrating to Brazilian territory, the Terena did not get involved in conflicts either with the regional population or with other tribal groups. Nonetheless, when the Brazil-Paraguay War started in the second half of the nineteenth century, all the Terena villages were destroyed and Terena were recruited to bolster the ranks of the Brazilian army. It was only in 1910, when the SPI was created and the Terena reservations were set up in the southern part of Mato Grosso, that the Terena population could once again organize into communities.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Prior to the imposition of Christianity, the religious life of the Terena was oriented toward shamanism. According to the Terena's conception of the world, all human, animal, and plant beings possessed a

soul (*hoipihapati*) that survives after death. Personifications of natural forces inhabited the mythical-symbolical universe of the Terena. One of the most important myths is that of the Yurikoyuvakai, the civilizing twin heroes, who gave the Terena their tools. It is this myth that justifies the division into ceremonial halves in traditional Terena society.

**Religious Practitioners.** In traditional Terena society the shaman (*koixomuneti*) was the main figure in activities connected with the supernatural world. In addition to functioning as a healer, the *koixomuneti* was an important counselor in warring expeditions, since he or she predicted future events. The *koixomuneti*'s apprenticeship took several months, during which the candidate went through a period of solitude and fasting under the guidance of an experienced *koixomuneti*. A person generally became a shaman after a revelation in a dream or by being selected by a *koixomuneti* among his (or her) kin. At this time there still are a few practicing village *koixomuneti* (both men and women), performing a shamanic ritual that combines traditional elements with Christianity. The *koixomuneti* are always practicing Catholics.

**Ceremonies.** The great ceremonial feast of the Terena used to be the Oheokoti, consisting of sacred as well as profane rituals. This ceremony was performed when the Pleiades reached their highest point in the skies (April/May) and was linked to the start of the harvest. The ceremony began with shamanic rituals and continued with fun and games, ending in a large feast. At present only the shamanic ritual is still practiced in a few Terena villages. The holidays particularly celebrated in the villages today are the National Day of the Indian (19 April), Christmas, and New Year's.

**Arts.** Traditional Terena dancers wear special costumes and paint. Skirts are made of rhea feathers, the bird being important in Terena mythology. The dancers are accompanied by a flute player and the sound of a drum. Today, the "wood-beating" dance (*kohixotikipahê*) is performed during the National Indian Day celebrations. Two groups of dancers take part in this dance. Another surviving dance is the women's *putu-putu*.

**Medicine.** Practically all Terena adults are familiar with the more widely used medicinal plants. The *koixomuneti* is generally consulted when the more common treatments do not work or if "witchcraft" is suspected. Techniques used by the *koixomuneti* include suction and fumigation. In addition to the *koixomuneti*, there are prestigious healers in the villages, who also are frequently consulted. Their treatment generally involves plant therapy. FUNAI operates an infirmary at each indigenous post; however, they have neither supplies of medication nor the structure required to serve the population.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Terena used to bury their dead with the head facing west. They believed that after death the spirit moved on to the "land of the dead," which is to the west, in the direction of the Chaco, their old habitat. The *koixomuneti* helped the spirit in its voyage to the land of the dead. The Terena traditionally burn the dead person's house or replace the entrance door so that if the spirit of the deceased returns, looking for company, it

would not recognize its old abode. At present burial and mourning follow the patterns current among the Brazilian population.

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FERNANDO CARVALHO AND  
RODOLPHO TELAROLLI JUNIOR

## Ticuna

ETHNONYMS: Jaunas, Tekuna, Tikuna, Tipuna, Tocunas, Tokuna, Tucuna, Tukuna

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Ticuna" is apparently of foreign origin; perhaps it comes from the Tupí, "Taco-una," which means "men painted black" or "black skins." This name was given them by their neighbors because formerly the Ticuna often painted their bodies black with *genipapo* (*Genipa americana*) juice. In their daily conversations the Ticuna call themselves "Due'e," which means "people."

**Location.** Formerly, the Ticuna occupied the headwaters and central courses of small tributaries on the left side of the Amazon River and its headwaters, which flow into the Putumayo, from 71°15' to 68°40' W. Today their territory covers areas of Peru, Colombia, and Brazil. Most of the Ticuna live near the Amazon. In Peru, they have settled in the northeastern part of the department of Loreto in the province of Maynas; in Colombia, they inhabit the Amazon Trapeze in the Amazonas Commissariat; in Brazil, they live in the state of Amazonas, in the municipalities of San Pablo do Olivença, San Antonio do Iça, Benjamin Constant, and Fonte Boa.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Ticuna is believed to be an independent language.

**Demography.** In 1981 the Ticuna population in Brazil and Peru was estimated to be 15,900. There were an estimated 18,421 Ticuna in Brazil in 1984 and 5,635 in Colombia in 1986.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

According to their creation myth, the Ticuna originated in the Eware ravine, near the Colombian-Brazilian border. Formerly the left bank of the Amazon, as well as its islands, were occupied by the Omagua, who were the enemies of the Ticuna. The banks of the Río Putumayo were inhabited by Arawak, Mariaté, Yumana, and Pasé Indians, who had become almost completely extinct by the middle of the nineteenth century. To the west of the Ticuna lived the Peba and the Yagua; the latter are still their neighbors. When the Europeans arrived in the area, the Omagua were decimated by wars between Portuguese and Spanish missionaries and by epidemics. The population of the Mayoróna also decreased. This enabled the Ticuna to expand their territory toward that of the Omagua and Mayoróna. Between 1864 and 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay; the involvement of the Ticuna in this war led to a decrease in their population. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, intensive rubber tapping was instigated, with natives as the main source of labor. Of the Ticuna, the most seriously affected were those living on Brazilian soil; they were forcibly relocated. Former rubber tappers are now the owners of the land and the Ticuna's "bosses," a situation that has generated still-unresolved conflicts. In 1932 a war between Colombia and Peru erupted, causing the Ticuna to emigrate from the left to the right bank of the Amazon. In the 1940s farmers and city dwellers began to colonize the Amazon Trapeze. A significant development of the 1950s was a bonanza in the export of hides and animals; the physical presence of the church was also affirmed by the Apostolic Prefecture of Leticia. Besides preaching, the church began to build schools in the area in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s and is still in charge of the education that is imparted to the Indians. In the 1970s there were two important trends that affected the Ticuna of Brazil as well as those of Colombia: a considerable population increase and the concentration of people in villages all along the Amazon. In the 1980s an incipient messianic movement, founded and propagated by Brother José Francisco da Cruz, involved almost the entire Ticuna population in Brazil and Peru and, to a lesser degree, of Colombia.

### *Settlements*

Formerly, the Ticuna lived in communal houses that were removed from each other and located in the middle of the jungle, in the area called terra firme, that is, on land above the flood line. The houses were large, had an oval floor plan, and a central section in which ceremonies were held. They accommodated various nuclear families. Communication between the houses was by way of foot trails. River navigation was of little significance. Later the communal houses were gradually replaced by rectangular houses with

two-sided roofs and no walls. The new houses stood dispersed in the periodically inundated Amazon River area and were occupied by nuclear families. Both the change in settlement, from terra firme to land subject to flooding, and the substitution of one-family houses for communal houses, have substantially transformed the Ticuna way of life. The Indians have learned how to make good canoes, have adopted new techniques for fishing in large rivers, and have acquired new cultivation practices. Contact with Whites has intensified. In the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the Ticuna adopted yet a different settlement pattern in the form of villages. Concomitant with this innovation was the increasing number of settlers in the area and the establishment of more cattle ranches, which diminished the land available for hunting and cultivation. Nowadays the majority of Ticuna live in villages whose population varies between 70 and 1,500. The most populous villages are located on Brazilian soil.

Ticuna houses have two well defined spaces: the living quarters and the kitchen. The former is subdivided into three areas. The first is a raised platform on pillars, which protects the residents from possible flooding and from animals; the second is defined by the floor of the platform and the cross beams of the roof. Here the two occupants sleep under mosquito nets, since hammocks are now used only for resting during the day. In the third section, the Ticuna place boards over the transverse roof beams, where children occasionally sleep and special items are kept. The kitchen can be a prolongation of the house or form a small shed.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Ticuna are horticulturists, fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and traders. Which activities are more important for their diet depends in great measure on the location of their settlements. The subsistence of those who live in the middle of the forest is based on horticulture, fishing, and gathering, whereas the others depend more on horticulture, fishing, and trade. Shifting horticulture is practiced by the slash-and-burn method. The main products are sweet and bitter manioc, maize, various kinds of bananas and plantains, and fruit trees. For hunting, firearms and, to a lesser degree, blowguns are used. Mammals are more important sources of food than birds or reptiles because of the amount of meat they supply. Fishing is the main source of animal protein, and surplus fish are sold to the non-Indian population. Most of the fruit gathered is consumed by the children. The Ticuna also collect beetle larvae and ants. The main goal of trade is to obtain money to buy clothes, school supplies, salt, sugar, ammunition, batteries, petroleum, and kitchen utensils. The Ticuna sell bananas, fish, manioc flour, and fruit. Tourists, who visit the Ticuna periodically, buy various handicraft items, especially bark cloth, which is ornately painted.

**Industrial Arts.** The Ticuna are considered excellent artisans. Their arts include woodworking, cordage making, basketry, and pottery, and they make numerous decorated objects from plant materials such as bark, husks, and seeds. Cotton weaving disappeared with the introduction of commercial clothes. The art of featherwork is being lost,

in part because there are fewer birds. Traditional instruments for hunting—blowguns and darts—are also being manufactured less often.

**Trade.** Formerly, the Ticuna were famous for their 3-meter-long blowguns as well as for their most effective dart poison for hunting. Other Indians visited them to acquire their poison. Nowadays local groups generally exchange manioc or bananas for fish when floods damage their crops.

**Division of Labor.** Men are in charge of getting animal protein (fish and game) and clearing the forest for cultivation. Women gather wild fruit, plant, and prepare the food and drink. Construction of houses and the production of hunting and fishing gear and musical instruments are male activities. Men also make wooden sculptures and ritual masks, whereas women make cordage, baskets, and pots. Some young men work as lumberjacks and ranch hands, and some women work as domestic servants.

**Land Tenure.** Formerly, the Ticuna had control over their land and occupied it according to alliances they made with each other. In the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries, they extended their territory to the right bank of the Amazon. Nowadays ownership over land is based on work done to acquire it. This custom is strongly observed; even after the land has been abandoned, people recognize that it has an owner. During the 1980s the governments of Brazil and Colombia demarcated and gave title of some areas to the Ticuna.

### Kinship

**Kinship Groups and Descent.** Ticuna society is organized in clans and moieties that govern daily behavior. Clans are identified by specific names of birds, insects, mammals, and plants. Clans that are identified by a bird's name constitute one moiety, the Feather people, and all the others form the second moiety, the Non-Feather people. Previously the personal names of Ticuna were emblematic of the clan to which they belonged. This custom is weakening. Today relations between Ticuna women and White men have resulted in individuals who do not have a clan. Despite the effects of contact, however, clan and moiety are still the basis of Ticuna identity.

**Kinship Terminology.** According to Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira (1961, 22), the Ticuna have Dakota-type social organization.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The basic rule governing moieties is based on moiety exogamy. Marriage must take place between members of different moieties. Formerly, the preferred form of marriage was for the maternal uncle to marry his niece. The most common form of marriage today is between people of the same generation. Cross-cousin marriage, which was permissible under traditional rules, is considered incestuous by the Catholic missionaries. Also, polygyny, which was practiced frequently in former times (a man could be married to several women, who were generally sisters), has now given way to monogamy. Children belong to their fa-

ther's clan. In times past, residence tended to be uxori-local; now it is neolocal. Divorce is infrequent among the Ticuna.

**Domestic Unit.** Nuclear families tend to live near others to whom they are related, either on the maternal or paternal side, and there is economic exchange and cooperation between them.

**Inheritance.** According to Nimuendajú (1952, 64), inheritance is from father to son and from mother to daughters.

**Socialization.** The care and education of a child are in the hands of his or her parents. Education is imparted through activities related to practical situations. Children are raised permissively. Unacceptable behavior elicits scolding, or in exceptional cases, corporal punishment. Nowadays children go to school, where they learn how to speak the language of the country, either Spanish or Portuguese, and the Catholic doctrine.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Now as in the past, the Ticuna form a social unit of one culture, one language, and one territory. They are structured in local groups that make up a network of kin relations both internally within the local group and externally with neighboring local groups. Because of certain governmental policies, associations and leadership positions that do not pertain to traditional Ticuna culture are forming within local groups.

**Political Organization.** In the past, the chiefs of local groups were the heads of large families and were endowed with magical powers, intelligence, and ability to deal with strangers. One of their roles was that of counselor. These traditional chiefs were replaced, through contact with the Whites, by *taxáuas* in Brazil and by curacas in Peru and Colombia. They became mere figureheads who were manipulated by the group. Now village chiefs are called "captain" in Brazil and "curaca" in the other two countries. Their role is that of spokesmen vis-à-vis official authorities, mediators between their own community and others, and organizers of collective work. Efforts are being made to establish paramount authorities, one in Brazil and one in Colombia.

**Social Control.** The most important forms of social control are gossip, social alienation, and sorcery. The shamanic institution among the Ticuna is disappearing because of interference of Catholics and Protestants. The greatest fear, however, lies in the possible retaliation by supernatural powers against those who break the law, especially the rules against incest. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the punishment for incest was death. If there is a homicide by sorcery and the guilty party has been identified, it will be incumbent upon the dead person's relatives to avenge the murder. The Ticuna judicial system has been modified in many ways, and in certain cases its operation is left to others.

**Conflict.** The first contact with Europeans did not directly affect the Ticuna. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although contact intensified, bloodshed was minimal because of the pacific disposition of the Indians.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the population was redistributed according to the interests of the outside "bosses." This change led to the rupture of old alliances and the opening of new frontiers. Gradual colonization, emphasized since the 1950s, has generated intercultural contact, which precipitated, among other repercussions, the gradual introduction of a market economy, a decrease in natural resources, the overpopulation of some areas, and ethnic mixing. Serious conflicts over land have led to bloodshed. Internally, conflicts occur in local groups between Catholic and evangelical Ticuna: the former want to retain their traditional rituals, which the latter consider sinful. Another point of conflict concerns unions between White men and Ticuna women, because the former tend to impose their social norms on their in-laws.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Ancient religion, some portion of which remains, teaches that the world is controlled by spirits and forces that determine the course of events. Both Portuguese and Spanish missionaries began their evangelical work during the first centuries of discovery and conquest, so the majority of Ticuna are now Catholic. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, there have been various messianic movements. Ta'e is the divinity who inhabits the World Above, and who gives the Ticuna their souls. The most important mythical beings are the Yo'i and Ipi, two brothers who function as culture heroes and who confront several demons of the Intermediate World and the World Below. Nutapa was the first man, from whom the mythical brothers and their sisters were born. Me'tare was a powerful shaman who conducted the first female initiation ceremony.

**Religious Practitioners.** Formerly there were many more shamans than there are today, and they were believed to be more powerful than their contemporary counterparts. Magical power is derived from the shaman's relationship with the spirits of certain trees. Curing is done by means of sucking and tobacco smoking. Some shamans also cause harm by emitting invisible thorns.

**Ceremonies.** The most important ceremony is *la pelazón* (Spanish: "hair cropping") or *môça nova* (Portuguese: "new girl"). During her first menstruation, a young woman is isolated so that men will not see her. A festival is organized, at which there is dancing to continuous drum playing. Indians from various local groups come together for three days. Some of the guests disguise themselves with masks that personify different beings. Then, the girl is brought out of seclusion; she is adorned, and her hair is cut. Following this ritual the initiate begins her adult life.

**Arts.** Songs, sung exclusively during the female initiation ceremony, are very special because of the vocal technique in which they are performed. Both men and women sing them, and the topics can either be freely chosen or deal with mythical passages.

**Medicine.** The practice of traditional medicine has diminished considerably as Western medical practices have become prevalent. Medicinal plants are still used, however, and purification rituals are performed.

**Death and Afterlife.** For the Ticuna there are two kinds of beings: mortal and immortal. Immortals do not die because of any inherent qualities of theirs, but because they go to enchanted places where life is eternal. Although the location of these places is known to the living, nobody can reach them because of their inaccessibility. The souls of the mortals, of which there are two, just as in the case of the immortals, set out in different directions at the moment of death: one goes to the World Above, while the other one remains roaming around the place where the dead person lived.

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GLORIA MYRIAM FAJARDO REYES  
(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## **Toba**

ETHNONYMS: Callagaes, Frentones, L'añagashik, Ntocoit, Qom, Qoml'ek, Qompi, Suris or Juries, Takshik

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** "Toba" is probably the Guaraní translation of the name "Frentones" (Large-browed people), which is found in colonial sources. It refers to the Toba custom of shaving their foreheads. The Toba call themselves "Qom," indicating a special meaning of the ethnic "we." In general, it refers to native villages linked together in opposition to the Whites, who are called "Doqshi."

**Location.** In precontact times the Toba lived between the Pilcomayo and Bermejo rivers in an eastern and a western area. Nowadays these two groups continue to exist, but there are additional important contingents of Toba in the east-central areas of Chaco Province in El Cerrito (Paraguay), in several enclaves of southeastern Bolivia, and in migrant settlements in Argentina, in the cities of Santa Fe, Rosario (province of Santa Fe), and Buenos Aires. The



Chaco, the area where the main Toba settlements are located, is a level and depressed plain with a decrease in relief from northwest to southeast. The climate is dry, especially in the west, and very hot. Annual average precipitation is 60 centimeters in the west and 120 centimeters in the east. Summer temperatures fluctuate between 35° C and 40° C. In winter, freezing weather is common.

**Demography.** In 1987 around 20,000 Toba lived in Chaco Province, whereas in Formosa Province, Argentina, the Toba population numbered around 6,000. Contingents that migrated to Rosario and Buenos Aires totaled around 3,000 individuals.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Toba language belongs to the Guaycurú Family. Existing dialectical variants have not been described as yet.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Chaco was inhabited by the Toba and the linguistically related Pilagá, Mocoví, and Abipon, as well as by the Mataco and Vilela (later called Chunupí). Traditionally there was animosity among the Toba, Mocoví, and Abipon, although they later formed alliances for the purpose of attacking Spanish settlements. It took the Spaniards more than 300 years to conquer and colonize this region. Initially, they may not have been sufficiently interested in the forests and the semitropical swamps of the Chaco except as a means of access to the treasures of gold and silver that were purported to exist toward the northwest (the mythical city of the Césares, for example.) Thus, the Spaniards tried to consolidate roads rather than to dominate the territory. Also, once the Indians of the Chaco had begun to use horses it became very difficult to conquer them by force of arms. Projects were initiated in Tucumán, as well as in Asunción and Corrientes, to establish *encomiendas* and cities, but there was no actual occupation of the Chaco until the end of the nineteenth century. The Jesuits, until their expulsion in 1767, founded some reductions as part of a program to contain and civilize the Chaco Indians. These, especially the Mocoví, Abipon, and Toba, conducted surprise attacks to steal goods (livestock, arms, and captives) from the cattle ranches and the villages of Santa Fe and Buenos Aires.

Beginning in 1870 the military tried to consolidate the Chaco territory and bring it under the control of the national government. This resulted in repeated fighting with the Toba and the Mocoví. After General Victorica's expedition in 1884, however, the Indians did not renew their armed struggle. Around that time settlers, lumber mills, and cattle ranching were introduced in Toba territory. The mills at Salta, Tucumán, Jujuy, and Chaco attracted the natives as temporary wage earners and brought about significant seasonal migration. The cities of Formosa and Resistencia were founded and became points of attraction for White settlers. Cotton became the monoculture that determined the area's economy, and the Toba and the Movocí came to be an exceptional labor force.

Agricultural economic activity, the pressures brought to bear by ranchers and provincial authorities, and hostility among the Toba and the Mocoví triggered confrontations with the police in Napalpi in 1924. The friction was

caused by attempts to force the natives to work in settlements where they had been congregated in reductions, obliging them to refrain from roaming freely about the province. In 1947 in Las Lomitas (Formosa), Toba, and Pilagá natives faced off with the police when they congregated to join the indigenous leader of a nativistic religious movement. Furthermore, the Chaco War between Paraguay and Bolivia in 1933 modified the geopolitical map of the area. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Anglican influence made itself felt in the northwestern part of Formosa and on the Saltenian side of the Pilcomayo. Franciscan missionaries arrived at the beginning of the twentieth century and founded missions in the eastern part of Formosa. The sedentary and secular influences of these missions are evident in many of the settlements that have persisted, for example at the La Paz Mission (Anglican) and the Tacaaglé and Laishí missions (Franciscan). The wave of evangelical missions of the 1940s was a key factor in the appearance of syncretic indigenous religious organizations, like the Toba United Evangelical Church, which was organized at the beginning of 1960 in Chaco Province.

### *Settlements*

In pre-Conquest times, bands settled near river courses in dry areas. Extended families of between thirty and eighty individuals were grouped together. They owned a predetermined territory over which they migrated in order to avoid overexploitation. Nowadays Toba settlements are divided into rural and periurban. The former are areas of fiscal land—some with titles of communal property—where each extended family occupies a piece of land by general consensus. The dwellings are similar to the ranches of neighboring Whites, with thatched roofs and walls of adobe and wood. There are also houses with zinc roofs and brick walls. Usually there is one room or, at the most, two. Dwellings are quite some distance from one another, surrounded by each family's fields. Periurban settlements can consist of groups of cheap living quarters made of zinc and brick, or else look like typical shanty towns that spring up in large coastal cities like Rosario and Buenos Aires. Houses are built from any available material, and there is no special spatial arrangement or agricultural exploitation except for some domestic horticulture.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Toba were hunters and gatherers. Through Western influence they adopted agriculture, raising, for example, manioc, sweet potatoes, pigeon peas, watermelons, and cotton. The most desirable game animals were rheas, wild boars, and deer, among others. The Toba collected honey and berries and the fruit of various trees, especially the carob and the jujube. Once introduced between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the horse became a prized commodity both for use and trade. Contemporary economic activities combine farming with hunting and gathering, rural manual labor, and jobs related to the provincial bureaucracies. In periurban zones Toba work in handicrafts or occasionally as porters.

**Industrial Arts.** The Toba traditionally made baskets, bags, leather objects, and pottery. Nowadays they make items of unfired clay that they decorate with artificial dyes. Such pieces include representations of animals, objects of Western domestic use, and masks. The decorations include motifs that are reminiscent of the archaeological art of northwestern Argentina. In some areas such as El Colchón (Chaco), the wood of the carob tree is utilized for carpentry and the furniture is sold in large cities. Handicrafts are traded either directly or indirectly in towns of the Chaco or in tourist shops in Resistencia, Formosa, and Buenos Aires; cooperatives have been set up for this purpose. Rhea feathers are usually sold directly to non-Indian neighbors, although the Toba also use them to make fans.

**Trade.** In pre-Hispanic times there was trade with tribes from the Amazon and the Chaco. Today the sale of iguana, alligator, and armadillo skins is a source of income for many natives in rural areas.

**Division of Labor.** Formerly, men hunted, fished, warred, and built houses. Women gathered wild fruit, searched for firewood, prepared the food, and took care of the children. They also did work in basketry and pottery. Medicinal practices were generally, but not exclusively, carried out by men. Beginning with the latter part of the nineteenth century, women were incorporated into the rural manual labor force. Leaders of the indigenous churches are usually men even though there are women pastors. Positions in the provincial bureaucracy are mostly monopolized by men.

**Land Tenure.** Each band used to have the right of occupation and usufruct of the entire territory through which it roamed. With the rise of sedentary communities, land rights were modified. Each extended family owns land that is prorated on the basis of a communal agreement. When new members are born into the band and later need a plot of land, the old terrain is subdivided. Laws regarding indigenous affairs voted on by the legislatures of Formosa (Law 426 in 1985) and Chaco (Law 3,258 in 1987) established the legal right of native claims on lands that they had occupied from time immemorial. However, this process of legal recognition has not yet been satisfactorily completed.

### *Kinship*

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The basic kinship unit was the extended family, the aggregate of which formed the local band. Groups of bands made up tribes (*parcialidades*), which were sometimes known by particular names such as L'añagashik ("people from terra firma") or Takshik ("people from the southeast, from below, from the east"). Band exogamy and tribal endogamy prevailed. Bands observed rules of bilateral descent and were organized into matridemes.

**Kinship Terminology.** Toba kinship terminology is of the Hawaiian type for Ego's generation and lineal for the first ascending and first descending generations. There is a special terminology for mourning.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Norms regarding marriage are lax; it is an uxorilocal system in which the men circulate. The marriage ceremony formerly implied that the bride's parents accepted the groom. A festive meeting sealed the union, and for a period of time the new couple lived in the home of the bride's father. Tribal endogamy gives way nowadays to marriages between individuals from different tribes and even to unions between Toba women and White men. Marriages are usually monogamous but there is an institutionalized practice of using small packets of love magic, called *iyagaik*, which facilitate the formation of temporary alliances. Both sororate and levirate are observed to this day. There is a tendency toward neolocal residence. When a couple divorces, the extended family usually takes charge of raising and educating the children.

**Domestic Unit.** Until the middle of the twentieth century the basic domestic unit was the extended family. Since then however, as a consequence of new forms of land tenure and the reorganization of social relations, there has been a process of nuclearization.

**Inheritance.** There are no rigid norms regarding inheritance. Inheritable items are limited to objects of daily use, livestock, and the area of agricultural exploitation belonging to the extended family. Property is usually communal, even though there are individuals who live in villages and cities outside of their original communities.

**Socialization.** Education is provided by the parents and extended kin and is permissive and nonauthoritarian. Children learn rules of behavior through imitation, play, and the advice of adults, as standardized in oral tradition. Solidarity and sharing of goods are emphasized, whereas hoarding and egotism are detested. Provincial primary schools integrate a large number of native students, where they are taught the norms of White socialization and the written codes of cultural transmission. There are some cases in which schools tend to use an intercultural and bilingual approach, but these are still in an initial phase. It is almost always difficult to make values and norms of the house compatible with those that children are taught in school.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Until the campaigns of military conquest of the 1980s, the Toba had a system of political alliances that formed a confederation of tribes in the event of war. It was led by one or more chiefs of renown. In times of peace these structures were subsumed, and there was a return to traditional horizontalism. Leadership was based on the ascription to a parental line of leaders and the possession of power from a supernatural being. This power conferred knowledge relevant to finding sources of food and anticipating hostilities. Chieftainship was a male prerogative and in some cases could be assumed by a council of elderly men. Today, besides focusing on intracomunal decisions, leaders must enter into negotiations with the nonindigenous society. Knowledge of Spanish and familiarity with bureaucracy are indispensable. Consensus is still the norm for collective decision making—leaders articulate the general opinion. The roles of priests in indige-

nous churches take on a relevant political dimension, and in general one can observe a process of superpositioning of functions. Just as shamans were formerly required to possess supernatural power, today's leaders find this power in their relationship with the Christian God. In the area of the Chaco there are provincial administrative bodies in charge of indigenous affairs: in Formosa, the Instituto de Comunidades Aborígenes (Institute of Native Communities) and in Chaco the Instituto del Aborigen Chaqueño (Institute of the Chaco Indians). These organs represent the ethnic groups inhabiting these provinces and articulate the community's interests in government projects that concern indigenous groups.

**Social Control.** Ridiculing egotistical conduct acts as a means of preserving social and economic egalitarianism. Interpersonal tensions express themselves dramatically in the actions of shamans and sorcerers. In some cases, an individual accused of murder through sorcery is ostracized from the community. Indians tend to recur to the police to put a stop to the activities of shamans and sorcerers, something that causes astonishment and incomprehension on the part of the forces of law and order.

**Conflict.** Contact with White settlers produced great changes in the ecology of the Chaco and in indigenous societies. Regional systems of production, schools, provincial administrative bodies, and military service force the Toba to find viable responses to preserve their collective identity: new leaders, indigenous churches, interethnic marriages, and migration to the cities. Migration, which intensified with the economic crisis of the Chaco of the 1950s, took the form of a modified nomadism that occurs in the context of an extremely hostile coastal urban environment. Interethnic friction seems to be neutralized by syncretic religious ideology, which on a representational level, nullifies or dissembles the distinction between Qom and Doqshi. In settlements around cities there is an ongoing loss of ethnic identity, of language, and of rules of social organization, which leads to a fusion with the lowest urban socioeconomic level.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Indigenous religion is animistic. Non-human or supernatural beings govern all existence. Formerly, there was a close link between humans and these beings. Any change in the natural or human condition was because of difficulties in this relationship and was generally the mistake of humans. The power of supernatural beings is ambivalent and their present-day interpretation has been influenced by Christianity. They are now identified with demoniacal powers as opposed to the benevolent nature of the Christian God and other supernatural personages of Christian origin. The universe is a structure of various superimposed levels. Three main levels are differentiated: the sky (with various skies on top), the earth, and the deep. Specific supernatural beings live on each level, dominating empirical phenomena and all living beings. There was no belief in a Supreme Being, although there are indications of the preeminence of a Uranian deity who was lord of the entire world. The world was not created, but preexisted, and its present form was produced by a series of acts by powerful mythical beings, like Caracara and Fox, and catas-

trophes of fire and water. Time is cyclical, and conflagrations are believed to return to renew the world, mainly by fire and water.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans (*pi'ogonaq*) were the main traditional intermediaries between humans and the supernatural. They were endowed with various degrees of power, depending on the kind of supernatural being with whom they maintained a relationship. Shamans continue to practice their art, although pastors of indigenous churches have encroached on the shaman's role.

**Ceremonies.** The ritual cycle used to be governed by the seasons and the daily cycle. The carob festival coincided with the ripening of the fruit, between November and December, and brought together several bands. Intoxicating drinks made from carob fruit were imbibed, and the ritual was of profound meaning with regard to the cyclical renovation of nature. In winter, collective prayers were directed to the Pleiades to assure an abundance of food and animal offspring. Male and female initiation rites were of consequence. Men were scarified with needles made from the bones of fierce and courageous animals. Women were temporarily confined to fast or keep to a strictly vegetarian diet. A general feast indicated the end of the ceremony. Presently the cult of indigenous churches is the ritual focus of Toba life. Prayer, curing, and political practice are synthesized. Within the ritual calendar, the main ceremonies are of Western origin: the Eucharist, birthdays, Christmas, and the New Year.

**Arts.** Until the middle of the twentieth century, there was much music making among the Toba on instruments such as the one-stringed violin, Jew's harp, reed flute, gourd rattle, and drum. These were played solo or accompanied by song. Nowadays the Toba use guitars and bass drums, especially when conducting rituals of the indigenous church. Of the old instruments, one can occasionally still hear the violin, the Jew's harp, and the flute. Games using string figures continue to be played and reflect an important artistic ability of the Toba to represent social and environmental realities.

**Medicine.** Illness is believed to be caused by humans or by supernatural beings who send out invisible agents that penetrate the body. In instances of the first kind, shamans cause illness by dispatching their auxiliary spirits. Male or female sorcerers can also cause illness by manipulating objects or bodily secretions of their victims. In the second sort, illness is caused by failure to observe food and/or sexual taboos. Transgressions of this kind provoke the masters of animal species or natural phenomena that have been compromised by these actions to send out their spiritual agents and cause harm. Shamanic therapy includes prayer, chanting, blowing, sucking, and sometimes dancing. Shamans diagnose the illness and extract it from the patient. In cases of sorcery, it is possible to learn the identity of the pathogen through revelations received by the victims before they die. Shamanic therapy cures illness caused by the master spirits.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is considered unnatural and the result of actions by humans or nonhuman beings that cause illness in people. The dead are feared because they belong to the nonhuman realm. The soul-image of the de-

ceased lives in a world located in the west, similar to the world of the living except that its cycles are reversed. That is why soul-images can return when the living are asleep.

When a person dies, his or her possessions are burned, including the house. Relatives of the deceased will construct a new house nearby. This destruction of personal property is intended to keep the dead from recognizing their homes when they come back at night. Formerly placed on an elevated platform, the dead are now buried in community cemeteries. Care is taken to orient the head of the corpse toward the west, for this is the side that belongs to the dead.

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PABLO G. WRIGHT

(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Trio

ETHNONYMS: Drio, Tarëno, Tirío, Tiriyo, Tiriyo, Tiriyo

### Orientation

**Identification.** The self-name is "Tiriyo" for the more easterly groups and "Tarëno" for the westerly groups. "Trio," the name by which these people are generally known in Suriname and French Guiana, is almost certainly a Bush Negro distortion of "Tiriyo." In Brazil the group is generally known as "Tiriyo." Today the name covers previously distinguished groups, such as the Pianokoto, Okomoyana, Pirëuyana, Arimiñana, Aramayana, Aramiso, and Maraso.

**Location.** The Tiro live on both sides of the Suriname-Brazilian frontier.

**Demography.** First estimates, from the early twentieth century, put the number of Trio at between 800 and 1,000. Figures for the middle of the century range upward from around 600. At that time the Trio had experienced a severe decline in their numbers, mainly as a result of imported diseases against which they had little natural resistance. Following the introduction of Western medical care in the 1960s, the population increased rapidly, and today there are about 1,200 Indians—approximately 400 in Brazil and 800 in Suriname.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Trio language belongs to the East-West Guiana Subdivision of the Northern Carib Family.

### History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence indicates that this region was inhabited over many centuries, but it seems likely that the modern population is mainly descended from various groups who took refuge in this watershed region from the seventeenth century onward. Their neighbors to the east, south, and west are other groups of mainly Carib-speaking Indians with whom the Trio intermarried, traded, and raided. To the north, from about the eighteenth century onward, contact was almost exclusively with the Bush Negroes, or Maroons, who inhabited the middle reaches of the Suriname River. This contact was of crucial importance to the Trio since trade with the Bush Negroes provided them with highly valued manufactured goods, above all metal-cutting tools. Although references to the Trio and various subgroups appear from the seventeenth century and contact was probable, the first recorded encounter was by Robert Schomburgk in 1843. Other contacts with the Trio during the nineteenth century were few, and it is not until the beginning of the twentieth century, with an increase in the number of expeditions into the region from both the Brazilian and Suriname sides, that the Trio received more frequent mention in the literature.

Until the late 1950s contact remained sporadic because there was no permanent White settlement in the region. Then, almost simultaneously on both sides of the frontier, airstrips were cut and permanently manned by a few non-Indians. From the Trio point of view the most important event that took place at that time was the arrival of two missionary organizations, a Franciscan mission in Brazil and a U.S. Protestant group in Suriname. The policies pursued by these two groups are very different. There is also a difference in civil status afforded to the Indians by the respective nations. In Suriname the Indian is a full citizen of the country with the right to vote and to pensions and welfare benefits, but the Indian's right to land is not guaranteed since all land is owned by the state. In Brazil the Indian is still a minor, but at the moment the Trio live in a park in which their right to land is guaranteed. In describing Trio culture, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that many features of their society and culture have been transformed since the late 1950s by external influences. The word "traditional" as used in the following description refers to the period prior to then.

### Settlements

The Trio traditionally lived in small, autonomous settlements, averaging about thirty inhabitants and rarely exceeding fifty for very long. Villages were distributed about a day's walk apart, and the closest ties were with neighboring villages. Migration between villages was common; villages themselves rarely lasted for more than seven years before being abandoned, at which time a new settlement was constructed, often in the vicinity of the old one. There were many reasons for the abandonment of villages, including the death of its leader, its general decay, or the exhaustion of agricultural land and other resources in the locality. There were several different styles of housing, but all were wood framed with palm-leaf thatch. Villages were composed of a number of nuclear- or extended-family houses, but there is some disagreement over whether the Trio ever had men's houses. The missionaries on both sides of the frontier did much to change this traditional settlement pattern. They persuaded the Indians to settle in large villages (two in Suriname and one in Brazil) close to the mission stations. These settlements became commercial, medical, religious, and educational centers many times larger than the traditional villages. By the 1980s the Trio were facing subsistence problems, and a move back to the traditional dispersed pattern was detectable, although links were maintained with the missionary centers. Houses have mainly kept their traditional construction, but zinc roofs have gained some popularity.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Trio are slash-and burn cultivators, hunters, and gatherers. The staple crop is bitter cassava, which is used for making a range of dietary products. Supplementary crops include sweet potatoes, *eddoes* (aroid plants with edible farinaceous roots, such as taro of yautia), yams, maize, bananas, pineapples, sugarcane, tobacco, and various medicinal plants. In Suriname agricultural practices have remained relatively unaffected, but in Brazil change has resulted from mechanization and the introduction of new crops, such as rice. Hunting was traditionally with bow and arrow, but now firearms are generally used. Dogs remain an important hunting aid. The most highly prized game are peccaries, tapir, and howler and spider monkeys, although the more common catches tend to be agoutis, *labbas* (pacas), armadillos, and other small animals. There are few animals and birds other than carnivores, carrion eaters, and snakes that are regarded as inedible. The importance of fishing varies, depending on the size of the rivers in the vicinity. Fish are caught using the bow and harpoon, hook and line, traps, and, in the dry season, fish poisons. A very wide range of natural products is collected as required or when available. These include honey, wild fruits, and raw materials for all types of objects and uses: basketwork, pots, houses, bows, canoes, medicines, and poisons. Traditional commercial activities were limited to trading, but in the second half of the twentieth century there have been periods in Suriname when wage labor for government and other agencies, either in Trio territory or elsewhere, has been available. In Brazil a system of paid agricultural work has been introduced. Most Trio are now familiar with the use of money, and

they are increasingly in need of a regular cash income in order to obtain supplies of shotgun cartridges, electric batteries, and fuel for outboard motors.

**Industrial Arts.** Traditional crafts included pottery, basketwork, and woodwork. The first of these has declined as pottery items have been replaced by metal objects, but the other two continue to form an important part of Trio technology and material culture. There is some production of traditional items such as bows, arrows, baskets, and combs for trade.

**Trade.** The traditional Indian trade items consisted of hunting dogs, basketwork, arrow cane, and cassava graters. There is evidence to suggest that the Trio were involved in very extensive trade networks. From the seventeenth century and perhaps earlier the introduction of Western manufactured goods greatly increased the importance of trade. The Bush Negroes became the Trio's main supplier of these objects, and formal trading partnerships were formed between individuals of both groups. The trade with the Bush Negroes has now virtually ceased as a result of permanent White settlement in the region.

**Division of Labor.** Work is apportioned almost entirely along gender lines. Men hunt and do most of the fishing. Their participation in agriculture involves clearing the forest and helping with the planting. The women are responsible for the maintenance of the gardens, the harvesting, all food preparation, and child care. The men build and thatch houses, weave all the basketwork (much of it for use by women in the preparation of food), and make their own tools, weapons, and canoes—the last being one of the few activities that require cooperative labor. Men also work with silk-grass fiber, from which they make bowstrings and one of two sorts of hammocks. The processing of cotton, from which the other type of hammock is made, is a very important female activity. Women are also the potters. In Suriname access to wage labor, almost entirely limited to men, has done little to disturb this traditional pattern. In Brazil mechanization has resulted in men playing a far larger part in agriculture.

**Land Tenure.** The Trio do not have a notion of land ownership, nor is there a strong sense of territoriality. A man who cuts a field has the right to the land, but once he has abandoned it and it has reverted to forest, he has no further claim on it. Settlements are too widely dispersed for there to be competing claims between villages for natural resources and for hunting.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Descent is cognatic and there are no formal kin groupings. The settlement is ideally composed of an endogamous bilateral kindred, although in practice it often has a matrilineal slant. The membership of such groups fluctuates, and they lack any enduring corporate nature. The large settlements, which are the result of missionary activity, tend to be divided into units reflecting the traditional residence pattern.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kin terms are of the Dravidian type.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** The relationship terminology prescribes marriage for a man with a woman from the category that includes his bilateral cross cousin and elder sister's daughter. There is also a strong preference for settlement endogamy, although, given the size of settlements, this is not often achievable. The alternative is usually uxorilocal residence, but in the absence of a definite rule, this is negotiable. Polygyny, practiced before the missionaries stopped it, was never common. There is no traditional wedding ceremony and, in premissionary days, divorce was easy and frequent.

**Inheritance.** There are no rules of inheritance. Possessions are destroyed or buried with the deceased, although exceptions are made in the case of valuable such as manufactured goods that cannot be easily replaced. A traditional exception was the shaman's rattle, for which a new owner, usually a son, was essential in order to pacify the late shaman's familiars.

**Socialization.** Boys and girls have different upbringings. The former are allowed considerable freedom to roam and play with age mates, although many such activities are undoubtedly preparation for later life. It is only toward adolescence that a boy will begin to hunt seriously under the tutelage of a grown man, usually his father. Girls are kept close to home and from an early age are expected to undertake household chores. There is little formal disciplining of children, although the occasional punishment may be severe. Today both sexes attend school, and most children know how to read and write in their own language and do simple arithmetic.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** There are no formal groupings in Trio society; the main social distinctions are based on kinship, affinity, age, sex, and residence. In general, increasing old age confers respect, and this status is often bolstered by the influence that a man or woman can exert on his or her daughters' husbands. The relationship between the sexes is relatively egalitarian, although men tend to be overtly dominant whereas women exercise a more subtle control. The roles of men and women are complementary; together they form a self-sufficient productive and reproductive unit. In a similar way, the settlement, which is the main center of social interaction, is seen as economically and socially self-sufficient.

**Political Organization.** The Trio had no overarching political system; each traditional settlement was an autonomous unit. The village leader had no authority outside his settlement and relatively little within it. What authority he possessed rested on his personal qualities and ability to persuade others to do his bidding. His success in doing this was evident in the size of his village: the biggest check on a leader's undue exertion of his will was the ease with which people could migrate. The Suriname government appoints chiefs, but these receive little respect, unlike the missionary-selected church elders, who exercise more than traditional authority.

**Social Control.** The Trio lack tolerance for conflict, and the tendency is always to move in order to avoid confronta-

tion. The village leader and the shaman, who may be the same person but are not necessarily so, have important roles to play in settlement disputes. There was a traditional idea that the actions of individuals affect the well-being of those closely related, and that certain actions bring supernatural retribution. Missionary teaching has reinforced these ideas in a Christian idiom.

**Conflict.** There is a strong ideal of harmonious relations, which are maintained by the fact that settlements cannot contain conflict, either physical or supernatural. If either arises, the settlement will automatically fission. Conflict, usually in the form of accusations of sorcery, is deflected to the outside. Trio traditions speak of past wars and raiding, but within this century these seem to have been on a small scale. Cases of physical violence are rare.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional beliefs centered on the existence of an invisible world, a counterpart to this world. It was in that world that the causes and reasons of the happenings in the mundane world of the ordinary senses were to be found. The counterpart world was inhabited by innumerable spirits, although only a limited number of these were regarded as being influential in human affairs. Spirits were traditionally regarded as being ambivalent—neither good nor bad. The missionaries have taught the Indians that all their traditional spirits are bad.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman, almost invariably a man, was responsible for mediating between this world and the invisible world. The most important qualification for the shaman was his ability to "see." The shaman's duty was to deal with misfortune, sickness, and death. He was aided by spirit helpers, and he traveled to different layers of the cosmos. The shaman's power was suspect, since it was appreciated that the power to cure was also the power to kill. There are no practicing shamans among the Trio today.

**Ceremonies.** The Trio performed various life-cycle and seasonal ceremonies. The former included the couvade at childbirth; initiation rites, which were more marked for girls than for boys; and funeral rites. The seasonal ceremonies were related to the hunting and agricultural year and often entailed the attendance of visitors from neighboring villages. These events involved the consumption of huge quantities of cassava beer. The ceremonies have mainly fallen into abeyance except that Christmas festivities are still characterized by certain traditional practices.

**Arts.** Dancing, music, and chanting were important parts of ritual life, but missionaries banned the first two and replaced the last with hymn singing. Body painting, featherwork, the decoration of basketwork, and other ornamentations are all part of the Trio artistic tradition.

**Medicine.** The Trio had numerous herbal and other remedies with which they treated minor ailments. Serious ailments were thought to be the result of soul loss, occasioned by malevolent spirits or people, and treatment by a shaman was required. The missionaries now provide excellent medical care, but the old ideas have not disappeared.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death, like sickness—of which it was a more severe case—was not regarded as a natural event but as the result of spirit or human action. A death usually involved retaliation by revenge cursing. The corpse was normally buried in the floor of the house, which was then abandoned. The soul of the deceased traveled to the soul reservoir at the eastern horizon. The missionaries have dissuaded the Indians from interring corpses in the house and have taught them that the souls of the good join God in the sky and those of the wicked burn in hell.

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PETER RIVIÈRE

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## Tunebo

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ETHNONYMS: Covari, Luna, Manare, Tame, Tunevo, Uua, U'wa

The approximately 2,700 Tunebo live in the forests of the eastern slopes and plains of the Andes in northeastern Colombia (7° N, 72° W). Their various regional groups speak dialects of a common Chibchan language (Uw'aka; lit., "people's soul") and refer to themselves as U'wa, "people." In addition to a small group of some 60 individuals on the Angostura reservation there exist three regional groups of Tunebo. The Eastern Tunebo (Barro Negro) live on the edge of the eastern plains in the Andes foothills above Paz de Ariporo, in Barro Negro, San Lope, and Tabías, south of Tame; they number about 400 individuals. The Central Tunebo (Cobaría), comprised of approximately 1,500 individuals, inhabit the northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Cocuy of the Boyacá and Arauca regions, with settlements in Satocá, Calafita, Tegría, and Cobaría. There is also a small group of Central Tunebo at San Camilo, Venezuela. The Western Tunebo (Agua Blanca) live in Santander and number about 700 persons.

Much of the early postcontact history of the Tunebo consists of repeated relocations to avoid the turbulence of the colonial era. Sustained missionary activities began in 1910, and Colombian settlers have been penetrating into

Tunebo territory in increasing numbers. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has been in permanent contact with Tunebo subgroups since 1961, and evangelical Protestants began proselytizing in more recent decades. Throughout this time of contact, Tunebo culture has been strongly affected by Western ways, yet despite increasing missionary influence and ever-intensifying pressures to acculturate, the Tunebo continue to cling to their aboriginal culture, including their language.

Traditional Tunebo dwellings are of two kinds: large elliptical communal houses with thatched roofs extending to the ground and small semielliptical single-family houses with thatched roofs extending to the ground on both sides and in the rounded rear. The upper part of the flat facade consists of thatch; the lower part is a wall of vertically placed palm stems. A third type, a small rectangular gabled dwelling with a thatched roof and walls of stakes set in the ground, mimics in style the houses of non-Indian settlers except that its roof overhangs the side walls to protect them from the rain. The elliptical communal dwellings are ceremonial men's houses, the semielliptical houses shelter the women and the children, and the rectangular dwellings house nuclear families.

Tunebo houses are oriented in an east-west direction, with the front toward the sunrise. The principal door is set into the eastern facade and the secondary door into the western end of the house; this back door is rarely used, and then usually by women. Inside their windowless houses people sleep on leaves covering the ground or on platform beds; men sometimes sleep in hammocks. Tunebo houses are sanctuaries, and each family owns two or more houses in different altitudinal zones of its clan's territory. Visitors, even those of people belonging to the same residential group, are not invited in.

The Tunebo economy depends on horticulture, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Gardens of 4 to 6 hectares are prepared by recultivating agricultural land that has lain fallow. Trees are felled and their branches saved for firewood and raw material; small branches, shrubs, and plants are chopped up. Useful trees and palms are freed of undergrowth and pruned. Tunebo farmers do not burn their fields before cultivation but sow and plant their crops among the fallen tree trunks and boulders, in the mould of chopped-up stems and leaves. After four years of cultivation, fields are left fallow for about twelve years. In a few lowland and foothill areas some fields are kept under semi-permanent cultivation.

House gardens provide peppers, tobacco, maize, and, in the upper mountain zone, beans. Maize is the first crop grown in a newly prepared garden. Particularly fertile tracts are resown with maize, but roots, tubers, and leaf vegetables are planted in less productive patches. Motivated by economic and religious factors, clans migrate seasonally up and down their respective mountain valleys, attending fields at levels of altitude ranging between 400 and 3,000 meters. Sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, yams, avocados, pineapples, peach palms (*Guilielma gasipaes*), coca, cacao, yopo (*Anadenanthera macrocarpa*), and sisal are produced principally in foothill gardens. Staples grown in foothill and upper-mountain gardens include various roots and tubers such as *khethuma* (*Canna* sp.), *torona* (*Xanthosoma cordifolia*), *thara* (*Oxalis* sp.); edible leaf plants such as

*guasca*, *unta* (*Galinsoga parviflora*), stinging nettles, *kaysh-tara* (*Urea baccifera*), and *ukara* (*Erythrina* sp.); and several varieties of bananas.

Women are responsible for most of the planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men cut trees to clear the land and tend the sisal plants. They also build deep storage tanks in the ground in which leaf-wrapped packages of maize and other victuals are preserved for weeks and months under running water.

Hunting takes place primarily at night. Each man owns a particular hunting tract he has inherited from his great-grandfather, whose name he bears. Hunters go alone or accompanied by a brother or a son; peccaries are hunted in groups of men. Land animals are caught in snares or in log-fall and spring-snare traps; arboreal animals are shot with bows and arrows. Women capture small rodents in deadfall stone traps. Traditional hunters will not use firearms. Game animals include tapir, peccaries, deer, anteaters, armadillos, pacas, squirrels, monkeys, toucans, macaws, and turkeys. Carnivorous animals such as bears, jaguars, and some snakes and birds are not hunted. Some regional groups are reluctant hunters of large mammals like tapir and peccaries; they prefer rodents, iguanas, frogs, snails, grubs, caterpillars, and birds that are eaten throughout the region.

Fishing is mainly women's work, although men fish occasionally. Fish are scarce in local rivers and mostly of small size. Women fish with weirs, nets, and several species of *barbasco*. Men, women, and children fish with hooks and lines.

Women, children, and sometimes men supplement the garden products by gathering a large variety of wild-plant foods—roots, seeds, fruits of trees and palms, and mushrooms. The honey of several species of stingless bees is avidly collected.

Food is prepared on kitchen fires near the center of the house. Men toast coca leaves on a separate interior fireplace. Some foods are also cooked on the porch and on open or covered fireplaces in the house garden. Meat is cooked in earthen pots or roasted on a spit. Small birds, snails, and frogs are roasted whole on live coals or in hot ashes. Vegetables are cooked in water or on hot coals. Eggs are boiled, wrapped in leaves, and broiled whole or scrambled. Alcoholic beverages are prepared from maize, *platano*, and manioc.

Tunebo wives and unmarried daughters wear a dark brown woolen poncho, which their husbands and fathers obtain for them through trade. Rather than wearing the poncho with their head stuck through a central hole, women drape it over their right shoulder, pinning two of its corners together with bone pins. They also wear it hanging down like a skirt, holding it in place with a red belt around the waist. Shoulder-held ponchos are worn against the cold or, in the presence of non-Indians, out of modesty. Weaving the 2-meter-long and 2-centimeter-wide women's belt is the responsibility of the men. Men also trade for the material from which they make white cotton loincloths for themselves. Traditionally, this was their sole item of clothing; nowadays, on cold days or when around strangers, they may wear them under trousers. From twisted sisal cordage men make string bags of varying sizes, measuring from 10 by 15 to 50 by 70 centimeters. The bags, which are hung

from tumplines, are destined for domestic use or trading purposes. Men, who sometimes sleep in hammocks in the domestic houses of their wives, use sisal string to manufacture sleeping nets. They much prefer making hammocks of softer tree-bark fiber, however, whenever their wives, who alone work tree bark, provide them the necessary amount of fiber string. Finally, men make plaited baskets in which they keep such possessions as ceremonial crowns and valuable toucan feathers.

From twisted string of tree bast, women manufacture carrying and storage bags for themselves and coca and lime bags for their husbands. Women make earthen cooking pots, eating bowls, and water containers and have them fired by their men, who are responsible for firewood and fire making.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Tunebo society was organized into eight so-called clans that were geographically dispersed in mountain valleys around the permanently snow-covered peaks of the Sierra Nevada of Cocuy and Güicán. The subtribal divisions of Tunebo society are clans only in the sense that they claim descent from a particular ancestor and are socially integrated groups. They lack, however, a specific unilinear rule of descent and a postmarital residential unity consistent with the definition of a true clan. Today, only three clans continue in their traditional ways; members of the other clans are dispersed in local family clusters.

The central community of each of the enduring traditional clans consists of three segmental groups: eastern (upper, masculine), western (lower, feminine), and middle (mixed) that inhabit adjacent plateaus separated by ravines. Each segment is comprised of a number of scattered domestic houses and a ceremonial house. The residents of the eastern and western segments are unrelated to one another, whereas those in the middle can have relatives in either of the other two groups. The clans are governed by four principal shamans; they have no political chiefs and no paramount chief.

Traditionally, clans were exogamous and considered themselves related to the two neighboring clans that flanked them on either side of their territory. This interrelationship governed marriage alliances, trade, ritual exchange, and other institutions. The women of the eastern segment of a particular clan married men of the western segment of the neighboring clan to the east, and the women of the western segment of a given clan married men of the eastern segment of the neighboring clan to the west. This practice is still followed by the three existing clans. Under the prevailing Dravidian kinship system cross-cousin marriage, especially with a mother's brother's daughter, is preferred. Interclan marriage with a spouse of the mother's brother's category is subject to the prescription that a child resulting from the union be returned in the following generation to the spouse's siblings' group of origin. Today, weakening alliances between the remaining clans, population decline, and social dissolution are causing a decline in clan-exogamous marriages and hastening their gradual replacement by clan-endogamous unions. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but polygyny, frequently of the sororal type, is permitted, and remarrying widows appear to be subject to levirate marriage rules. Postmarital residence may be uxorilocal or virilocal, ac-



according to the rules governing the exchange of women between allied clans or between segmental groups of the same clan. It may also fluctuate between uxori-locality and virilocality according to whether a man, during his seasonal residency in the foothill region of his and his wife's clans, works for his own father or for his father-in-law (at lower elevations members of adjacent clans can meet more freely than can those at higher elevations, where their respective territories are separated by high mountain ridges).

Tunebo clans see themselves both as an entire house and as the posts of the semielliptic house. As the house posts support the roof, so do the clans brace the structure of the Tunebo universe. House and clan are models of a three-tiered universe that consist of complementary upper, middle, and lower worlds. The universe is occupied by a large pantheon of name-changing and shape-shifting deities. Tobacco- and yopo-using shamans keep these complementary worlds and their perpetual interactions in balance and adhere with their communities to a fixed ceremonial calendar of ritual blowing, chanting, and sacrifice. Ceremonies of ritual blowing also punctuate individual life cycles, ending with a person's death, when the shaman's blowing accompanies the departed into the grave. Burial takes place either in a special cemetery or in the house, and the house of the deceased is sealed and abandoned.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

## Tupari

ETHNONYMS: Haarat, Wakaraü

The Tupari inhabit the headwater region of the Rio Branco, a right tributary of the Rio Guaporé in the state of Rondônia, Brazil. They speak a language of Tupián affiliation and refer to themselves as "Haarat." Their population prior to the invasion of their territory by rubber collectors in 1920 is estimated to have been 2,000. Subsequent assimilation into mestizo society and outbreaks of epidemic disease caused a sharp demographic decline. Modern population estimates suggest that 56 Tupari survive near the Pororoca Post and perhaps many more in little-explored upstream areas on the Rio Branco. In the process of acute acculturation, much of their traditional culture has been severely altered or lost.

Before contact with the Western world the Tupari constructed beehive-style communal houses that sheltered 150 or more occupants; each house constituted an autonomous settlement. Built around a central post, the houses were covered with palm thatch and measured 11 meters in height and 21 meters in diameter. Inside, between twenty and thirty nuclear families occupied juxtaposed spaces along the roof, which rose from the ground at an acute angle. The family compartments were not separated by dividers, nor were there any other wall-like partitions in the house. Single roundhouse communities of this kind were located at a distance of 10 to 15 kilometers from each other.

The traditional Tupari diet relied mainly on swidden horticulture. During its first year, a new garden plot was planted with maize, yams, peanuts, beans, bananas, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, and *urucú*. Manioc was planted during the second year. The preparation of a garden entailed communal work in which both men and women participated. Men cleared and burned the plot. The tasks of cultivation and harvesting were accomplished jointly by men and women, that of transporting the crops by women. Crops were stored on covered platforms near the communal house or on shelves above the family quarters within the dwelling. Roots, mushrooms, and the wild fruits of palms and other trees were gathered to supplement the garden crops; the Tupari did not, however, eat palm shoots.

Hunting provided an important part of the diet. Although large game animals like tapir, deer, and peccaries were rare in their territory, the Tupari often hunted different kinds of monkeys, especially spider monkeys, which were plentiful. Large birds were shot from behind blinds in trees or on the ground. Caimans, tortoises, and snakes were also eaten. The men hunted with bows and arrows, basketry contraptions, cudgels, and machetes. Armadillos were smoked out of their burrows.

The characteristically shallow rivers and streams of the tribal habitat contain only small species of fish, and fishing was of little importance to the Tupari. Herring-sized fish were mainly caught in the dry season. Women took them from drained pools with their bare hands. Men

caught them by applying various kinds of *barbasco* poisons, by setting fish baskets in weirs and dams, and by shooting them with bows and arrows. Fish hooks were adopted from Brazilian settlers.

The Tupari kept dogs and a few chickens and ducks. The meat and eggs of the domesticated fowl were eaten. A notable feature of the Tupari economy was the raising of the grubs of a certain forest fly (*Cyphomyia cyanea*) as food. The dregs of maize, manioc, and/or other root-crop beer were placed into the lower part of a severed hollow section of the *jaracatiá* tree, measuring about 110 to 120 centimeters in length and 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter. Attracted by the odor of the fermenting dregs, the flies laid their eggs in the moist sediments. Within a few days the bottom of the tube crawled with a multitude of 1.5-centimeter-long grubs that were gathered and eaten raw or toasted to accompany a meal of roasted maize. Palm-borer grubs were also gathered and eaten.

Women prepared food in earthen cooking pots and by toasting; they also brewed large quantities of *chicha* beer. Men grilled meat, and sometimes fish, on barbecues. Steaming food in leaf wrappers was done by men and women alike. Women fetched firewood and water and were generally in charge of carrying loads.

Tupari men built houses, storage structures, and bridges and were responsible for clearing and maintaining roads. They manufactured stools, mortars and pestles, bows and arrows, and fire drills, as well as other wooden utensils such as spindles, weaving accessories, and combs. Using twisted palm fronds, bamboo strands, and similar basic materials, they produced mats, baskets, sieves, and fire fans. Hammock ropes and bowstrings were also made by the men. Women were the potters and made undecorated earthenware of different shapes and sizes. They also spun cotton and twisted *tucum*-palm fiber (*Astrocaryum* sp.) for cordage. Women made hammocks, baby slings, and decorative arm and leg bands of cotton; they also used *tucum* fiber in the production of carrying nets.

The basic social and economic unit of Tupari society was the nuclear family. Some twenty to thirty nuclear families occupied fixed family spaces in the communal house and—in the absence of organizations such as sibs, phratries, moieties, or clans—Tupari life of the mid-1900s evolved within bilateral kindreds with only a weak and conditional unilinear emphasis. Elder members of the group, however, recalled the existence in former times of several named subtribal groups (sibs?) to which individual local communities were said to have belonged.

The kinship system of the Tupari was of the Omaha type, featuring a cousin terminology that classed patrilineal cross cousins with sister's children, matrilineal male cross cousins with mother's brother, and matrilineal female cross cousins with the mother and the mother's sister. Parallel cousins were classed with siblings. Marriage could be either endogamous or exogamous, depending on the availability of marriageable partners; interethnic marriages were permissible. A father usually chose a bride for his son and discussed a prospective marriage with the bride's parents. Initial uxori-local residence was superseded by virilocal residence after the young couple had established a household of their own and had prepared a garden. The groom gave the father of his first wife a gift of weapons and body

ornaments. No bride-price was required to seal polygynous unions; divorce was frequent.

The members of a village community recognized a chief who distinguished himself by exceptional intelligence, generosity, diligence, and vigor. He had to excel as an effective speaker within his community and vis-à-vis outsiders and needed to succeed in mustering the voluntary labor required to prepare his many fields. This enabled him to provide large quantities of food and beer for ritual celebrations and secular festivities. The office of the chief passed from father to son only if the aspirant possessed the requisite personal qualities. In former times local headmen functioned as war chiefs, but paramount chiefs over various local communities were absent.

The Tupari believed in the existence of supernatural beings who inhabited heaven and earth in human and in animal forms. In addition, various parts of the human body continued to exist after death as distinct spiritual entities or souls. Tupari cosmology featured a three-tiered universe consisting of the cosmic vault, the earth, and the netherworld. The celestial upper level was inhabited by primordial spirits in animal form. The terrestrial middle level was visualized in the form of a flat dish with a raised rim that supported the celestial vault. The latter was held up by an imaginary infrastructure of vertical poles similar to the ones that supported the thatch of the communal house. The poles of the sky vault were held together by the embrace of Patsiare, one of the primordial spirits. The center of the earth was occupied by the Tupari, who were surrounded at some distance from the center by other ethnic groups and primordial spirits in human form. The inhabited earth extended to its upturned rim, but there was no ocean within or beyond that ambit. Encircling the earth was an enormous serpent. The lower level of the netherworld was populated by half-human and half-animal creatures from which humankind originated, and the occupants of the lower plain were believed to be individuals who had failed to leave the netherworld at the time of human origin, when spirit guides led ancestral ethnic groups to their habitats on earth. The primordial spirits of both the sky world and the earth interfered variously in humankind's daily affairs. Their interventions, however, were benevolent and stood in sharp contrast to the mostly evil actions of certain souls of the dead. On their visits to the spirit world, shamans learned the particular song of each primordial spirit and passed them on to the members of their respective communities.

Whereas both male and female supernatural shamans were believed to officiate among the primordial spirits, only men practiced shamanism among humans, and the shaman's office was not hereditary. A local community had one or more fully installed shamans, and often a shaman functioned simultaneously as chief. Prior to becoming recognized as a full-fledged shaman a neophyte was subjected to an initiation ceremony. By inhaling *parica* (*Piptadenia* sp.) and tobacco snuffs he entered into a state of trance and met the ancestral shamans of his group. Shamans functioned as priestly intermediaries between the natural and the supernatural worlds: they cured illnesses resulting from spirit intrusion by sucking, blowing, and gesticulating; they acted as sorcerers; and they controlled the weather. Through lengthy rituals and curing séances, shamans per-

petuated the religious traditions of their people and assisted them in their efforts to secure a tolerable existence in the hereafter.

Music played a major role in Tupari life. Individually or in small groups, either mixed or sex-segregated, the Tupari sang for their own pleasure. Shamans chanted solo in ritual contexts. Antiphonal singing by one or two lead singers alternating with a mixed chorus accompanied certain dances at secular drinking festivals. On other festive occasions, male music masters played clarinets and women sang. Some dances were conducted separately by male or female participants, whereas others were performed by men, women, and children together. Additional musical instruments played for personal enjoyment, as dance accompaniment, or shamanic music included composite trumpets of various kinds, flutes, panpipes, rattles, and rattle strings.

Sickness and death were believed to be the result of sorcery or natural causation. The Tupari buried the dead either inside the communal house or outside the village. A chief was invariably buried indoors and his house was burned, along with his personal belongings and stores of maize and peanuts. Commoners were buried inside the house if it was old and about to be abandoned anyway. Several hours after death, the corpse was carried in its hammock to a shallow grave that had been excavated by members of the deceased's family. The corpse was placed in the grave faceup in prone position and with downturned hands laid on its lower abdomen. The head and feet were propped up by slipping ceramic bowls under them. The face was shielded with a receptacle made of

palm stipule, and the entire body was covered with straw mats and banana leaves. Pepper pods were placed on this cover to protect the dead from evil spirits. The dead person's personal belongings were destroyed and either placed inside or burned on top of the grave. Women were buried with their body ornaments, broken pots, and carrying nets; similarly, men's ornaments and stone axes accompanied them into the grave. Throughout this burial process the female relatives of the deceased kept up a mournful wailing. Shamans did not become ritually involved with a dying person or in any mortuary practices. Only days after the interment did they initiate a cycle of shamanic rites to further the deceased's accommodation in the other world.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

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## Waimiri-Atroari

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**ETHNONYMS:** Atroahi, Atroahy, Atrohái, Atruahí, Boanari, Bonari, Crichanás, Hiaupiri, Jauaperí, Krixaná, Mauáua, Mawawa, U-ah-miri, Uaimeris, Uaimirys, Uamerys, Uasahy, Waimirys, Wuaiamares, Yaguaperí, Yauaperi, Yauaperí

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Waimiri-Atroari are a South American Indian group in Brazil. The name "Waimiri-Atroari," given to this indigenous population by the regional population, is of undetermined origin. "Waimiri" is perhaps derived from the Língua Geral (Tupí) *aumirim* (*uʔiwa mirĩ*, meaning "small arrow").

**Location.** The Waimiri-Atroari occupy the extreme north of the state of Amazonas, south of Roraima, in the area of the Alalaù, Camanaù, and Curiauaù rivers and their headwaters. About one-third of their total population

was transferred in 1987 from the Rio Abonari (tributary of the Rio Uatumã) and its headwaters by the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI) and ELETRONORTE (the Brazilian government electricity company) when the Balbina hydroelectric plan led to the flooding of the river basin.

**Demography.** In 1982-1983 the Waimiri-Atroari population was reduced to approximately 332 after a long series of deadly epidemics, mainly the result of the construction of the BR-174 highway, which bifurcates their territory. At the end of the nineteenth century, Barbosa Rodrigues estimated the indigenous population of the Rio Jauaperí to be about 2,000. By 1973 the Waimiri-Atroari population had been reduced to about 600 to 1,000 (Figueiredo Costa). Since 1987 reports from FUNAI/ELETRONORTE employees suggest an increasingly rapid population growth.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Waimiri-Atroari language belongs to the Carib Family. There are very small dialectal differences between local groups.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

In the seventeenth century slave trader Pedro da Costa Favella, with an army of soldiers and "civilized Indians," massacred and enslaved Indians on the Rio Urubu, to the south of the present-day territory of the Waimiri-Atroari. There are reports of eighteenth-century expeditions to capture Indian slaves, together with missionary activity on the Rio Jauaperi. Attempts to settle the Indians of this river continued in the nineteenth century. Many documents from the mid-nineteenth century reveal a long history of interethnic conflicts. The provincial government organized punitive expeditions in which hundreds of Indians were massacred. In 1884 Barbosa Rodrigues (1885) established nonviolent relations for a short time with the Indians of the Rio Jauaperi and tried to pacify them. After more conflicts and massacres of Indians, Alipio Bandeira reestablished nonviolent contact in 1911, indicating that the initiative for violence always came from the non-Indian population.

The Indian Protection Service (SPI) founded an Indian post on the Rio Jauaperi, where many Indians died from epidemics. After land invasions, the post was moved upriver. The new post was invaded and destroyed, however, by a gang of armed Brazil-nut gatherers led by a trader with support from the local government. The SPI abandoned the post and in the 1940s established posts on the Rio Camanaú, which were destroyed several times by the Indians. Invasions of their territory forced the Waimiri-Atroari to retreat to the headwaters of their rivers. In 1968 FUNAI started an intensive campaign to "attract" the Waimiri-Atroari to Indian posts, in conjunction with those constructing the BR-174 highway between Manaus and Boa Vista; the Waimiri-Atroari Indian Reserve was created in 1971. The FUNAI "attraction front" directly confronted the Indians, who were situated between them and the gangs of road builders from the army and construction companies. The Indians, after indiscriminate contacts with soldiers, laborers, and FUNAI workers, suffered lethal epidemics of Western diseases, which wiped out entire villages. In their struggle to combat what they believed to be attacks of sorcery, and in view of the mass deaths, they attacked other Waimiri-Atroari villages and made several attacks against FUNAI posts.

The indigenist policy in this area was directed by the army, which recommended the use of force to frighten the Indians. The Waimiri-Atroari population was drastically reduced within the space of a few years; the survivors were settled at FUNAI posts between 1978 and 1983. They were subjected to a rigid regime, directed by a large contingent of FUNAI workers and forced to work on imposed projects aimed at reorienting their lives to attend to the economic interests of the federal government. The FUNAI "attraction front" imposed drastic transformations on their way of life in an attempt to resocialize them as sedentary agriculturists. During these years many more Waimiri-Atroari died in epidemics, often in consequence of omissions by FUNAI.

Beginning in 1979, the Paranapanema Mining Company invaded Waimiri-Atroari territory. After a series of cartographic manipulations in which the name of the upper course of the Rio Uatumã was changed, in 1981 a

presidential decree dismembered about one-third of Waimiri-Atroari territory to favor Paranapanema, thereby canceling the Indian reserve and turning what remained into a "temporarily prohibited area." In 1982 the mining company encroached again, constructing a private access road linking the BR-174 highway to the dismembered area. FUNAI authorized the highway's construction after it had already been started. In 1987 about one-third of the Waimiri-Atroari population was transferred from the headwaters of the Rio Abonari because the river had been transformed into a huge putrid lake of flooded forest by the Balbina hydroelectric scheme. This was the same area that had been disappropriated from the reserve by decree in 1981. In 1987 an agreement was signed between FUNAI and ELETRONORTE to finance an aid program aimed at the Waimiri-Atroari. The Waimiri-Atroari Program now administers the indigenist policy in the area.

Despite the demarcation and homologation of the Indian area in 1989 and the subprograms that focused on providing assistance in health, education, and environment and production, the pressures exerted by big companies continued. From 1986 *Mineração Taboco* (Paranapanema) started enticing the young Waimiri-Atroari "captains," trained and appointed by FUNAI as intercultural agents, to sign inequitable agreements accepting economic projects, including cattle raising, in exchange for permission to occupy more of their territory. In 1987 five captains signed an agreement with Paranapanema and FUNAI that allowed the mining company to advance over the entire Indian territory in exchange for royalties. In 1989 ten captains, together with FUNAI employees, signed an agreement to receive advance monthly royalty payments for mining activities that Paranapanema planned to undertake within the Indian territory.

At the same time, a plan using forged documents was set up as an incentive to the Waimiri-Atroari to ban the continuation of an ethnological research proposal. The document "showed" the Indians that the ethnologist was an agent of a supposed "tin cartel" that was using Indians to try to prevent the Paranapanema Mining Company from advancing over Indian territory, purportedly to favor international tin-mining interests. This marked another step in a long series of irregular procedures that this mining company, together with FUNAI, have been using against the Waimiri-Atroari.

### *Settlements*

In the past the Waimiri-Atroari lived in dispersed villages, usually in one round or oval communal house of up to 18 or 20 meters in diameter, with two doors, and divided spatially by posts into areas for families. These traditional houses were of palm leaves. Today the Waimiri-Atroari live in settlements managed by the Waimiri-Atroari Program/FUNAI/ELETRONORTE. These settlements are located near the FUNAI Indian posts or at localities with easy access to them. The Paranapanema Mining Company constructed two concrete houses for the principal captain and his brother. ELETRONORTE supervised the construction of a communal house with a concrete base for one of the

groups transferred in consequence of the flooding caused by the dam. Some settlements were built, under FUNAI supervision, with small houses for individual families.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Waimiri-Atroari practiced slash-and-burn horticulture, planting in their gardens plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter manioc, several kinds of sweet potatoes, sugarcane, and pineapples. They hunted, fished, and collected wild foods from the forest. Since the late 1970s FUNAI has imposed economic projects to produce manioc flour and grow bananas for sale. It also organized Brazil-nut-gathering and handicraft-production projects. The Waimiri-Atroari now hunt and fish only on weekends. Since 1985 the Paranapanema Mining Company has been financing cattle-raising projects, set-up by FUNAI, in an attempt to fix the Waimiri-Atroari in small restricted areas. Cattle raising is totally inappropriate in this region; it is contrary to the customs of the people and harmful to the tropical forest. Yet, despite initial failures and the destruction of gardens by cattle, the Waimiri-Atroari captains have been pressured by FUNAI and Paranapanema to convince the Waimiri-Atroari that that cattle raising will be their future. FUNAI policies in this regard are creating extreme inequalities within Waimiri-Atroari society. A group of captains and young men who are more receptive to imposed FUNAI projects have been given disproportionate access to industrially manufactured goods, drastically altering traditional exchange relationships.

**Industrial Arts.** Traditionally, Waimiri-Atroari women made bracelets of *arumã* (*Ischnosiphon ovatus*), beadwork, hammocks, bow strings, women's loincloths, and ceramics. Men made fans, several kinds of baskets with black geometrical motifs, carrying baskets, bows and arrows, paddles, canoes, fish traps, and, occasionally, *arumã* bracelets. Today, some of these crafts are made for sale.

**Trade.** From at least the middle of the nineteenth century, the Waimiri-Atroari traded with the regional population of the Rio Negro to obtain iron. In 1968 the missionized Wáiwai from Guyana, who were interested in converting the Waimiri-Atroari to Christianity, initiated contacts with them. At least two Waimiri-Atroari are now living with the Wáiwai on the Anauá and Mapuera rivers. Through the Wáiwai they obtained beads brought from Suriname. Today the Waimiri-Atroari trade agricultural and craft products through FUNAI and directly with the regional population.

**Division of Labor.** In horticultural work, men traditionally felled trees and burned the clearings, whereas women did most of the planting, weeding, and collecting of horticultural products from the gardens. With agricultural work now directed by FUNAI, plantations are prepared and planted principally by men. Traditionally, the men fished and hunted, but today women also fish occasionally; hunting with shotguns or bows and arrows remains restricted to men. Women used to prepare manioc bread. Today, the preparation of manioc flour, following regional methods, has been defined by FUNAI as a masculine task, although women participate in some secondary phases. Fruit collect-

ing has been largely discontinued and industrially produced food is obtained from FUNAI. Paranapanema has provided frozen chickens for the principal captain. Men build houses and, in the past, made canoes. Today they receive aluminum boats from the program.

**Land Tenure.** In the past the Waimiri-Atroari divided their gardens, each family cultivating a plot. Traditionally, all had equal access to hunting, fishing, and collecting territory. According to the plantation system imposed by FUNAI, the land is planted collectively in some settlements, as ordered by FUNAI workers, and the sale of products and distribution of profits are controlled by the workers and Waimiri-Atroari captains. Since 1986, some young captains have been enticed to sign agreements that permit a large mining company to extract minerals from the Indians' lands.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Waimiri-Atroari term for people is *kiʔinyá*, and they traditionally divided their social world between *kiinyá* (we people) and *kaʔaminyá* (others). *Aska* includes kinsmen and coresidents, whereas *baʔashrá* are Waimiri-Atroari who inhabit other villages. There are no clans or corporate groups.

**Kinship Terminology.** Waimiri-Atroari kinship terminology may be described as of the Dravidian type. All individuals classified at the same generational level are included in terms of bifurcation between cross cousins and parallel cousins; the latter correspond to the terms for brother and sister, the former are comparable to affines. Among the parallel cousins there is a secondary distinction between elder and younger, and a distinction of sex only among elder parallel cousins. At the first ascending and first descending generational levels, there is a distinction between cross and parallel relatives, as well as a secondary distinction between linear and collateral relatives. In the second ascending generation and above, all men are called by one term and all women by another term. In the second descending generation and below, all are classified by a single term with no distinction by sex.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The preferential marriage, according to the Waimiri-Atroari, is between people classified as bilateral cross cousins, with a strong preference for village endogamy between close relatives, either genealogically or by coresidence (there being no distinction in Waimiri-Atroari thinking). Another frequent type of marriage is between *yaʔwi* and *baski* (mother's brother-sister's daughter), especially when the prospective spouses are of similar age or as a marriage for widowers. Marriages between people in the category of parallel cousins are thought of as being rather incestuous but are preferred to marriages between individuals from distant villages. There was one example of a union between an elderly *yuhí* and a *batimki* (father's sister-brother's son), thought of as highly incestuous but practiced as a temporary arrangement until a marriageable girl reaches puberty.

The Waimiri-Atroari relate that, in the past, there was a slight tendency toward uxorilocal residence after mar-

riage, at least temporarily, in the case of intervillage marriages. The young husband was expected to work for his father-in-law and contribute fish and game to his wife's family. In recent years there has been some interference from FUNAI workers, who were attempting to change marriage customs and were ordering the young people to marry. There is no marked marriage ceremony—the young man simply moves his hammock beside his wife's. During adolescence, a period of trial marriage is common. Polygynous marriages occur but are disapproved of by FUNAI workers. There are cases of polygamy and polyandry, especially between groups of brothers and of sisters, sometimes with temporary exchanges of spouses. Levirate and sororate occur.

**Domestic Unit.** In the past the ideal Waimiri-Atroari village was a closed unit of about thirty to sixty or more endogamous bilateral kindred. In practice, the village members were usually closely related, although the Waimiri-Atroari conception of kindred (*aska*) makes no absolute distinction between genealogical ties and those of coresidence. A village was often made up of a leader with his daughters and sons-in-law as the core members. In several present-day settlements the Waimiri-Atroari are establishing nuclear-family households.

**Inheritance.** The Waimiri-Atroari traditionally owned useful personal objects, but these were burned together with the body at death. Today industrially manufactured items are kept by close relatives, and the dead are buried facing east, in cemeteries, according to the customs imposed by FUNAI workers.

**Socialization.** Children traditionally were socialized at home. In late 1985 a school was started at one settlement, and by 1989 schools were operating in all ten settlements. Infants are always in the company of their mothers, mothers' sisters, elder sisters, or mothers' mothers when they have living relatives of these categories. Fathers and their brothers also dedicate time to their children. Social codes of behaviors between certain classes of kin are learned from infancy. In recent years the Waimiri-Atroari have been eager to have schools, which are seen as a means of gaining greater access to the national society.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** In the past, the mature and older men who had large families and were skilled at hunting and fishing exercised most political influence. Shamans, who had knowledge of songs, ritual chants, and herbal medicines and who were skilled at mediating between spirits, also had prestige. Women influenced their fathers', husbands', and sons' opinions in political matters. FUNAI has imposed a political structure on the Waimiri-Atroari, appointing young captains who represent the power and coercion of the national government but who have little authority themselves. The older men have been discredited and their status and influence undermined.

**Political Organization.** Communities are linked by kinship, marriage, and by the FUNAI posts to which they are designated. Attempts to organize communities at a tribal level were at first unsuccessful. The Waimiri-Atroari Program has promoted more interaction between communities,

especially among the younger people, providing more motorboats and motor vehicles.

**Social Control.** Rules for conduct between categories of kin are recognized. The relationship between a man and his parents-in-law demands respect, especially if they are from another village. Serious disputes typically lead factions to leave the village and form another settlement. In the past disputes sometimes led to violence, but it has been suppressed in recent years by government officials. Illness was usually attributed to sorcery, with accusations of sorcery directed at distant villages.

**Conflict.** The Waimiri-Atroari say that they formerly conducted occasional raids in distant villages to obtain wives. Documents from the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth reveal a long history of inter-ethnic conflicts, punitive expeditions organized by local governments and traders in forest products, and massacres carried out by members of the regional population. The Indians defended themselves, attacking people who invaded their territory. During the construction of the BR-174 highway in the early 1970s, the mass deaths resulting from epidemics destroyed the Indians' network of villages, leading the survivors from scattered villages to unite in trying to repel the invaders. From 1978 on, some young Waimiri-Atroari came to live at the FUNAI Indian posts, where they were confronted with a way of life completely different from their traditional one. In the following years these young men were sent by FUNAI workers to bring the other Waimiri-Atroari to live in the government-administered settlements.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional beliefs have been largely repressed owing to the presence of an extremely large contingent of FUNAI workers (in 1983 there were 59 male workers for about 332 Waimiri-Atroari, of whom 88 were adult males over 15 years of age). Many of these FUNAI workers are of Indian origin, often with long-term urban experience, and from other ethnic groups that have had centuries of contact with the outside world. They transmitted to the Waimiri-Atroari an ideology and model of the "civilized Indian" (*caboclo*) incorporating all the negative stereotypes of the Indians held by the national society. This has led the Waimiri-Atroari to repudiate their own culture and aspire to follow the life-style of the FUNAI employees. Today their own beliefs are adapted to and combined with the beliefs and worldview of the government employees.

The Waimiri-Atroari refer to the Christian God as "Big Daddy" or "Daddy of the sky." Traditionally, they also referred to the sky as made of stone, and to another world, below the rivers, populated by beings similar to those of this world. Animals come from the sky and replenish those hunted by men. The mythical figure *Mawá*, who climbed up to the sky on a liana that he cut, is sometimes assimilated to Jesus. The forest is inhabited by various kinds of supernatural beings, referred to as *yirkwá*, *yamáí*, and *yananá*. Both Waimiri-Atroari men and women observe dietary restrictions, especially when they have young children. An extensive body of myths includes such episodes as the first man, the origin of crops, a legendary "great"

flood, the first woman (given by the giant watersnake), and the origin of the White man (who came from "the place of fire"), the origin of thunder.

**Religious Practitioners.** Shamans mediate between spiritual beings (*karaiwa*), which converse with the Waimiri-Atroari during sessions in the dark. There are few shamans still alive, and their practice has been censured by government employees and young Waimiri-Atroari captains. The shamans passed through a long apprenticeship in which they learned songs, ritual chants, cures, and ceremonial ritual activities. Tobacco and other drugs are not used by Waimiri-Atroari shamans.

**Ceremonies.** The Waimiri-Atroari perform many ceremonies, such as those carried out when the gardens have produced abundantly and after killing a jaguar. Some of the most important ceremonies are for the initiation of male children at about 3 years of age, to "make the child grow, and be a successful hunter." This complex series of ceremonies includes whipping rites and the bathing of the child with an infusion of red *karowri* leaves (*Arrabidaea chica*) mixed with other leaves and tree barks. Each lasts for three days and involves the participation of members of other villages, who are invited and received with ritual chants. The *karowri* rite emphasized the relationship between the *batimki* and his *ya'wí* and *wihí* (sister's son-mother's brother, brother's son-father's sister), the child's potential parents-in-law. Today the Waimiri-Atroari also observe national ceremonies such as raising the flag on Independence Day and June feasts.

**Arts.** The Waimiri-Atroari make various kinds of baskets, some with geometrical motifs. The men and women dance separately in rows and circles with separate songs. Modern Brazilian music is popular among the young people, many of whom have radio/tape-recorders. Some mature and elderly men and women are known as singers. The shamans must know an extremely large body of songs. Use is made of cane flutes (now often made of plastic pipe), nut whistles (replaced by small glass containers), and rattles during some dances.

**Medicine.** Diseases were interpreted as spirit attacks. Today indigenous medicine has been devalued by the FUNAI employees from the dominant society, and the Waimiri-Atroari rely more on Western medicines. Shamanic diagnoses and cures are rarely used. It is believed that sickness was brought about by a foreign object entering the body, fired by a sorcerer.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death was associated with the separation of the *akaha* (soul or spirit) from the body. The *akaha* was thought to return by pathways to the forest and old village sites where it had lived in the past. Waimiri-Atroari sometimes express fear of an *akaha* in the dark or one seen in dreams. Today they refer to death in terms of the Christian God carrying away the spirit to the sky.

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STEPHEN GRANT BAINES

## Wáiwai

ETHNONYMS: Ouayeoue, Uaiuai, Waiwe, Woyawai

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Wáiwai," meaning "Tapioca people," originated with their northern neighbors, the Wapisiana, who were impressed with the enormous quantities of tapioca the Wáiwai consumed. The Wáiwai intermarried with many other groups and usually identified themselves locally by the village, headman, or river where they lived. They adopted the outsiders' name "Wáiwai" when missionaries moved in during the 1950s. As the Wáiwai assimilated more groups, the name came to include those that settled into the composite "Wáiwai" villages, such as the Parukoto, the Mawayana, the Sherew, the Taruma, the Hishkaryana, the Katuena, and the Karafawana. Being "Wáiwai" is a matter of degree, occurring gradually as a group is incorporated into village life, learns the Wáiwai language, and intermarries.

**Location.** The Wáiwai live in small, remote villages in the tropical forests straddling both sides of the Serra Acaraí between Guyana and Brazil. Their ancestral location was the Mapuera River Basin, a northern tributary of the Amazon in Brazil. Gradual migration northward began in the early nineteenth century and increased in the early twentieth, as the Wáiwai expanded trade and marriage contacts. When evangelical missionaries settled among the Guianese Wáiwai in 1949, nearly all Wáiwai and many related tribes relocated near the mission. In the 1970s the direction of migration reversed and most members of the composite "Wáiwai" villages returned to Brazil. In 1989 there was one village in Guyana (on the Essequibo River) and three in northern Brazil (on the Novo and Jatapuzinho rivers in Roraima and the Rio Mapuera in Pará).

**Demography.** In the early 1950s visitors estimated the Wáiwai population to be 130 to 200. By 1989 there were approximately 1,200 people in the four composite "Wáiwai" villages. The increase was because of their assimilation of neighboring tribes, their relative lack of contact with regional colonists and their diseases, and the health care dispensed by missionaries and trained Wáiwai health attendants. Half the population is under age 18, and the birthrate is 4 percent per year.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Wáiwai language belongs to the Carib Family, one of the major linguistic families of lowland South America. Most of the other languages and dialects of the groups who joined their villages are also Carib; the exceptions are Mawayana (Arawak Family) and Taruma (now extinct, affiliation unknown). Wáiwai becomes the dominant language of the groups who join them. Reading and writing Wáiwai is taught in the schools, using an alphabet devised by the missionaries. Although children study some Portuguese (in Brazil) or English (in Guyana), relatively little is retained owing to lack of sustained contact with outsiders.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Intertribal marriage and exchange were already well-established features by the time R. H. Schomburgk first explored Wáiwai territory in 1837. Only occasional expeditions passed through the region until the 1950s, when U.S. Protestant missionaries established a permanent station near the Guianese Wáiwai. The local population swelled as more Brazilian Wáiwai moved north, seeking access to new trade goods and fearing rumors that a "Big Fire" would destroy the earth and all those who failed to convert to Christianity. With the conversion of an influential leader, most of the villagers followed suit by the end of the 1950s. They persuaded related groups in the region to join them. In the 1970s, with the newly independent Guyanese government hostile to U.S. missionaries, they and most of the Wáiwai moved back to former sites in Brazil. They continue to seek out uncontacted groups.

### *Settlements*

Precontact villages had populations of fifteen to fifty people, most housed in a single large house called a *mũmo*. Settlements were dispersed over a large area and moved every five to seven years when the house became old, when a leader died, or when local resources became exhausted. Since contact settlements have undergone several changes: the number of villages have decreased as more people concentrated in larger settlements, the multifamily *mũmo* has been replaced with smaller nuclear-family houses, settlements remain in one place for much longer periods, and residents must travel farther to new gardens and hunting grounds as nearby resources are depleted. Villages are comprised of neighborhoods, which are clusters of households linked by kinship, political, and tribal affiliations, an echo of former Wáiwai settlement patterns.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Wáiwai subsistence is based on hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture. The annual cycle alternates between markedly different dry and rainy seasons, the former a time of plentiful food and collective life, the latter a time of scarcity and dispersal to forest camps. The Wáiwai clear small, scattered gardens by slash-and-burn methods (swidden or shifting agriculture) and use them for only three years. The main crop is bitter manioc, a hard, poisonous tuber that must be laboriously processed to remove the toxin before it can be used to make bread, farina, and tapioca drinks.

Also cultivated are various fruits and other tubers, as well as arrow cane, cotton, and so on. The forest provides palm fruits, nuts, and utilitarian materials. The men hunt with bows and arrows, trained dogs, and sometimes shotguns, obtaining tapir, peccaries, rodents, deer, monkeys, wild fowl and (the Wáiwai will not eat the meat of carnivores or domesticated animals). Many varieties of fish are consumed. Manioc farina and canoes are sold to regional colonists for cash, and youths occasionally work for them for a few months. Artisanal items are also sold for cash or channeled to urban markets through government agents or missionaries, who in turn provide goods such as clothing, fishhooks and line, ammunition, soap, salt, and hammocks.

**Industrial Arts.** Except for the limited range of Western goods upon which they now depend, the Wáiwai continue to make most of the items they use, from bows and arrows to houses. They fashion a wide array of fine basketry items for manioc processing, carrying, and storage. They continue to make pottery, from small bowls to huge urns. Their manioc graters (wooden boards with hundreds of embedded stone flakes) are eagerly sought by surrounding tribes.

**Trade.** For several centuries, the Wáiwai have taken part in a vast intertribal trade network that stretches through the Guianas, Venezuela, and northern Brazil. The network linked up with non-Indians, such as the Bush Negroes in Suriname (descendants of escaped African slaves), who traded for Indian goods using manufactured goods they acquired from White colonists on the coast, who in turn imported the goods from Europe. Groups that now live with the Wáiwai were former trading partners. Villages have different trade specialties; the Wáiwai are renowned for their manioc graters, trained hunting dogs, and talking parrots. These and subsidiary goods are exchanged for manufactured goods such as iron tools, kettles, glass beads, mosquito nets, flashlights, and fishhooks.

**Division of Labor.** The Wáiwai contrast male and female activities in a number of complementary realms. Men provide meat through hunting; women provide vegetable foods through gardening. Both sexes fish, but men specialize in larger fish. Men dominate the public arena (leadership, oratory, relations with outsiders); women are prominent in the domestic arena (child care, food preparation, firewood gathering, and water collecting). Men weave basketry, hammocks, and loincloths; women make pottery and manioc graters. Men do featherwork; women do beadwork. Men construct houses; women keep them orderly. Men fell trees for village and garden clearings; women keep the clearings free of weeds. Both sexes, as family units, plant new gardens, and they may also harvest them or collect forest products together.

**Land Tenure.** The village and communal structures are said to "belong" to the chief, who opened up the first clearing at the site. Different gardens "belong" to various influential men who sponsor the collective work of clearing them and distribute family plots to those who helped in the clearing. Lands set aside as reservations and administered by the Brazilian and Guyanese governments for the



Wáiwai belong to the tribe as a whole and may not be bought or sold individually.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Kinship and descent are reckoned bilaterally, giving equal weight to both the mother's and father's sides. There are no lineages, clans, moieties, or other corporate groupings. Villages or neighborhoods are built up of *epeka komo*, residential groups of siblings and their families. From the point of view of an individual adult, other people are grouped broadly as either *epeka komo* (siblings' families; i.e., kin), *woxin komo* (families of spouse's kin; i.e., affines), or *tooto makî* ("just plain people," i.e., those with whom Ego has no relationship). These serve as general categories, derived from key relations, that schematize relations of nurture and exchange.

**Kinship Terminology.** Wáiwai kinship terminology is based on several criteria: distinctions of generation, gender, cross versus parallel relations, and relative sibling age. Accordingly, five generations are recognized; the same-sex siblings of each parent are called by parental terms, distinguished from parents' cross-sex siblings, who are potential parents-in-law. Parallel cousins are categorized as "siblings" and unmarriageable, whereas cross cousins are called by distinct terms and considered potential affines. The terminology thus follows the basic bifurcate-merging system, except for one set of relations that collapses generations: father's sister is called "grandmother" and nieces and nephew are categorized with "grandchildren." All terms are used on a classificatory basis, with some adjustments for relative age, multiple ways of reckoning kinship, and renegotiation upon marriage.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Wáiwai usually marry in their mid-teens. The preferred spouse is an actual or classificatory cross cousin (a form of delayed cross-generational exchange). Unrelated persons are also considered marriageable, in which case a sister exchange is often arranged (a more immediate form of exchange). The son-in-law owes an enormous debt to his parents-in-law for their daughter. He is expected to settle next to them, help them build a house and garden, supply them with meat and basketry, and be deferential. He gradually becomes more independent and eventually commands a son-in-law himself. Leaders try to keep both their married sons and sons-in-law next door. A village leader must have a wife; if she dies, he must remarry soon or lose his position. Each Wáiwai traditionally had a sequence of spouses through his or her life in a pattern of serial monogamy. Polygamy and polyandry occurred at times but were usually temporary. Under missionary influence new norms have been instituted: premarital celibacy, lifelong monogamy, and absence of divorce.

**Domestic Unit.** Formerly, a village had a single collective house sheltering four to ten families, each with its own section and hearth; today each nuclear family has its own house. The domestic unit includes the husband and wife, unmarried children, and any widowed parent.

**Inheritance.** Few or no goods are passed on to others after someone's death because of the custom of destroying the deceased's personal possessions and house.

**Socialization.** A baby's soul is said to be "soft" and easily detached from its body; socialization practices are designed to anchor it more firmly to the body and to gradually "harden" the soul by adulthood. A baby is in close physical contact with its mother for almost two years, carried continuously on her hip in a sling and sleeping in the same hammock. Independence is not accelerated, and contact with nonrelatives is discouraged, so children are shy and their identity remains closely bound to their extended family. Both parents are affectionate; corporal punishment is strongly disapproved. Toys are few; children's play is mostly an imitation of adult activities, and early on they learn to help their parents. Education at the mission or government school occupies about two hours a day from ages 7 to 14. Baptism has replaced traditional initiation rites for adolescents, which used to consist of menstrual seclusion for girls and ordeals of physical endurance (scratching and stinging insects) for both sexes. Teenage boys often rebel and experiment with non-Indian ways, but they eventually settle down upon marriage, the main transition to adulthood. Young adults who aspire to leadership practice oratory, assiduously meet obligations to their in-laws, and seek public ratification.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Social organization is based on complementarity between the sexes, cooperation among household heads, obligations to in-laws, alliances between siblings, and the recognition of certain men as especially influential. Corporate groups, social classes, or wealth distinctions are nonexistent.

**Political Organization.** The effective unit of political organization is the village; there is no overarching "tribal" or regional organization, but intervillage relations are complex. Leaders are considered *primus inter pares*, but the ranking of political status within the village is unusually elaborate. The village leader, *kayaritomo*, is someone who can mobilize a following in establishing a new village and who sponsors feasts. Under him are work leaders and their deputies and, nowadays, pastors, who together constitute a council of secular and religious leaders. The council is responsible for the smooth functioning of the village as a peaceful (*tawake*) society.

**Social Control.** Control is managed through persuasion, public opinion, gossip, and shame; physical force is not used. Fear of witchcraft serves as a means of control, and pastors now often warn of punishment by the Christian God. All disagreements are handled with elaborate forms of diplomacy, negotiation, and indirect measures. Serious problems that threaten village life are handled by the council of leaders, who conduct lengthy meetings with both sides to find a resolution. Some disputes lead to public discussions at village church meetings, leading to confessions or punishment by a series of restrictions on activities.

**Conflict.** In the past some tribes developed enmities that sometimes broke out in violence, although warfare was

not a cultural focus and customs such as ceremonial wrestling and trade served as curbs. Many former enemies now live together. Overt conflict, aggression, or discord are highly censured. The Wáiwai ethos rests on the contrast between being *tawake*, "peaceful, sociable," and *tírwoñe*, "angry, hostile." Society is considered viable only if its members control their desires, meet obligations to others, and shun confrontation. They have avoided conflict with colonists (whom they consider "angry") by residing in or retreating to distant locales.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The universe is said to have five tiers: an underworld, the earth, and three heavens. Each is the locale of different powers, which the Wáiwai attempt to control in various ways. Many myths recount the origin of cultural practices, social groups, and natural features. A wide pantheon of spirits inhabits the forests, rivers, and heavens, some malevolent and some beneficent. The Wáiwai still believe in their spirits, although under the influence of Christian doctrine these are now considered manifestations of the "devil" and opposed to the Holy Trinity. The missionaries inculcated shame in the Wáiwai over their traditional religious beliefs and practices, many of which have been suppressed but not entirely replaced.

**Religious Practitioners.** Formerly, the shaman was responsible for invoking helping spirits for curing rituals and summoning the game through "game masters"; nowadays, Wáiwai pastors are the ritual specialists who invoke the Christian God in much the same way.

**Ceremonies.** Transitions in the life cycle of individuals (birth, initiation, and death) were marked by seclusion and rituals. The two most important collective rituals were *shodewika* festivals (intervillage dancing feasts) and *yamo* rituals (when fertility spirits, invoked through masked dancers, resided in the village for several months). Today festivals combining traditional dancing and feasting with Christian features are held at Christmas, Easter, and the start of the dry season.

**Arts.** The aesthetic elaboration evident in basketry, beadwork, featherwork, and body ornamentation is linked to the notion of "beauty," which expresses social integration and control over external powers. Most social occasions include songs and the music of various wind and percussion instruments.

**Medicine.** Before missionization shamans cured illness through contact with spirits by using tobacco smoke and "spirit stones." The Wáiwai do not have an extensive medicinal-plant lore. They readily took to the Western medicines introduced by the missionaries, whose health care programs kept Wáiwai mortality from contact diseases low. Trained Wáiwai health attendants now care for the daily medical needs of the village.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is explained as soul loss caused by spirits, witchcraft, disease, or neglect of taboos. The personal possessions, pets, and house of the deceased are destroyed by his or her spouse or siblings in their grief and to avoid contact with residues of the deceased's soul. The corpse used to be cremated; nowadays it is buried. Male and female relatives mourn the deceased with wailing

rituals. At death a person disintegrates into several souls; some take on animal forms that can become menacing invisible spirits, whereas the eye-soul travels up to the first heaven, a place of light, beauty, and immortality where all dance and feast unceasingly.

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CATHERINE V. HOWARD

## **Wanano**

ETHNONYMS: Guanano, Kotitia, Ockotikana, Okodyiua, Panumapa, Uanano, Wanano

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Wanano constitute one of the fifteen to twenty named, linguistically distinct, exogamous groups that form an integrated, intermarrying system in the Brazilian and Colombian northwest Amazon. The Wanano call themselves "Kotitia" and are called "Ockotikana" by the Tukano, "Okodyiua" by the Kobeua, and "Panumapa" by the Tariana. The population is known in the literature as the "Wanano," "Guanano" (a Spanish spelling), or "Uanano" (a Portuguese spelling). "Anana" may be an additional variant.

**Location.** The Wanano occupy a nearly contiguous stretch along the middle course of the Rio Uaupés, from Jandhu Cachoeira in Brazil to Uarucapury in Colombia. The Uaupés (Vaupés in Spanish) originates in Colombia and flows southeast into Brazil, where it enters the Rio Negro near São Gabriel da Cachoeira.

**Demography.** The Wanano population totals some 1,400 to 1,600 individuals, with approximately 700 located in Brazil and an estimated 900 reported for Colombia.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Wanano language belongs to the Eastern Tukanoan Language Family. Dialectal differences are found between upriver and downriver Wanano.

### History and Cultural Relations

White entry into the Uaupés area began in the 1730s, when Portuguese troops were dispatched as far as its headwaters. Despite Portugal's official abolition of slavery in 1750, 20,000 Indians from the upper Rio Negro were enslaved between 1740 and 1750.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese established a military outpost at the confluence of the Uaupés and Rio Negro and sent reconnaissance expeditions into the Uaupés Basin. The Portuguese resettled Indians at forts, where labor was needed to grow crops, manufacture goods, and demarcate borders. The Indians often resented and resisted such policies: in 1782 and 1783 Indians resisting resettlement deserted many settlements on the lower Uaupés.

In 1849 the Mission of the Uaupés and Içana was founded, with a missionary appointed to populations on the Rio Uaupés. In the 1880s the provincial government invited the Franciscans into the area, and in 1914 Pope Pius X conferred upon the Salesian order the administration of Rio Negro Prefecture. In 1929 the Salesians founded a mission station 60 kilometers south of the Wanano area.

Commercial rubber collection reached the periphery of the Wanano area between 1880 and 1912; it was briefly revived during World War II. Many Wanano emigrated when demand for rubber provided wages in Colombia and the lower Rio Negro. Opportunities for wage labor continue to draw indigenous peoples out of the region, despite the poor living conditions that generally accompany employment.

### Settlements

Brazil's ten Wanano settlements are situated from 3 to 24 kilometers apart along the middle Uaupés. Settlements contain from 30 to 160 persons. All settlements are situated at the river's edge, where the inhabited areas are cleared of ground vegetation and paths lead through the surrounding forest to the gardens. Ideally, the village comprises one local patrilineal descent group, here called the sib. The location of each descent group is thought to have been established by the ancestral Anaconda canoe, which placed the first ancestor of each sib in the "proper" place of that sib. The ideal of complete patrilocality is not fully realized, however, and the degree of correspondence between the local group and the unilineal descent group varies. A settlement's residents frequently include in-laws and other nonsib members.

Local settlements often fragment. As groups grow in size, subgroups leave the original unit. The splinter group may establish its own settlement, or may utilize bilateral kinship ties to reside in villages of relatives.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Wanano are fishermen and horticulturists: fish is the principal source of protein and manioc the principal source of carbohydrates. These items and the utensils used to gather or process them are essential to the sharing of resources, which occurs informally within a settlement on a daily

basis and more intermittently and formally among settlements or sibs. Minimal exploitation of resources characterizes day-to-day life; intensive exploitation occurs prior to occasional, elaborate exchange ceremonies.

**Industrial Arts.** Wanano men manufacture the *wahpanio*, a palm-leaf strainer used in manioc processing. The Wanano monopolize the production of this basket and trade it to non-Wanano for other specialized crafts. The Wanano also prepare colorful bark-cloth mats for sale or trade to river merchants.

**Trade.** The Wanano trade with in-law groups for specialized crafts. In-law trading networks cover large territories. For example, the Wanano receive shaman stools from their Tukano in-laws who live on the lower Uaupés and Papurí rivers and grater boards from their Baniwa in-laws who live on the Rio Aiarí. In former times the Wanano also traded agricultural products for carrying baskets and game from Makú hunters.

**Division of Labor.** Women carry out all food preparation as well as daily gardening tasks, such as weeding and harvesting. Men fish and perform seasonal gardening tasks such as clearing and burning. Large construction projects, such as house building or weir installation, are accomplished by several men working together. Fishing with plant toxins (*Tephrosia lonchocarpus*) is a community activity involving men, women, and children.

**Land Tenure.** Traditional resource use and distribution are ordered by the rights and obligations associated with descent groups. Brazilian laws provide collective usufruct rights to the Wanano and other indigenous Uaupés residents through a form of land tenure known as the *colônia indígena*. Colombia provides similar land rights to Wanano through its system of *resguardos* (territories officially recognized by the Colombian government as communal lands).

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Wanano language group comprises twenty-five named patrilineal descent groups whose members view themselves as descendants of one of the language group's founding ancestral brothers. The descent groups are referred to as sibs in the literature and by the terms *kurua* or *kuduri* by the Wanano.

**Kinship Terminology.** The Wanano have a Dravidian kin terminology in accord with the structure of patrilineal descent and cross-cousin marriage. Terminologically, "own group" (agnates) are separated from "other group" (affines). Degrees of collaterality are not distinguished in the terminology, but collateral relatives are differentiated according to seniority. The terminology is only three generations deep, that is, no special terms exist for relatives in either the fourth ascending or the fourth descending generation.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Wanano incest regulation forbids marrying or having sexual relations with anyone who is Wanano and, conversely, requires that one marry into a different language and kin group. Each sib maintains ongoing marital alliances with several sibs of other language groups. The

strongly stated preferences of sister exchange and marriage with a patrilineal cross cousin govern marriage practices.

**Domestic Unit.** The Wanano formerly occupied communal longhouses inhabited by men of a single sib with their wives and offspring. Today they inhabit smaller dwellings that house a single extended or nuclear family. The village mimics the longhouse, in which sleeping compartments housed separate nuclear families.

**Inheritance.** Inheritance is ordered through membership in a descent group. Each sib controls a limited set of names, which are its exclusive property and which mark the membership of individuals. Descent-group membership carries with it rights to certain linguistic and ritual properties, rights to manufacture and trade certain ceremonial and utilitarian objects, and rights of access to resources within the sphere of the local descent group.

**Socialization.** During the first year mothers carry infants close to their bodies in cotton or bark-cloth slings. Children continue to stay close to their mothers until they enter the village peer group. Once they are part of the village play group children are relatively independent, although girls are expected to accompany mothers in gardening and food preparation. Many Wanano villages now contain small bilingual schools; high-school facilities are available for Wanano who wish to leave home to study.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Wanano social structure may be described as a system of hierarchically ordered, exogamous descent groups. The most inclusive category in the Wanano social universe is the mahsa, which encompasses the autonomous language groups of the Uaupés Basin. The constituent parts of the mahsa are the named, exogamous descent groups—referred to in the literature as “tribes” or “language groups”—whose villages ideally form a geographic unity. Membership in a language group is based on the sole criterion of patrilineal descent and is exclusive. Membership is ancestor oriented, although ancestors, called ancestral brothers, are designated rather than demonstrated. The Wanano are subdivided into sibs (*kurua* or *kuduri*).

**Political Organization.** The Wanano are united by common brotherhood, ancestry, and language with all other Wanano. Moreover, the twenty-five Wanano sibs comprise a coherent hierarchical and functional system. Although there are no paramount Wanano chiefs today, Koch-Grünberg, who visited the Wanano in 1904, mentions “a high chief of the whole Wanano tribe.”

**Social Control.** Mechanisms for social control include shame, ridicule, fear of difference, and fear of sorcery. When faction-forming disputes arise, a faction may move from the settlement to avoid potential sorcery and to relieve tensions. Infidelity is frequently cited as a cause of discord. There are no coercive mechanisms for social control within Wanano society.

**Conflict.** Wanano report former raiding with many of their neighbors, including the Cubeo, the Desana, and the Arawakan Baniwa. Wanano settlement distribution may be seen as divided into an upriver and a downriver branch,

the two branches separated by settlements of other language groups. This pattern may be attributable to intertribal warfare with Baniwa or Cubeo groups.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** In Wanano thought the animal world is organized into brotherhoods analogous to those in the human social world. Each animal brotherhood is guarded by a spirit, known as the “oldest brother,” that will retaliate in order to protect his kin. The locations of these spirits are known as “houses” and are generally avoided by hunters and fishermen. Disease is thought to be the consequence of sorcery. Disease occurs when a sorcerer sends a foreign object into his victim. Treatment of disease involves removal of the object causing the malady. The Wanano in Brazil are practicing Catholics. Each major village houses a small chapel, and a trained Wanano catechist conducts worship services each week.

**Religious Practitioners.** Wanano healers are male practitioners who learn their skill through apprenticeship to a senior shaman. A village may have several practicing shamans of various levels of reputation and ability. A shaman is obliged to subscribe to strict rules of abstinence and self-discipline.

**Ceremonies.** The Wanano practice several rituals marking transitions in the life cycle. These include female puberty ceremonies and menstrual seclusion, as well as initiation rites for males. Such rites are performed with less frequency and less formality today than described by early-twentieth-century reporters. In addition, Wanano sibs participate in ongoing cycles of deferred reciprocal exchange. In such exchange ceremonials, items of food or craft are presented as gifts from one sib to another. In principal Wanano ceremonials the sacred substances tobacco, coca, and ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) are imbibed or inhaled by specialists.

**Arts.** Wanano men specialize in the manufacture of *wahpanios*, shallow palm-fiber baskets of complex geometric design. The baskets are used by the women in the preparation of manioc products. Women make a strong rope from the fiber of the palm *Astrocaryum tucumoides*.

**Medicine.** The Wanano recognize a large number of medicinal plants. Chants passed from one shaman to another contain information regarding plant characteristics and application.

**Death and Afterlife.** The sib dead are buried near one another, not far from the village. When longhouses were in use, the dead are said to have been buried under the house floor.

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JANET M. CHERNELA

## Waorani

ETHNONYMS: Auca (pejorative in English and Spanish), Huaorani, Huaugrani, Schiripuno, Ssabela, Tihuakuna, Tipituni, Wagrani, Wao, Waodani, Waog, Waograni, Warani

### Orientation

**Identification.** "Waorani" literally means "they are true people" and must not be confused with *warani*, "they are other Waorani." "Wao" is used to distinguish members of the tribe from other peoples or *cowode*, "nonhumans, barbarians." The noun may be inflected like a verb: *waobo*, "I am Wao," *waomoni*, "we are Wao," and so on.

**Location.** The traditional homeland of the Waorani encompassed over 20,000 square kilometers of tropical-moist and tropical-wet forest in the eastern foothills of the Ecuadorian Andes. It embraced the first parallel south and was bound on the north by the Río Napo and on the south by the Manderoyacu and Curaray rivers. From west to east it extended approximately between 76° and 77°30' W. The elevation of the territory ranges from 245 meters to over 600 meters.

**Demography.** At the time of the first sustained peaceful contact in 1958, approximately 500 Waorani lived scattered over 20,000 square kilometers (.025 persons per square kilometer). By 1988 the population had grown to more than 950 and the land base had been reduced to 2,200 square kilometers (.43 persons per square kilometer). In 1983 the Ecuadorian government decided to the tribe a "protectorate" one-tenth the size of the original Wao lands, and all but 90 of the tribe moved there. Those who remain

outside the protectorate live on the lower Cononaco and upper Yasuni rivers.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Waorani call their language *wao tededo*. To date no known linguistic congeners have been found, leaving the language an unclassified isolate. Although at least four subdialects can be identified, Waorani from the various areas have no difficulty communicating with those from other areas.

### History and Cultural Relations

Wao oral history says simply that the Waorani originated "downriver" and migrated into their present homeland "long ago." The lack of linguistic affiliation, archaeological data, and adequate historical references to them makes any precise statement of origins and movements impossible. Serologically, they have the same blood type and genetic markers as most indigenous groups in Amazonia. Their oral traditions make it clear that they have maintained extremely hostile relationships with all outside groups for many generations. The earliest reference to them, in the late 1600s, indicates that a peaceful contact with Europeans ended in violence seven years later. When European traders began plying the major Ecuadorian rivers in the 1700s, the Waorani developed only sporadic and tenuous trading relationships, often raiding the traders rather than trading peacefully. Rubber gatherers captured Wao slaves in the late nineteenth century, and Europeans and surrounding indigenous groups like the Lowland Quichua and Zaparoans conducted punitive raids on Wao settlements in reaction to the hostilities the Waorani directed toward outsiders.

Since the early 1940s petroleum exploration companies have conducted systematic activities in Wao territory, often punctuated by Wao spearing raids against company workers and retaliations against the Waorani. Until 1958 the Waorani did not enter into continuous relationships with any other peoples. In that year two missionary women succeeded in establishing peaceful contact with one small settlement on the Río Tewaeno, and in the ensuing two decades all the Waorani except for a roving band of a dozen were contacted. The hostilities waned, and the Waorani began to establish trading and marriage relationships with other peoples, the Lowland Quichua from Arajuno and Tena in particular. As a result of the end of hostilities, the traditional lands were entered by oil and timber companies and taken over by Ecuadorian colonists in the early 1980s. Yasuni National Park was established in the eastern end of the territory, and Waorani are permitted to remain there if they live a "traditional" lifestyle. Others must live in the small protectorate.

### Settlements

Waorani traditionally settled on hilltops above small feeder streams in the hinterland, consciously avoiding the floodplains of the major rivers where Zaparoans lived and traders traveled. A settlement typically included one or two thatched longhouses occupied by an older married man, his wives, their unmarried sons, and their married daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren. At times a brother of the senior male would live in the house, along with his

wives and children. When the household became too large, usually over thirty people, one brother would build his house nearby, typically within an hour's walk. These neighborhood clusters of closely related kin provided mutual assistance and defense. Two or three days' walk from one neighborhood cluster were other neighborhood clusters of Waorani who were more distantly related and hostile. In 1958 there were four major groups of Waorani, each hostile to the other, living in small neighborhood clusters dispersed over 20,000 square kilometers. With the disappearance of the Zaparoans from the floodplains, the cessation of hostilities with the outside world (around 1900) and of internal revenge killings, and the influence of new ideas from surrounding cultures, Waorani began settling along the floodplains in the late 1970s and switched from extended-family longhouses to nuclear-family dwellings, although the smaller dwellings still tend to be built in tight clusters of extended families.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Tropical-forest horticulturists, the Waorani spend much of their energy clearing the forest and growing manioc, plantains, peach palms, maize, peanuts, sweet potatoes, and a number of minor cultigens. Once a garden matures, the women harvest the products on a daily basis, according to need. As they harvest, they take stalks and racemes from the freshly harvested plants and replant them in a nearby garden site that the men have just cleared, ensuring that as a garden is consumed, a new one is simultaneously prepared. Typically, a garden will be consumed in a few months, and the family then moves off to another settlement up to a day away where they have previously planted another garden that is now mature. They harvest and replant at that site and then move on to a third location. By the time they have harvested and planted at the third site, the first garden site is mature for consumption. This keeps the families moving every few months in a cycle of semipermanent sedentarism, which reduces their impact on a given area and facilitates defense from enemies. It also provides alternate sites where refuge can be taken following spearing raids. This slash-and-mulch horticulture provides most of the carbohydrates; most of the protein is supplied through hunting and fishing. Monkeys and numerous species of birds are hunted or blow-guns with poison darts, peccaries with spears. In addition to horticulture and hunting, the Waorani also continuously collect wild foods from the forest as they travel through it. Prior to intensive contact with Europeans, the Waorani were extremely healthy and well nourished.

**Industrial Arts.** Traditionally, the Waorani made whatever they needed from forest products. Pottery, wooden weapons and tools, baskets, hammocks, string bags, and nets were crafted for daily use. They did not manufacture their own stone tools, relying instead upon those they could find in the forest, left behind by past cultures. Canoes were not made until the 1950s.

**Trade.** Because there is almost no specialization in Wao culture, when people need something, they make it themselves. Some internal trading does occur, but until the spread of European influence, this was simply generalized reciprocity. Goods and services were not evaluated, and no

form of currency existed. The important feature was the act of the exchange itself, which cemented social relationships. Until 1958 Waorani maintained no trading relationships with other peoples. Since then, however, they have entered into the market system of the external world, working for money as oil-company employees and purchasing many manufactured goods and some processed foods. Sale of artisanry for the tourist market has become important. Generalized reciprocity has begun to give way to the profit motive.

**Division of Labor.** Men are responsible for chopping the huge forest trees to clear garden sites, for providing meat, for protecting the family, and for engaging in warfare. Women perform most of the agricultural tasks (planting, weeding, and harvesting), prepare meals, and care for the children. Neither sex's role is given higher status than that of the other; they are considered equally valuable. Children begin limited participation in adult activities as soon as they are physically capable, and at marriage they are expected to carry out full adult responsibilities.

**Land Tenure.** The concept of land ownership by individuals or groups was unknown until the late twentieth century. Every individual had right of usufruct to any land that was not already under cultivation. When the protectorate was created in 1983, the tribe, as an entity, was given the land. Individuals may not own or sell any part of it, but all may use it. Once a garden is consumed it is abandoned and becomes available for anyone, although in most cases the land is allowed to fallow for at least eight years—until the softwoods mature—before it is cultivated again.

### *Kinship*

A very loosely defined, Ego-based kindred exists, but its significance and role have been weak. The kindred is an opportunistic system manipulated by Ego. Fluidity characterizes the individual's choice of which kin relationships he or she may stress at a given point in life. Kinship is traced bilaterally, and the terminological system is Dravidian.

### *Marriage and Family*

**Marriage.** Bilateral cross-cousin marriage is prescribed, and marriages are arranged, often secretly. Polygyny was common prior to contact, and in a few cases, polyandry was practiced. Today monogamy has become dominant, and since the 1970s a few intermarriages with Lowland Quichua have occurred. Although divorce was rare, particularly in the face of a scarcity of eligible mates, it was an unceremonious matter; one of the spouses simply left to live elsewhere.

**Domestic Unit.** The extended household traditionally included several generations and tended toward uxorilocality. Within the household, every nuclear family maintained its own fire and hung its hammocks in one section of the dwelling. Women married to the same man also maintained their own fires and cooked separately. Since contact there has been a drift toward nuclear households.

**Inheritance.** Because Wao possessions were traditionally few and land was never owned, inheritance rules were never strictly defined.

**Socialization.** Children remain physically very near their mothers until they are 7 or 8 years old, at which time they begin to make forays into the forest with peers. Infants are carried continuously in a sling at the mother's breast and fed at the first sign of fussing. An older sibling often cares for younger siblings and always defers to them. Intersibling rivalry or conflict is almost unknown. Instruction is informal and usually mild. Parents are extremely permissive, punishing only when the child is in danger or endangers another. Even then, punishment is mild, with stinging nettles being brushed lightly over the legs or body; traditionally, a child would never be struck.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Within the concept of "Waorani" are several subclassifications. Warani, "others," are Waorani for whom no common ancestors can be traced, although common descent is thought possible. "Gerinani" are Waorani for whom there is a kin term and with whom marriages may not take place. "Arorani" are Waorani among whom marriages are arranged. The Waorani tend to be highly egalitarian; like men and women, the various age groups have nearly equal status. This egalitarianism is not extended to Warani.

**Political Organization.** Waorani are fiercely independent and individualistic. Communities are acephalous, and leadership is situationally defined. Until the Waorani needed to interact with the Ecuadoran government, no community-level organization existed. Now some individuals, women in particular, are acting as representatives of their communities. This aspect of the culture is in the process of dramatic change.

**Social Control.** Traditionally, peer pressure has been almost the only mechanism of social control. The threat of death by spearing might ultimately act as a deterrent, but that measure is so extreme as to have limited utility as a daily mechanism for minor problems. Today the threat of calling in the Ecuadoran military to apprehend offenders has replaced the threat of revenge spearing.

**Conflict.** A long history of revenge spearing raids has given the Waorani the highest documented rate of death by violence of any population on earth. At the time of contact four groups of Waorani were dispersed over their territory, each hostile to the other. The vendetta that motivated them permeated all aspects of Wao life and culture. Paradoxically, life on a daily level within the settlement was peaceful, almost to the point of being idyllic. Violence within the family and household was almost unheard of; even arguments were rare.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Traditional Wao beliefs are like most of Wao culture—flexible, diffuse, and pragmatic. They explain some of the intangibles of life but with no great concern for consistency or harmony. Waengongi was the original creator of everything; he was not revered or feared until he became identified with the Christian God. Two types of terrestrial spirits exist: those manipulated by practitioners and animal embodiments of deceased Waorani. There was little expression of concern with religious mat-

ters on a daily basis, and religious beliefs had no connection with moral behavior until the introduction of Christianity in the 1960s.

**Religious Practitioners.** The *menye waempo*, "jaguar father," and his wife *menye baada*, "jaguar mother," can, under the influence of ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*), send their "children" spirit jaguars to discover the location of herds of peccaries, report on the welfare of relatives living in other parts of the forest, predict impending spearing raids, and identify culprits responsible for disease or death. The spirit "fathers" and "mothers" of other animals (e.g., pumas, snakes, anacondas) can likewise send their "children" on missions. The *ido*, on the other hand, drinks ayahuasca to communicate with Wenae (Evil), a spirit that can be sent on missions of destruction and death. To the extent that any spirit "mother" or "father" is believable, he or she could receive some food gifts. Even to be accused of being an *ido*, however, means almost certain death to the accused.

**Ceremonies.** Except for the *anahuasca* ceremonies conducted in secret by practitioners, Wao life is devoid of any religious ceremonies. Community ceremonies were nonexistent until the introduction of Christianity.

**Arts.** Chanting and dancing were central foci of entertainment and socializing in precontact days. Nightly, the longhouse was filled with songs and yodels into the early morning hours as men sang to induce visions of successful hunting, women sang of the tasks of the day, or both sang of forest fruits and animals. During the palm season people traveled to distant parts of the forest several times a week to dance and celebrate. At this time, they all decorated themselves with bright featherwork and painted their bodies with dyes. Since contact, however, much of this has diminished or disappeared.

**Medicine.** Illness is caused either by a known agent (e.g., a fungus caused by walking in mud too long) or by the *ido's* spirit, or is *ononki* ("just happens"). If it is *ido* illness, the only one who can treat it is the one who caused it. If it is caused by one of the other two ways, anyone with herbal knowledge can treat it. The principle of association underlies all Wao assumptions and thinking: people become what they associate with. Thus, treatments are selected for their properties. A long vine is used to treat snakebite, aromatic plants will drive nausea away, and plants that fold up upon being touched will cause fever to fold and wilt away. Most Wao taboos can be explained by this principle of association. With the introduction of viral diseases carried by Europeans, much of the indigenous ethnopharmacology has proven ineffective and is being abandoned.

**Death and Afterlife.** At death the spirit that resides in the brain ascends to the heavens, the spirit that resides in the heart becomes a jaguar, and the body either rots or transforms into a *bagai*, a spirit animal that haunts the forest. The afterlife is patterned after life on this earth. Burial is accompanied by very little ritual.

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JAMES A. YOST

## Wapisiana

ETHNONYMS: Matisana, Vapidiana, Wapishana, Wapixana

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Wapisiana offer no explanation of their name but acknowledge that, in some pronunciations, it contains their word for people, *pidyan*.

**Location.** Many Wapisiana believe that they came from the upper Rio Negro and occupied an area extending north from the Rio Branco Basin into areas now occupied by the Makushi, who drove them south under pressure from European colonizers on the Caribbean coast. Presently, the Wapisiana are located in the Federal Territory of Roraima, Brazil, northern and eastern Boa Vista, as well as in the southern Rupununi savannas of Guyana. Their villages are insulated by the ranches, settlements, small towns, and commercial developments of Brazilians.

**Demography.** In 1984 the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI) estimated that there were 2,995 Wapisiana in twenty Brazilian villages. According to a 1981 survey in Guyana, there were approximately 5,000 Wapisiana in the southern Rupununi. There are no estimates of the number of Wapisiana who live outside of the villages.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Wapisiana is the only remaining Arawakan language in the circum-Roraima area. The Wapisiana have incorporated speakers of Atorai and Taruma into their group within the last several generations. Most Brazilian Wapisiana speak Portuguese, often instead of Wapisiana, and many Guyanese Wapisiana speak English in addition to Wapisiana.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Wapisiana were integrated through marriage and other forms of exchange within a regional sociocultural system that comprised the numerous Carib-speaking groups of the Guianas. The groups in this region, including the Pemon, Kapon, and Wáiwai, share a material inventory (such as

hammocks, basketry for the preparation of cassava bread and drink, and stone grating boards); hunting, gardening, and food-preparation technologies; myths and cosmologies; and kinship, social, and political organizations. Indirect contact with Europeans dates from Columbus's third voyage, in 1498, which reached the Caribbean coast of South America at the mouth of the Río Orinoco. For the next two centuries, information and objects spread rapidly through established indigenous networks of exchange. By the late 1700s the Wapisiana were brought to work at the Portuguese fort on the Rio Branco and mission settlements that protected international borders and secured the area for commercial development. With the establishment of ranching and other commercial enterprises by the Portuguese and later by Brazilians in the nineteenth century, the Wapisiana came into closer and more intense contact with non-Indians, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, contact was extensive and permanent. As non-Indians have entered the region, relations among the indigenous groups have been reduced and transformed. Now the Wapisiana engage in direct relations only with the Makushi and, to a much lesser extent, the Wáiwai. Most other intergroup relations are mediated or occasioned by the presence of non-Indians.

### Settlements

A Wapisiana settlement was once no more than a shifting and impermanent cluster of houses. During the twentieth century, villages have become nucleated, usually around a church. The government has added schools, meeting houses, and sometimes shops to village centers. In a few cases, Wapisiana have lined up their homes along the heavily used dirt roads that carry trucks, buses, official vehicles, hucksters, and even pleasure travelers from Boa Vista to other non-Indian towns and to the Venezuelan and Guyanan frontiers. The Wapisiana have traditionally preferred to live in open country, some miles from their gardens in the forest. This pattern continues, even in the less traditional villages, the residents of which produce their own food and participate least in the cash economy. The typical Brazilian Wapisiana village today consists of about twenty-five rectangular, clay-walled, palm-thatched houses spread over a delineated parcel of land. Villagers meet, usually at the church or in a school or clubhouse, to discuss local matters and make plans. Men often play soccer in an open area near the central buildings after these meetings, and holidays are celebrated there. Some villages have communally owned herds of cattle; there may be a corral and some pasturage maintained by the village men, usually away from the center. Villagers cut their gardens in the forests on the low hills that rise up from the savannas, sometimes walking several hours with heavy loads of cassava roots, which they process near their homes. Some families maintain second houses at their farms and process their cassava flour there. A few families live at their farms, but this is not well regarded by others in the community.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The staple crop is cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), which the Wapisiana grow in their cut-and-burned plots along with beans, mel-



ons, maize, rice, sugarcane, and numerous other food crops. They also cultivate sweet potatoes and other roots, squashes, tomatoes, greens, onions, and dozens of different kinds of hot peppers. Some of these vegetables are found in small kitchen gardens near their homes, alongside cotton, tobacco, calabashes, decorative flowers, and medicinal herbs. Wapisiana women grate the cassava, express its juice, sieve it, and then toast it on iron griddles into flour (*fariula*) or thick, flat breads. This lengthy process removes the deadly hydrocyanic acid. Wapisiana men hunt for deer, agoutis, wild turkeys, and other small game and birds. Men, women, and children fish. The Wapisiana have raised cattle, swine, chickens, ducks, guinea fowl, and many other introduced animals for over 200 years, and these now contribute regularly to the Wapisiana diet. The sale of produce, animals, and homemade food provides small amounts of cash for purchases of store-bought food and household goods.

**Industrial Arts.** Wapisiana men fashion wooden stools and plait baskets, sieves, and squeezers for use in the preparation of cassava and other foods. They also make arrows, working heavy-gauge fencing wire into points, but these arrows and the bows they buy or acquire from other Indians have been almost entirely replaced by shotguns. Women make clay cooking pots and spin cotton and weave the thread into baby slings and hammocks. Introduced crafts include needlework, dressmaking, and rustic furniture making. Some men make knives from worked auto springs and fashion bone or plastic knife handles.

**Trade.** The Wapisiana earn money and spend it in shops in Boa Vista or small towns in the interior. They trade among themselves on an ad hoc basis and irregularly with the Waiwai. Peddlers sometimes try to trade with the Wapisiana, but these transactions are described as exploitative, and they are avoided by all but those who are too isolated to understand.

**Division of Labor.** The ideal division of labor corresponds to that reported in early ethnography: men hunt, cut and burn fields, make baskets, and educate their sons. Women plant and harvest, process cassava, cook and clean, make cotton hammocks and clay pots, and care for their babies and daughters. Men, women, and children together catch fish and engage in some horticultural work.

**Land Tenure.** The Brazilian government has delineated Wapisiana villages, but has not yet demarcated Wapisiana lands; every village is encircled and penetrated by non-Indians. The Wapisiana do not believe in private ownership of land, and even though they are confined to shrinking spaces, they exhibit flexibility in the assignment of house and garden space. Newcomers to an area must secure permission from the villagers before they settle there.

### Kinship

Like other Guianan Indian groups, the Wapisiana do not name or organize themselves into kin or descent groups. The traditional terminology resembles the Crow system.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The cross cousin is the category preferred for marriage, whereas marriage with the true parallel cousins is

prohibited. There is some evidence that marriage with the actual sister's daughter was once desirable, a practice that continues in a loose, categorical sense insofar as men show a preference for young girls. Polygyny, once common for leaders, has nearly disappeared, probably under pressure from missionaries. Most marriages are now consecrated by a Catholic priest. Divorce is not uncommon and is initiated by either the husband or the wife; a village leader may intervene to try to convince a couple to stay together.

**Domestic Unit.** The nuclear family plus a grandparent is the common configuration. Often a man who is a leader will surround his large house with smaller homes for his sons' and daughters' families. Men traditionally exerted authority over their daughters' husbands; a year of service to the wife's father is still customary.

**Inheritance.** There is no explicit rule for inheritance. Leadership is said to pass from father to son, but there is little ethnographic evidence of this.

**Socialization.** Young children stay with their mothers, assist with household and garden work, and act as companions to adults, a vital social obligation. At adolescence, the Wapisiana traditionally initiated both boys and girls with painful stinging-ant and cutting ordeals; these practices have all but disappeared. Every Wapisiana village now has at least a federally provided primary school, and more advanced schooling is available in some villages and missions or in towns.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Traditionally, Wapisiana men traveled more extensively than women, conducting trading expeditions and engaging with other men in transactions involving cassava graters, dogs, and other valued objects. Exchange put men into direct contact not only with Wapisiana of other villages but also with Indians of other groups and, later, with non-Indians. Thus, men engaged in social relations on a broader geographical plane and at a higher, regional level of sociopolitical organization than did women. Since intergroup trade has declined, regional political organization has provided a new context for intergroup relations and a new means for men to become important actors and communicators. Within their own households, men have traditionally commanded the labor of their wives and daughters, unmarried sons, and younger sons-in-law. A man's daughters' husbands still perform bride-service for a year or more, and this service contributes to a man's material capacity for leadership and to his prestige.

**Political Organization.** Traditional leadership was an achieved status with several components. Old men gave advice and directed action insofar as they could specify the proper way to behave or perform a task. Men who spoke well represented the settlement to strangers and negotiated with them. A third form of leadership involved a man or woman initiating an activity by personally beginning to work. Nowadays, each Brazilian village has an elected chief whose position is formalized by FUNAI. Indians may vote, and they are courted by low-level local politicians. In 1985, for the first time, a Wapisiana man won a local election.

**Social Control.** The injunction against coercion is so strong that parents neither compel their children to take

medicine nor remove knives from their hands against their wishes. Another social law, however, just as fundamental requires Wapisianas to be together, share resources, and carry a fair share of the work. Those who violate these principles risk being accused of sorcery or threatened with it.

**Conflict.** Withdrawal is the common, traditional means of resolving interpersonal conflicts, and village fission is the means for dissipating interfamily tension. Since Wapisiana settlements have been reduced to scattered parcels of land surrounded by non-Indian ranches, it is no longer possible to split and re-form villages. Thus, it is more difficult now to resolve conflict. There are also new sources of conflict such as the competition among missionaries of different faiths over Indian worshipers and the introduction of cash and expensive goods into the regional economy. Within the village, it is still the older men, and the elected chief in particular, who mediate local conflicts such as those involving theft or inappropriate marriage. Outside the delineated settlement, Wapisiana are subject to Brazilian law. The Wapisiana find themselves embroiled in conflicts with ranchers and the territorial and federal governments, frequently over settlement and land use. They work with national indigenous groups toward resolving these problems.

#### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The stratified Wapisiana cosmos has three main levels: the sky, the land, and the underground. In the normal course of life, things, beings, or attributes of one level penetrate the others, simultaneously enabling social relations, production, and change and creating the possibility of illness, death, or destruction. In the distant past, people could turn into animals and animals could talk. The world changed and this is no longer possible, but there are numerous beings that combine human and animal traits and that threaten the well-being of Wapisiana and their communities. Catholic missionaries have worked in the region for two centuries; they had established churches in all Wapisiana settlements by the beginning of the twentieth century. Today, itinerant priests from the Consolata Mission provide services on a periodic basis.

**Religious Practitioners.** Traditionally, certain Wapisiana men became specialists in healing; they beat leaves and "blew" cures. They could also use the same techniques to make people sick or to kill them. Nowadays, no Wapisiana admits to these practices and only a few actually follow them, but a number of men and women do perform a sort of curing that is influenced by Catholicism, northeastern Brazilian folk medicine, and other non-Indian practices. In most villages, a Wapisiana man is the catechist who leads the Sunday service in the absence of the priest. Wapisiana boys attend the seminary in Boa Vista but none has yet taken holy orders.

**Ceremonies and Arts.** Today the only large-scale ceremonies are Catholic rites and celebrations of Christian holy days. On a very small scale, the Wapisiana perform traditional rituals in the course of their daily activities.

**Medicine.** In addition to "blowing" and curing to restore cosmological balance, Wapisiana use numerous plants

to treat physical symptoms. Brazilian Wapisiana also take advantage of malaria testing and treatment and nursing services at White settlements, and they use the Indian hospital and women's facility in Boa Vista.

**Death and Afterlife.** Deaths were attributed to evil spirits or to *kanaima*, healers who used their powers for evil purposes or to satisfy a blood lust. Nowadays, Wapisiana use words like "hepatitis," "malaria," and "pneumonia" to identify causes of death, but they often still believe that the true cause is a *kanaima* or another malevolent spirit. The Wapisiana bury a person's goods with the body for use in the afterlife.

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## **Warao**

ETHNONYMS: Ciawani, Guaraúnos, Tiuitiuas, Waraweete

#### *Orientation*

**Identification.** The Warao Indians, fishermen and incipient agriculturists, inhabit the labyrinthine arms of the Orinoco Delta of northeastern Venezuela and adjacent areas. "Warao" is an autodenomination meaning "lowland people" or "marshland people" from *waha*, "lowland," and *arao*, "inhabitant people." All non-Warao, whatever their origin, are *hotarao*, "dryland people," from *hota*, "high" or "dryland," and *arao*. "Guaraúno" is a Hispanicized version of the ethnonym, and "Tiuitiua" is the name given the Warao by the Otomac Indians, referring to a type of sandpiper, *waharomu* (*Tringa flavipes*), with which the Warao identified mythologically. Sir Walter Raleigh, the sixteenth-century English explorer, refers to the Tiuitiuas as divided into "Ciawani" and "Waraweete" ("real Warao").

**Location.** Politically, the Orinoco Delta forms part of the Venezuelan Federal Territory of Delta Amacuro (Territoria Federal Delta Amacuro), which spreads over 40,200 square kilometers and is located between 7°38' and 10°3'

N and 59°48' and 62°30' W. The area is at the northern tip of the vast lands between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers, called in colonial times the "Island of Guayana." More than half of the Warao population lives in a coastal strip of mangrove and *moriche*-palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) swamps, about 80 kilometers deep, along some 200 kilometers of seashore between the Río Marosa (Mariusa) of the central delta and the Río Amacuro (Amakoro) south of the Río Grande del Orinoco. The warm and humid climate of the delta produces a mean annual temperature of 26° C, but early mornings can be chilly. The area is under the influence of twice-daily tides, which during the dry season between January and April bring brackish water upriver. After the sudden onset of the rainy season around May, the annual flooding of the Orinoco reaches a peak in August and September and fills the adjacent Gulf of Paria up to the island of Trinidad with fresh water to such an extent that it made Columbus suspect he had happened on a great continent when he touched the Spanish Main for the first time on his third voyage in August of 1498.

**Demography.** Today the total Warao population is estimated at 22,000, of which, according to the Venezuelan indigenous census of 1982, 19,573 live in Venezuela, and 17,654 in the Territorio Federal Delta Amacuro, where they constitute about one-third of the total population. The Warao form the second-largest indigenous group in the country after the Guajiro (Wayuu). Although indigenous peoples make up less than 1 percent of the country's estimated 17,000,000 population, they inhabit over one-third of its surface, mainly in strategic border areas. After holding at an estimated 8,000 during colonial times and into the twentieth century, the Warao population has about tripled, possibly because of improved health service regarding infectious and gastrointestinal illnesses; but new endemic diseases such as tuberculosis are bringing this growth to an end.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** All Warao speak mutually intelligible variants of the same language. Warao has traditionally been considered an isolate, without affiliation with one of the great South American language families such as Tupí, Carib, or Arawak. Nevertheless, some scholars suggest a possible connection of Warao, together with Yanomaman and Barian, to the Chibcha Language Family, whose speakers live mainly in the Colombian Andes. More likely, all these unaffiliated languages belong to a common substratum and are only tenuously related. Originally an unwritten language, Warao today is spelled in a variety of ways, all in the Roman alphabet.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

According to Warao oral tradition, relations with the neighboring Lokono, an Arawak-speaking population, were peaceful, but not so with the Carib-speaking Cariña ("red faces"), or Musimotuma, who are still feared today. From the beginning of colonial times the Río Orinoco (Wirinoko in Warao) was the main entrance for explorers, missionaries, and scientists to the lands of El Dorado, which supposedly lay farther upriver. Located at the limits of the Spanish colonial empire, the Warao worked for and traded with the Spanish and the neighboring Dutch alike, but from a secure home base in the swampy interior of the del-

taic islands, where they lived by exploiting the starchy pith of the *moriche* palm, a relative of the *Metroxilon* or sago palm of Oceania. Until the decline of the rubber boom earlier in this century, the Warao suffered greatly, serving as forced laborers. After the agreement in 1922 between the Capuchin order and the Venezuelan government, Spanish missionaries arrived in the Orinoco Delta and in 1925 established the mission of Divina Pastora de Araguai-mujo, the first organized effort to permanently penetrate the Warao heartland. In the meantime, migratory Warao from the Río Sakobano with family ties among the Lonoko south of the Río Grande had imported from there a new cultigen suitable for growing in the swampy delta environment, the tarolike "Chinese" *ocumo* or *ure* (*Colocasia* sp.). This freed the Warao from their dependence on palm starch and the swamps and allowed them to establish themselves in the open river arms of the delta. It also made them available as a cheap labor pool for newly established sawmills and palmetto factories as well as commercial rice-growing operations.

### *Settlements*

Traditional villages range in population from an extended household of 25 to clusters of household groups with 250 persons. Acculturated Indians may live in isolated homesteads around sawmills and palmetto factories. Until the early decades of the twentieth century, most settlements were located in the *moriche*-palm groves, where the Warao lived in small, 3-by-3-meter huts thatched with *moriche* leaves and with floors of stems from the same palm, but after the introduction of *ocumo*, many groups moved to the open river shores, where most villages are now located. These consist of clusters of 8-by-12-meter houses with a number of smaller kitchens and, in traditional settlements, menstruation huts, dancing floors, and two-story ritual structures. Warao homes there are composed of two independent sections: the floor, built like footbridges on stilts above the highest tide with a covering of *manac*-palm trunks and *anare ahorohoro* (*Euterpe* sp.) and the saddle roof thatched with *temiche*-palm leaves (*Manicaria saccifera*).

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Traditional Warao subsistence is based on fishing and, to a lesser extent, on hunting, supplemented by gathering fruits, larvae, and crustaceans in a marked yearly cycle. Since the substitution of *ocumo* for palm starch as a staple, gathering activities have diminished and been supplanted by wage labor in lumbering and fishing. Incipient agriculture other than *ocumo* includes some sugarcane, bananas, and, where suitable soil is available, bitter manioc and maize. There is also some commercial rice growing.

**Trade.** The allocation of the domestic product is affected by delayed reciprocity and prestations inside local groups, whereas trade with outsiders is based on direct exchange, either through barter or the occasional use of money. Items sold by the Warao include hammocks made of *moriche*-palm fiber and other handicraft objects, as well as hunting dogs and pets such as parrots and macaws. Ac-

quisitions consist mainly of metal tools such as axes and machetes, fish hooks, and iron pots, as well as some clothing.

**Division of Labor.** There are no full-time specialists, although some persons are more proficient in a craft than others. Among the men, the expert builder of canoes, *moyotu*, is an important personage with considerable knowledge of rituals and oral tradition. Among the female population, the weaving of hammocks is practiced from childhood; this activity is a demonstration of how an old and sometimes blind woman can continue to perform useful labor. Along with the expert weaver of basketry, male or female according to area, such a man or woman is known as *uwasi*, with important implications for that person's afterlife (see "Death and Afterlife"). There is a whole range of religious practitioners with special knowledge. Other than the "guardian of the rains" (*naharima*) and the owners of specific ritual songs and musical instruments, there are three shamanic specialists who, according to their age, carry a lighter work load. Work is assigned on the basis of age and sex, girls aiding their mothers from an early age in the important gathering activities that contribute heavily to food production and female prestige. With the introduction of wage labor, female status has declined, as has the role of religious practitioners.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups.** Kin groups as such play a role only as expressed in the domestic unit built around a group of real or classificatory sisters. The principal woman, *hanoko orotu* or "owner of the house," enjoys considerable prestige, and the important daily decisions are made by the core group of sisters and classificatory sisters. The work group is commanded by the old father-in-law, *arahi*, through the husband of his oldest daughter, *dawa awahabara*, who serves as foreman over the inmarrying husbands, *harayabas*, of the former's daughters and granddaughters. Descent is bilateral and fictive kinship is frequent.

**Kinship Terminology.** Warao kinship terminology is different from that of all neighboring indigenous groups, which use Dravidian or two-line systems. Warao cousin terminology is of the Hawaiian type, according to Murdock's classification, resulting in the same kin terms for brothers/sisters and cousins. Male and female Ego, however, use different kinship terms, and address and reference terms are not distinguished. The ascending generation has a bifurcate-collateral terminology, whereas in the descending generation only a man's sister's children are distinguished from sons and daughters. There is a complete set of affinal kinship terms that structure social behavior inside the residence group.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is endogamous in relation to the local group, based on descent from one or several common ancestors (*ahokonamu*), but exogamous to the domestic unit. Residence is uxori-matrilocal with the young son-in-law moving into his mother-in-law's house, which is as close to the household of origin as possible. A prestigious head of a domestic unit may take a second wife by marry-

ing his principal wife's "assistant" (*atekoro*), usually her brother's daughter, but polygynous marriages also come about by default, as when a man marries his wife's widowed sister. After a number of early trial unions, couples with several children are extremely stable and divorce is infrequent. A widowed man moves to another domestic unit, but must leave his children behind; they are brought up by a foster parent (*aidatu*), generally a maternal grandfather.

**Socialization.** Children are taught by example rather than through formal instruction. Religious practitioners such as shamans and those who aspire to be expert boat builders serve apprenticeships. Both parents show affection to infants, but older siblings frequently take charge of routine child care. Role behavior, however, is learned from the same-sex parent. An important point in a child's life is when "consciousness strikes" at about the age of 4 and the individual is counted as a "human being." Life passages are marked by natural events such as menarche, when, at a special ceremony, a girl passes from *anibaka* to nubile young woman, *iboma*, and at the birth of the first or second child from *iboma* to adult woman, *tida*.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Although consanguineal kinship constitutes the framework for Warao social organization, specific rights and duties are determined by affinal kinship. The most important traditional relationship is the long-term social contract between father-in-law (*arahi*) and sons-in-law (*dawatuma*), with the former becoming over time the head of a large domestic unit that may grow to over 100 persons and constitute a separate settlement. Such an *arahi* then becomes the *aidamo* (village head) as well.

**Political Organization.** Holding political office was traditionally equivalent to the role of a major shaman, but since colonial times headmen and other officeholders have been appointed by outside authorities. A *kabitana* (captain) was usually the head of the strongest domestic unit of the village and the *bisikari* (derived from the Spanish *fiscal*) or *borisia* (derived from the Spanish *policia*) head of a minor one. The native governor (*kobenahoro*) presided over an area such as a delta river arm. Although there is no concept of exclusive land tenure, the leader of an in-moving Warao group must subordinate himself to the local *kobenahoro*. Political offices are assigned on the basis of prestige, according to the number of dependent workers (*nebu*) and public acclaim during ritual dances like the moriche ritual (*nahanamu*) or the fertility ritual of the "little rattles" (*habi sanuka*). Thus, a hierarchical ranking is established in an otherwise classless society. In recent years the Venezuelan administration has nominated paid police *comisarios*, but they have little influence on day-to-day activities.

**Social Control and Conflict.** There is little coercive control available to headmen and other political officeholders. Gossip and complaining in an even-toned monologue serve to attract attention to grievances. Ridicule of antisocial behavior is very effectively aimed. Shamans, however, especially *hoarotu* shamans, exercise considerable influence through the threats of witchcraft and punishment by the

supernaturals. The Warao do not wage war; traditionally, they have retreated deeper into the moriche-plam swamps when threatened by neighbors or invaders. They are known to be very pacific, but there are occasional outbursts of violent reactions to abuses by outsiders. The concept of *knauobe*, literally "the retribution of the head," is very important to the Warao and implies an ideal equilibrium with nature and between persons, but also vengeance. Intra-group conflicts are mediated through public hearings (*monikata*), with the aim that "all should be satisfied." Intergroup conflicts are handled by the Warao through the use of witchcraft (*hoa*). "We kill each other with *hoa*," the Warao say. Among interrelated groups a quite peaceful contest with shields (*isähi*) is used to vent anger.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** Although Catholicism and, in some areas of the western delta, evangelical Christianity, have made some inroads into Warao religious attitudes in recent decades, the vast majority of the indigenous population continues to adhere to traditional beliefs and values. The Warao possess a well-developed ancestor cult. Important spiritual beings are the life forces of great deceased *wisiratu* shamans (*hebu araobo*), who occupy the cardinal points of the edge of the world (*aitona*). Their subordinates are materialized in sacred ancestor stones (*kanohotuma*, "our old ones"), which are cared for locally in ritual huts by their "guardians" (*kanobo arima*), a task carried out by experienced *wisiratu* shamans. Trees and other plants and natural phenomena are animated, and *hebu* spirits roam the forests and rivers. Mythical *nabarao*, "people of the river depths" in a mirror image of human life, mate with Warao women to engender monsters (at times justifying infanticide). Metamorphoses (*anamonina*) are frequent, transforming "forest people" (plants and animals) and men into jaguars. The Warao worldview is an immanent one, and the concept of *kanonatu*, "our creator," seems of recent origin.

Principal spiritual beings, *hebu aidamo* or *hebu araobo*, together with their principal wives and a coterie of subordinates, occupy the edge of the Warao world, especially whatever higher elevations there are in Trinidad and south of the Orinoco, such as Naparima in the former area and Karosima in the latter. Each religious practitioner looks to a particular *hebu* spirit and its location as a destination for his life force (*mehokohi*) after death. *Hebu* spirits may be beneficial or malevolent and are mediated by *wisiratu* shamans. Especially feared are the *hebu masisikiri*, known among Carib speakers as *kanaima*, and the *kanobo himabaka*.

**Religious Practitioners.** Virtually all Warao adults exercise a religious function or are tied into one as craft experts, but the three basic religious offices are those of *bahanarotu*, who controls *bahana* or *hatabu* (arrows); the *hoarotu*, who kills by means of *hoa* sickness for the voracious *Hoebo* spirits on the western world edge but also can counteract hostile *hoarotu*; and the *wisiratu* shaman, who mediates between the Warao and their ancestor spirits (*hebu*) and cares for the sacred rock, their material expression (*kanobo*). Women may become shamans after menopause.

**Ceremonies.** Of vital economic and religious importance is the moriche ritual (*nahanamu*), which stretches over some six months from the collection of palm starch to its distribution. The *habi sanuka* dance, which takes different forms throughout the Guiana region, is a fertility ritual that formerly included sexual activities with an *amuse*, the wife of a close associate.

**Medicine.** Women are familiar with a number of curative herbs, but all sickness is considered to have a supernatural origin. Shamans both inflict and cure illnesses. Western medicine is available to a limited degree.

**Death and Afterlife.** When a Warao dies the life force leaves his or her body and returns symbolically to the maternal womb, and the person thus becomes a *hebu* spirit. Sometimes tarrying around its former dwelling place, the life force ultimately moves to the abode of the Supreme *Kanobo* corresponding to the magico-religious specialty or craft that he or she exercised in life. Hence the Warao look to the end of their lives with a certain tranquility. Men are buried in their dugouts.

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## Waurá

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ETHNONYMS: Aura, Uaura, Wauru

The approximately 170 Waurá live in several small villages in the Indian reservation of Xingu Indian Park in Mato Grosso, Brazil. Historically, they lived in that same area on both sides of the Rio Batoví (12°30' S, 54° W).

They speak a language of the Arawakan Family and can understand some of the Mehinaku language.

The Waurá were not contacted by Whites until the late nineteenth century and remain largely unacculturated. They are known as diplomats among the peoples of Xingu Indian Park for their ability to communicate with and to mediate disputes among neighboring peoples.

The Waurá economy is based on fishing, hunting, and horticulture. Fishing involves a number of people and tends to be a well-organized activity; the Waurá use nets, dip nets, and baskets; at night they fish with torches. The Waurá also practice swidden horticulture, raising maize, bitter manioc, sweet potatoes, yams, beans, peppers, peanuts, various fruits, cotton, and tobacco. They keep *mangabeira* (*Hancornia speciosa*) orchards. Hunting parties are made up of groups of men who use bows and arrows and who stay out for days. The Waurá store ears of maize by hanging them from the roofs of their houses and keep manioc flour in pots. They broil game and fish in their skins. The Waurá used to make bark canoes of the *jatoba* tree (*Hymenaea* sp.). Nowadays they travel the rivers in bark canoes, which they acquire by trading with canoe-making groups. They wear no clothing, but men decorate their bodies with bands on their upper arms and ankles, and both sexes wear waistbands and different kinds of necklaces. *Urucú* is used for body paint, and men pierce their earlobes.

Men fashion baskets, and women make nets and pottery; the Waurá make pottery for their own use and for trade with the Trumai Indians.

Waurá villages are composed of several multifamily houses arranged around a central plaza; they are located at a distance of 3 kilometers or more from the river. Because of their reduced population, each communal house is now inhabited by only a few individuals. Sacred flutes, straw suits, woven masks, bullroarers, and other ritual paraphernalia are kept in a central men's house. Men perform daily wrestling bouts on the central plaza. Ritual women's and mixed dance festivals take place there in the dry season.

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## Wayãpi

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ETHNONYMS: Barnaré, Guaiapi, Ouyampis, Oyampi, Oyampik, Oyampiques, Waiapi, Walãpi, Wayampi

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Wayãpi are an Indian group located in French Guiana and Brazil (Federal Territory of Amapá). In the literature the name "Oyampi" is defined as "man eaters," disregarding any etymology. According to the Wayãpi themselves, corroborated by scientific etymology, their name is derived from the Wayãpi words *waya* (warrior) and *yapi* (to shoot an arrow), meaning "warriors who hit the mark."

**Location.** The Wayãpi occupy the same territory today as they did during the nineteenth century, but now there are uninhabited areas between subgroups. Their present locations are at the confluence of the Camopi and Oyapock rivers, at the headwaters of the Oyapock in French Guiana, and along the northwestern tributaries of the Amapari and Carapanatuba rivers (the latter a tributary of the Rio Jari) in Brazil.

**Demography.** At the beginning of the nineteenth century, population reports indicated there were 6,000 Wayãpi; by the beginning of the twentieth century, there had been a drastic reduction to 450. Contemporary censuses cite 310 Wayãpi in Brazil (1988) and 525 in French Guiana (1990).

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Wayãpi language belongs to the Tupí-Guaraní Family, within the Tupí Macrofamily. There are dialectal differences between the northern and southern groups, but this does not impede mutual understanding.

### History and Cultural Relations

The Wayãpi Indians are not indigenous to their present territory. Their migration is documented in early Portuguese sources. During the first thirty years of the eighteenth century, they migrated from the lower Rio Xingu to the Rio Jari, and then proceeded northward along the Jari and the Amapari rivers.

At that time, they had been in contact with Jesuit missionaries and were sent by the Portuguese to fight

against the French colonists. Historic documents, as well as their own oral tradition, indicate that this alliance came about very quickly, but between 1780 and 1815, they became totally isolated.

From 1820 on, some groups of northern Wayãpi began making contact with French officials, but, for most of their communities, the era of isolation in the forest continued through the nineteenth century. It was not until the 1940s that the Oyapock headwaters villages were contacted by French geographers, and only in 1973 did the communities in Brazil come into contact with officials of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI).

Today, Wayãpi communities range from the moderately acculturated (Camopi and Aramirã, respectively the northernmost and the southernmost communities) to the traditional (Trois Sauts and Mariry). Furthermore, there is evidence of two groups, located at the headwaters of the Eupoussine River (French Guiana) and the Rio Yengarari (Brazil), who have made no contact at all, either with the main group of Wayãpi or with non-Indians. Some Wayãpi work in their own communities as civil servants in the French and Brazilian administrations, but the majority still practice traditional life-styles.

### Settlements

Wayãpi oral tradition contains references to a distant past of large villages with important headmen. By the nineteenth century, however, travelers were reporting small, dispersed, mobile villages of some extended families with prominent family headmen, who managed to gather kin groups under their authority both by attracting sons-in-law and by keeping their own sons at home, despite the rule of exogamy. This political feature persists today, but the mobility of the communities has been severely curtailed by patterns of Western settlements. This is especially true in French Guiana, where communities are being stabilized by the introduction of schools, field hospitals, solar-energy installations or electric-generating plants, and, in one case, even a town hall. Although traditional dwellings (*oka*) with raised floors and thatched roofs of *Geonoma* palms are still constructed, more modern houses, still with raised floors but with planked walls and corrugated iron roofs, are common now.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Wayãpi practice slash-and-burn agriculture with long fallow periods and subsist primarily on bitter cassava, sweet potatoes, *cush-cush* yams, bananas, and, only among southern communities, peach-palm fruits. Among the Rio Amapari and upper Oyapock River groups, hunting is most important, whereas fishing is predominant for the northernmost group. There is little participation in the cash economy with the exception of one southern community (Mariry), which carries out limited exploitation of gold claims. Civil-service salaries are integrated into the gift system in the communities of the upper Oyapock. In the Camopi region, however, there is an increasing trend toward individualism.

**Industrial Arts.** Until recently, crafts were a matter for the whole population: cotton textiles and ceramics for

women; basketry, bows and arrows, canoes and paddles, and houses for men. Since the end of the 1970s Western goods have been taking the place of Indian ones, with the exception of baskets and cotton textiles, principally hammocks woven on looms. Small dugout canoes are still made, but big outboard-motored canoes are bought from the Saramaka or from the Karipuna Indians in the lower Oyapock. Bows and arrows are still commonly used for fishing, along with cast nets; for hunting, shotguns are now used.

**Trade.** Historically, the Wayãpi were linked into a network controlled by Wayana Indians in an area extending from west to east, from the Tapanahoni River in Suriname to the Rio Amapari in Brazil. This network involved Bush Negroes, Wayana, Apalai (Aparai), Trio (Tiriyo), Emerillon, and Wayãpi Indians and was based on preferential intertribal pairs of trading partners called *yepé*. The Wayãpi traded mainly cotton thread, hunting dogs, and feather crowns in exchange for manufactured goods such as axes, knives, cutlasses, and fishhooks. Today this network has been disrupted by increasing control of the national boundaries.

Trade is still alive among Wayãpi subgroups and increasing between villages in Brazil and French Guiana. Along with traditional goods like tobacco, letterwood for bows, and feather headdresses, such Western products as ammunition, tools, fishhooks, pans, and glass beads are increasingly traded.

**Division of Labor.** Today the division of labor is the same as in the past. Men's agricultural work consists of the felling of trees and bushes, whereas women plant, tend gardens, and gather. Hunting and fishing are men's affairs, but women participate in the collective fish-drugging parties. Women cook, care for children, and make ceramics and textiles. Men build houses, make canoes and weapons, fashion featherwork, and weave baskets. Some men, principally in French Guiana, in addition to their traditional activities, earn money as boatmen or guides or work as part-time civil servants.

**Land Tenure.** There is no individual claim on virgin land until it has been cleared and a garden planted on it, but in the case of old, fallow garden land, permission is required from the man who first cleared it. Territorial rights do exist for hunting and fishing; grounds are shared by members of one or two communities, but members of distant villages cannot enter these grounds without permission. Those who discover fish-stunning poison vines and palm trees colonized by edible grubs become their owners and invite their relatives for collective fishing and grub-gathering parties. These lands have come under increasing threat from wildcat gold miners, colonization, and tourist projects. There is a new awareness of and concern for tribal land. Both the northern and southern groups are striving for official delimitation of protected areas.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Wayãpi term for people is *yanewãku* ("our people"), referring, according to the situation, to the nuclear family, the village's inhabitants, or all the members of the tribe. Kin within a village are

named *eletā langē* ("those of my place"). These categories are opposed to *āmūkū* ("the others").

The past existence of patrilineal clans named *apā* or *imiāwānge* ("those to whom we are linked") is supported by oral tradition, but, beyond a formal link to one of the seventeen ancestral groups, principally among the northern villages, no corporate descent groups remain. Descent is now bilateral, although some patrilineal patterns persist, (i.e., to determine the inheritance of leadership and to establish the ethnic identity of the offspring of intertribal marriages).

**Kinship Terminology.** Wayāpi kinship terminology is of the Dravidian type, drawing a clear distinction between kin and affines at the first ascending, one's own, and first descending generations. For the first ascending generation, they use single terms for father's father and father's brother, *-lu*, and for mother's mother and mother's sister, *-i*; there are distinct terms for mother's brother, *-elati*, and father's sister, *-yaye*. For the generations of grandparents and grandchildren, no distinction is made between kin and affines. All terminology includes one set of terms for address and another for reference.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Among all Wayāpi groups, preferential marriage is between cross cousins. For example, a female has two ideal spouses, mother's brother's son or father's sister's son, both called *emē* (my husband). In fact, 55 percent of present-day marriages respect this rule, a relatively high percentage considering the demographic crisis of the last 100 years. Following the logic of this system, levirate and sororate are also relatively common. Marriages take place without any particular ceremony and are arranged by parents according to kinship rules. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, there has been a marked tendency toward village endogamy, but when a surplus of marriageable girls is available, village groups try to grow through accretion, by attracting external sons-in-law as permanent residents. The future bride takes beverages to her intended, whereas he, in return, supplies her family with fish and game. This period of exchange may last several years if the bride is still very young. It ends when she takes her hammock and goes to live in the house of her parents-in-law. There are no strict rules of residence, and a year or two later, when the husband builds his own house, it may be located near that of his parents or that of his in-laws.

Female puberty rites are considered very important, for without them, a woman cannot hope for a good procreative life. Girls usually marry at about age 15 and boys at about age 20, but a number of marriages between young girls and much older men can still be observed.

Polygynous marriages exist but are uncommon, mostly owing to the demographic crisis. They are, nevertheless, well regarded. Divorce is almost unknown in older generations and is still very rare in younger ones. Although permitted, but it is recommended only in the case of female sterility.

**Domestic Unit.** Oral tradition recalls a past with collective houses (*tapui*), but for the last 150 years nuclear-family households have been the rule. Within a village,

extended families tend to form a cluster of households all using the same manioc-processing house (*kulata letā*).

**Inheritance.** Wayāpi "own" sex-specific articles, such as bows and arrows (and today, shotguns) for men and cassava squeezers for women. Each sex avoids touching the possessions of the other. But no such rule holds for many domestic items, like knives, calabashes, or spoons. When a person dies, he or she is interred in a special burial place in the bush, where people are forbidden to go. Formerly, the deceased was ornately dressed, and the most prestigious of his belongings were buried with him. His house was abandoned, and possessions too large to go into the grave with him were destroyed. Today, however, new value has been placed on some of these goods: the high cost of such Western articles as shotguns and outboard motors has singled them out for collective family inheritance and use, and the settling process has given new value to the houses, which are reoccupied by kin or lent to foreign visitors. Only traditional burial rituals and sites are still respected, despite administrative pressure.

**Socialization.** Birth is an important affair among the Wayāpi, and there are numerous pre- and postnatal prescriptions, taboos, and rituals for father, mother, and the newborn infant. They are meant to insulate the baby from the dangerous spiritual forces of the natural world. Most prominent among these rituals are the *couvade* (*yekwaku*) for father and the moon-long seclusion for mother. With increasing medical assistance, evacuations for in-hospital deliveries have given rise to psychological traumas because hospital-born babies cannot be protected from these spiritual assaults. Infants enjoy constant physical contact with the mother and very often are not weaned until they are 3 or 4 years of age. This is followed by a period of fearsome autonomy, characterized by total liberty. Initiation to subsistence activities, crafts, and other knowledge and skills takes place only at the initiative of the child and never by invitation or pressure from an elders' directive; techniques are learned by imitating adult gestures, and knowledge is gained by listening silently to their talk. On the other hand, social codes, particularly kinship rules and obligations, are inculcated early, mainly by the mother's designating other community members by their kinship terms. Rebukes and corporal punishment are rare, but irony is a frequent resort. Today, there are schools for both the northern and southern groups, but not in all communities. Of these, only the Brazilian mission schools is bilingual (Portuguese/Wayāpi); all others teach in French or Portuguese. The high value placed on schooling in the 1970s is increasingly questioned by some parents.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The traditional sharing-out system of Wayāpi society is egalitarian only in the economic sphere; politically, this system tends to perpetuate the leadership of those who have the most to share, in the form of cassava beer, collective lunches, and, more recently, ammunition, gasoline, and the like. Greater quantities of such goods accrue to men who have many daughters to marry but also manage to keep their sons close to them.

Women are not consulted on political matters, but a number of them are well versed in genealogical ties and are



particularly consulted over matters relating to matrimony. Moreover, grandmothers bestow a secret name of female ancestors on a girl after the first year of her life.

In French Guiana, French citizenship and communal structures have been imposed on traditional order and leadership. Northern Wayãpi and the largest subgroup of Emerillon (another Tupí-Guaraní tribe) find themselves coresidents of a single commune, where the mayor is Wayãpi and his council is composed of Wayãpi and Emerillon. However, the indelible links between these elected officials and the traditional structure soften the disruptive effects of the new political system.

**Political Organization.** Communities are linked by kinship and marriage, but village endogamy tends to generate competition and factionalism. Formerly, this factionalism led to endemic hostilities, which are today expressed in shamanistic practices.

New intertribal organization through the Association des Amérindiens de Guyane Française (AAGF) is coming into being, but its influence is largely limited to young people who are concerned with bilingual education, access to the wheels of French administration, and collective control of ancestral territory.

**Social Control.** Rules for proper conduct between kin and affinal groups are important. A man has a relationship of dependency with his in-laws, of respect toward his father-in-law, and of avoidance toward his mother-in-law. Disputes are rare in traditional villages and are usually caused by intoxication from imported alcohol. During cassava-beer drinking bouts, subjacent conflicts are treated through oral contests, with a tone of grinding irony. Adultery is not common; discretion is the rule of conduct.

**Conflict.** As was often the case among Tupí tribes, ancient war, *wanini*, involved cannibalism and was triggered by the pursuit of revenge, *-lepi*. As this word also means "payment," war between communities was only one episode of an alliance based on exchange. Colonization transformed the basis of war: cannibalism disappeared in the eighteenth century because the Portuguese encouraged the barter of war captives for guns. Wayãpi suppliers thus came to be referred to as "Portuguese Indians" in early texts. Since the end of the nineteenth century, pressure from government agents, the demographic crisis, and the sorrow that followed in its wake have brought about the progressive disappearance of war.

Wayãpi are now warriors without war, because the feeling of immense frustration is always alive. The only way of continuing conflicts between communities is through the shaman's performances.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Wayãpi beliefs are basically Tupí-Guaraní ones, with the slightest touch of Christian influence dating from an earlier brief stay in Catholic missions and from the incorporation of poor fragments of Christianized Indian tribes after the Wayãpi penetration into French Guiana at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A high God, Yaneya ("our master"), created the universe with the help of one or two teams of architects. A set of four worlds, circular and flat, are surimposed one on an-

other like cassava griddles. The middle one is inhabited by humans; below that is the world of the *wo'o*, gigantic sloths that think they are the true humanity. Above the humans' disk are two skies: that of the vulture, master of decomposition and rot, and above it, the Creator's residence. For the Wayãpi, there is a fundamental lack of understanding and also of sympathy between the Creator and his human creatures, who blame him for the loss of eternal life, the symbol of divinity. After the failure of his terrestrial stay and his destruction of "first humanity," he was killed by his own son. He now lives on high, disinterested in human destiny.

The world is in a precarious equilibrium. Humans must therefore respect the harmony of nature and never kill too much game or fish, or pick too many fruits or forest produce. Without these precautions, the game masters, or any one of the other forest masters (*ya*), take revenge on the village, especially on the weakest, the children, by sending illness and calamities.

**Religious Practitioners.** It is precisely one of the shaman's tasks to identify the cause of the illnesses and cure them. The shaman (*paye*) is also able to travel through the different floors of the universe, helped by tobacco juice (*makule*); a hallucinogenic plant, *takweni* (*Brosimum acutifolium*); and the "voice" of his rattle (*malaka*). He is the sole human being able to domesticate forest spirits, which become his pets (*leima*) and work for him to restore the lost harmony. To those guilty of disrupting world equilibriums, he prescribes taboos affecting the sick person and his family. Such taboos, which can last from several months to a whole lifetime, consist of food prescriptions and hunting and fishing restrictions.

**Ceremonies.** Wayãpi life is not regulated by a fixed ceremonial calendar. For example, the community decides to celebrate the principal gathering product, a palm fruit, *wasey* (*Euterpe oleracea*), only in those years when it is exceptionally abundant, with the intention of boosting the next year's crop. This means that feasts are basically propitiatory. They are held for a variety of products, such as maize, or before fish-drugging parties (*paku* and *kumalu* dances).

Ants are applied to the bodies of girls and boys to help them to "change skin" (i.e., make the transition from adolescence to adulthood), thus promoting the children's future lives. This is, however, more a family ritual than a communal ceremony.

Christian rites were unknown until the late 1980s, when a Catholic priest decided to baptize all the babies of the northernmost village. It was a poor and ridiculous masquerade bereft of any religious sense for the villagers.

**Arts.** As among so many Indians tribes, Wayãpi arts and crafts are finely manufactured and beautifully decorated. Basketry, its weaving patterns symbolizing the world of animals, holds a prominent place. A great variety of specialized arrows with specific decoration has made the Wayãpi renowned in French Guiana. In the sphere of music, on the other hand, the main body of songs and rhythms are giving way to imported ones.

**Medicine.** Shamans may prescribe some medicinal plants to patients but, for the most part, plant medicine is

a secular matter. Today, traditional herbal remedies are being replaced by Western drugs, for French medical assistance is well organized and efficient. The increase in the Wayãpi population may be attributed to vaccinations, the treatment of intestinal parasites, and the possibility of rapid evacuation of the most serious cases to urban hospitals.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is the moment when a human being meets Yaneya in the uppermost level of the sky. The deceased are wrapped in their hammocks, a man with his cutlass and his bow, a woman with her spindle and some meters of cloth, both men and women with their knives, combs, and numerous necklaces of glass beads. He or she is then placed in a grave. The corpse, *teänge*, will thereafter decompose, whereas the shadow, also named "teänge," will wander around the village on the lookout for people to carry off in sickness and death, to share its misfortune. The only fortunate part of the deceased is the soul, *taiwe*, which will journey upward to join those of his or her family and ancestors. The soul, however, must provide proof of having lived a virtuous life. If it can't, God will burn it, then recreate it, allowing it to exist thereafter in eternal bliss, drinking cassava beer, dining on the souls of game and fish, those very animals and fish once killed by the living here below. It is in this final state of afterlife that the Wayãpi are at last reconciled with Yaneya.

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PIERCE GRENAND AND FRANÇOISE GRENAND

## Witoto

ETHNONYMS: Fitita, Guitoto, Hitote, Huitata, Huito, Huitoto, Murui Huitoto

The Witotoan groups, now composed of around 8,500 individuals, live along the middle courses of the Caquetá and the Putumayo rivers, in the Amazon region of Colombia. There are also some in adjoining areas of Peru and Brazil. Approximately 4,500 to 5,300 Witoto, referred to as the "Witoto proper," speak the Witoto language, which belongs to the Witotoan Family, as do the 380 Okaina and 380 Nanuya. They live mostly on the Orteguzza and Caquetá rivers and on the Putumayo and its tributaries, the Cara-Paraná and the Igara-Paraná. The Murui and the Muinane are subgroups of the Witoto proper who speak slightly different dialects. They express their complementarity symbolically as the opposition between, on the one hand, "up," "black," and "male" and, on the other hand, "down," "white," and "female."

Other Witotoans are the Bora (population 1,640) and the Miraña (population 300), who speak similar Witotoan languages and live at the mouth of the Cahuinari as well as on the Igara-Paraná. Other speakers of Witotoan languages are the 250 Andoke and the 500 Muinane, who live mostly along the Caquetá.

Until the early part of the twentieth century, the Witoto numbered 50,000. Observers reported that, besides the major divisions, the Witoto were separated into more than 100 subgroups; these categorizations were probably based on the names of villages. During the rubber boom in the second half of the twentieth century, as a result of diseases, forced labor, and migration, the population rapidly fell to between 7,000 and 10,000. The survivors fled to marginal interfluvial areas. Some have returned to their traditional homelands, but others have settled in different regions and lost their ethnic identity.

All Witoto groups have similar subsistence practices. They move every few years to find areas in which to make new swidden gardens. Their staples are sweet and bitter manioc, of which they grow over twenty varieties; they intersperse pineapples, fruit trees, and minor annual crops with the manioc. They plant a wide variety of other crops, including plantains, bananas, yams, papayas, sweet potatoes, mangoes, peach palms and other palms, peanuts, cacao, sugarcane, maize, tobacco, and coca. Men clear the fields, and women do the planting. They consider two replantings of manioc the maximum possible, but the fallow fields are still useful, as fruit from planted trees continues to be harvested. A family may have six or more fields of different ages and crop mixtures, so a supply of varied crops is assured. A plot is fallowed for ten to twenty years before it is reused. Ethnobotanists have been studying the managed fallows of a group of Witotoan Bora living in Peru as an efficient land-use system for the humid tropics.

The Witoto process manioc using two different kinds of manioc presses, one cylindrical and the other a kind of mat that they roll around the mass of grated manioc to

squeeze out the poisonous juice. The squeezed manioc is used to make tapioca as well as manioc cakes baked on flat ceramic griddles. They also ferment both sweet and bitter manioc in water and toast it as manioc flour.

Men hunt with shotguns and also use blowguns with poisoned darts for small game. They make traps and pitfalls of various kinds and formerly hunted with spears, but never used the bow and arrow. They bring home such game as peccaries, tapir, capybaras, agoutis, anteaters, armadillos, deer, sloths, parrots, frogs, and turtles, but the most important game is monkeys. Fish are caught in nets, speared, and poisoned; fishhooks are now also used. Men often hunt and fish at night with flashlights.

The center of Witoto family, social, and ceremonial life is the communal house. Houses are octagonal with a conical roof, usually with the entrance facing east. Beside the communal house, there are outbuildings and small houses within the complex that the communal house dominates. Witoto communal houses are of the Murui ("masculine") type with closed roofs or of the Muinane ("feminine") type with an opening at the apex of the roof. These structures are symbolically complementary like earth and sky, man and woman, thought and substance. In households that are politically and ceremonially prominent, there is a "xylophone" made of hollow logs of various sizes, suspended from a wooden frame, that produce different notes when they are beaten to announce the beginning of a ceremony or the arrival of an honored visitor. Certain individuals are specialists in building and playing these instruments. Others specialize in the production and use of tobacco or coca, and in certain songs, dances, and kinds of ritual knowledge.

Witoto social organization is based on patrilineages. Minimal patrilineages live together and consist of patrilocal residential units that women, as wives, join from other groups according to the rule of local exogamy. Together these units make up a village, which typically consists of a single multifamily dwelling, although in some areas one village may have several large communal houses. In principle, each village is an independent, patrilocal, and exogamous community. Villages may consist of as few as 25 persons in some subgroups and up to 500 in others. Village territory ranges from 80 to 1,600 square kilometers. The authority of the village headman extends only as far as the village boundaries, except in time of large-scale emergency, as when village groups came together to fight White invaders. The headman inherits his office from his father or brother, subject to the approval of the council of elders. A number of villages are linked in a federation led by a chief.

Historically, Witoto groups and even villages have often been at war with each other; one purpose of these wars was to take prisoners. Young captives were incorporated into the group as members, and the old were ritually eaten during a ceremony. Another purpose of warfare was to exact revenge against shamans believed to have caused illness.

Traces of what was once a complex and hierarchically structured society remain. Among present-day patrilineages, some are "dominant," and others consist of "subordinates" or "commoners." Each group is associated with a certain color, animal, or plant. The group must "care for"

its totem; thus, together, the society "cares for" its total environment. Commoners, as people of low social status, are assigned arduous and monotonous tasks such as collecting firewood and pounding coca leaves, and they usually live in small houses outside the central communal dwelling. The hierarchy of lineages and of groups of brothers is expressed in terms of birth order. Among lineages, "elder" and "younger" is predetermined by mythology. In a group of brothers, actual birth order defines the role assigned to each. In principle, the eldest is the hereditary headman or "owner of the house."

A Witoto origin myth tells how the "talking pole" of the primal tree was invaded by Worms sent by the "People of the Mouth of the River." The Worms mocked and defied the "People of the Center" and sent them sicknesses until the People of the Center became angry, and a great war ensued. With the help of Thunder and Lightning, the People of the Center won the war and from that time established the cultural pattern that distinguishes the Witotoan groups.

Historically, the Witoto wore little clothing. Men wore a breechclout of bark cloth, and women only body paint to which flecks of cotton were glued. Ceremonial regalia was specific to the occasion and to individual status; people emphasized their rank by wearing certain kinds of plumage and jaguar-tooth necklaces, and chiefs carried ceremonial axes. Today the Witoto wear Western-style clothing.

For the Witoto, the yearly round of economic activities is closely linked to ceremonial events. Dozens of different rituals are enacted every year to regulate the relationships of humans with their environment and with one another. The purpose of ritual dancing is to promote growth and reproduction and ward off sickness and death. The Dance of the Chontaduro is held in December to provide good fishing and a bountiful harvest. This ceremony, which lasts several days, brings together up to 100 people to form or reaffirm alliances and exchange information.

Witoto shamans carefully observe plants and animals to instruct people how properly to collect and consume them. An important part of shamanic curing is prescribing appropriate behavior, but shamans may be held responsible for deaths, which are always considered to have supernatural causes. The accused shaman, however, is usually from another group.

In the 1990s, many Witoto are threatened with the loss of their culture and their economic base as the frontier advances. Cattle raising and commercial agriculture have resulted in deforestation, soil exhaustion, and the pollution of rivers and streams. Some Witoto, however, have begun to organize to reaffirm their cultural identity and reclaim their traditional territory. The Colombian land-reform agency has demarcated several reservations for the Witoto and is considering the establishment of others.

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NANCY M. FLOWERS

## Xikrin

ETHNONYMS: Chicri, Diore, Purukarôt

### *Orientation*

**Identification.** In the oldest literature, these Indians are referred to as "Diore," "Chicri," or "Purukarôt." Their self-denomination, however, is "Putkarôt." "Xikrin" was a name given them by Whites, but nowadays they rarely identify themselves as such. The Xikrin are a subgroup of the Kayapó, the westernmost representatives of the Northern Gê. The name "Kayapó" comes from the Tupí *kaia* (monkey) and *po* (similar to), but the Gê to whom it is applied never called themselves by this name. All Kayapó call themselves "Mebengôkre," that is, "people of the big water." Modern Kayapó give no explanation for this name, but originally it may have referred to the Rio Araguaia, whose course was apparently an important geographical boundary separating the ancestral Kayapó from the ancestors of the present-day Apinayé. Today, however, each of the fifteen Kayapó groups is autonomous and has its own name.

**Location.** The Kayapó occupy a vast area of central Brazil between the Tocantins and Xingu rivers, in southeastern Pará. The territory of the Xikrin is located in the municipality of Marabá, near Provincia Mineral de Caraiás. One group of Xikrin inhabits a village on the left side of the Rio Cateté, 6°15'20" S and 50°47'25" W, 30 kilometers above the confluence of this river with the Itacaiunas. The other Xikrin group lives on the bank of the Rio Bacajá, an affluent of the Xingu to the south of Altamira.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The language spoken by the Xikrin is Kayapó, which belongs to the Gê Language Family. The language most nearly related to Kayapó is Apinayé, with barely a 20 percent difference in their vocabulary. For the Kayapó, who are divided into autonomous groups, language is the most comprehensive characteristic of ethnic identity, leading to the recognition that they share a common culture. There are, however, slight dialectal differences between the various groups. The degree of ability to speak

Portuguese varies a great deal among the Kayapó, depending on the length of contact and the degree of isolation in which each group finds itself.

**Demography.** The total population of the fifteen Kayapó groups is approximately 3,000. The Cateté Xikrin number 390 and the Bacajá group 170. All Kayapó groups show a steady demographic growth. At the time of contact, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Kayapó lost a large part of their population. Between 1940 and 1960 there was renewed shock because of epidemics transmitted by pioneers entering the forest in search of natural resources. In 1964 the Cateté Xikrin barely numbered 100 individuals, but thereafter the group recuperated thanks to missionary activity and the presence of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI).

### *History and Cultural Relations*

The actual configuration of Kayapó groups is the result of a long process of social and spatial mobility, marked by the constant formation of factions and political divisions. In the nineteenth century the Kayapó who had separated from the Apinayé and who at that time were called "Gorotire Kumren," split after crossing the Araguaia. The original group remained on the Rio Pau d'Arco, an affluent of the Araguaia, whereas the group called "Pore-Kru" (ancestors of the present-day Xikrin) headed in a northerly direction to the area of the Rio Itacatuas. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Pau d'Arco group split again, and the dissidents (direct ancestors of the Gorotire) migrated toward the Xingu and Fresco rivers and settled in that area. It is from this group that, after successive fissions, all remaining Kayapó groups descend (except for the Xikrin).

The Pau d'Arco Kayapó, after coming into contact with the local population and with Dominican missionaries who founded the town of Conceição do Araguaia in 1987, became extinct, victims of epidemics. In 1946 anthropologist Curt Nimuendajú identified just six survivors.

The Porekru (ancestors of the Xikrin) split into three groups. One of them, the Diore, in 1910 fell victim to a punitive expedition by the local settlers. The two other

groups, the Kokorekre and Putkarôt, while fleeing from rubber tappers, encountered and fought with the Gorotire. Around 1926, fearful of the Gorotire, these groups settled in the area of the Rio Bacajá. Between 1930 and 1940 a group that did not like the area separated and returned to the Cateté.

As of 1880, the large town of Pukatôti, with more than 1,000 people, located on the margin of the Riozinho do Afrísio, 60 kilometers south of Cachoeira da Fumaça, came to be the center of reference for the Gorotire. Between 1900 and 1910 there occurred the first great split, which separated the Gorotire from the groups from whom present-day Mekranoti and Metuktire (Txukahamãe) descend, and who settled west of the Rio Xingu. Between the 1930s and 1950s, owing to internal fissioning, illness, and conflicts with the rubber owners and tappers in the area, the Gorotire divided again, forming the groups known as Kararaô (nowadays located to the south of Altamira), Kuben-Krã-Kein (on the Fresco River) and Kokraimoro (on the Xingu). Beginning in 1970 there was renewed fissioning. In the Metuktire village on the Xingu, there occurred a split between the people led by Raoni, who accepted the invitation of the Villas Boas brothers and settled in the Xingu Indian Park, founding a new village, Kretire, and the people led by Kremoro and Krumare, who headed toward the Rio Jarina. In 1967, after a disagreement, chief Tut-Pombo left with his followers from Gorotire and founded the village of Kikretum in Nova Olinda. In 1979 a third of the Kuben-Krã-Kein left the village to found another one, Aukre, a village of Paiaká in the middle of the Riozinho. In 1981 a number of people from the Mekranoti village on the Rio Xixé moved to found Pukanu on the Rio Iriri, and finally in 1983 another group left Xixé and took up residence on the Iriri Novo. The Txukahamãe have once more come together in a new village in the area of Kapôt in the Kayapó Indian Reservation.

During this entire period, conflicts between Kayapó and pioneers who invaded their territory were always very violent, and there was great population loss. In the 1960s plantations and cattle ranches began operating in the area. The construction of the PA 279 highway linking Redenção no Araguaia with São Felix on the Xingu was also begun. In the 1980s gold prospecting started in the area, and lumber mills were established for the exploitation of high-quality timber, including mahogany. Such uncontrolled activities were highly predatory. Large state projects involving the development of mining and metallurgy (Projeto Grande Carajás) and the construction of hydroelectric plants (Tucuruí and Kararaô on the Xingu, the latter still under study) have also affected the area.

### Settlements

Kayapó villages consist of a circle of houses around a central plaza. In the middle of the plaza stands the men's house. This spatial division is important on a symbolic level because it refers concretely to other divisions on the level of social structure: periphery/center, women/men, private/public life, domestic/ritual life.

The houses are large structures with two-sided straw roofs. The side of the dwelling facing the plaza is tradition-

ally left open; the other three sides are closed with walls of thatch. The inside of the house consists of a continuous space, but each nuclear family occupies a section that is defined by a spatial separation of 1 to 2 meters, with its own fireplace (hearth) and mats. Each family has its own belongings and a platform where the married couple and small children sleep. Baskets and gourds are hung from the rafters of the house or are placed on top of platforms at a certain height from the ground. Up to thirty or more people can live under the same roof.

Today there is a tendency to build houses with walls of wooden laths (Xingu) or wattle and daub (Cateté Xikrin) and to make partitions to separate the families, while at the same time maintaining a common area. Behind the houses there are stone ovens in which the greater part of the food is roasted.

In wandering through their territory the Indians build temporary camps, and at times also erect open houses in cleared fields.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** Whenever possible, the Kayapó build their villages near a river or waterway, but in dry or well-drained terrain. The area inhabited by the Kayapó, which they explore in a systematic way, is a zone of transition between the tropical forest and the shrub-palm savanna. It is rich in game, fish, and forest products; there are also tracts of land that are well suited for horticulture. In the 1990s, despite the drastic changes they have undergone, all Kayapó continue practicing their traditional subsistence activities, assuring their basic food supply and a well-balanced diet. Horticulture is of the slash-and-burn type, and fields are cleared both collectively and individually. Kayapó plant several types of sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, sweet manioc, and maize. Since contact, there has been increased planting of bitter manioc for the production of farina, which has become a staple food. The Kayapó began to diversify, planting vegetables and fruit trees; some groups grew coffee, sugarcane, and rice. Traditionally, they also planted cotton and *urucú* and had domesticated a vine of high nutritional value called *cupa*. The Kayapó think of themselves as being essentially hunters despite their dependence on cultigens. The most prized game animals are tapir, wild boars, white-collared peccaries, deer, pacas, and agoutis. The Kayapó collect turtles in large quantities and ferret out armadillos. They also eat certain birds, for example guans and curassows. In winter, they fish individually, with nylon lines and hooks; in summer, communal fishing with *timbó* fish poison prevails. In the forest they gather palm shoots, Brazil nuts, babassu and lesser nuts, various kinds of honey, the fruits of the *bacaba* palm and *acaí* trees, and palm grubs. They also collect large quantities of *genipapo* for body painting, *timbó* vines for fishing, and a great variety of medicinal plants.

Subsistence activities are cyclical and seasonal. There are times of plenty and of scarcity. Some food taboos have been partially abandoned, increasing the number of edible products. The Kayapó are seminomadic, with a fixed migratory pattern and the village always as their point of return. The objective is to explore all the resources of the area, especially during the dry season, when fields produce

the least. They spend the night near a river in order to fish, or near an old clearing covered by secondary growth to hunt and gather fruit, or even near a particular area where there are large quantities of a specific resource such as *taguara* (*Gynerium sagittatum*) reeds for arrow shafts, for *buriti* palms, or fruit trees. This habitual trekking, besides diversifying the diet, allows for good management of the various ecosystems, avoiding the exhaustion of any one area. Many rituals depend on these migrations, which are essential for supplying the food surplus needed for the performance of ceremonies. The alternation of nomadic and sedentary life among the Kayapó plays an important role in various aspects of their social organization. One can foresee that in the future the reduction of their territory and deforestation will create a reduction in hunting grounds and the depletion of arable land. This will create a greater dependency on the market economy.

Since the time of contact, men have hunted with shotguns; they consequently need ammunition, which is quite expensive and thus creates great dependence on external subsidies for this traditional activity. Deforestation in southeastern Pará has drastically reduced the fauna in the area.

**Industrial Arts.** Before contact, the Kayapó used different kinds of well-made clubs for hunting and wooden lances armed with tips of jaguar bone. Bows and arrows, on the other hand, were always of a simple kind. Women used the digging stick to pry out tubers in the field. For carrying and safeguarding their belongings they fashioned baskets, boxes, and bags made from palm fronds. In gourds they kept bird down and various types of seeds, including urucú. Formerly, they carried water in hollow bamboo receptacles because they do not make pottery. They sleep on platforms or floor mats. They spin cotton and weave arm straps and frames for feather ornaments. They do not make woven cloth but nowadays buy nets in the market, as well as pots and pans, aluminum vessels, tools, and clothes.

**Division of Labor.** Activities are planned according to the dry or wet season and can vary a good deal. The Kayapó are divided into groups according to sex, age category, and men's societies under the direction of a chief for the performance of economic activities and communal duties. Women also form groups based on kinship. To them fall the tasks of working in the fields, collecting firewood and water, gathering forest products, and performing household duties. They spend a great deal of time on body painting, spin cotton, and play an important role during rituals. Even though they do not formally participate in the village council, they voice their opinions about collective decisions and decide on matters relating to name giving and marriage. Men generally work under the leadership of a chief, and are divided into men's societies and age categories. In clearing fields or building houses, they sometimes work collectively. Hunting and fishing can be done individually or in groups and may be highly ritualized, as on the occasions of name-giving feasts or initiations. The Kayapó do not work for the local population. They trade in Brazil nuts. Leaders of adult men have their "positions," in which capacity they direct work during the harvesting season. Nowadays the majority of groups prefer to sell timber,

which is more lucrative and less tiring than traditional activities. The Gorotire permit prospecting on their reserve, for which they charge royalties.

### Kinship

Kayapó kinship is bilateral, and genealogical reckoning is shallow. Owing to continuous fissioning, the Kayapó have relatives in several villages. Besides real kinship, they have a large number of relatives acquired either by adoption or through friendship. Kinship terms establish the relationship of each individual to other individuals in the village. Kayapó must not marry near relatives in the same residential segment. Kinship terminology is of the Omaha type. Nuclear families of an extended family or residential segment, including affinal relations, form a mutual-support unit, in daily life as well as in times of illness.

Important kinship and ceremonial relationships are those between *ngêt* (mother's father, father's father, and sister's brother) and *tabdjuo* (daughter's son, son's son, and sister's son) or between *kwatui* (mother's mother, father's mother, and father's sister) and *tabdjuo* (daughter's daughter, son's daughter, and brother's daughter). *Ngêt* and *kwatui* give their names and ceremonial privileges to their *tabdjuo*. This institution is one of the most important for the perpetuation of Kayapó society.

Formal friendship relationships are inherited patrilineally but are between nonrelated persons with whom a special relationship of respect and avoidance is maintained. A formal friend plays an important role during certain ceremonies in which he assists his partner, especially during rites of passage.

### Marriage and Family

**Domestic Unit.** A basic institution is the extended family, which is linked through the female line. Residence is uxorilocal, and with the birth of the first son the marriage begins to have more stability. Women of the household do their work together and spend the greater part of their time in the home. Men's work is performed outside the home, in the forest or the men's house, where they make artifacts and ornaments, and which is also their meeting place.

**Socialization.** The traditional form of educating children is through participant observation of daily life. Adults orient and correct informally, and sometimes teach groups of children songs, choreography, and ritual sequences in a more systematic way. More specific activities can be learned individually with a specialist. Punishment, or rather pressure, is exerted by parents and the community with regard to deviant behavior, which is met with ridicule or slight ostracism. Work that is well done is publicly admired and praised. Education proceeds by stages that loosely correspond to age categories and the sexual division of labor. By the time they reach adulthood, all women know how to body paint and men how to hunt.

### Sociopolitical Organization

A basic institution of Kayapó society is the division into age categories, which are socially defined. The most important are *meprive* for children. At the age of 10 or 12, a boy

is taken to the men's house, where he will live until he marries. When he reaches puberty he is initiated and receives his *menõrõnu* age-category name. After the birth of his first son, a man becomes a member of the *mekrare* age-category of married persons with children. This is a very important moment in a man's life, marked by a ritual. Upon reaching old age, a man is called *mebenget*. Before women have children they are *kurerere* and afterwards *mekrare*. On certain occasions, age groups are defined in a more visible way, as for instance during their treks, when each age category devotes itself to specific activities, or during certain rituals. Among the Cateté Xikrin, for example, moieties consisting of young bachelors, on the one hand and married men, on the other, carry out various economic, political, and ceremonial activities.

It is only at certain times and places that age categories are emphasized in men's and women's societies. Among the Xingu Kayapó, when a man's first son is born, he must join a men's society. The Kayapo say that they choose the society of their friends. Women join a society corresponding to that of their husband. Among the Mekranoti, for example, there are now two societies. In the past, several societies existed at the same time. Sometimes there are none. Each society has its chief. Sometimes men's societies become very strong political factions, which leads to violent conflict. They often break up, and alliances are redefined. This institution is less apparent among the Xikrin who organize themselves according to age categories.

**Conflict.** In the formation of a Kayapó man, value is placed on being strong, resistant, and fierce. Young men's scarification and wasp trials during initiation are tests of strength. War traditionally had a leading place in male initiation. Those that had been able to kill an enemy received special tattoo marks. It is obligatory for a man to avenge the deaths of his close relatives.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Kayapó consider themselves an integral part of the world and circular universe; they see the process of life and the universe as a cyclical one. Cycles of ecological and structural time determine and form part of life and human activities. Kayapó migrations from east to west, like the sun's trajectory, go from the earth to a higher plane, toward new conquests. The center of the world is represented by the village's central plaza, where ritual and public life take place. The symbol of the center of the world and the universe is the rattle, in the form of a head, to the rhythm of which the Indians sing and dance. By dancing, they say, they go back to the time of mythical origins and recreate the energy required for life to continue. Xikrin myths tell of the origin and formation of Kayapó society, the origin of their institutions, and the historico-legendary incidents their group lived through, increasing their experience and strengthening their identity.

**Religious Practitioners.** The majority of Xikrin cultural items, stories, names, and the like were brought from nature to society by the shaman. In the performance of his (the shaman is always a male) benevolent activities, the shaman is basically a specialist who has knowledge of ritual curing. To become a shaman, a man must undergo certain

trials that give him the ability to have supernatural visions and the capacity to enter into contact with supernatural beings.

**Ceremonies.** When a community is large enough, the ritual cycle is continuous and implies a careful schedule of expeditions for the acquisition of the materials needed for ritual paraphernalia and to procure an excess supply of food, which is ceremonially offered to the entire village. The most important rituals are male and female name-giving and initiation ceremonies. There are also festivals marking the harvests of maize and manioc and the gathering of *timbó*, a mat ritual for marriage, a feast that introduces new members into ceremonial societies (such as those of armadillos, birds, or jaguars), and funeral rites. At certain times the ritual cycle reaches a climax, developing for several days with great intensity.

**Arts.** Ornamental paraphernalia are highly developed and body painting constitutes a highly structured semiotic system with formal characteristics and individual aesthetics. Featherwork consists of a group of crests made from the feathers of macaws, parrots, hawks, and herons. Also characteristic of the Kayapó is a stiff necklace of *itã* beads. They have only three musical instruments: the bamboo trumpet, the gourd rattle, and the transverse flute. After contact they began using large quantities of glass beads. Nowadays, certain traditional items are made only for commercial purposes. The Kayapó have radios and tape recorders and, sometimes, video cameras, with which they record their music and ceremonies as well as those of other peoples.

**Medicine.** The Kayapó believe that illness is caused by a loss of *mekaron* (a kind of spirit or double in the person's image) or by the attack of a forest animal's *mekaron*. In curing, they employ various plants to prepare bandages, baths, and fumigations. Plants related to certain game animals or to the jaguar and the anaconda are also used. If strict food taboos and prescribed diets are not obeyed, the animal *mekaron* can attack an individual, causing illness and even death. For wounds, the Kayapó use fumigation with tobacco smoke, and for muscular pains, light scarification. For neuralgia, they apply a fire-heated polished stone.

The Kayapó accept medical treatment introduced by Whites because they are well aware of the fact that they are being attacked by a series of grave illnesses that did not exist before contact. At the same time, however, they continue practicing their native medicine, but more with an end to recovering the *mekaron* and of addressing psychological dimensions of curing.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Kayapó are afraid to die and do not have a highly developed eschatology of humankind's ultimate destiny. A person dies because of the loss of his or her *mekaron*, which is believed to be on its way to the village of the dead, located on tribal land, near a mountain range. There the *mekaron* continues to live a life similar to that of those in the village of the living. The body of the deceased is buried in a cemetery, and after some time the bones are retrieved, washed, painted with *urucú*, and submitted to secondary burial.

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LUX VIDAL

(Translated by Ruth Gubler)

## Xokleng

ETHNONYMS: Aweikoma, Botocudos, Bugré, Caingang of Santa Catarina, Cayapo del Sur, Kayapo del Sur, Shokleng, Shokó, Socré, Southern Cayapo, Southern Kayapo, Xakleng, Xogléng, Xokré, Xokréng, Xonkléng

The Xokleng speak a Gê language and traditionally inhabited a large forest and savanna area in what is now the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina. Nearly all 634 remaining Xokleng now live on a reservation near Ibirama (27° S, 50° W). Culturally, they are closely related to the Kaingáng.

In the nineteenth century there were approximately 1,000 Xokleng in three groups, and they were hunted by professional Indian hunters known as *bugreiros*. One group settled peacefully on a reservation in 1914, and this is the group that survives today. Another group settled in 1918 but is no longer a group. A third group fought the Brazilians well into the 1930s and disappeared by the 1940s. The Xokleng are acculturated to a considerable degree; they wear Western clothing, participate in the cash economy, and speak Portuguese as well as their own language. They still live primarily by hunting, despite persistent efforts by the Brazilian government to encourage them to settle and to engage in agriculture.

Early in their recorded history, the Xokleng hunted and practiced horticulture. Sometime later in the historic period, however, the Xokleng gave up horticulture entirely and subsisted only on game and gathered foods, perhaps because of the mobility required by their warfare with Whites. In that early period, they raised three varieties of maize as well as pumpkins and beans. They ate their crops as they came into season, storing none for winter. The tiller of a garden had exclusive rights of ownership; if he died before the crop matured, his plants were destroyed.

The gathering of pine nuts, by climbing the trees, is essential to the Xokleng diet. Also gathered are wild tubers, honey, birds' eggs, papayas, and several other fruits. Manioc flour has now replaced the once important *pindo* palm pith in cooking. Hunting activities consume great amounts of time. Both individuals and groups hunt, although the hunting of peccaries involved the entire band. In group efforts, the hunters use drives and encircling techniques. Dogs, which were not aboriginal to the Xokleng, are now invaluable members of the hunting party. The most desirable game is the tapir. Parrots are caught by using tame parrots as decoys.

The Xokleng traditionally lived in arched lean-tos, which were sometimes paired to make a hut. Today, when traveling, they make rudimentary shelters or a nest in a tree. The Xokleng wear no clothes save a belt, and a cloak in cold weather. Transportation is always by foot; to cross a river, the Xokleng fell trees across it.

The Xokleng traditionally were organized into exogamous patrilineal clans, each with its own distinctive personal names for members and body-paint designs. Chiefly authority is limited primarily to being able to initiate group activities. The chief gives gifts to his followers, and feasts



are given in his name. An unpopular chief simply loses his followers. The chief is succeeded by his son if the members of the band consent. A man offended by another member of his own group will shout his grievances from in front of his hut while his enemy does the same from the other end of the village. Later, the two men and their respective supporters fight with wooden clubs but avoid killing. In traditional warfare against other groups, which involved surprise attacks at dawn, defeated men lost their heads, but women and children were adopted.

Xokléng children are raised indulgently. Xokléng boys have their lower lips pierced at 2 or 3 years of age in a great celebration. Men usually marry girls or women younger than they. If a man reaches the marriageable age of 18 to 20, before his intended bride has reached puberty, he lives with her family until she begins to menstruate. Parents must observe food and other taboos when their children are born. Death is believed to be caused by an abduction of the soul. The Xokléng cremate their dead.

## Yagua

ETHNONYMS: Caguachi, Cahunari, Caumari, Cauwachi, Cavachi, Jawa, Llawá, Nihamwo, Peba, Pehua, Peva, Yahua, Zawa

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Yagua" is of unknown but definitely foreign origin and first appears in Jesuit sources of the eighteenth century. The Yagua call themselves "Nihamwo" (people).

**Location.** The Yagua live scattered in the tropical rain forest of the northwestern Amazon, between 2° and 5° S and 70° and 75° W, mainly in the northeast of the present-day department of Loreto, Peru, bordering Colombia and Brazil.

**Demography.** In 1982 the Yagua population was estimated at 3,300 living in about sixty villages of 10 to 180 inhabitants.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Yagua is the only extant member of the Peba-Yaguan Language Family of the Gê-Pano-Carib Phylum. At least three dialects are spoken today.

### History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological and historical evidence indicate that the Yagua originally inhabited the northern hinterland of the Amazon, the banks of the river being settled by their enemies, the Tupí-speaking Omagua. Only when the latter

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were weakened by European diseases and intrusions did the Yagua move closer to the main river in order to acquire highly coveted iron goods. The first documented contact with Whites was with the Jesuit Father Samuel Fritz in 1693, when he settled some Pega-Yagua in his missionary station. Until 1768, the date of their expulsion, the Jesuits tried to "settle" the Yagua, mainly on the Amazon or on its main tributaries. They basically failed either because European diseases led the survivors to hide in the inaccessible hinterland or because of Portuguese slave raids on the Spanish missions, but also because of intertribal conflicts with neighboring groups such as the Ticuna, Bora, and Witoto and even between different local Yagua groups. By the nineteenth century, most Yagua had abandoned the riverine settlements and settled again in their homeland.

The situation changed dramatically when rubber extraction reached its peak between 1880 and 1914, and many Indians were deported and forced to work for the rubber gatherers. The Yagua tried to escape the raids by hiding in the least accessible areas. Even there they again were threatened during the Peruvian-Colombian border conflict of 1932-1933. The "conquest of the Amazon" ensued, together with the establishment of extractive activities—lumbering, trade in skins, cattle raising, mining, etc.—that continue today, as does the exploitation of the Yagua and their neighbors as cheap labor. The contractors or *patrones* (sing., *patrón*; anyone who buys the services of others by advancing them goods or credit) have achieved over the last fifty years what the missionaries failed to do—the settlement of the majority of the Yagua on the Amazon.

### Settlements

Yagua settlements, which were widely scattered over their habitat, traditionally consisted of one large, oval, beehive-shaped communal house inhabited by several related families, a patriline or one of its segments. These houses were usually built near the headwaters of small rivers on high ground that did not flood. The roof of a characteristic house extended to the ground, which served as the floor. Houses were often separated by considerable distances but were linked by a network of jungle trails. As a result of missionary influence, and later of the pressure from the dominant society to settle along the main rivers, the Yagua communal houses gave way to individual huts of neo-Amazonian style built on stilts to avoid the seasonal flooding of the rivers. Since the palm-leaf thatching of the now gabled roof does not reach the ground, mosquito nets are a must at night.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Yagua consider themselves hunters, but actually they rely more and more on swidden horticulture today since the majority no longer inhabits the hinterland, which is rich in game. Usually a family works two or more fields in different stages of growth, thus securing a continuous supply of food. The main cultigens are a variety of nonbitter manioc, several varieties of plantain and banana, and, to a lesser extent, pineapples, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, maize, and a selection of domesticated jungle fruits. Usually a field yields well for two years, and a family will clear a new one each year. Hunting is still considered a highly prestigious activity. Formerly, blowguns and spears were used; nowadays most men hunt with shotguns, although blowguns have not been completely abandoned. The primary game are tapir, peccaries, monkeys, large birds, and small rodents. Fishing—originally not very important in the interfluvial settlement period—has become an increasing source of protein for the riverine Yagua. Various palm and other jungle fruits are gathered in season, and palm-beetle larvae and honey collected in the woods are also consumed. Occasionally chickens, ducks, or pigs are raised but rarely eaten by the Yagua, who instead sell them to the mestizos. Cash income plays a minor role since loggers, hunters, rubber tappers, rice and jute planters, maids, and workers in the tourist industry are greatly underpaid because of the system of debt servitude.

**Industrial Arts.** The Yagua are quite well known for their excellent hammocks and bags made from palm fiber. Other crafts include weaving sieves and baskets, pottery, and making blowguns, but the latter two are rapidly disappearing. The manufacturing of fiber clothing for the male dress—an innovation from the turn of this century—has also declined owing to ridicule by mestizos. It is maintained only as a tourist attraction or in very remote areas by older men.

**Trade.** Aboriginally, trade between different Yagua local groups as well as with neighboring tribes played an important role. Yagua traded mainly curare poison and hammocks. From the mestizos they obtained salt and iron goods. Today, other basic necessities (e.g., kerosene, gaso-

line, matches, firearms, soap, and cloth) are purchased by working for a patrón or by selling animal hides and other products of the forest to the riverine population.

**Division of Labor.** Men clear the gardens and hunt; women do almost all of the planting; and both sexes participate in fishing. The fabrication of palm-fiber yarn, hammocks, and carrying and ammunition bags, as well as pottery are female activities, but men do most of the plaiting, carving, and house construction. The fabrication of musical instruments and the preparation of curare are also male specialties. Ritual and medicinal activities are mainly executed by men. Today a few Yagua communities are used as tourist attractions, and there is a tendency among younger Yagua women near the urban centers of Iquitos and Caballo Cocha to work as maids.

**Land Tenure.** There is no individual ownership of land or fields. Only the products of the latter are regarded as personal property. All land, whether cultivated or hunting ground, is the property of the community, although each hunter tends to choose his own hunting territory. Increasing pressure from the landless mestizo population, the government policy of peopling the border areas in order to guarantee national sovereignty, and the invasion of cattle ranchers and miners threaten Yagua territory. There is an urgent need for land demarcation and land titles. Unfortunately, only a few communities hold such titles and even then they are not granted so as to be respected by outsiders.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** Yagua society is divided into sixteen patrilineal, exogamous clans bearing animal or plant names. There is much evidence that formerly the lineages formed local groups, and probably a moiety division also existed. Between two local groups there was a strong relationship cemented by intermarriage. These groups also cooperated during raids against their traditional enemies, such as the Witoto, Ticuna, and Mayoruna, and in warlike activities against other Yagua clans. Today, because of the changing settlement patterns, the clans no longer form local units. The communities are instead formed by several lineage segments, although the preference for certain allied clans is still apparent.

**Kinship Terminology.** Yagua kinship terminology is of the Dravidian type. There is a joking relationship between both actual and potential brothers-in-law and between actual and potential sisters-in-law.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Marriage is clan-exogamous. Cross-cousin marriage was once the rule and is still preferred by members of certain clans. Marriage is monogamous; both sororal polygyny and levirate were practiced. Intermarriage with members of other tribes or with mestizos is still quite rare. Descent is patrilineal and residence was patrilocal, although because of an initial period of bride-service by the groom, residence might have appeared matrilineal. Today patrilocal residence exists side by side with matrilineal and neolocal residence. There is no special marriage ceremony other than a drinking party. Marriages usually last, but if

they do not work out partners are free to separate. The woman, with or without children, simply returns to her family.

**Domestic Unit.** Small extended families were formerly common, but today the nuclear family tends to predominate.

**Inheritance.** Personal belongings—even those of great value like axes, machetes, or shotguns—were traditionally dumped in a deep area of the river or destroyed after their owner's death; houses and fields were abandoned. Now these valuable items, as well as dogs and pets, are inherited by the children.

**Socialization.** Children are raised permissively and almost never punished. "Education" emphasizes cooperation, responsibility, and generosity. Boys get most of their training in the manly arts from a maternal uncle, whereas girls are trained in household chores and female crafts by their mothers. Today, parents seek to send their children to a public school, thinking they will be better able to confront mestizo culture.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Formerly, Yagua society was divided into different groups according to sex and age. Today, the age groups are devoid of particular duties and only their names survive. Women occupy a position of equality with men. The biggest change in the social structure began with the introduction of debt slavery to a patrón in the nineteenth century. From then on the Yagua even adopted their master's surname, changing it every time they changed patrones. In order to counter the effect of this one-way relationship, Yagua families try to tie the patrón to them through *compadrazgo*—the godparent (i.e., fictive) kinship system with its mutual obligations.

**Political Organization.** Political organization among the Yagua seems to have been weakened during early contact times, and, as a result, each local group formed an independent unit. Within a local group one man, usually the oldest, was regarded as a kind of political chief—the leader of a lineage or lineage segment—and called "master of the communal house." A chief is also sometimes referred to as "the one having two wives"—which might have added to his prestige. In fact, Yagua society underwent such radical changes that our knowledge of traditional leadership is rather scanty. Today, leadership is intimately associated with the system of patronage. The chief is usually bilingual and may even act as an intermediate patrón, redistributing goods and representing his group vis-à-vis neighboring groups and governmental institutions. In 1984 some of the Yagua communities joined the neighboring Payawá (Oréjón) in a common federation to defend their interests.

**Social Control.** Gossip, ostracism, ridicule, and social withdrawal have worked as forms of social control. Fear of divine retribution is still an important form of social control among conservative Yagua. Witchcraft and shamanism played an important role, and because of the loss of warlike solutions to aggression, have become even more important.

**Conflict.** The Yagua were quite warlike in the past. Traditional enemies included the Omagua, the Ticuna, the Mayoruna, and the Witoto. There is evidence of past aggression between Yagua local groups and nonallied clans. The reason for conflict was usually witchcraft or the rape of women. Today, although the Yagua are very peaceful, conflict within the group still occurs because of sorcery and jealousy. Conflicts with the outside world increasingly stem from problems of land tenure, since the Yagua—like other Amazonian natives—are under increasing pressure from the national society.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Yagua believe in supernatural forces animating all manifestations of nature. These forces have to be considered and respected by human beings in everyday life. The Yagua consider a small number of mythical beings or mythical ancestors to be Supreme Beings who created the world. These beings are surrounded by numerous spirits animating the visible and invisible worlds and residing in the forest, in the water, and on earth as well as on different levels of the heavens and underworlds. These spirits are considered either benevolent (hunting spirits), malevolent (stars), or both, according to specific circumstances. The shaman is the principal mediator between humans and the spiritual world.

Since the eighteenth century, beginning with the Jesuits, missionaries—first Catholic, later also Protestant—have tried to evangelize the Yagua, more or less successfully. Today, even under cover of Christian beliefs, the traditional religion survives or prevails among more isolated groups.

**Religious Practitioners.** Any individual can become a shaman through training by a master. This training lasts several months and includes the use of mind-altering drugs and the imparting of knowledge of the spiritual world and the techniques of diagnosis and healing of illness. Although shamans receive only limited material rewards, they exercise considerable influence as a result of their divinatory and healing roles and under special conditions can even become political leaders. A Yagua community without a shaman is still considered very vulnerable.

**Ceremonies.** Social life revolves around the drinking of native manioc beer. These parties are held on the occasion of clearing the forest for a garden, house building, marriage, initiation, safe return from a trip—and now also on Christian holidays. Formerly, the "Big Feast" was the centerpiece of Yagua ceremonial life. It took place only every few years, when the young male members of a clan got their names and were initiated to the powerful hunting spirits. The feast lasted several days and was usually given in the months when game and fruits were abundant (February to April).

**Arts.** Singing was an important part of traditional ceremonial life, and there were professional singers. Pantomimes, the repertoire of which differed from clan to clan, were also performed at the Big Feast, at which wrestling was another featured event.

**Medicine.** Disease is thought to be caused by spiritual malevolence brought on by violating taboos and by sorcery.

Curing techniques consist of extracting the foreign "element" by sucking it out and blowing tobacco smoke over the patient. Medicinal plants might be used later on and by anyone, but do not belong to the shaman's practice. Today, Western medicine is applied side by side with indigenous treatment.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death is ascribed to the same origins as disease. Death is feared and so are the evil spirits connected with it. Formerly, the corpse was buried in the center of the communal house, whereupon the house was burned down and the site abandoned. This is still practiced in more remote areas, but in more Western-oriented settlements the dead are now buried in cemeteries. Dying means that the different souls that resided in different parts of the body travel to their respective levels in the mythological universe.

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ANNEMARIE SEILER-BALDINGER

## Yanomamö

ETHNONYMS: Guaica, Guajaribo, Shidishana, Shiriana, Shori, Waica, Waika, Yanoama, Yanomama, Yanomami, Xiriana

The names "Sanema" and "Sanima" are autodenominations of people to the north and east who are culturally and genetically very closely related and who speak a partially intelligible dialect of Yanomami.

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Yanomamö are a South American tribal people who straddle the border between extreme southeastern Venezuela and upper northwestern Brazil. Their name may be derived from the Yanomamö word *yano*, which designates a provisional house made during treks. Alternative names such as "Shamatari" or "Waica" (Waika) are relative terms used by some Yanomamö to refer to other Yanomamö living to the south or north, respectively.

**Location.** In Venezuela the extension of the Yanomamö is delimited to the north by the headwaters of Erebató and Caura rivers, east along the Serra Parima, and west along the Padamo and Mavaca rivers in a direct line to the Brazilian border. In Brazil they are concentrated near the headwaters of the Demini, Catrimani, Araçá, Padauri, Uraricoera, Parima, and Mucajaí rivers. In Brazil and Venezuela the total area inhabited is approximately 192,000 square kilometers. Dense tropical forest covers most of the area, but there are sparse savannas at higher elevations. The topography is flat to gently rolling with elevations ranging from 250 to 1,200 meters.

**Demography.** Although ethnographers have done extensive and excellent demographic research on Venezuelan Yanomamö, a complete census for Venezuelan and Brazilian Yanomamö is lacking. Current estimates indicate about 12,500 and 8,500 Yanomamö in Venezuela and Brazil, respectively, for a total of 21,000. There are approximately 363 villages ranging in size from 30 to 90 residents each with some Venezuelan villages in the Mavaca drainage reaching 200 and more. Population density ranges from about 6.7 square kilometers per person to 33.5 square kilometers per person.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Linguists have been unable to conclusively affiliate the Yanomamö language with any major South American language family. A linguist divides Yanomaman into four major dialectal groups: Sanema (3,262 speakers), Yanam (856 speakers), Yanomam (5,331 speakers), and Yanomami (11,752 speakers). The last two dialects, accounting for 81 percent of the total, are mutually intelligible, whereas the others may not be.

### History and Cultural Relations

Archaeologists have done little research in the Yanomamö area. Ethnographers believe that the homeland of the Yanomamö lies in the Parima highlands of the Venezuelan-Brazilian border, and that they have recently expanded from there as a result of the decimation of Carib speakers who occupied the upper Orinoco and its major tributaries. Initial contact with Westerners may have begun as early as the mid-1750s, but it was not until the mid-1950s that missionaries and anthropologists made sustained contact. Some Yanomamö have had sustained contact with the Yekuana Indians for at least a hundred years, which has led to warfare, intermarriage, and establishment of partially integrated cosettlements. The contact situation differs sharply between the Brazilian and Venezuelan Yanomamö. In Venezuela, Yanomamö interaction with foreigners is largely limited to Yekuana Indians, missionaries, anthropologists, and government workers. In Brazil, significant por-

tions of Yanomamö lands have been invaded by miners, which has led to the introduction of a variety of diseases that have taken a huge toll in Yanomamö lives and, in some places, open warfare occurs between the Yanomamö and Brazilians.

### Settlements

The Yanomamö live in large single houses that, in close juxtaposition, look like a giant circular lean-to with a large central plaza. Families live in quarters that are not separated by internal walls. This communal dwelling is constructed of poles lashed together to form a framework that is thatched with palm leaves. In higher elevations the house may be reduced in diameter to form a pitched roof to adapt to cooler temperatures. The Yanomamö traditionally located villages near small, nonnavigable streams; since about 1970, however, many Yanomamö have chosen to occupy large river sites to maintain easy contact with missionaries.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Yanomamö may be characterized as foraging horticulturists. Crops, most notably plantains and bananas, compose up to 75 percent of the diet calorically and are cultivated through pioneering shifting cultivation. Wild resources gained through gathering, hunting, and fishing supply important protein needs. Typically, the Yanomamö devote two to three times more effort (measured in hours per day) to these subsistence tasks than to horticulture. Many Yanomamö trek for a month or more during the year, living in provisional camps some distance from their village and depending heavily on wild resources. The Yanomamö associated with missions engage in light commercial trade or wage labor, but such Yanomamö probably amount to no more than 15 percent of the entire population.

**Industrial Arts.** The few technological items the Yanomamö make are mostly used for subsistence tasks. They include burden and food-serving baskets, bows and arrows, and a variety of single-use items such as tree-climbing thongs, leaf containers, and vine hammocks. Western manufactures have nearly replaced many traditional artifacts such as crude clay pots and fire drills. Where the Yanomamö have close contact with the Yekuana, they are adept at making tools necessary for manioc preparation and dugout-canoe construction.

**Trade.** Internal trade among the Yanomamö is extremely well developed. Some trade is the result of differential distribution of primary resources (e.g., hallucinogenic plants) or a temporary surplus of prime domesticates (e.g., cotton or good hunting dogs), but in other instances trade is the exchange of material tokens to symbolize alliances between individuals. Since about 1970, most Yanomamö have become totally dependent on outside sources of axes, machetes, aluminum cooking pots, and fishhooks and line. Most of these items have come from missionaries as gifts and wages. Through mission-organized cooperatives, the Yanomamö recently have begun to market baskets and arrows and some agricultural products. Trade has a much

longer history where the Yanomamö are in close contact with Yekuana.

**Division of Labor.** Weapon making, tree felling for gardening, and hunting are the only exclusively male activities. Women spin cotton thread and plait baskets. Nearly all other activities may be done by either sex, although in many, one sex tends to be predominant. Women do most of the weeding, harvesting, food processing, and collecting of fuel and water. Both sexes frequently cooperate in gathering and fishing. When working cooperatively, however, one sex may concentrate on a particular phase. For example, in house construction men collect heavy poles and lash them together to form the structure, and women collect endless bundles of palm thatch that the men intermesh and tie for the roof.

**Land Tenure.** Individuals are free to clear and cultivate any forest land near their village. Once land has been cleared of trees and a garden has been planted, it is owned by the cultivator. Theft of garden produce (tobacco, in particular) is a serious offense. Village mobility is such that semiproductive garden plots may be at a considerable distance from one's current village. Owners of such plots may find it difficult to assert ownership to valuable crops such as peach palms.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Yanomamö practice patrilocal residence and trace descent patrilineally. Patrilineal descent does not lead to the development of named kinship groups. Members of the same patrilineage refer to themselves as *mashi*, which simply means "people who are related patrilineally." Kin groups tend to be localized in villages, and their genealogical depth is rather shallow. Kinship is critical in the arrangement of marriage, and very strong bonds develop between kin groups who exchange women.

**Kinship Terminology.** Yanomamö kinship terminology is bifurcate merging with Iroquoian cousin terms. Relations between brothers-in-law (cross cousins) are close and intimate, whereas relations between same-age parallel cousins are cool and reserved. A son-in-law should avoid his mother-in-law and be deferential and respectful to his father-in-law.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Yanomamö marriage rules are prescriptive in that marital partners must be cross cousins. Ideally, mates are double cross cousins, a result of the practice of sister exchange. Women typically marry soon after their first menses with men in their early twenties. Although marriage is patrilocal, a husband must live with his parents-in-law for several years and perform bride-service. This rule may be relaxed for high-status males. Polygyny is permitted and 10 to 20 percent of all males at any time are polygynists. Ideally, polygyny is sororal, and levirate and sororate are practiced. Men and women average 2.8 marital partners during their lifetime, with about 75 percent of those marriages ending as a result of divorce and the balance as a result of death of one of the partners.

**Domestic Unit.** Monogamous or polygynous nuclear families are the rule among the Yanomamö. Deviations from this pattern occur when aged parents live closely associated with married children or when newlyweds dwell with one or the other's parents.

**Inheritance.** Neither status or property is inherited among the Yanomamö. At death, kin incinerate the personal property of the deceased.

**Socialization.** Mothers dominate in the care of infants, who spend most of their time suspended in a simple sling that runs diagonally from the caretaker's right shoulder to just above the left hip. During this time the mother carries her infant to forest and garden as she works. While the child is being weaned it is more frequently cared for by older sisters and female relatives. Weaning from the breast and the sling may occur abruptly, especially if the mother is pregnant, and is occasioned by howls of protest by the child. Although fathers will affectionately play with infants, they spend very little time (less than five minutes per day) in care-giving activities. In contrast to boys, girls begin making important economic contributions by the age of 6 as they accompany mothers in gardening and gathering excursions and assist in food preparation. Boys spend most of their time playing rough-and-tumble games, shooting toy bows, and roaming in the nearby forest in same-sex groups. Parents encourage sons and daughters to be assertive and to respond to insults with physical or verbal aggression. Physical punishment (slapping, punching, or striking with objects) is not uncommon. The girl's puberty ceremony (*yobomou*) begins immediately during her first menses. During this time a girl is secluded for a few weeks in a small shelter near her parent's hearth and is restricted to a special diet; her head is shaved upon departure.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** Each Yanomamö village is an autonomous political entity, free to make war or peace with other villages. Coalitions between villages are important; nevertheless, such coalitions tend to be fragile and ephemeral. Although the Yanomamö are an egalitarian people, age, sex, and personal accomplishments are important in status differentiation. High status is acquired through valor in combat, accomplished oratory, and expertise in shamanism. High status cannot be inherited; it must be earned. Mature men virtually monopolize positions of political authority and religious practice. Local descent groups play important roles in regulating marriages and settling disputes within the village.

**Political Organization.** The village headman is the dominant political leader and comes from the largest local patrilineage. When a village is large or when two local descent groups are approximately equal in size, a village may have several headmen. To be a successful leader, the headman must rely on demonstrated skills in settling disputes, representing the interests of his lineage and dealing with allies and enemies. Styles of leadership vary: some headmen lead through practiced verbal skills, whereas others resort to bullying tactics. Concerted action requires the consensus of adult males. An individual is free, however, to desert from collective action if it suits him.

**Social Control.** Conflicts typically arise from accusations of adultery, failure to deliver a betrothed woman, personal affronts, stinginess, or thefts of coveted garden crops such as tobacco and peach-palm fruits. For men, if such a conflict moves beyond a boisterous shouting match, a variety of graded, formal duel may occur. If a fight becomes serious, respected men may intervene to cool tempers and prevent others from participating. Frequently, a duel ends in a draw, with each contestant preserving his dignity. For women, dueling is rare. Instead, a direct attack is made by the aggrieved using hands and feet or makeshift weapons.

**Conflict.** Warfare or feuding is endemic among the Yanomamö. Although the initial cause of a conflict may frequently be traced to a sexual or marital issue, feuds as such are self-perpetuating because the Yanomamö lack any formal mechanisms to prevent aggrieved parties from exacting the amount of vengeance or countervengeance they deem sufficient once a conflict has started. The primary vengeance unit is the lineage, but coresident nonkin have some obligation to assist since coresidence with a feuding faction is seen as implicit support of the faction by the faction's enemies. Most combat is in the form of surreptitious raids. The goal is to quickly dispatch as many of the enemy as possible (who are frequently found on the outskirts of the village engaging in mundane activities), abduct nubile women if possible, and return quickly home. Although the primary goal is to kill mature men believed to be responsible for a previous depredation or their patrilineal kin, unrelated covillagers may be killed if there is no safe opportunity to kill primary targets. Endemic warfare has a profound effect on politics and settlement size and location. Each village needs at least one allied village it can call upon for assistance if it is overmatched by a more powerful enemy, and village size and distance between villages tend to increase with the intensity of conflict. Peace between villages may develop if conflict has remained dormant for a long period, and there is a mutual need for an alliance in the face of a common enemy. It begins with a series of ceremonially festive visits. If old antagonisms do not flare, visits may lead to joint raids and intermarriage between villages that strongly solidify an alliance. Proximity of missions and government agencies has had little impact on warfare.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** The Yanomamö believe that the cosmos consists of four parallel planes or layers. The uppermost layer is empty but was once occupied by ancient beings who descended to lower layers. The second layer, or sky, is the home of spirits of dead men and women, and it resembles the earth except that the hunting is better, the food tastier, and the spirits of people are young and beautiful. The third layer is the earth, and below the earth is the fourth layer, or underworld. In the underworld live the *Amahi-teri*, ancient spirits that bring harm to living humans. The Yanomamö have multiple souls that exist in a complex relation to one another. All shamans can use demons over which they have personal control to cure or cause illnesses. Catholic and evangelical Protestant mis-

sionaries have been in steady contact with the Yanomamö since the late 1950s but have had very little success in making converts.

**Religious Practitioners.** The shaman is called upon to divine the causes of illness or misfortune, cure the ill, and sicken the enemy by sending demons that he controls. Shamans are also expert at using wild and domesticated plants that are useful for casting spells. Only men can become shamans, and they must complete an arduous training period requiring food deprivation and abstinence from sex.

**Ceremonies.** Perhaps the most important and certainly the most dramatic ceremony is the *reahu*, or mortuary ceremony. It culminates when the bone ash of the deceased is mixed in a plantain puree and consumed by mourners in a demonstration of respect for the dead and in consolation to the close relatives of the deceased. This ceremony has considerable political implications if the deceased was a valiant warrior (*waiteri*) slain by enemies and when attended by members of allied villages.

**Arts.** Yanomamö graphic art is limited and simple. Sparse geometric designs, usually black or red, adorn common objects such as baskets, arrow points, and bodies. The verbal and vocal arts such as oratory, chanting, and myth telling are much esteemed and developed among the Yanomamö. Although these acts may have political and social significance (e.g., when village leaders, employing esoteric metaphors and archaic words, ritually exchange chants), performers are admired and gain status based on their talents.

**Medicine.** The Yanomamö believe most serious illness to be the handiwork of independently acting hekura or enemy shamans who have caused their hekura to sicken a body. A shaman must diagnose the cause and sometimes figuratively pull the demon out, often with the help of his own demons. To prepare, a shaman frequently decorates himself and his surroundings handsomely and invariably inhales a hallucinogenic snuff to aid contact with hekura. Illness may also be caused by the breach of a ritual regulation or taboo. The Yanomamö employ a variety of herbal remedies as cures.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Yanomamö attribute a large fraction of deaths to the actions of malevolent shamans who send demons to consume the souls of people. Upon death, there are instantaneous lamentations, singing, and chanting. Usually the corpse is very quickly burned by the men, while women and children absent themselves from the village lest they become polluted by the smoke. The men then collect and pulverize the bones and pour the ash into a set of gourds that are stored in the village. After about a year the Yanomamö stage an elaborate mortuary ceremony (*reahu*). Close relatives, covillagers, and sometimes allies consume the ash, which is mixed into a large trough of plantain soup. This endocannibalism demonstrates affection for the dead and solidarity with the deceased's relatives. It also helps insure that the soul of the dead will find its way to *hedu*, a Yanomamö paradise above the earth.

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RAYMOND HAMES

## Yawalapití

ETHNONYMS: Agah've (in the Kalapalo and Kuikuru languages), Iaualapiti, Yawalap'h (in the Mehinaku language), Yawaraveřsha (in the Awati language), Yawarawiti (in the Kamayura language)

### Orientation

**Identification.** The Yawalapití are a South American Indian group living in the Brazilian federal state of Mato Grosso. The name "Yawalapití" is derived from the Yawalapití word for a certain type of nut, *yawala*, so they call themselves "People of the yawala nut." Any Indian who marries a Yawalapití man or woman, lives in their community, and learns the Yawalapití language is considered a Yawalapití.

**Location.** The Yawalapití traditionally occupied the territory of the lower Rio Kuluene in the region of the upper Xingu, which is now a part of the Xingu National Park. At present there is only one Yawalapití village, located near the Rio Totoari (in the Yawalapití language, Tipatipa, the River of Stones), a small tributary of the Rio Kuluene. The settlement is near the Leonardo Villas Boas Indian Post.

**Demography.** According to their own statements, the Yawalapití were near extinction not long ago. The family of the former chief, Parú, and the Mapukayaka, Sarirua, and Yacao families—a total of 17 people—were the entire population in the 1950s. In 1977 there were 77 people; in 1979, 100; by 1989 the number of the Yawalapití living in their village had increased to 160.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Yawalapití language belongs to the Arawakan Family, as do the languages of their neighbors, the Mehinaku and Waurá.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

There is no archaeological evidence bearing on the prehistory of the Yawalapití. It is thus impossible to determine precisely how long they have lived in the upper Xingu. The region has been occupied by many small Arawakan and Caribbean ethnic groups before settlement by Tupian, Gê, and some isolated groups. The upper Xingu River Basin was not a main migration route but was inhabited by many small ethnic groups. In the past, wars among the groups and raids from the east (especially by the Trumai group) were common. First contact with Westerners was relatively late. Karl von Steinen's first expedition in 1884 discovered unknown groups on the Rio Batoví, and on his second expedition in 1887, navigating the Rio Culiseu, he met the Yawalapití.

The Roncador-Xingu Expedition in 1949, led by the Villas Boas brothers, was the beginning of stabilization for the Yawalapití. The Xingu National Park, founded in 1961 by the Villas Boas brothers, was transferred in 1967 to the Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation, FUNAI), a part of the Ministry of the Interior. Because of the vast forest surrounding the Yawalapití settlement, it is very difficult for tradesmen, settlers, and even missionaries to gain access. The Yawalapití and other groups of the upper Xingu retain their traditional cultural languages, although the influence of Portuguese and Brazilian consumer society is now felt. The Yawalapití live very near the Leonardo Villas Boas Indian Post, which has a small landing strip and radio contact with the headquarters of FUNAI in Brasília, so they are becoming intermediaries between Brazilians and other groups of the upper Xingu.

### *Settlements*

Until the twentieth century the Yawalapití lived in dispersed extended-family homesteads; only since the 1950s, with the help of the Villas Boas brothers, have they built their own village. Today the village consists of nine communal dwellings (*maloca*) forming a circle around the small men's house, which houses the sacred flutes (*yakui*). The village is located on a beach about a kilometer from the river. The number of inhabitants of a maloca varies widely—about fifty people live in chief Aritana's maloca;

another maloca has only three inhabitants. Malocas are built according to an ellipsoidal ground plan, measure 30 by 30 meters in diameter, and reach up to 6 or 7 meters high. A complicated roof construction rests on a few central columns and many lower 1- to 2-meter-high side piles. Roofs made of *sapé* grass reach to the ground. Two small entrances in the middle of the longer walls are covered during the night with wooden boards; in the past, thatch from *sapé* or a skin was used. The common kitchen is located between the two entrances, where there is also a large cylindrical storage basket for manioc flour, water vessels, and utensils for cooking and roasting.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Yawalapití are primarily fishers who practice slash-and-burn agriculture to produce bitter manioc. Their diet is occasionally supplemented with meat (monkeys, birds) and with wild foods collected from the forest—pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), piquí (*Caryocar villosum*), buriti (*Mauritia flexuosa*), grasshoppers, and ants. Some Yawalapití also grow peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*), peppers (*Capsicum*), and tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*). Bananas, sweet potatoes, *abóbora* (*Cucurbita*), calabashes (*Crescentia*), cotton, limes, gourds (*Lagenaria*), and other products are acquired by traditional exchange with their neighboring kin in Kalapalo, Kamayurá, Waurá, and Mehinaku villages.

**Industrial Arts.** The Yawalapití are well-known producers of pottery and baskets. They manufacture small baskets to keep fine things using a coil technique; large cylindrical storage ones; big flat ones (*mayako*) to carry manioc roots using a common plait technique, twilling; and rucksacks and carrying baskets by interweaving two freshly cut palm leaves. They also make mats to rinse manioc flour, fans, fish traps, mostly from buriti material. Men still manufacture bows and arrows, spindles, canoes, paddles, and the like. The raw material for basketry is mainly different parts of buriti-palm leaves. Men like to work with wood; often they carve stools in the form of birds or armadillos. These are made for sale, mostly to pilots of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) and FUNAI, and occasionally when the Yawalapití have a chance to visit Brasília. Fibers of buriti leaves are prepared by women, who twist them on their legs to make a thread from which they net hammocks and loin strings. For netting, women use two low posts fixed in the ground. The making of utensils from calabashes is also a woman's task.

**Trade.** Today, as in the past, the Yawalapití trade with their neighbors in the upper Xingu. They exchange, above all, fruits and products that are not locally available for their products such as piquí fruits, manioc, baskets, hammocks, and men's decorations made of snail shells, which are highly regarded and are very often given as presents. When the Yawalapití occasionally meet Whites who are flown in to their settlement by FUNAI and FAB aircraft or in Brasília, a trade occurs. The Yawalapití sell their basketry, feather decorations, stools, and necklaces, and buy football equipment (shoes, gym pants, T-shirts, etc.), aluminum pots and utensils, radios, tape recorders, and other small items such as scissors, needles, fabric, razor blades, fishhooks, and nylon strings.



**Division of Labor.** The traditional division of labor by sex is still followed. Men fish and hunt, prepare the field by cutting down and burning the trees, and cultivate tobacco. Women do the rest of the agricultural work, process manioc, take care of the children, and do most of the housework. They also net hammocks, make pottery, and manufacture salt from certain water plants. Together with children, they collect fruits, buriti leaves, brushwood, and fish poisoned with *timbó*. Honey gathering is men's work. Men occasionally help women during the manioc harvest and carry the roots in baskets to the village. The storage of piquí is a task for men. Piquí fruits are boiled and placed in angular bark-and-palm-leaf containers sealed at both ends and placed in a pool of cool water. Men also build houses (malocas) and manufacture weapons, adornments, basketry, and all woodwork. The fire inside the maloca is looked after by women, but outside, where broiling and roasting are always done, it's a task for men.

**Land Tenure.** Men are responsible for the field (*roca*) preparations; then the *roca* is given for use to women. Nevertheless, when talking about a particular *roca*, the Yawalapití refer to it as the property of a man.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** There is no evidence of clans, fictive or real.

**Kinship Terminology.** The merging of kin terms for brothers (*nusheri*) and sisters (*nisheso*) with parallel cousins (*nusheri* and *nisheso*) suggests that Yawalapití kinship terminology can be classified as Iroquoian.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Yawalapití are exogamous: they can't marry a person from their village, so they look for partners in neighboring villages belonging to the Kamayura, Kalapalo, Kuikuru, and Mehinaku groups. A young Yawalapití man lives with his bride's family for one year and helps his future father-in-law. He is not allowed to talk directly to his father-in-law, laugh in his presence, or call him by his name. Looking at his future mother-in-law is also forbidden, but he has to give her the best fish from his catch. He presents his future father-in-law with a loin-string made of snail shells. This is the bride-price. Only then is he allowed to take his bride to his village as a wife. Sometimes the couple settles in the bride's home. Polygyny is common, and not limited to chiefs. Men, as a rule, have two or three wives, who are often sisters or cousins.

There is no marriage ceremony. Men marry at the age of about 20 years, girls after completing the female initiation ritual. Although unmarried young women are allowed to have sexual intercourse with anyone, an unwed mother is not acceptable in the community; the newborn baby must be therefore killed. The unmarried woman is not assisted during labor and she kills the baby herself. After this, she is again accepted in the community.

For girls, the choice of a marriage partner is made by their parents. When adultery is committed and the husband finds out, he beats his wife. When the husband is caught, his wife laughs at him. Childless marriages are dissolved, and the partners have to remarry. The community

does not tolerate unmarried adults. A disabled baby is killed, as a rule, by his or her uncle.

**Domestic Unit.** Each maloca is occupied by one extended family. Residence is bilocal or, more often, patrilocal.

**Inheritance.** Each man and woman own their personal belongings such as weapons, hooks, and hammocks. Large manioc-flour containers and ceremonial adornments are kept by the head of the maloca and are given to anybody who needs them.

**Socialization.** Children are raised at home, where infants are looked after by their mothers. When they get older, grandparents and older brothers and sisters are also involved. A boy of 11 to 12 years of age already does and knows things as a man. He gains his knowledge by observing his father. A father never teaches or punishes his son. They talk together as adults. The Brazilian government is exerting pressure on Chief Aritana to send the Yawalapití children to schools in Brasília. Teachers have on occasion come from the Leonardo Villas Boas Indian Post to instruct children.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** Yawalapití society was traditionally and remains egalitarian. Nearly all the chiefs of the maloca or the village are men—because of men's greater knowledge of nature and of Yawalapití history. It is the men's craftsmanship (woodcut, basketry, making feather adornments and flutes), language ability (the current chief, Aritana, is fluent in nine languages, including Portuguese), or fishing skills that are important. These abilities have a positive reflection in the political and sexual life of the society. There is marked segregation of the sexes. It is forbidden for women to visit the men's house and attend evening meetings or to smoke in front of the men's house. Women try to influence the society by influencing their husbands and fathers. The Brazilian government made an effort to offer benefits for chiefs and their families.

**Political Organization.** Kinship and marriage are still the primary links in the community. Each maloca has its own chief, as does the village.

**Social Control.** Rules fixing the relationships between kin are recognized. One rule that is strictly followed is the extreme respect shown by a man to his in-laws. A man is not allowed to speak directly to his parents-in-laws or to call his brothers-in-law by name. Sometimes a fight between men occurs over a woman, but fatal injuries rarely result.

**Conflict.** In the past the Yawalapití were at war when defending against raids from the east, especially from the Trumái group and later from the Chikão group. These events are now recalled only by the elders, who heard of them from their parents. The battles were commemorated in the war game (*irharáka*), in which men painted as jaguars fought among themselves by throwing long arrows with a wax-ball tip instead of a point. These games no longer occur: men vent their anger in wrestling (*huka-huka*) or in soccer matches.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Christian influence on the Yawalapití has been negligible, owing to the absence of Christian missions in the region. For this reason, traditional animism prevails. The Yawalapití believe in many spirits. The common name for all spirits is *apapalotápu*. The aquatic spirit, *kwahalu*, is hairy and the spirit of the earth, *yacula* (which also means "a shadow"), is very dangerous. To meet him means death to the Yawalapití. In this context, it is strictly forbidden to pronounce a dead person's name is strictly forbidden, for fear of his or her soul's reappearance.

**Religious Practitioners.** The Yawalapití distinguish different types of shamans (*pajé*): the rulers of demonic spirits, the rulers of magic, and herbalists. The shaman's healing treatment consists of smoking tobacco cigars, blowing tobacco smoke over the patient's body, and sucking out the evil, which he wrecks with the purgative fume and crushes with his foot. The shaman himself becomes narcotized and reaches a level of ecstasy. Other *pajé* use biomagnetics, and the herbalist uses medicinal plants.

**Ceremonies.** The initiation ceremony of Yawalapití girls is called Yamuricama. Prior to her initiation, a girl lets her hair grow to her chin. When the ceremony starts, the girl's hair is cut. The girls are decorated and painted like men, their heads are adorned with diadems, and they dance and sing and use bows and arrows. Later the girls wrestle and they also undergo the rite for clarifying the skin on their arms, thighs, and backs with a fish-tooth instrument. Initiation is a ceremony during which an exceptional girl can be chosen to be the future wife of a future chief. Boys, before their initiation, are isolated for two to three years in the corner of the maloca beyond a mat, where the fathers and grandfathers are in charge of preparing them for adulthood. The Pihiká ceremony is given after piquí fruits drop (October to November). The feast starts with dances, which last for two or three days. After that, the boys have to stand for the whole night, during which their auricles, in order to get anesthetized, are smeared with juice from the jumu tree. The following morning the *pajé* performs the piercing of their earlobes with a sharp point of jaguar bone. In the successive two to three days the boys fast; they conclude the fast by taking a medicine that causes vomiting. The ceremony ends with new names being given to the boys.

Other feasts of the Yawalapití are Tapanawana (Festival of the Leaves), Takwara (Festival of the Flutes), Iharáka (War Festival), Kuarup (Burial Festival), and Apapálu (Feast of the Sacred Flutes), when the men dress in a strip of jaguar's skin and blow the sacred flutes, which the women are not permitted to see. During the feasts and festivals, the Yawalapití drink a very slightly fermented juice from boiled fruits (piquí), which is held for some months under water. Scarifying the bodies of boys and girls is a prevalent custom, executed many times during their lives.

**Medicine.** In case of illness, the Yawalapití prefer the help of their *pajé* even if it is possible to call for medical care at Leonardo Villas Boas Indian Post. In cases of serious illness, one can fly to the hospital of São Félix de Araguaia or to Brasília in FUNAI or FAB airplanes. The

Yawalapití believe that pain and illness originate in evil, which reside in the body of the patient in the form of small wooden pieces, stones, seeds, thorns, and the like. To get rid of the illness, the *pajé* has to remove the objects from the patient's body. He does so by shamanistic means: smoking, blowing the smoke over the patient's body, muttering chants, and sucking out and destroying the evil.

**Death and Afterlife.** All possessions that belong to a deceased man are buried together with him. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock and mat and is buried in front of the men's house. After one or two months of mourning, the Yawalapití men surround the burial ground with a low fence, the dead person's "house," made of logs of the sacred tree (*mhári*). When the mourning period is ended, the Burial Festival (Kuarup) commences.

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MNISLAV ZELENÝ

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## **Yekuana**

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ETHNONYMS: Makiritare, Soto, Yekwana

### *Orientation*

Approximately 3,100 Yekuana inhabit a region of the Guiana highlands north of the upper Orinoco in Venezuela. Their territory is crossed by five major tributaries of the Orinoco—the Cunucunuma, Iguapo, Padamo, upper Ventuari, and upper Caura—and the area is mostly covered by tropical-forest growth with intermittent savannas. Three main subgroups of Makiritare can be distinguished, according to their geographic distribution along several of the major rivers of their habitat; they speak dialects of the same language, a member of the Carib Family. The various subgroups remain in more or less close contact with one another and connect with a wider interethnic trade network of the general Guiana region.

Because of the relative inaccessibility of their territory, the Yekuana came into contact with Spaniards and Portuguese only in the second half of the eighteenth century. Subsequently they rebelled against Christian proselytizing and exploitation by Whites and maintained only sporadic

trade contacts with Europeans and criollos in the Guiana colonies and on the lower Orinoco.

The Yekuana prefer to locate their settlements at the lower elevations in close proximity to the rivers. The village consists of a large communal round house for all residents and one or more rectangular and wall-less work sheds with saddle roofs of palm thatch for visitors, especially non-Indians. The communal house consists of a circular wall of wattle and daub and a conical thatched roof. The internal space includes a circular central room that is reserved for ceremonial and ritual occasions. Men talk, eat, and work here, and shamans seated on carved benches hold curing séances near the central pole in the middle of the room. Unmarried men between puberty and marriage pass the night in this interior space. Women generally do not enter the room except to clean it and to serve the men their meals. The central room is separated from a concentric living space between it and the outer wall of the house by a wall of palm fronds, bark planks, or wattle and daub. This space is compartmentalized into several sections separated from each other by bark panels, each housing an extended family. The family compartments have a door that connects them with the central area. The floor plan of the communal house conforms to a concentric image of the terrestrial plain, and the overall architectural design of the structure is a replica of the original prototype built by Wanadi, the Supreme Being and culture hero of the Yekuana, in the likeness of a tiered celestial world.

Yekuana subsistence is based on shifting cultivation. Bitter manioc is the staple crop, but sweet manioc, taro, yams, maize, bananas, squashes, sweet potatoes, peppers, sugarcane, pineapples, papayas, peppers, and tobacco are also grown. Cultivated cotton, arrow grass, and calabash trees provide important raw materials. Hunting by tracking or communal drive is an important subsistence activity and tapir, deer, peccaries, anteaters, male alligators, armadillos, and turtles are preferred game animals. Fishing is of decidedly lesser significance. Men may use harpoon arrows or join their women in fishing with hook and line or *barbasco*. Food gathering is of little economic importance, but earthworms, leafcutter ants, palm-borer larvae, turtle eggs, frogs, and several wild fruits and vegetables constitute much-appreciated seasonal fare.

Today many Yekuana men and women wear Western clothes. In earlier times they wore loincloths. Women wear small aprons or more elaborate rectangular or trapezoidal ones of red, white, and blue glass beads and tassels of dried seed pods. Necklaces of glass beads and strings crossing the male and female torso are made of glass beads interspersed with seeds, animal teeth, claws, and deer hoofs. Both sexes, but especially women, wear wristlets and firmly tied bands around the upper arm, ankle, and below the knee so that biceps and calf muscles become permanently pronounced. Triangular silver plates are worn by women, and men wear similar ones of a crescent shape. Men insert pieces of arrow reed decorated with colorful bird feathers through holes in their earlobes. Men and women cut their hair short around the head, and red and dark blue body paint is very important to them.

Division of labor is by sex and age. Men cut the forest and burn the trees and underbrush in preparation for a new garden. They also hunt, weave outstanding pieces of

monochrome and decorative multicolored basketry, and make cotton hammocks, ropes of plant fibers, crude pottery, excellent dugout canoes, ritual benches carved from a single piece of wood in the shape of a stylized jaguar, blowguns, and other hunting and fishing gear as well as a large variety of musical instruments. Women spin cotton, cultivate and harvest the gardens, and make wicker carrying baskets, manioc graters, and aesthetically pleasing beaded-glass aprons. Women spend much time in the processing of manioc and general food preparation. Nowadays old women may also be seen making pottery, and both sexes collaborate in *barbasco* fishing.

Yekuana society is based on autonomous villages consisting of a number of extended families. Cousin kinship terminology has characteristic features of the Hawaiian and the Iroquois systems. Marriages between cross cousins, especially first-degree cross cousins, or classificatory grandparents and grandchildren are preferred. Polygynous unions between a man and consanguineally related or unrelated women are not infrequent. Local endogamy prevails, post-marital residence is uxorilocal, and descent is bilateral. As domestic units, Yekuana villages pass through three stages of maturation, including an incipient stage involving a single three-generation family of eight to twenty-seven people, a stage of achieving stability consisting of thirty to forty people, and a mature stage consisting of forty to eighty inhabitants or more. Political authority within the local group rests with the village headman and a circle of elders composed mainly of household heads. Internal conflict between individuals or extended families is handled by the aggrieved party supported by his or her extended family. Minor offenses are handled through gossip, indirect complaints, and temporary isolation of the aggrieved person. Major offenses may result in the fission of the village community.

Both sexes traditionally underwent initiation ceremonies. A boy was whipped and subjected to an ant ordeal. A girl, at the time of her first menstruation, is secluded in the family quarters of the communal house. Six months after the seclusion period, her hair is cropped and she becomes eligible for marriage once her hair has regrown.

Yekuana cosmology is complex and distinguishes the three levels of heaven, earth, and underworld. The earth is connected with eight strata of heaven via the central pole of the communal house. Each stratum represents an important cosmological station, and the uppermost region is inhabited by Wanadi (the Supreme Being and son of the sun), his family, and a select group of ancestral spirits. Shamans can visit with Wanadi to receive their paraphernalia, including a jaguar bench, a sacred rattle, and celestial quartz crystals. As curers, they confront illnesses caused by spirit intrusion, transgression, and soul loss. They chant and rattle, fumigate with tobacco smoke, and massage, blow, and suck the sickness out of the patient. If death occurs outside the house, the dead are buried in a canoe at some distance from the village. People who die within the house are buried beneath their hammocks. Chiefs and the victims of multiple deaths, as during an epidemic, are buried inside the house, and the structure is burned to the ground. Shamans may be given a secondary burial. During the past several decades the Yekuana have been in closer contact with missionaries and criollos and

their culture is increasingly being influenced by these contacts.

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JOHANNES WILBERT

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## Yukpa

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ETHNONYMS: Chakes, Motilones, Yuko, Yupa, Yu'pa

### Orientation

**Identification.** The autodenomination "Yukpa" (or, depending on dialect, "Yupa" or "Yu'pa") means "tame people," which contrasts with "Yuko" (enemy or wild person), the name used by Yukpa in Venezuela for their culturally and linguistically related neighbors in Colombia. Yukpa subtribes include Irapa, Macoas, Tukukos, Pariri, Sapirria, Rionegrinos, Shaparu, Viakshi, and Wasama. Subtribal names refer to geographical features of the separate river valley locations or to founding ancestors. Those who are not Indians (foreigners, Spaniards, criollos) are called "Watia."

**Location.** The Yukpa Indians currently inhabit the mountains forming the natural border between Venezuela and Colombia. Within these mountains, three parallel ranges of a north-northeast to south-southwest direction can be distinguished: La Serrania de los Motilones, La Serrania de Valledupar, and the Sierra de Perija. The present Yukpa habitat extends from the northern section of the Serrania de los Motilones, through all of the Sierra de Perija and into the northern portion of the Serrania de Valledupar. The coordinates of their territory are 9°45' and 11° N and 72°40' and 73°10' W.

**Demography.** Preliminary analysis of the 1982 Yukpa census indicates a total population of 3,408, which includes 1,749 males (51 percent) and 1,659 females (49 percent). A total of forty-nine communities or settlements were identified, ranging in size from a few households to as many as 500 residents. The exact size and demographic characteristics of precontact Yukpa society are unknown.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Yukpan belongs to the Carib Language Family. Various dialects of Yukpan are spoken. Dialects of the most geographically distant subtribes are almost mutually unintelligible.

### History and Cultural Relations

Since prehistoric times the Yukpa have inhabited the Sierra de Perija. Centuries prior to European arrival in the Americas, ancestors of the Yukpa formed part of a Carib Indian migration across much of northern South America and the Lesser Antilles. Limited information on prehistoric indigenous migration precludes any exact dating of the Yukpa arrival in western Venezuela, but linguistic analysis indicates that the Cariban language began to diverge around 4500 B.P., culminating at approximately 1000 B.P. It is believed that the ancestors of the present-day Yukpa separated from Carib groups in either eastern or southern Venezuela or from Coastal Carib groups. Lexicostatistical research indicates that internal divergence within Yukpan does not exceed ten centuries, a fact that has led some researchers to suggest that the Yukpa reached their present homeland by 1000 B.P. Marked differences from other Yukpa subgroups suggest that the Irapa subgroup reached their present homeland approximately 600–700 B.P.

Although exact dates for the Yukpa arrival in Perija are difficult to determine, the Yukpa have preserved the events of this arrival in their oral literature. Folktales recount how the Yukpa encountered and defeated the Wanapsa, the original inhabitants of the mountains. It is believed that the Yukpa were first contacted by Westerners during the early sixteenth century when conquistadores looking for El Dorado, the fabled city of gold, crossed the Sierra de Perija. The encounter was brief and violent, and the Yukpa consequently moved farther up into the mountains. Spanish missionaries followed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and attempted to establish mission stations where the Yukpa and other Indians of the area could live, but missionary efforts were intermittent and only marginally successful. By the twentieth century the Yukpa were in more or less continuous contact with settlers. By 1945 the Capuchin missionaries had established a permanent presence in the region.

### Settlements

Each Yukpa subtribe has traditionally occupied a distinct territory, usually a particular river valley. Within each river valley, the subtribal population was divided into smaller settlements, the majority of which were located on the terraces of the valley or near tributary streams. The settlement pattern consisted of a mixture of single houses, hamlets composed of two or three houses, and larger communities that might contain up to twenty houses. In the last thirty to forty years, fundamental changes have occurred in the Yukpa settlement pattern. Under the influence of Capuchin missionaries and in response to increasing economic activities beyond the steep river valleys, Yukpa communities have moved closer to the rolling hills and plains adjoining the mountains. In extreme cases, Yukpa have moved either to local towns or large settlements adjacent to mission stations. Many Yukpa men and a few women now work outside of the mountains on large dairy ranches, where they spend weeks before returning to their families in the mountains.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** When the Yukpa occupied the Sierra de Perija, they apparently brought along a lowland-forest subsistence economy. In this economic system, shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, and gathering all contributed equally to the group's subsistence. But this integral subsistence system underwent changes in the mountainous environment. Resource depletion and increased population density in the circumscribed river valleys most likely forced the Yukpa to become predominantly subsistence agriculturists. The cultivation of bitter manioc was abandoned, and the planting of maize, beans, and squashes was added to the existing crop assemblage. Unfortunately, the increased emphasis on slash-and-burn agriculture proved deleterious to the natural forest. Today the Yukpa continue to rely on slash-and-burn agriculture for much of their food. There is a growing interest, however, in a newly introduced economic activity—the growing of coffee for sale in local markets. Practiced in conjunction with subsistence agriculture, coffee cultivation is being promoted by the Venezuelan government through a local cooperative. As a subsistence/cash-crop system of agriculture develops, the Yukpa rely less on gathering, hunting, and fishing, ancillary activities that, because of resource depletion, are no longer very productive.

**Industrial Arts.** The Yukpa work neither stone nor leather but do weave and work clay. Both men and women are good basket weavers and fashion satchels, telescoping boxes, quivers, and fire fans in twilled and hexagonal weaves. A traditional coiling technique was used to make crude cooking pots, but today metal pots have replaced these traditional wares. Men continue, however, to use clay for making pipes used in the smoking of locally grown tobacco. Until well into the twentieth century, the Yukpa spun cotton and used a vertical loom to weave tuniclike garments for men and skirts for women. Older men continue to manufacture palm bows and cane arrows, which are now used more for ceremony than for hunting. Shot-

guns have replaced the use of these traditional hunting implements.

**Trade.** It is believed that in precontact times Yukpa (Yuko) living in Colombia traded with Arawakan tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. In earlier times, there was some trading of subsistence and material goods between both communities and subtribes; this trade continues to a small degree today. Communities closer to Watia settlements occasionally exchange food crops for clothing, processed foods, and metal tools.

**Division of Labor.** Labor is divided according to age and sex. Both men and women share the subsistence-agricultural tasks, although men do more of the heavy labor and women do more processing and food preparation. Although men undertake domestic activities, women predominate in this area. Cash cropping of coffee is undertaken by both men and women, although the former do more of the marketing and the field clearing; women work more in harvesting and weeding. Some Yukpa women in more acculturated communities work as domestic servants; the men in these same communities often enter into wage labor as cattle herders and milkers for local dairy farmers. The clearest division of labor occurs in hunting, which is exclusively undertaken by men.

**Land Tenure.** The pattern of land tenure among the Yukpa is the result of generations of passing ownership to male and female siblings. Each community or settlement maintains rights to use surrounding tracts of land, which are in turn divided among particular households. Both men and women own land, and both may borrow or rent if they need additional land for gardens. The boundaries of the Yukpa territory have been established by the Venezuelan government. The southern section of the Sierra de Perija is a *zona indígena*—a territory reserved for the sole use of indigenous inhabitants. Much of the remainder of the Sierra de Perija is a *parque nacional*, a designated area where it is unlawful to alter the natural flora and fauna. Both these land classifications help prevent the expropriation of Yukpa territory by settlers and large landowners.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The Yukpa practice the principle of bilateral descent which, in contrast to the more restrictive forms of patrilineal and matrilineal descent, forms an extensive consanguineal kindred. The Yukpa partition this kindred by terminologically classifying individuals related through distant ties of collaterality with lineal relatives, siblings, and descendants of same-sex siblings. This principle of merging provides individuals with a large classificatory kin group.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kinship terminology traditionally followed the Iroquois system of classification.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The relations between an individual and his or her classificatory kin contain many of the rights and obligations expected between primary relatives and their descendants. These relatives are close kin, with whom marriage is prohibited. Men must marry *pahte*; women must marry *awo*. These two reciprocal kin terms refer, for

men, to cross cousins, the daughters of male cross cousins, sister's daughters, and patrilineal cross aunts once removed; women may marry mother's brother, cross cousins, sons of cross cousins, and patrilineal cross uncles once removed. The immediate postmarital rule is uxorilocality: a young man resides in his father-in-law's household. During this period, reportedly lasting for only a few years, young men pay a bride-price with labor or money. Once the bride-price is paid, young families may elect to stay with the wife's father, return to the husband's community or settlement, or begin a new residence elsewhere within the subtribal territory. Polygyny was once practiced with some frequency, although the custom is today only rarely observed.

**Domestic Unit.** The principal domestic units among the Yukpa are the nuclear and extended families. The former are increasing in importance today, whereas in earlier times the latter was the dominant family unit.

**Inheritance.** In Yukpa society, both men and women are entitled to inheritance from their parents. A decision is made within each household on how land and possessions should be passed on to the children. Seniority is a decisive criterion; other criteria are an individual's long-term contribution to family production activities and continued residence in the community.

**Socialization.** Yukpa children learn the appropriate values and behaviors of their society primarily from parents and other close relatives. This socialization process encourages curiosity, innovation, and exploration while developing the necessary work skills and a sense of responsibility. Oral folktales recounted by elders play an important role in the enculturation of young children. Physical punishment is infrequent. In Yukpa communities located at a distance from missions and local towns, children do not attend any formal educational institution.

### *Sociopolitical Organization*

**Social Organization.** The various Yukpa subtribes are independent bands consisting of a number of extended and nuclear families; these families form settlements and small communities linked by bonds of kinship. A number of Yukpa are now living outside subtribal territories and residing in local towns. Each band is largely endogamous and, in earlier times, lived in a state of almost perpetual hostility toward each other.

**Political Organization.** Each subtribe traditionally enjoyed political autonomy, and each community recognized, to varying degrees, the authority of a headman who played a major role in guiding the community toward consensus. Today a more institutionalized form of political leader is appearing in the form of a village or community chief. This is particularly true in the larger, more acculturated settlements, where the legitimacy of this position is reinforced by missionaries and the Venezuelan state.

**Social Control.** Rights and obligations defined along kinship lines, gossip, and fear of ostracism are important forms of social control in less acculturated Yukpa communities. In more acculturated settlements, these mechanisms are less strong and are very quickly being replaced by institutional processes. The emerging office of chief brings with

it some authority to establish Yukpa laws and regulations. An appointed Yukpa police force has been organized to enforce the decisions of the chief. Although these formal mechanisms of control, including the presence of the Venezuelan police and judicial systems, are becoming more significant, traditional forms of social control, including fear of witchcraft, remain very important for most Yukpa.

**Conflict.** Before contact with Western society, intertribal hostilities were believed to be widespread among the Yukpa. With the increased involvement with missionaries and settlers, conflicts decreased between subtribes and increased between Yukpa and Watia. Today conflict over land is increasingly a problem among the Yukpa. There is growing land pressure and privatization of what was once considered land owned by the community. With contact, there has been an increase in violence stemming from greater alcohol consumption by men. Conflict among Yukpa today is more at the individual than the group level.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Religion among the Yukpa was, until recently, exclusively animistic in nature, articulated by beliefs in the presence of supernatural powers in the surrounding plant and animal world. A creator, sometimes referred to as "God," was helped by various animals in creating the primordial Yukpa couple. All Yukpa are descendants of this couple. Mythical animals (e.g., frog, woodpecker, caiman, armadillo) and celestial bodies (sun and moon) are responsible, along with a mythical creator, for the existence and characteristics of the world. The world consists of two flat disks around which circulate two suns, one of which is now the moon. There is also in Yukpa cosmology an underground populated by a race of dwarfs (a few Yukpa are very short in stature and are said to be descendants of this race of dwarfs). By the middle of the twentieth century, Catholicism was introduced and the Yukpa began to integrate this new religion into the traditional belief system. In the 1990s almost all Yukpa settled outside of the mountainous Perija region profess to be Catholics, although the degree to which they practice and actually understand the religion tends to be limited.

**Religious Practitioners.** In a few traditional Yukpa settlements there continue to be priest-shamans (*tomayra*) who, through dream interpretation and songs, guide communities through the important rituals and ceremonies.

**Ceremonies.** The principal ceremonies marking life and changes in social status include birth, naming, marriage, and burial. In addition, the Yukpa celebrate harvest ceremonies of thanksgiving, which also function to strengthen social exchange. At these and other ceremonies the *tomayra* plays a major role by singing specific songs and leading the dancing.

**Arts.** Singing and dancing are important to Yukpa in religious as well as secular activities. These songs can become complex enough to require that they be recorded using mnemonic symbols and rehearsed before important ceremonies. The Yukpa practice some facial and arm tattooing and weave simple designs into their baskets. A few elder Yukpa men embellish their clay smoking pipes with artistic designs.

**Medicine.** Sickness is explained by reference to the supernatural, although today many Yukpa also understand parts of the Western model of disease causation. Among the Yukpa, individuals having knowledge of medicinal plants are known as *tuanos*. These shamans possess a superb familiarity with botanical remedies and, through metaphysical connections, are able to control the effect of these remedies.

**Death and Afterlife.** At death, the soul leaves the body through the right hand. The corpse is wrapped in mats and removed from the village. In earlier days it was set on a platform, but today it is buried immediately in a burial hut. The deceased's possessions are buried as well, since they will be necessary for the journey to the other world. To reach the afterworld, Yukpa must be guided to the path of the righteous by Kopecho, the mythical frog. Life in the Land of the Dead is very similar to life in the Perija.

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MICHAEL PAOLISSO

## Yukuna

ETHNONYMS: Heruriwa, Hurumi, Imike, Kameheya, Piyoti

### Orientation

**Identification.** The name "Yukuna" does not correspond to indigenous self-identity. It is a name imposed by White colonizers almost two centuries ago, derived from the word *yuko*, meaning "storytellers." The Yukuna refer to themselves as "Pig people," "Grass people," or "Snake people," according to different sibs, each of which claims certain ancestors, a site of origin in the upper Río Miriti area, a specific territory, and specialized shamanistic knowledge of that territory's historical and natural characteristics. In the twentieth century the Yukuna have "adopted" the Matapi (Upichia), whose mythic site of origin is in the upper Yapiya and Guacaya river regions. Today, because of Yukuna territorial proximity and marriage alliances with the Matapi and Tanimuka (Ufaina), common cultural traits are shared by all these groups.

**Location.** The traditional territory of reference of the Yukuna is the Miriti-Paraná and lower Caquetá river region, approximately between 70°31' and 71°31' W and 0°45' and 1° S, within the present-day Comisaría Especial del Amazonas in Colombia.

**Demography.** In 1989 the Yukuna population was approximately 1,000 and there were only 90 Matapi. The Yukuna numbered more than 15,000 at the beginning of this century but were nearly exterminated during the rubber-boom era.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** Yukuna belongs to the Arawak Language Family. The Matapi were Eastern Tukano speakers but now speak Yukuna Arawak.

### History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological data from the area indicate continuous indigenous habitation dating from the fifth century A.D. (Yapura phase pottery). The *maloca*, or communal roundhouse, has been a key organizational form for biosocial reproduction since prehistoric times. Oral history today includes references to constant wars with the Tukano peoples to the north and northwest of Yukuna territory as well as wars with the Witoto and Mirana peoples toward the southwest. During the Portuguese invasion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the indigenous populations were enslaved in the colonial plantations of Rio Negro. In the seventeenth century the Spanish colonizers forcibly relocated indigenous populations into mission villages, mingling enemy Indians in alien territories. As the colonists extracted spices, furs, and lumber, they imposed slavery and debt peonage on the Indians. According to present-day Yukuna, the most senior-ranking Yukuna were exterminated, and the juniors divided to form the present-day Senior and Junior ranks. During the rubber-boom era in the nineteenth century, the Colombian, Peruvian, and British dealers relocated and tortured the Yukuna, forcing some to migrate to rubber camps near the Colombo-Peruvian border area. There was an active Yukuna resistance, including armed and shamanistic retaliation against the rubber dealers and their armies. Yukuna coresidence with Andoke, Bora, Karihona, and Miranya Indians in the rubber camps of the Miriti area permitted a period of intercultural borrowing.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the genocide and ethnocide perpetrated by the merchant companies that extracted rubber and gum decimated approximately 90 percent of these populations. The system of debt peonage in White-Indian relations prevailed in all the consecutive economic booms—the extraction of lumber, furs, fish, rubber, cocaine, and, most recently, gold. Nowadays, the majority of the Yukuna are living within *resguardo* territories, which are officially recognized by the Colombian government as communal Indian lands, and are governed by a *cabildo* of traditional authorities. In the 1980s the sporadic presence of heavily armed groups of non-Indians involved in illegal activities, as well as the invasion of the gold mines by thousands of Colombian placer miners, has aggravated interethnic tension in these territories. Recent migrations of Yukuna to the mestizo town of La Pedrera or to the city of Leticia, in search of wages and to escape retaliation from conflicts ensuing from the gold rush, have led to

the polarization of the Yukuna into traditionalists and antitraditionalists.

### Settlements

Most Yukuna live in dispersed dwellings along the main rivers, either in large malocas or in small, unifamily houses built on stilts. Each maloca is part of a regional network of central and dependent households. Habitation sites are usually near the Río Miriti, but on high terraces, away from the floodplain. Each maloca has a round base, a diameter of about 16 to 20 meters, and a semiconical roof about 20 meters high. Two triangular openings—one in the eastern apex and one in the western apex of the roof—permit ventilation and admit the sun's rays for the reckoning of time.

There are no interior walls or compartments within the maloca, but the symbolism of its interior space is very elaborate. The headman's place is in the west, shamans reside in the intercardinal points of the southern side of the maloca, and single men reside in the eastern side by the main door. The front (eastern) part is male, and the back is female, whereas the southern side is that of kin and the northern side that of allies. A sacred square in the center is reserved for ritual activity. Toward the maloca wall lies the domestic space, where people sleep, cook, and are buried. Between the sacred center and the domestic periphery is a large annular area for public dancing and daily work.

Around each maloca there are the nearby house gardens, and in the jungle are the *chagras* (garden plots) and the hunting, gathering, and fishing territories. The network of maloca habitats constitutes a regional system of resource management and intergroup alliances. A new maloca is built every decade within the traditional territory of each minimal lineage, where fallowed sites are cyclically reoccupied. At the beginning of the twentieth century as many as 200 people lived under the communal roof of malocas that measured scarcely more than 20 meters wide. In the late twentieth century the maloca is smaller, its permanent residential group consisting of an extended family of a father and his married sons. In monthly gatherings, dances, and rituals, however, it temporarily houses up to 100 individuals. There are a few central malocas, physically larger in size, where the most prestigious rituals take place under the leadership of its senior-ranking headmen.

In the Miriti area the only nucleated center is the area of the mission school. Otherwise, the settlement pattern is usually dispersed. In contrast with the pattern of the Miriti, the Yukuna in the lower Caquetá area cluster in Puerto Córdoba or near the town of La Pedrera. In Puerto Córdoba they live in unifamily houses near a maloca, sharing community life with coresident mestizo fishers. Those in La Pedrera live in mestizo houses as they work for wages. The Yukuna group that is in front of La Pedrera within the Komeyafu Resguardo tends to reside permanently in unifamily houses, occasionally attending rituals in a nearby maloca.

### Economy

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** The Yukuna traditionally have been slash-and-burn horticulturists, and hunters, gatherers, and fishers within the rainforest. Bitter

manioc is the staple crop. During the dry season (November to February) cultivated food is abundant, as well as certain types of fish and hunted animals (tapir, deer, peccaries, monkeys, capybaras, armadillos, etc.), whereas during the wet season (March to October) there is an abundance of wild fruits, and certain wild game are hunted near the fruiting trees or in the flooded forest.

Natural resources are harvested only after a shamanistic consultation on ecological accountability that is made to assess the impact of any human action. Nature is said to be hierarchically organized in dominant biomes and its own maloca networks, where certain masters of habitats "exchange" resources with humans. Shamans intercede "In Thought" to determine the sites, size, and amount of resources extracted. It is believed that only after Nature is "paid" for its labor can the Yukuna transform with their own labor the means of their subsistence (see "Religious Beliefs").

Each woman has three or four *chagras* or horticultural plots, which are about 2 hectares in size, each of which is in different stages of production. After two years, these sites are relatively fallowed and no longer planted, but certain resources continue to be extracted throughout the years. Around each maloca there are house gardens where planted fruit trees are continually enriched with organic matter, creating nutrient-rich *terra preta* ("black earth") soils for present and future agricultural use.

Women make manioc flour to sell to local merchants in order to buy cloth, hammocks, sewing machines, sugar, and salt; men sell wood planks and dried or salted meat and fish to the mission schools and to local merchants in La Pedrera in order to buy shotguns, clothes, fishhooks and line, hammocks, gasoline, and alcoholic beverages—or work for short periods in the gold mines at Traira to buy these commodities. Despite the impact of the market economy, most Yukuna ideas about value and exchange revolve around traditional shamanistic concepts, and their subsistence activities are conducted in the context of sexual and alimentary fasting and other shamanistic prescriptions.

**Industrial Arts.** Yukuna women still make their own pottery for daily and ceremonial use: large griddle plates and various types of clay vessels with *caraipe* (tree-bark) temper, monochrome slip, and a smoked/smudged vegetable glaze. Men weave baskets for daily use and learn their elaborate symbolism during male initiation rites. Most woodwork is done by the men: oars, canoes, troughs for pounding coca leaves, *manguare* hollow-tree drums, red and black hardwood staffs and stick rattles, and "thinking" stools. Men also build the monumental maloca in communal work parties that last two weeks. The complex admixtures of different plants' chemical substances to make poisons, dyes, medicine, or food usually require specialized technical procedures that are the legacy of groups of initiated adults. The secret meaning of cultural artifacts is gradually taught along gender lines throughout a person's life cycle.

**Trade.** Since colonial times many types of Western merchandise have reached the Indians through local non-Indian merchants who hold Indians in patron-client and bond-labor relations. This system of indebtedness-for-life prevails as the main form of trade relations, in which Indi-



ans acquire merchandise in an unequal exchange of their labor and natural products. Until recently, trade was done mainly through mission stores or Brazilian boats. Nowadays, many commercial products arrive by air transportation and there is an increased inflow of cash, wages, and merchandise. Indian-run cooperatives were established in the mid-seventies in an attempt to set fair prices for their rubber and lumber products, to regain ethnic pride, and as a means of understanding commercial dealings.

**Division of Labor.** Women do most of the planting, harvesting, and processing of tubers, as well as the cooking of food and socialization of infants; they occasionally hunt small rodents near or in their chagras and fish with poison in creeks. Men hunt, fish, gather wild fruits, and plant and harvest only the crops of coca, tobacco, pineapple, and certain domesticated palms. In this patrilocal, patrilineal society, men have the prestigious roles of headman, shaman, singer/chanter, and family head, and they preside over major ceremonies in the maloca, but the headman's wife and the older women can make certain privileged female decisions concerning soils, human fertility, and the secret protection of women's power. Women inherit manioc strains and plant seedlings from their mothers and convey horticultural knowledge to their daughters, whereas men transmit among themselves their knowledge concerning their hunting, gathering, and fishing territories as well as of their traditional residence sites. Although women can have more prestigious traditional roles after menopause, they own the knowledge of childbirth and infanticide. Some young women and men work for wages at the mission school or in the town.

**Land Tenure.** As an ethnic group, the Yukuna traditionally own the area of the Miriti-Paraná and lower Caquetá rivers. According to their oral tradition and historical practice, each maloca section owns a territory in which it rotates residence and subsistence strategies and where its ancestors have been buried. Since 1981 most of these lands have been recognized by the Colombian government as *resguardo* or collective Indian property, but the subsoil and public waters as well as gold mines and mineral deposits are claimed by the nation. *Resguardo* lands are communal property and have the characteristics of being inalienable, nontransferable, and unencumberable.

### Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The descent system is patrilineal, and linguistic cultural identity is determined by speaking the father's language. Yukuna marriage alliances are with the Tanimuka (Eastern Tukanoans) or Matapi peoples. The Yukuna are organized into two moieties: the Seniors live in the upper Miriti, whereas the Juniors live downriver. Each lineage and sib, as well as each group of siblings, is ranked hierarchically among Seniors and Juniors. Most marriage alliances must be among partners of similar rank. Minimal lineages live together in a maloca, but close kin tend to reside nearby. By Yukuna laws of primogeniture, only a Senior brother can build a maloca and be a maloca headman. As a corporate group, the headman and his followers reside in a maloca. The headman's brothers usually are the aggressive and defensive shamans, the singer/chanter, and other maloca specialists. On ritual oc-

casions, medium or maximal lineages, as well as allied malocas, meet for ceremonial food exchange or to trade information, dance, and express solidarity. Male secret rituals consolidate male bonding among descent groups and allied maloca units.

**Kinship Terminology.** Kin terms are of the Dravidian type.

### Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** Yukuna marry the Tanimuka in preferential marriage by either sister exchange, matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, or through bride-service and bride-price transactions (nowadays usually merchandise). Postmarital residence is patrilocal except for a short period of uxori-local residence at the parents-in-law's maloca. Until the 1960s polygyny was still frequent among prestigious headmen; the Christian missionaries and Colombian law have banned this tradition. Monogamy is the norm nowadays. Divorce is frequent, though it is reduced in the cases of sister exchange where the alliance bond among groups is a double-marriage transaction. Marriage occurs without major ceremony. A man cuts, burns, and clears a plot in the jungle near his maloca of residence, as a sign that he is bringing in a woman as a wife. He asks the future father-in-law for his daughter, and, if there is agreement, she proceeds to live with him. Although a wife initially learns about certain maloca rules and about the work processes in the manioc fields from her mother-in-law, once the wife has borne a child she directs her own horticultural activities. Copulation usually occurs in the manioc fields. Cohabitation is in the peripheral/domestic part of the maloca. The semen from multiple copulations is said to help the fetus grow. A boy's essence is thought to proceed from his father's, whereas a girl's proceeds from her mother's.

**Domestic Unit.** The basic domestic unit is the maloca or communal household, comprised of an extended or joint family. As a household and a unit of biosocial production and reproduction, it practices communitarian praxis subsistence in the rain forest. The maloca can either disperse or concentrate great quantities of people according to seasonal fluctuations and depending on labor requirements.

**Inheritance.** Maloca territories are inherited by patrilineal corporate groups. The right to habitation sites and subsistence territories accompanies the transmission of specialized knowledge about the characteristics of these sites and confers the obligation to conserve them by "paying" the masters of Nature/headmen of these sites. Shamanistic paraphernalia (ceremonial staff and rattle stick, thinking stool, feather crowns, and stones) as well as secret knowledge (e.g., the chants for curing and hunting, the formula of fermented pineapple brew, the technique to make the Yurupari trumpets, details of lineage history and mythology) are transmitted *premortem* and *postmortem* between fathers and sons. Women inherit seeds and knowledge about horticulture and birthing from their mothers. Individuals have few belongings, and these are destroyed when a person dies because it is believed these objects were part of unique personal relationships. Nowadays, capitalist

items (shotguns, outboard motors) are inherited or disputed among the descendants.

**Socialization.** Although both women and men raise young children, they are mostly with their mothers until age 4. Children tend to play in peer groups and take care of younger siblings, teaching them games and carrying them on their hips. Children are born in a woman's garden or in the jungle. Postpartum seclusion in a hut outside the maloca is required because female heat is considered polluting. In a week or so, after a shamanic initiation and a curing session for the mother, she and the child are allowed to enter the house. Toddlers are baptized in a collective ceremony in which they are given an ancestor's name. Boys are assigned a godfather (a paternal uncle) and girls a godmother (a maternal aunt), and they are symbolically "introduced" to the shamanistic topography of the jungle and its masters. In this ceremony they are made to taste *hiwi* (vegetal salt). At puberty boys collectively undergo the first of a series of secret male initiation rituals, during which they are shown the sacred trumpets and learn their meaning. Girls, in turn, are isolated individually during menarche in a hut outside the maloca and are taught by their mothers the secrets of birthing and de-birthing, as well as the sexual and alimentary restrictions that must accompany menstruation.

An extensive corpus of oral traditions, myths, chants, and stories is transmitted through generations and along age and gender ranks. In the communal life of the maloca, the group is socialized to share a common roof, necessitating discreet behavior, solidarity, and respect for hierarchy. The duty to enact contentment and happiness and continually to communicate problems or illnesses to the shaman allows for communal well-being. Many games and stories are taught to children, whereas longer stories and specialized myths are told among adults. Each night, in the center of the maloca, while the rest of the people are lying silently in their hammocks, the elder men smoke tobacco and chew coca as they recount stories and comment on the state of affairs of the maloca, give advice, debate softly, and analyze events from different perspectives. During the day, the children accompany the adults in most chores (except hunting) and actively participate in subsistence activities, many times making miniature replicas of tools to perform small-scale chores. Women breast-feed their infants and, until they reach about age 2, carry them on their hips in bark-cloth slings. When a new child is born, she or he is mainly socialized by older sisters and siblings but remains under the mother's surveillance.

Industriousness is inculcated, as well as generosity. Stinginess and incest are despised, as is gossip that endangers communal life. Aggression, loudness, and overt sexuality are highly discouraged. Since the 1940s many children have been forced to attend missionary boarding schools, undergoing separation from their families and maloca. Spanish is taught in the national curriculum, and children are acculturated to national values. Nowadays the Yukuna are trying to organize their own bilingual schools near their maloca, in an attempt to maintain their own cultural vitality even as they learn the non-Indian Colombian culture. Indian health promoters are seeking to practice both Western and non-Western medicine.

### Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** The Yukuna rank their sibs according to the categories of *newakana*: "important/respectable people" and "common/ordinary people." The common people consist of the Urumi and Matapi, who were considered slaves in the past, as well as the junior members of the Junior lineages and moieties. In the Miriti area the Senior and Junior moieties each have their own *riwaka kaneka* or captain, and in the lower Caquetá each local community has its elected leader. Each captain must reside in a maloca and must know extensively the group's mythology and tradition. A captain's wife directs the women in large gatherings. Each maloca headman directs its domestic group in semiautonomous fashion, consulting sporadically with its captain only for panregional management. Chiefs and leaders must work in association with two types of shamans: a defensive one who cures and protects the community and an aggressive one (usually the youngest brother of the former) who attacks other communities as he masters death; he legitimates and enforces decisions by the leaders.

**Political Organization.** As a minimal chiefdom the Yukuna captains are supralocal chiefs to the degree that their arena of control is beyond their local residence or village site. A maloca headman's authority extends only to its corporate local group. The agnatic power structure in a maloca distributes authority among groups of brothers maintaining patrilineage ideology and androcentric authority within domestic groups. Alliances among maloca units and their initiated men are generally determined by the ascribed status of partners, permitting only incremental transformations of the system by individuals who achieve competitively the roles of shaman, headmen, or great men. Nowadays the Yukuna are in government-protected resguardo territories. The Miriti-Paraná Resguardo (created in 1981) has an area of 1,162,500 hectares; in the Caquetá area, the Puerto Córdoba Resguardo (created in 1985) has 39,700 hectares and the Komeyafu Resguardo (created in 1985) has 19,180 hectares. These resguardo territories are governed by annually elected members of a *cabildo* (with a governor, a treasurer, and a secretary), who legally represent their group before Colombian authorities. Some Indians are seeking to diminish the existing conflict between traditional sociopolitical authorities and the *cabildo* members by further subdividing the *cabildo* groups into *parcialidad* regions that roughly correspond to central maloca units.

**Social Control.** In prehistoric times, when conflicts over resources could not be resolved between groups, there were wars and raids. Ritual combat with tapir-hide shields and poisoned arrows and spears and human poisoning were common. The captain was said to have great authority and the right to punish infractors with death. Nowadays social control is mainly through shamanistic positive injunctions or sanctions. Public commentary, temporary withdrawal of group collaboration, and the shamans' explanation of the consequences of wrongdoing usually suffice. Small-scale conflict is settled internally by the traditional leaders and/or the *cabildo*, whereas homicide is usually dealt with in conjunction with Colombian police and officials.

### Religion and Expressive Culture

**Religious Beliefs.** The maloca is a model of and for the cosmos and of shamanistic geography. Simultaneously, in Yukuna cosmology the universe is composed of layers of griddle plates, which represent maloca units. The universe, composed of superimposed and juxtaposed maloca networks, is inhabited by human and nonhuman forces. The cosmic river, with Sun and Moon (Senior and Junior brothers) surround the universe. The snake/vine of the worlds sustains the fire at the base of the cosmos. A palm tree is the *axis mundi*. This earth is between the five skies of male Thought in the heavens and two female underworlds. In the apex of the skies resides Tufana/God, whereas the Kaipulakena or the Four Founding Ancestors, the Master of Wild Fruits and Animals, the Master of Cultivated Food, the Master of Chants, the Master of Death, and the spirits of high-flying birds reside in the other skies. In one of the underworlds, certain spirit-forms live hanging upside down and sleeping during the day. In another underworld reside past ethnic groups and the remnants of previous geneses. Namatu, Mother Earth, is the master of the telluric and aquatic forces of the underworld.

This earth is determined by the dynamics between the male Yurupari and female Namatu forces, each of which empowers the respective gender. The utilization of any resource from Nature necessarily entails shamanistic "payment" to Nature for its "labor" by exchanging beings and energy with the master of each biome. Each master of Nature is said to reside in a maloca, with kin plants and animals in a hierarchy of dependence. Human deaths and illnesses are part of the payment to Nature.

The universe is composed of human and nonhuman peoples, who are sentient beings in many spatiotemporal levels. An exiled and distant God resides in the apex of the skies. The Four Brothers or Founding Ancestors reside in the highest sky, isolated under an airless crystal abode. Otherwise, many active supernatural beings reside in the rest of the skies, which, with the telluric female forces, continually interact with humans. Mystic ancestors that constitute constellations, stars, the Milky Way, Venus, or the rainbow are said to exert desirable seasonal changes on the environment when shamans solicit them or their masters. Sun is a great Seer that guides initiated men, and Moon is an ally of jaguar-man shamans and of menstruating women. On the earth Nature is a supracultural realm of animal and plant "peoples" who exchange resources with humans. Many animals (e.g., jaguars, dolphins, and nutrias) that are considered lineage ancestors from mythic times are tabooed and not eaten. Only shamans and initiated adults understand and see the supernatural. A jaguar-man can travel in Thought through tobacco smoke, water and air currents, and between and among the levels of the universe by changing into different animal predators, according to the biome he traverses in Thought.

**Religious Practitioners.** There are two types of shamans: the *marichu* (jaguar-man, "he who Sees"), who can divine the future through his great knowledge of social history and of the natural environment and who directs the sacred ceremonies, and the *lawichurau* (curer), the shaman who merely "cures people and food," prescribes good conduct, and counsels his local group on short-term activities.

The singer/dancer/chanter leads the musical performances in all rituals, "directing the energy of the community with heavenly forces."

**Ceremonies.** Throughout the yearly cycle there are more than twenty collective rituals in the main malocas, where hundreds of people meet temporarily to dance and exchange information while the host shamans "think ahead to see how the people will live in the next season." An elaborate calendar of ceremonies begins at the September equinox, with the appearance of the Caterpillar (Corona Australis) and Cicada constellations and the setting of the Anaconda (Scorpio) at the beginning of the dry season. An earth-drum ritual, which is performed to cure the oncoming cultivated food, initiates the time for clearing the jungle and building new houses and fields. During September and October many dances and chants with fermented pineapple take place to celebrate the abundance of food and fish of the season, and from November to December households meet for two days and nights to dance the peach-palm (*Bactris gasipaes*) ritual, in which dozens of masked men in bark-cloth costumes ritually sing and theatrically represent the animals with whom they share the fruit.

During the March Equinox, when the stars of Egret's Neck (Pleiades) and the Tapir's Jaw (Hyades) set and the wet season is beginning, the male initiation rituals of Yurupari take place. As a symbolic severance from women is stated and young boys and men are taught to "see beyond the eyes" and know the symbolism of their material culture and the rules of their social structures, they sound the sacred trumpets. The women are forbidden to see the trumpets, although myths state that women were their primal owners in matriarchal-origin times.

Throughout the wet season the jungle is flooded and many ceremonies with wild fruits and seeds take place as the masters of these fruits and of certain animals that are hunted or fished are "paid." In turn, an individual's life cycle is usually marked by rites of passage at birth, puberty, and death involving shamanistic intercession accompanied by strict avoidance of sexual contact and certain alimentary restrictions (against fat, sugar, and salt). Many individual crises are managed in private ceremonies that are mediated by the shamans, who publicly explain the diagnosis, usually making reference to a human infraction of the limits of a certain biome or an enemy group's shamanistic attack. Each time a new maloca is built, there are ceremonies to cool the ground against gossip, envy, and conflict and to consult the willingness of the ancestors and certain beneficent forces. In an inauguration feast guests are asked to test the physical strength of its architectural frame and to dance happily while shamans think ahead for six or eight years to see the future communal life.

**Arts.** Except for a few Western items, most objects are made by the Yukuna. The knowledge for construction of the maloca and for the production of material artifacts is transmitted by oral memory and encoded mnemotechnically in the parts and processes of the items. An encyclopedic corpus of myths, chants, songs, and formulas requires a special discipline that takes place formally and informally. Theatrical performance, in arenas such as the peach-palm ritual, enacts dramatically and ironically the

main social tensions and includes songs to the animal people, permitting group catharsis and solidarity. Body paint, masks, and the decoration of objects encode icons of cultural identity. Many of the new iconic elements of the material culture are seen in dreams before they are manufactured.

**Medicine.** Illness is said to be caused and cured through Thought. Almost no medicinal plants are used in shamanistic therapeutics. Unlike the Tukanoans, the Yukuna do not use the hallucinatory *yajé*, although large doses of tobacco, smoked or snuffed, and of coca and certain incense fumes may cause altered awareness. Shamans cure by thinking about the causes of an illness and interpreting socially the cause of individual suffering. To remember his view of the patient's ailment, a shaman records them in his own body as muscular twitches. To identify the origin of an illness or the place where the patient's Thought is hidden, the shamans expand corporeal problems into the cosmic topography. Shamans blow and suck the patient's body in search of signs of supernatural intrusions. Sexual and alimentary restrictions usually apply after a diagnosis. Nowadays a distinction is made between Indian and Western sicknesses, and Western medication is sought for the latter.

**Death and Afterlife.** Death after an illness is caused by another shaman's attack (through Thought or by poisoning), by a Western sickness, or by the theft of a person's mind by an aggrieved master of Nature who took it as compensation for a debt the person had incurred with him when using natural resources. Dead people's bodies decompose in the Earth Mother and their spirit travels in the cosmic river to reach the sky of the dead. In the maloca of the dead, it receives all the personal belongings that were burned or thrown away during the funeral. If not found guilty of incest by the Master of Death, the spirit is placed under an overturned pot. If the death of a person is caused by the loss of his or her Thought to Nature, part of the deceased becomes a vital force for the "people" of Nature. The Yukuna are buried underneath the place where they slung their hammocks and slept, in a tomb with a lateral shaft. The body is wrapped in a hammock, placed facing east. After about a year, a ceremony to end mourning is held, and it is forbidden to be sad hence. If the maloca headman dies, the maloca is abandoned.

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ELIZABETH REICHEL

## Yuqui

ETHNONYMS: Chori, Kurukwa, Mbia, Yuki

### Orientation

**Identification.** Until they were contacted in the late 1960s, the Yuqui were thought to be a disjunct group of Siriono, a lowland Bolivian indigenous people with whom they share many cultural traits. It was not until a Siriono speaker was asked to try to communicate with the Yuqui that it was discovered that they are a distant ethnic group.

The origin of the name "Yuqui" is unknown but has been used since the colonial period by the Spanish-speaking local population, along with "Siriono," to designate the Yuqui people. It may be a Hispanicized approximation of the Yuqui word "Yaqui," which means "younger relative," and is a frequently heard term of address. The Yuqui refer to themselves as "Mbia," a widespread Tupí-Guaraní word meaning "the people." Like the Siriono, the Yuqui are now aware that outsiders refer to them by a name formerly unknown and meaningless to them and have come to accept this as their designation by "Aba" (outsiders).

**Location.** As foragers practicing no horticulture whatsoever, the Yuqui ranged over a large territory in the western regions of lowland Bolivia in the departments of Santa Cruz and Cochabamba. Sightings of Yuqui over many years indicate that their territory originally formed a large crescent beginning east of the old mission town of Santa Rosa del Sara, running south beyond the town of Buenavista, and then extending north and west into the Chapare region near the base of the Andes Mountains. Today what are probably the last remaining three bands of Yuqui are settled at a mission station on the Río Chimore (64°56' W, 16°47' S). The original home range of the Yuqui consisted of varied habitats including savanna, deciduous tropical forest, and multistratal rain forest. Their present environment is multistratal forest and is located near the base of the Andes at an elevation of 250 meters. It includes riverine and interfluvial areas marked by rainfall averaging 300 to 500 centimeters per year. There is a dry season during the months of July and August, which is marked by cold fronts (*surazos*); the temperature may briefly drop to as low as 5° C. Otherwise, annual temperatures for the area normally range between 15° and 35° C. The Yuqui at the Chimore settlement forage over an area of approximately 315 square kilometers.

**Demography.** There is scant knowledge as to what size the Yuqui population might have been at the time prior to or immediately following the European Conquest because little was known about them until the mid-twentieth century. According to their own reports, the Yuqui have experienced severe depopulation owing to disease and hostile encounters with local Bolivians. As of 1990, the entire known population of Yuqui consisted of about 130 people. Although not out of the realm of possibility, it is now unlikely that uncontacted bands of Yuqui are still living in the forests of eastern Bolivia.

**Linguistic Affiliation.** The Yuqui speak a Tupí-Guaraní language that is closely related to other Tupí-Guaraní languages in lowland Bolivia such as Chiriguano, Guarayo, and Siriono. It appears to be most closely related to Siriono, with which Yuqui shares a large vocabulary, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Recent linguistic analysis indicates that the two languages may have diverged in the 1600s, coinciding with the movement of Europeans into the area.

### *History and Cultural Relations*

Not long before the European Conquest, Guaraní raids were being conducted into what is now eastern Bolivia for the purpose of capturing women and slaves. In particular, groups of warriors from the Río Itatin region were making frequent forays into southern Bolivia. They gradually defeated local peoples like the Chane, whose land they occupied and whose people they enslaved. Eventually, these new arrivals became known locally as the "Chiriguanos." With the arrival of the Spanish from Asunción, Paraguay, in the late 1500s, the Chiriguanos unsuccessfully waged war on these new intruders. Once defeated, Chiriguano survivors were relocated at mission outposts (*reducciones*) established by Jesuit and Franciscan friars. It is probable, however, that several bands of Chiriguano escaped detection by fleeing into remote areas of heavy forest, where they were able to live in relative isolation.

The Yuqui are very likely a remnant population of these people. Even today, they are culturally and linguistically similar to many northern Paraguayan groups such as the Ache, giving credence to their recent shared origins. Their cultural as well as biological proximity to the Siriono is attested by the unusual congenital ear notches that are evident among both groups. Generations of living as fugitives and infrequent encounters with a growing mestizo population, which resulted in the spread of disease or outright killing, gradually took their toll on the Yuqui, reducing their numbers significantly. This process would also account for the degree of deculturation that has occurred among the Yuqui.

In spite of earlier suppositions that the Yuqui as well as their Siriono cohorts represented the simplest form of adaptation to the lowland South American environment, further study points to a loss of culture content as a more likely explanation for the lack of cultural complexity among both groups. Vestiges of Yuqui deculturation from a more complex level of cultural organization include leadership rights that are inherited through the male line, the existence of hereditary slavery reminiscent of a slave class or caste, and the presence in the Yuqui language of common Tupí-Guaraní words for cultivated crops (maize, *ibachi*; manioc, *ndio*).

Relations with all outsiders (Aba) were traditionally hostile. Whites or mestizos were thought to be the spirits of dead Yuqui and were greatly feared. The word "Aba" probably derives from a term used by Guaraní invaders, whom the Yuqui consider to be their own progenitors (there are still Guaraní people known as "Ava"). Nevertheless, because these outsiders, or Aba, are not known Yuqui and therefore must be spirits of dead ancestors, they are regarded as enemies to be destroyed. This reaction is con-

sistent with the belief held by the Yuqui until peaceful contact occurred that they were the only living beings on earth. In the mid-1950s increasing hostilities with settlers moving into Yuqui territory resulted in the arrival of missionary contact teams organized by the New Tribes Mission, a group of North American Protestant fundamentalists. Following more than ten years' of cutting gift trails, leaving gifts for the Yuqui along these trails, and gradually establishing peaceful relationships with a band of forty-three individuals, the mission convinced the group to give up its nomadic existence and hostilities with the outside world. They were settled at a camp on the Río Chimore. In late 1986 and 1989, what were probably the last two remaining bands of forest Yuqui were successfully contacted and encouraged to relocate to the Chimore camp. With natural increase and the addition of the two new bands, both closely related to the original band contacted, the population had reached 130 by 1990.

### *Settlements*

The Yuqui were true foragers and as such moved frequently over a large home range. According to their own accounts, prior to contact individual bands of thirty to fifty individuals hunted and gathered on a continual basis. The Yuqui commonly moved their camps daily. If a particular resource were present in abundance, a campsite was used for a maximum of three to five days. Both the need to exploit forest resources and a fear of attack by Bolivian woodsmen kept the group moving constantly. Since the Yuqui built no structures, their camp consisted of a tight circle of fiber hammocks strung to available trees. In order to reduce the dispersement of the group, the Yuqui frequently tied their hammocks in tiers up a single pair of trees. Nuclear families had separate cooking fires. Men kept their bows and arrows at arm's length in bundles stacked against trees. Each hammock was occupied by a man, woman, and their youngest child if still an infant. In times of cold or rain, the Yuqui broke off palm fronds to form a crude tipi as a cover for the hammock. By the mid-twentieth century, it is likely that Yuqui bands had been reduced to only four or five in number, their existence known mostly as a result of colonist sightings. Three of these bands are now permanently settled at the mission station on the Río Chimore. Since there have been no new sightings of forest Yuqui for several years now, it may be assumed that the remainder succumbed to disease or attack.

### *Economy*

**Subsistence and Commercial Activities.** In their traditional state, the Yuqui subsisted entirely on game, fish, and food plants gathered from the tropical forests and savannas. They had no known trading relationships with other people, including other bands of Yuqui with whom they often had antagonistic encounters. All outsiders, indigenous or otherwise, were considered enemies. Although their system of food taboos may have been more elaborate at some earlier period in their history, at the time of contact the Yuqui would eat any animal that had "feet or wings." Thus they excluded only insects (with the exception of bee larvae) and snakes from their diet. Although virtually all wildlife was considered acceptable, the Yuqui

preferred and still pursue the larger mammals (tapir, colored and white-lipped peccaries, capybaras, pacas, and spider and howler monkeys) and birds (curassows, guans, toucans, and macaws). Fishing was of minor importance and highly seasonal since Yuqui technology was limited to bow fishing and the use of *barbasco* vine as a fish poison. Because of their fear of being sighted on open waterways, most fishing was done in shallow, seasonal forest ponds, or oxbow lakes.

The Yuqui gathered a wide variety of fruit, particularly that of several species of palm, in addition to hearts of palm. Honey was also an important part of the diet and was consumed in enormous quantities when available. The Yuqui collected fiber from the *imbai* tree (*Cecropia* sp.) for use in making hammocks, baby slings, and bow string. Two vegetable dyes were important as body paints to ward off sickness and misfortune: *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*), a red dye, and *dija* (*Genipa americana*), a blue-black dye, both widely used by native Amazonians.

Since contact and the adoption of a sedentary existence, the Yuqui have begun to cultivate a few crops on a small scale. They are not enthusiastic farmers, however, and still prefer to devote their time to subsistence activities in the forest—traditional hunting and gathering. They have also become increasingly dependent on plantains, which do not require a great deal of attention and are easy to harvest (sweet manioc, maize, upland rice, squashes, peanuts, sugarcane, papayas, and other minor crops that have been introduced by missionaries or colonists. The mission provides the Yuqui with surplus food donated by the United States, and they are beginning to develop trade relationships with colonists moving into their area. The presence of settlers and subsequent deforestation is beginning to severely affect Yuqui hunting and fishing success as these sources of meat are depleted by overexploitation and habitat alteration.

**Industrial Arts.** Both a nomadic existence and the effects of deculturation have contributed to a paucity of artifacts in Yuqui culture. The cultural inventory is virtually complete with bow and arrows, hammock, baby sling, an agouti-incisor notching tool, rudimentary pottery, and a few basket products made from palm fronds.

The Yuqui bow is over 2 meters in length and fabricated with black palm wood (*Bactris* sp.). The string, made by the women from twined *imbai* bark, is attached to the sharpened bow tips with a loop, and the excess bowstring is coiled around the lower third of the stave. The arrows, often mistaken for spears, are of equal length and are of only two types: the "bleeder arrow" made with a large bamboo lanceolate point and used for large animals such as the tapir, and the barbed, black-palm point used for smaller animals. Arrow shafts are made from arrow cane (*Gynerium sagittatum*), and the arrow is fletched using the Peruvian cemented technique. Curassow feathers were typically used prior to contact, but with a growing trade in bows and arrows developed by the mission, any large bird feathers are now employed, particularly those from the colorful macaw.

Baby slings and hammocks are also made from *imbai* twine and are fabricated by using similar techniques. In the

case of a hammock, twine is wrapped around two posts set in the ground until the proper width is achieved. Then a single tie strand is run down the middle to separate and secure each individual cord. A rope, also made from *imbai*, is run through the end loops to secure them, and the completed hammock is removed from the two posts. The baby sling is made in the same manner except that instead of posts, the fiber is wrapped around a woman's spread knees while she is in a sitting position. Several tie strands complete the circular band of fiber that is worn diagonally across the woman's upper torso. The Yuqui do not use any form of upper arm or leg bands, waist ornaments, or penis strings. Body painting done with *Genipa* and *Bixa* is not particularly decorative and follows no set pattern. Dye is simply applied somewhat haphazardly to specific body areas to treat wounds, to encourage pubic hair growth among adolescents, or to prevent animal bites or other untoward events while hunting.

Basketry consists of quickly made receptacles of various sizes, all made with a double-herringbone weave common throughout Amazonia. Baskets are undecorated and rudimentary in style. They are not considered art objects and are often discarded after use. The Yuqui first weave a mat from the soft, pliable center stalk of a palm, fold it in half, and braid the sides to form a container. A type of palm-frond backpack is also woven to transport game and fruit, but this is also discarded after use. Pottery was not being made by the Yuqui at the time of contact, but one or two of the older women could still remember how to produce a small coiled pot. Finally, men produce a small tool used to make a nocking plug for the ends of arrows. This consists of an animal bone, usually a femur, into which is glued (using black beeswax) an agouti incisor. These notching tools tend to be kept by the owner until they break or are lost.

**Division of Labor.** As foragers, Yuqui men and women shared most tasks, giving the group greater flexibility in terms of survival strategies. The great majority of daily activities centered around the procuring of food. Both men and women engaged in fruit and honey gathering, fishing using *barbasco* (*chimbo*) vine or by hand in drying ponds, and the collection of fiber. There were women who knew how to use smaller bows for fishing, but hunting was, and continues to be, a male activity, particularly with the introduction of firearms. Women, however, accompany men on hunts, participate in tracking and calling animals, engage in hand kills, and assist in the transport of game back to camp. Men make bows and arrows and help collect firewood. Women make string, may assist in the cleaning of game, and share cooking tasks with men. Child care is also shared, although women spend many more hours than men in this activity, particularly when children are still nursing. While on trek, women transported infants as well as all household items such as arrow-making supplies, hammocks, fiber, and left-over food. Men hunted ahead of the group and watched for possible ambushes by Bolivians who frequented the forest. All camp tasks, particularly those requiring hard labor, were typically performed by or done with the assistance of slaves. Now that former slaves refuse to perform many of these tasks unless compensated, upper-caste (*saya*) men and women must meet these needs themselves.

## Kinship

**Kin Groups and Descent.** The band, a collection of interrelated nuclear families, is the basic unit of Yuqui social organization. There are no recognized groups larger than the band and no ceremonial occasions when all Yuqui gather. As noted earlier, even bands of related individuals may have hostile relations with one another as a result of quarrels that may have caused fissioning earlier. In tracing lines of kinship, it is apparent that the three extant bands of Yuqui now living at the Chimore are all directly related to each other through consanguineal ties. All three bands, then, can be traced to a larger, parent group that fissioned in the 1930s and then again in the 1950s as a result of internal stresses. Patrilineal descent may have been the normative rule, and vestiges of this are seen in the patterns of inherited leadership and the inheritance of slave status through the male line.

**Kinship Terminology.** Again, signs of an earlier, more complex and perhaps more typically Tupí form of social organization are apparent among the Yuqui. They may have had a Dravidian form of kinship terminology with preferential cross-cousin marriage in that they still recognize that "it is good" for a man to marry his sister's daughter. Because of severe depopulation, however, the Yuqui have for some time simply married anyone who does not specifically violate incest taboos. Incest is defined as sexual intercourse with one's parents, full siblings, and children of women with whom one has had sexual relations. In the latter case, the Yuqui have been less rigorous in enforcing this taboo, creating a situation where a man potentially could be married to his biological daughter. Kinship terminology falls into no specific category but is highly classificatory, with terms reflecting primarily differences in sex and relative age. The Yuqui differentiate terms of address from terms of reference.

## Marriage and Family

**Marriage.** The Yuqui are monogamous, but marriage can be unstable and it is common for both men and women to have pre- and extramarital affairs. In the past a marriage occurred when a man asked a woman's mother to make him a hammock. If she accepted, the completion of the hammock and its occupancy by the new couple signified that they were married. While the hammock was being made, the future mother-in-law could request meat and other favors from her future son-in-law, thus protracting the completion of the marriage hammock. Divorce was effected by one or the other spouse abandoning the conjugal hammock and taking up residence with someone else. As a result of mission influence, marriages are now much more stable, and there is somewhat less sexual activity outside of marriage.

**Domestic Unit.** The tendency was for a man to hang the conjugal hammock near his father's, suggesting patrilocality; in reality, this pattern varied a great deal since everyone slept in a single compact group, and social relations were constantly shifting, resulting in different arrangements of hammocks.

Missionary influence and sedentarism has created separate, nuclear-family households with permanent struc-

tures for individual families and marriages that are formally acknowledged with a Christian ceremony. Premarital sex is still common and usually precedes a marriage announcement. If a newlywed couple has not constructed a house before marriage, they will reside with either the bride's or groom's parents or other family members until they have their own home. Again, the man will prefer to live with his family or orientation; but since the Yuqui are all closely related, virtually any household offers residence with close kin.

**Inheritance.** Prior to contact, inheritance had little meaning to the Yuqui because there was virtually no property involved. At death, a person's belongings were discarded or destroyed. A young man might at most ask to keep an arrow or some other possession to remember his deceased father. Generally, possessions of the dead were avoided out of respect and fear of the deceased's spirit, including even hunting trails or fishing ponds that may have been frequented by the deceased. Today the Yuqui have many more items of value: clothing, knives, axes, shotguns, and other purchased articles. There is consequently less willingness among relatives to destroy these items; they are usually kept and then distributed by close family members to other kin who may request them.

**Socialization.** Children are indulged when very young and then given much less attention as they grow older and other children are born. By about age 4, they are expected to take on adult responsibility and may be left for long periods, two or three days at a time, to fend for themselves while their parents are off on a hunting trip. They begin to hunt, fish, and gather early, and not to expect to share their take with anyone. When children misbehave they are frequently struck by a parent or relative, with the hand or with any object within close range. A sharp word will also curb unacceptable behavior. It is not uncommon for Yuqui children to talk back to their parents or to tell them exactly how they feel at any given moment. This may be ignored, laughed at, or punished, depending on the mood of the parent.

## Sociopolitical Organization

**Social Organization.** As a band society with greatly reduced numbers, the Yuqui were organized in what appears to have been groups of individuals related through some original founding male or set of brothers and their slaves. Groups that fissioned in later years, events still recollected by the Yuqui, appear to have been formed along these lines. As the band became smaller and more isolated, intermarriage with close relatives became necessary, and even members of the uppercaste (*saya*) were forced to marry slaves (*enembaco*) in order to have partners. Within the band, households maintained discrete nuclear-family units. The husband was the dominant force in the family, but women also were able to exercise a certain amount of control through the withholding of sex, the threat of killing male children at birth, public humiliation, or by simply moving from the conjugal hammock to that of another male. The band generally traveled together, although at times individual families might separate for a few days to forage on their own. This type of separation occurred most commonly as the result of some dispute in camp.

**Political Organization.** The Yuqui show many of the egalitarian qualities of a band society in that leadership is, to a marked degree, consensual, at least for members of the upper caste. Slaves did not have the freedom to make their own decisions and their behavior was rigidly controlled. Moreover, the apparent tradition of having hereditary leadership pass through the male line gave these leaders (*papa*) somewhat greater power and influence than might normally be expected in a band-level society. At the time of contact and the death of the leader several months later, the missionaries selected and trained a new Yuqui leader. His power has not been successfully consolidated, and at least two additional potential leaders have emerged as the result of their abilities to deal with the outside world.

**Social Control.** Social control follows typical band-level organization in that it is fluid and informal. Gossip, humiliation, verbal and physical coercion, and withholding of food, sex, or other forms of gratification all enter into Yuqui forms of social control. Slaves were dominated from birth, and had little recourse but to accept their status in life. They performed most of the distasteful tasks around camp and were fed last and least. Slaves were reprimanded both verbally and physically. Wrestling by males and females remains an activity engaged in both for play and as a means of asserting dominance over an individual.

**Conflict.** Much of the daily existence of the Yuqui is marked by conflict, which as one Yuqui observed, in addition to resulting from stressed relations, may also be a source of entertainment. The Yuqui seem to delight in causing trouble for others of their group, often initiating problems by creating rumors about a person and then adding to the uproar as it spreads through camp. As a people who openly display emotion, the Yuqui usually confront an antagonist, guilty or not, with a great deal of arguing (with most of the remainder of the Yuqui standing by or taking sides), shouting, and crying, often culminating this display with a physical attack. These fights, in which both sexes may participate, may escalate to hair pulling, choking, scratching, and biting, frequently resulting in injury and profuse bleeding. The participants may ignore and avoid each other for days or even weeks, but eventually the propinquity of the group and the need to continue reciprocal obligations will bring the offenders together. In order to speed the process of returning the group to normalcy, a Yuqui may act as an intermediary, proposing an indemnity, usually food, to the wronged individual on behalf of the aggressor, which terminates the hostilities.

### *Religion and Expressive Culture*

**Religious Beliefs.** Again, as a result of probable deculturation, the Yuqui have only a rudimentary belief system. They are animists who practice sympathetic magic, which is reflected in most of their taboos, and concentrate many of their beliefs in supernatural beings on the spirits of the dead.

The Yuqui perceive the world as consisting of the earth, where the living reside, and the sky, where the dead live. The dead can also return to the earth, however, in the form of animals such as a small red bird, the *gurai*. At death, the Yuqui spirit divides into two entities, the *biague*

(“used-to-be person”), which is greatly feared since it becomes an *Aba* (White) and can cause sickness and death, and the *yirogue* (“used-to-be breath”), which is an ambivalent spirit that can heal or cause sickness.

In addition to the spirits of the dead, the Yuqui believe in two malevolent beings that inhabit the forest and can steal children or cause sickness and death, the *iguanda* and the *chochoi*. Both are considered to be invisible or to take the form of animals and are most likely to be encountered in the forest at night.

Taboos center around the age and condition of an individual. Pregnant women should not eat certain foods because they are likely to have a negative effect on the unborn child (i.e., eating any animal with “turned” feet—an anteater, a sloth—will cause a child to have club-foot). Small children are prohibited from eating certain game animals such as peccaries, whose meat leaves a greasy film on the inside of the mouth and which is therefore associated with a fungal infection, thrush. Older women who still menstruate may have a difficult time finding someone to provide meat while they are “behind leaves” (a screen of palm leaves erected for menstruating women) because no man who is younger than a menstruating woman is allowed to hunt for her.

**Religious Practitioners.** The Yuqui have no religious practitioners or keepers of specialized knowledge.

**Ceremonies.** There are few ceremonies among the Yuqui, and even these are not elaborate. Prior to contact, at the time of a girl’s first menses, the hair from her eyebrows and forehead was plucked and she was painted with *Genipa* juice to encourage the growth of pubic hair. If she had a mate at that time, he also was painted.

Chanting also occurred as group behavior during storms and at the time of death. The chant consisted of a high and a low note repeated continually over an extended period. The death chant is known as *jirase* and is the only chant still in use. The others, the *iyusumano* and *amay-aquia*, which were used to ward off wind and rain, are seldom heard now. These latter chants were also accompanied by striking arrows against the bow stave in rhythm with the chant. A type of dance in which men and women grasped each other’s arms behind the back and chanted was also known prior to contact, as was a mournful type of singing used during drinking bouts, when the Yuqui consumed mead. Because these activities are seen to conflict with their teachings, the missionaries have discouraged their continuation.

**Arts.** Other than those articles manufactured for daily use, the Yuqui practice no arts.

**Medicine.** All sicknesses and deaths are believed to have some supernatural cause, usually attributed to the wandering spirits of dead Yuqui. These adverse events were usually dealt with by some attempt to propitiate the spirits through chanting. The Yuqui have knowledge of approximately ninety useful plant taxa (not a great many when compared to other Amazonian peoples), but very few are used for medicinal purposes. The Yuqui do not appear to have a well-developed pharmacopoeia, and no one in the group has any specialized knowledge concerning the use of herbal remedies. The two principal plants used are *urucú*



and *dija*, both of which have ritual as well as medical uses. Modern pharmaceuticals dispensed at the mission have replaced virtually all traditional medicine.

**Death and Afterlife.** The Yuqui believe that the spirit or soul escapes through the mouth. Thus, when someone is gravely ill or at the time of impending death, the Yuqui will blow on a person or suck up his or her saliva to prevent the soul from leaving the body. The *jirase* is chanted as a means of warding off death, but will be continued if death occurs. Upon death, the Yuqui destroy personal items of the deceased, there is a great deal of crying, mucus streams from the nose of mourners and is wiped on their hair, and fasting by close relatives begins. Prior to missionary presence, the Yuqui wrapped the body in large palm mats and constructed a palm-frond tipi over the corpse, then the group moved on. Later, when the body had completely decomposed, perhaps the skull and a few long bones would be collected, painted red with *urucú*, and carried around in a small basket for a period of time to prevent sickness and supernatural harm.

With missionary instruction, the Yuqui now bury the dead, placing banana leaves above and below the corpse. Graves are unmarked—the Yuqui do not wish to be reminded of the dead. The name of the deceased must not be mentioned. If a child is born who greatly resembles someone who has died, however, it is thought to be that person's reincarnation. Thus, the infant will receive the name of the deceased Yuqui. Grave-side prayers conducted by the missionaries and the religious leader trained by them typically accompany burial.

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ALLYN MacLEAN STEARMAN

## Yuracaré

ETHNONYMS: Conis, Cuchis, Enetes

The Yuracaré Indians live in the region of the Sucre, Ichilo, and Chaparé rivers in the Beni and Cochabamba departments of Bolivia. Estimates of their population vary from 1,500 to 2,500. The Yuracaré are composed of two mutually hostile subgroups, the Soloto and the Mansiño; another subgroup, the Oromo, was killed off by the Mansiño. In the nineteenth century their territory ranged from 16° to 17° S and from 63° to 66° W and included part of the department of Santa Cruz. The Yuracaré language is an isolate. One of the earliest contacts between the Yuracaré and Whites took place in the seventeenth century, when the Yuracaré attacked Spanish villages in the regions of Mizque and Cochabamba. Missions were not popular among the Yuracaré, and the missionaries abandoned many of them. The Yuracaré population is now increasing after a great decline in the nineteenth century. Today, the Yuracaré live by subsistence horticulture, by foraging, and by selling handicrafts for cash.

The Yuracaré traditionally obtained their livelihood by horticulture, fishing, and hunting. In gardens located in fertile forest soil at some distance from their houses, the Yuracaré raise their staples—sweet manioc, maize, and bananas—as well as sweet potatoes, gourds, watermelons, *hualusa* (*Colocasia esculente*), papayas, pineapples, cayenne pepper, cotton, and tobacco. The practice of horticulture once occasioned magical practices involving singing and dancing and the observance of various taboos, such as the one prohibiting the consumption of peccary meat. It was also taboo to be in proximity to a field until the crops were ripe, and this is why fields were located away from the houses. Hunting was done with dogs, bows and arrows, snares, and traps. Men who hunted well gained prestige. The Yuracaré moved to a new location when the local supply of game or *tembé* palms was about to be exhausted, as well as when a member of the group died. Movement occurred when the *tembé* fruit was ripe (i.e., when a food supply was available while they were waiting for their crops to mature). Fishing was also important and was done with bows and arrows. In the early nineteenth century, Yuracaré people found the flesh of domesticated animals disgusting and did not eat them; later, they raised chickens. They traditionally did not use canoes but swam rivers on a piece of wood. By the twentieth century, however, they were renowned for making dugout canoes, which they used on long river voyages. They used cotton nets as well as baskets made of *motacu*-palm leaves for carrying and storage. Women made pottery but while so engaged were forced to observe a variety of taboos.

The traditional Yuracaré house was a large gabled roof that reached to the ground and was open at both ends. Later, they adopted the rectangular huts used by mestizos. Each village once had a men's house where men made weapons and ate and which women could not enter. The Yuracaré furnish their houses with mats that are covered

with bark-cloth mosquito nets, and with bark-cloth hammocks that are used as cradles for babies. The Yuracaré dress in bark-cloth tunics, using bark from the *bibosi* and other trees. They once removed all of their body and facial hair but let the hair on their heads grow long.

Each Yuracaré group is made up of one or several nuclear families, and each is completely independent of the others. The political head is the family head, and his authority is limited to his own group. Most disputes, which usually involved sex or sorcery, were resolved through duels in which the disputants shot arrows (which could cause deep wounds but not death) at each other's shoulders. Suicide was a common response to incurable disease or humiliation.

Girls were secluded for four days when they entered puberty, following which they covered their heads for six months and could not speak to men. After this, however, girls had sexual freedom, although they usually married within a short period of time. A man could marry only when the intended bride's parents were convinced that he could support her. Marriage was largely endogamous within the group, and exceptions required the payment of a bride-price. Incest prohibitions extended only to relatives one degree removed. Polygyny was possible but rare. Divorce,

which was easily obtained, was usually caused by the husband failing to provide well for his family. The Yuracaré killed all illegitimate and malformed children. In addition, abortion was common, and family size was strictly limited. When a Yuracaré was near death, he or she was taken to a special house in the forest. There, the moribund decided on the disposition of his or her property and accepted messages from others to the previously deceased.

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## Appendix

### Additional South American Indian Cultures

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This is a listing of South American Indian groups not already covered in the body of the encyclopedia. Included here are groups that are believed to be distinct cultures, either by themselves or by outside observers. Not included are named subgroups of larger groups, clan groups, or dialect groups. In addition to the name of the group, also listed are the major ethnonyms, location (coordinates indicate the center of the the group's territory), recent population, and language group. This information is taken from *Índice y mapa de grupos etnolingüísticos autóctonos de América del Sur* (Index and map of contemporary South American indigenous peoples) by Manuel Lizarralde (Caracas: Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales, Instituto Caribe de Antropología y Sociología, 1993).

**Achawa** (Achagua, Xagua) A group numbering 80 people located at 4° N and 73° W in Colombia who speak a Maipuran language.

**Aikaná** (Corumbiar, Huarí, Kasupá, Korumbiara, Masaka, Mundé, Uari) A group numbering 80, located at 13° S and 60° W in Brazil who speak a Warian language.

**Akurio** (Acuria, Akuliyo, Oyaricoulet, Tiriyo, Wama, Wanama, Wayaculé) A group numbering 45 located at 2° N and 55° W in Suriname who speak a Kariban language.

**Amanayé** (Amanajé, Arandeuara, Manajo, Mananyé, Tenetehara) A group numbering 50 located at 4° S and 49° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Andoa** (Kayapwe, Konambo, Saparo, Semigae, Shimagae, Zápara) A group numbering 6 people in Ecuador and 100 in Peru, located at 3° S and 76° W and 1° S and 74° W who speak a Saparoan language.

**Andoke** (Andoque, Paásiáha) A group numbering between 75 and 130 in Colombia and 10 in Peru, located at 0° and 73° W who speak an isolated language.

**Apinayé** Also called the Western Timbira, they number 508 people and are located at 6° S and 48° W in Brazil who speak a Macro-Gê language.

**Arabela** (Sapáro, Tapueyocuaca, Zaparo) A group numbering 105 located at 2° S and 75° W in Peru who speak a Saparoan language.

**Araona** (Takana) A group numbering 65 people located at 12° S and 67° W in Bolivia who speak a Takanan language.

**Arapaso** (Arapaço-Tapuya) they number 258 persons, are located at 0° and 68° W in Brazil and speak a Tukanan language.

**Arára Parirí** (Apiaká del Rio Tocantin, Arara, Arára do Pará) A group numbering 72 located at 4° S and 58° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language. "Arára" means both "parrot" and "dumb people" in Portuguese and is thus a derogatory name.

**Aruá** A group of unknown population located at 12° S and 64° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Atakama** (Atacameño, Cunza, Kunsa) A possibly extinct group in Chile.

**Atikū** A group numbering 1,300 located at 3° S and 39° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Atroarí** (Atroahí, Atruahí) A group numbering 350 located at 0° and 60° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language.

**Avá-Canoeiro** (Canoeiro) A group numbering 101 located at 13° S and 49° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Awaete** (Asurini, Xingu) A group numbering 53 located at 4° S and 51° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Awano** (Aguano) A group number about 200 located at 5° S and 76° W in Peru and speaking an unclassified language.

**Awetí** (Auetí, Auetö) A group numbering 36 located at 13° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Banawá** (Banavá-Jafí) A group numbering 80 located at 8° S and 68° W in Brazil who speak an Arawan language.

**Barasana** (Barásana, Barasano, Barazana, Hanena, Taiwano) A group numbering 300 in Colombia and 43 in Brazil located at 0° and 70° W who speak a Tukanoan language.

**Baré** (Arihini-Baré, Balé, Bare, Inhini-Baré) A group numbering 1,265 in Venezuela and 23 in Brazil located at 2° N and 67° W who speak a Maipuran language.

**Bendyapá** (Djapa, Hon-dyapá, Tucundiapa, Tukun-Dyapá, Tzun Huan Djapá) A group numbering 37 located at 6° S and 69° W in Brazil who speak a Katukinan language.

**Bintukua** (Arawako, Arhuaco, Bintukua, Ica, Ihka, Ijca, Ijka) A group numbering 3,000 located at 11° N and 74° W in Colombia who speak a Chibchan language.

**Bora** (Boro Muinane, Boro, Miraña) A group numbering 400 in Colombia and 1,000 in Peru, located at 3° S and 73° W on the Colombia-Peru border. They speak a Boran language.

**Chamikuro** (Chamicuro) A group numbering 150 located at 6° S and 76° W in Peru who speak a Maipuran language.

**Chane** (Cashquiha, Enelhit, Guaná, Kaskija) A group numbering 440 located at 22° S and 63° W in Paraguay who speak a Maipuran language.

**Chayawita** (Canpo piyapi, Kawapana) A group numbering 6,000 located at 6° S and 76° W in Peru who speak a Kawapanan language.

**Chibcha** (Mosca, Muexcas, Muica, Mwiska, Mwüska) A group located at 5° N and 74° W in Colombia who formerly spoke a Chibchan language.

**Chikão** (Chicao, Txikao) A group numbering 107 located at 11° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language.

**Cujareño** A group numbering 100 located at 11° S and 72° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.

**Dení** (Daní, Deni-Jamamadi) A group numbering 560 located at 7° S and 67° W in Brazil who speak an Arawan language.

**Galibí** (Carib, Marworna, Kalina) A group numbering 5,606 in Brazil, 2,850 in French Guiana, and 2,400 in Suriname located at 5° N and 53° W who speak a Kariban language.

**Gavião** (Cabeças Secas, Ikôrô, Zoró) A group numbering 220 located at 10° S and 62° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.

**Guajá** A group numbering 240 located at 3° S and 47° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.

**Guató** A group numbering 220 located at 18° S and 57° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**HãHãHã** (Ha Ha Hae, Patashó) A group numbering 1,270 located at 15° S and 39° W in Brazil who spoke a Mashakalian language but now speak only Portuguese.

**Héta** (Ivaparé, Setá, Shetá, Xetá) A group numbering 5

persons located at 24° S and 57° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.

**Himarimã** (Coxodoa, Mirimã) An isolated group of unknown population located at 7° S and 66° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Hishkariana** (Abui, Babui, Chawiyana, Faruaru, Katuema, Parukoto, Sakaka, Totoimo, Uabui, Wabui) A group numbering 308 located at 2° S and 58° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language.

**Hupda** (Jupda, Maku, Ubde-Nahèrn, Ubde Tukano) A group numbering 1,431 in Brazil and 500 in Colombia located at 0° and 68° W and 1° N and 70° W who speak a Puinavan language.

**Ikito** (Iquito) A group numbering 150 located at 4° S and 75° W in Peru who speak a Sapanoan language.

**Iksonawa** (Iscobaquebu, Isconahua) A group numbering 17 located at 8° S and 74° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.

**Ingarikó** (Igalikó, Kapóng, Kowatingok) A group numbering 459 in Brazil and an unknown number in Guyana located at 5° N and 60° W who speak a Kariban language.

**Iranshe** (Iranche, Irántxe, Münkü, Mynky) A group numbering 171 located at 13° S and 57° W in Brazil who speak an independent language.

**Jabuti** (Arikapú, Jaavotí, Yabotí) A group numbering 441 located at 12° S and 63° W in Brazil who speak an independent language.

**Jamamadi** (Yaminahua) A group numbering 450 located at 8° S and 68° W in Brazil who speak an Arawan language.

**Jurúna** (Yuruná) A group numbering 126 located at 11° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.

**Jurutí** (Juriti, Patsoka, Wahyára, Yuruti) A group numbering between 150 and 200 in Colombia and 35 in Brazil located at 0° and 70° W and who speak a Tukanoan language.

**Kaimbé** (Caimbé) A group numbering 1,400 located at 10° S and 38° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Kamayurá** (Camayura) A group numbering 207 located at 12° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.

**Kambiwá** A group numbering 350 located at 8° S and 38° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Kamsá** (Camsa, Coche, Kamsé, Sibundoy) A group numbering 3,000 located at 1° N and 77° W in Colombia who speak an unclassified language.

**Kanamantí** A group numbering 130 located at 7° S and 66° W in Brazil who speak an Arawan language.

**Kanamari** (Canamari, Tawari) A group numbering 647 located at 7° S and 68° W and 6° S and 71° W in Brazil who speak a Katukinan language.

**Kanoé** (Canoê, Capishana, Kanishana) A group numbering 20 located at 13° S and 61° W in Brazil who speak an independent language.

**Kapanawa** (Capanahua, Nawa, Nuquencaibo) A group numbering 400 located at 7° S and 74° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.

**Kapiwana** A group numbering 260 located at 8° S and 37° W in Brazil who now all speak Portuguese.

**Karabayo** (Carabayo, Macusa, Macú) An uncontacted group numbering an estimated 250 located at 2° S and 70° W in Colombia who speak an unclassified language.

**Karapana** (Carapana, Mútea) A group numbering 250 in Colombia and 49 in Brazil located at 0° and 71° W who speak a Tukanoan language.

**Karitiana** (Caratiana) A group numbering 109 located at 10° S and 65° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Kashararí** (Kaxararí) A group numbering 110 located at 9° S and 66° W in Brazil who speak a Panoan language.

**Katawishí** (Catauxi, Katawixi) A group numbering 10 located at 7° S and 65° W in Brazil who speak a Katukinan language.

**Katukina** (Catuquina, Curina, Pidá-Djapá) A group numbering 253 located at 4° S and 67° W in Brazil who speak a Katukinan language.

**Katukina Acre** (Cutukina, Curina, Wanináwa) A group numbering 353 located at 8° S and 72° W in Brazil who speak a Panoan language.

**Kavinenya** (Caviña) A group numbering 1,000 located at 13° S and 67° W in Bolivia who speak a Takanan language.

**Kawarano** (Cahuarano) A group numbering 5 people located at 4° S and 74° W in Peru who speak a Saparoan language.

**Kawe'skar** (Alacaluf, Halakwalip, Qawashqar) A group numbering 47 located at 49° S and 73° W in Chile who speak an independent language.

**Kayabí** (Cayabí, Kajabí) A group numbering 620 located at 11° S and 53° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Kayapa** (Cayapa, Chachi) A group numbering 3,000 located at 1° N and 79° W in Ecuador who speak a Barbaokan language.

**Kayuvava** (Caravaya, Cayubaba) A group numbering between 30 and 50 located at 13° S and 66° W in Bolivia who speak an unclassified language.

**Kilemoka** A group numbering 20 located at 16° S and 62° W in Bolivia who speak an unclassified language.

**Kirirí** (Cariri, Kiriri-Xuco) A group numbering 1,800 located at 10° S and 38° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.

**Koayá** (Arara) A group numbering 7 who live with the

Aikana at 13° S and 60° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Kofán** A group numbering 600 located at 0° and 76° W in Ecuador who speak an unclassified language.

**Korewahe** (Coreguaje, Tama) A group numbering 500 located at 1° N and 75° W in Colombia who speak a Tukanoan language.

**Korubo** A group numbering 500 located at 5° S and 70° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Kreen Akerôre** (Ipewi) A group numbering 83 located at 11° S and 53° W in Brazil who speak a Gê language.

**Kujubi** (Cujibi, Migueleno) A group numbering 50 located at 12° S and 63° W in Brazil who speak a Chapakuran language.

**Kusikia** A group numbering 10 located at 16° S and 62° W in Bolivia, who speak an unclassified language.

**Leko** (Lapalapa, Leco) A group numbering 200 located at 15° S and 68° W in Bolivia who speak a Lekoan language.

**Lokono** (Arawak) A group of 7,378 located at 6° N and 58° W in French Guiana (300) Guyana (5,000), Suriname (2,000), and Venezuela (78) who speak an Arawakan (Maipuran) language.

**Makarap** (Macurap) A group numbering 215 located at 12° S and 64° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Máku** (Mácu, Mako) A group numbering 10 located at 3° N and 61° W in Brazil who speak an independent language.

**Malayo** (Arasario, Guamaca, Marocasero, Sanco, Sanja, Wamaka) A group numbering 4,000 located at 11° N and 73° W in Colombia who speak a Chibchan language.

**Mamorí** (Mamoria) A group numbering 12 located at 6° S and 65° W in Brazil who speak an Arawan language.

**Marajona** A group of unknown population located at 3° S and 66° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Marworna** (Aruã, Galibí) A group numbering 860 located at 4° N and 52° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language.

**Maskoi** (Angaité, Enlhiy, Frentones) A group numbering 1,395 located in a number of communities between 22° S and 24 to 58° W in Paraguay who speak a Maskoian language.

**Mastanawa** (Mastanahua) A group numbering 150 located at 10° S and 71° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.

**Matanawí** (Morerebí) A group of unknown population located at 8° S and 61° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

**Matipuhi** (Matipuhy, Matipui) A group numbering 40 located at 12° S and 54° W in Brazil. They are possibly a subgroup of the Bakairi and speak a Kariban language.

- Matis** A group numbering 141 located at 6° S and 71° W in Brazil. They were formerly a subgroup of the Mayoruna, but are now considered by some scholars to be a distinct group. They speak a Panoan language.
- Mawé** (Andirá, Arapium, Maragua, Maué, Satere) A group numbering 3,000 located at 4° S and 57° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.
- Maya** A group numbering 135 located at 5° S and 71° W in Brazil who speak a Panoan language.
- Mekë** (Amniapé) A group numbering 50 located at 12° S and 63° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.
- Meneka** (Huitoto Meneca) A group numbering 100 in Peru and between 500 and 1,500 in Colombia located at 0° and 75° W and 2° S and 73° W who speak a Witotoan language.
- Miranya** (Mirana, Mirane) A group located at 3° S and 65° W numbering 457 in Brazil and between 100 and 200 in Colombia who speak a Witotoan language.
- Mondé** (Salamay) A group of unknown population located at 12° S and 61° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.
- Morunawa** (Foredafa, Horudahua) A group numbering 150 located at 10° S and 72° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.
- Muinane** (Moenane) A group numbering between 50 and 100 located at 1° S and 72° W in Colombia and Peru who speak a Boran language.
- Munichi** A group of unknown population located at 6° S and 77° W in Peru who speak a Munichian language.
- Münkü** (Mynky) A subgroup of the Iranshe numbering 34 located at 12° S and 58° W in Brazil who speak an independent language.
- Mura** (Mura-Piraha) A group numbering 1,340 located at 6° S and 61° W in Brazil who speak a Muran language.
- Nahukuá** (Nafukua) A group numbering 83 located at 12° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language.
- Neenoã** (Miriti, Miriti-Tapuia) A group numbering 49 located at 0° and 70° W in Brazil who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Ntogapíd** (Kawahib, Urumí) A group numbering 95 located at 9° S and 61° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.
- Nukuini** A group numbering 238 located at 7° S and 68° W in Brazil who speak a Panoan language.
- Numbiai** (Orelha de Pau) A group numbering 50 located at 8° S and 60° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.
- Ofayé** A group numbering 23 located at 22° S and 56° W in Brazil who speak a Macro-Gê language.
- Okaina** (Dukaiya, Ibo'tsa, Ocaine) A group numbering 250 located at 3° S and 73° W in Peru who speak a Witotoan language.
- Omawa** (Kambeba, Omogua) A group numbering 600 in Peru and 240 in Brazil located at 4° S and 73° W who speak a Tupían language.
- Oyampi** (Carajuwa, Oaiampi, Tamokomes, Waiampí, Wayampí) A group numbering 291 in Brazil and 666 in French Guiana and located at 3° N and 52° W and 1° N and 53° W who speak a Tupían language.
- Pakawara** A group numbering 9 located at 10° S and 66° W in Bolivia who speak a Panoan language.
- Pankararé** (Jiripancoh) A group numbering 1,800 located at 9° S and 38° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Pankararú** (Branccararú) A group numbering 4,000 located at 9° S and 38° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Papavô** A group of unknown population located at 9° S and 72° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.
- Parakanã** (Akwawa, Awareté, Yuariti Tapiiya) A group numbering 297 located at 5° S and 53° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.
- Paresí** (Cashiniti, Cozárini, Halití, Kashiniti, Waimare) A group numbering 631 located at 14° S and 58° W in Brazil who speak a Maipuran language.
- Patamona** (Arenakotte, Kapóng, Paramuna, Waika) A group numbering 3,500 located at 4° N and 59° W in Guyana who speak a Kariban language.
- Patashó** (Coropo, Cutashó, Kamakan) A group numbering 1,762 located at 17° S and 39° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Paumarí** (Juberí, Puru-Purú, Yuberí) A group numbering 280 located at 8° S and 65° W in Brazil who speak an Arawan language. The three named subgroups are the Pammari, Kurukuru, and Uaiiai.
- Pawnaka** A group numbering 180 located at 16° S and 62° W in Bolivia who speak an unclassified language.
- Payawá** (Boruca, Coto, Koto, Maai, Orejon) A group numbering 200 located at 3° S and 73° W in Peru who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Pilagá** (Guacurure, Toba-Pilagá) A group numbering 1,148 located at 25° S and 60° W in Argentina who speak a Waikuruan language.
- Pirá** (Piratapuia, Uaicama, Waikána, Waikino) A group numbering 450 in Colombia and 618 in Brazil located at 1° N and 69° W who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Pirahã** (Múra-Pirahã) A group numbering 200 located at 8° S and 62° W in Brazil who speak a Muran language.
- Pisabo** (Pitsobu) A group of unknown population located at 6° S and 74° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.
- Potiguara** A group numbering 4,000 located at 7° S and 35° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.

- Poyanawa** (Pacanawa) A group numbering 227 located at 8° S and 73° W in Brazil who speak a Panoan language.
- Pukobyé** (Gaviões, Krenjé) A Timbira group numbering 306 located at 5° S and 47° W in Brazil who speak a Gê language.
- Puruborá** (Buruburá) A group of unknown population located at 12° S and 62° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.
- Remo** (Rhenó) A group of unknown population located at 5° S and 73° W in Peru who speak a Panoan language.
- Retuna** (Datuana, Letoama, Tanimuca) A group numbering between 60 and 100 located at 0° and 71° W in Colombia who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Salumã** (Enawenê-nawê) A group numbering 154 located at 13° S and 60° W in Brazil who speak a Maipuran language.
- Sapé** (Caliana, Kaliana) A group numbering 9 located at 5° N and 63° W in Venezuela who speak an Arutani-Kaliana language.
- Saraveka** A group of unknown population located at 14° S and 61° W in Bolivia who speak an unclassified language.
- Shakriabá** (Akwén, Chicriabá, Xakriabá) A group numbering 3,500 located at 15° S and 44° W in Brazil who speak a Gê language.
- Shokó** (Chocó, Xoko) A group numbering 170 located at 10° S and 37° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Shokó-Kariri** (Xoko-Kariri) A group numbering 700 located at 10° S and 37° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Shukurú** (Ichikile, Xukuru) A group numbering 3,000 located at 8° S and 37° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Shukurú-Kariri** (Xukuru-Kariri) A group numbering 900 located at 8° S and 37° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Siriano** (Chirauánga, Püimiwã, Siriana) A group numbering 550 located at 1° N and 71° W in Colombia who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Tadó** (Chamí, Choko, Katio, Novita, Panduro) A group numbering 1,000 located at 5° N and 76° W in Colombia who speak a Chokoan language.
- Tapayuna** (Beíço do Pau, Timaoán) A group numbering 31 located at 11° S and 53° W in Brazil who speak a Gê language.
- Tapeba** A group numbering 200 located at 3° S and 39° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Tapieté** (Guaraní, Guasurango, Nhandéva) A group numbering 40 to 50 in Bolivia and 1,125 in Paraguay located at 23° S and 60° W who speak a Tupian language.
- Tariana** (Iyemi, Maipura, Newiki, Taliaseri, Yavi) A group numbering 1,586 in Brazil and 9 in Venezuela located at 0° and 69° W who speak a Maipuran language.
- Taushiro** (Ite'chi) A group numbering 12 or possibly extinct located at 2° S and 76° W in Peru who speak a Saparoan language.
- Tembé** (Pinaren, Tenetehára, Timbé) A group numbering 410 located at 2° S and 47° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.
- Teteté** (Teitete) A group numbering 2 in Ecuador and an unknown population in Colombia located at 0° and 76° W who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Tewelche** (Tehuelche) A group numbering 52 located at 48° S and 68° W in Argentina who speak a Chon language.
- Tingi** (Carapoto, Tngui-Boto) A group numbering 800 located at 10° S and 37° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Torá** A group numbering 256 located at 6° S and 62° W in Brazil who speak a Chapakuran language.
- Toyoneri** (Harákmbut, Toyori, Tuyoneiri) A group numbering 20 located at 12° S and 71° W in Peru who speak a Harakmbutan language.
- Tremembé** A group of unknown population located at 3° S and 40° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.
- Truka** A group numbering 375 located at 8° S and 39° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Trumai** A group numbering 71 located at 11° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Trumai language.
- Tucano** (Tukano, Arapaso, Tucuna, Tukuna) A group located at 1° N and 70° W numbering 2,000 in Colombia and 2,635 in Brazil who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Tupinikin** (Tupinakí) A group numbering 582 located at 20° S and 40° W in Brazil who speak a Tupian language.
- Tushá** A group numbering 500 located at 8° S and 39° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.
- Tuyuka** (Dochkafuara, Dohká-poára, Tejuca) A group numbering 300 in Colombia and 465 in Brazil located at 0° and 70° W who speak a Tukanoan language.
- Txikão** (Chicao, Chikão, Chikáon) A group numbering 107 located at 11° S and 54° W in Brazil who speak a Kariban language.
- Urarina** (Chambira, Itucaliu, Shimacu) A group numbering 2,000 located at 4° S and 76° W in Peru who speak a Shimakuan language.
- Uru** (Kotsuny, Uro) A group numbering 750 located at 19° S and 67° W in Bolivia who now speak only Quechua or Spanish.
- Uruak** (Aoaqui, Awake, Aweke) A group numbering 17 in Brazil and 9 in Venezuela located at 4° N and 63° W who speak an Arutani-Kaliana language.

**Urubu-Kaapor** A group numbering 434 located in Brazil at 3° S and 47° W who speak a Tupían language.

**Urueuwawáú** A group numbering 215 located at 11° S and 64° W in Brazil who speak a Tupi-Guaranian language.

**Urupá** (Arupá, Gurupá, Jarú) A group numbering 150 located at 12° S and 63° W in Brazil who speak a Chapakuran language.

**Vilela** A group numbering 75 located at 27° S and 59° W in Argentina who speak a Vilelan language.

**Wachipaeri** (Huachipaire) A group numbering 200 located at 13° S and 72° W in Peru who speak a Harakmbutan language.

**Wanáí** (Cuacua, Iguanito, Iuwana, Mapayo, Mopoi, Nepoyo) A group numbering 76 located at 6° N and 67° W in Venezuela who now speak only Spanish.

**Wao** (Auca) A group numbering 675 located at 1° S and between 77° and 78° W in Ecuador who speak Sabelan.

**Warekena** (Guarekena, Kadawapuritana, Kuisí-tapúya, Túke-dákenei, Uarekena, Werekena) A group numbering 316 in Venezuela and 338 in Brazil located at 2° N and 67° W who speak a Maipuran language.

**Wari** (Orowari, Paca Nova, Paxas Novas) A group numbering 1,147 located at 12° S and 64° W in Brazil who speak a Chapakuran language.

**Wariva** (Guaríba, Makú Guariba) A group numbering 180 located at 2° S and 68° W in Brazil who speak a Puinavan language.

**Wasu** A group numbering 1,250 located at 9° S and 36° W in Brazil who now speak only Portuguese.

**Wayana** (Ajana, Alucuyana, Guaque, Ojana, Orcocoyana, Pirixi, Urukueña, Waiano) A group numbering 450 in French Guiana and 170 in Suriname located at 2° N and 55° W and 150 in Brazil at 3° N and 55° W who speak a Kariban language.

**Wayoró** (Ajuru, Apichum) A group numbering 40 located at 12° S and 64° W in Brazil who speak a Tupían language.

**Yahup** (Diyhup Maku, Makú) A group numbering 300 located at 0° and 70° N in Brazil who speak a Puinavan language.

**Yamána** (Yagham, Yagan) A group numbering 7 in Argentina and 17 in Chile located at 54° S and 72° W who speak an isolated language.

**Yarí** (Jari) A group numbering from 200 to 500 located at 1° N and 71° W in Colombia who speak an unclassified language.

**Yavarana** (Curashicuna, Curasicana, Montero, Wokiare, Yauarana) A group numbering 155 located at 5° N and 66° W in Venezuela who speak a Kariban language.

**Yavitero** (Parene, Yavarete, Yavitano) A group numbering 5 located at 3° N and 68° W in Venezuela who speak a Maipuran language.

**Yawanawa** (Iauanauá) A group numbering 196 located at 9° S and 72° W in Brazil who speak a Panoan language.

**Yurukarika** A group numbering 2 located at 16° S and 62° W in Bolivia who speak an unclassified language.

**Zuruahã** A group numbering 130 located at 7° S and 66° W in Brazil who speak an unclassified language.

MANUEL LIZARRALDE



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 Waiano—Wayana  
 Waika—Patamona  
 Waikána—Pirá  
 Waikino—Pirá  
 Waimare—Paresí  
 Wama—Akurio  
 Wamaka—Malayo  
**Wanáí**  
 Wanama—Akurio  
 Wanináwa—Katukina Acre  
**Wao**  
**Warekena**  
**Wari**  
**Wariva**  
**Wasu**  
 Wayaculé—Akurio  
 Wayampí—Oyampi  
**Wayana**  
**Wayoró**

Werekena—Warekena  
Wokiare—Yavarana

Xagua—Achawa  
Xakriabá—Shakriabá  
Xetá—Héta  
Xingu—Awaete  
Xoko—Shokó  
Xoko-Kariri—Shokó-Kariri  
Xukuru—Shukurú  
Xukuru-Kariri—Shukurú-  
Kariri

Yabotí—Jabutí  
Yagan—Yamána  
Yagham—Yamána  
Yahup  
Yamána  
Yaminahua—Jamamádi  
Yarí  
Yauriti Tapiiya—Parakanã  
Yauarana—Yavarana  
Yavarana  
Yavarete—Yavitero  
Yavi—Tariana

Yavitano—Yavitero  
Yavitero  
Yawanawa  
Yuberí—Paumari  
Yurukarika  
Yuruná—Jurúna  
Yuruti—Jurutí  
  
Zápara—Andoa  
Zaparo—Arabela  
Zoró—Gavião  
Zuruahã

## Glossary

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**achiote** A reddish purple dye made from the fruit of the annatto (*Bixa orellana*).

**affine** A relative by marriage.

**age grade** A social category composed of persons who fall within a culturally defined age range.

**agnatic descent.** See patrilineal descent

**aine.** See ayni

**ambilineal descent** The practice of tracing kinship affiliation through either the male or the female line.

**ancestor spirits** Ghosts of deceased relatives who are believed to have supernatural powers that can influence the lives of the living.

**animal husbandry.** See pastoralism

**animism** A belief in spiritual beings.

**autochthones** The indigenous inhabitants of a region. Often used to refer to the native inhabitants encountered by European explorers or settlers.

**avunculocal residence** The practice of a newly married couple residing in the community or household of the husband's mother's brother.

**ayahuasca** A hallucinogenic beverage prepared from the stem of the vine *Banisteriopsis caapi*.

**ayllu** A social unit of the Inca period that may have begun as a unilineal, probably patrilineal, kinship unit but later evolved, owing to conquest and population displacements, into a primarily territorial unit of several unrelated kinship groups.

**ayni** A Quechua word designating the practice of loaning goods or performing services with the expectation of receiving back in kind.

**barbasco** A collective Spanish American name for various plants used to stupefy fish in the streams and ponds of tropical South America.

**berdache** A person who dresses and acts like a member of the opposite sex and is often regarded as such by members of the community.

**bilateral descent** The practice of tracing kinship affiliation more or less equally through both the male and the female line.

**blowgun** A weapon constructed of a long length of wood with a bore down the center, through which curare-tipped and nonpoisonous wooden darts or other objects are projected by a puff of the shooter's breath. See also curare

**bride-price** The practice of a groom or his kin giving substantial property or wealth to the bride's kin before, at the time of, or after marriage.

**bride-service** The practice of a groom performing work for his wife's kin for a set period of time either before or after marriage.

**bride-wealth.** See bride-price

**cabildo** A village or town council composed of a hierarchy of officeholders in countries that were formerly Spanish colonies.

**caboclo** A Brazilian peasant or rural person, usually of mixed White, Black, and Indian ancestry.

**cacique** A village chief or petty king; in modern usage, a political boss.

**CALHA Norte Project** A project, directed by the National Security Council of Brazil, to coordinate the diverse sectors and agencies of the country in an effort to settle 14 percent of the Brazilian population north of the Amazon.

**cassava** A plant of the genus *Manihot* (also known as manihot, manioc, tapioca, and yuca), cultivated by aboriginal farmers for its nutritious starch roots.

**chicha** A fermented beverage (also known as cashiri or cashiri) made from cassava or maize.

**clan** A group of unilineally affiliated kin who usually reside in the same community and share common property.

**classificatory kin terms** Kinship terms such as "aunt" that designate several categories of distinct relatives such as mother's sister and father's sister.

**cognates** Words that belong to different languages but have similar sounds and meanings.

**collaterals** A person's relatives, not related to him or her as ascendants or descendants; one's uncle, aunt, cousin, brother, sister, nephew, niece.

**compadrazgo** A relationship between godparents and godchildren and between godparents and their godchildren's true parents that serves to expand the social network of the individuals involved beyond that based on biological kinship. *See also* fictive kinship

**consanguine** A relative by blood (birth).

**cousin, cross** Children of one's parent's siblings of the opposite sex—one's father's sisters' and mother's brothers' children.

**cousin, parallel** Children of one's parent's siblings of the same sex—one's father's brothers' and mother's sisters' children.

**couvade** A form of customary behavior (also known as "men's childbed") in which the husband of a woman pregnant with his child observes certain taboos and restrictions believed to be beneficial for the child and otherwise behaves as though he were pregnant; he may take to bed, enter into seclusion, experience labor pain, and so on.

**creole** A general, inconsistently used term usually applied to a spoken language or dialect that is based on grammatical and lexical features combined from two or more natural languages. It is a first language, distinct from a pidgin.

**criollo** A native-born South American with European ancestry; in many countries of South America, criollos are a social category distinct from Indians, mestizos, and Europeans.

**cross cousin.** *See* cousin, cross

**cult** The beliefs, ideas, and activities associated with the worship of a supernatural force or its representations, as in an ancestor cult or a bear cult.

**culture hero** In the mythology of a people, a mythic personage (human or animal) who is regarded as the bringer of their culture. In South America he is often the first ancestor or the creator of the world (in part or as a whole) who in primordial times wandered about a people's land performing miracles and great deeds. He created through the agency of metamorphosis and was wont to change the shapes of the objective world, of animals, and of humans. To the actions of their respective culture heroes societies often affirm to owe important resources, food plants, crafts or technological innovations, as well as social and religious practices and institutions. In the mythologies of some societies, the transformer and benefactor roles of the culture hero blend with the similar roles of his sons, the twin heroes. Following his sojourn on earth, the culture hero is believed to have departed toward the western world, whence he will return some time in the future to destroy his creation.

**curare** A poisonous liquid extracted from the various vines of the *Strychnos* species and applied to arrows and blowgun darts.

**descriptive kin terms** Kinship terms that are used to distinguish different categories of relatives, such as "mother" or "father."

**double descent** Kinship affiliation by both matrilineal and patrilineal descent.

**dowry** The practice of a bride's kin giving substantial property or wealth to the groom or to his kin before or at the time of marriage.

**Ego** In kinship studies, a male or female whom the anthropologist arbitrarily designates as the reference point for a particular kinship diagram or discussion of kinship terminology.

**encomienda** A large tract of land granted to Spanish settlers in America by the Spanish government. In return, the landholders were expected to convert the indigenous peoples to Roman Catholicism, make them work the land, and maintain order in the region.

**endogamy** Marriage within a specific group or social category of which the person is a member, such as one's caste or community.

**exogamy** Marriage outside a specific group or social category of which the person is a member, such as one's clan or community.

**extensive cultivation.** *See* shifting cultivation

**fictive kinship** A social relationship, such as blood brotherhood or godparenthood, between individuals who are neither affines nor consanguines but who are referred to or addressed with kin terms and treated as kin. *See also* compadrazgo

**FUNAI** The acronym for Fundação Nacional do Índio, the Brazilian government agency charged with administering Indian affairs.

**genipa, genipapo** A bluish black pigment, made from the fruit of *Genipa americana*, used for body painting.

**hacienda system** A form of economic, political, and social organization consisting of a system of farms devoted to cash crops; the land is acquired from the indigenous people, who are then employed as laborers by the hacienda owners.

**horticulture** Plant cultivation carried out by relatively simple means, usually without permanent fields, artificial fertilizers, or plowing.

**Inca** A preindustrial civilization that flourished in what is now Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Chile from about 1438 until its final destruction in 1572.

**incipient agriculture** The growing of crops by the slash-and-burn method while supplementing the diet with the products of hunting, fishing, or gathering because the garden produce alone is insufficient.

**initiation rites** Ceremonies and related activities that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood or from secular status to being a cult member.

**joking relationship** A form of customary kin relation in which certain categories of kin (e.g., in-laws) engage in sexual or other forms of joking.

**kindred** The bilateral kin group of near kin who may be expected to be present and participant on important ceremonial occasions, usually in the absence of unilineal descent.

**kinship** Family relationship, whether traced through marital ties or through "blood" and descent.

**kin terms, bifurcate-collateral** A system of kinship terminology in which all collaterals in the parental generation are referred to by different kin terms.

**kin terms, bifurcate-merging** A system of kinship terminology in which members of the two descent groups in the parental generation are referred to by different kin terms.

**kin terms, Crow** A system of kinship terminology in which matrilineal cross cousins are distinguished from each other and from parallel cousins and siblings, but patrilineal cross cousins are referred to by the same terms used for father or father's sister.

**kin terms, Dravidian.** See kin terms, Iroquois

**kin terms, Eskimo** A system of kinship terminology in which cousins are distinguished from brothers and sisters, but no distinction is made between cross and parallel cousins.

**kin terms, generational** A system of kinship terminology in which all kin of the same sex in the parental generation are referred to by the same term.

**kin terms, Hawaiian** A system of kinship terminology in which all male cousins are referred to by the same term used for brothers, and all female cousins are referred to by the same term used for sisters.

**kin terms, Iroquois** A system of kinship terminology in which parallel cousins are referred to by the same terms used for brothers and sisters, but cross cousins are identified by different terms.

**kin terms, lineal** A system of kinship terminology in which direct descendants or ascendants are distinguished from collateral kin.

**kin terms, Omaha** A system of kinship terminology in which female matrilineal cross cousins are referred to by the same term used for one's mother, and female patrilineal cross cousins are referred to by the same term used for one's sister's daughter.

**kin terms, Sudanese** A system of kinship terminology in which there are distinct terms for each category of cousin and sibling, and for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews.

**levirate** The practice of requiring a man to marry his brother's widow.

**lineage** A unilineal (whether patrilineal or matrilineal) kin group that traces kinship affiliation from a common, known ancestor and extends through a number of generations.

**Língua Geral** A Tupí-based contact language used by Europeans and South Americans; it is gradually falling into disuse.

**magic** Beliefs and ritual practices designed to harness supernatural forces to achieve the goals of the magician.

**maloca** A communal longhouse.

**matrilineal descent** The practice of tracing kinship affiliation only through the female line.

**matrilocal residence** The practice of a newly married couple residing in the community of the wife's kin; sometimes used in a more restrictive sense to indicate residence in the household of the wife's family.

**messianic movement** A form of social movement in which adherents believe that a particular individual—a messiah—will lead them to a more prosperous and better life.

**mestizo** A term used to refer to persons of mixed Indian and European ancestry. In most contexts, *mestizo* is in fact more a social than a racial classification.

**moiety** A form of social organization in which a cultural group is made up of two social groups. Each moiety is often composed of a number of interrelated clans, sibs, or phratries.

**monogamy** Marriage between one man and one woman at a time.

**neolocal residence** The practice of a newly married couple living apart from the immediate kin of either party.

**pacification** The cessation of warfare by indigenous peoples enforced by colonial nations or their agents.

**parallel cousin.** See cousin, parallel

**pastoralism** A type of subsistence economy based on the herding of domesticated grazing animals such as sheep or cattle.

**patrilineal descent** The practice of tracing kinship affiliation only through the male line.

**patrilocal residence** The practice of a newly married couple residing in the community of the husband's kin; sometimes used in a more restrictive sense to indicate residence in the household of the husband's family.

**peasants, peasantry** Small-scale agriculturists producing only subsistence crops, perhaps in combination with some fishing, animal husbandry, or hunting. They live in villages in a larger state but participate little in the state's commerce or cultural activities. Today, many peasants rely on mechanized farming and are involved in the national economy and are called *postpeasants* by anthropologists.

**phratry** A social group consisting of two or more clans joined by some common bond and standing in opposition to other phratries in the society.

**pidgin** A second language, very often composed of words and grammatical features from several languages and used as the medium of communication between speakers of different languages.

**polyandry** The marriage of one woman to more than one man at a time.

**polygyny** The marriage of one man to more than one woman at a time.

**puberty rites.** See initiation rites

**shaman** A religious practitioner who receives his or her power directly from supernatural forces.

**shifting cultivation** A form of horticulture in which plots of land are cleared and planted for a few years and then left to fallow for a number of years while other plots are used. Also called *swidden*, extensive, or slash-and-burn cultivation.

**sib.** See clan

**sister exchange** A form of arranged marriage in which two men exchange their sisters as wives.

**slash-and-burn horticulture** A system of food production that involves burning trees and brush to clear and fertilize a garden plot, and then planting crops. The plot is used for a few years and then left to fallow while other plots are similarly used.

**sorcery** The use of supernatural forces to further the interests of the sorcerer, primarily through formulas and the ritual manipulation of material objects.

**sororal polygyny** The marriage of one man to two or more sisters at the same time.

**sororate** The practice of requiring a woman to marry her deceased sister's husband.

**sucking cure** A curing technique often used by shamans that involved sucking out a foreign object from the patient's body through an implement such as a bone tube. The foreign object, a piece of bone or stone, was viewed as the cause of the malady, and the sucking out as the cure.

**swidden** The field or garden plot resulting from slash-and-burn field preparation.

**teknonymy** The practice of addressing a parent after the name of his or her child rather than by the individual's name. For example, "Bill" is called "Father of John."

**timbó.** See barbasco

**totem** A plant or animal emblematic of a clan, which usually has special meaning to the group.

**transhumance** Seasonal movement of a society or community. It may involve seasonal shifts in food production between hunting and gathering and horticulture or the movement of herds to more favorable locations.

**tribe** Although there is some variation in use, the term usually applies to a distinct people who view themselves and are recognized by outsiders as a distinct culture. The tribal society has its own name, territory, customs, subsistence activities, and often its own language.

**unilineal descent** The practice of tracing kinship affiliation through only one line, either the matriline or the patriline.

**unilocal residence** The general term for matrilocal, patrilocal, or avunculocal postmarital residence.



**urucú.** *See* achiote

**usufruct** The right to use land or property without actually owning it.

**uterine descent.** *See* matrilineal descent

**uxorilocal residence.** *See* matrilocal residence

**vecino** Neighbor, inhabitant, citizen.

**virilocal residence.** *See* patrilocal residence

**wattle-and-daub** A method of house construction whereby a framework (wattle) of poles and twigs is covered (daubed) with mud and plaster.

**witchcraft** The use of supernatural forces to control or harm another person. Unlike sorcery, witchcraft does not require the use of special rituals, formulas, or ritual objects.



## Filmography

The following list of films is not exhaustive but does reflect what is readily available for rental in North America. The subjects are indicated in parentheses. Listing a film or video here does not constitute an endorsement by the volume editor nor the summary authors; nor does the absence of a film from the list represent any sort of nonendorsement. Abbreviations for distributors are provided at the end of each citation. The full name and address may be found in the directory of distributors that follows the filmography. Many of these films are also available through the Extension Media Center of the University of California at Berkeley and/or the Audio-Visual Services of the Pennsylvania State University, as indicated by (EMC) or (PS) at the end of the citation.

1. *Amahuaca: A Tropical Forest Society in Southeastern Peru.* (Amahuaca) 1973. Directed by Gertrude Dole. Color, 24 minutes, U-mat. PSUPCR (PS).
2. *Americas in Transition.* (Politics) 1981. Directed and produced by Obie Benz. Color, 29 minutes, 16mm. ICARUS (PS) (EMC).
3. *Andean Women.* (Aymara) 1975. Color, 19 minutes, 16mm. FIELDF (EMC).
4. *Arrow Game.* (Yanomamö) 1975. Color, 7 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
5. *Ax Fight.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 30 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS) (EMC).
6. *Bahia: Africa in the Americas.* (African-Brazilians) 1988. Produced by Geovanni and Michael Brewer. Color, 58 minutes, VHS. EMC, PS.
7. *A Better Mañana.* (Colombia) 1987. Produced by the Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 60 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
8. *Blood of the Condor.* (Bolivia; Quechua) 1969. Directed by Jorge Sanjines. B&W, 71 minutes, 16mm. UNIFIL (PS).
9. *Blowgun.* (Makiritare) n.d. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 16mm. IFF.
10. *Botanic Man: 1—Green Print for Life.* (Amazon) 1978. Produced by Thames Television International. Color, 27 minutes, 16mm. MEDIAG (PS).
11. *Brazil . . . Children of the Miracle.* (Brazil) 1979. Directed by Martin Smith and produced by David Elstein for Thames Television International. Color, 29 minutes, 16mm. MEDIAG (PS).
12. *Brazil: The Gathering Millions.* (Brazil) 1965. Produced by NET. B&W, 30 minutes, 16mm. IU (PS).
13. *Brazil: The Vanishing Negro.* (Brazil) 1965. Produced by NET. B&W, 30 minutes, 16mm. IU (PS) (EMC).
14. *Bride Service.* (Yanomamö) 1975. N. Chagnon. Color, 8 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).
15. *Children Know.* (Bolivia; Ethnic relations) 1975. Color, 33 minutes, 16mm. FIELDF (EMC).
16. *Children's Magical Death.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 8 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS) (EMC).
17. *Civilizations of Ancient America.* (Inca) 1972. Directed by Howard Campbell. Color, 22 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
18. *Climbing the Peach Palm.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 9 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
19. *Continent Crucified—Brazil.* (Brazil; Catholic church) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
20. *Continent Crucified—Ecuador.* (Ecuador; Catholic church) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
21. *Craftsmen.* (Makiritare) n.d. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 16mm. IFF (PS).
22. *Cuzco . . . In the Valley of the Incas.* (Inca) 1975. Directed and produced by Thomas Schroepfel. Color, 20 minutes, 16mm. PS.
23. *Delicate Giant.* (Amazon) 1985. Color, 11 minutes, 16mm. UN (EMC).
24. *Discovering the Moche.* (Moche) 1976. Created by Christopher B. Donnan, Richard Cowan, and William B. Lee. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. EMC, PS.
25. *Doctora.* (Bolivia; Health) 1983. Color, 52 minutes, 16mm. NATAZ (EMC).
26. *Early American Civilizations (Mayan, Aztec Incan).* (Inca) 1957. Color, 14 minutes, 16mm. CORF (PS).
27. *The Earth Is Our Mother.* (Arhuaco; Motilon) 1987. Written, directed, and produced by Peter Elsass. Color, 52 minutes, VHS. PS.
28. *Edge of Survival.* (Brazil; Health) 1982. Color, 58 minutes, 16mm. WHARTON (EMC).

29. *Embera—The End of the Road.* (Emberá) 1971. Color, 51 minutes, VHS. IFF.
30. *Evil Wind, Evil Air.* (Ecuadorian Andes) 1985. Produced by the Archaeological Museum of the Central Bank of Ecuador and Lauris McKee. Color, 22 minutes, VHS, U-mat. PSUPCR (PS).
31. *A Father Washes His Children.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 13 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
32. *The Feast.* (Yanomamö) 1968. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 29 minutes, 16mm. USNAC (PS) (EMC).
33. *Firewood.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 10 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
34. *Folk Art in Latin America.* (Folk art) 1971. Color, 17 minutes, 16mm. BFA (EMC).
35. *Food Gathering.* (Makiritare) 1972. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 11 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
36. *Frustrated Colossus—From Peron to Present.* (Argentina) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
37. *Handmade.* (Bolivia; Folk art) 1988. Produced by Kurt Buser and Ken Schneider. Color, 19 minutes, VHS. FLMLIB.
38. *Heaven, Hell, and Eldorado—Brazil.* (Brazil; Development) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
39. *Heaven, Hell, and Eldorado—Peru.* (Peru; Development) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
40. *Highland Indians of Peru.* (Peru) 1969. Color, 18 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
41. *Homage to the Yahgans: The Last Indians of Tierra del Fuego and Cape Horn.* (Yahgan) 1990. By Anne Chapman and CNRS-Audiovisual. Color, 40 minutes, 16mm. DER.
42. *Hoti.* (Venezuela) 1976. Color, 20 minutes, 16mm. ICAS.
43. *I Am Pablo Neruda.* (Poetry) 1967. 28 minutes, 16mm. FLMHUM (EMC).
44. *Iawo: Initiation in a Gege-Nago Temple.* (Bahia Brazil) 1978. Directed by Geraldo Sarno. Color, 41 minutes, 16mm. CINGLD (PS).
45. *Inca Cola—Lima Peru Today.* (Inca; Peru) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
46. *Inca Cola—The Incas and Their History.* (Inca) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 30 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
47. *In Search of the Lost World.* (Inca) 1972. Color, 50 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
48. *Jaguar and the Revenge of the Twins as Told by Daramasiwa.* (Yanomamö) 1976. N. Chagnon. Color, 23 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
49. *Journey to Chinale.* (Marake; Oyanas) 1969. Willard Baldwin. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. PS.
50. *Journey to the Makiritare.* (Makiritare) 1972. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 9 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
51. *Juan Felix Sánchez.* (Folk art) 1983. Calogero Salvo. Color, 27 minutes, VHS, U-mat. EMC.
52. *Jungle Farming.* (Makiritare) 1972. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 10 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
53. *The Kayapo.* (Kayapo) 1987. Color, 57 minutes, VHS. IF.
54. *The Kayapo: Out of the Forest.* (Kayapo) 1989. Color, 52 minutes, VHS. IFF.
55. *Kings for a Day.* (Brazil; Religion) 1987. Produced by Australian Broadcasting Corp., with Jack Pizzey. Color, 60 minutes, VHS. LANDMK (EMC).
56. *The Last of the Cuiva.* (Cuiva). 1972. Produced by Brian Moser. Color, 68 minutes, 16mm. ISHI (PS).
57. *Last of the Incas.* (Inca) 1979. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. JF (EMC).
58. *Latin America, Part 1: Its Countries.* (Latin America) 1964. 26 minutes, 16mm. NFBC (EMC).
59. *Latin America, Part 2: Its History, Economy, and Politics.* (Latin America) 1964. 33 minutes, 16mm. NFBC (EMC).
60. *Life and Death in Rio.* (Brazil) 1987. Color, 25 minutes, VHS. MEDIAG (EMC).
61. *Macumba, Trance and Spirit Healing.* (Religion) 1984. Produced by Madeleine Richeport. Color, 44 minutes, 16mm. FLMLIB (PS).
62. *Magical Death.* (Yanomamö) 1973. N. Chagnon. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS) (EMC).
63. *Magic and Catholicism.* (Aymara; Religion) 1975. Color, 34 minutes, 16mm. FIELDF (EMC).
64. *A Man and His Wife Make a Hammock.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 9 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
65. *A Man Called "Bee": Studying the Yanomamö.* (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 43 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS) (EMC).
66. *Manioc Bread.* (Makiritare) 1972. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 11 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
67. *Martin Chambi and the Heirs of the Incas.* (Inca; Peru) 1986. Directed and produced by Paul Yule and Andy Harries. Color, 55 minutes, 16mm. CGUILD (PS).
68. *Master Weavers of the Andes.* (Peru; Weavers) 1978. Color, 15 minutes, 16mm. EBEC (EMC) (PS).
69. *The Mehinacu.* (Mehinacu) 1974. Color, 52 minutes, VHS. FI.
70. *Miners of Bolivia.* (Bolivia; Mining) 1969. Color, 15 minutes, 16mm. FI (EMC).
71. *Moonblood: A Yanomamö Creation Myth as Told by Dedehheiwá.* (Yanomamö) 1975. N. Chagnon. Color, 13 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).
72. *Mosori Monika.* (Warao) 1971. Produced by Chick Strand. Color, 20 minutes, 16mm. CHICS (EMC).
73. *Mr. Ludwig's Tropical Dreamland.* (Amazon) 1979. Produced by the BBC and WGBH for the Nova series. Color, 57 minutes, 16mm. PS.
74. *New Tribes Mission.* (Yanomamö) 1975. N. Chagnon. Color, 12 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).
75. *Nomads of the Rainforest.* (Waorani) 1984. Color, 59 minutes, VHS. EMC, PS.

76. *Ocamo Is My Town*. (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 22 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
77. *Our God Is the Condor*. (Andes; Peru) n.d. Paul Yule and Andy Harries. Color, 30 minutes, 16mm. FLMLIB.
78. *Peru: Literacy for Social Change*. (Peru) 1978. Color, 30 minutes, 16mm. ICARUS (PS).
79. *Potato Planters*. (Aymara) 1975. Color, 19 minutes, 16mm. FIELDF (EMC).
80. *Qeros: The Shape of Survival*. (Qeros) 1979. Written, directed, and produced by John Cohen. Color, 50 minutes, 16mm. FI (PS).
81. *The Quechua*. (Quechua) 1974. Color, 51 minutes, VHS. FI.
82. *A Samba-Opera: Creation of the Universe*. (Africans) n.d. Directed by Vera de Figueiredo. Color, 56 minutes, VHS. CINGLD (PS).
83. *Scenes from Travel in Colombia*. (Colombia) 1978. Produced by Daniel Smith. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. PHENIX (PS).
84. *Shelter for the Homeless*. (Brazil; Homelessness) 1987. UN production. Color, 28 minutes, 16mm. UN (EMC).
85. *Sky Chief*. (Amazon; Ethnic relations) 1972. Color, 26 minutes, VHS, U-mat. EMC.
86. *So That Men Are Free*. (Vicos) 1963. Produced by CBS. B&W, 25 minutes, 16mm. CBSNEW (PS).
87. *South America: A New Look*. (South America) 1985. Produced by Sam Bryan. Color, 25 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
88. *Spirit Possession of Alejandro Mamani*. (Aymara; Religion) 1975. Directed by Hubert Smith and produced by the American Universities Field Staff. Color, 27 minutes, 16mm. FLMLIB (PS).
89. *Tapir Distribution*. (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 12 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).
90. *The Treasure Within*. (Cultural resources) 1981. UN production. Color, 27 minutes, 16mm. UN (EMC).
91. *Tribe That Hides from Man*. (Kreen-Akrore) 1973. Color, 62 minutes, 16mm. ISHI (EMC).
92. *Tug-of-War*. (Yanomamö) 1975. N. Chagnon. Color, 8 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).
93. *Tupamaros*. (Ethnic relations) 1972. Color, 50 minutes, 16mm. UNIFIL (EMC).
94. *Village Life*. (Makiritare) 1972. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 12 minutes, 16mm. IFF (PS).
95. *Viracocha*. (Aymara; Quechua) 1974. Directed by Hubert Smith and produced by the American Universities Field Staff. Color, 30 minutes, 16mm. PS, EMC.
96. *The Warao*. (Warao) 1978. Color, 57 minutes, VHS, U-mat. EMC.
97. *The War of the Gods*. (Barasana; Maku; Religion) 1971. Color, 52 minutes, VHS. FI.
98. *Weeding the Garden*. (Yanomamö) 1975. T. Asch and N. Chagnon. Color, 14 minutes, 16mm. PSUPCR (PS).
99. *Woodwinds and Dance*. (Makiritare) n.d. Produced by Julien Bryan. Color, 10 minutes, 16mm. IFF.
100. *The Xinguana: Aborigines of South America*. (Xinguana) 1971. Color, 29 minutes, 16mm. McGH (EMC).
101. *Yanomamö: A Multi-Disciplinary Study*. (Yanomamö) 1970. T. Asch, N. Chagnon, and J. Neel. Color, 45 minutes, 16mm. USNAC (PS) (EMC).
102. *Yanomamö Myth of Naro as Told by Dedeheiwa*. (Yanomamö) 1975. N. Chagnon. Color, 24 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).
103. *Yanomamö Myth of Naro as Told by Kaobawa*. (Yanomamö) 1975. N. Chagnon. Color, 21 minutes, 16mm. DER (PS).

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## Directory of Distributors

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PHENIX	Phoenix/BFA Films and Video, Inc., 468 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016	USNAC	United States National Audiovisual Center
		WHARTON	Wharton International Films





## Ethnonym Index

This index provides some of the alternative names and the names of major subgroups for cultures covered in the main body of this volume. The culture names that are entry titles are in boldface.

- Aaingáng—Kaingáng**  
 Acaguayo—**Akawaio**  
 Acauayo—**Akawaio**  
 Acawai—**Akawaio**  
 Accawai—**Akawaio**  
**Ache**  
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**Afro-Venezuelans**  
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 Agouti—**Marinahua**  
 Aguahun—**Aguaruna**  
 Aguajun—**Aguaruna**  
**Aguaruna**  
 Aguti—**Marinahua**  
 Ahuahun—**Aguaruna**  
 Ajaju—**Karihona**  
 Akawai—**Akawaio**  
**Akawaio**  
 Akawoio—**Akawaio**  
 Akuáwa—**Asurini**—**Asurini**  
 Akwaya—**Asurini**  
 Akwê—**Sherente**  
 Akwén—**Shavante**  
 Akwê—**Shavante**—**Shavante**  
 Alama—**Canelos Quichua**  
 Alcojolados—**Paraujano**  
 Aliles—**Paraujano**  
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 Amaguaca—**Amahuaca**
- Amahuaca**  
 Amajo—**Amuesha**  
 Amajuaca—**Amahuaca**  
 Amanayé—**Anambé**  
 Amawaka—**Amahuaca**  
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 Angotero—**Siona-Secoya**  
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 Arekuna—**Pemon**  
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 Atroahy—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Atrohái—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Atruahí—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Ature—**Piaroa**  
 Auca—**Waorani**  
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**Awá Kwaiker**  
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 A'wé—**Shavante**  
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 Barida—**Bari**  
 Barnaré—**Wayãpi**  
**Baure**  
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- Bidé—**Arawaté**  
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 Black Indians—**Afro-South Americans**  
 Blacks—**Afro-South Americans**  
 Boanari—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Boe—**Bororo**  
 Bonari—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
**Bororo**  
 Botocudos—**Xokleng**  
 Brazilian Negroes—**Afro-Brazilians**  
 Bugré—**Xokleng**  
 Bushenege—**Afro-South Americans**  
 Bush Negroes—**Afro-South Americans**;  
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- Caaguá—**Pai-Tavytera**  
 Cabiari—**Ka'wiri**  
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 Caca Weranos—**Chimila**  
 Cachibo—**Cashibo**  
 Cacibo—**Cashibo**  
 Cadigüebo—**Kadiwéu**  
 Cadioeo—**Kadiwéu**  
 Caduveo—**Kadiwéu**  
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 Caingáng—**Kaingáng**  
 Caingang of Santa Catarina—  
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 Chapara—**Candoshi**  
 Chapra—**Candoshi**  
 Chascoso—**Campa**  
 Chavante—**Shavante**  
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**Chayahuita**  
 Chayahvita—**Chayahuita**  
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 Cherente—**Sherente**  
 Chicana—**Hoti**  
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 Givari—**Jivaro**  
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 Goajivo—**Guahibo-Sikuani**  
 Goroti—**Gorotire**  
**Gorotire**  
 Gradahó—**Gorotire**  
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 Guazazara—**Guajajára**  
 Guentusé—**Nivacé**  
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Haarat—**Tupari**  
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 Joti—**Hoti**  
 Juries—**Toba**

Kaa'wa—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 Kabillary—**Ka'wiari**  
 Kabiari—**Ka'wiari**  
 Kadiveu—**Kadiwéu**  
 Kadiweu—**Kadiwéu**  
 Kadiwéu  
 Kaduveo—**Kadiwéu**  
 Kágaba—**Kogi**  
**Kagwahiv**  
 Kaiapo—**Gorotire**  
**Kaingáng**  
 Kaingangue—**Kaingáng**  
 Kaingúá—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 Kaiowá—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 Kaiwá—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 Kaiwa—**Kadiwéu**  
**Kalapalo**  
 Kalapalu—**Kalapalo**  
 Kalinya—**Cariña**  
 Kallawaya—**Callahuaya**  
 Kamarakoto—**Pemon**  
 Kameheya—**Yukuna**  
 Kampa—**Campa**  
 Kandoazi—**Candoshi**  
 Kanela—**Canela**  
 Kapohn—**Akawaio**  
 Kapon—**Akawaio**  
 Kapong—**Akawaio**  
 Kaposhó—**Maxakali**  
 Karaib—**Maroni Carib**  
**Karajá**  
**Karihona**  
 Kariña—**Cariña**  
 Karinya—**Cariña**  
 Karipúna-Palikúr—**Palikur**  
 Karnijô—**Fulniô**  
 Kashibo—**Cashibo**  
**Kashinawa**  
 Katio—**Chocó**  
 Kauguia—**Kogi**

- Kauiyari—**Ka'wiari**  
**Ka'wiari**  
 Kawillary—**Ka'wiari**  
 Kaxinaua—**Kashinawa**  
 Kaxinawa—**Kashinawa**  
 Kayapo del Sur—**Kaingáng; Xokléng**  
 Kayapo-Gorotire—**Gorotire**  
 Kayova—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 Kobewa—**Cubeo**  
 Kogapakori—**Matsigenka**  
 Kögga—**Kogi**  
**Kogi**  
 Kokama—**Cocama**  
 Komparia—**Campa**  
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 Kotitia—**Wanano**  
 Krahó—**Craho**  
 Krahô—**Craho**  
 Kraô—**Craho**  
 Krikateye—**Krikati/Pukobye**  
 Krikati—**Krikati/Pukobye**  
 Krikati/Pukobye  
 Krixaná—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Kuaiquer—**Awá Kwaiker**  
 Kuiba—**Cuiva**  
 Kuikuro—**Kuikuru**  
**Kuikuru**  
 Kulina—**Culina**  
 Kurukwa—**Yuqui**  
 Kuruparia—**Campa**  
 Kwaiker—**Awá Kwaiker**  
 Kyoma—**Angaité**
- Lafquenche—**Araucanians**  
 L'añagashik—**Toba**  
 Latechelechí-Maiceros—**Nivacé**  
**Lengua**  
 Lengua—**Maká**  
 Lengua-Maskoi—**Lengua**  
 Lengua-Sur—**Lengua**  
 Libres—**Afro-Colombians; Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador and Colombia; Afro-South Americans**  
 Llawa—**Yagua**  
 Lorenzano—**Mojo**  
 Lorenzo—**Amuesha**  
 Luna—**Tunebo**
- Maatpétamãe—**Cinta Larga**  
 Macaguaje—**Siona-Secoya**  
 Macaguane—**Guahibo-Sikuani**  
 Maccá—**Maká**  
 Machiguenga—**Matsigenka**  
 Machoto—**Itonama**  
 Macoushi—**Makushi**  
 Macuchi—**Makushi**  
**Macuna**  
 Macuní—**Maxakali**  
 Macusari—**Jivaro**  
 Macusi—**Makushi**  
 Macuxi—**Makushi**  
 Madiha—**Culina**  
 Madija—**Culina**  
 Mahibarez—**Nambicuara**  
 Mainu—**Jivaro**  
**Maká**  
 Mak'á—**Maká**  
 Makiritare—**Yekuana**
- Makká—Maká**  
 Mako—**Piaroa**  
 Makuschi—**Makushi**  
**Makushi**  
 Makuxi—**Makushi**  
 Mambyuara—**Nambicuara**  
 Managua—**Cashibo**  
 Manare—**Tunebo**  
 Manasi—**Chiquitano**  
 Mapuche—**Araucanians**  
**Marinahua**  
 Marinawa—**Marinahua**  
**Maroni Carib**  
 Maroons—**Afro-South Americans**  
**Marubo**  
 Marúbo—**Marubo**  
 Mashacali—**Maxakali**  
 Mashacari—**Maxakali**  
 Mashakali—**Maxakali**  
**Mashco**  
 Maspo—**Amahuaca**  
**Mataco**  
 Mataco-Güisnay—**Mataco**  
 Mataco-Noctenes—**Mataco**  
 Mataco-Véjiz—**Mataco**  
 Mataguayo—**Mataco**  
 Mathelá—**Nivacé**  
 Matisana—**Wapisiana**  
 Matses—**Mayoruna**  
**Matsigenka**  
 Mauáua—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Maure—**Baure**  
 Mawawa—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
**Maxakali**  
 Maxirona—**Mayoruna**  
 Mayiruna—**Mayoruna**  
 Mayo—**Mayoruna**  
**Mayoruna**  
 Mbayá-Guaikuru—**Kadiwéu**  
 Mbia—**Yuqui**  
 Mbocobí—**Mocoví**  
 Mbengokre—**Gorotire**  
 Mehinaco—**Mehinaku**  
 Mehinacu—**Mehinaku**  
**Mehinaku**  
 Meinaco—**Mehinaku**  
 Meinacu—**Mehinaku**  
 Mekinsēji—**Suya**  
 Meme—**Emberá**  
 Mennists—**Mennonites**  
**Mennonites**  
 Mereo—**Emerillon**  
 Mereyo—**Emerillon**  
 Mesaya—**Karihona**  
 Miá—**Sirionó**  
 Mocobí—**Mocoví**  
**Mocoví**  
 Mogosnae—**Mocoví**  
 Mojeno—**Baure**  
**Mojo**  
 Mokoit—**Mocoví**  
 Monaxó—**Maxakali**  
 Monochó—**Maxakali**  
 Montese—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 Moperequoa—**Guarayu**  
**Moré**  
 Morenos—**Afro-Bolivians; Afro-Colombians; Afro-Hispanic Pacific Lowlanders of**
- Ecuador and Colombia; Afro-South Americans; Afro-Venezuelans**  
 Moro—**Ayoreo**  
 Morochos—**Afro-Colombians**  
 Morunahua—**Marinahua**  
 Mosobiae—**Mocoví**  
 Moterequoa—**Pauserna**  
 Motilones—**Yukpa**  
 Motilones Bravos—**Bari**  
 Motilones del Sur—**Bari**  
**Movima**  
 Movina—**Movima**  
 Moxa—**Baure**  
 Moxo—**Baure; Mojo**  
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 Mundurucu—**Mundurucu**  
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- Nahukwa—**Kalapalo**  
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**Nambicuara**  
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- Occowyes—**Akawaio**  
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- Oréva—Guarayu  
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 Oyampik—Wayâpi  
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 Paricuri—Palikur  
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**Saramaka**  
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 Saramaka Maroons—Saramaka  
 Saramo—Itonama  
 Saranahua—Sharanahua  
 Saruro—Pume  
 Sayaco—Amahuaca  
 Schiripuno—Waurani  
 Secoya—Siona-Sceoya  
 Sekoya—Siona-Sceoya  
  
 Seregong—Akawaio  
 Serekon—Akawaio  
 Serekong—Akawaio  
 Serente—Sherente  
 Serracong—Akawaio  
 Serrakong—Akawaio  
 Setebo—Shipibo  
 Shambioá—Karajá  
 Shapra—Candoshi  
**Sharanahua**  
 Sharánahua—Sharanahua  
**Shavante**  
 Shayabit—Chayahuita  
**Sherente**  
 Shidishana—Yanomamö  
 Shikana—Hoti  
 Shimizya—Chimila  
**Shipibo**  
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 Shiriana—Yanomamö  
 Shiwila—Jebéro  
 Shokleng—Xokleng  
 Shokó—Xokleng  
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 Simza—Chimila  
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**Siona-Sceoya**  
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**Sirionó**  
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**Suruí**  
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 Tanimuco—Tanimuka  
**Tanimuka**

- Tanimuko—**Tanimuka**  
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 Tapacua—**Shavante**  
 Tapayuna—**Suya**  
**Tapirapé**  
 Tapui—**Chiriguano**  
 Tarapecosi—**Chiquitano**  
 Tarëno—**Trio**  
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**Tatuyo**  
 Taulipang—**Pemon**  
 Taurepan—**Pemon**  
 Tavytera—**Paï-Tavytera**  
 TawaLáj Lawós—**Maká**  
 Teco—**Emerillon**  
 Tekuna—**Ticuna**  
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 Tenetehar—**Guajajara**  
 Tenetehára—**Guajajara**  
**Terena**  
 Terenoá—**Terena**  
 Terenos—**Terena**  
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**Ticuna**  
 Tihuakuna—**Waorani**  
 Tikuna—**Ticuna**  
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 Tipuna—**Ticuna**  
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 Tirío—**Trio**  
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 Tiriyo—**Trio**  
 Tiriyo—**Trio**  
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 Tsirakaua—**Ayoreo**  
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 Ttö,ja—**Piaroa**  
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 Tukuna—**Ticuna**  
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**Tunebo**  
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**Tupari**  
 Tupy—**Kaingáng**  
 Turiwara—**Anambé**
- U-ah-miri—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Uaimeris—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
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 Uajibo—**Guahibo-Sikuani**  
 Uamerys—**Waimiri-Atroari**
- Uanano—**Wanano**  
 Uassahy—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Uaura—**Waurá**  
 Ucayali—**Cocama**  
 Ucayalino—**Campa**  
 Ufaina—**Tanimuka**  
 Umaua—**Karihona**  
 Uni—**Cashibo**  
 Urini—**Asurini**  
 Uru—**Chipaya**  
 Uua—**Tunebo**  
 U'wa—**Tunebo**  
 Uwaiwa—**Guahibo-Sikuani**  
 Uwotjuja—**Piaroa**
- Vapidiana—Wapisiana**
- Wacawaio—**Akawaio**  
 Wagrani—**Waorani**  
 Wahoya Pã—**Siona-Secoya**  
 Waiapi—**Wayäpi**  
 Waica—**Akawaio; Yanomamö**  
 Waika—**Yanomamö**  
**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Waimirys—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
 Waiwa—**Guahibo-Sikuani**  
**Wáiwai**  
 Waiwe—**Wáiwai**  
 Wakarã—**Tupari**  
 Wakawai—**Akawaio**  
 Wakuenai—**Baniwa-Curripaco-Wakuenai**  
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 Wampi-misamera—**Guambiano**  
**Wanano**  
 Wao—**Waorani**  
 Woadani—**Waorani**  
 Waog—**Waorani**  
 Waograni—**Waorani**  
**Waorani**  
 Wapishana—**Wapisiana**  
**Wapisiana**  
 Wapixana—**Wapisiana**  
 Warani—**Waorani**  
**Warao**  
 Waraweete—**Warao**  
 Waunana—**Chocó; Noanamá**  
**Waurá**  
 Wauru—**Waruá**  
 Wayampi—**Wayäpi**  
**Wayäpi**  
 Wayca—**Akawaio**  
 Wayuu—**Guajiro**  
 Wená—**Desana**  
 Wenhayek wiki'—**Mataco**  
 Wentusij—**Nivaclé**  
 Wichi—**Mataco**  
 Wikye'—**Mataco**  
 Winave—**Puinave**  
 Wirá—**Desana**  
 Wirá-pora—**Desana**  
**Witoto**  
 Wocowaio—**Akawaio**  
 Wõt<sup>h</sup>-ihã—**Piaroa**  
 Wóthuha—**Piaroa**  
 Wounaan—**Chocó; Noanamá**  
 Woun Meu—**Chocó; Noanamá**
- Woyawai—**Wáiwai**  
 Wuaiamares—**Waimiri-Atroari**
- Xakléng—**Xokléng**  
 Xambioá—**Karajá**  
 Xavante—**Shavante**  
 Xebero—**Jebero**  
 Xerente—**Sherente**  
 Xevero—**Jebero**  
 Xibitaona—**Cocama**  
**Xikrin**  
 Xihuila—**Jebero**  
 Xipibo—**Shipibo**  
 Xiriana—**Yanomamö**  
 Xivari—**Jivaro**  
 Xivaro—**Jivaro**  
 Xogléng—**Xokléng**  
**Xokléng**  
 Xokré—**Xokléng**  
 Xokréng—**Xokléng**  
 Xolota—**Chorote**  
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- Yagua**  
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 Yahua—**Yagua**  
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 Yamanawa—**Jamináwa**  
 Yamináhua—**Jamináwa**  
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 Yamináwa—**Jamináwa**  
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 Yanesha—**Amuesha**  
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 Yanomama—**Yanomamö**  
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**Yanomamö**  
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 Yauaperí—**Waimiri-Atroari**  
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**Yawalapítí**  
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**Yukpa**  
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Zambos—**Afro-Bolivians; Afro-Hispanic  
Pacific Lowlanders of Ecuador and  
Colombia; Afro-South Americans;  
Afro-Venezuelans**

Zamuco—**Ayoreo; Mojo**  
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Zawa—**Yagua**  
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Zúbaca—**Chiquitano**  
Zumbagua/Guangaje—**Cotopaxi Quichua**

## The Editors

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### *Editor in Chief*

David Levinson (Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo) is vice-president of the Human Relations Area Files in New Haven, Connecticut. He is a cultural anthropologist whose primary research interests are in social issues, worldwide comparative research, and social theory. He has conducted research on homelessness, alcohol abuse, aggression, family relations, and ethnicity. Among his dozens of publications are the award-winning text *Toward Explaining Human Culture* (with Martin J. Malone), *The Tribal Living Book* (with David Sherwood), and *Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Dr. Levinson also teaches anthropology at Albertus Magnus College in New Haven, Connecticut.

### *Volume Editor*

Johannes Wilbert was born in Cologne, Germany, and educated at the Albertus Magnus University of his home town (Ph.D. in anthropology). Aided by a Fulbright Fellowship, he undertook graduate studies in anthropology at Yale University. For almost six years he lived in South America and conducted extensive field research among aboriginal societies of Venezuela, Colombia, and Guyana. A specialist in Indian populations of lowland South America, he has written numerous articles and several books, including *Survivors of Eldorado*, *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America*, and *Mystic Endowment: Religious Ethnography of the Warao Indians*. He is co-editor, with Karen Simoneau, of a twenty-four-volume series, *Folk Literature of South American Indians*. He has taught repeatedly as a guest professor at the University of Vienna and for twenty-nine years, until his retirement, as a professor of anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles. For twenty years of his tenure at UCLA he served as the director of the Latin American Center.