REPRINTED FROM
'THE RESEARCH POTENTIAL OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM COLLECTIONS'
EDITED BY A.CANTWELL, J.GRIFFIN AND N.ROTHSCHILD.
ANNALS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
Volume 376 Pages 267-288
December 31,1981 28694

The Individual in Ethnographic Collections[1]

DOLORES NEWTON
State University of New York at Stony Brook
Stony Brook, New York 11794

INTRODUCTION

It was only on my second trip to the field—after I had done extensive work with museum collections of Timbira artifacts—that I applied the rationale of treating the field setting as though it were a museum, and the artifacts in use there as though they were a collection. In that sense, these objects ~~that~~ were available to me only temporarily. I could examine them closely, photograph and measure them, see who used them and how they were used, see how their production was arranged, know who it was that made them, and know how they were discarded or recycled—it was certainly the most marvelously documented "collection" I have ever seen. But when I left the field, it would be gone forever.

Museum collections, too, are available only briefly. How many of the objects from far-flung Ge collections, which I have studied in museums of Europe, Brazil and the United States, will I ever see a second time? The challenge which these transitory settings pose for the task of description and analysis, is enormous. The difficulty is only compounded by the indeterminate nature of the critical variables—one may record carefully the types of weave, only to discover afterwards that the variable of size is the one diagnostic for a particular hypothesis. Thus, a maximization of features to be described is a goal of this approach.

In another sense, too, the analogy of the field artifact inventory to the museum collection holds. That is, in the sense that each is but a sampling of a larger whole. The museum collection has been selected from the available objects in the field; the field "collection" itself is just a sampling of the artifactual knowledge held by that social group. Not all individuals will have artifacts made by them in the inventory at any given point in time. Nor will the whole range of artifact variability, even of

types, which all individuals in a group are capable of, be realized in the field specimens at any one time. So, in each of these settings, a larger universe must be taken into consideration in evaluating the significance of the sample produced from it.

The major reason for the extension of my data base to include the field inventory was to increase the absolute sample size. This extension also provides us with the means of evaluating the representative character of the specimens collected in the field. The significance of a given artifact type lays as much in its range of variation, and covariation with units of the social sphere, as in the realization of some ideal, canonical form. And it was to provide information on the former points, that I took special efforts to document all artifacts by maker. As shall become evident in the discussion below, this documentation has the effect of maximizing the size of the sample even more, when particular features are being considered.

The burden baskets of the Krikati and Pukobye tribes – the artifacts which will be the concern of this paper – were collected or recorded within this larger setting. There was the field collection, which I could look at and then leave to its ultimate destruction, and then there were the few objects that I would collect for preservation.

In three periods of field work, my methods of collecting were comparable. I did not commission or even solicit artifacts except in rare, specifiable instances. And rarely were objects offered for sale refused. They were purchased with trade goods and when those ran out, with money. Gifts were reciprocated. This method introduced certain biases into the collection of this basketry,[2] but other possible biases were certainly avoided by the use of this method and, not insignificantly, it promoted good will because it was not coercive. There are probably no truly random ethnographic collections. What is really important is that the collecting methods be made known, and documentation provided (including maker identification) that will permit an evaluation of what the collected specimens represent.

One of the procedures in field recording of objects which I found essential, was the use of an identification code – in essence like the museum catalogue numbers – for each specimen. This procedure had the advantage that examples could be counted and accounted for with precision.

The identification and tabulation of field specimens is important for practical reasons of manipulating them, but of course the identification of specimens soon to be destroyed is no more than a convenience. Accounting for collected specimens is another matter. These specimens are

the vouchers for the larger whole. The "reading" of them, the potential for adding to them when and if new specimens are encountered,[3] and the reduction of the corpus of specimens by those that might be inappropriate, is crucial to have made explicit. This is where the collected specimens become invaluable in spite of their limited numbers.

DATA BASE

My data base consists of 77 collected specimens, and 184 inventoried field examples, making a total of 261 burden baskets for which I have recorded descriptions on several variable features. The collected specimens come from three periods of field work: 1963–4, 1968, and 1975. The field examples come only from the latter two periods.[4] Only in 1968 did I visit and collect from Pukobye as well as Krikati. The latter I visited on each occasion.[5] The latter two periods were each briefer than the previous ones: the first trip was 8 months, the second was 8 weeks and the last was only 4 weeks. Yet the total number of artifacts collected from the Krikati on each occasion was similar—between 250 and 300. In spite of these similar totals, the proportions of artifacts of different kinds, that were collected, differed considerably from one time to the next. For the burden baskets, 39[6] were offered for sale in 1964, 14 in 1968, and 39 in 1975. While for some artifact types the differences from year to year reflect the actual fluctuation of particular types of artifacts in the field, that is not the case with the burden basket. Explanation of causal factors in this case remains a subject for future study. Among the Krikati, the basket making of 42 individuals is represented in this data base, many with only a single specimen. For one man there are 18 specimens. Among the Pukobye, 30 different basket makers are identified.

KRIKATI AND PUKOBYE TRIBES

The tribes from which the present example is taken belong to the Timbira division of the Ge linguistic stock. They inhabit the interfluvial areas of savanna and gallery forest, in northeastern Brazil. They practice hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild plants, as well as slash and burn horticulture. Once numbering many thousands per tribe, they have been reduced in the last centuries to tribes of only several hundred people. Some tribes have vanished, with remnant groups being absorbed by the surviving tribes.

The Krikati and Pukobye are two of these surviving tribes. In 1968,

each had about 200 people. Although constituting separate social entities (which I am calling tribes), they have intermarried to some extent, since their movement to adjacent territories in the last century.

In their present stage of accommodation, there remain observable cultural differences and social distance between them. They still hear each other as having accents, and they do not share the linguistic terms for all basic—even food—items of culture. They differ in major cultural features, such as some ceremonials. Some people have real fears about visiting the other tribe because of past hostilities. In essence, they constitute the merging of once distant, but related tribes, and not the diver-

FIGURE 1. Krikati gather mangos from trees outside of village; 1964.

sification of an initially homogeneous sociocultural unit. As such, these tribes provide interesting case material for how such sociocultural accommodation is manifested in the material domain.

BURDEN BASKET ETHNOGRAHY

The burden basket, called *kai* in Krikati and Pukobye, is the most important and most numerous of the approximately dozen different types of basketry that they make (see FIGS. 1 and 2). These baskets have flat woven bases, and either woven or interlaced[7] vertical sides. Their bases are square and their bodies cylindrical. They generally have both a bast interlaced strap and an unworked bark tumpline strap. The raw material used in the basket body is either from the stalk of the buriti palm (*Mauritia, vinifera*) alone, or in combination with the guarumã reed (*Ischnosiphon, sp*). When used alone, the buriti basket may be woven or interlaced (see FIGS. 3 and 4). When a combination of materials is used, the basket is always woven in its entirety—the guarumã here generally constituting the entire base and also the warps of the body, while the

FIGURE 2. Women and girls on way back to village from gathering trip. Basket second from right is another type of basket. Krikati, 1964.

FIGURE 3. Basket on right is interlaced; dark bast is not guarumã, but red-dyed buriti. Basket on left is woven. Krikati, field inventory 1975.

buriti is used for the body weft. Although the buriti can be woven into any of the designs that the guarumã and buriti together can be—in a textured, or white-on-white fashion (see FIG. 5)—it is generally only worked in one of four different patterns. In the two tones of the tan buriti and the dark brown guarumã, however, an abundance of different designs are produced (see FIGS. 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8).

Guarumã is a scarce material for the Krikati since it comes from the forest zone, which the Pukobye inhabit, and is not available in the Krikati area, although they are only some 40 km apart. Guarumã is also the stronger of the two materials, which is why it is used for the base

when the two materials are used together. The base usually wears out first, even when made of guarumã, and so the buriti baskets are the less durable (FIG. 6).

Krikati sometimes obtain the unworked guarumã, but far more commonly, the guarumã and buriti baskets are imported to the Krikati already made. The occasions for such acquisitions—which they call gifts—are usually visits made by Krikati to the Pukobye. Inventory of the Pukobye households shows that there is also a small reciprocal flow, of buriti baskets made by Krikati, to the Pukobye. The minimal numbers of such baskets conforms to their token value in these exchanges.

Men are the principal basket makers, and all but a very few of them are active producers. The few women who make baskets are in no way distinct from the general population of women. They were more likely to make baskets for incidental use—such as for toys, sale, or trade. They were also likely to be on the small end of the range of sizes—from about 15 cm to 50 cm in height. Middle aged or older men are generally the more prolific basketmakers, but some men in their teens are already adept.

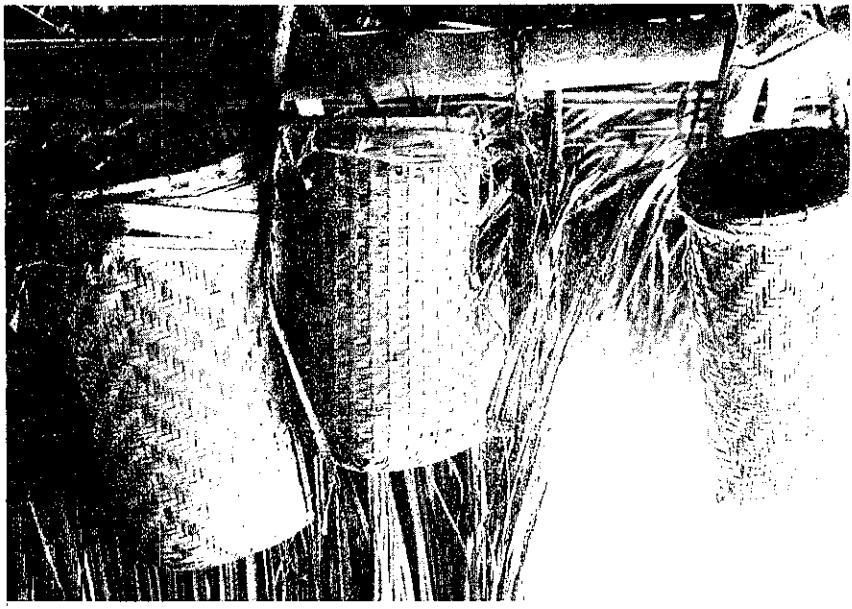

FIGURE 4. Baskets on left show two of the four common patterns used in buriti baskets which are woven. The basket on right is woven, of buriti and guarumã. Krikati, field inventory 1968.

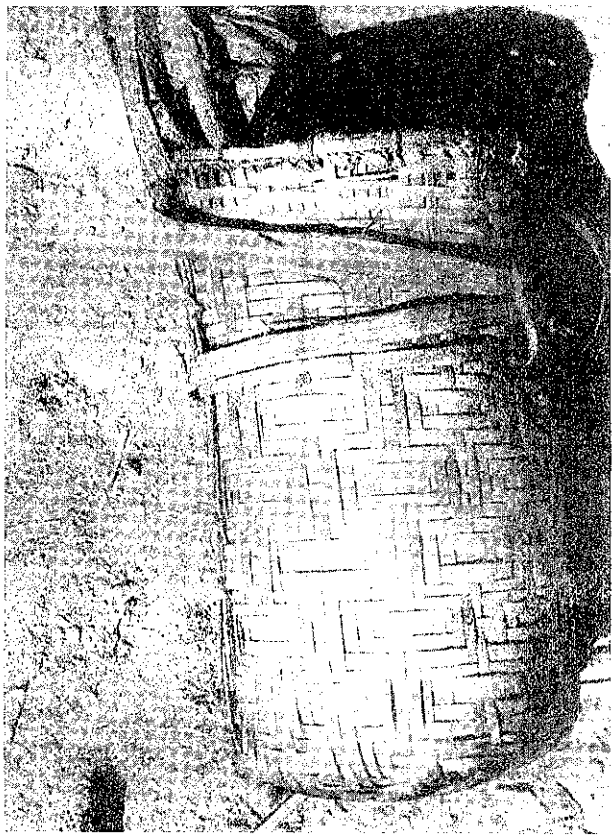

FIGURE 5. Basket of all buriti – a rare example of pattern usually reserved for the two-tone materials. Krikati, field inventory 1975.

THE BASE START TYPES

Of the variable features that occur in the burden basket, the base start pattern is one for which I made an extensive field record, and is the focus of discussion here. This feature offers certain advantages for analytical purposes. It lends itself easily to precise description. It is a necessary attribute of all of the burden baskets, and even baskets of other types. Thus, conformity in this pattern, within and between artifact types, can be observed. Increasing the number of specimens, which the inclusion of several basket types provides for, also permits a better basis on which to examine the consistency of individual workmanship—although this cross-type potential will not be utilized in the present analysis.

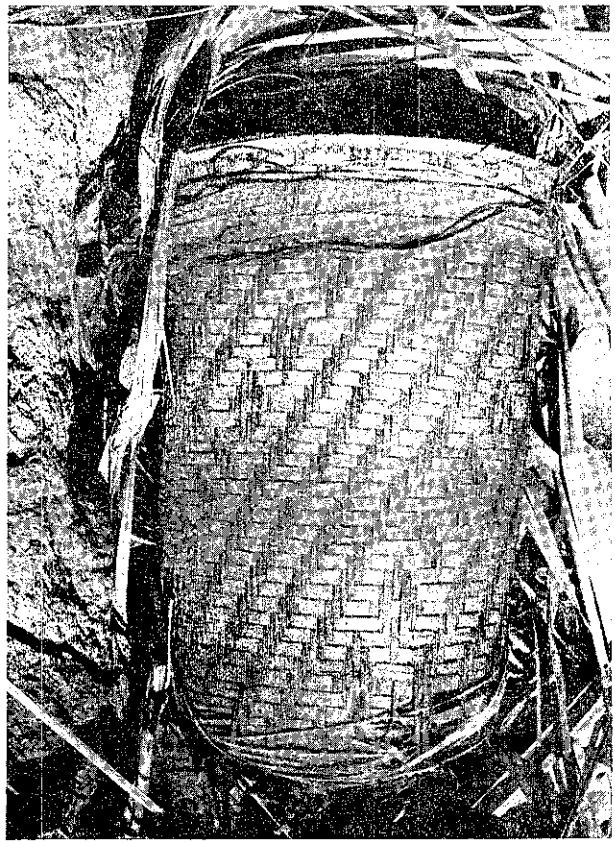

FIGURE 6. Buriti and guarumã basket, discarded, with bottom worn through. Krikati, field inventory 1968.

It is not the most obvious focus for decorative play—which might make it susceptible to rapid modification—but there is seemingly nothing to preclude creative variation. The extent to which a feature is actually made the focus for such play determines its usefulness as a marker of cultural distance. (Obviously, a feature modified frequently and at individual whim will not serve to mark any significant time depth, nor exclusive cultural affiliation. The sheer number of permutations possible in the physical formation of the base starts, would make the establishing of types pointless, were that not the case.)

There are only two major types of base start and five minor types that occur in Krikati and Pukobye burden baskets. (See FIG. 9 for their appearance, and TABLES 1, 2, and 3 for their frequencies.) These relatively

FIGURE 7. Buriti and guarumã basket, in usual storage location hanging from house rafters. This basket has secondary shoulder straps of bark, as well as usual tumpline. Krikati, field inventory 1975.

few forms indicate that a conservative tendency is operating on this feature. The conservative characteristic of the base start pattern in the present setting is important in that it would seem to have the potential for tracing cultural preferences of some temporal depth and thus to reflect the historical diversity of these tribes.

The major types account for 86% of the specimens, and minor types for the remaining 14%. Major and minor types do not have an even distribution among basketmakers of these tribes. In the discussion that follows, it is the documentation of specimens by individual makers that provides the key to the social significance of these base start types.

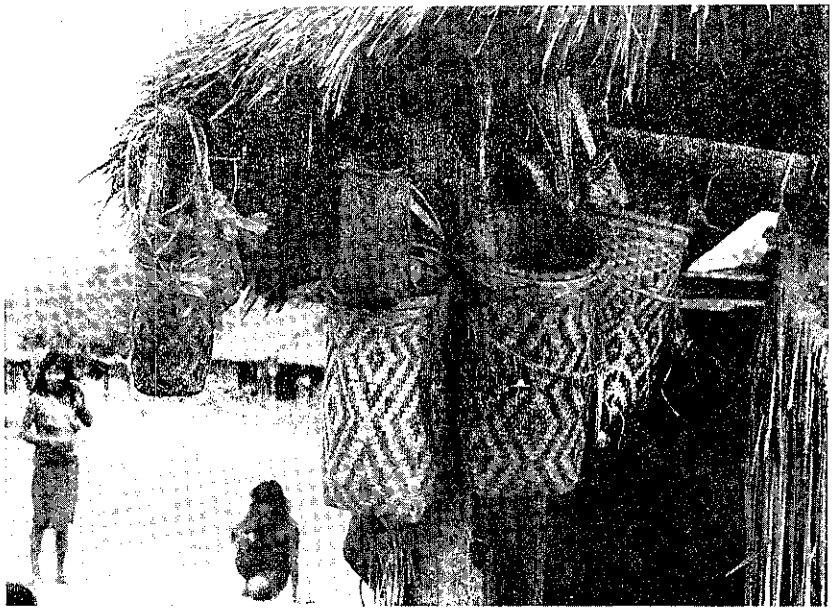

FIGURE 8. Several baskets of buriti and guarumã with similar design patterns—these numerous slight variations are characteristic of the body designs. Pukobye, field inventory 1968.

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

One major piece of evidence for the cultural relevance, as well as analytical convenience of a type distinction, is the fact that linguistic terms exist (collected from Krikati) which contrast these two major types. Type 6A is called *entoh*, navel, and type 1B is called *kapruhnkuh*, turtle shell.[8] These names are visually understandable. That they relate to only one face of the pattern is obvious, and to be expected from the manner of construction (see note 14 below).

The linguistic designations can also be taken as evidence that the cognitive basis of these patterns is visual. It might, alternatively, be manipulative—that is, conditioned by the sequence of physical movements involved, rather than by the appearance of the final form. In the majority of these patterns there is a central set of three units that is nonrepetitive. Three is also the highest number to which the Krikati can count in their own language. This might be seen as evidence of possible importance of a manipulative mode, identifiable in the form of the pattern itself.

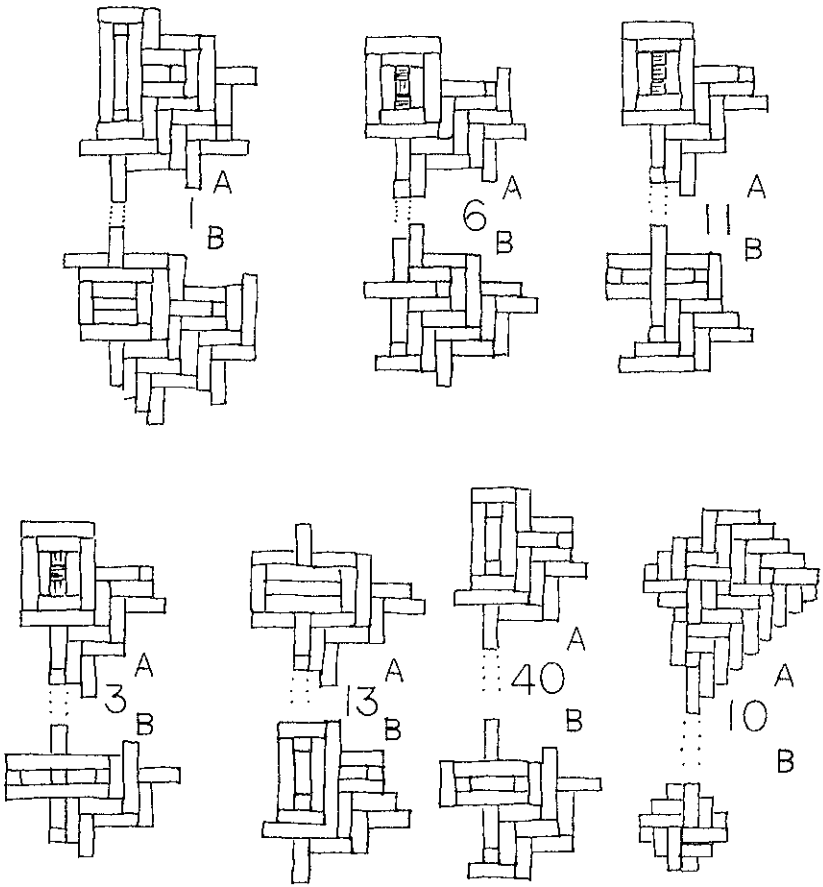

FIGURE 9. Base Start Types The A, B designations indicate opposite faces of a single type. Orientation of the two faces is x-ray – as though looking through to the opposite face.

While I have no reason to believe this to be an either/or situation, nor to suggest that the issue is closed with just the given evidence, I am inclined to accept the visual basis rather than the manipulative basis, to the knowledge of this feature. In this characteristic, I contrast it clearly with the predominantly manipulative mode operating in the twining of hammocks – the relevance of which will be seen below.

TABLE 1
OCCURRENCE OF BASE START TYPES IN KRIKATI AND PUKOBYE TRIBES

Type	Frequency	Percentage
1B	142	54
6A	83	32
11A	18	7
10	6	2
3A	4	1.5
40A	4	1.5
13A	4	1.5
Total	261	

SOURCES OF BASE START VARIATION—TRIBAL MIXTURE

What then, is the relationship of the two major types of base start on the burden basket, to the tribal entities involved here, or to parts of them? Both linguistically and visually, we have seen these types to be distinct.

TABLE 2
BURDEN BASKET BASE START TYPES BY YEAR AND SOURCE FOR KRIKATI-MADE BASKETS

Year/Source	Types							
	1B	6A	11A	10	13A	40A	3A	Total
1964 Krikati Collection	9	13	0	1	0	0	0	23
1968 Krikati Inventory	27	16	0	0	3	0	0	46
1968 Krikati Collection	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	12
1968 Pukobye Inventory	6	4	0	2	0	0	0	12
1975 Krikati Inventory	16	3	0	2	0	3	1	25
1975 Krikati Collection	23	7	1	0	0	0	0	31
Totals	87	49	1	5	3	3	1	149
Percentages	58	33	1	3	2	2	1	

TABLE 3
BURDEN BASKET BASE START TYPES BY YEAR AND SOURCE FOR PUKOBYE-MADE BASKETS

Year/Source	Types							
	1B	6A	11A	10	13A	40A	3A	Total
1968 Pukobye Collection	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1968 Krikati Collection	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
1968 Pukobye Inventory	21	10	7	0	1	1	1	41
1968 Krikati Inventory	24	13	6	0	0	0	1	44
1975 Krikati Inventory	4	9	2	0	0	0	1	16
1975 Krikati Collection	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	8
Totals	55	34	17	1	1	1	3	112
Percentages	49	30	15	1	1	1	3	

The appearance of two major types in a situation in which two tribes have had close contact and have exchanged members in marriage, cannot go unnoticed. It is only reasonable to look for evidence to support the hypothesis that each of these tribes once had a distinctive form of base start, which was added to in each case by the absorbtion of individuals from the other tribe. In fact, a previous study of variant forms of cordage twist and of hammock twining has revealed just such a significant association between each of these tribes and particular variant forms.[9]

But the assembled data on base start types show no differential association of either major type with tribe. There are several possible explanations for this.

Both tribes may have had both types even before their close contact of the last century. The likelihood of this may at some future time be estimated by making a comparison of the relative difference in this feature between other tribes. Alternatively, these tribes might once have had a single major type, and the present evidence might simply reflect the transition to a multiplicity of forms. If the latter is the case, what factors might have sped up the process of amalgamation in the traits of the burden basket, while not affecting the variable features of the hammock

to the same degree? One most relevant factor has already been mentioned, namely, the extent to which these baskets are the focus of trade between these tribes – however lopsided it may be. In this respect, the baskets contrast with the hammocks, which do not figure in intertribal trade and therefore have traits that probably diffuse only with the actual movement of people – specifically women – between tribes. Once, earlier in this century, at a time of particular conflict with local settlers, a large number of Krikati seem to have migrated to the Pukobye area.[9] Otherwise, the number of people going from one area to the other for more than just visits is small, although there is continual movement.[10]

The imported baskets themselves could have provided a sufficient, although static, model for the diffusion of base start forms, but the exchange of basket makers themselves, providing ample models for and modeling of alternative traits, would be the major factor.

Finally, there may be characteristics of each technology that make it more or less accessible than the other to conscious manipulation. From observations of both processes, I suspect that the basket base starts are more visual and less motoric than the hammock technologies, and, in this regard, are the more accessible of the two. These, then, are the factors – social, cultural and technological – which may account for the disparity in the equal exchange of traits between these tribes, even given similar temporal exposure.

We are still at this point in a position to accept the possibility that the presence of two major base start types are derived from tribal mixture, but without any direct evidence that this is the case. It is one of the minor types for which the present data provide direct evidence of extratribal origin.

Taking the vantage point now, not of the frequencies of these types in the populations as a whole, but in the repertories of individuals, there is only one person who is the maker of a minor type to the exclusion of all major types as well as other minor types. He is a Pukobye, of mixed parentage, although raised in Pukobye villages. His father was Guajajara, from a tribe of Tupian linguistic stock inhabiting the forest area to the north of the Timbira in the State of Maranhão. At about 40 years old in 1968, this man, and possibly his father (then deceased) who previously lived in this village, could very well have provided the model for the present nine Pukobye users of this type. For none of the others was it an exclusive technique, and no other minor technique is used exclusively by any other individual (when sufficient examples are available to make such a determination). The fairly certain external origin of this type then

shows us what the effects of the introduction of a new type from the outside, might look like in the artifact record. It also highlights the importance of knowing the individual makers, especially in tribes such as the Pukobye and Krikati who not only incorporate members of each other's tribes but significant others as well.[11] While keeping in mind that other of the minor types may also be the remnants of still other tribal traditions absorbed by the Krikati/Pukobye sometime in the past,[12] we must also ask what alternative explanations can be made within this data base.

SOURCES OF BASE START VARIATION—GENERATION

It is important to describe briefly the physical characteristics of these types, in order to better evaluate their potential derivation from one another.

Each pattern is one of two opposing faces, each of which present a different appearance (in type 40 this involves only a 90° rotation of the pattern—see FIG. 9). That there is a primary face—one which identifies the visual cognitive nature of the type—is demonstrated by the constancy[13] of the face which appears on the inside or outside of the basket. The outside face is the one I have used for identification of the type.[14]

Each of these patterns is symmetrical in the four quadrants. Where a specimen was not symmetrical, I considered it an error, and have not recorded it as a type. There are very few such errors, and where they occur the canonical form can easily be identified. Because the very center is nonrepetitive, errors there are not identifiable in this way. A single anomalous occurrence—among the Krikati—of type 11A, from a 19-year-old man, might be an instance of such an error. The fact that the reversal of a single unit is in this instance the difference between this minor type (11A) and a major type (6A), is enough to warn against making too much of an isolated example.

Since type 3A also differs from type 6A—or 11A—in just these center units there is the possibility that, although symmetrical, the examples of this type are in fact also errors.

In addition, each of these patterns can be seen in a number of different ways—in a kind of figure/ground effect. Because of this effect, it is not a simple matter to decide upon the relative similarity or differences between patterns, much less to know which of two or more alternative logical routes has actually been taken, in the generation of one pattern from another (see FIG. 10).

To explore these possibilities, we must again turn to the repertories of

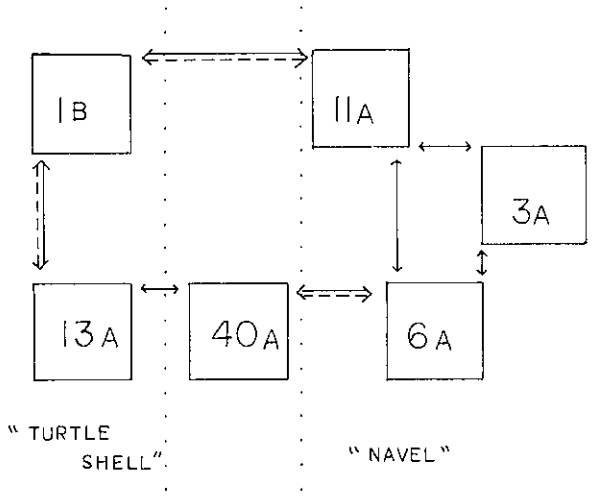

FIGURE 10. Base start types—cultural categories and relative morphological differences **Key:** Arrows with solid line indicate that a simple change in under/over pattern of weaving would be sufficient to change one pattern to the indicated one. Distance of squares from one another is proportional to the extent of the change. Arrows with solid and dashed line indicate that a shift in an entire segment of the pattern—collapsing, elongating or repeating—would be involved in the change of one pattern to the one indicated. Where no arrow connects two types directly, it indicates that the indirect connection is the shortest. The dots separate types of the two different linguistic designations.

the individual basket makers. Whether in the context of creative play, the inexperience of youth, the failures of hand/eye coordination of advancing age, or errors of carelessness, an individual's repertory of types suggest which, if any, of these types are likely related in form to each other, and by what principle.

There are four examples of minor type 3A among these specimens. Three are made by men under 30 years old, which increases the likelihood of this form being generated by error. In two of these cases the men's repertories otherwise included only type 6A—twice in one instance, and three times in the other. The two other occurrences of this type were in the context of a mixture of many types—1B, 6A, 11A and 10—in the repertories of two other men.

Types 13A and 40A are patterns which, because they entail symmetrical repetition of those aspects in which they differ from the other types, are less likely to have been produced accidently.

Two of the four examples of type 13A are from men over 50 years old,

one whose repertory was otherwise exclusively 1B and one whose repertory was otherwise evenly divided between 6A and 1B. The two other examples of this type are of unknown makers—one Krikati and the other Pukobye. There is little likelihood of error being the basis for this type, and some circumstantial evidence for its generation from the closely related type, 1B.

Type 40 A is associated with only one other type, 1B, in the repertories of the two Krikati men producing it. One man is in his mid-thirties and the other is in his late forties. One man made two examples, again evidence against an interpretation of error, but not ruling out creative generation. A fourth example was from an unidentified Pukobye.

The six specimens of type 10 have an absolute association with baskets that are interlaced, rather than woven, in the body section. Interlacing is also exclusively associated with baskets made only of buriti. There is no technological necessity involved in either association, but in other categories of basket which are exclusively interlaced and made of only one material, this type of base start predominates. The presence of this type in the burden basket is probably simply a result of the historical association between the interlacing and this base start type. There is no distinctive characteristic—of tribe, age, or relationship—of the three or four men who produced the specimens of this type.

SUMMARY

The outstanding characteristic of these types is the very limited numbers of them--both in the number of types and in the frequency with which they occur. This posture to creative variation is quite different from the proliferation of designs on the basket body, with the numerous intermediate forms which defy incorporation into a typology. Evidence that certain of these types have their origins in the past differentiated cultures of these and possibly other tribes is only circumstantial. It is nevertheless the strongest hypothesis available.

Type 11 is the only one for which there is direct evidence of an external source. The trade in burden baskets is suggested as having produced a more rapid dissemination of types 1 and 6, than has taken place in the case of the hammock. Certain cognitive and technological factors may also have abetted this process.

Alternative explanations, examined for the minor types, can not be ruled out completely. Type 3A in particular is suspect as a freely generated variant—an error—by virtue of the ages of the producers.

Types 13A and 40A show certain affiliations to individuals whose repertories also include the closest major type (1B) to these types. This increases the possibility that they may have been generated from that type, although, in these cases, not as error. Type 10, with a quite different form and association with a particular technique, suggests another historical path.

In addition to the suggestive association of types, the data on individual repertories has also provided evidence that several likely sources of intratribal variation can be ruled out. The minority of women basket makers—sufficient to account for any one (or more) of these minor types—are shown to be in no way distinctive. The potential congruence in such variable traits, within households or kinship groups, is demonstrably not the case here.

CONCLUSION

It may seem that I am swimming upstream, in advocating improved documentation, while my colleagues demonstrate ingenious uses for our holdings of poorly documented material. But the task of documenting collections where opportunities still exist to do so, is an urgent one. Specimens are still being collected. Past collectors are still living who might be prevailed upon to supply additional documentation for their collections. A simple but important question would be how the collection was made. Was it a last minute rush to gather things from the whole community, or the milking of a single household for selected items over an extended period of time? Just that information could help in evaluating the social significance of the collection. Beyond that, was the collector a believer in "museum quality" artifacts, was an attempt made to collect diagnostic types, or to be random? In brief, what was there that did not get collected?

If so much is precluded by the faulty documentation of collections, then it must stand to reason that there is a great deal to be gained by its full realization. My simultaneous recording of field artifacts as well as documentation of the collections made, has been an attempt to remove the most obvious limitations to the research use of this material. The last major documentary hurdle—if only because it is one not generally acknowledged by ethnologists to be important—is that of identification of maker. This is not because of an interest in the individual *per se*, but because it is the best means of providing data on the whole range of subcultural groupings and categories. This is a relatively simple task, in con-

texts where genealogical data are routinely taken. With such documentation available, we can really begin to see where the limits lie in the research potential of material culture.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A Museum Fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research funded my 1968 field research and study of museum collections. Initial field work in 1964 was carried out under auspices of the Harvard Central Brazil Project and in company of Jean Carter Lave. The final version of this paper benefited from conversations with my Brazilian colleague, Vera Penteado Coelho,whose timely sojourn in this country as visiting professor has been much appreciated.

2. The most evident bias was the underrepresentation of baskets of guarumã -- a material not available in all areas.

3. I have omitted in my study here a number of museum and other specimens for which I have incomplete information. These can and should be eventually incorporated into this discussion.

4. In 1968 the most complete inventory was made. Information taken in 1963--4 was a unsystematic precursor to what followed, and my 1975 inventory was limited by a relatively short field stay and during a time of year when Krikati are highly nomadic.

5. In both Pukobye and Krikati household inventories, I omitted the smaller satellite villages of each cluster. In each case, the single largest village constituted 75% of the population. This 75% represents the universe from which these samples were drawn.

6. The significant disparity betweeen the 39 specimens indicated here and those accounted for in my present analysis (23), is due to the loss of documentary associations for many specimens and/or the loss of specimens from this collection.

7. The terminology of Irene Emery (EMERY I. 1966. The Primary Structures of Fabrics and Illustrated Classification. The textile Museum, Washington, D.C.) is that adopted for use here.

8. I assume that the minor types -- most closely associated with each of these major types in FIGURE 10 -- would share in this terminology, but the rarity of minor forms militated against my confirming this fact in the field.

9. NEWTON, D. 1974. The Timbira hammock as a cultural indicator of social boundaries. *In* The Human Mirror, Material and Spatial Images of Man. M. Richardson, Ed. Louisiana State University Press. Baton Rouge.

10. To give a sense of the scale of this movement, the following synopsis can be seen as characteristic. In 1968, two male Pukobye living with the Krikati in 1964 had returned to the Pukobye, and one Krikati female had gone to the Pukobye. In 1975, seven Pukobye -- five males and two females -- were then living with the Krikati, and one Krikati female had gone to live with the Pukobye. At the same time, one male and two female Krikati, living with the Pukobye in 1968, returned to the Krikati.

11. Just as an example, my 1975 census of the Krikati showed other Timbira -- three Kreapubmakateye, one Apanyekra and one Kraho, in addition to ten Pukobye -- as well as one Guajajara and two Neo-Brazilians living in their village.

12. Collections of baskets from other tribes are possible sources of confirmation, both of the association between base start types and specific tribes that may have contributed to the Krikati/Pukobye trait pool, and of exclusivity of types as a function of tribal isolation.

Older collections from Pukobye and Krikati also exist and must be accounted for. The task of marshalling the relevant specimens has begun, but the data are not clear-cut and full exploration of them here would take me well beyond the practicable scope of the present study.

13. There were only two exceptions in the total of 261.

14. In the cases in which I observed a basket being made, it was the outside that was placed in view during the construction process. The strips were laid on the ground with the smooth side intended for the outer face of the base put face up towards the maker. When the base was completed, a piece of bast might be placed around each of the four corner strips and tied together in the center to secure the base as a unit. It would then be turned over and these base strips bent to form the sides.