

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO MARANHÃO

FUNDAÇÃO Instituída nos termos da Lei nº 5.152 de 21/10/1966

SÃO LUÍS — MARANHÃO

11.12.84

Dear Ricardo,

INSTITUTO SOCIOAMBIENTAL

Data 11/12/84

Cod. KYD 000 27

I am responding in English to your letters because I am extremely busy just now and want to answer immediately your questions as you requested. I hope this is no problem.

First, I do not have any recent information on any village other than Gorotire. Thus I cannot be of help with KKK, KKM, etc.

Second, I did not receive the "ficha-padrão" you mention. Perhaps you already have this for Gorotire?

Thirdly, the overall history of the Kayapó is best known by Gustaaf. He is so close to you and can really help with much more detail than I can.

Now, for somethings I do know:

--castanha gathering began with the arrival of Cavalcanti. He loved (loves) these kinds of things--i.e. creating indians into "Brazilians." So from the founding of Gorotire, FUNAI has "managed" the castanha trade. But note! Our recent research shows that the great castanha do Pará groves in the region were planted by the ancestors of the Kayapó--and seem to follow, therefore, the paths of old trails linking old village and campsites. The present site of Gorotire (Novo Horizonte) is, in fact, an ancient village site that was periodically in use as a major campsite for generations. Thus when Cavalcanti "moved" the Gorotire to Novo Horizonte, he was only following indian suggestions that the Kayapó had once lived there and were healthy living there. Today there are 2 major village sites (well, not that major in comparison to Pyka-tô-ti, but 200-300 people lived there) in the immediate Gorotire area--both of which were inhabited in structural memory (5-6 generations)--and both are now covered with rich vegetation of a large variety of ~~xxxx~~ useful (medicinal and edible) species. The current permanent village site was likewise an old campsite along the major trail between the eastern Kayapó villages of the Araguaya & Tocantins and the western villages of Pyka-to-ti and Xingu/Tapajos trekking & camping sites. Gorotire is, in fact, located at the crossing of the major trail (py-ratx) over the Rio Fresco. The pattern was of having a major ceremonial center (e.g. Pyka-tô-ti), where various lineages would meet to have festas and name giving ceremonies---they would then disperse to trek in various directions, utilizing the "periodic village campsites" along their trails. These trails (see article enclosed) were veritable longitudinal gardens of planted and transplanted species, of which castanha was a major product. Thus castanha planting and gathering is an ancient Kayapó activity.

---Breakup of Pyka-tô-ti (and other previous large villages) was mainly due to epidemics of european diseases. These caused structural rifts and splits along lineage &/or age grade

lines. Breakup of lineages meant breakup of naming patterns and thus disruption of the ceremonial cycles. Certain village groups were left with only a few members--insufficient to carry out traditional ceremonies. Only in villages like Gorotire, and now Kikrêtum, were there enough representatives of all groupst to begin to reconstruct the ancient ceremonial patterns--and even the dual men's house. Thus when I mention the "mosaico de tradições Kayapó" in Gorotire, I refer to the extraordinary variety of oral traditions that come with indians from all Kayapó groups now living together in Gorotire. This leads to discussions over which variety or form of a myth, song, or dance is the "correct"one. The conclusion is usually: none of the present forms, but an idealized form that was used at Pyka-tô-ti and /or Hak-bin-djã (the ancient Araguaya village). Currently the Gorotire Kayapó are determining what they believe to be the "true, ancient form"--which will be, of course, an amalgamation of all existing variations.

---in reference to the "Cisões..." article, the diseases listed are those that are fatal. TB was/is rarely considered a killer for the Gorotire. Certainly during 1962-78 there were deaths that occurred of TB sufferers--but the records do not show the deaths as being caused by TB. Probably TB weakened the patients sufficiently to contract other diseases that were fatal.

---regarding the chieftancy. Toto'i was made delegado during the police epoch. His classificatory father (as well as the father of his wife) had been a chief--so he at least had some traditional legitimacy to that position of mēbenadjwra (unlike Coronel Pombo!). He probably would never have become chief, however, had he not been made delegado--and treated as such in the same manner as real chiefs by FUNAI, etc. The schism with Pombo left the vacuum that elevated Toto'i to his present position. His popularity, however, is wavering--and it is mostly the support of FUNAI and the Cumarú gold people who keep him in his new-found capitalist role. Recently 5 new sub-chiefs have been named: 2 under Toto'i and 3 under Kanhok. The latter is getting ready to relinquish power--but there is no heir apparent (his eldest son is barely interested, but is still young--his main problem is his inability to speak fluent Portuguese). It appears that the sub-chiefs will not become principal chiefs--i.e. will not permanently substitute the 2 (Kanhok and Toto'i), but only "stand in their place" when they are away. Permanent replacements will be, as is tradition, sons or nephews (all "kra" in Kayapó). -Important: Recently the Projeto Cumarú military people have talked of creating a "Prefeito" in Gorotire. They tried to name José Uté to fill this role. He has gained much power due to the merchandise he has been allowed to distribute from Cumarú--but seems to loose his power because of his lust for power and hot temper. He is, however, another case of how Brazilian interference in tribal politics is leading to instability of the village.

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO MARANHÃO

FUNDAÇÃO Instituída nos termos da Lei nº 5.152 de 21/10/1966
SÃO LUÍS — MARANHÃO

3.

---The present village of Gorotire is called Novo Horizonte-- but really the actual village site of Novo Horizonte, a small village of Brazilian ranchers and growers (occupied from the turn of the century until the 1940's), is about 4 km down river from the village of Gorotire. When Cavalcanti arrived there with the Kayapó, there were between 85-89 indians (when Banner found the first Gorotire group there had been 258--all the rest had died from disease and fights)--. It is very difficult to evaluate the census data from this period because the indians came and went, some families leaving from the settlement due to fear of ~~witchcraft~~ witchcraft and disease--fleeing to apête (forest islands created for strategic, survival purposes--see Keepers of the Campo and forest management articles enclosed) until the fear had past (sometimes months or years of isolation). Banner retreated to Novo Olinda (site of present-day Ki-krê-tum--more or less), where he founded a school for 15 boys. Of these (including Kanhonk), only 12 stayed with him--some eventually going with him to Altamira (the mission "base"). They lived periodically for 4 years with Banner there--some longer and some lesser period of time.

----When the Kuben-krã-kein were "pacified", Banner went from Altamira to KKK to establish the mission station. He always returned from a few months at a time to Gorotire (now at Novo Horizonte), but never got along very well with Cavalcanti (little wonder!) and left to avoid tension and ~~antagonism~~ antagonism of Cavalcanti. The return of the Kayapó boys from Banner's "school", however, left a permanent mark on Gorotire. The village in its entirety call Horace their "Father" (Bam) and Horace's wife ("Mother" (Nã). The Gorotire mission was subsequently taken over by Earl and Ivy Trapp, both of whom are fluent in Kayapó and have worked as long with the indians as did Banner or anyone else.

I hope this answers the majority of your questions. I suggest you contact Carl Berger, MICEB, in Belém (091-222-2708), who can perhaps provide a complete log of which missionaries were in which villages during the long period of time of MICEB's work with the Kayapó. I fear I do not have this information.

Enclosed are some reprints to add to your collection. I also suggest you include in the "Kayapó conhecimento da natureza" the list of articles associated with the team of our Projeto Kayapó. These are listed on the reverse side.

- ① Parker, E. , D. A. Posey, J. Frechione, L. F. da Silva. 1983. Resource ~~EXXX~~ Exploitation in Amazonia: Ethnoecological Examples from Four Populations. ~~XXXXXX~~ Annals of Carnegie Museum. 52(Article 8): 163-183.

~~XXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

- ② Camargo, João M. F. & D. A. Posey. O conhecimento dos índios sobre as abelhas sociais sem ferrão: Notas adicionais. Revista Brasileira de Zoologia, no prelo. (1985)
- ③ Elisabetsky, Elaine & Darrell A; Posey. Conceitos de animais e seus espíritos em relação a doença e cura entre os índios Kayapó da Aldeia Gorotire. Revista Brasileira de Zoologia (1985)
- ④ W. E. Kerr & D- A. Posey. Informações adicionais sobre a Agricultura dos Kayapó. Interciência (Dezembro , 1984).
- ⑤ Barrell A. Posey. 1985 Ethnoecology and the Investigation of Resource Management by the Kayapó Indians of Gorotire, Brazil. Proceedings of 1º Simpósio de Trópico Úmido. Belém, Pará: EMBRAPA.
- ⑥ Anthony Anderson & Darrell A. Posey. Manejo de Cerrado pelos índios Kayapó. Boletim do Museu Goeldi (Série Botânico), no prelo.