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THE KAYAPO OF SOUTHEASTERN PARA

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Terry Turner
Dept. of Anthropology
University of Chicago
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THE KAYAPO OF SOUTHEASTERN PARA

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Terry Turner
Dept. of Anthropology
University of Chicago
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I. THE KAYAPO: A CASE STUDY IN SUCCESSFUL RESISTANCE AND
CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION

The Kayapo, a Ge-speaking people of Southeastern Para, afford perhaps the most dramatic recent case of successful resistance to the destructive aspects of interaction with the national society as experienced by most Amazonian peoples, such as territorial expropriation, social disorganization and cultural disorientation. The Kayapo are a relatively numerous people with some fourteen villages (there are probably still two small uncontacted groups) and slightly over 2,000 people. They have a strong raiding tradition and are well known for their aggressiveness. Their reputation among the local Brazilian and non-Kayapo native population approximates that of the Apache in the southwestern U.S. in the last century.

Within the past several years, the Kayapo have scored a series of successes in political, legal, and armed struggles with Brazilian national authorities and private economic interests, which have won them a certain notoriety in the Brazilian news media. These have included the demarcation of two large reserves, the seizure and competent administration of two gold mines that had been illegally opened up on their territory, and the restoration of a sizeable segment of the Xingu National Park that had originally been allocated to them, but had subsequently been expropriated by illicit government action. These achievements were in all cases won by a combination of armed struggle, political pressure and diplomacy, with considerable support but also some opposition from FUNAI, as well as coverage in the national news media. Along with their political successes the Kayapo have also managed to acquire a number of Western technical and administrative skills. They have proved to be capable administrators, both within the FUNAI bureaucracy of the Xingu National Park and in the running of the captured gold mines. They have learned the use of Western medicines, and with assistance from FUNAI built themselves well-stocked dispensaries and infirmaries. They have also acquired a number of technologically sophisticated devices, such as motor-launches, electrical

generators, airplanes, video-cassette recorders and television monitors. They have learned not only to operate but in many cases to maintain these things themselves. These accomplishments earned them the accolade of "Brazil's High-Tech Indians" in an article in VEJA (1986).

Throughout the history of Kayapo contact with Brazilian society, their traditional social institutions and cultural patterns have proved themselves remarkably resilient, continuing to serve as bases of effective collective action even while accommodating considerable changes. One of the questions that the Kayapo case implicitly raises is why and how Kayapo social organization and cultural structure proved to be relatively effective bases for resistance and accommodation to the social, economic and cultural encroachments of the national society, whereas many other Amazonian societies have fared less well in the same context.

One of the most important changes in Kayapo culture to have emerged from the interaction with Brazilian society is the emergence of a new level of social and political self-consciousness: an awareness on the part of the Kayapo that their traditional beliefs and institutions are not simply attributes of human nature, but a "culture" associated with a particular "ethnic" identity, which is in turn linked to the internal social and political autonomy of their village communities, and is thus a matter of practical historical action and political choice.

This raising of historical and political self-consciousness has occurred as an integral part of the Kayapo struggle to resist pressures from the national society for political, economic, and cultural assimilation. The relative success of the Kayapo in this struggle has resulted in a strengthening of collective self-confidence, cultural pride and political assertiveness. With the Kayapo, in other words, a heightened sense of the historicity of their own culture and society has gone hand in hand with a heightened sense of their own capacity for history: their ability to determine their own historical destiny.

Among the fourteen existing Kayapo communities, two stand out as leading protagonists in the struggle for accommodation and resistance to the national society, and as prototypes of the different forms which this struggle has taken: Kapot and Gorotire. Descendants of the schism of a common ancestral village in 1905, long before the first peaceful contacts with Brazilian society, these two communities stand at the opposite ends of the continuum of inter-ethnic conflict and accommodation along which all the extant Kayapo communities can be ranged.

This report will therefore concentrate on a detailed account of the history and contemporary social, political and cultural situation of these two communities.

Kapot (and its antecedent communities, Porori, Kretire, and Jarina) and Gorotire are also the communities in which most of my research on the Kayapo has been done. I began field work in Gorotire in 1962, twenty-five years before this writing, and made my first field trip to Porori, the ancestor of present-day Kapot, in 1966. Since then I have revisited both groups, Kretire (the successor of Porori and immediate predecessor of Kapot) in 1976, and both Kapot and Gorotire in 1987. On all of these trips I collected complete genealogical censuses. Alfred Metraux, who worked in Gorotire for a couple of months in 1954, also carried out a genealogical census of the village, which I recently had the opportunity to examine among his field notes, now preserved at the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale at the College de France. A number of other anthropologists and other scholars, including missionaries, have worked in the two communities or others closely related to them, and have written about various aspects of their history and culture: among these the works of Verswijver on Kayapo ethnohistory are of particular relevance to this study.

The result is that we possess a wealth of detailed information on the history and social structure of these two communities, which in the case of Gorotire extends back over more than 50 years, and in Kapot for more than 20. The ethnohistorical record compiled by Verswijver allows this data to be located within an account of political events and group movements extending back to the beginning of this century. A comparative study of the two communities over this span of time thus affords an opportunity unequalled in Lowland South American ethnography to examine the interplay of an indigenous social and cultural system with Western political-economic and cultural forms, under two well-defined sets of contrasting circumstances, over an extended historical period.

II. TRADITIONAL KAYAPO SOCIAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE

A. The village as social and political unit.

1. Village, inter-village relations, and tribal identity

The village is the basic social, political, and ceremonial unit of Kayapo society. Kayapo villages, like those of other Ge-speaking peoples, are relatively large by Amazonian standards. Gorotire, the largest at present, has almost 700 people, but historically there have been villages of at least

twice that size. Villages tend to be relatively widely separated (most of the 14 existing villages are separated by from 100 to 200 km. from one another). Partly because the distance between them tends to inhibit casual travel, partly because they tend to be on hostile terms, and partly because women are almost invariably kept from leaving their home household and village to go with a husband to another village, villages tend to be endogamous. Each village is thus a social universe, a microcosm of Kayapo society complete in itself.

This is not to say, however, that village communities are not in practice strongly affected by their relations with other Kayapo villages. There is no formal inter-village or tribal organization, but there is considerable movement of groups between villages, and most Kayapo have known relatives in other communities. Kayapo communities were generally on hostile terms with one another up to the time of pacification, in most cases because they had formed through the fission of common ancestral villages, and the hostilities responsible for the fissive conflict remained as the basis for the subsequent relations among the separated groups. Secessionist groups in new fissions could usually count on finding asylum with the traditional enemies of their village of origin, and often attempted to secure their integration into their new host community by launching a joint attack against the group from which they had just split off. It is therefore possible to speak of an inter-village system of relations, which continually developed out of, and in turn affected, intra-village political and social processes.

Some of the more intense inter-village conflicts and hostile attitudes continued for a time after pacification, but in the last decade there has been a strong tendency towards political cooperation and ethnic solidarity vis a vis the Brazilians. This new attitude has been catalyzed by several developments, among them the acquisition of wireless radios capable of speaking with the other villages, and relatively frequent air travel among most villages by planes of FAB (the Brazilian Air Force), FUNAI, and recently of the Kayapo themselves (Gorotire bought a plane in 1986). Although there is now a good deal of informal consultation among Kayapo leaders from different villages on matters of common concern, however, there is still no formal institution of political coordination at the tribal level.

2. The spatial form and social composition of the village.

The traditional form of the village is a circle of extended family houses surrounding an open central plaza, in the center of which stands one or two men's houses. The two men's

houses, if both are present, occupy the eastern and western parts of the central space, and are respectively known as the "lower" or "root" and the "upper" or "tip" men's house (although for purposes of this section I describe the moiety system in the present tense, I should make clear at this point that none of the existing Kayapo villages possesses two men's houses, i.e., a moiety system in being). Beyond the circle of houses lies a transitional zone between the social area of the village and the fully natural area of the forest and savannah: this zone, which contains the cemetery and other sites of ritual seclusion for those undergoing rites of passage. This is called the "'black' or 'dead' ground" (the same Kayapo word, 'tuk', carries both meanings).

The village is conceptually situated at the center of space-time. This central location is simultaneously defined upon two complementary dimensions, the diametric and the concentric, respectively associated with the vertical and horizontal planes. Both of these dimensions are conceived in terms of movement or types of action, rather than static spatial contrast. As dynamic types of action or process, they possess a temporal as well as a spatial aspect. They are, in other words, not merely categories of space, but of space-time.

The concentric opposition between central village and peripheral nature is conceived as a reversible process of transforming peripheral nature into central society, balanced by the reverse transformation of society back into nature. An example is the human life cycle, which begins with the animal-like state of early infancy, proceeds through socialization to adulthood, and then returns through death to the animal-like existence of ghosts in the forest. Concentric space is bisected by the path of the sun from east to west, "the place where the sun appears" and the place where the sun disappears" comprising the two Kayapo cardinal points. These two points are at the same time conceived on a vertical dimension: east is "the lower sky" while west is "the upper sky". This vertical contrast is thought of as a temporal process of growth, linear and irreversible but cyclically repeated: the east is called "the root of the sky", while the west is called "the tip" of the sky ("tip" here is meant in the sense of the tip of a growing plant). These vertical coordinates continue to orient the space-time of village activities whether or not the two men's houses associated with them are both present in the plaza.

The men's houses are both called by the term for "center": the division between them, as moieties, is relevant only to the central space of the plaza in which they stand, and does not extend to bisect the houses of the village circle. From the standpoint of the latter, as periphery, it therefore makes no

difference whether there is only one "center" or two (sic) "centers" (the eastern or "lower" center and the western or "upper" center, respectively). Meanwhile, the concentric contrast between peripheral "natural" forest and savannah and central "social" village is replicated, within the village, as the opposition between the peripheral ring of domestic households, considered relatively "natural" or unsocialized, and the central communal groups focused in the men's house(s), which are considered the epitome of sociality.

The village, as the domain of social space-time, thus appears as a microcosm of natural or cosmic space-time. The linear, irreversible but infinitely repeated cycle of east-west solar movement is replicated within the village by the movement of men and women from the first, or natal phase of the life-cycle to the second, or procreative phase, while the reversible, concentric movement from nature to culture and back is replicated by their movement from birth to death, and within that span from their position as children within nuclear families to their participation as adults in communal social groups to their gradual withdrawal, as elders, from communal social and ritual activity.

B. Social production.

1. The production of material subsistence. The social division of labor.

The Kayapo produce their material means of subsistence by a combination of slash-and-burn horticulture, hunting, fishing, and gathering. According to the division of labor by gender and generation, men engage in all productive pursuits incompatible with the care of young children, while women perform those which can be carried out while caring for children. This means that men hunt, fish, do the heavy and dangerous work of clearing gardens, and gather certain products which grow at great distances, requiring overnight journeys. Women do the planting, weeding and harvesting of gardens, cut firewood, cook the food, build traditional shelters (now done almost exclusively in trekking camps), and care for children. Girls begin to help their mothers with household and garden chores while still children, but boys do no productive labor until they reach the men's house, and relatively little even then until they are initiated in their middle 'teens.

There is further gender specialization in the production of craft articles: men weave mats and baskets; produce all carved wooden articles such as clubs and other weapons, ear-plugs and lip-plugs; make bone points for arrows and lances; do

all feather-work for ceremonial ornaments; and formerly manufactured stone axes and crystal lip-plugs. Women make cotton string (used primarily for making arrows and ornaments), produce wooden mortars by burning out the center of a section of log; and carry out the elaborate style of body-painting done with a leaf-rib stylus, used mostly for children. Both genders produce macrame or webbed items such as bracelets and anklets, do bead-work, and execute the relatively rough-and-ready style of body-painting applied with the hand, which is normally used by adults and older children.

Trekking expeditions typically last from one to three months and take several forms: individual age-sets (most frequently, the male batchelors' set) may be sent out to gather seasonally ripening nuts or fruits; individual adult men's societies, with women, children, and batchelors as dependents, may trek as a separate group, or the whole village may go on trek together, with the men's societies maintaining separate areas within the hunting camps; or most of the village may jointly go on trek to gather food for a ceremonial feast, in which case the men's society format is normally ignored, and the men instead divide themselves into hunting teams, each working for one of the fathers of the children being honored in the ceremony. A community may go on two or three such treks per year, so that as much as half the year is spent on trek.

The regular alternation between trekking and base-village occupation thus appears to be an integral aspect of Kayapo social organization. Why this should be so is not immediately apparent. Trekking by large collective groups is a relatively inefficient way to exploit the wild floral and faunal resources of an area. Only the adult men of the camp do any hunting. The batchelors and younger boys are typically occupied either with clearing the trail to the next day's campsite, as well as the campsite itself, or bringing up horticultural produce from the village gardens, while the women occupy themselves with pitching or breaking camp, cutting firewood, preparing food, and tending children. The camp is moved every one or two days, but usually only for a distance of one or two kilometers, about a 15-minute walk. More game could doubtless be captured by small groups of men working alone, free to move more rapidly over greater distances. Hunting and fishing are routinely done in this way while the community is residing in the base village, and it is certainly no less productive than the hunting done on trek. Trekking by whole communities or large groups, in other words, cannot be accounted for as the most efficient available method of acquiring needed protein or other foodstuffs.

There is in fact no evidence that the Kayapo would ever need to move as a group from their permanent village site to remain supplied with the foods they require. Notwithstanding

this fact, Kayapo villages before pacification tended to move as often as every two to five years. A given community would have as many as a dozen village sites, and occupy most of them over a twenty-year period. This frequency of movement, again, cannot be accounted for simply as a result of material necessity. In common with trekking, it seems part of a dynamic inherent in Kayapo social organization. This possibility will be further explored once Kayapo social organization has been described.

2. Human production, the production of the family and of relations of social cooperation.

The manner in which the division of labor in the production of material subsistence is determined by the division of labor in the production of human beings (or "socialization" of children) has already been described. It must be clearly understood that this is not simply a natural result but an arbitrary social pattern. Women who do not happen to be raising young children nevertheless do not go hunting and fishing. Further to the same point, the nuclear family forms the social unit of cooperation in the production and consumption of material subsistence, but as a social unit it owes its form primarily to its role in producing new social persons, not its functions in expediting subsistence activities. The production of material subsistence in Kayapo society, in other words, forms an integral part of the process of producing human beings (social persons), not a separate sphere of activity to which the term "production" exclusively applies (i.e., "the economy"). There is no "economy" in this limited sense in Kayapo society.

The production of social persons does not stop at the boundaries of the nuclear family. One reason for this is that the family itself must be produced, which requires some organization of inter-family relations. In the second place, the production of a person as a social being does not stop with primary socialization, but extends over the entire life cycle, up to and including death: the life cycle as a whole, with all its stages and their attendant social relations, is a social product. Nor is the production of the nuclear family an end in itself in Kayapo society; it is, rather, a means to the end of the production of a more complex social unit, the matri-uxorilocal extended family household. The production of this unit is in turn an essential means to the production of what is for both genders the most valued stage of the human life cycle, that of head of the extended family household.

The production of the extended family entails further specifications of the division of labor in the production of material subsistence. The exclusive allocation to women of tasks

which are minutely divisible, highly predictable, and thus easily controllable also has the effect of making women themselves easily controllable, and of concentrating their productive roles, both with respect to the production of material subsistence and human beings, within the lowest-level social unit of production, the nuclear family. Conversely, the allocation to men of tasks in the production of material subsistence that are relatively indivisible, unpredictable, and uncontrollable both in terms of timing and quantity of yield means that their contributions to material subsistence are associated more with supra-familial levels of distribution rather than being confined within the nuclear family to the extent that women's production is.

This supra-familial focus is repeated in men's tasks in the production of social persons. Men dominate the later stages of the socialization process, that is, the phases of the life cycle that follow childhood and involve the progressive integration of the person into communal groupings and ceremonial relations. The personal statuses associated with participation in these higher levels of social organization and ritual activity are of course those that carry greater social value and prestige.

The same principle applies at the level of the production of the family. As has been noted, in Kayapo society the production of the nuclear family, together with the roles of spouse-parent directly associated with it, is coopted as a phase in the production of a more complex (and in this sense, higher-level) unit, the extended family domestic unit. This is accomplished through the extension of the parents' control over their daughters beyond the sphere of their nuclear family of procreation to include their daughters' families of procreation. The material form of this control is the mandatory co-residence of the daughters' families in the parents' household: in short, matri-uxorilocal residence. This procedure is facilitated by all of the socially determined respects in which the woman's tasks in the division of labor in both the production of material subsistence and of human beings and families render her maximally controllable. This controllability makes the woman an instrument which can be used to control a man. Uxorilocal residence is thus a system for parlaying control over women into control over men (or more specifically, control over daughters into control over the young men who marry them). Both older men and older women (specifically, the wife's parents) participate in this control.

One effect of this exercise of control is that the wife's parents gain access to a share of the subsistence production and labor services of the daughter's husband. He contributes mats and baskets, fish and game, and labor for the clearing

of gardens and the construction or repair of Brazilian-style houses to his parents-in-law. This, however, is a by-product: the main purpose of the exercise is the construction of the extended family itself, as a higher-level organization of family relations which encompasses, and thus dominates, the nuclear family of the daughter and her husband. This in turn entails the production of the status of extended family head as a hegemonic role involving predominance over the subordinate (encompassed) members of the group. This status, which the wife's parents occupy in their capacities as grandparents/parents-in-law, represents the culminating stage of the process of human production in Kayapo society.

The extended family household thus constitutes the unit of human production, as well as of the production of material subsistence, in Kayapo society (the latter being included as an integral part of the former). This does not mean, however, that it represents the highest level of the organization of social production, for it does not contain the institutional apparatus of its own reproduction. The extended family household in Kayapo society is a standardized, uniformly replicated unit. This structural uniformity is only maintained by a system of communal institutions which regulate the process of social production of persons and families in such a way as to guarantee the reproduction of the identical pattern of extended family relations. This is in fact the principal task of the system of communal institutions which forms the collective structure of the Kayapo village.

To sum up, Kayapo society is constituted as an integral process of social production, which subsumes the production of material subsistence, the production of social persons, the production of family and extended families (in their capacities as social units of production relations), and the institutional apparatus of reproduction of these units. The organization of this process will now be examined in detail, beginning with the level of family and kinship relations and the constitution of the domestic group.

C. The segmentary level of social organization: kinship, extended family, and domestic group.

1. Kinship: nuclear family and extended family; intra-family and cross-family categories of relations; affines and non-kin; the kindred.

Kayapo kinship is constructed on two levels. At the lower level, a bilateral field of kinship relations radiates outward from each individual and his or her monogamous nuclear

family. At the higher level, certain kinship relations (e.g., "substitute" fathers and mothers, the statuses of "true" father or "mother of many children", the ceremonial role of name-giving grandparent, uncle or aunt) become the recruitment relations for collective groups or communal ritual roles, and play a determining role in shaping the structure of domestic and kinship relations at the lower level. This higher level is analogous to descent in other Ge societies, and has essentially the same structural properties. Some of these will be described and analyzed in the following section. This section will be concerned with describing kinship relations at the lower level of family, kindred, and domestic group relations.

The personal kindred, defined as including all persons to whom a genealogical connection can be remembered (distinguished in Kayapo as "true" kin), extends symmetrically to include cousins of the first degree, but second degree relations are often not remembered. Persons to whom genealogical relationship is not remembered are considered unrelated, or at best as "false" or adoptive kin. The category of non-kin plays a vital role in the Kayapo kinship system, since only unrelated persons are marriagable. Non-kin are also essential for such ritual roles as "substitute" fathers and mothers and "ceremonial companions" (krab-djuo), to be described in the following section. The Kayapo usually add to the ranks of their "true" (known genealogical) kin by forming "fictive" or adoptive kinship relations with unrelated persons. A person may have as many "fictive" kin as "true" kin. "Fictive" kin of this sort are to be distinguished from ritual relations like "substitute" parents or "krab-djuo"; the relation involves no ritual roles or obligations, and is little more than a formalization of a friendship.

"Consanguineal" kinship, or relationship derived through common origin in the same family, can be contrasted to affinal kinship, acquired through marriage. Affines, called "kin by marriage", are considered to be non-kin who have "become kin" by marriage; their children (e.g., the children of a wife's brother or a husband's sister) are considered full "consanguineal" or con-familial kin. Cross-cutting the division between consanguineal and affinal kin is a second major division of the field of kinship relations, between intra-family kin (those who form part of a person's natal nuclear family or nuclear family of procreation, i.e., parents, children, siblings or spouse), and cross-family kin (those who are only indirectly linked to a person through another member of a person's own two families, who has been, or becomes, a member of a family to which the linked relative belongs (e.g., grandparents, maternal uncles, and paternal aunts, as members of the natal families of a person's parents, or grandchildren, a woman's brother's children, or a man's sister's children, as members of the families of procreation of a person's children or cross-sex siblings).

The opposition between these senior and junior cross-family relatives and a person's intra-family relatives is the foundation of the ceremonial system, and also constitutes the paradigm for the relationship of the ceremonial organization to the age-set system focused in the men's house. The essence of the contrast is that same-family relations (one's own parents, siblings, and children) are thought to share a natural, animal-like, psycho-biological bond which is fundamentally pre-social in character, whereas cross-family relatives, who share no such direct confamilial bond, are related in purely social terms. Relations of the latter category are therefore considered the proper channels for conferring the attributes of social identity, such as personal names and items of ritual "wealth" (nekretch), which forms the main content of public ceremony. Senior "cross-family" kin give their names and ritual wealth to junior "cross-family" kin, passing over the name-receiving children's own parents who, as "same-family" relations, are unable to confer the attributes of sociality upon their own children.

The Kayapo term for kinsman is "bikwa" which means, etymologically translated, "surrounding or pervasively enveloping curved space". Non-kin are called "me ba-item", or "people outside, or to one side of, my people". The kindred is thus conceived as a concentric space, with non-kin beyond the periphery, and the speaker's nuclear family at the center. Although the nuclear family is the central focus of this field of relations, it is defined as lacking a fully "social" character in its own right, and therefore as depending upon its encompassing periphery of cross-family relations for the socialization of its offspring. The effect is to deny the independent viability of the individual nuclear family as a social unit, and to therefore to define the extended family, minimally conceived as a pair of two consecutive, overlapping nuclear families, as the minimal unit of social relations. The fundamental structure of Kayapo kinship relations thus converges with and reinforces the structure of the segmentary household unit, which is based on the subsumption of the nuclear family within the extended family as the basic principle of domestic grouping.

The concentric space of the kindred is not conceived as a series of static zones, but rather in dynamic terms as a process with both reversible and irreversible aspects. The peripheral boundary of the field of kin is continually crossed by non-kin who "become kin" by marriage, and thus renew the field at its central, growing point, the nuclear family. This centripetal process is counterbalanced by the centrifugal loss of consanguineally related kin from the outer fringes of the "cross-family" category, as second-degree relations are forgotten and pass from the category of "true" kin to that of "false"

or adoptive kin, and thus ultimately to that of non-kin. Within the field of consanguineal kin itself, the continual production of new members of the kindred within their natal nuclear families (a centrifugal movement, as it were) is counterbalanced by the centripetal identification of their peripheral cross-family kin with them through name-giving and the bestowal of ritual valuables (nekretch).

The kindred also possesses a linear, temporal dimension of structure, metaphorically expressed in the terminology of kinship relations in terms of the vertical order of parts of the human body. One term for relatives of the grandfather-maternal uncle category is "my old head", while relatives of the grandmother-paternal aunt category are called by terms which include the morpheme for "tooth", "pointed tip", "cutting edge", or "front" in the sense of the front of a moving column of people. One of the terms for descending-generation relatives of the neice-nephew-grandchild category, on the other hand, is the term for "foot". The possessive form for "my child" is a homonym for "hand" (a pun which is deliberately exploited in various cultural contexts, from myth to bodily decoration). The "vertical" order of kindred relations thus corresponds to its character as a process of development in time, from the grandchildren-"feet" (in the first stage of their growth) to the grandparental "heads" or "tips" (in their final phase).

The Kayapo system of kinship relations, in short, is ordered in terms of the same basic dimension embodied by the structure of the village as a whole. At the same time, it gives further insight into the nature of that structure (i.e., its structural properties as such). The complementarity of the vertical and concentric dimensions of kinship structure is embodied in the complementarity of the categories of intra-family and cross-family relations.

This is most easily grasped when these are thought of as categories of transformation rather than as static types of relations. Intra-family relations are transformed in the sense of the progressive formation and separation of successive stages of the personal life cycle and domestic group cycle, and the social relations proper to each. Cross-family relations are transformed in the opposite sense, that is, in the direction of identifying relatives separated as members of the successive families of a linking relative who has transformed his intra-family relations by passing from his natal family to his family of procreation, thus neutralizing, and as it were containing, the rents in the fabric of family and kinship relations opened up by transformations of the first type. This complementarity of the two types of transformations at the kinship level is embodied by the com-

plementary structural features and functions of the age-set/moiety system and the ceremonial organization at the communal level.

2. The domestic group: the matri-uxorilocal extended family household.

The extended-family households around the rim of the village plaza comprise the segmentary units of Kayapo society. They are in principle identical in structure, being uniformly based on the rule of matri-uxorilocal post-marital residence. This rule means, in simple terms, that women never move out of the household into which they are born, whereas their husbands must move in with them. Households thus tend to shelter sets of sisters and matrilineal female parallel cousins with their husbands, daughters' husbands, and children. Such groupings may attain the level of thirty or more members, but around this point they typically split into separate households along the lines of parallel cousins (daughters of different mothers).

Within the household, the nuclear family forms a distinct unit, but the in-marrying husband must show deference and respect (*pia'am*) towards his wife's parents and contribute both labor and products, from game to manufactured articles like baskets and mats, to them. Marriage is monogamous and is considered to be consummated only by the birth of the first child, or more precisely by the first pregnancy. Pregnancy and childbirth are thus prerequisites for the assumption of the son-in-law role within the wife's household by the new husband. The extended family as a domestic or household unit is thus a mini-hierarchy of deference and respect relations presided over by the older members, who stand in the relation of parents-in-law to their daughters' husbands and grandparents to their daughters' children. This hierarchy of deference relations within the household replicates in its form the hierarchy of respect relations among the communal men's and women's age-sets and associations which will shortly be described.

In addition to the pattern of respect relations between the daughter's husband and the wife's parents, a series of other prescribed behaviors reinforces the Kayapo emphasis on the attenuation of the husband's ties to his natal family household and his attachment to his wife's household. After a boy's induction into the men's house, he is supposed to feel "shame" (*pia'am*) to return to his maternal household when his sister's husband is there, or simply to hang about there for extended periods of time, or to sleep there.

It is also prohibited for him to marry into the same household as any of his brothers: affinal relations, in other words, must be kept strictly separate from consanguineal relations, and there can be no opportunity for groups of brothers to marry en bloc into an affinal household so as to present a common front toward their fathers- and brothers-in-law. On the contrary, the unrelated husbands of the group of sisters comprising a given generation are all supposed to show respect or "shame" (pia'am again) towards one another. An apparently peculiar detail is that a man's sisters and mother form a relationship of strong familiarity or formal friendship with his wife and wife's mother, which is expressed in constant visiting back and forth between their two households. If such an encounter takes place while the man is present, however, he feels overcome with "shame" (pia'am) and immediately leaves the house in which his wife and sisters are chatting.

3. The structure of the extended family as kinship category and as domestic group.

The previous two sections have described extended family relations at the level of general kinship organization and at that of the constitution of the domestic group. The present section defines the respects in which these relations form a structure, in the strict sense of a set of transformations governed by invariant constraints.

Any regularly reproduced unit of relations of attachment (in any sense of the word), which must be produced through the detachment of elements of equivalent units, must become defined as a constant proportion or equivalence between attachments of elements to itself and detachments of those elements from their units of origin. It follows that any unit in such a system can be described in terms of a balance between attachments and detachments of equivalent kinds. Such a balance is an invariant constraint upon the transformations of the constituent relations of a unit from attachment to detachment and vice versa, as it goes through the successive phases of formation and dispersion. In Kayapo society, both the nuclear family and extended family are units of this type, since the social system is based upon the regular reproduction of these units in a standardized form.

In the case of the nuclear family, "attachment" and "detachment" take place along two complementary dimensions: that of consanguinity--affinity and that of intra-family--cross-family relations. Both of these dimensions balance intra-family against inter-family relations (consanguinity being defined in terms of common origin in the same family, and affinity being a relation between different families). The strength of the at-

tachments of a person through marriage to his or her family of procreation (the basic affinal attachment) is proportionate to the attenuation of his or her consanguineal attachments to the natal family. The force of a person's identification with his or her cross-family relatives as the donors or his or her social identity is proportional to the degree to which relations to intra-family relatives (i.e., the person's parents) are defined as defective in sociality and therefore as unable to transmit it. This amounts to a form of "detachment" of the person from his or her intra-family sphere of relations along the dimension of "natural" (unsocialized)--socialized, just as marriage constitutes a form of detachment from the intra-family sphere of relations along the dimension of consanguinity--affinity.

The extended family is not strictly speaking built up directly out of such inter-family attachments between nuclear families, but at a higher structural level of relations between sets of such attachments. In the Kayapo case, this relation can be stated on two levels. Firstly, the degree of detachment from the natal nuclear family and attachment to the family formed by marriage is proportionate to the emphasis on the attachment of children to their cross-family relatives through name-giving and other forms of ritual identification. In simpler language, the strength of affinal attachment between spouse-parents and their in-laws is equal to, and offset by, the strength of cross-family identification between "grandparents" and "grandchildren", as constructed through the ritual transmission of names and valuables. The extended family, as a grouping built up out of pairs of nuclear families linked by a marriage, is the unit of relations within which this balancing out occurs. This equivalence becomes the invariant principle upon which the constituent relations of the extended family and their transformations are coordinated as a distinct level of structure.

The second level on which extended family relations are formulated in structural terms is that of the specific pattern of weighting or bias of the Kayapo extended family as a domestic group towards the detachment of men from their natal households and their attachment to their affinal households. This is expressed, on the affinal dimension, by the contrastive patterns of formal behavior between male and female affines. As these have been described above, brothers-in-law avoid each other in the context of the household through which they are affinally related (i.e, the sister's household in the case of the wife's brother and the wife's household in the case of the sister's husband), but the onus of avoidance is on the wife's brother; the pattern of avoidance is thus focused on the natal household of the consanguineally linked brother-in-law. This is exactly the reverse of the case of female affines: the husband's sister (and mother) and the brother's wife (and mother) have a rela-

tionship of extreme familiarity and prescribed "friendship". This is focused on the affinal household of the consanguineally linked sister-in-law: the husband's sister takes the lead in visiting the brother's wife.

This inversion of the male and female patterns of affinal behaviors is the concomitant of the extreme Kayapo emphasis on the detachment of men from their natal households and attachment to their affinal households. In terms of the structural principle of the balance of attachments and detachments as between consanguineal and affinal relations, the suppression of a man's consanguineal and affinal social attachments to his natal extended family household is offset by an emphasis on the positive consanguineal and affinal attachments of a woman to her brother's (or son's) affinal household. The asymmetry of the male and female patterns of formal behaviors, in short, embodies the weighting of the Kayapo pattern of extended family relations towards emphasis on a man's affinal relations at the expense of his natal family attachments, in terms which conform with the invariant principle of an overall balance between attachments and detachments at the level of extended family structure.

The same asymmetrically weighted pattern is evident on the complementary dimension of cross-family relations. The basic formula for name-giving between cross-family relatives, which the Kayapo share with most of the other Northern Ge groups such as the eastern Timbira and Apinaye, is sexually symmetrical: aunts and grandmothers give names and ritual valuables to nieces and granddaughters, while grandfathers and uncles do the same to their nephews and grandsons. Among the Kayapo, however, a paternal aunt or grandmother may give her female names to a male relation, i.e., a fraternal nephew or grandson. In such a case the name-receiver is supposed to give the names in turn to a niece or granddaughter of the woman who gave him the names. Men, however, cannot initiate such a pattern towards their sororal nieces or granddaughters. There is, in short, a bias in the ritual expression of the cross-family relationship in the direction of a man's mother's and sister's relations with his children (who of course are residents of his affinal household), in contrast to his relations with his sister's children (who reside in his natal household). This skewed pattern of cross-family relations is thus congruent with the asymmetrically weighted pattern of affinal relations just described.

D. The communal level of social structure: men's house, age-sets, moieties and ceremonial organization.

1. Men's house, male age-sets and associations.

The extended family households comprising a village may be collectively said to constitute the segmentary level of Kayapo social organization, inasmuch as they represent a potentially unlimited number of discrete social units of similar structure. The system of communal institutions, on the other hand, collectively constitutes a higher or supra-segmental level of village structure, inasmuch as it consists of a single set of groups to which all members of the society of the requisite gender and social age belong. The structure of this set of groupings, considered as a whole, nevertheless embodies, in a general form, the structure of the segmentary extended family household unit.

The most evident of these communal institutions is the men's house, located in the center of the circular village plaza. The men's house(s) is(are) the headquarters or clubhouse(s) of the adult men's associations, and the residence(s) of the bachelors' and uninitiated boys' age-sets. Each men's house has associated with it a pair of women's societies, composed of the wives of members of the adult men's societies associated with it. These communal men's and women's societies perform ceremonies, go as groups on collective hunting and gathering treks, and meet together in the village for collective activities like body-painting, singing, or discussion of issues of collective concern.

In all of these activities, the senior age-sets and associations take the lead, and the juniors respectfully follow the directions of their elders. The senior members of the mature men's and women's age-sets have the monopoly of specialized forms of social discourse (oratory and keening, respectively, and for both genders the knowledge of ceremonial songs and dances) through which the political and ritual affairs with which their respective associations are concerned are expressed. Senior men and women express themselves freely in public through these forms, while juniors generally listen with respect, or at least do not venture to interrupt, much less perform them themselves. At the summit of this hierarchy of deference are the chiefs, who have the exclusive use of the most prestigious form of speech of all, the ritual chants called "ben".

The men's house is the domicile of boys from later childhood (about eight years of age) until they become fathers (that is, until they marry). During this period, boys are organized into age-sets: firstly, the set of uninitiated boys, and secondly, following initiation, which defines them as marriageable youths, the set of bachelors. A boy is sponsored into membership in the uninitiated boys' age-set of one of the men's houses by a ceremonial parent, called a "substitute father", who belongs to that men's house. The "substitute father" escorts the

boy from his maternal house to the sitting place of his age-set in the men's house, which thereupon becomes his residence.

This "substitute father", who must not be a kinsman, symbolically supplants the youth's own father for all public purposes from his induction into the men's house until the time when the young man becomes a father in his own right. At this point he moves out of the men's house to his wife's household, and leaves the batchelors' age-set to become a member of the age-set of "fathers". The fathers' age-set is organized into associations, normally more than one per men's house. In villages with only one men's house, there tend to be two such associations, roughly equal in size and symmetrical in structure and functions. The ideal form of a men's association is a group of "fathers" of all ages, led by one or more "chiefs". The members of these associations use the men's house as a club, and the association has a designated sitting area for occasions when the age-sets and associations meet collectively for ceremonial activities or political discussions.

There is an alternative form of association, which consists of groups formed on the basis of age-strata within the fathers' age-grade, such as "young fathers" (i.e., sons-in-law), and "fathers of many children" (i.e., fathers-in-law). Although the batchelors' age-set is not normally recognized to constitute an association like those of the "fathers", it may be treated as such in conjunction with the age-strata form of "fathers'" associations. Very old men, who normally form a group apart from the active "fathers'" associations, may be similarly constituted in the same context. This alternate, age-graded form of men's association seems to be created in situations in which rival chiefs and their followings who have been existing as separate communities are attempting to unite in a single community. Under these circumstances, the old associations may be broken up and their members redistributed among a set of socially homogenized age-based associations, each put under the nominal leadership of one of the potentially contending chiefs. With time, however, such age-stratified associations tend to evolve into the standard type, cross-cutting age-levels within the fathers' age-set, and deemphasizing the role of batchelors and elders as "associations" of the same type.

2. The institution of the chieftaincy.

The position of chief is traditional in Kayapo society. The Kayapo term for the office is ben-iadjuoro, or "deliverer of the ritual chants". Such chants, or "ben", are performed at key points in communal rituals, and represent the most prestigious form of speech recognized in Kayapo culture. A chief is expected

to function as a leader, particularly of his own men's society, but also to speak for the interests of the community as a whole, as his ritual role and title as "chanter" implies. As a leader, the chief is expected to generate effective solidarity and a capacity for collective action among his followers, meaning particularly the members of his own society, but in a wider sense the community as a whole. As "chanter" and ritual leader, and more broadly as spokesman for traditional ideals and values, he is imbued with a moral authority which provides him with crucial leverage in the exercise of this leadership. The ritual role confers authority; the political role, efficacy; both components are necessary to the proper conduct of the chiefly office in traditional terms.

There is no fixed rule of succession for chiefs. It is thought appropriate if the son or nephew of a chief shows an aptitude and an interest in the position, but such a relationship is neither a prerequisite for the role nor imposes an obligation to assume it. To become a chief normally entails a period of apprenticeship to a recognized chief, in which a young man learns the considerable traditional and ritual lore considered necessary for the proper performance of the role. At the end of this period, the candidate must be publicly proclaimed as a chief by a currently recognized chief. Such a proclamation depends upon the tacit consent and approval of most of the men, since the efficacy of the chief depends upon his ability to gain their cooperation and agreement in collective decisions and concerted actions.

3. Women's age-associations.

Women are also organized in a series of age-sets and collective associations. There is no "women's house" to serve as a club-house for these associations, but they meet periodically in customary places to paint one another, and to celebrate the women's counterpart of the men's naming ceremonies. The women's societies often have leaders, usually the wives of male chiefs, and are sometimes called "womens' chiefs", but this is not a political or ritually sanctioned role on a par with the male chieftaincy. "Women's chiefs", for example, do not "chant" in rituals. The meeting places of the women's societies are frequently located in front of or beside the houses of these women "chiefs".

The women's system bears a structural resemblance to the men's, but its corresponding groupings are recruited roughly a generation later than those of the men. A woman is inducted into her first formal age-set when she is judged ready to marry and become a mother. At this point she goes through a public

ceremony of adoption by a "substitute mother", analogous to the induction of a boy by the "substitute father" into the men's house and his first formal age-set of uninitiated youths. Just as the boy's first age set is called "the painted ones", after the body painting by the "substitute father" that forms the substance of the induction ritual, so the young women's age-set is called "the black-thighed ones" after the painting of the thighs and upper arms which comprises the corresponding women's induction rite. As a "black-thighed one", a young woman joins a woman's association, which also includes the women of the next older age-set, that of young mothers or "mothers of few children".

In a structural sense, this women's association is analogous to the uninitiated youths' and batchelors' age-sets, the members of which are also under the aegis of a "substitute parent". As this attenuated tutelary relationship implies, the members of these groups are not yet considered to be adults in their own right, in spite of having broken their relationship as children to their natal families. Women, in other words, both as courting maidens and as young married mothers, are not considered to be fully separated from their natal families and the control of their parents. Even though their full childhood connection to their natal families is attenuated (thus making room for a partially autonomous role as mothers in their families of procreation), they are still constrained to remain co-resident with their parents. This residual control over their female offspring is the basis of the norm of matri-uxorilocal residence, and thus of the wife's parents' hegemony over the son-in-law.

When a woman is older, her family of procreation is beginning to disperse, and her children are coming of age to marry, she matriculates to the senior age-set of "mothers of many children" (i.e., mothers-in-law or grandmothers), and becomes part of the senior women's association based on this age-set. The woman is now considered to be an adult, an independent social person in her own right. The senior women's association is analogous, in these terms, to the men's fathers' age-set, all of whose members are considered social adults, even though the younger men remain relatively subordinate to the seniors.

The women's communal societies are organized as age-sets, but they most closely resemble the "alternative" form of men's associations based on age-grades like "new fathers" and "fathers of many children". They might best be referred to as "age associations". These associations do not invariably meet as distinct groups. In some villages, particularly small ones, the women of both groups routinely meet together. Some distinction between the two age-grades is usually preserved, however, for example through the use of distinct designs in collective body-painting sessions.

4. The moiety structure.

In a village with two men's houses, a woman's membership in a younger women's association is determined by the membership of the woman who sponsors her as a "substitute mother", in the same way that a boy's induction into one or the other of the two men's houses is determined by the membership of his "substitute father". She is then free to marry a man from either men's house, but if she marries a man from the opposite men's house to that from the side of the plaza with which her association is connected, she transfers her membership to the women's society on her husband's side of the plaza.

The two men's houses with their resident age-sets and attached men's societies, and the women's age-associations linked as wives to the married men of the respective men's houses, constitute the moieties of Kayapo society. There are, strictly speaking, two consecutive sets of moieties associated with the men's houses. The first, the junior set, consists of the two male age-sets which reside in the men's house and are recruited by the "substitute father". The second, senior set consists of married men or "true" fathers, who reside with their wives, and married women of the two women's age-societies.

The structural distinctness of the junior and senior moiety sets should be emphasized. A youth who has belonged as a batchelor to one men's house is under no obligation to continue to belong to the same men's house when he becomes a married "father". His personal achievement of fatherhood gives him the freedom to choose which senior men's society, and thus which moiety he shall belong to. It should be noted, at the same time, that the two women's age-associations do not constitute distinct moiety sets in this sense: matriculation from the junior to the senior association does not affect the grounds of a woman's membership in one or the other moiety, which is her marital attachment to her husband.

Kayapo moieties thus have the appearance of endogamous groupings based on parallel descent, inasmuch as they consist of husbands and wives, who have been recruited to their respective moiety-societies by "fathers" in the case of the men and "mothers" in the case of the women. In fact, as I have explained, these relations are purely symbolic, and as it were *ex post facto*: the "descent" relations with the sponsoring "parents" are purely adoptive rather than based on actual descent, and the "endogamous" character of each moiety is produced by the transference of wives who happened to belong to the opposite moiety from their husbands before marriage to membership in the women's society attached to their husbands' men's house.

In Kayapo society, the moieties serve(d) as the encompassing framework for the age-sets and associations of both genders, and thus form(ed) an integral part of the age-set/men's house structure. This system, as will be explained in the following section, functions as a collective device for the production of the segmentary extended family household in a standardized form. Further discussion of the moiety system, its functions and relative structural weakness in Kayapo society, must await a clearer understanding of the functioning of the age-set and ceremonial systems in this respect.

5. The relationship between the structure of the men's and women's age-set systems and the structure of the extended family household.

The two women's societies are thus constituted as age-sets, along the same lines as the "alternative" age-stratified form of men's associations. The structure of the system of women's age-sets is based on the key relations of transition in a woman's life cycle as a member of her extended family household. For a woman there are two such points of transition: when she moves from her childhood or natal family to her family of procreation upon marriage; and when her family of procreation reaches the stage of dispersion and she moves on to the status of a mother-in-law and grandmother.

The men's system of age-sets and associations is similarly based on the key relations of transition in the male life-cycle. The men's transitions are more complex than the women's, because they involve moving out of one extended-family household and into another, whereas women stay in the same household throughout their lives. The key male transitions, then, can be broken down into two main stages; first, moving out of the natal household, and second, becoming integrated into the household of procreation. Each of these major stages can be further broken down into two. The attenuation of relations with the natal household begins with a negative act, the severance of the childhood relation to the parents, through the intermediacy of the "substitute father". The process continues in a positive sense with initiation, which enables the youth to form a marriage relationship to a new household.

When this is accomplished by the consummation of marriage through pregnancy and childbirth, the second major phase begins. The young man is now a father in his own right (a status which contrasts to that of the "false" or "substitute" father who has up to this point determined his public social status). His achievement of this status now determines his new public

identity as a member of the adult men's age-set. Within his wife's household he is relatively subordinate to his parents-in-law, but his attachment to that household (unlike his wife's continued residence in her parents' house) is the product of his own independent action, epitomized by the fathering of his child. This is the central fact emphasized by the structure of the Kayapo men's age-set system. Within the "fathers'" age-set, the division between subordinate juniors and hegemonic seniors, grounded in the opposition, within the household structure, of sons-in-law and fathers-in-law, is given proportionately less weight. It does not, in other words, normally form the basis of a division between age-sets or societies in the way the division between batchelors and fathers invariably does.

The system of men's and women's age-sets and societies thus not only embodies the key transitions in the relations of both genders within the extended family structure, but also a distinct pattern of emphasis or weighting of these transitions: a bias towards the relatively extreme attenuation of men's relations to their natal households, and their relatively abrupt and total integration into the households of their wives. This bias is manifested by the stress upon the consummation of marriage through the attainment of fatherhood as a prerequisite for a man's recognition as an adult and his membership in the adult men's age-set, and equally, by the emphasis for both men and women on the attenuation of their ties to their own parents, and the direct linking of this attenuation for women with marriage.

The emphasis on fatherhood as the criterion of marriage and attachment to the man's affinal household raises the problem, in an uxori-local system, of the future of the father-son relationship. If the son remains as strongly attached to the father as the father begins by being attached to the son (and through him, to the household into which he is born), then how is the son to detach himself sufficiently from his natal household to replicate his father's pattern of marital attachment to his wife's household? The concomitant of the emphasis on the father-husband role, in the uxori-local context of Kayapo domestic group structure, must thus be a corresponding attenuation of the son's filial tie with the father. This is precisely the function of the "substitute father", and in a larger sense of the men's house to which he is associated, as a "home away from home" for the boy as he develops towards marriage and adulthood.

The attenuation of the woman's ties as child to her natal family (while conserving her minor status in the more attenuated form of a "substitute" or adoptive daughter) is an equally important part of this scheme. If the husband is to be strongly attached to the wife's household upon marriage, then

the wife must be free to be strongly attached to the husband. Adoption by the "substitute mother" at the point when marriage is judged to be imminent has this effect.

At a higher level, the moiety structure, in which the women's societies associated with a given side of the plaza are defined as composed of the wives of the men of the "fathers'" age-set of the men's house of the same side of the plaza, makes the same point: marriage is the basis of adult public social status for both genders: At the mid-point of the life cycle, and its great transitions from child to adult, natal family to family of procreation, affinity is stressed over consanguinity.

6. Ceremonial organization.

a. The social organization of ceremonial performance.

Kayapo ceremonies are communal activities, but they are not constituted simply as activities of secular communal organizations like the age-sets or men's houses. Rather, they have their own form of organization, which must be understood as a distinct mode of collective structure standing in complementary opposition to the age-set/men's house system.

Kayapo ceremonies are almost invariably rites of passage. They can be broken down into a few main categories: life-crisis rites, such as boys' initiation, girls' puberty and first birth, death, etc; name-giving; and various minor rites associated with agriculture, hunting, fishing, and warfare, such as the maize and sweet manioc festivals, or the rituals for fish-poisoning, the killing of a jaguar, and raiding. Of these, boys' initiation and the conferring of the prestigious class of "beautiful" or "great" names are the most important, being the occasions of elaborate ceremonies which take from two to four months to perform. These ceremonies involve the participation of the entire community, and entail a major hunting trek of about a month's duration to accumulate sufficient game (mostly land tortoises) for the feast which accompanies the final rites.

Ceremonial names are bestowed by senior consanguineal relatives of the "cross-family" category, as described above. The ceremonial organization is thus preeminently identified with the assertion and celebration of this category of relations, as contrasted with the system of age-sets and associations, which is recruited on the basis of intra-family relations.

Ceremonial performances have a typical organizational form. All the members of the village of the appropriate gender (women for a girls' naming ceremony, men for a boys' naming or

initiation) participate, save for the parents of the children receiving names or being initiated. The latter must work to feed all those who dance for the sake of their children, but are enjoined from taking any direct part in the festivities, or even eating any of the food they prepare for the dancers. Their role in this respect is a crucial component, not only of the social organization of ceremony, but of its symbolic meaning. Communal ceremonial organization is not exclusively concerned with cross-family relations (as the age-set system, by contrast, exclusively embodies intra-family relationships), but with a certain relationship of interdependence and complementarity between cross-family and intra-family relations, in which the latter sacrifice and deny themselves in order to recreate and affirm the former.

The dancers are typically organized into unitary formations, in which the moieties and age-sets are merged, the latter appearing only as segments of the fused dancing column. The usual formation is a column composed of a double file of dancers, performing the same steps and singing in unison, proceeding counter-clockwise around the circumference of the village plaza just inside the ring of houses. The two files of the column do not represent moieties, age-sets, or any other institutional groups: those who dance side by side do so solely out of personal friendship. The main social formation of ceremonial performance is thus normatively based on spontaneous, informal social relations which dissolve or transcend the formal groupings of the men's house system.

This, the main group of celebrants, called "those with nothing", is contrasted to a second, much less numerous category, which comprises the members of certain ceremonial societies, the performers of special ritual roles, and the name-receiving children or initiands themselves. Members of this category, known as "those with the wealth" ("nekretch") may at times occupy places of distinction or wear special ornaments within the dancing column of "those with nothing", but typically they perform special rites in the center of the plaza. This group, regardless of whether its members come from opposite moieties, is never divided by moiety.

The social organization of ceremony, then, has a predominantly concentric form, in which a peripheral, less prestigious group is opposed to a central group associated with special ritual value or "wealth". Not only are these two groups not divided by moiety, but the circular motion of the dancers around the circumference of the plaza continually cross-cuts the east-west moiety division in both directions, thus symbolically neutralizing it. At some point, some or all of the ritual celebrants typically leave the village and move out into the transitional zone of "dead" or "black" ground beyond the houses

(either starting there and moving into the village or making a short trip out and back), thus combining the mediation of "concentric" space with the neutralization of "vertical" or diametrical space.

b. The division between "beautiful" and "common" people.

The division within the organization of particular ceremonies between "those with nothing" and "those with the wealth" is replicated on a wider scale by a division of the society as a whole between "common" people and "beautiful" people, the latter being defined as those who have received beautiful names in a communal ceremony, and the former as those who have not. The proportions of these two status groups in the total population of a community varies according to whether the recent history and population size of the community in question have been such as to permit the holding of many communal ceremonies, but in the communities in which I have worked it has been around 50%/50% among persons past the name-receiving age limit of about eight years..

The distinction between "beautiful" and "common" people has no political connotations. It is implicit in the Kayapo practice of requiring that a communal ceremony be held in order to bestow such a name, which means that in any case in which a child's parents are unwilling or unable to sponsor such a ceremony, or the community is for any reason unable to celebrate it, the child will remain "common". "Common" people receive "common" names, on an individual basis, from the same category of name-giving relatives who confer "beautiful" names in ceremonies. Names of the "beautiful" class are distinguished from common names in that they involve one of seven prefixes, which are attached to names of the common type. There is a division of edible animals into "beautiful" and "common" classes paralleling the classification of names and people. "Beautiful" people with "beautiful" names supposedly eat only "beautiful" animals and refrain from eating the others (this taboo, however, is widely ignored in practice).

The "beautiful" names and valuables bestowed in ceremonies are in one sense the prototypes of fully socialized personal identity and relationships, but in another sense they are considered to be intrinsically "natural", "wild" (akre) and even dangerous. "Beautiful" names, for example, cannot be given to very small children (meaning babies in their first year or two) because they are not yet thought strong enough to withstand the "wild" power of the names. The names and the ceremonies themselves are thought to have belonged originally to fish,

animals, other natural entities like ghosts or planets, or in some cases to alien (non-Ge) indigenous peoples. Many ritual valuables or "nekretch" are copies of the ceremonial ornaments of such alien peoples obtained either in trading or on raids. The structure of communal ceremony thus entails an inversion of ordinary social space: the central plaza of the village, normally the focus of sociality, now becomes instead the domain of "wild" natural, alien, or at any rate "unsocialized", forms.

The ceremonies are in a sense collective acts of socialization of these "wild" names and valuables. The socialization is the product of the collective action of the mass of ritual celebrants, "those with nothing", whose repetitive, communally organized action as dancers creates the indispensable context for the integration of the "great" names and valuables into society. This concerted activity, the total social effort required to "socialize" the names and valuables, is the real source of their "beauty".

The discrepancy between the "wildness" or unsocialized character of the names and valuables that comprise the objects of ceremonial activity and the social order of the community that is mobilized to socialize them has another, structurally more significant aspect. Names and valuables are bestowed upon individual persons through personal kinship relations of the "cross-family" category, as described above. The collective celebration of such a relationship in naming ceremonies amounts to integrating an element of the relatively less "socialized" (and thus "wilder" or more "natural") level of personal family relations into the communal level of organization, that is, "socializing" it through collective ceremonial action. A central theme of Kayapo ceremonialism is thus the reintegration of the segmentary and communal levels of social organization. The direction of this movement is from the communal level of ceremonial action toward the family level, represented by the particular naming relation; it thus reverses the movement of separation from the family to the communal level embodied in the age-set system.

c. Ritual kinship: the krab-djuo relationship.

The importance of this disparity of structural levels, and the role of communal ceremony in mediating it, is socially recognized through the special class of "ritual kin" (called "krab-djuo"). "Ritual kin" are unrelated persons who serve as a person's sponsors or guardians in ritually perilous transitions like marriage, name-receiving and initiation. Their essential role in such contexts is to mediate between the individual undergoing the ritual transition and the level of society as a

whole, at which the new collectively defined identity the individual takes on through the ceremony is defined. Krab-djuo are treated with great respect and rarely spoken to directly, but are referred to indirectly by a special set of kin terms with distinctive suffixes. The relationship is patrilineally inherited: the children of a male krab-djuo are also the krab-djuo of a man and his children, but the children of a female krab-djuo are not. There is a joking relationship with the spouse of a krab-djuo, which may involve sexual relations if the spouse is of the opposite sex. The krab-djuo relationship is thus a form of meta-kinship relation, which serves to link the individual and his or her personal family and kin relations to the communal institutional structure of the society as a whole.

d. The ritual of sexual relations.

Another common feature of Kayapo ceremonial activity which serves much the same function as the institution of "ritual kinship" is the practice of collective sexual intercourse by groups of men (typically constituted as age-sets or men's societies of a particular men's house) and individual women (even in cases where more than one woman is involved, the women are still considered as individuals, not as members of a socially constituted group). Another form of ritually sanctioned sexuality is the general exchange of spouses (or the spouses of "ritual kin"), often on the woman's initiative, in particular ceremonial contexts in which the men's societies and age-sets make a great show of collecting their members' weapons and putting them out of reach, to forestall the outbreak of serious fighting motivated by sexual jealousy.

These two forms of sexual exchange have a common structural meaning. From the standpoint of the communal men's groups, the greatest threat to their internal solidarity and peaceful relations with one another is posed by the individual relations of their members to women and (through women) to their particular families and children. Kayapo accounts of fights between individuals or groups, whether or not they eventuated in the schism of a community, almost invariably trace them to a sexually motivated conflict over adultery, the competition of two men for the same woman (or, occasionally, two women for the same man), bachelors' jealousy of older men's taking their girlfriends as lovers, etc.

The ritualized forms of sexuality described here have the implicit purpose of asserting the superior solidarity of male collective relations over sexual relations between individual men and women, and thus, in a more general sense, the predominance of the communal level of social organization over the

level of personal sexual and family relations. This theme is carried out in three other ritualized contexts, comprising the principal female sexual rites of passage: first intercourse, first menstruation, and first birth.

Defloration, which takes place at about twelve, is carried out by a group of men in the peripheral a-tuk zone outside the village. The girl is conveyed to this meeting by her ceremonial companion (krab-djuo). First menstruation is made the occasion for a symbolic "marriage" ceremony, in which a young man playing the role of a "husband" (he is not expected to take up the role in everyday life after the rite) comes from the men's house, escorted by his krab-djuo, to lie under a mat with his "wife" in her mother's house for three days. In the rite for a woman's first baby, the actual husband, with his brothers and krab-djuo, make a public presentation of long, reddened wooden shafts to the young mother, who keeps them tucked into the back wall of her house for several years thereafter. The common theme of these rites, like the two forms of ritualized intercourse described previously, is to stress the appropriation of female sexuality and reproductivity, treated as an individual property, by collectively organized males, who channel it into communal social forms.

E. Summing up: the structure of the level of communal institutions and of Kayapo society as a whole.

1. The relation of the men's house system of age-sets and men's and women's associations to the ceremonial organization.

The ceremonial organization, with its division into the interdependent groupings of "those with nothing" and "those with the wealth", replicates (in both the active and passive senses) the pattern of cross-family relations at the segmentary level of extended families and households, with its interdependent categories of intra-family and cross-family relations. The communal organization of ritual, in other words, stands in the same relation to the intra-family--cross-family dimension of extended family structure as the men's house system of age-sets and associations of both genders stands to the dimension of consanguineal--affinal relations, with its emphasis on the displacement of men from their natal to their affinal households, and of both genders from their natal nuclear families to their nuclear families of procreation, followed by their promotion to the status of grandparents--parents-in-law. The two complementary dimensions of the segmentary (extended family-household) level of structure are thus also those upon which the two complementary complexes of communal institutions are constructed.

The communal institutions of Kayapo society, considered as a set, embody the transformations of male and female family relations that constitute the structure of the extended family household. They do so, in pragmatic terms, by virtue of the fact that they are recruited through the rites of passage which also define the transformations of the individual life cycle, which in turn are defined in terms of changes in family and household relations. These ceremonies constitute, in and of themselves, a major component of communal social organization.

The groupings comprising the communal level of social structure, in other words, together embody the structure of the segmentary (household) level by virtue of their function as the processes of its reproduction. Through the rituals of age-set recruitment and naming which reproduce the extended family structure, the various groupings comprising the communal level also reproduce themselves. The collectively celebrated rites of passage, in other words, not only renew the structures of households and families but simultaneously recruit new members for the communal groups which organize and perform the ceremonies. The two levels are thus bound together as interdependent parts of a single structure. As this implies, the same invariant proportion between social attachments (or intra-group solidarity) and detachments (or inter-group opposition) that regulates relations at the household level governs relations within and between the communal-level age-set and ceremonial groupings, and regulates relations between the two levels as well.

The solidarity of the men's and women's age-sets and associations, for instance, is clearly a function of the degree of displacement of their members from their natal households and/or families, as well as their opposition to one another. The displacement of men from their natal households into the men's house is transformed into the positive solidarity of the uninitiated youths' and batchelors' age-sets; the detachment of young husbands from the batchelors' age-set is in turn proportionate to their reattachment to their wives' households and their attachment to the "fathers" age-associations.

The same principle applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the relations between women's collective group- and domestic family attachments and detachments. The solidarity of the women's groups, however, is much weaker than that of the men's groups, because they are not defined through a process of detaching women from their extended family households, but rather only of displacing them from one nuclear family to another within the same household. The weaker the detachment from one group

entailed in the formation of another, the weaker the solidarity of the second group (i.e., the weaker the attachments of the members of that group to one another).

The same principle applies within the other main complex of communal structure, the ceremonial organization. Here, however, it operates in the reverse direction. As the above description of extended family structure has made clear, the bestowing of ritual names and valuables between cross-family relatives, which comprises the main theme of the ceremonies, is a process, not of the detachment of persons and groups from one another, but of the attachment of persons separated in different groups within a more inclusive totality. Cross-family relations, at the kinship level, transform the centrifugal force of the dispersion of the members of a common nuclear family into the centripetal force of a new, higher-level attachment between relatives indirectly linked by that dispersion.

Similarly, in the case of the great naming ceremonies, it is not a question of setting up solidary communal groupings through the detachment of individuals from their households and families. These ceremonies are rather occasions of collective re-attachment of the system of communal-level groups, dissolved and reorganized for the purpose, to the domestic/extended family level. The whole focus of communal naming ceremonial is on the direct identification of this communally organized set of activities and groupings with the realization of one or more particular personal kinship transactions between intra-family and cross-family relatives (that is, with the constitutive relations of one or more particular extended families).

The ceremonial organization, in other words, does not set up a complementary, separate system of communal corporate groups, defined like the age-sets and adult men's and women's associations in opposition to the level of personal kinship and domestic relations, but rather reintegrates the two levels and thus reasserts the unity of the social totality. It reasserts, in other words, the solidarity of the social whole in contrast to that of its constituent levels and groups. As such, it stands in the same relationship to the men's house/age-set system as that of cross-family to intra-family relations at the extended family level of structure. The two groupings which constitute the structure of the communal ceremonial organization, "those with nothing" and "those with the wealth", are themselves directly analogous in their functions and properties with the intra-family and cross-family categories of extended family structure.

These groupings are not solidary social units with the character of distinct social or political groups, like the age-sets or associations of the men's house system. They are rather

defined as categories of participants in the process of re-creating the social totality through the fusion of relations of both levels, which share to differing degrees in its character as a totality. "Those with the wealth", who become the "beautiful people", are those who, as the objects of communal ceremonial activity, have come in the fullest and most direct sense to embody the nature of that totality as a fusion of the personal and communal levels of social organization; "those with nothing", on the other hand, do not directly embody this unity, but like the permanent category of "common" people, remain defined on only one or the other level (the former on the communal level only, the latter on the personal level).

The system of age-sets and associations, on the one hand, and the ceremonial organization, on the other, thus complement one another in the same way as the two main dimensions of extended family structure (consanguinity-affinity and intra-family--cross-family relations). They also appear to conform to the same invariant constraint which underlies the structure of the extended family: detachment, or separation between groups, is balanced by attachment, or solidarity within groups.

The same principle also applies within the communal level to the relations of the two main complexes of collective organization. The generation of the solidarity of the age-sets and associations through opposition to the domestic family-level relations of their members is counterbalanced by the integration of the communal level, in its ceremonial mode of organization, with relations of the extended family level. The age-sets and men's and women's associations periodically dissolve themselves to celebrate the naming ceremonies because the solidarity of the social whole, embracing both the communal and segmentary levels of structure, which they thereby recreate, is the condition of their own solidarity as distinct social groups.

2. The moiety structure as a component of the system of communal institutions.

a. A structural definition of moieties.

A moiety structure is a division of society as a whole, or some appropriate sub-group of it (e.g., all men, all initiands, etc.) into two groups, each symmetrically recruited in the same way, but the relations between which are nevertheless formulated as unequal (asymmetrical) in some structurally significant respect. This respect typically corresponds (either overtly or in metaphorical terms) to the contrast between the relation which forms the basis of the recruitment of the moieties and some other relation in opposition to which it is

defined. The opposition between these two relations or categories, and specifically the unequal emphasis of the one over the other, usually turns out to be central to the process of forming some key social group or relationship, or transforming some important category of social identity or status. A moiety system, from this point of view, may be understood as a collective institutional device for standardizing a certain process of production or transformation of a segmentary group or individual status.

Moiety structure, then, combines a principle of symmetry with a principle of asymmetry: the relations modelled by the relation between the moieties is asymmetrical in some crucial respect, but everyone participates in it in the same way (i.e., symmetrically, from the standpoint of the society as a whole). A pair of moieties, in other words, is a modelling, on the level of society as a whole (or the relevant sub-section of it) of an unequally weighted contrast between a pair of complementary relations or social categories, which is defined as applying in the same form to every instance of the relationship in question in the society (that is, participated in in the same way by every member of the relevant group).

b. The Kayapo moiety structure and its social basis in terms of this general definition.

The Kayapo moiety structure, as it has been described above, is constructed as the framework of the system of age-sets and men's and women's associations; its most obvious manifestation is the pair of men's houses, respectively located in the eastern and western parts of the central village plaza. To recall the previous account, the system consists of two consecutive sets of age-moieties, the first (junior) set consisting of the two unmarried men's age-sets residing in the men's house, and the senior set consisting of married men and women (the age-sets of "fathers" and of "new mothers" and "mothers of many children", respectively).

The recruitment criteria for the successive moiety sets are also the basic recruitment relations of the age-sets and age-associations which comprise their structural constituents: specifically, adoption by the "substitute father", followed by a man's attainment of "true" fatherhood in his own right, for the junior and senior men's moiety sets, and adoption by the "substitute mother", followed and superceded if necessary by marriage and the adoption of the husband's moiety affiliation for the women of the senior moiety set (to which both the junior and senior women's age-associations belong). The analysis of the system of age-sets and associations that has been presented has made clear that these recruitment relations are the key struc-

tural components of the institutional apparatus for regulating the reproduction of the extended family household, or more specifically, the affinally and patrilaterally weighted Kayapo pattern of extended family relations and household structure.

The recruitment relations of the Kayapo moieties, then, conform to the terms of the above general definition of moiety structure: they do constitute the key relations of "the process of production or transformation of a segmentary group" at a lower level of social organization: namely, the extended family household. As the preceding analysis has made clear, however, the (re-)production of this unit in its normative Kayapo form entails, for men, not a single, consistently weighted relationship (e.g., the father-son relation, as formulated in terms of patriliney), but the alternate negation and affirmation of the same relationship. In Kayapo society, the relation of father to son must first be negated for purposes of attachment to his natal (paternal) household by the intervention of the "substitute father", and subsequently affirmed when the son becomes a father-husband in his own right, as the form of his attachment to his wife's household. The recruitment relation to the first set of age moieties, the "substitute" or "false" father, is defined by contrast to the boy's relation to his true father; the recruitment relation to the second, senior set, the young man's relation as "true" father in his own right, is defined in opposition to his previous tutelary relation to his "substitute" ("false") father.

In the terms of the general definition of moiety structure given above, "the opposition between the recruitment relation and the other relation in contrast to which it is defined turns out to be central to the process of forming" a "key social group". The peculiarity of the Kayapo system, however, is that by so heavily weighting patrilateral and affinal relations in an uxorilocal system, it has been led to bifurcate the recruitment relation of father-husband into opposite (negative and positive) forms of itself, arranged as consecutive stages of a single process. The Kayapo moiety system, in short, has become divided into a double system, in which the consecutive moiety sets are defined as the opposites of each other.

It bears repeating that this formulation applies only to the men's moieties; women, who belong only to the second, senior set of moieties, do not share the structural problem of the men's transference between households. Their moiety recruitment criteria of adoption by the "substitute mother" and marriage are mutually interconsistent, rather than mutually opposed as in the men's case, as evinced by the fact that they are not designated as recruitment relations of distinct sets of moieties, but as alternative recruitment relations for the same set.

c . The spatial articulation of the moiety system and its relation to the ceremonial organization.

The Kayapo moieties are designated by spatial terms defined on both the diametrical and concentric dimensions, and the ceremonial organization is likewise clearly articulated in symbolic spatial terms. A clear understanding of these spatial coordinates is essential to a full comprehension of the structural character and interrelationship of these two major complexes of communal social organization.

Both the moiety structure and the ceremonial organization are articulated in terms of the diametric (east-west) and concentric dimensions of village space described in the opening section of this account. To recall the relevant points from that discussion, the sun's path across the sky from east to west, which is the basic conceptual reference for diametrical space, is thought of as an irreversible linear movement, which is nevertheless recursively repeated as an infinite series of cycles. The concentric relationship between center and periphery, on the other hand, is conceived in terms of reversible movements or transformations which conserve structural equilibrium. These same dimensions were seen to apply to the conceptual structure of kinship relations, in which relations of anterior and posterior generations are associated with the upper and lower poles of vertical space, while intra-family relations form the center of a concentrically ordered, surrounding "curved" space, with cross-family relations on the periphery.

The two sets of spatial (actually spatio-temporal) references (those of village space and those of kinship relations) are interconsistent. The development of relations of the intra-family category, considered by themselves, takes the form of a linear and irreversible movement from natal family to family of procreation to the dispersion of the latter. Relations between the cross-family and intra-family categories, on the other hand, are the essence of reversibility: the dispersion of the latter constantly gives rise to the former, while the former continually reassert the attachments among the dispersed members of the latter. This "reversal", in the terms of the structural analysis presented earlier, conserves the structural equilibrium between displacement and replacement, detachment and reattachment.

The two men's houses associated with the moieties, it will be recalled, are located in the eastern and western (called "lower" and "upper", respectively) areas of the central plaza.

This vertical contrast is explicitly expressed by the appellations of the men's houses themselves, "root" and "tip", which connote the successive stages of a process of growth or linear movement from the former to the latter. This is precisely the nature of the opposing relations comprising the recruitment criteria for the junior and senior moiety sets ("true" father vs. "substitute" father, "substitute" father vs. "true" father, respectively) as well as the relationship between the consecutive moiety sets themselves. The moieties embody a pattern of asymmetrical weighting of relations that takes the form of a decisive shift in men's attachments from the natal to the affinal household, articulated by the opposition of pairs of opposing recruitment relations associated with the successive households (counting the men's house, the "household" of the substitute father") that a man occupies in the course of his life cycle. This essential social content of the moiety and age-set system is consonant with the symbolic terms of irreversible linear movement in which the asymmetrical opposition between the moieties is expressed.

The Kayapo moiety system, in addition to its articulation in terms of the diametrical spatial opposition between "root" and "tip", east and west, is exclusively associated with the center of village space. The men's houses are both called by the word for "center", so the eastern and western men's houses become, oxymoronically, "root (lower) center" and "tip (upper) center", respectively. The ceremonial organization, on the other hand, is also formulated in terms of the concentric dimension of relations between center and periphery, but in a form that not only stresses the relationship between a central and a peripheral group, but that reverses the identity of the central group embodied by the moiety system.

These contrasting spatial attributes of the two main systems of communal institutions are consistent, in terms of the general meanings of the spatio-temporal dimensions involved and their specific kinship associations, with the social relationships they embody. The moieties, and the age-set system of which they constitute the framework, are exclusively defined in terms of intra-family relations, while the ceremonial organization is primarily focused on the domain of cross-family relations in interdependence with relations of the intra-family domain.

d. Structural redundancy and political weakness of the Kayapo moiety structure.

One consequence of the "doubling" of the Kayapo men's moieties into a pair of consecutive sets of age-moieties is that the individual junior and senior moiety groups of the same

(eastern or western) moiety affiliation (that is, those associated with the same men's house) embody both of the relations which make up the opposition with respect to which the recruitment of each pair of moieties is defined. Each pair of moieties, in other words, is recruited on the basis of one of the two relations in contrast to the other, so that the contrast between the two pairs, from the standpoint of each, embodies the basic structure of asymmetrical opposition between the two relations that is normally embodied by a single pair of moieties in a simple (i.e., "single") moiety system.

The peculiar, redoubled form of the Kayapo moiety system, in other words, has come close to rendering the moiety structure itself redundant in relation to the pair of consecutive junior and senior groups of a single men's house. A single men's house, containing both junior and senior men's age-groups, and with the wives of the senior men attached as its women's affiliate, in other words, embodies the same fundamental structural information as the full moiety system. The hypertrophy of the Kayapo moiety system, in so many words, has rendered moiety structure itself relatively superfluous.

The same point applies in another structurally important sense, namely the relation of the men's house and age-set system regulated by the moieties to the ceremonial organization. In Kayapo society, as we have seen, the latter is not divided by moieties at all (a situation which contrasts to all of the other Northern Ge societies). The reason for this follows from what has already been explained about the two complexes of communal institutions and their correlates at the level of extended family household relations, taken together with the structural definition of moiety organization that has been given.

The "redoubling" of the Kayapo age-set moieties, as this analysis has shown, follows from the extreme emphasis on patrilateral and affinal relations in the construction of the extended family as a domestic unit. This emphasis is achieved by stressing marriage and the accession of fatherhood as a relatively abrupt and total transition of male attachments to the affinal household. The relative abruptness and completeness of this transition means that it is articulated entirely within the span of the intra-family category of relations (the alternate negation and affirmation of the father-son relationship by opposing it to a "substitute" version of itself, in conjunction with marriage, considered as the relation between husband and wife within the family of procreation) rather than a more gradual process articulated in terms of the relationship between complementary categories of relations, e.g., intra-family vs. cross-family relations.

The moiety structure, which embodies the form of this transition, is therefore articulated exclusively in terms of intra-family relations. It does not involve cross-family consanguineal or affinal relations even implicitly, as the opposing category in relation to which the more heavily weighted recruitment relation is defined. The result is that only the age-sets and men's and women's associations focused in the men's house, which are recruited on the basis of the intra-family relations of father-son, mother-daughter, and husband-wife, are divided by moiety, while the ceremonial organization, which expresses the solidarity of cross-family relations in contrast to the domain of intra-family relations as a whole, is unbifurcated by a moiety division.

The ceremonial organization is instead articulated by a binary division of a different sort, the concentric opposition between center and periphery. This concentric process is embodied in ceremonial choreography, which stresses the neutralization of the diametric opposition embodied in the moiety structure. Kayapo ceremonies, it will be recalled, are organized with the group of recipients of "beautiful" names and "valuables" conferred by cross-family relatives associated with the center of the plaza, while the members of the age-sets and associations normally associated with the "central" moieties dance around the periphery of the plaza as an unbifurcated grouping of "people with nothing", their central position thus effectively reversed at the same time that their moiety division is neutralized.

The essence of the relationship between the ceremonial system and the age-set/moiety organization is that it reverses the internally irreversible, linear ordering of intra-family kinship relations and age-sets, and as a corollary neutralizes the asymmetrical polarization of relations within these categories embodied by the moiety system. The essential role of the ceremonial organization is thus the restitution of social solidarity at a level transcending the divisions engendered at the level of intra-family relations and their communal institutional embodiments (the age-set/moiety system) through the assertion of the solidarity of cross-family relations and their "beautification" through communal ceremonial action.

The social and spatial organization through which the ceremonial system performs this role is based on the opposition of an undifferentiated periphery to an undifferentiated center. The prerequisite for the activation of this organization, furthermore, is that the age-set/moiety system should dissolve itself as such in order to assume the complementary ceremonial form. The point for present purposes is that this organization can operate as well, both in organizational and symbolic terms,

in relation to one men's house or moiety, with its single series of age-sets and associations, as two. There is, in short, nothing about this ceremonial organization and its relation to the age-set/men's house organization that requires the presence of a moiety structure.

There is a third and different respect in which the Kayapo moiety structure seems inherently fragile, if not contradictory. The Kayapo age-sets and associations, as a consequence of the Kayapo emphasis on the displacement of men from domestic households into the men's house, are strongly solidary groups, capable of autonomous collective action in military and political terms. The same structure which generates such potent individually solidary groups, however, also generates an extremely weak relationship between groups of opposite moieties.

The relationship between Kayapo moieties, following the general outline of moiety structure presented at the beginning of this section, embodies the relationship between the recruitment status and the other status category to which it is opposed in the recruitment context. In the cases of both the junior and senior men's moiety sets, this relation (that between the status categories of "substitute" father and "true" father) is one of simple negation, accompanied by "shame" and moderate avoidance (*pia'am*). This negative relationship is replicated, at the moiety level, by the definition of the relationship between the moieties as one of reciprocal "*pia'am*" or shame-avoidance. According to this norm, members of opposing Kayapo moieties are supposed to feel restrained by "shame" from entering into public verbal or physical conflict with each other.

This relatively anemic negative prescription is a far cry from the bonds of structural interdependence and positive reciprocity which bind many other moiety systems together. It is not a relationship upon which any other aspect of the structure of the society overtly depends. There is, in other words, no fundamental structural reason why the society could not go on without it, on the basis of a single "moiety" or men's house. It is also a relatively ineffective restraint upon conflicts between groups which are constituted, in inverse proportion to its own negativity, by the same system as separately potent political and social entities.

The Kayapo moiety structure, as a result, seems vulnerable to disruption by the very social forces which it serves to generate: perhaps the most dynamic communal political and military groupings and chiefly leadership of any of the Central Brazilian societies. At the very least, the maintenance of the structure would seem to depend upon a delicate balance of forces, in which the solidarity of the separate men's associa-

tions depends more on their joint participation in the communal institutional structure through which social attachments and values are redistributed from the domestic to the communal group level than on independent sources of solidarity such as relations with external groups (whether peaceful or warlike).

None of this is to say that the breakdown or disappearance of the moiety structure would be without consequence for Kayapo society. Moiety structure, as analyzed in general terms above, is the formal embodiment of certain dynamic functions or effects. There are, in specific terms, two complementary functional concomitants of the relationship between the two moieties. One of these is the standardization of the degree of asymmetry or relative predominance between the pair of relationship categories embodied by the moieties and their interrelationship. The other is the guarantee of uniform participation of all members of the social categories in question in this asymmetrical relationship on the same terms: the equalization of inequality, as it were.

A "single moiety" village (to use this oxymoronic phrase for a community consisting of one half of a collapsed moiety system) would not possess the same inherent structural constraints on variation in the content and social uniformity of its constituent relationship categories. Such a community might therefore be expected, other things being equal, to be susceptible to greater structural variation and change than a community which managed to preserve its moiety structure intact.

A major focus of such instability in the Kayapo case might be expected to be the relationship between the junior and senior men's moieties. These groupings are recruited on the basis of opposite aspects of the same relationship (the negation and affirmation of the father-son tie). The coordination of these two moments or aspects of the relationship was seen to be crucial to the whole Kayapo pattern of kinship and domestic group structure. The fission or collapse of the moiety structure would remove precisely those aspects of the communal institutional apparatus most directly concerned with the maintenance of a balance between the opposing weightings of this central relationship. It would also open up the possibility of heightened tension and competition between the junior and senior groupings of a single men's house. One such possibility is that the bachelors might come to play the part of a rival men's association to that of the "fathers'" age-set, or perhaps even set up as the opposite moiety in their own right.

At a purely theoretical level, it remains an open question to what extent the collapse of the Kayapo moiety structure, given its relatively exiguous structural relevance, would entail

such effects. The question is not, however, purely theoretical: the historical record of Kayapo society over the past century provides empirical information relevant to this issue. Before this information can be properly evaluated, however, and in more general terms before the relevance of Kayapo social structure as it has been described here to the political and social life of the Kayapo themselves can be appreciated, it is essential to understand the main values that motivate and orient the Kayapo as social and political actors and their origins in the organization of social production.

F. Social values in relation to social structure.

1. The two main categories of social value and their unequal distribution.

The ceremonies are performed, and the structure of Kayapo society on both the segmentary and communal levels thereby reproduced, because they are felt by the Kayapo to be "beautiful". "Beauty" is a quality which the Kayapo attribute to things or actions which are complete, in the sense of fully realizing their essential nature, potential, or intended goal. "Completeness" in this sense thus has the connotations of "perfection", and also, considered as action, of "finesse". Ceremonial activity, properly and fully performed, is "beautiful", but the capacity to perform certain of its most essential and specialized roles, like the distribution of its most prestigious valuables, is not evenly distributed in the society.

This unevenness of distribution defines certain fundamental patterns of inequality, hegemony and subordination in Kayapo social order. "Hegemony" is defined in terms of the ability to assert oneself without restraint in certain privileged contexts or modes of discourse in which others are prohibited from expressing themselves, by virtue of the differential degree of completeness or "beauty" in the relevant respects embodied in one's status. "Beauty" and "hegemony" are thus interconnected values. They comprise the two basic Kayapo value categories, the complementary axes of the Kayapo structure of social values.

2. The relation between value structure and the structure of the segmentary household.

The paradigm of this value structure, and of the pattern of unequal distribution of the its constituent values is, once again, the structure of the segmentary extended family household. This structure is, as we have seen, a hierarchy. It consists, as such, of three basic levels: children and adoles-

cents, young parents, and grandparents/parents-in-law. Children and adolescents are manifestly incomplete social beings who occupy the most subordinate position in the household structure. Their social sphere is the interior of the nuclear family into which they were born. The nuclear family is the simplest social unit in the society, and contains no simpler unit of social relations. A person whose status is defined on the basis of relations within a single nuclear family is thus situated on the simplest (and therefore lowest) level of social structure. This is also the level the production of which represents the least investment of social time: less than one complete family cycle.

Young parents are relatively more complete as social beings than children. They have already completed their first family cycle, that of their natal family, and have embarked upon their second. They also preside over their nuclear family of procreation, and mediate between it and the structure of the extended-family household as a whole. Their status is therefore no longer defined only on the basis of intra-nuclear family relations, but at the level of inter-family relations. They occupy, in other words, a higher level of structure than their children, and therefore exercise dominance or hegemony over them.

They nevertheless remain incomplete in terms of the structure of family and household relations. The young father/husband is still primarily defined as an affine in his wife's household. His wife, in the same context, is defined primarily as a consanguine. The husband's affinal relations are defined at the inter-family level with the wife's parents, while his consanguineal ties to members of the household are defined at the intra-family level, with his own children. As a member of her own family of procreation, his wife's consanguineal relations with her own parents are, by contrast, defined at the inter-family level, while her affinal relations (with her husband) are defined at the intra-family level. The social identity of each spouse at this stage, in sum, is predominantly defined in terms of only one of the two opposing categories of kinship relations which constitute the structure of the household.

This situation may be contrasted with that of the heads of the household, the grandparents/parents-in-law. Their status is the product of three consecutive family cycles, rather than only two as in the case of young parents, since it is only the dispersion of their family of procreation, culminating in the marriage and birth of children to their children, that defines them as grandparents. Their status is no longer defined in terms of membership in a full nuclear family, or even in terms of relations between two such families, but in terms of membership in

a higher-level group, the extended family, the constituent units of which are whole nuclear families. This entity encompasses and dominates its individual nuclear family constituents.

As a further point of contrast, both male and female grandparents/parents-in-law combine in equal proportions affinal and consanguineal relations to the nuclear families making up their household (affinal relations to their sons-in-law, consanguineal relations to their daughters and grandchildren). They can no longer be defined as primarily one or the other, but only as a synthesis of both. They thus transcend the opposition between these categories, and directly embody the unity of the higher-level extended family group. As embodiments of this higher level structural and temporal unity, and its hegemonic relation to its lower-level family constituents, the grandparents/parents-in-law epitomize, in the context of household structure, the interconnected values of "beauty" and "hegemony".

The "hegemony" of the grandparents/parents-in-law means, in practical terms, that they are deferred to by the subordinate members of their household. Their daughters cannot move out without their consent, and their sons-in-law cannot even speak freely to them (especially to the mother-in-law) during the early years of courtship and the infancy of the first child. He must also fulfill their requests for help in clearing gardens, repairing the house, making mats and baskets, and supplying the house with fish and game. This pattern is progressively relaxed after the first year or so of marriage, but the basic form of the relationship remains throughout the expansion of the young couple's family of procreation.

3. Social values as modalities of Value:

The essence of this pattern is that successive nuclear family cycles, considered as standardized units of socially necessary production time, are concatenated into a structure of relations in which those in their third cycle (the grandparents/parents-in-law) are defined as the heads of the extended family household as a whole, not directly by virtue of their own productive labor, but that of their offspring (i.e., daughters) and their husbands. It is the creation of new families of procreation by a couple's daughters and daughters' husbands, rather than the formation of any new family of their own, which defines them as grandparents/parents-in-law, and thus as heads of household. Uxorilocality is the basic relationship through which the wife's parents are able to appropriate the product of this additional cycle of social production time. The "appropriation of the product" in this case takes the form of directly becoming the product; the labor of the daughter and son-in-law in creaqt-

ing their new family produces, as a corollary, the valued attributes of the parents-in-laws' status.

The hegemonic status of the parents-in-law, together with its aura of relational completeness or "beauty", may in other words be seen as the product of an increment of social labor time, the labor of direct producers in which the principal beneficiaries do not participate, but which they are able to appropriate because they control a crucial means of social production: the woman who, as their daughter, also plays the role of wife/mother in the new family. Such an increment of social labor time appropriated by non-producers from the labor of direct producers on the basis of their control of essential means of production is a surplus. This surplus is appropriated, in Kayapo society, in the form of value, or more precisely two complementary forms of value: those I have called "hegemony" and "beauty".

"Hegemony" and "beauty" are forms of "value" in the sense that they represent the character of socially standardized units of labor time (in this case family cycles), embodied in their products (in this case social persons), as proportions of a totality of social production (in this case, the total number of family cycles required to produce an extended family household, namely three). "Social labor" or production time is not, in Kayapo society, a unitary, abstract category. It is, rather, differentiated into two concrete, qualitatively distinct types or aspects of time: the irreversible, recursively repeated growth process associated with "vertical" space, the intra-family category of kinship relations, and the age-set complex of communal groupings; and the reversible, "concentric" cycle associated with horizontal concentric space, the cross-family category of relations, and the ceremonial organization at the level of communal organization.

Each of these qualitatively distinct dimensions of space-time, kinship relations, and communal organization is represented by a qualitatively distinct category of value: "hegemony" and "beauty", respectively. The value-forms of beauty and hegemony, in other words, embody the complementary modes of social production time channelled through the two main structural complexes of production relations, as these become embodied in the persons and group relations which they jointly produce.

The grandparent/parent-in-law is the head of the productive unit and controller of its key means of production. This asymmetrical, hierarchical relationship is represented by the value of "hegemony". It is counterbalanced by a complementary relation through which producers and non-producers alike are

united as participants in a single social whole, grounded in an unranked, symmetrical identity with one another. This relationship is directly expressed by the transmission of names and valuables between cross-family relations, a transaction which epitomizes the value of "beauty". This relationship of symmetrical identification and its "beauty", however, are grounded in a fundamental aspect of the structure of Kayapo relations of production, namely that those who play the subordinate roles in one cycle will succeed to the "hegemonic" and "beautiful" roles in the next.

This is not, of course, a pattern that simply develops spontaneously within each nuclear and extended family. It is inculcated and reproduced through the action of the communal institutions and ceremonies that have been described above. This institutional apparatus is constructed in terms of general categories of social age and domestic group status, and it applies to all individuals whose relative age and status qualify them for inclusion in the categories. It is not necessary, in other words, for a married couple actually to have daughters (and thus, daughters' husbands) to rise to the senior communal status categories of "parents-of-many-children", or in so many words, grandparents/parents-in-law. The generalized model of the uxorilocal extended family structure embodied in the communal institutions applies equally to all persons of the appropriate genders and social ages, regardless of their specific family relations.

The point has been made that the reproduction of the extended family household structure is simultaneously the medium of the reproduction of the communal institutional structure itself. This analytical understanding of the relationship of the household and communal levels of structure points towards an important conclusion: to wit, that the values generated at the level of the individual household through the production of the extended family structure are not realized, or converted into socially recognized attributes of personal identity, at the level of the household itself, but rather at the level of communal structure, through participation in collective secular social and ceremonial activities which organize and reproduce the household structure.

4. Specialized speech forms and the circulation of social value.

The importance of "ben", a specialized form of speech, as the criterial attribute of chiefly office points to the role of other specialized speech forms in mediating socially valued statuses and activities. Senior men of the "fathers'" age-

grade, those of the age-level of fathers-in-law or grandfathers, are expected to engage in stylized oratory, another specialized form of speech which, as the only form of language deemed suitable for public speaking, is the accepted channel of political discourse. Public discussion of a political or juridical character is normally carried on through oratory at meetings in the men's house or by single orators strutting about in the plaza. Younger men of the "fathers'" age-set (those of the son-in-law or young father age-level) are generally considered too young and unready to orate in this style, and this also goes for batchelors and uninitiated youths. Men and youths of these age-grades, and women as well, are thus excluded from participation in formal political discourse.

Women have their own special speech form, keening for the dead or for absent relations. Keening may be performed, in a minimal sort of way, by men, and to a somewhat greater extent by younger women, but it is only senior women (of an age corresponding to that of senior male orators) who keen at full length (the keening consists of metrical verses) and at full volume. Keening by senior women is not only performed for the dead. It is an expected accompaniment of communal ceremonial dances, and also constitutes the standard forms of public greeting for a returning kinsman who has been away on a long journey. Keening is thus the women's counterpart of oratory: a public form of personal expression, the performance of which is limited to those considered to have become full social persons, for whom personal assertion is therefore simultaneously a fully social act, appropriate to public social contexts. For both genders, becoming a "full social person" is conceived as attaining the age-grade of extended family household heads, that is, grandparents/parents-in-law.

The contrast between those able to assert themselves unrestrainedly in public through the use of these special forms and those restrained from public expression through them replicates the contrast within the household between those able to express themselves freely in speech and other activities associated with personal feeling (e.g., sex and eating), above all the parents-in-law, and those constrained from doing so, above all, the son-in-law. The private hierarchy of the extended family household is thus translated into a public hierarchy of social prestige through the mediation of a hierarchy of specialized forms of speech: oratory for senior men, keening for senior women, and most prestigious of all, "ben" chanting for chiefs.

Just as chiefly "ben" chanting stands at the apex of the hierarchy of secular speech forms (ordinary conversational speech, keening, and oratory), so also does it stand as the supreme form of ceremonial speech. Ceremonial singing con-

stitutes, in itself, a fourth specialized speech form, with its own stylistic peculiarities and special vocabulary. Its use serves to mark off ceremonial activity from ordinary secular social action in the same way that oratory or keening mark themselves off, by their unique stylistic properties, from everyday speech. It is the most egalitarian of all the special forms, being employed by all who dance in the ceremonies, including young girls, youths and batchelors, although senior men and women are thought to know more songs, and therefore to be preeminently qualified as teachers of younger people.

In contrast to all four of the specialized speech forms, and ordinary speech as well, stands a sixth form, the crazed, incoherent quasi-speech of those who run berserk ("aybanh"). This culturally stereotyped form of "going crazy" is conceived as a loss of sociality, or in positive terms a relapse into an animal-like state. "Aybanh" behavior, usually in brief seizures or outbreaks of a few hours' duration, is often accompanied by incoherent babbling or nonsensical exclamations. This "animal-like" speech, through its contrast to normal social speech, constitutes one of the main symptoms of the disorder as a state of de-socialization. In this negative context too, then, a specialized form of speech serves to define an important modality of social being.

The stylistic elaboration of the specialized forms of social speech (ceremonial singing, keening, oratory, and ben) embodies the Kayapo value of "beauty", or perfection and completeness, which is also one of the attributes ascribed to the social status of those qualified to employ them. The ability to use the forms, in turn, defines the status of the users as hegemonic, because their use is the prerequisite for full participation in collective political and ceremonial life, which is denied to others to the extent that the use of these forms is inaccessible to them. The latter comprise all those considered less "complete", and therefore subordinate. Women are in general considered less "complete" social beings than men, because their social sphere is the individual extended family household, whereas that of men is prototypically the men's house.

This asymmetry is reflected in the standard modes of specialized speech ascribed to the two genders. Men's oratory is the medium of positive self-assertion par excellence; the presumptive communal relevance of anything said in this style simultaneously identifies the self-assertion of the speaker with the community as a whole. That women are excluded from the use of this style means not only that they are excluded from political discourse, but in a deeper sense that the positive assertion of their identities and concerns, being associated with the fissive and relatively unsocialized segmentary level, would be in-

appropriate in the public domain. It is consistent with this interpretation that the form of public expression that women are allowed, keening, expresses not positive self-assertion, but negative lack or loss.

Public use of these specialized speech forms, in short, is the social medium through which the speakers "realize", as publically recognized attributes of their social identity, the values of "beauty" and "hegemony" with which they are imbued, in a potential sense, in the private, household sector, by virtue of their positions as heads of extended family households. The public context of communal ritual and political activity thus serves as the sphere of circulation and realization of values generated at the private household level, the sphere of social production.

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5. The distribution of social values, political solidarity and political hierarchy.

The mobilization of social values through the system of communal institutions, and their realization through the use of specialized speech forms and ceremonial performance, constitute the positive basis of the political solidarity of Kayapo society as a whole, and of its constituent groups such as age-sets and

men's societies. Kayapo society coheres, and is reproduced as a totality through the voluntary action of its members, because it is the source of the values that make life meaningful and worthwhile for the Kayapo as social actors.

The social meaning of the values of hegemony and beauty stems in part from their role as valued attributes of personal identity. Kayapo actors can construct their identity as persons in socially valued respects only through participation in the communally organized institutions and activities which ultimately constitute the process that produces the values in question. The meaning of value categories like beauty and hegemony also derives in part from their direct identification with modes of collective social activity and the groups or systems of relations through which these are organized. The attachment of actors as individuals to these groups and collectively organized activities stems from the actors' identification of valued aspects of their personal identities with the groups and activities in question, and their awareness that only through participation in them can they realize these valued attributes of themselves (in the sense of gaining social recognition of them), or accumulate further value in the same respects.

Kayapo society, however, is not simply an egalitarian solidarity of shared values and value-commitments. It is a hierarchical system, constructed on the basis of an unequal distribution of social value. At any given moment, the society is divided into categories of direct producers (young married adults) and indirect producers, who control the means of production and appropriate surplus value (grandparents/paraents-in-law). This hierarchy is not a fully fledged class structure, since it is not based on permanent categories of production relations and products separate from the producers themselves. In Kayapo society, the producers are still the principal products of their own, and others', social labor; as they are progressively "finished" they change their status from producers of value to expropriators of surplus. The hierarchy of Kayapo society, in other words, is a revolving hierarchy, in which class status is not permanently fixed, and the workers of each generation become the bosses of the next.

It is nevertheless essential to realize that this hierarchical structure of social production relations, and the differential accumulation of social values which it makes possible, is the focus of the structure of Kayapo society as a whole. The term, "focus", is used advisedly. The foregoing analysis has sought to demonstrate that the relations of production are not determined at the level of the social unit of production itself; the extended family household, in other words, does not determine its own structure, and hence, in the manner of a me-

chanically determinant "infrastructure", the shape of the "superstructure" of communal institutions. Rather, it is the community of social actors as a whole, mobilized at the level of the communal institutions as a collective apparatus of social reproduction and circulation of values, that determines the structure of the household and its constituent relations of production. The relations of production, in other words, become the focus of the communally organized process of reproduction for the sake of the values which they generate for those who cooperate in that process. It is as the focus of reproductive activity that the structure of the productive unit "determines" the structure of the reproductive apparatus, since the latter must assume the structure which it impresses on the former in order to reproduce it.

G. Movement vs. stability: the tension between trekking, raiding, and frequent village moves and the high valuation of large village size.

1. The structural importance of movement.

At the beginning of this account it was noted that Kayapo social life presents the appearance of a regular alternation between periods of residence in a collective base village and semi-nomadic sorties of from one to several months' duration on hunting-and-gathering treks. Such treks frequently involve the entire village population, but they may also be carried out, particularly in large communities, by individual men's societies, men's houses, or age-sets, sometimes with their families and sometimes without. The frequency, scale, organizational variety and central ceremonial role of trekking all indicate that it is one of the fundamental features of Kayapo society.

It bears repeating that trekking must be understood as itself an essentially social fact. Trekking is not the only form of hunting and gathering done by the Kayapo, who also hunt, fish, and gather on an individual basis. From the standpoint of simply obtaining protein for individual or family consumption, the latter is at least as efficient as the collectively organized trek, so it is clear that material subsistence needs cannot in themselves account for the existence of the collectively organized activity. They are even less capable of explaining the variety of organizational forms of trekking that have been mentioned (the village as a whole on secular dry-season treks, organized by men's societies; the village as a whole on ceremonial hunts, organized in relation to the fathers of name-receiving children; individual men's, or occasionally women's age-sets or societies), or the fact that treks are a

prescribed part of every major communal ceremony.

From another direction, it has also emerged that trekking is only one of a number of forms of collective movement away from the base village site practiced by the Kayapo, and that it takes its place to some extent as one alternative among this set of forms, some of which at least lack subsistence motives of any kind. These include the movement of the base village site and raiding of various kinds. In pre-pacification times these other forms of movement were frequently either combined with trekking or explicitly framed as alternatives to it, as in the practice of going on either a trek or a raid following a major ceremony. The explanation of the place of trekking in Kayapo society must therefore be conceived as part of a more general understanding of the importance of collectively organized movement of all kinds in Kayapo social life.

Several features of the social organization of trekking as a form of communal activity bear directly on this general question. Firstly, the focal activity of communal and ceremonial treks (holding aside for the moment the specialized gathering treks carried out by individual age-sets) is the activity of senior men as hunters. The hunting camp, in this respect, stands opposed to the base village, in which the focal activity is gardening, carried out for the most part by, or under the direction of, senior women. Secondly, the location of the camp is directly determined by the senior men in their hunting capacity, again in contrast to the location of the base village, determined by its proximity to the women's gardens. Just as the base village as a whole might be said, in this sense, to be collectively "uxori-" or "matrilocal", the trekking band could be said to be collectively "viri-" or "patrilocal". In these two senses, then, the trekking group, and the social order of the trekking camp, can be seen as a male-focused inversion of the normal order of the horticultural base village.

This is also the case in two more specifically political respects. For one thing, the base village, as a self-sufficient unit based on both horticulture and extensive hunting and fishing (carried out on an individual basis), constitutes, as it were, the "default" or inertial condition of Kayapo society. Trekking, by contrast, requires a specific, concerted and directed effort. Trekking, in other words, requires and gives scope for the exercise of leadership and the active mobilization of collective solidarity, set off by contrast against the background of base village life.

As a related point, the life of the base village is focused, at least in an inertial sense, in the individual extended family household units which constitute its basic seg-

mentary units. The inertial tendency of everyday life in the base village, in other words, is atomistic, towards a fragmentation of communal solidarity in favor of the importance of specific family and household ties. Precisely the opposite is the case with life in the hunting camp. The very fact that the camp-site must be moved every day or two means that the group as a whole becomes a more prominent social entity than any of its individual parts.

The same point is born out by many other details of camp life. To begin with, the activities of breaking camp and constructing new camps, as well as hunting, procuring, and cooking food for everyday consumption, are carried out by collective groups organized on the basis of age and gender rather than by individual families. For another thing, the shelters constructed in hunting camps do not simply replicate the extended family households of the base village. In the dry season, individual nuclear families often construct light lean-tos or sunshades for themselves interspersed in an almost random fashion with other families from other households. These relatively unplanned agglomerations of shelters, however, are often grouped by men's society, with the families of the men of each society occupying a distinct area of the camp.

In the rainy season, long shelters are built, approximating the form of a circular village, with a shelter serving as a men's house in the center. There is a tendency for the nuclear family units making up an extended family to remain together within these shelters, but the shelters themselves are typically much larger (that is, longer) than a house in the village, so that families from several households wind up sharing the same roof. Both in the rainy and dry-season camps, in sum, there is a tendency for the basic segmentary unit of the village, the extended family household, to be dissolved within more open, unbounded residential units, which are in turn more directly identified with communal groupings, either men's societies or the trekking camp as a whole.

Trekking, in all of these respects, is a form of activity which emphasizes the centrality of senior men, both as producers of material subsistence (i.e., hunters) and as political decision makers and leaders, and the importance of collective men's groups (i.e., men's age-sets and associations, or even the community as a whole as led by men in their collective capacity). More specifically, it deemphasizes the principle of matri-uxorilocality and the segmentation of society based upon it in favor of a sort of collective patri-virilocality.

Most of these aspects of trekking are shared by raiding, which also involves collective groups of men, often accompanied by women, and also, to a lesser degree, by the pre-pacification

pattern of moving the site of the base village every few years among a dozen or so widely separated sites. Movement, organized on a communal scale, is in these terms a vital component in the dynamic balance of Kayapo society as a political order. It is, more specifically, perhaps the most important way that the social and political solidarity of communal men's groups, and by extension the communal level of social structure as such, is reinforced and reasserted against the centrifugal tension of ties to women's households which constitute the segmentary units of the level of domestic and kinship relations.

The integral role played by trekking in the organization of the major ceremonies supports the view that trekking is felt by the Kayapo themselves to be instrumental in the production of their social order as such, rather than merely of the material means of subsistence. All naming ceremonies and the boy's initiation ceremony (which also contains a naming ceremony) require, at a certain specified point in the proceedings, that a trek of from one to two months' duration be undertaken to accumulate tortoises for the great communal feast held on the final day of the ceremony. This trek, the dramatic event of the bringing in of the tortoises (on great racks holding ten to fifteen animals each), and the final feast, are considered indispensable parts of the ceremony. They are, in other words, culturally defined as integral to the social production of persons and the social order itself, of which the ceremonies form a major aspect.

The relationship between collectively organized hunting treks and the organization of society as a total process of social production, including but not reducible to the production of the material means of subsistence, is further attested by the contrast between the organization of ceremonial treks and that of ordinary communal treks. The senior men's associations do not normally serve as the structure of the ceremonial trek. Instead, the men divide themselves up to "work for" the fathers of the name-receiving children, much as the senior men's societies are said to "work for" their respective chiefs. Within the organization of the ceremonial hunt, in other words, the same sort of neutralization of the structure of communal groupings defined within the age-set and men's society system occurs as in the organization of ceremonial performances. The contrast between the organization of ceremonial treks and that of ordinary of "secular" treks, in other words, parallels that between the organization of ceremonial activity and that of "secular" communal life in the base village.

2. The "beautiful village": the emphasis on large village size as a counterweight to the stress on movement; the relation of large village size and

moiety structure.

The pervasive emphasis on movement at the level of communal organization is offset by a countervailing emphasis on the desirability of large village populations (meaning, in ideal terms, upwards of 1,000). The size of a chief's following is considered a measure of his effectiveness as a leader, and the size of a village is seen in similar terms as a measure of the strength and viability of its communal institutions and leadership. Chiefs generally attempt to discourage or prevent members of their villages from leaving for other villages, either permanently or for extended visits. Emigration is often considered a hostile act, or at best a vote of no confidence in the local leadership and social order. For related reasons, the possession of a large population is considered ipso facto evidence that the village in question must have constituted (or would in the future constitute) a harmoniously integrated social totality capable of restraining conflict and over-assertiveness among its constituent groups.

For this reason, such a large village is called a "beautiful" village: here as elsewhere, "beauty" connotes the assertion of a totality capable of encompassing and constraining its constituent parts. For the same reason, moiety structure is thought of as prototypically associated with large villages: for reasons that have been explained, moiety structure implies the subordination of the separate solidarities constituted by rival men's houses, associations, and chiefs to the solidarity of the community as a whole. The breakdown of moiety structure, on the other hand, is seen as an aspect of the fragmentation of large communities into small ones. The members of the existing relatively small Kayapo communities, all of which possess only one men's house, typically say that they will restore the moiety system when the population of the village has reached a sufficient size, but that it would be inappropriate at the present level of population because it would serve only to give a more pointed articulation to factional divisions. The predominance of such divisive tendencies over the forces of communal solidarity is taken to be implicit in the smallness of the existing community.

The solidarity of a Kayapo community, as defined in the present analysis, is the product of a complex balance of forces. One way of describing this complex is as an equilibrium of centrifugal and centripetal forces; another is as the conservation of a balance between processes of detachment and attachment. The point has been made that this balance depends not merely on relations of a single level, but rather of several levels, and that the balance within each level depends on the balance of relations between levels. The levels in question are

tion of a balance between processes of detachment and attachment. The point has been made that this balance depends not merely on relations of a single level, but rather of several levels, and that the balance within each level depends on the balance of relations between levels. The levels in question are those of the segmentary extended family, the system of communal institutions of the base village, and the relationship between the base village (as the "centripetal" manifestation of the social totality) and the trekking group (as its "centrifugal" manifestation). At this highest level, as at the lower ones, contrasting tendencies and organizational forms may be understood as potentially in balance, but also, beyond a certain limit of variation, as able to pass into relative imbalance and active contradiction with each other.

Trekking, village movement and raiding have been to varying degrees impeded by pacification and, at villages like Gorotire, the development of "post society" (to be described in a later section). This analysis would suggest that under such circumstances the solidarity of the communal institutions of Kayapo society would tend to become weakened. This might conceivably reach a point where they would be less able to serve as channels for the emphatic displacement of social attachments from the extended family to the communal level called for in the traditional Kayapo pattern. In the opposite case, under circumstances in which movement (whether in the form of trekking or raiding) were given greater emphasis, it could be expected that a point would be reached at which the centrifugal emphasis upon the solidarity of individual men's societies would become exaggerated to a degree that would render the preservation of wider communal solidarity impossible. At both of these opposing extremes, in sum, the centripetal force represented by the "beautiful" (i.e., big) village would enter into contradiction with the centrifugal force of the independently moving trekking or raiding group. The dynamics of this dialectic between balance and contradiction, in Kayapo society as elsewhere, are the stuff of history. It is to the historical record, accordingly, that we now turn.

III. KAYAPO HISTORY SINCE THE FIRST CONTACTS WITH BRAZILIAN SOCIETY: MODALITIES OF INTER-ETHNIC CONFLICT AND DEPENDENCE

A. EARLIEST CONTACTS: THE "NHYRYKWAYE" AND IRA'AMRAYRE, OR KAYAPO OF THE ARAGUAYA

Verswijver plausibly suggests that the Nhyrykwaye, an otherwise unaccounted for Ge group mentioned by a Brazilian slave-raider in 1810 as living between the Tocantins and Araguaya near the Apinaye may have been the Kayapo. The Brazilian source claims to have raided the Nhyrykwaye at this time. Kayapo ethnohistorical tradition says that the ancestors of the Kayapo retreated west across the Araguaya to avoid Brazilian raids early in the last century. The first definitely attested contacts between the Kayapo and representatives of Brazilian society occurred shortly after these raids, which do not appear to have been very heavy. The explorer Cunha Matos made the first peaceful contact in 1834. The Kayapo group involved was the Pau d'Arco or Ira'amrayre Kayapo, a group which inhabited the west bank of the middle Araguaya, from the vicinity of modern Conceicao do Araguaya to points well to the south.

There followed a period of sporadic exchanges, in which the Ira'amrayre acquired pigs, firearms, and iron tools such as axes, machetes, and knives from the Brazilians. Towards the end of the century they began to use their new weapons to raid the Tchikrin and Gorotire. The latter were thus driven to acquire firearms for themselves, either by exchange with the Brazilians, which was practiced to some extent by the Tchikrin, or by raiding them or the Ira'amrayre, which was the only solution open to the Gorotire.

In the 1890's, French Dominicans under Frei Gil Vilanova founded a mission to the Ira'amrayre at Conceicao do Araguaya with a school for the Christian education of Kayapo children. The mission became a nucleus for Brazilian settlement, and the center of an expanding zone of cattle ranching. The Ira'amrayre entered into regular contact and exchange with the local population, acquiring numerous appurtenances of Brazilian culture, from religion to Brazilian-style wattle-and-thatch houses. In 1897, the French explorer Coudreau estimated their population at 1,500. He found, however, that they had divided into at least four mutually hostile communities, which occasionally fought one another as well as the Gorotire and Tchikrin. In the years that followed, the local ranchers came into repeated conflict with the Indians over land and livestock, and diseases decimated the native population. The mission, concerned only with the spiritual salvation of the Indians, offered no effective medical assistance. As a result of these factors, the Ira'amrayre became extinct as a group in the 1940's (a few individuals survived in other communities until the '60s).

The Ira'amrayre experience was important in shaping the later relations of the Gorotire, and their offshoots, the Mekranoti, with Brazilian society. The most obvious of these was the introduction of firearms, but there were other, less dramatic effects as well. Relations between the Ira'amrayre and the Gorotire were not invariably hostile, and there was a certain amount of visiting back and forth (I met a man from Gorotire who had gone on a visit to the last of the Ira'amrayre in the early 1940's, along with several other Gorotire youths from the batchelors' age-set). Through these visits, as well as from raids, the Gorotire learned about and in many cases acquired such basic artefacts of Brazilian culture as steel knives, fish-hooks, wattle-and-thatch houses, iron pots, pigs, and chickens. They also learned about Brazilian diseases and medicine, Brazilian religion, and something of the extent and political power of Brazilian society.

In the first decade of the 20th Century, Brazilian rubber gatherers began to make direct contact with the Gorotire. These contacts quickly turned hostile. An assault by rubber-gatherers on the village of Gorotire about 1910 resulted in numerous casualties and caused the village to be temporarily relocated. From this attack onward, however, the Gorotire began to go over to the offensive, systematically raiding the Brazilians for firearms, and attacking the scattered homesteads of rubber-and Brazil nut-gatherers.

These raids were a source, not only of weapons, but of a wide variety of artefacts: tools, cooking pots, clothing, and in effect the full repertoire of commodities in circulation in the interior Brazilian society of the time. Through them, the Gorotire and Mekranoti had already become dependent on Brazilian society for commodities, from guns and ammunition to pots, cloth and beads, long before peaceful relations were established. Together with these plundered commodities, the Kayapo also acquired a rudimentary knowledge of Brazilian society: its relative power and extent, and also its local variability, as represented on the one hand by the towns and settled areas along the Araguaya and Amazon and on the other by the isolated and vulnerable homesteads of rubber-and nut-gatherers that had begun to appear in their area.

More importantly, they had succeeded in overcoming their initial military disadvantage in relation to the local Brazilians caused by their lack of firearms. Having acquired them, they proceeded to establish effective military superiority throughout their own territory. The Brazilian frontiersmen might despise them as naked savages, but they also feared them, with good reason. The Gorotire and Mekranoti thus approached the in-

ception of peaceful relations with the Brazilians having established themselves in the eyes of the regional Brazilian population as formidable adversaries, too strong to make military repression practicable, whom it was therefore in their interest to placate by peaceful overtures.

B. AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE GOROTIRE AND MEKRANOTI FROM THE SCHISM OF THEIR COMMON ANCESTRAL VILLAGE (1905-6) UNTIL THE PRESENT.

1. The Gorotire--Mekranoti schism (1905-1906).

At the end of the Nineteenth Century the ancestral group of the present Gorotire and Mekranoti groups lived together in a single, huge village called Pukatoti near the headwaters of the Riozinho, a tributary of the Rio Fresco on the east bank of the Xingu. It must have had a population of at least 1,500. It had two men's houses, each of which housed several senior men's societies, as well as groupings of batchelors. These groups and their dependents moved about, either separately or in combination, among a number of different village- and camp-sites, widely scattered over a 200 km. radius from the Rio Fresco in the north to the Curua and Iriri valleys to the west of the Xingu.

One of the men's societies of the western men's house of this village, called the Mekranoti, had already spent several years living separately from the main village engaged in exchanges with the Juruna on the Middle Xingu. In 1905 Motere, the chief of the Mekranoti, got into a fight with the husband of a woman whom he had alledgedly seduced. This man was a member of the opposite men's house, and the fight between the two men escalated into a collective club-duel between Motere's men's society and the societies of the opposite (eastern) men's house. In the aftermath of this fight, the Mekranoti again left the village, this time for good. Motere was joined in his flight by two other chiefs of the western men's house, Oket and Paynmoti. The group, about 125 strong, built a new village west of the middle Xingu. The following year they were joined there by a second group of about the same size, also from the western men's house of the Gorotire village, under chief Kara-nhin. The new village, called Mekranoti after its founding men's society, thus had a population of roughly 250 in 1906.

2. The Gorotire-Karara'o--Kubenkranken schisms of 1935-1937.

The Gorotire had engaged in sporadic hostilities with the Kayapo of the Araguaya (the Ira'amrayre) in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, as described in the preceding sec-

tion. They had had their first experience of firearms in these encounters. They first came into direct conflict with Brazilian society in 1908, when a trail was opened from the Araguaya to the Rio Fresco for the use of rubber-gatherers. This passed close to one of the temporary village sites used by the Gorotire, and several skirmishes were fought between the Gorotire at this site and the rubber-gatherers. The Gorotire retreated to their main village site of Pukatoti, but it was raided by the rubber-gatherers, who inflicted heavy casualties. The Gorotire then moved to a site on the Riozinho near the Cachoeira da Fumaca called Kra'abom, by the present site of Kubenkranken. From this base, as well as from Pukatoti (they continued to move back and forth between the two sites) they raided Brazilian settlements throughout the Middle Xingu and Rio Fresco drainages. The raids against Brazilians were conducted with the principal aim of acquiring firearms and ammunition, but also of plundering such Brazilian goods as beads, metal pots, hammocks and cloth. They also raided other Kayapo groups, such as the Mekranoti and Tchikrin, and a few non-Kayapo peoples like the Assurini, Juruna, and Surui or Mudjetire. One of the leaders of this raiding activity was Tapiet, a chief of the Menokane men's society of the western men's house.

The next major developments in the interconnected histories of the Mekranoti and Gorotire came in 1935-7. The Gorotire, with their village again located at the old site of Pukatoti, went through a series of internal schisms. In 1935, a men's society called the Karara'o, whose members and dependents numbered perhaps 100, fled the village. Its chief, Kokoyaumti, an extremely aggressive leader who had taken part in many raids as well as numerous disputes and club-duels within the community of Gorotire itself, was blamed for the murder by sorcery of a chief of the other men's house. This man, with whom Kokoyaumti had been feuding, had died while Kokoyaumti was away from the village. His followers planned to ambush Kokoyaumti upon his return, but the women of Kokoyaumti's group learned of the plan and left the village with their children and family belongings, met up with Kokoyaumti in the forest and prevented him from returning to Gorotire. After several unsuccessful attempts to make peaceful contact with Brazilian settlements along the Rio Fresco, they attempted to join the Mekranoti. They made peaceful contact with one of the Mekranoti men's societies, which was out on a hunting trek. The union, however, lasted less than 24 hours: on the night of their meeting one of the Mekranoti murdered Kokoyaumti in his sleep, and his followers fled.

Back in the main Gorotire village, in the year following the Karara'o secession, another men's society, the Menokane of the western men's house, became involved in a collective club duel with the men of the eastern men's house. Tapiet, the chief

of the Menokane, had divorced his wife, a popular and respected woman. She, in revenge, had made the bold and, for Tapiet, humiliating gesture of publicly proclaiming herself the "wife" of the men of the opposite moiety. Goaded into calling for a collective duel with the whole eastern men's house, Tapiet and his outnumbered society were beaten and fled the village. They too sought out the Mekranoti, who accepted them into their village. At this time, the Mekranoti population had grown to slightly over 500. The addition of Tapiet and his 120 followers brought their numbers to about 650.

The tensions between the two men's houses arising from the conflicts with the Karara'o and the Menokane were not resolved by the secession of the two men's societies. The next year violent conflict broke out again between the remaining members of the western men's house and the whole of the eastern men's house. The men of the latter and their families, calling themselves collectively the Djudgetukti after the largest men's society of that moiety (a group of about 850 with dependents), fled north, pursued by attackers from the other men's house. They sought and were given shelter at the small Brazilian town of Nova Olinda on the Rio Fresco. The Brazilians called this group "the Gorotire", and the name has been applied specifically to them ever since.

The Gorotire were rapidly reduced by disease, losing over a hundred of their number in their first few months at Nova Olinda. They were moved at the beginning of 1938, and several times thereafter over the next few years, to sites more distant from Brazilian settlements. These moves were carried out under the auspices of the SPI (Indian Protection Service) and the newly established Protestant Mission (now called MICEB), who arrived within a year of the Gorotire and immediately established an alternative settlement site. The Mission and the SPI became bitter rivals for the physical as well as ideological salvation of the Indians. Neither the mission nor the SPI, however, could marshal the resources needed to cope with the group's medical and hygienic problems. A large group of about 200 split off in 1939, but within a year had lost almost half of its members to Brazilian attacks. The survivors of this faction, called the Mengramari, have never since been peacefully contacted.

In 1947, when the Gorotire were moved for the last time to a place on the Rio Fresco called Novo Horizonte, they had only 89 survivors. Under the direction of the SPI, the new village was laid out in the form of a "street" rather than in the aboriginal circular pattern, a form it has kept ever since. The mission and the SPI, having settled into an uneasy modus vivendi, both built their own compounds directly within the village along the common "street".

The remaining members of the western men's house of the old Gorotire village, mostly the men of the Mebekamrekre society and their families, and a group of the batchelors' age set (about 500 in all) stayed at the old village site after the split of 1936. At some time in the next five years, they assumed the name of Kubenkranken, and moved their village north to Kra'abom, its present site near the Cachoeira da Fumaca on the Riozinho. Between 1941 and 1948, about 100 Mekranoti immigrants joined the community, but these seceded, along with about 100 Kubenkranken, to form the new band of Kokraymoro. Most of the 400 people remaining in the community moved to Gorotire in 1950, a visit motivated partly as an escape from attacks by the Kokraymoro and partly by desire for the medical treatment and trade goods made available at Gorotire by the SPI Post and the Protestant mission.

The Kubenkranken considered settling permanently at Gorotire, but the death of Ngroy, one of their leading chiefs, from disease on a trip to Belem cut short this plan. About 350 of the group returned to their own village in 1951, leaving behind 50 to 60 of their number as permanent settlers in Gorotire. At their request, an SPI agent visited their village the following year, and in 1953, a post was established. The village was rebuilt on the Gorotire model of a "Post village", with native houses, mission and SPI buildings laid out along a rectangular "street". This model was also followed at Kokraymoro in 1960, shortly after the group was pacified and moved to a new site.

A third small group, called the Mepituyaro, split off from the main Gorotire village at the time of the 1936 schism. It has never made peaceful contact with Brazilians, although it has been sighted several times by other Kayapo groups.

3. The Mekranoti, 1937-1947.

The Mekranoti village experienced four years of internal peace after Tapiet's group joined it in 1937, but in 1941 it too entered upon a period of protracted internecine conflict and repeated schisms. In 1941 the old chief Karanhin took a group of some 65 followers and set up a separate village, but later in the same year, fearing attack by other Mekranoti, fled to Kubenkranken. The following year, jealousies arising from a ceremonial exchange of spouses (the particular form of exchange being one in which women arrange to exchange husbands) led to the restoration of the moiety structure. The village was redivided between the eastern men's house (called, as before, the "Metuktire") and the western men's house (the "Mekrure"), and

the men, thus divided, ritually exchanged wives. The idea seems to have been that men, acting in their collective, normatively sanctioned capacity as representatives of the moieties, could coopt and suppress conflict arising from the more individualistic female-instigated exchanges.

This solution, however, was not given a chance to work, because another event occurred immediately afterward which had far more serious implications for communal factionalization. This was the murder of Tapiet by a member of the raiding party he was leading, after a skirmish with Brazilians in which he had been wounded. Those who had fled with him from Gorotire now felt insecure, and tensions rapidly intensified. In 1944, Ku'at, one of Tapiet's erstwhile companions, led a group of 80 in flight from the Mekranoti village. His band set up their own separate village, but three years later they split again after an internal conflict. One-half of the group joined another separatist faction which had just split off from the Mekranoti base village under Bebkamati, Kenti and Angme'e. The other half made its way to Kubenkranken. Added to the group of Karanhin which had come seven years earlier, Ku'at's band made up a grouping of more than 100 Mekranoti immigrants at Kubenkranken.

Meanwhile, back at the Mekranoti village, further conflicts and schisms continued. Still in 1944, Another follower of Tapiet named Puro led about 20 of his kin away from the village to the north. This band has never been contacted, although it has been sighted by other Kayapo west of the Xingu near Altamira. Another ex-associate of Tapiet, Buriruti, took his family (some eight persons in all) and fled north. They were later contacted and induced to join the SPI Post community that had been established at Bau in 1958, where within a year all but one of them died from disease.

Potentially more serious was a falling out between Bebgogoti and Kremoro, chiefs of the Metuktire, and Kretire, a chief of the Mekrure, and their respective men's societies. Kretire, a leader of the batchelors' age set of the Mekrure, had been away from the village on a raid when Tapiet was killed. When he and his party returned, they took vengeance for him by killing, not only his killer Ngoruti but also Katabkranmetch, one of the senior chiefs of the Metuktire. This again raised the tension between the two moieties, and the groups separated from the base village in opposite directions, Kretire to the north and Kremoro and Bebgogoti to the south. Bebgogoti, however, almost immediately separated from Kremoro in order to attack Kretire and the Mekrure in revenge for the death of Katabkranmetch.

The next year (1945), however, the Metuktire and Mekrure reunited in a common village, with only a single men's house. Relations between the two groups remained tense. Each group

again went off on separate treks, but after they returned, a club duel occurred between individuals belonging to the opposite groups. This fight, however, did not escalate to involve the two men's groups collectively. The two separate men's houses were again erected (1946), and in the next year a naming ceremony was held. The two men's societies went off separately on the ceremonial hunt, which is an unusual occurrence: ceremonial hunts are not ordinarily organized along men's society lines, but are rather held in common, with the men organized as teams working for the fathers of each name-receiving child. The Mekkure secretly returned early from their hunt and ambushed the Metuktire when they returned to the village. In the ensuing fighting, several men were killed on both sides, and the village split up anew. Kremoro fled with the batchelors' age set of the Metuktire to a site on the east bank of the Xingu. Bebgogoti of the Metukti and Kretire of the Mekkure led their men off on separate raids, but later the same year came together again in the same village. A group of senior men of the Metukti, still fearful of reprisals from the Metukti, left to join Kremoro. In the common village, Kretire and Bebgogoti amalgamated their followers within a single men's house. The moiety system of two men's houses was never again re-created by any Mekranoti group.

4. The Northern Mekranoti, 1947-1987. P.I. Bau.

The most permanent of the fissions of 1947, however, was that of the Mekkure leaders Bebkamati, Kenti and Angme'e, which has already been mentioned. Their large group of followers numbered about 200 when it left the village; within a year, thirty of the original group split off and returned to the base village, but the loss was made up by about forty of the followers of Ku'at, who joined the band in the same year, as already recounted above. This band of about 210 proceeded north to the vicinity of the Curua. They remained separate from the other Mekranoti, and from this point on may be called "Northern Mekranoti". The following year (1948) the band split again after an internal fight between Kenti, who left with 60 followers, and Angme'e, who remained with Bebkamati and about 150 persons. This group was pacified in 1958, and the next year, under SPI auspices, was joined at the new post of Bau by 50 of the Karara'o band that had split off from Gorotire in 1935, which had also just been pacified.

5. The remaining Mekranoti split into Central and Southern branches, 1947-1956.

Kremoro took his men, among them a young leader named Kromare, on a raiding expedition to the east. They threatened, but in the end did not attack, the Kubenkranken, but did assault

the Tapirape. Several members of that tribe were killed and the village burned to the ground. The returning raiding party fought a skirmish with a Shavante group, and, fearing reprisal by the Shavante, fled back to the west bank of the Xingu and rejoined Bebgogoti and Kretire.

This was in 1948. Four years of internal peace followed. In 1952, the men's societies that had since their inception in 1925 been associated with the opposing moieties, the Metuktire and Metukre, were reorganized and renamed. A new society called the Metukre was formed, with Kretire, Bebgogoti and Kremoro as its joint leaders. A second, called the Meiakrekroti, led by two younger men, Takak'ire and Karikane, was also organized, and the batchelors age set was led by Pakotch. Communal peace was nevertheless again disrupted within the same year by a collective club-duel over an adulterous affair. This led to a new schism: Kremoro, Kromare and some 185 followers fled to a site near the Cachoeira von Martius, while Kretire and Bebgogoti remained with the rest of the village population (about 290) at the old village site.

This split confirmed the pattern established in the previous split of 1947, although the men's society names, Metuktire and Mekrure, which had previously served to identify the two groups, had been formally abandoned. It is therefore convenient to follow Verswijver's suggestion and to adopt the terms "Southern Mekranoti" and "Central Mekranoti" for the followers of Kremoro and of Bebgogoti, respectively. The term "Metuktire" has however continued to be used by other Kayapo and by many Brazilians to identify the Southern Mekranoti. They themselves, recognizing this fact, continue to identify themselves as Metukti to Kayapo of other groups. The Juruna term for the Kayapo as a whole, "Txukahamae" (also spelled "Txukarramae") is also widely used for this group, especially among the other indigenous groups and Brazilian administrators of the Xingu Park.

In 1953 Kremoro's group was peacefully contacted by the Villas-Boas brothers, and several men were invited back to visit their base camp at Capitaó Vasconcelos (renamed Leonardo Villas-Boas after the creation of the Xingu Park in 1961). Among these was a young man named Ropni, who stayed with the Villas-Boases for several years, learned Portuguese, and became their liaison with the Southern Mekranoti, a role which eventually propelled him to leadership of the group. The Villas-Boases asked Ropni and the others to carry their invitation to enter into peaceful relations to Kretire and Bebgogoti. The two groups briefly reunited, but split again in 1954. Urged by the Villas-Boases to reunite, they again joined together in 1955, but in 1956 there occurred a split which was to prove final. Pakotch, Kretire and Bebgogoti each led separate groups of followers away from the

common village, but all three rejoined forces within the year at a site called Pi'udjam. This village had a combined population of about 340, which included many former followers of Kremoro.

6. The Southern Mekranoti ("Metuktire" or "Txukahamae"), 1956-1987. P.I. Kapot.

The latter, together with Kromare, once again fled east of the Xingu with about 90 people. In 1959 a fight broke out between Kromare and a close companion of Kremoro, Bekwoyka. As a result, Kremoro, Bekwoyka and about 60 members of this small group left to join Kubenkranken. Within a year of their arrival, however, they found themselves accused of sorcery by a newly installed, young Kubenkranken chief named Ngapre. Many of the Mekranoti band attempted to flee, but they were ambushed by Ngapre; at least a dozen men were killed. Bekwoyka and about twenty others managed to beg a ride to Gorotire on a Brazilian Air Force plane and thus escaped. Kremoro and three other men, accompanied by their families, fled back to the Xingu and rejoined the group of Kromare and Ropni, which now attained a population of 50.

In 1961, this small group accepted the invitation of the Villas-Boases to move to a site called Porori, on the west bank of the Xingu south of the mouth of the Jarina, within the newly proclaimed National Park of the Xingu. There they were joined in 1964 by Kretire and Ukakoro, a Northern Mekranoti leader who had resettled with his family at the Central Mekranoti village, and some 120 followers. In 1965-6, Porori thus had a population of 170 (reduced in early 1966 to 162 by an outbreak of 'flu). After a visit by Ropni to Kokraymoro in 1967, 25 members of that community, originally of Mekranoti extraction, resettled at Porori.

Relations between Kremoro and Bebgogoti remained hostile, fuelled by Kremoro's bitterness at the desertion of many of his followers to Bebgogoti in the schism of 1955-6. Kremoro, backed by Kromare, therefore opposed the efforts of the Villas-Boases to induce Bebgogoti to join the Southern Mekranoti at Porori within the Park. Kretire, however, impressed with the relatively plentiful supply of medical assistance and commodities made available at Porori by the Park authorities, returned in 1969 to Bebgogoti's village to renew the attempt to persuade him to resettle at Porori. Bebgogoti, worried about Kremoro's hostility, resisted, but Kretire, whose following at Porori was by now far stronger than Kremoro's, pledged to prevent a new outbreak of hostilities. Bebgogoti eventually agreed to bring his group the following year, and Kretire set out on the return journey. On the way, however, he was overtaken by a

sudden illness and died. Upon hearing the news, Bebgogoti cancelled his plan to come to Porori, and the hoped-for merger of the Central and Southern Mekranoti failed to take place.

This was perhaps just as well for the former, since in 1971 the Brazilian Army engineers and Ministry of the Interior secretly re-routed the construction of one of the main roads of the new Trans-Amazonica highway system, BR 080, so as to cut off the northern 20% of the area of the Xingu Park (the area allotted to the Kayapo of Porori). The arrival of the road at the Xingu took both the Indians and the Villas-Boases by surprise, as did the announcement by the Minister of the Interior which accompanied the event that the land north of the road was now removed from the Park and would be sold to private Brazilian owners. The Indians on the land, namely the Kayapo of Porori, were told that they would have to move off.

The people of Porori were of different minds as to what policy to pursue under the circumstances. One large group, led by Ropni, argued for accepting the Villas-Boases recommendation that they move further south into the remaining area of the Park. Another faction, led by Ukakoro, urged armed confrontation and resistance. In the midst of this turmoil, a man who had been defeated in a club-duel returned at night to settle accounts with more lethal weapons, and was killed in a gunfight. This event precipitated a split: Kremoro and Kromare, who had never shared Ropni's enthusiasm for the Villas-Boases and the Park, fled north towards the old area of Kapot, and with about 90 followers founded a new village on the Jarina some distance upstream from the Xingu. A brief attempt to rejoin forces at a camp built by Ropni and Ukakoro's group closer to the roadhead ended quickly in a definitive schism.

The remainder of the Porori community for a time refused to accept the fait accompli of the theft of their entire territory within the Park. The more militant Mekranoti associated with Ukakoro's line fought a few skirmishes with the road-workers, in which they captured a motor-launch, sank a large tug that had been transported overland to aid in the building of a bridge, and made off with many tools and supplies, but failed to halt construction. Ukakoro's leadership was discredited, and he ceased to be regarded as a chief. He joined Ropni and some 120 others on their retreat south into the Park. There, at a place on the west bank of the Xingu about 30 km. north of Diauarum, they founded a new village, named Kretire after their late chief.

During the next 20 years, the men of the two Southern Mekranoti communities of Kretire and Jarina kept up a running series of attacks on Brazilian would-be settlers and trespassers

of all kinds on the severed section of Park land, which they continued to regard as their own. The Kretire, under the militant leadership of Ropni, took an intransigent position, resisting all Brazilian incursions into their area and normally killing any trespassers they could catch. The northern group, Jarina, formed a rather more ambivalent relationship with one large fazenda (Agropexim), which served as a source of medical supplies and tools, thus fulfilling to some extent the functions provided by the Xingu Park post of Diauarum for the community of Kretire. Ultimately, however, Agropexim was raided during its slack season and its two resident Brazilians killed. In other noteworthy actions, the small settlement of Sao Jose do Xingu, built near the Xingu roadhead of BR-080, was attacked in 1974 and five of its inhabitants killed; two years later it was burned down. In 1980 eleven members of a timber crew were caught just within the Park boundary and all killed. About the same time, the Brazilian operator of the ferry across the Xingu at the road crossing was killed, his family driven off, and his home and small store pillaged. The inhabitants of Jarina ambushed and killed at least five Brazilians in their territory over the same period. By 1981, no Brazilians apart from government functionaries survived within the old Park boundaries.

In that year, Kremoro made a visit to Kokraymoro, the Kayapo settlement on the middle Xingu. Upon his return, he announced that his son Pataytch would become chief at Jarina, along with himself. This angered Kromare, who had aspired to that position himself. Kromare thereupon left Jarina with about thirty followers for a site north of the old Park boundary, which was called by FUNAI "Posto Xingu".

Still in 1981, Ropni visited both Kremoro's and Kromare's settlements and proposed reuniting their groups in a new village. The three leaders began a campaign to pressure FUNAI and the federal government formally to restore both the east- and west-bank sections of the territory stolen from the Park in 1971, with an additional contiguous area to the north-west comprising the area of cerrado (savannah) which the Mekranoti had made the site for their base villages since the early years of the century. The government did in fact cede this area, called Kapot, together with both the west- and east-bank sections of the old Park territory, in 1984. Most of the latter two areas were returned to the Park, but the northern portions, together with the new area of Kapot, were defined as a separate Kayapo reserve, called A.I. Kapot. The new joint village was begun there in 1985, on the west bank of the Xingu, near the site of Kromare's new settlement. The decision to grant the new reserve, and to return the Park territory, required the expropriation and compensation of 30 landowners, and was undertaken by the government only as a solution to what had become a situation of chronic conflict with the Indians.

The political structure of the new village reflected an artful compromise. The men were formed into two new men's societies, called the Metekrekayrereti and the Meparikoniabie, each headed by a newly proclaimed chief: Yobau, who had been trained by Kretire as his successor, and Beb'i. Ropni and Kremoro remained recognized as chiefs of the community at large, but without specific connections to either of the new men's groups. Neither Pataytch nor Kromare were recognized as chiefs, although Kromare was given leadership roles normally fulfilled by chiefs, such as that of leading ceremonial hunts. Ropni is generally recognized as the dominant leader and personality of the community, and indeed has become a nationally famous spokesman for indigenous rights, a role duly recognized by his compatriots in Kapot. Kremoro, now quite old, has become relatively quiescent. The population of the community is 373; its social composition and household organization will be discussed in greater detail below.

7. The Central Mekranoti 1956-1987: P.I. Mekranoti, P.I. Pukanu, and P.I. Iriri Novo (Kubenkakre).

The Central Mekranoti village led by Bebgogoti remained based at the site of Pi'udjam after the schism with Kremoro in 1956. In the following year, on a trek, it met up with and reabsorbed the small group of Kenti, which had split off from Bebkamati's and Angme'e's following in 1948. It thus raised its population to approximately 400 people. In 1958, this group was contacted by the pacification team led by Francisco Meireles. Kretire and a few companions traveled to the attraction post of Candoca to receive the presents promised by Meireles' emissaries. The next year the entire group moved briefly to this post, seeking protection from a feared raid by the Kraniakarare, with whom a skirmish had just been fought, with casualties on both sides. Many children and older people died here within a few weeks of contact diseases, for which Meireles' team had brought no medicines. In 1960 the whole group returned to their old village at Pi'udjam, but most of the community, some 250 in all, immediately moved to another site by the Iriri Novo.

The next year, some of those who remained at Pi'udjam visited the Northern Mekranoti and Karara'o village at Posto Bau, but a fight broke out over an alleged adultery. As a result of this fight, the Karara'o chief was murdered and his killer, a Central Mekranoti, shot dead in revenge. This raised tensions between the Central and Northern Mekranoti to an explosive level, and the SPI sent out a new pacification mission to prevent the outbreak of new fighting, which it was feared might spread to involve raids on Brazilian settlements. In 1962

a new attraction post was built at Pitiatia. Meireles sent Bebgogoti's sons to bring him from the Iriri Novo village to receive the presents he had brought. Many people had died of disease at this village in the intervening year, however, and Bebgogoti and Kretire had set out to return to the old village of Pi'u djam. The group was on the move back to Pi'udjam when it met Meireles' envoys. The entire band made a detour to Pitiatia to get the presents, but refused to stay there, out of fear of further disease, and returned to Pi'udjam.

Before the year was over, however, the group split up temporarily, with Bebgogoti and his followers leaving to join the Northern Mekranoti at Bau, while Kretire and his people stayed at Pi'udjam. Bebgogoti returned in the following year, having been joined by Ukakoro, the Northern Mekranoti leader, who was dissatisfied with the lack of medical assistance at the Bau post. In 1964, after a visit by Ropni to Pi'udjam to urge the people of that community to emigrate to Porori, Kretire and Ukakoro with 120 followers left Pi'udjam for Porori, primarily because of the superior medical assistance available there. Bebgogoti refused to accompany them. After another club-duel at Bau the following year, however, he returned to Pi'udjam, where he remained with about 140 followers.

After one more serious outbreak of disease, which again killed many people and caused the rest to disperse to their gardens for a period, life at Pi'djam settled down to a stable routine. FUNAI medical assistance became more adequate, and the population began to increase again. This trend was reinforced by immigration from other communities such as Jarina and Bau: about 50 people have added themselves to the community in this way since 1969. From a low point of 136 in 1968, the village had grown to 400 in 1984. This was in spite of the secession of two small groups, one of about 75 people in 1980 (to a place called Pukanu, where the fishing was said to be much better), and one in 1983 to a site on the Iriri Novo called Kubenkakre. The latter involved 160 persons under the leadership of Kokoreti, who is attempting to persuade the people of Pi'udjam to join with his group at the new site.

8. The later history of the Karara'o, 1936-1987.
P.I. Karara'o

After their brief encounter with the Mekranoti in 1935, the Karara'o went through a series of fissions. The first of these came in 1936, soon after Kokoyaumti's murder by the Mekranoti. One of the the sub-groups which separated at this time remains uncontacted to this day. Another of the factions split again about 1940. One of the offshoots of this second schism was

pacified in 1957. It had a population of 58 when contacted, but soon lost most of its number to disease and neglect (the SPI, as usual for the time, provided no medical support). Today this group is effectively extinct, although a few survivors live scattered among other Kayapo groups, notably Bau and the Tchikrin village of Bacaja. In 1970 a second small group of 30 Karara'o was contacted and resettled at a new post (P.I. Karara'o) near the confluence of the Iriri and the Xingu at Altamira. This post had a native population of 25 in 1984.

9. The Kokraymoro, 1950-1987: P.I. Kokraymoro.

We now follow the story of the Mekranoti immigrants who followed Karanhin to Kubenkranken in 1941, and those who came later in 1948 with Ku'at. After a period of relatively peaceful coexistence, two of the younger Mekranoti leaders, Manmari and Kokoreti, led a mixed group of 150 Mekranoti and Kubenkranken to secede from the main community. They were joined in 1949 by Kra'akop, who brought some of Ku'at's men (both Karanhin and Ku'at themselves remained in Kubenkranken itself). This combined group of over 200 then re-merged with the larger village in the same year. The next year (1950), however, an even larger number, estimated at 300, split off again, with the previous secessionist group as its core. The leaders of this fission, which was permanent, were Bebnotch and Kokraymoro. The latter was soon killed in a series of raids between the two villages, but the new community took his name. They moved to the west bank of the Xingu and began an intensive period of raiding Brazilian settlements along the Curua and Iriri.

In 1957 the group split again between the followers of Bebnotch (about 140) and the group of Yakuri (about 100). The two groups were contacted in the same year by Meireles' SPI team, induced to reunite, and moved to a site on the east bank of the Xingu near Sao Felix. Within the single year of 1958 they lost half of their population to contact diseases, declining from 240 to 120. By the end of the following year this had again fallen by half to 70. The village was moved to a new site farther from Sao Felix in 1960. After that improved medical assistance from the SPI and the Protestant Mission began to be reflected in a steady population rise, furthered by the arrival of 70 immigrants from Kubenkranken in 1962. 25 members of the community emigrated to Porori in 1967, but by 1984 the community had reached a level of 170.

10. The later history of the Gorotire (1950-1987): P.I. Gorotire and P.I. Kikretum.

The population of Gorotire continued to grow after its infusion of Kubenkranken immigrants in 1950, largely because of improved medical care and transportation made available by the SPI Post and the Mission. There was considerable immigration from other Kayapo groups, e.g., Tchikrin who abandoned the SPI's defunct Posto Las Casas in the late 1950's and Mekranoti fleeing from Kubenkranken in 1960. In 1954 the population stood at 154; in 1963 at 263; and by 1976 it had reached 600. In that year, Tut, one of the two chiefs, attempted to kill Kanyonk, the other chief, and Toto'i, the third leading man of the village, with a pickaxe as they were engaged on a communal working party. The motive for Tut's attack was a dispute arising out of collective ritual activity connected with the naming of one of Kanyonk's sons.

The two men survived the attack only because they were flown out to Conceicao for surgery by FUNAI. Tut and 100 followers fled to Kubenkranken, but after a year moved to a site on the Rio Fresco called Kikretum, near the Brazilian settlement of Tucuma. The population of Kikretum was recorded as 103 in 1978 and as 270 in 1984 (the latter figure reflects immigration from other Kayapo communities, above all Kokraymoro). Gorotire, with a population recorded as 528 in 1978, soon after the secession of Kikretum, increased to 542 in 1981 and 693 in 1987.

11. The later history of the Kubenkranken (1953-1987): P.I. Kubenkranken and P.I. A'ukre.

Kubenkranken remained relatively isolated after its official "pacification" in 1952-3. The SPI Post was only sporadically occupied, and the mission was never permanently staffed. This isolation contributed to the catastrophic effect of a measles epidemic in 1958: roughly a fifth of the population perished before effective medical assistance (from the mission, not the SPI) arrived. In 1964, the population stood at about 320, and grew to 370 by 1979. In that year, the community split. One of the chiefs, Tchikiri, the leader of the men's society of Atuorongra, left with many of his followers for a new site on the Rio Fresco, leaving Kubenkranken inhabited mostly by the men of the other men's society, the Menkrangran, and their families. The motive was said to be a desire for more convenient access to the large groves of Brazil-nut trees which are found in the area, and which provide the village's only cash crop. There had, however, for long been tensions between Tchikiri and Ngapre, the leading Mekrangran chief. The new group numbered 112 in 1982, but it has grown steadily at the expense of its parent community. In 1984 A'ukre, with 165, had almost surpassed Kubenkranken, which had fallen to 185, almost all of the loss consisting of emigration to A'ukre.

C. SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF GOROTIRE AND MEKRANOTI HISTORY UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

1. Warfare and movement as themes in Kayapo history.

This outline of the history of the Gorotire and Mekranoti groups gives only a feeble and inadequate idea of the two dominant features of the historical experience of Kayapo society in the first half of the the present century (that is, up to the establishment of peaceful contact with the national society): the continual movement of whole communities and separate men's societies (with or without their dependents) among numerous, widely scattered village sites; and warfare. The two themes are integrally related, since raiding was one of the main forms of group movement, and fear of reprisals one of the main motives for moving to new or distant village sites. The other principal motive for the movement of whole villages or groups was food-gathering, which could take various forms: a simple hunting expedition, ceremonial hunts associated with communal rituals, the gathering of seasonally ripening fruit, extended hunting-and-gathering treks, or harvesting the gardens at abandoned village sites.

2. The frequency of movement in the pre-pacification period.

Both types of group movement, the raid and the hunting and/or gathering trek, were typically organized either on the basis of the community as a whole or of men's houses or men's societies (frequently accompanied by their members' families) as corporate segments of the community. In many cases, such movements involved only temporary absences from a base village, and ended with a return to the place from which they had started. In many others, however, they entailed movement to a different village or camp site for one or more years. A ten-year period in the history of any of the Kayapo communities included in this survey would show a pattern of movement among roughly a dozen sites, scattered over a large area, with some sites as far as 200 km. from one another. Groups would move between such distant sites as frequently as once every year or couple of years, while extended hunting and gathering treks and ceremonial hunts from the same site would take place two or three times a year.

Verswijver's ethnohistorical account of the Mekranoti groups from their inception in 1905 until their pacification (almost all of them in the late 1950's) provides invaluable data

on group movements and raids. Verswijver records 82 movements of village sites by the different Mekranoti groups between 1905 and the time of their pacification. If we consider the Mekranoti to have begun existence as a distinct community in 1905 and to have continued as a collective social unit until 1952, the Kokraymoro to have split off in 1941 and to have been pacified in 1957, the Northern Mekranoti to have separated in 1947 and been pacified in 1958, and the Central and Southern Mekranoti to have separated in 1952 and been pacified in 1958 and 1953 respectively, we have a total of 82 group-years. This works out to one move per year, which is quite sufficient to define the Kayapo as "semi-nomadic" by most accepted criteria. In the words of Ropni, the Southern Mekranoti leader, the Kayapo "dive into our territory and swim through our land".

Verswijver's data on raiding are equally impressive. The same Mekranoti groups, in the same period of years, conducted a total of 92 raids (not counting aborted raids which turned back before reaching their objectives, because of bad omens, disputes, or other causes). This is an average of more than one raid per year (one group conducted as many as five raids in a single year). The distribution of these raids by target group is significant: 60, or 65%, were against the Brazilians; 22, or 25%, were against other Kayapo groups; 4, or 4%, were against the Kraniakarare; and 6, or 6% were against non-Ge indigenous groups. These data on Mekranoti mobility and raiding could doubtlessly be replicated without essential differences for the Gorotire, Kubenkranken, and Tchikrin before their respective pacifications.

That 65% of all Mekranoti raids were carried out against Brazilians indicates that the military hyper-activity of the Kayapo in the years between their first encounters with the Brazilians and their acceptance of peaceful relations with the national society must be understood as a product of Brazilian contact. This in turn means that the militarization of Kayapo society to the level indicated by an average rate of more than one raid per group-year must be understood as a recent phenomenon, beginning in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. These considerations are fundamental to an understanding of the changes in Kayapo society and culture during and since that time.

The first step towards an understanding of these changes thus consists in grasping what features of the situation of contact between Kayapo and Brazilian society motivated Kayapo raiding. The answer is not far to seek. Virtually the sole Kayapo motive for the raids against Brazilians was the acquisition of firearms and manufactured goods: warfare with Brazilians was, in other words, essentially a form of circulation of commodities.

This is not the case, as Verswijver makes clear, with the attacks against other native societies. Raids on other Kayapo groups, and against the Kraniakarare, who were assimilated to the category of Kayapo-like enemies, were undertaken essentially for vengeance and glory. Those against non-Ge peoples ("Mekak-rit", or "peoples of no account") were conceived almost as playful adventures, aimed at acquiring captive children to raise and exotic artefacts and ritual objects to add to the Kayapo repertoire of ceremonial "wealth" or "nekretch".

The initial impetus for the acquisition of Brazilian commodities through raiding was the need to obtain firearms for self-defense. As we have seen, the first encounters of the Kayapo (i.e., the "Nhyrykwaye") with Brazilians in the early 19th Century had taken the form of slave-raids by the latter, and led the Kayapo to retreat westward across the Araguaya, whence the Brazilians soon followed. The acquisition of firearms for self-defense, however, quickly became a self-perpetuating and self-intensifying need. As each Kayapo group obtained guns and used them against other Kayapo groups, the others were driven to acquire them in their turn. With the growth of internecine warfare among the Kayapo groups, the need for additional arms and ammunition grew, which led to more raiding of Brazilians, which itself required more arms and ammunition, and so on.

In one sense, firearms and other Brazilian products like hammocks, clothing, and metal tools were a new form of the "nekretch", or ritual valuables, which formed the main object of plunder in raids on non-Kayapo indigenous peoples. Like them, they constituted, from the standpoint of Kayapo society, "asocial" phenomena: products of techniques and repositories of powers from beyond the limits of the social. The incorporation of such products into Kayapo communities constituted a feat of "socialization" analogous to that accomplished through the incorporation of the "nekretch" of non-Kayapo tribes into collective ceremonies. The intrinsic usefulness of Brazilian commodities such as those that have been mentioned, however, meant that they rapidly took on a different character, and had fundamentally different social effects, than "nekretch" taken from the Juruna, Karaja, or Tapirape. The essence of the difference was that the Kayapo developed needs for the new products which made them dependent upon Brazilian society. The intensification of raiding was the direct expression of this dependency.

The pacification teams who approached the Mekranoti groups in 1958 with the standard presents of pots, axes, and hammocks were neither initiating "contact" with Brazilian society nor instilling new needs among the Kayapo. For the Kayapo, "pacification" was above all else a more convenient way

3. Raiding is a mode of dependence on Brazilian society

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of satisfying the needs for Brazilian commodities that they had already formed through raiding. Warfare with the Brazilians had come to mean dependency on Brazilian society for commodities, and peace was seen primarily as a continuation of war by other means. This interpretation suggests an answer to the otherwise puzzling question of why the Kayapo were so easily pacified. Why, in other words, did group after group of inveterate raiders respond with such alacrity to the first overtures of pot-bearing Brazilian functionaries? The reason was not that they lacked pots, but rather precisely that they had them. Having learned to need them, they were ready to seize upon an easier method of acquiring more.

4. The effects of warfare on community stability and structure.

The intensification of raiding, or what I have called military "hyper-activity" of Kayapo society, in the pre-pacification period was not without consequences for the stability and internal structure of Kayapo communities. Verswijver's data show, for the same Mekranoti groups and over the same period of years, 21 communal schisms (defined as either the fission of the village as a whole or the secession of a major group, on hostile terms, for at least a year), and 45 consequential intra-communal conflicts (defined as individual or collective club-duels, killings, or beatings, in one case even the beating of someone's dog, which contributed significantly to communal schisms). This is an average of roughly one schism every four group-years, and one important conflict every two years.

These data suggest a relation between the frequency of internecine conflict and schism, on the one hand, and inter-group conflict, on the other. The most active raiding group, the Kokraymoro, for example, were also the most internally conflicted and prone to schism of all the Mekranoti. In their 16 years of existence up to pacification, they carried out 37 raids against Brazilians and other Kayapo. In the same period they had 14 serious internal fights, and the group actually split six times. These data may be contrasted with the post-pacification record in all Kayapo groups, which while not totally lacking either in raids or intra-group conflict and schisms, shows far fewer events in either category.

The Kayapo data thus point to a strong correlation between inter-group conflict and intra-group cohesion, but in the opposite sense to that posited by functionalist conflict theorists such as Coser and Murphy. The intensification of inter-group conflict among the Kayapo seems to have been direct-

ly correlated with the intensification of intra-group conflict, and the erosion of internal stability and cohesion. This tendency is manifested in the most concrete terms by the progressive segmentation of all of the Kayapo groups during this period, with a steady decline in average group size. Kayapo society at the time of the first contacts with Brazilians in the Nineteenth century was a society of large villages, of well over 1,000 in population. This pattern was maintained by the Gorotire until 1936, but since that time (and long before in all the other groups) it has given way to a pattern of progressive fragmentation that has only recently begun to reverse itself (potentially, at least), most notably at Gorotire and Kapot. The large size of the early villages of the Ira'amrayre and Gorotire is incompatible with the existence of a high rate of internal conflict such as that which prevailed in all the groups involved in heavy raiding of Brazilians.

The inverse correlation between the intensification of warfare and community size also has resonances at the level of formal social and political structure. On this point the ethnohistorical data attest to an ambivalent tension between the pattern of raiding and the institutional structure of Kayapo society. They show, on the one hand, that the system of communal groupings (age-sets and men's societies) associated with the men's house served, in the pre-pacification period, as the organizational framework of most group movements and raiding activity. The men's associations and age-sets, in sum, were effective military and political units. Their interrelations determined, or at least articulated, the schisms of village communities, and thus also by implication such solidarity and communal stability as existed.

In another sense, however, the intensification of raiding tended to undermine the importance of normative communal institutional forms, emphasizing instead the solidarity of charismatic war leaders and their followings. As Kayapo society became dependent upon raiding Brazilians to obtain the weapons and other commodities which had increasingly assumed the character of social necessities, such leaders and their cliques of militant followers could justify their activities and dramatize their importance as the suppliers of the essential means of communal survival. Raiding groups and leaders, in other words, acquired a base of social legitimation independent of the traditional institutional structure, with its symbolic and ritual mechanisms for extracting and circulating social values from the reproduction of extended families and domestic households.

Up to a point, the men's society provided an institutional form for integrating the raiding organization and the traditional structure. War-leaders functioned as chiefs, and

men's societies as the cores of raiding parties. The traditional political structure, as pointed out in the last section, had always depended upon the chiefs of men's societies functioning also as leaders capable of motivating the members of their societies, and in a wider sense the village as a whole, to follow them and accept their decisions. In the traditional system, however, this leadership function of chiefs, and the loyalty of their followings, was dependent upon, and thus limited by, the system of communal groups and ceremonies which generated the organizational basis of chiefly authority. The focus of this system was not the individual men's society, but the structure of the community as a whole, defined as comprising at least two men's societies, and ideally constituted as a moiety structure with two men's houses (each with one or more men's societies).

The community, in other words, is constituted in the traditional system as a relation between men's societies which constrains the individual society to accommodate itself to the demands of coexistence with the rest of the community. This constraint is manifested on the one hand by the requirement of formal respect (*pia'am*) between the members of different men's houses, and on the other by the tension, in the institution of the chieftainship, between the role of chief as the leader of a particular men's society and his role as spokesperson of communal values and ritual chanter for the community as a whole.

This institutional structure, in turn, is intrinsically associated with large communities, such as Gorotire before 1936. A village population of 1,000 or more obviously transcends the dimensions of one or even two chiefly followings or men's societies; it thus embodies the proper balance envisaged in the traditional order between community structure and men's society solidarity, in which the men's society serves as the immediate structural constituent of the village, but the village as a whole is ultimately preponderant over the individual men's society. This "preponderance" of the totality over the part means, in this context, that the process of social production, as embodied in the reproduction of the basic extended family and household structure, and the generalized forms of value and communal association extrapolated from that process, remain the fundamental basis of social solidarity, both of the community as a whole and the men's society as a constituent of that whole.

When raiding reaches a level of intensity at which the leadership and cohesion of raiding parties, and the booty they bring back, assume greater importance than the mode of social solidarity generated by the traditional order of social production and ceremonial values, then this order of preponderance is reversed. The direct demographic result is the diminution of village size, as community populations increasingly fall to the

level of the individual men's society and its dependents. The direct structural result is the collapse of the moiety system, as the role of military leader eclipses the importance of the traditional chiefly role, the solidarity of raiding parties becomes a more important basis of collective solidarity than traditional structure and values, and relations between men's societies assume the character of alliances between mutually independent military organizations rather than as complementary parts of a total civil society.

Contemporary Kayapo informants are keenly aware of these relationships. When asked why they do not restore the moiety system in their communities, both Southern Mekranoti (Porori, Kretire and Kapot) and Gorotire informants have explained to me over the years that "the other men's house" would be built only when the population of the village becomes "large enough". Meanwhile, to separate the existing men's house into two opposing men's houses would only promote factional conflict. In other words, until such time as the community transcends the level of an uneasy alliance between relatively autonomous and mutually suspicious chiefly followings (a result that can be expected to follow from the accumulation of a population large enough to diminish the relative importance of such tensions as threats to the solidarity of the community as a whole), the institutional form of moiety structure would only serve to articulate, but not to constrain, the rivalries of chiefly followings.

At both Porori and Kretire, I was present at discussions in the men's house of the relative advisability of building another men's house to accommodate Bebgogti's group, in case efforts to persuade him to amalgamate with the Southern Mekranoti community would succeed. Proponents of the moiety solution argued that to put Bebgogoti and his men in the opposite men's house would serve to constrain the expression of tension between the two groups, by virtue of the pia'am normatively prescribed between men's houses. This argument was rejected by large majorities on both occasions, however. Most of those present maintained that it would be far more effective to amalgamate everyone in a single men's house, so that the distinctness of different chiefly followings could be effaced by the incorporation of everyone in a single series of homogenized age-based groupings.

A second point that emerges clearly from the historical data is the degree to which the political role of chiefs and men's associations is bound up with territorial mobility. The political effectiveness of men's societies and chiefs as the determining constituents of communal order was (and continues to be) based on their potential capacity to behave as autonomous political and social units, which in turn is ultimately based on

their ability to withdraw from a village and found a new, self-sufficient village of their own (or alternatively, to join another already existing community).

The territorial mobility of communities and men's societies, and the role of chiefs in their capacity as leaders of both, is in turn bound up, as we have seen, with two modes of activity: the food-getting hunting and gathering trek and the military expedition. Trekking constitutes a constant demonstration of the potential viability of the trekking group as an independent community. The large areas of open land upon which it relies offer abundant opportunities for the founding of new settlements. Raiding, on the other hand, demonstrates the same point in negative terms: a group which is able to attack others and survive thereby demonstrates its superior viability and autonomy as a group. Separate treks or raiding expeditions were frequently used as vehicles for the expression of tension and opposition between rival groups within a single community, and in several cases such moves developed into lasting schisms. In the cases of both trekking and raiding, mobility can thus be seen as a dynamic expression of the tension between intra-group fusion and inter-group opposition. This interpretation reinforces a third major point of the preceding discussion of Kayapo social institutions. In that discussion, I suggested that the practice of collective trekking, which at least in the larger villages is typically organized on the basis of communal men's associations, is primarily to be understood as an expression and renewal of the political solidarity of collective groups and their leaders.

A fourth point which emerges from the historical record is that the tension between men's ties to their communal associations and their private sexual and affinal ties to women and family households has some grounding in historical experience. That so many of the major communal schisms in Gorotire and Mekranoti history have been provoked by disputes over adultery or shows that such relations do in fact have the disruptive potential that the Kayapo attribute to them, even if it falls short of fully bearing out the Kayapo Homeric theory of history that a woman is always the cause of disruptions of communal peace. The fundamental point, of course, is that the relationship between the domestic and communal institutional levels of Kayapo society is not merely one of symbolic correspondence or functional reproduction but of real political and social tension, fraught with the possibility of conflict and instability, as should be expected of a relationship that is the focus of social reproduction and exploitation.

D. "PACIFICATION" AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF DEPENDENCY

1. Gorotire: 1936-1950.

Although the first peaceful contact with the Gorotire was made by Dom Sebastiao Tomas, Bishop of Conceicao, in 1935, it was not followed up, and of itself led to no lasting results. Effective contact with the Gorotire was made in 1937 by the Prefect of Nova Olinda, a small town on the Rio Fresco in southern Para, through the offices of a bilingual (Portuguese-Kayapo) Brazilian. This man had been kidnapped as a boy by the Kayapo in a raid, but had returned to live among his compatriots at Nova Olinda. This was at a time when the band that later reassumed the name of Gorotire, the Djudjetukti, were fleeing from the attacks of the group from which they had just split. They came to Nova Olinda as refugees, seeking food and protection from the Brazilian townsmen. Their numbers (844, as counted by a government agent who arrived several months after their emergence from the forest) soon overwhelmed the resources of the small town of Nova Olinda, and its prefect appealed for assistance to the SPI (Servico pela Protecao aos Indios, or Indian Protection Service). The SPI sent an agent, Pedro Silva, who found the Gorotire in a disastrous state of hunger, disease, and poverty in a makeshift camp on the outskirts of the town. He succeeded in inducing them to move in early 1938 to a site of their own further upriver, and assisted in starting new gardens and alleviating the worst effects of the epidemic of flu which carried off almost half of the original population.

In these endeavors he was aided by the arrival of Horace Banner, an English missionary of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, a Protestant missionary society now known by its Portuguese acronym of MICEB. Banner was an energetic and effective worker and became well-liked by the Indians. Silva, however, resented his presence and opposed his missionary project, and the two became adversaries. The following year about 150 members of the group left the community and began raiding Brazilian settlements. The secession of this group, the Mengramari, left the new settlement of Gorotire with a population of about 450. Between 1939 and 1947 the group was beset by contact-induced disease and received little assistance from the increasingly ineffective, under-funded and corrupt SPI. During this period a further three-fourths of the population died. When they were finally moved again to their present location in 1947, they were reduced in number to about 100.

The rivalry between SPI and mission was accentuated by the protracted decline of the population of Gorotire and the ineffectiveness of the SPI in dealing with it. The relative effectiveness, energy, and success of the medical and educational work of the missionary Banner only served to highlight the fail-

ures of the government service. Banner and his wife did a great deal of medical work, and Banner opened a school in the early 1940's in which he trained a group of boys to speak good Portuguese. This group included virtually all of the subsequent chiefs and leading men of Gorotire. After two years this school was shut down and Banner expelled from the village by the SPI at the instigation of Silva; the latter, however, left soon thereafter and Banner was able to return.

Banner combined his medical and educational work with evangelism, but in this he made little progress. The Kayapo proved unreceptive, and Banner oscillated between a gradualist approach and more extreme gestures. At one point in the late 1940's he actually burned down the Gorotire men's house, in an effort to break the hold of the communal ceremonial system and continuing sense of social and political autonomy of which it was the focus. The move, however, was ineffective. The men's house was soon rebuilt, and Banner recognized that he had overreached himself. This event seems to have marked the high-water mark of active evangelism by the Protestant Mission at Gorotire. Afterwards the missionaries devoted themselves primarily to linguistic and medical work. They held Sunday services, which were attended by perhaps a fourth of the village population in the early 1960's. At this time, after 25 years of evangelical work, there was still not a single Gorotire convert to Christianity. When a new head missionary attempted to return to a more aggressive evangelism in the early 1970's, holding a mass baptism in the Rio Fresco and actively inveighing against aspects of ceremonial life, the Gorotire had him expelled from the village by FUNAI.

The rivalry between mission and SPI thus became a central fact of political life in Gorotire virtually from the moment of its foundation under SPI auspices. Both mission and SPI Post were built within the village itself, and played a role in its everyday life on a par with the men's house and its collective ceremonial and political activities. Mission and Post were in effect complementary foci of dependency: the Gorotire, passing through the most desperate and catastrophic period of their history, were forced to tolerate (if not fully to accept) the proffered forms of religio-cultural and political dependence because they needed the medical services, the access to Brazilian commodities, and the protection against the pressures of the regionally expanding Brazilian economy which the Post and Mission alone could provide.

The political dominance of the Post was manifested above all by its intervention in the deposition and appointment of chiefs. When an aspirant to the chieftainship murdered the incumbent in 1950, he was deposed by the SPI agent, who then him-

self appointed two successors, Kanhonk and Tut (also known by his Portuguese name of Pombo). These, however, were both men of forceful and independent character, who soon built up authentic followings in the men's house, and became adept at manoeuvring around the encarregado's demands.

In 1960 or '61, the SPI agent appointed a five-member "native police" force, complete with blue fatigue uniforms and billy-clubs. This force was answerable directly to him, and was conceived as a more efficient means of controlling the native community than the chiefs. Its members had the discretionary power to arrest any member of the village for disturbances of the communal peace and throw them into a newly created "jail" for the night, after which they would have to spend one or more days working without pay for the SPI Post. This police force was dissolved after a few years, but its head or "delegado" was eventually promoted to be a full "chief" of the community. Similar "police" forces were created in the central and northern Mekranoti villages, where they persist to this day.

The SPI Post was not only a focus of political domination, but of cultural hegemony as well. The supreme expression of this was the re-building of the village, shortly after it was moved to its present site in 1947, in the form of a "street" of two parallel rows of houses. This new village layout was explicitly conceived by the SPI as a major step towards "civilizing" and assimilating the Kayapo, by substituting a Brazilian-style town plan for the native circular village form. This happened about the same time that the missionaries burned down the men's house, and from a secular point of view constitutes a similar act.

This move seems to have had relatively little effect, either on Kayapo social and ceremonial activities or on their concept of the village as such. The Kayapo rebuilt the men's house at the head of the "street" and continued to use the latter as a dance plaza for communal ceremonies, the dancers simply flattening their circular path somewhat to accommodate the constraints of the new rectangular form. Significantly, village plans which Gorotire informants drew for me in 1962-3 continued to be drawn as circles. There was, at that time and subsequently, considerable feeling in Gorotire that the village should eventually be rebuilt in circular form, and a partial reconstruction in these terms was actually carried out in 1974-5, as will be described below.

Access to Brazilian commodities was of course a major focus of dependence from the outset. With raiding effectively halted by the conditions of "pacification", and with no access to a regional population of Brazilian settlers, the Post and

Mission were the only sources of supply. The Gorotire had already developed needs for such basic Brazilian commodities as clothing, metal pots, knives and machetes, firearms and ammunition, fishing hooks and line, digging tools, and beads by the time of pacification. These needs only intensified with regular peaceful contact with Westerners (missionaries as well as Brazilians).

Clothing was a case in point. To the Brazilians, the "nakedness" of the Kayapo was the most concrete and obvious token of their essential difference from "civilized" people. The Kayapo quickly perceived the symbolic importance of clothing for neutralizing the Brazilian conception of them as savages, and soon developed a minimal standard outfit for both genders (shorts and short-sleeved shirt for men, scoop-necked dress suitable for nursing for women). This conventional costume was adopted by most men after the first decade of pacification, and by most women after the second

The lack of a settled Brazilian population in the region and the distance of Gorotire from the nearest Brazilian towns with stores, coupled with the Indians' lack of money or the means for acquiring it through wage labor, meant that in addition to the commodities themselves, they were dependent upon the missionaries and SPI for the means of transporting the goods from the sources of supply to the village. In the early days this transport mostly took the form of lengthy and difficult river journeys by motor launch during the navigable part of the rainy season, but in the 1950's it increasingly gave way to air traffic. Air strips were built at Gorotire and other Kayapo villages, and the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) undertook regularly scheduled (if not regularly executed) flights to supply the SPI posts. The missionaries developed their own air service, the Missionary Aviation Fellowship or "Asas de Socorro".

Control of motorized transport, especially the dazzling technology of aircraft, thus became synonymous with access to commodity wealth and the whole body of mysterious and powerful technology associated with commodity production. The ability to travel to the cities and towns of the outside world became, by extension, a major mark of status, and the airplane itself became in a sense the supreme commodity, the symbolic epitome of the alien technology and wealth of Western society.

The circumstances of Post society were such that the supply of commodities to the Indians by the Post and Mission fulfilled needs of the SPI and missionaries as well as the Indians. Both Post and Mission had a vested interest in preventing the Gorotire, or any significant faction of them, from abandoning the new village site and wandering off on their own. As the

severe epidemics of the early years gave way to more manageable medical problems, it became more important to supply positive inducements to the Kayapo to remain attached to the Post-Mission village. The SPI therefore continued, from the time of its first shipments of emergency supplies in the first years of contact, the practice of periodically bringing in shipments of commodities, which were distributed as "presents" by the agent to the chiefs, and by them to the men and women of the community.

It was expected that in exchange for these "gifts", the Indians would perform maintenance work for the Post and keep it supplied with fish, game, and garden produce. The chiefs were supposed to see that these functions were faithfully performed. There was in fact a great deal of tension over these arrangements in both directions, the Indians complaining that the SPI chronically failed to deliver the goods in the quantities and at the times it had promised, and the SPI personnel complaining that the Indians chronically failed to fulfill their expected quotas of work and food supply. The mission did not go in for distributions of "presents", but did distribute commodities on a smaller scale in the form of "wage" or "price" compensation to individuals for work performed or food contributed. While the mission's rates were never lavish, they were at least consistently maintained and dependably followed.

From the first years of Pedro Silva, the SPI attempted to stimulate the production of castanha do Para (Brazil nut) as a cash crop. The SPI would market the crop and supposedly use the proceeds to buy commodities with which to reimburse the Kayapo. There was also much conflict over this production, partly because the SPI continually attempted to shift the basis of payment from an undifferentiated "present" of merchandise to the community, to be distributed by the chiefs according to their own lights, to an individualized wage system, in which each worker would be rewarded in direct proportion to the amount he produced. The chiefs resisted such individualized arrangements, although some individuals welcomed them.

Friction over the form of payment, however, was often submerged by conflict over the sheer failure of the SPI to deliver the promised amount of payment, or even any payment at all. When I was in Gorotire in 1963, the village had produced 4,000 crates of castanha in that and the preceding year, only to be told by the regional inspector of the SPI that "a bad man" had stolen the nuts from the warehouse, and it would therefore be impossible to pay them anything for the two years' production. The Indians were perfectly well aware of what was going on, and periodically threatened to burn down the Post buildings and expel the agent (a threat they never carried out). Under these circumstances, the arrival of "presents" from the SPI al-

ways took on the character of a surrender to Kayapo threats and political pressure, rather than an economic transaction in which the amount of "payment" bore some definite relation to the amount of services performed.

The conflict-ridden traffic in commodities thus became in effect a microcosm of the whole ambivalent relation of dependency of the Gorotire on the Post and Mission, with all its internal contradictions. Embodying elements of wage- and price-transactions along with gift-prestation, blackmail, and bribery, but unable to be clearly any of these things or to provide a basis for distinguishing clearly among them, it epitomized the limitations of the form of Post society that developed at Gorotire. The ambiguity, undependability, and corruption of the arrangement as a whole was a formative aspect of the Gorotires' exposure to Brazilian society. The experience of dependency in these respects became a powerful motivation for the Gorotires' subsequent drive towards greater communal autonomy, and specifically of the form it took as a conquest of control over all of the major foci of dependency within the structure of post society: Post, Mission, medical assistance, transportation, major "capital goods" such as gasoline generators, short-wave radios, tractors, trucks, and motor-launches, and finally, as the ultimate symbol of communal autonomy and control over access to Brazilian cities and sources of commodity supply, the village airplane.

2. "Pacification" and situation of contact among the Southern Mekranoti ("Metuktire") of the Xingu: 1952-1966.

The first peaceful contact with the Southern Mekranoti of the Xingu was made in 1952 by Orlando and Claudio Villas-Boas, representing the FBC (Fundacao Brasil Central, or Central Brazilian Foundation, which was the administrative organ which ran the indigenous area of the Upper Xingu before the proclamation of the Parque Nacional do Xingu in 1961). The situation of contact was different in several crucial respects from that of the Gorotire almost 20 years earlier. In the first place, the Metuktire (to use this more convenient term for the Southern Mekranoti), unlike the Gorotire, were not seeking refuge with the Brazilians from the attacks of a hostile faction of their own people. Rather, it was the Brazilians who sought relations with them, inducing them to enter into peaceful contact by repeatedly leaving presents near their camp by the Cachoeira von Martius, in the region of the West bank of the Xingu which the Kayapo call Kapot.

In the second place, the Brazilians who made the contact did not try to move the Metuktire to a Brazilian settlement where they would be deprived of their subsistence base and exposed to epidemic disease. On the contrary, while the Villas-Boases invited the Metuktire eventually to move closer to their advance camp of Diauarum, they were far more interested in persuading them to act as intermediaries to the other unpacified groups of Mekranoti Kayapo to the north, and attempted to encourage the reunion of the divided factions within a united settlement on its own home grounds which would place itself under their protection. There was thus no repetition of the disastrous and demoralizing experience of the Gorotire at Nova Olinda in 1937-8.

In the third place, while the Metuktire suffered slightly from contact-born diseases (to take one example, eight persons out of a population of 170 died of an epidemic of Asian 'flu during my stay at Porori in early 1966), there was nothing like the staggering population losses (roughly 80%) of the early years of the Gorotire post village. Metuktire losses from contact epidemic diseases did not amount to an aggregate total of more than 10%. This was in part owing to the more effective medical attention afforded by the FBC and later the Park authorities, but it chiefly derived from the policy of both in preventing casual contacts between the Metuktire and outsiders, such as would have occurred had they been moved to a town or a place more accessible to Brazilian river traffic.

Fourthly and finally, the Villas-Boases made no effort to set up a "post" at the village, even after the foundation of the National Park of the Xingu nine years later, when the Metukti did move their village to Porori, a point within the Park boundary some five hours' upriver journey to Diauarum. No medical or administrative personnel of the Park ever lived at either the Metuktire village in Kapot or at Porori on a permanent basis, and no missionaries were allowed.

In all of these ways, the more gentle and indirect mode of contact between the Metuktire and Brazilian society established by the FBC, and continued by the National Park administration, minimized the degree of dependency implicit in the relationship. Even the need for such commodities as clothes was significantly lessened by the absence of Brazilians living in immediate contact with the Indians. There was also no question of starting cash-crop production, since the Metuktire village was located well to the south of the major stands of Brazil-nut trees, and in any case transportation to market would have been virtually impossible with the von Martius waterfall blocking access to the lower Xingu. The Villas-Boases and later Park ad-

ministrators were therefore obliged to bring in periodic shipments of the standard basic commodities (axes, machetes, beads, ammunition, fishing hooks and line, etc.) as "presents".

There were the inevitable complaints from the Indians about the inadequacy of these "presents" and their slowness to arrive. The same complaints were also voiced in relation to the inadequacy of medical assistance. When I visited Porori in 1966, I found that feelings were running high on both of these points, to the extent that Kremoro's faction of the community was threatening to leave the Park and return to Kapot. This debate, however, which came to nothing at the time, only served to highlight the extent to which the Metuktire retained a sense of their essential autonomy. They remained, in effect, relatively independent of the local Brazilian authorities, in all three of their major roles as political authorities, providers of medical assistance, and sources of commodity supplies.

Another aspect of the Metuktires' retention of relative independence from the administrative structure of the FBC and later Park and FUNAI regimes was their preservation of their own political system. The contrast with Gorotire in this respect can be most clearly grasped by comparing the relatively marginal role of Ropni, the Villas-Boases' chosen representative, in the community of Porori with the outright appointment of the chiefs of Gorotire by the SPI. Soon after the Villas-Boases established peaceful contact with the Metuktire in 1952, as recounted above, they brought Ropni, then a young man, to live at their base headquarters (then called Capitao Vasconcelos, but later renamed after another brother, Leonardo Villas-Boas). Ropni remained at the base camp for several years, learned Portuguese and Brazilian ways, and ultimately returned to his community in the late 1950's as a representative of the Villas-Boases. Ropni's position as the official mediator between the village and the Brazilian authorities (as well as all other Portuguese-speaking outsiders) made him a leader of importance in the community, but did not lead directly to his being considered a chief in the traditional sense. Within the community, the traditional beniadjuoro of the village (Kremoro, and after 1962 and the arrival of a large group from the Mekrannoti village, its two beniadjuoro, Kretire and Ukakoro) dominated the process of collective decision-making. They likewise controlled relations with other Kayapo groups such as the central Mekrannoti band from which they had recently separated.

Ropni did not emerge as a ben-iadjuoro in his own right, accepted as such by the community as a whole, until after the community schism of 1971, when he supported the Villas-Boases' call for a retreat within the remaining area of the Park after the northern, Kayapo portion was severed by the construction of

the road, BR-080. Even after that, and down to the present time, it is significant that he has never performed the ritual chanting (ben) that is the titular, legitimizing function of the traditional chief, leaving this to other chiefs or apprentice chiefs who have come up through the traditional channels.

It should be added that throughout the first period of contact, extending from 1952 to the establishment of Porori in the newly founded National Park of the Xingu in 1961, and for another ten years after that, the area inhabited by the Metuktire remained virtually unpenetrated by a regional Brazilian population. There were occasional encounters between the Indians and itinerant rubber-tappers, skin-hunters, or a few hardy sportsmen fishing or hunting along the Xingu, but these represented no serious problem. Significant contacts between the Indians and Brazilian society, including access to and internal distribution of commodities, thus continued to be mediated by native representatives, acting on behalf of the community as a whole, vis a vis representatives of Brazilian society who treated the native community as a unit and did not attempt to intervene directly in its internal affairs.

The pattern of dependency established between the Brazilian authorities and the Metuktire in the early period of contact thus contrasted sharply with that established at Gorotire. Whereas Gorotire almost immediately became in effect a dual society, with the Post and mission functioning directly as parts of the community, and with both medical and commodity-dependence both becoming heavily emphasized by the series of epidemics and the establishment of significant cash-crop production, the Metuktire communities remained internally homogeneous Kayapo societies, far less dependent upon the Brazilians in any of the major respects (medical, political, economic, or religious) which together constituted the architecture of dependency at Gorotire.

These contrasting schemas of interaction with Brazilian society have continued in their main outlines down to the present. In interaction with the shared indigenous structure, they have resulted in certain significant differences in the internal social organization of the two communities. At the same time, the strength of the native system of institutions and cultural forms is manifested in the limitation of the scope of these contrasts, and in the parallels between their respective political and cultural development in recent years. We now turn to a detailed examination of these phenomena.

IV. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE IN GOROTIRE (1954-1987) AND PORORI-KRETIRE-KAPOT(1966-1987)

A. KAPOT AND GOROTIRE IN 1987: CONTRASTING CASES OF TRADITIONALISM AND CHANGE IN KAYAPO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. Kapot 1987

a. Location and subsistence base.

The village of Kapot was founded in 1985 by the union of the two previously existing Kayapo communities of the Upper Xingu, Kretire and Jarina. It is situated on the West Bank of the Xingu about 15 miles south of the Cachoeira von Martius. The area surrounding the village, extending from the northern boundary of the Xingu National Park to the Cachoeira on the west Bank, was declared a Reserve (also called "Kapot") by the Brazilian government at the time the new village was built. It is a heavily forested region, which nevertheless possesses some open savannah. It abounds in game, fish and various wild fruits and other arboreal and vegetable products which the Kayapo collect. This is the area which the Southern Mekranoti consider their homeland, and it was here that they were first peacefully contacted by the Brazilians in 1952.

b. Village form.

The village of Kapot is built on rising ground overlooking the Xingu and surrounded by forest. Most of the forest land in the immediate environs of the village has been converted to slash-and-burn gardens. The village itself consists of a great circle of 31 houses surrounding an open plaza, in the center of which stands the men's house. Except for its lack of moieties, Kapot could serve as a textbook illustration of the traditional ideal form of a Kayapo village.

c. Population, household and communal institutional structure.

There were 349 Kayapo residing at Kapot in Feb. 1987. 24 Suya refugees had arrived within the past year to settle permanently with the Kayapo, thus swelling the total resident indigenous population to 373. There are also 11 Kayapo members of the community permanently residing elsewhere. These include the present chief of the Xingu National Park and his children, who reside at Posto Leonardo, the Park headquarters; and members of two families who maintain the FUNAI Posto de Vigilancia and ferry at Piara Acu, where Route BR-80 crosses the Xingu, a day's journey up-river to the South. There were also a couple of Brazilian paramedics and a teacher (who had yet to teach a class, as she was awaiting the building of a schoolhouse). All of these were employed by FUNAI.

The Kayapo dwelling houses of Kapot are predominantly matri-uxorilocal extended family households. The average number of persons per house is 11.25. 84% of the houses contain extended families organized on the basis of uxorilocal residence: 96% (25 out of 26) of these are fully matri-uxorilocal, with one or more daughter's husbands residing with the wife's mother, while the remaining instance consists of co-resident sisters with their husbands and children. The Suyá immigrants live by themselves in two houses. The number of residents per household is thus consistent with the average figure for the Kayapo population, but I did not obtain genealogical data for them and am therefore unable to report on the nature of their structure as extended families.

2. Gorotire 1987

a. Location and subsistence base.

The village of Gorotire is located on the Rio Fresco, an eastern tributary of the Xingu, a short distance from Nova Olinda. The environment consists of semi-deciduous forest and open savannah, in proportions of roughly two-to-one.

The community continues to subsist by the traditional methods of swidden horticulture, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Since the gold mine at Maria Bonita ten miles upstream became active about six years ago, there have been serious problems with pollution of the river, previously the main source of fish as well as drinking water. The drinking water problem has been solved by the installation of a water system which pipes water into the village from the Igarape do Sonho in the mountains behind the village. Fishing continues, but at a reduced rate. The most important gathered product is castanha do Para (Brazil nut), which for some forty years has been harvested as a cash crop (production for sale in 1962-4 averaged 4,000 crates per annum; I do not have figures for subsequent years).

b. Form of village.

The form of the contemporary village of Gorotire dramatically embodies the conflict between Brazilian influence and traditional norms which pervades the life of the community. The main part of the village is built in deliberate imitation of a Brazilian-style "street", or rather a system of streets, with several parallel rows of houses surrounding or converging on a narrow rectangular central plaza. To one side of this complex of "streets", however, lies a large circle of houses built according to the traditional plan.

To an uninformed observer flying over the village today, it would appear that this circle of mud-and-thatch houses built according to the traditional plan is the original village, which has been superceded in recent years by the Brazilian-style "streets" of new brick and corrugated aluminum houses. The reverse, however, is in fact the case. The "street" plan, as I have described above, was forced upon the Indians in 1947 by the agent then in charge of the SPI Post of Gorotire, as part of a campaign to make the Kayapo more "civilized". Two other Kayapo villages, Kubenkranken and Kokraymoro, were rebuilt along the same lines under the aegis of the same agent in the early 1950's. When the Gorotire began replacing the Brazilian "caboclo"-style mud-wall and thatch huts which formed their original "street" with the new brick-and-aluminum houses in 1982, the process was not planned or executed as a concerted whole. Rather, individual houses were simply replaced one-by-one more or less where they stood, and the "street" plan was thus replicated by inadvertence, rather than as a matter of collective decision.

The "traditional" circular village, on the other hand, was begun only in 1974, at the instigation of a chief named Tut (or the Portuguese version of the same name, Pombo). His idea was to provide a more traditional village for the older and/or more conservative members of the community, in the process providing a focus for a renewal and revitalization of the customary forms of Kayapo culture. His plan was essentially partial and gradual; he did not envision an immediate and total rebuilding of the whole village. The existing village "street" was to remain as the dwelling place of the younger and more Brazilianized members of the community. The plan lost momentum after Tut and 100 of his followers left the village in 1976, and the circle of houses remains incomplete to this day. None of the houses of the circle have been rebuilt in brick and aluminum, in contrast to those surrounding the main "street", i.e., the central rectangular plaza. The new village constructed by Tut and his secessionist faction, incidentally, is circular in the traditional form.

c. Population and household structure.

On my return to Gorotire in Feb. 1987, I found that its population had grown to 693, in spite of the secession of Tut and his 100 followers in 1976. The population were divided among 96 households, the average household thus containing 7.1 persons. Only 39% of these households displayed a matri-uxorilocal structure, defined either as the nuclear families of two or more sisters living in the same house or a nuclear family

and the wife's parents residing together. The latter pattern, the "stronger" manifestation of the uxori-local principle, obtained in only 30 houses, or 83% of the cases of matri-uxorilocality. 49 houses, or 52%, were "neolocal" residences of single nuclear families (four of these were old couples living alone).

Eight houses, or 9% of the total followed a virilocal pattern with a mature son and his family living with one or more of his parents rather than with the parents of the wife. In seven of these cases, the younger man's father was still alive and co-resident with his son, making them patri-virilocal. All cases of virilocal residence, interestingly enough, involved only a single son and his family. One of the cases was in a house where two daughters and their families were living matri-uxorilocally, but in seven the virilocally dwelling family comprised the only form of extended-family residential relation.

The remaining 13% of households presented other forms of extended-family post-marital coresidence, such as brothers and sisters remaining under the same roof after their respective marriages, each accompanied by spouse and children. In one such case two sisters and one brother, each with their spouses and children, shared the same household; they were the children of one of the chiefs, and their house was built immediately next-door to his. I count this as a case of mixed virilocal and uxori-local residence, but in spite of the proximity of the parental household, sticking to the operational definition of patri-virilocal and matri-uxorilocality as involving coresidence with a parent in the same household, I do not class it as either patri-virilocal or matri-uxorilocality.

The new Brazilian-style masonry houses which began to be built in 1982, and which now account for roughly one-half of the houses of the village, have contributed to the relatively low rate of matri-uxorilocality residence. These houses are typically internally divided into living rooms and bedrooms in the Brazilian fashion. The partition of household space by masonry dividing walls is inflexible, and also tends to constrict the proportion of space available to each family as private sleeping quarters, since the public rooms, furnished with tables and chairs, cannot be used for this purpose. This means that it is difficult to accommodate new families within the household, and also that as young families grow, they feel increasingly cramped for lack of space, and either seek to move out to a new house of their own or to persuade the parents/parents-in-law to move out to leave them more room. Sons-in-law who have married into one of the new houses tend to think of building a new house for their mothers- and fathers-in-law so that they can fully take over their wives' houses.

d. Communal organization: Men's house and collective groups.

The men's house in Gorotire continues to function as a club for the mature men and a meeting place for uninitiated and bachelor youths, but the latter no longer sleep there. Instead, young men continue to be domiciled with their mothers until they move into their wives' houses (or one of the alternative arrangements that have begun to appear, as described above) upon marriage. Informants were vague about precisely when this change had occurred. It seems not to have been abrupt or the result of a single decision, but rather a gradual lapse. The consensus placed it about ten years ago.

This shift seems plainly correlated with the shifts in domestic group structure discussed above, particularly the continued low rate of uxori-local residence and the relatively high rate of virilocal residence. In the one case as in the other, the key factor seems to be a greater emphasis on the attachment of males their domestic households, and a resistance by adult men to the dispersion of their families of procreation, coupled with a de-emphasis on the integration of uxori-local sons-in-law into the family household as property-holding unit. This interdependence of changes at the level of domestic household structure and communal men's house and age-set structure is of course precisely what one would expect on the basis of the analysis of the dynamic interdependence between the two, as the basis of the indigenous system of social reproduction presented above.

B. A HISTORICAL PARADOX: THE NEWNESS OF THE "TRADITIONAL" STRUCTURE OF KAPOT AS CONTRASTED TO THE STABILITY OF THE "CHANGING" STRUCTURE OF GOROTIRE

1. The predecessors of Kapot: Porori and Kretire

a. 1966: Porori.

I arrived in Porori in January 1966. At that time it had a population of 169. The village consisted of a circle of 13 dwelling houses and a men's house built around a small central plaza. Three houses had burnt down in a recent fire: the average number of persons per house was thus 13, but before the three houses had burned it had been 11 per house. 69% of these houses were matri-uxori-local extended family households: five of these (56%) consisted of the parents of one or more daughters living with their daughters' husbands and children, and four (44%) of co-resident sisters with their husbands and children. Only one

of the remaining houses sheltered a single nuclear family. The others contained, respectively, a pair of married cross-sex siblings, a pair of married brothers and their families of procreation, and two married male and female cross-cousins (the former had just arrived as an immigrant from Mekranoti, and the arrangement was regarded as temporary).

The men's house was situated on the periphery of the plaza, exactly like one of the extended-family dwelling houses. It served as a dormitory for the batchelors and uninitiated youths, although for most of the three months of my stay relatively few were to be found there, since an epidemic of Asian 'flu had depressed the level of collective activities and driven several households to take refuge in their garden shelters away from the village.

There was no "Post" at Porori, that is, no resident agent of the administration of the Xingu National Park administration or medical dispensary with a paramedic. The only outsiders in the village were a couple of Summer Institute linguists, who transferred their scene of operations to another Mekranoti village after about a year's work in Porori. Claudio Villas-Boas, the Park authority who maintained a headquarters at Diauarum, a day's journey by motor launch up-river, made relatively infrequent visits, to bring "presents" for the villagers and to tender medical assistance during epidemics. Kayapo from Porori would also occasionally travel to Diauarum, to take individuals in need of medical attention to the clinic at the Post there.

The presents brought by the Villas-Boases (Claudio and his brother, Orlando, then head of the Park, with headquarters at Post Leonardo Villas-Boas in the Xingu headwaters) consisted for the most part of utilitarian objects like metal pots, knives, machetes, axes, digging and gardening tools, guns, ammunition, and fishing hooks and line. These periodic gifts were the main inducement offered by the Villas-Boas brothers, the Park administrators, for the Kayapo to remain in the Park.

There was great dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Porori over the infrequency of these gifts and the paucity of the supplies and medical aid they received in this way. One faction of the community, led by chief Kremoro and another influential man named Kromare, advocated leaving the Park forthwith and returning to the traditional Kayapo territory of Kapot, north of the Park boundary by the Cachoeira von Martius. The other faction, led by chiefs Kretire and 'Ukakoro and by Ropni, advocated remaining in the Park.

This division was not simply a matter of disagreement over the issues of presents and relations with the Villas-Boases and the Park. It was rooted in the pasts of the two factions as separate bands, and the continuing, though muted, rivalry between Kremoro and Kretire, as the leaders of their respective factions. The resulting situation was one in which the position of the Porori group in the Park was perceived by themselves, and at least to a degree also by the Villas-Boases, to be tenuous and unstable. More specifically, it was seen as contingent upon the continued satisfactory performance of the Brazilians in offering sufficient inducements to the Kayapo not to leave the Park for their ancestral lands to the north. The premise of the relationship, in short, was the continuing autonomy of the Kayapo, their relative lack of political or economic dependence upon the Brazilians, and their retention of their freedom of movement and their claims to their ancestral lands in Kapot.

b. The schism of 1971: Kretire and Jarina.

This premise was put to the test in 1971, in the crisis created by the surreptitious attempt of elements of the Brazilian government to amputate the northern part of the Xingu Park, which comprised the territory of the Porori community, by surreptitiously building one of the roads of the Trans-Amazonica network so as to bisect the Park. The road, Brazil Route 80 (BR-080), had been planned and publicly announced to cross the Xingu north of the Park, close to the Cachoeira von Martius. The Indians and administrators of the Park only became aware of the secret deviation of the route when the earth-moving equipment suddenly arrived at the east bank of the Xingu. Cavalcanti, the interior minister, immediately announced that the area north of the road (20% of the total area of the Park) was expropriated and would be offered for sale to private owners.

Porori, situated some 40 miles north of the road, was presented with a brutal choice: to stand and fight to defend their present territory; to retreat into the remaining southern portion of the Park; or to flee the confiscated area to the north, reoccupying the traditional territory of Kapot. Each of these courses was advocated by a significant faction. Kremoro, Kro-mare, and their followers, about 50 in all, seized upon the occasion as a vindication of their long-time dissatisfaction with the Park and a justification of their call for a return to Kapot. This group accordingly abandoned Porori and founded the new community of Jarina, on a small western tributary of the Xingu of that name in the heart of Kapot.

A relatively small group led by 'Ukakoro called for a full-scale attack on the road crew and a defensive war to preserve their existing territory. Rop-ni, supported by Kretire,

called for a removal of the community southward to a new site in the remaining area of the Park, as urged by the Villas-Boases. After a few abortive skirmishes and one relatively successful attack on the roadhead, which yielded much plunder (including a valuable motor-launch that is still in use by the community) the military option was abandoned and 'Ukakoro's leadership discredited, primarily it would seem because his policy was perceived as hopeless in the long run. One of the major accomplishments of the successful raid, incidentally, was to sink a large tugboat which the Brazilians had brought overland to aid in constructing a bridge at the road crossing. Men swam out at night and hacked a large hole at the water line with axes. The tug was eventually hauled out of the river but never re-floated, and the bridge was never built.

The larger faction of the community followed the advice of the Villas-Boases, as advocated by Ropni, and moved south to a new site about mid-way between the new northern boundary of the Park and the northern Park headquarters Post of Diauarum. Kretire left with a number of followers for a visit to the northern Mekranoti village of chief Bebgogoti on the Xixe, a tributary of the Iriri, west of the Xingu. While there he died of an illness, and so the new village that had been begun in the Park was named after him. With Kretire dead and 'U-kakoro discredited and deposed from the chieftaincy, this left Rop-ni, the principal advocate of the policy of continued alignment with the Park that the group had chosen to follow, as the dominant political leader of the village.

c. 1976: Kretire.

I visited Kretire for three months in the dry season of 1976. It had a population of 122, distributed among 17 dwelling houses, for an average of 7.1 per house (note: the same as at Gorotire in 1987). Ten of these houses, or 59%, were matrilineal households: eight, or 80% of these comprised co-resident sons-in-law and wife's parents, and the other two consisted of married sisters and their families. The other houses contained single nuclear families: there were no other forms of extended family residence.

The village itself was built on high ground on the west bank of the Xingu. All but one of the dwelling houses were disposed in a circle around a large open plaza, in the center of which stood the men's house. About two hundred yards down a path from the village proper stood a second complex of buildings, which comprised the "Post". One of these was the dwelling of the family of Bedjai, the Kayapo who functioned as operator and mechanic of the motor launch that had been taken from the Bra-

zilian road crew five years before, as well as a new launch provided by FUNAI, who now directly ran the Park. The Post also contained a short-wave radio transmitter and receiver, powered by a gasoline generator, both of which were also operated and maintained by Bedjai.

Besides separate houses for the radio and the generator, the Post also included a well-stocked medical dispensary, a cook-house for workers and visitors, a guest-house, and a dwelling house for a Brazilian agent and his family. A para-medic from FUNAI had stayed periodically at the village since its beginnings, but a full-fledged agent had only come the previous year. Unfortunately, he only lasted for six months. His wife had left him and he in turn had left shortly before I arrived, and was never to my knowledge replaced by another Brazilian.

The agent had served as a para-medic and had tried to begin teaching literacy in Portuguese, a difficult task since only a couple of men in the village spoke it, and none of his pupils, drawn from the batchelors age set or recently married young men, knew it. His para-medical functions, and for a short while his teaching as well, were assumed by Bedjai, who had learned Portuguese and literacy as well as some pharmacology when he was sent out by the community to learn motor maintenance and operation after the acquisition of the first motor launch.

Bedjai had become in effect the agent in charge of the Post, and was officially confirmed in that capacity a few years later. Under his dynamic management, the Post had become a magnet for the batchelors and younger married men who spent all their time there, helping Bedjai and learning his various newly acquired skills. One result of this was that the Post had come to supercede the functions of the men's house as far as the younger men were concerned. The batchelors and uninitiated youths, and even several young married men who were observing post-partem sexual avoidance, had taken to sleeping there rather than in the men's house. No boys had been inducted into the men's house for two or three years, and I was told that "the me-okre (that is, the class of uninitiated boys taken from their maternal households to sleep in the men's house) are finished", and would not be resumed. Instead, it was envisioned that they would go to live at the Post as generalized apprentices, learning Brazilian techniques and knowledge from Be-djai and his assistants.

The men of Kretire and Jarina had cooperated in a series of skirmishes, raids, and killings which kept the northern section of the Park that had been amputated by the road in 1971 free of settlers and ranchers. One of these incidents, in about

1982, resulted in the demise of the Brazilian who operated the ferry over the Xingu that had been established at the roadhead of BR-080 when the project for the bridge was abandoned. Bedjai, the inter-cultural mediator par excellence, thereupon assumed the roles of ferry-operator and mechanic, as an official functionary of FUNAI. The Kayapo thus gained effective control of the strategic river crossing with its official FUNAI guard-post (Posto de Vigilancia), the function of which was to prevent incursions by unauthorized persons (i.e., all normal road traffic) into Park territory, as they had previously assumed control of the FUNAI Post at their own village.

About the same time, a Kayapo from the Porori-Kretire-Jarina group, Mekaron, was appointed to be the new FUNAI head of the whole Xingu National Park. Mekaron had been taken from Porori as a boy by the Villas-Boases in 1966 to be trained in the skills of Post administration, in much the same way as they had previously done with Ropni, but more thoroughly and from an earlier age. Mekaron learned his lessons well and has proved an able administrator, shuttling back and forth between Posto Leonardo, national FUNAI Headquarters in Brasilia, and (occasionally) his home village of Kapot.

Ropni also proved adept at transposing his skills as a mediator between his own people and the Brazilian Park administrators onto the national level. In talks with Brazilian officials at all levels from minor functionaries of FUNAI to the President of the country, he has pressed for a series of territorial concessions. That most of these have been granted is due in considerable part to his dynamic leadership and skill as a diplomat. In the late '70's, the west bank section of the segment of the Park that had been amputated by BR-080 was tacitly restored, on an informal basis, to the Park, in de facto recognition of the military success of the Kayapo in preventing the establishment of settlements and forcing the abandonment of the few ranches and small farms that had been founded in the zone. Then, in 1984, both the west bank and the corresponding segment of the eastern bank were officially restored.

Ropni, however, pressed for further concessions: the entire remaining section of the west bank of the Xingu between the restored Park boundary and the Von Martius waterfall. This, with its hinterland, comprised the ancestral Mekranoti territory of Kapot. In May 1984, after what one newspaper described as "43 days of conflict between the Indians and the Federal Government" this area was conceded as a specifically Kayapo reserve, called by its Kayapo name of Kapot. Ropni persuaded his followers in Kretire and the people of Jarina (who had by this time split into two groups) to reunite and build a new village in the new

territory. This was done in 1985, at a site not far from Jarina but directly on the Xingu. The new village, like the reserve in which it is situated, was named Kapot.

2. The antecedents of contemporary Gorotire.

a. Gorotire 1950-1954: Immigration from Kubenkranken and research visit by A. Metraux.

In 1950 the population of Gorotire had fallen to between 90 and 100, according to the estimate of the French anthropologist, Alfred Metraux, who made a two months' field trip there in 1954. Metraux recounts that in 1951 the people of Kubenkranken attempted to settle at Gorotire, but following the death of one their chiefs on a trip to Belem, all but 50-60 of them left and returned to their old village site. In 1954, Metraux counted 150 persons at Gorotire, divided among 18 houses. The average house size was thus 8.3. Eight, or 44%, comprised matri-uxorilocal extended families; seven, or 39%, sheltered single couples or nuclear families; and four, or 22%, constituted extended families based on the co-residence of married cross-sex siblings.

b. Gorotire 1962-4:

At the time of my first field-work, beginning in 1962, the population of Gorotire had increased to 295. The increase was due in part to the immigration of some 40 Tchikrin Kayapo, mostly from the defunct SPI Post-village of Las Casas, and roughly the same number from Kubenkranken. The fresh influx from Kubenkranken was mostly made up of emigrants from the Metuk-tire Kayapo of the Xingu. They had attempted to settle at Kubenkranken but had been persecuted by a chief, Ngapre, who accused them of having caused the great measles epidemic of 1958 by sorcery. A number of the Metukti were killed, and the rest fled to Gorotire as refugees. These influxes offset sizeable population losses from a series of epidemics, the most serious of which was the measles of 1958.

The average number of people per household at Gorotire in 1963 was 8.67. 38% of the houses were matri-uxorilocal extended families. This relatively low rate of conformity to the norm (6% below that of 1954) should be understood in considerable part as a result of the attrition of extended families by the epidemics, and the immigration of large numbers of unrelated people, who did not for the most part arrive as extended family units.

V. QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF CHANGE AND STABILITY IN SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE AT GOROTIRE AND KAPOT

A. CHANGE AND HISTORICAL PARADOX AT GOROTIRE AND KAPOT

To the contemporary visitor, Kapot appears an almost perfectly preserved example of a traditional Kayapo community, whereas Gorotire appears to be a rapidly changing, "modernizing" village, on the way to total assimilation into regional Brazilian society. When viewed in the context of their respective histories, however, these appearances are seen to be misleading. The present-day community of Kapot is in fact the recent product of a turbulent history of communal schism and conflict with the Brazilians, accompanied by considerable variations in the degree of conformity with traditional norms of household and men's house structure (e.g., at Kretire in 1976). Gorotire, on the other hand, for all its appearance of change, has in fact steadily maintained virtually the same rates of conformity to the traditional form of extended-family structure for more than 30 years. These facts should lead us to investigate more closely the relative forms of change and persistence of Kayapo social and cultural forms under the differing historical circumstances of the two communities. Such an analysis, it may be suggested, offers the best way of arriving at an understanding of the political and cultural resurgence of Kayapo society and its remarkable recent successes in resisting the encroachments of Brazilian capitalist society.

1. Correlated shifts in household and communal group structure at Gorotire

Let us begin by emphasizing the extent of real structural change at Gorotire. The low rate of matri-uxorilocal residence in present-day Gorotire, in spite of its statistical continuity with the level of a quarter-century ago, has now begun to assume the character of a qualitative shift in normative structure. In 1963, in spite of the relatively low level of conformity to the ideal norm of matri-uxorilocal residence, the latter was still universally accepted as a norm, and deviation from it explained in terms of particular personal, historical and demographic circumstances which had prevented many families from developing into extended family households.

In 1987, after a generation of high population growth and only one relatively minor instance of communal fission, most of these factors could no longer be adduced to account for the continued low rate. Rather, the normative status of the matri-uxorilocal rule itself has undergone a change, from prescriptive

rule to non-binding preference. It has now become conceivable (if not easy or as yet common) for a newly married couple to set up housekeeping by themselves, apart from the wife's parents, or even to live with the husband's parents, without communal pressure to conform to the uxori-local norm. Even though the ideal preference for uxori-locality survives, as reflected in the continuing incidence of uxori-local marriages, such "deviant" neo-local or viri-local marriages are no longer felt to be violations of a communal "norm", and as such to be legitimate objects of intervention and correction by the chiefs and men's house.

On the quantitative side, the incidence of viri-local, and above all patri-viri-local residence at Gorotire is high enough to be considered a significant indication of a shift in the attachments of men to domestic groups. This significance is highlighted by the complete absence of this form of residence at Kapot and its relative scarcity in earlier censuses of Gorotire. The shift in domestic attachments involved seems to me to be a concomitant of the increased importance of the nuclear family as a property-holding unit (the most important single piece of property in question being the Brazilian-style dwelling house itself).

The increase in the amount of commodity property held by families in Gorotire has meant that men's social identities have become more strongly invested in their households as repositories of their commodity wealth, and especially in the case of the new brick-and-aluminum houses, as forms of conspicuous display of it. As adult men come more and more to identify their social personas with such domestic possessions, they are led to place more emphasis on their relations with their families of procreation, as the social basis of their adult domestic groups, and to resist the attenuation of those relations, particularly those with their sons, entailed by the indigenous system of removal to the men's house and displacement to the wife's household. This is presumably the main reason for the abandonment of the practice of uninitiated youths and bachelors living and sleeping in the men's house until marriage and removal to their wives' households. For the same reasons, fathers may feel correspondingly less eager to incorporate unrelated uxori-local sons-in-law into their property-holding domestic units. Such lack of enthusiasm is probably another of the factors accounting for the continuing low incidence of uxori-local residence, despite the recovery of population and the relative political and demographic stability of Gorotire over the past twenty-five years.

The secular changes in the rate and normative character of matri-uxori-local post-marital residence and the abandonment of the custom of removing youths and bachelors to the men's

house as their collective domicile can thus be seen as symptoms of the same underlying causes. Why then, given that these causes have been present and increasing in strength at Gorotire for virtually its entire 50-year history, have their effects proved so limited? Why, in other words, has the indigenous order not broken down completely?

2. The vicissitudes of the traditional pattern of household and communal group structure at Kapot.

Comparison of the household censuses and data on men's house structure from Porori (1966), Kretire (1976) and Kapot (1987) reveals a trend toward the weakening of the traditional structure at both household and men's house levels from Porori to Kretire, followed by a recovery on both levels at Kapot to an extent exceeding the base-line of Porori. The history of the Kapot community is thus obviously not one of simple inertial continuity of a traditional pattern. The successive structural variations represented by the three consecutive villages must be accounted for in terms of the same historical factors and social dynamics at work in Gorotire and other Kayapo communities.

Porori in 1966, as the historical account given above makes clear, was a newly constituted community, made up of three previously separate groups, the largest of which had joined it only three years previously. Under such circumstances, it should be expected that the incidence of large, matri-uxorilocal extended-family households would be somewhat less than in an otherwise comparable community which had been socially stable for at least a generation, giving its component households time to intermarry, and with none of the divided households and families that inevitably result from the immigration of part of one community to another. Making due allowance for such factors, the incidence of matri-uxorilocal households at Porori (69%) is quite impressive. Taken together with the evidence of its fully functioning men's house, with its resident age-sets of uninitiated youths and batchelors, and its historically recent and intermittent contact, this figure attests to the character of Porori society as a fully functioning traditional Kayapo social order.

The schism of the community in 1971 provoked by the expropriation of its land after the arrival of BR-080 disrupted this social order in several ways. Firstly and most obviously, it split the community into two bands approximating to, if not fully identical with, the groups that had come together to constitute the community some eight years previously. Secondly, it coincided with the death or removal of two of the three traditional chiefs of the village. Ukakoro was deposed in the

aftermath of the dispute over the proper response to the road, and Kretire died on a visit to the northern band of Mekranoti which he undertook shortly before. Kremoro, the remaining traditional chief, and Kromare, another leader who had functioned as the head of an autonomous band, left together to found the new village of Jarina, in the country of Kapot to the north of the old northern Park boundary. This left only Ropni, the protege of the Villas-Boas brothers and representative of the Park administration, as the leader of the larger segment of old Porori. This was the segment, now re-named Kretire after the deceased chief, that had withdrawn southward into the remaining territory of the Park.

Ropni's leadership of the rump group was acknowledged, but he was not regarded as a chief in the traditional sense. The policy he had advocated against the alternatives urged by Ukakoro and Kremoro, one of acceptance and accommodation of the partition of the Park by the road and continued reliance on the Park for land and protection, in effect increased the dependence of the group on the Park authorities, and diminished the political scope and effectiveness of the native village leadership and communal institutions. For the new community of Kretire, the result of the crisis triggered by the arrival of the road, and the policy of accommodation it had adopted in response to the theft of its land, was thus the demoralization of the traditional system of collective institutions and leadership, and a palpable loss of their functional efficacy, at least in so far as relations with Brazilian society were concerned.

In this climate of demoralization, the return of Bedjai in about 1974 from his period of training at the Park headquarters and in Sao Paulo, as an accomplished motor-boat mechanic, trained para-medic, literate teacher of spoken and written Portuguese, and short-wave radio and generator technician, seemed to open up a new and more viable way of accommodating to the ever more dominant and threatening national society. The batchelors and younger men gathered around him to learn his skills and imitate his example.

The youths who had comprised the domiciled residents of the men's house converted themselves into resident apprentices of Bedjai's complex of Post buildings (workshop, dispensary, radio hut, guesthouse and cookhouse). The older and more sophisticated among them manifested an unmistakable lack of enthusiasm for participating in communal ceremonies and dances, which contrasted with the keen interest they displayed in all aspects of Brazilian culture, from hair-styles and sun-glasses to medical practices and mechanical technology.

The older men, with the marginal exception of Ropni, did not participate in this movement, although they encouraged the younger men to follow Bedjai's example and place themselves under his tutelage. The traditional social values embodied by the senior men, as heads of extended-family households and leaders of communal social and ceremonial activity, were clearly increasingly at a discount with the younger men around Bedjai, but the senior men were at a loss to respond. Significantly, they went along with the evacuation of the younger men's age-sets from the men's house, to the extent that as of 1976 the youngest set of uninitiated youths actually ceased being recruited. The replacement of the whole men's age-set structure was thus rendered problematic. This fact more than any other bespeaks the extent of social demoralization at Kretire.

The lapse of the traditional men's house structure at Kretire, with the abandonment of the practice of domiciling the age-sets of uninitiated youths and batchelors there, can be explained as a direct result of the new climate of assimilationist enthusiasm and alienation from traditional social institutions and values. The decline in the incidence of matri-uxorilocal households (from 69% at Porori to 59% at Kretire) may also be partly related to the same factors. The schism with Jarina had led to the break-up of several of the extended-family households of old Porori, and one other which remained in Kretire had split into three individual nuclear family households. These events may be seen as part of the general pattern of weakening the traditional pattern of social hierarchy identified with the extended-family household structure, although to what extent as cause and to what extent as effect is difficult to say.

The decade following the foundation of Kretire and Jarina in 1971-2 appears in retrospect, however, as a time of steady recovery of confidence in traditional leadership and institutions for both groups. Men from both communities cooperated in a continual series of skirmishes with would-be Brazilian settlers and other interlopers which succeeded not only in clearing the expropriated section of Park land, which the Kayapo continued to claim as their own, but also in discouraging fresh attempts at Brazilian use of the disputed area. Ropni took a prominent part in these conflicts, and progressively emerged as the leading advocate of militant resistance against Brazilian depredations and territorial encroachments of all kinds.

Ropni's new role as tactical leader and spokesman to Indians and Brazilians alike of a policy of intransigent resistance and armed struggle represented a volte-face from his role in the crisis of 1971, and was motivated by several factors. One was the sense that having retreated once, there was

now nowhere left to go. With their backs against the wall, there was nothing left for the Kayapo to do but fight. Allied with this was the feeling of outrage and betrayal over the blatant theft of their land, and especially that the Brazilian government had not only failed to honor its covenants to protect Kayapo land from illegal incursions, but had itself been the thief. Also important was the support of the Park authorities, who encouraged the Kayapo to act as frontier police for the northern zone of the Park (the part accessible from the road, and that occupied by the Kayapo). Recognizing that further attempts at illegal penetration of Park land were inevitable and could only be curbed by force, and lacking the personnel and political support to carry out such sanctions themselves, the Park administrators semi-officially commissioned the Kayapo as their border patrol and backed them in the use of armed force.

A further factor in the stiffening of the Kayapo posture of resistance in this period was the rapid development, in Brazil as a whole and abroad, of indigenous cultural nationalism, buoyed by the support of a number of indigenous rights and advocacy organizations both within Brazil and overseas. This was accompanied by the development of pan-Indian consciousness and the beginnings of inter-tribal political organization. The new trend affected all the Kayapo groups, but those of the Xingu were perhaps the most heavily influenced by it, partly because the Xingu Park was the focus of national and international consciousness of the indigenous question, and partly because the Kayapo had figured as the major indigenous participants in the scandal of the dismemberment of the Park in 1971, which had become a cause celebre among indigenous advocacy groups worldwide.

In the new climate of national and international opinion created by these developments, Ropni, as the only Portuguese-speaking leader of the Kayapo of the Upper Xingu, became something of a national media figure, frequently journeying to Brasilia and appearing in the Brazilian media as a critic of Brazilian treatment of native peoples and a spokesman of native resistance. In this capacity he came into contact with other indigenous leaders and non-Indian members of the advocacy movement, and absorbed much of their rhetoric and ideology, which he energetically disseminated among his compatriots back in the Xingu.

Part of Ropni's success as an ethnic nationalist leader derived from the extent to which he embodied in his person and conduct the essential content of his message: a "jet-set" national political figure and media star who retained his tribal lip-plug and hair style, remained fully attached to his own culture, and treated most aspects of Brazilian society, culture and

politics with contempt.

Ropni's national role greatly strengthened his hand as a leader at home. It also legitimized and politically sheltered his policies of armed resistance. The general political climate of which Ropni's national reputation formed part accounts to a considerable degree for the unwillingness of the Brazilian government to intervene against the Kayapo of the Xingu and other indigenous groups engaged in armed struggle with Brazilian nationals. This restraint on the part of the government would otherwise seem remarkable, given that in the Xingu alone well over a score of Brazilians paid with their lives in this period for encroaching on Kayapo territory (not a single Kayapo life was lost in these skirmishes).

The success of Ropni and his policies at both the national and local levels, the cultural nationalist rhetoric in which it was couched, and the support for indigenous peoples and their cultures emanating from the new climate of national and international opinion, led to a reversal of the assimilationist trend that had begun to manifest itself at Kretire. The success of Bedjai and his apprentices in mastering Brazilian technologies remained a point of pride, but it came to be seen increasingly as simply another form of the broader struggle of Kayapo society and culture to preserve itself against Brazilian attrition, rather than as an alternative to native culture and social institutions. Ropni's leadership established the broader context within which the technological feats of Bedjai and his followers were redefined. After due acknowledgement is made to the importance of Ropni's personal leadership, however, it should be emphasized that he and the policies with which he became identified only exemplified a broader trend which was also felt strongly in Gorotire and other Kayapo groups.

The crowning successes of the movement of militant reassertion of Kayapo political and territorial rights came in 1984 with the return of the both the west and east banks of the severed section of Xingu Park territory to the Park, the recognition of the new Kayapo reserve of Kapot on the west bank of the Xingu stretching from the northern frontier of the Park to the Cachoeira von Martius, and the founding of the new village of Kapot by the reunited communities of Jarina and Kretire in the heart of the new territory. These developments have already been mentioned in the opening section of this paper. Here I am concerned only with their impact on the internal structure of the new community of Kapot.

It is relevant that Kapot was established as the result of a successful twelve-year-long struggle by the two separated segments of the original village of Porori to reclaim their an-

cestral territory, by both negotiation and armed struggle. The success of this struggle had vindicated not only the effectiveness of traditional Kayapo forms of leadership and communal institutions in dealing with the Brazilians, but also the ideological rhetoric of cultural nationalism in terms of which it had been fought. The union of the two separated villages and the formation of the new community was itself the product of native leaders and institutional processes, and owed nothing to the mediation of Brazilian authorities.

The point is that the struggle that led up to the foundation of Kapot assumed the form of an effective mobilization of its traditional social and political institutions, and a reassertion of the worth of indigenous Kayapo culture. The success of this struggle meant the reassertion of traditional Kayapo social forms and values against both the overt encroachments of the national society and the temptations of assimilation to it.

The community that was established at Kapot embodied the spirit and ideals of this victorious struggle. Both at the collective and household levels, it fully conformed to the ideal pattern of a traditional Kayapo village. The age-set of uninitiated youths was again recruited, and collectively resided in the men's house, as did the bachelors. The divided extended families whose members had been on opposite sides of the Kre-tire--Jarina split recombined to form joint extended family households, and new such households were formed. There has been no attempt to build any of the new houses of Kapot the new Brazilian style of Gorotire. The result is that the rate of matrilineal residence at Kapot is the highest ever recorded for any Kayapo community (84%).

B. PERSISTENCE AND MODIFICATIONS OF THE FUNCTIONAL ROLES AND IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS, CHIEFS, AND CEREMONIES AT GOROTIRE AND KAPOT.

1. The role of the chiefs and communal age-associations in mediating the relations of Kayapo to Brazilian society at Gorotire and Kapot.

The central fact of the history of both Kapot and Gorotire is the survival and continuing viability of the village community, with its system of collective political and ceremonial associations, as a social and political unit. In both groups, throughout all the vicissitudes of internal schism and struggle with the national society, the communal institutional structure has retained its roles as the focus of internal political and ceremonial organization, and as the primary channel of relations between the community as a whole and Brazilian society.

This result obviously owes much to the fact that Kapot and Gorotire, like all the other extant Kayapo communities, have remained, at least until very recently, relatively remote from the frontiers of Brazilian settlement. Their relations with Brazilian society were therefore (with a few disastrous exceptions like the Gorotire attempt to settle at Nova Olinda in 1936-7) for the most part indirect, mediated through organizations like the SPI, FUNAI, and the Evangelical mission. These organizations typically dealt with and through the native hierarchy of chiefs and communal associations when they had work to commission or commodities to distribute on a community-wide scale.

The form of contact with Brazilian society thus tended to reinforce the structure of communal institutions, while on the other hand it afforded few opportunities for wage-labor or other forms of direct relations between individual Kayapo and Brazilians which might have circumvented and thus undermined the authority of communal institutions. The relatively ineffective attempts of government representatives to co-opt that structure by appointing chiefs and (briefly, at Gorotire) creating their own "native" communal institution, the Indigenous Police, never succeeded in overcoming the essential viability of the native institutional structure in its own terms.

In the absence of opportunities for individual wage-labor or commercial transactions with a settled regional Brazilian population, there was no effective political-economic challenge to the predominance of indigenous collective institutions. This held true even for the special case of cash-crop production within Gorotire and other villages like Kubenkranken, Kokraymoro, and Kikretum. Successive government agents failed to impose a fully individualized wage-formula on the cash-crop production of Brazil nut and Cumaru pods. Even when the principle of individual payment on a piece-work basis was recognized, production remained for the most part collectively organized on the basis of the men's societies and age-sets, and the level of payment and willingness of the men to work were to varying degrees dependent upon the intervention of the chiefs, in their dual role as leaders of their own men and as negotiators with the government representatives.

Given that the structure of Kayapo communal institutions directly embodies, in a generalized form, the structure of extended-family and matri-uxorilocal household relations, and serves to reproduce that structure, it follows that reinforcing the communal institutions of the village will, other things being equal, have the effect of reinforcing the traditional forms of extended family and household structure. That the influx of commodities and their accumulation as private property

at both Kapot and Gorotire has been channeled through, and thus has been in a sense dependent upon, the chiefs and communal age-sets and associations, has had the effect of strengthening that structure in at least some respects.

The same can be said for the Brazilian policy of organizing political-economic relations of dependence through the intermediacy of the chiefs, especially since the latter always managed to retain a measure of independence, and in recent years to reassert it more strongly in villages like Gorotire where it had been most seriously compromised. While the accession of commodities and private property has in some ways undermined the traditional forms of extended-family and domestic group structure, and thereby also the system of communal institutions identified with those forms, it has thus nevertheless also served in other ways to strengthen those forms. The integrative effects of reinforcing the communal institutions of the village, and thereby also the traditional extended family household pattern as embodied in and inculcated by them, have thus counteracted, up to a point, the dis-integrative effects of commodity ownership and exchange on the same institutions.

There is, however, another sense in which the reinforcement of the role of chiefs, and of men's associations and age-sets as their followings, through their assumption of the role of mediators with Brazilian society, has been at the expense of the solidarity and political integration of the community as a whole. To the extent that chiefs and men's communal groups have been able to draw functional importance and political strength within the community from their roles in mediating relations with a source of strength outside it, namely the national society as represented by FUNAI and independent entities like the Evangelical Mission, they have been rendered less dependent upon the intra-communal structure of institutions and ceremonies that provides their basic source of strength. That same system of institutions and ceremonies provides the foundation of the solidarity of the community as a whole, that is, as a totality greater than its separate components, such as individual chiefs and chiefly followings.

A further effect of post society has been the general decline of movement as a factor in communal life. The Gorotire still go out on ceremonial treks as part of their naming rituals, but they no longer go on extended dry-season treks. The village has not been moved, or even temporarily shifted to a different site, in forty years, and raiding has been a thing of the past for the same time. The effect of this stationary existence has been to deprive both chiefs and men's societies of one of their principal means of renewing their own authority and solidarity. This loss of the capacity for independent movement

and political action by the men's associations and age-sets is a major factor in the shift of the balance of male social attachments at Gorotire from the men's house to the domestic household, and the concomitant weakening of the ability of communal institutions at Gorotire to constrain conformity with the uxorilocal extended family form.

The "architecture of dependence" at Gorotire, and to a lesser extent Kapot, has thus had the effect of undermining the traditional structure of communal groupings as a whole. While it has, at the same time, in some ways reinforced the solidarity of individual men's societies and age sets, it has also weakened that solidarity in other, more important ways. In this respect, the architecture of dependency of post-pacification Kayapo society continues, by other means, the dis-integrative effects of the pre-pacification raiding pattern. This essential continuity in the effects of Brazilian contact, both warlike and peaceful, goes far to account for the fact that in the post-pacification period the fragmentation of Kayapo communities has until recently kept pace with the rise in population. There are some indications, which will be reviewed later, that this pattern may be beginning to shift back towards favoring the development of larger, more stable communities.

This contradictory set of tensions constitutes the inner structure of the "situation of contact" between the Kayapo and Brazilian society. It has played a relatively minor role at Kapot, but it is overtly evident as the structure of Gorotire Post society, and is one of the main factors accounting for its peculiar stability. The dynamics of this relative stability are such that the forms of dependency, and in particular commodity exchange, have produced a certain statistically measurable degree of change in household and men's house structure, but beyond that point tend to preserve the collective institutional and ceremonial mechanisms that reproduce the traditional structure. At this point, in other words, they become self-limiting as forces for structural change. The relative equilibrium, over the 40-year existence of Gorotire, of the level of conformity to traditional structural norms, at about 50% of the Kapot level, is thus accounted for within the terms of the analysis of the traditional structure, and of the historical situation of contact and inter-ethnic friction, that has been presented.

2. The continuing vitality of communal ceremony:
new wine in old bottles, or the ritual socialization
of the commodity.

A major factor in the persisting strength of collective institutions at both Kapot and Gorotire has been the continuing vitality of communal ceremonial life. Somewhat surprisingly,

communal ceremonial activity is as intense and frequent at Gorotire as at Kapot. Ceremonial being the principal activity of the communal men's and women's associations and age-sets, the continual performance of ceremonies is in itself a major factor in the continuing vitality of the groups making up the collective structure of the village, and thus indirectly in renewing their ability to function in a political-jural capacity for the regulation of social life at all levels, domestic as well as collective. To note the continuing vitality of communal ritual activity, however, only displaces the question. Given that Kayapo ceremony is overwhelmingly concerned with the regulation and reproduction of family and extended-family relations, as defined and focused in the traditional matri-uxorilocal household structure, why did the relative weakening of the latter at Gorotire, as registered in the relatively low statistical incidence of such households there, not lead to a corresponding weakening of communal ritual activity concerned with the regulation and reproduction of this structure?

An answer to this question suggests itself when it is recalled that the conceptual basis of the Kayapo ritual of family relations is the "socialization" of immediate ("nuclear") family relations, conceived as relatively "natural", i.e., as asocial or alien to the fabric of human (Kayapo) society. Now the principal reason for the persistence of low rates of matri-uxorilocal residence, as I have argued, is the accumulation of private property in Brazilian commodities by individual (primarily, male) adults. This property is held within the nuclear family of procreation, which is why, I suggested, the nuclear family has become more prominent as an autonomous domestic unit at the expense of the extended family (the recent trend to virilocality being understandable as a manifestation of the same pattern).

Private property in Brazilian commodities thus constitutes an alien element of nuclear family relations which stands opposed to the properly social (in Kayapo terms) relations of the extended family. As such, it is directly analogous with the "natural", asocial character of nuclear family relations as conceived within traditional Kayapo cosmology, which it is the main function of communal ceremonial activity to "socialize", that is, co-opt and integrate into the social order of the wider community. The analogy becomes even more powerful when it is considered that the communal institutional structure that constitutes the framework of ceremonial activity is also from the individual Kayapo's point of view the effective channel of access to Brazilian commodities. It is no less true of the family as a commodity-accumulating unit than of the family as a unit of "natural" psycho-biological relations that it needs the structure of communal institutions, based as it is upon ritual-

ized extended family relations, to guarantee the replenishment, continuity and reproduction of its social conditions of existence.

The forms of Kayapo communal ceremony were thus ready-made for dealing with the new tensions generated by the private accumulation of Brazilian commodities between the nuclear family on the one hand and the extended family, matri-uxorilocal household, and system of collective institutions, on the other. In simple terms, the ceremonial system took on a new meaning (or perhaps more precisely a new form of an old meaning) as a collective instrument for the socialization of private property, defined as an attribute of individuals in their capacity as adult members of nuclear families of procreation. In reasserting the co-optation and integration of the commoditized aspects of nuclear family relations within the structure of extended family relations and communal institutions, the ceremonies have served to neutralize the disruptive effects of individual property ownership and nuclear family separatism by asserting the prior claims of the communal structure that was the effective source of commodities, and thus the precondition of private property and the "individualism" founded upon it.

I believe that this role of the ritual system in mediating the contradictory tensions between communal structure and nuclear family relations induced by the influx of Brazilian commodities is the main factor in explaining the otherwise apparently paradoxical fact that the ceremonial system seems to have retained its vitality and importance while its basis in extended-family and domestic relations appears to have been eroded to a significant although limited degree. The ceremonial system, in so many words, has taken on new meaning as a collective instrument for socializing (in Kayapo terms) the commodity.

3. Change and continuity in Kayapo social structure: comparative conclusions.

In conclusion, this analysis started as an attempt to account for two historical facts: firstly, that the pattern of "change" at Gorotire has in fact proved so stable, and secondly, that the apparently traditional, conservative structure of Kapot is actually the product of a relatively tumultuous history, which included the temporary erosion and even abandonment of significant aspects of the traditional pattern. The major conclusion that has emerged from the analysis of the five genealogical household censuses and other historical facts that have been presented is that both of these seemingly paradoxical historical phenomena may be understood as demonstrating, in complementary ways, the continuing power of the traditional struc-

ture of Kayapo society to shape Kayapo social life. The varying ways and extents to which it has done so have been shown to be consistently explicable in terms of the varying forms of internal conflict and interaction with Brazilian society to which it was exposed in the places and at the times examined.

This conclusion, in turn, bears out the analysis of the traditional structure of Kayapo society outlined in the preceding section. The power of this structure to shape Kayapo social life inheres in its character as a system of processes for doing precisely that; more specifically, for reproducing the hierarchical structure of the matri-uxorilocal extended-family household and, in the process, a generalized, symbolically mediated form of this hierarchical structure as the framework of communal institutions and activities, being motivated at both levels, from the actor's point of view, by the values of "beauty" and "dominance" which the process generates for those who participate in it. These values continue to be produced, and thus to form the socially esteemed aspects of Kayapo personal identity, to the extent that the reproductive nexus between matri-uxorilocal household and collective institutional structure continues to function. As the statistics and other facts that have been reviewed indicate, it does in fact continue to function, i.e., "to shape Kayapo social life", in full force at Kapot and something like half-strength at Gorotire.

There are, then, clear structural differences, both of a quantitative and a qualitative nature, between Kapot and Gorotire. That the rate of matri-uxorilocal residence at Kapot is twice what it is at Gorotire, and that the men's house at Kapot still (or rather, once again) serves as the dormitory of the uninitiated youths' and bachelors' age sets, whereas it no longer does so at Gorotire, are structurally significant facts. These differences, together with the more pervasive structural similarities between the two places, seem explicable in terms of two sets of factors, one variable, the other constant.

The key variable consists of the different modes of interaction of the two communities with Brazilian society. This means, specifically, the contrast between the social and cultural homogeneity of Kapot and the heterogeneity of Gorotire, with its alien enclave of Post and Mission and its resident colony of Brazilians and other Westerners. This permanent enclave provides an alternative focus of social values and a relatively stable material source for alternative forms of relationship between individuals and communal society to those of traditional society, above all through the institution of private property and the private accumulation of commodities, but also through the individualistic social ethic advocated by the missionaries and exemplified to a lesser degree by the secular Brazilian of-

officials and their families. The lack of such an enclave at Kapot, and the relatively slight and intermittent supply of Brazilian commodities to the group now and in the past, effectively removes this alternative form of relationship of individual to community as a viable or attractive possibility for the large majority of the population.

The constant factor common to the two communities, on the other hand, is the continuing viability of the structure of communal institutions, both as the main channel of political and economic articulation between the Kayapo community and Brazilian society, and as the framework of communal ceremonial activity.

VI. RESURGENCE: THE POLITICAL REVIVAL AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF KAYAPO SOCIETY.

A. COLONIZING THE COLONIZERS: GAINING CONTROL OF THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF DEPENDENCY.

1. Gorotire

In Gorotire today, the FUNAI Post is run by the Gorotire themselves. The agent in charge and the operator of the short-wave radio, with which the Post communicates, on behalf of the community, with FUNAI headquarters in Redencao and the Post radios in other Kayapo communities, are natives of Gorotire. The house in Redencao which FUNAI uses for its headquarters is rented by them from the Gorotire, who bought it and a large ranch-house on the outskirts of town to accommodate community members making shopping or business trips (the latter being principally concerned with bank transactions with the communal gold account or the chiefs' individual accounts derived from timber royalties, or meetings with FUNAI personnel). The Gorotire have acquired yet another commodious town-house in the state capital of Belem, on the same block as the FUNAI headquarters building, for the same purposes. From this house, the Gorotire themselves now oversee the marketing of their cash-crop of Brazil nuts in Belem, and administer the distribution of the shares of the total price to individual workers in proportion to the amounts they produced on the basis of their own records.

The village airplane, or if it is not available, air-taxis hired by the village with its own money, make frequent trips to the towns of Redencao and Belem for business or shopping. Commodities are bought with funds from the community's or chiefs' bank accounts, derived from gold and timber royalties, respectively, and shipped back to the village by air or, in the dry season, by truck on a new road that the community has just

had built by the timber concessionaire, leading from Gorotire to the gold-mine of Cumaruzinho, where it links up with the road from there to Redencao.

The Gorotire airplane is piloted by a Brazilian pilot who is a permanent salaried employee of the community. The village's two trucks, motor-car and several motor-boats are driven by licensed Gorotire drivers. The truck and motor-boat engines are maintained partly by native mechanics and partly by a Brazilian Post employee. This same employee also maintains the gasoline generator that powers the radio transmitter, as well as the street lights that illuminate the main plaza and most of the houses at night.

Gorotire para-medics run the medical dispensary and infirmary, along with Brazilian para-medics employed directly by the community and a FUNAI nurse. The infirmary, with eight beds for in-patients and a large and well-stocked pharmacy and dispensary for outpatients, was built and largely supplied with medicines and equipment with community funds (derived from timber royalties). A new school with two large class-rooms and several auxiliary rooms has been built with community money from the same source (classes have yet to begin in the new building: they are to be given by a FUNAI teacher and by one of the missionaries, both of whom taught for two years in one of the Post houses, but discontinued their classes a couple of years ago for reasons that remain unclear to me).

A Gorotire convert conducts the Sunday mission services, and beyond this appears to be content not to proselytize; the 10% of the village population who attend the services continue to take full part in village ceremonial life, and otherwise distinguish themselves from their fellow townspeople mostly by refraining from smoking and extra-marital sexual relations. The foreign missionaries no longer do overtly religious work (although one does teach literacy in Kayapo). It appears that the proportion of the community actively attached to the mission has shrunk by half or more over the past twenty-five years, and that the Gorotire are farther from conversion to Christianity than ever.

The Gorotire have established four guard-posts on the frontiers of their recently-demarkated reserve, consisting of houses for the border patrols of batchelor youths (rotated monthly) and Brazilian maintenance workers, an air-strip, and slash-and-burn gardens to supply food for the workers and personnel. The Brazilian workers (two to a post) are paid directly by the community. The Gorotire plane makes bi-monthly overflights of the reserve boundaries and lands at the post to receive reports from the patrols and bring in supplies. The

function of the patrols is to prevent invasions of the reserve by squatters, miners or other unauthorized non-Kayapo. Several illegal incursions were dealt with soon after the air-coordinated patrols were begun in 1985 (the miners and squatters, spotted from the air and confronted by the patrols, left without attempting to resist). There have been no further incursions for the past two years.

The Gorotire also administer and police the gold-mines of Maria-Bonita and Cumaruzinho. In the latter, they maintain a police force of four "guerreiros" (warriors, as they are called in Portuguese by the miners) who carry only native clubs. In Maria-Bonita, the larger mine, they keep an identical police force and a head administrator, who is also the tribal accountant (he learned his arithmetic as one of the class taught for two years by the missionary and FUNAI teachers). The Brazilian national Treasury maintains an office in Maria-Bonita which buys the gold found by the miners of the local mine and Cumaruzinho (Brazilian law requires that all gold mined in Brazil be sold to the national treasury at the legally fixed rate). Following the settlement reached between the Brazilian government and the Gorotire after the latter's successful seizure of the mine in 1985, the miners have their gold weighed at the Treasury office, which gives them a receipt for the amount, which they must then take next door to the Kayapo tribal office, where the Gorotire accountant registers the amount shown of the receipt in an account book and stamps the miner's receipt. The miner then takes his stamped receipt back to the treasury office and is paid. At the end of each month the Gorotire receive a deposit from the Treasury equal to 5% of the gross value of the gold produced in that month at the two mines, which the Gorotire check against their own records.

The administrator-accountant also supervises the many concessions (basic supply stores, eating-places, soft-drink bars) at the mines, ensuring that they conform to the standard price levels set by the tribe for all items sold. The Kayapo prohibit price competition or unauthorized raising of prices by their concessionaires, and collect a monthly rent. They also prohibit alcoholic beverages, firearms, and women, which accounts for the relatively limited variety of commercial concessions in contrast to what one might expect to find in a community of 3,000 miners. It also goes far towards accounting for the lack of trouble the tiny Kayapo police force has had in keeping order at the two mining camps. The supporting presence of Brazilian Federal Police at Maria Bonita on payday is also doubtless a contributing factor to this lack of violent incident.

A third factor which deserves much of the credit, however, is the deliberate use by the Kayapo of their reputation among the miners and regional population in general as blood-thirsty savages who would cheerfully seize upon the opportunity of restraining a misbehaving miner to bash his brains out with his war-club. The 200 Kayapo warriors who seized the airstrip at Maria Bonita in 1985 were also for the most part armed with traditional war-clubs rather than firearms (which they all possessed, but had for the most part left at home). They were also painted and decked out with feather headresses, a style frequently followed by the contemporary Kayapo police at the mines. The Gorotire are well aware of the associations aroused by their traditional couture and weapons among the local Brazilians, and have recognized that these (added to the knowledge that the village of Gorotire is a mere ten kilometers away, and could field a force of 200 armed men to come to the immediate aid of the mine police if necessary) ethnic stereotypes can more effectively secure compliance than several platoons of conventionally armed troops. They accordingly dress the part.

Second only to the airplane in prestige as a commodity prototypically associated with the hegemony of Western technology is the video-cassette camera-recorder and monitor. The Gorotire had often had experience with still photographers, and occasionally with visitors making films, and many had seen television monitors on visits to Brazilian cities. About 1985 they acquired their own camcorder and monitor. The individual who learned to use the video recorder, interestingly enough, was a girl of the unmarried maidens' age-set. At the behest of the chiefs and others of the community, she uses it to film ceremonies held at Gorotire and other Kayapo villages, to make a record of traditional culture "so that our children will see and not forget", as one of the chiefs put it to me. An even more interesting use to which this video recorder has been put is the recording of meetings with Brazilian officials, so that the Kayapo can retain an accurate and undeniable record of what has been said and promised to them. At a more prosaic level, it is worth noting that audio cassette recorders are very popular, and are routinely used by their owners to record traditional ceremonial performances and songs, as well as to play commercial tapes of popular Brazilian music.

In sum: the Gorotire, over the past decade, have systematically taken over every major institutional and technological focus of dependency on Brazilian society within their community as reserve. They have not so much overthrown the "architecture of dependency" which these comprised as made it their own, converting it into the foundation of local communal autonomy.

2. Kapot.

The same process has occurred at Kapot, although it has taken rather different forms, given that the local manifestations of Brazilian hegemony were different. In Kapot, too, a Kayapo of the local community has assumed the role of chief of the FUNAI Post, which was established in the early 1970's at Kretire but only infrequently staffed by Brazilian personnel. The chief of the Post and his Kayapo assistants keep in daily contact with other posts and FUNAI headquarters by the short-wave radio transmitter, and maintain the generator which powers it. Three licensed motor-launch operators drive and do light mechanical maintenance on the village's three launches. As there is as yet no airstrip at Kapot, and of course no road, this exhausts the category of motorized transport. A Kapot paramedical worker dispenses medicine from the community pharmacy, although a couple of Brazilian paramedics from FUNAI now reside in the village and have official charge of the facility. A FUNAI teacher has also come to live in the village, although there is as yet no school and she has yet to teach a class. All three Brazilian FUNAI workers are subordinate to the Kapot Kayapo chief of the FUNAI post. He in turn takes his orders from the native village chiefs, above all Ropni.

The Kapot Kayapo, however, have not been content with the assertion of authority and control over the institutional and technological links between their own community and Brazilian society. A native of the community has now risen to become the administrative head of the Xingu National Park as a whole. This man, Mekaron, was taken as a boy to Posto Leonardo, the Park headquarters, as an apprentice by the Villas-Boas brothers. Like Ropni before him, he learned Portuguese and the ways of Brazilian administration, but he started younger, stayed longer, and learned much more. He has now become an important official in the national structure of FUNAI and the highest authority, native or Brazilian, in the Park area.

Another native of the Kapot community to become an important Park functionary is Bedjai, who for the past six years has been in charge of the ferry at the crossing of route BR-080 on the Xingu. An expert mechanic (he learned after the Kayapo liberated a motor-launch from the Brazilian road workers who arrived with BR-080 at the Xingu in 1971), Bedjai not only operates and maintains the motorized ferry, but does the heavy maintenance on Kapot's motor-launches as well. One of these is usually kept at the ferry landing, and is frequently borrowed by the Park administration for missions to other posts. Bedjai also does a lot of private work on the trucks and buses which use the crossing. He has established a reputation among the Braaiilians along the road as the best mechanic in the area.

The crossing of BR-080 (about ten hours upriver by motor launch from Kapot) is the most sensitive point on the Park's boundary. It was of course the northern frontier of the Xingu Park between 1971 and 1983, and is still the only point of land access to it. A guard-post has been established at the spot to prevent unauthorized persons from entering the Park from the road. There is also an airstrip at the post, and a short-wave transmitter which informs Kapot and Park headquarters of the arrival of travelers (often Indians returning from Brazilia or other Brazilian cities) who need to be transported onward by motor launch. Bedjai is the key figure in this nub of transportation and communication between the Park and the outside world.

The Kapot Kayapo, no less than the Gorotire, have thus managed to assert control over all of the important local points of connection and dependency between themselves and the Brazilians. In both places, the pattern of dependency established at contact has been "re-colonized" from within by the Kayapo, leaving them in control of the apparatus originally established by the Brazilians to control the Kayapo. The result is that both groups have become essentially independent and self-governing within their own territory.

3. From "revolving hierarchy" to class hierarchy?

The successful "recolonization" of the institutional structure of dependency at both Gorotire and Kapot has created both new opportunities and new problems. The political balance of forces within the community seems certain to be affected, in at least two opposing ways. The first of these is that the reassertion of community control over the institutional apparatus of interaction with the national society has shifted the relative importance of supports for chiefly authority from dependence on external relations with the Brazilians through these institutional channels in the direction of sources of support within the community. Coupled with the steady growth in the size of the communities in question, this could mean that something like the preeminence of the internal structure and solidarity of the community as a whole over the importance of individual leaders and their followings, that seems to have prevailed in the days before heavy Brazilian contact, might once again become the norm. One result of this might be that the moiety system might eventually be restored in some form.

The second major effect is that the chiefs, in their capacity as diplomats and negotiators with representatives of the national society, together with the young educated men who have taken over the various institutions and operations through which

the community relates to the Brazilians, have come to form a new elite. This small group of technocrats and diplomats is much more developed at Gorotire than at Kapot, but at the former it clearly poses a problem of a sort with which Kayapo society has not yet had to deal. The general unwillingness to engage in monetary transactions within the community, and the commitment of the leadership to traditional patterns of reciprocity, has thus far meant that there has been relatively little differentiation between this group as a whole and the rest of the population in terms of property or life-style within the village. The chiefs at Gorotire, however, are already a partial exception to this. Each has acquired a live-in Brazilian maid (they all come from Redencao, the closest town), and they (or their wives) have begun to hire out odd jobs like chopping firewood to fellow Kayapo for small amounts of money. They also have personal bank accounts, separate from the communal account which holds the gold revenues.

These personal accounts are used for general communal purchases, but the point is that the chiefs alone control them. The chiefs and young technocrats together control access to the communal bank account and travel on the airplane or motor launches or land-vehicles to Brazilian towns (one of the main prerogatives of their elite administrative roles). They also negotiate with FUNAI for shipments of goods and medical supplies. It is very difficult for ordinary members of the community to take any part in these matters or to exert any control over these decisions, partly because they lack the requisite knowledge, and partly because there is a general feeling of "shame" (pia'am) about using the public forum of the men's house for raising the subject of money or the control of property in ways that would imply either criticism of the chiefs or advocacy of the private interests of the speaker.

The result is that Kayapo communal institutions are left with no way of dealing with the potential problems posed by the growth of the new elite. Control, rather than the accumulation of private property, is thus at this point the major focus of inequality between the new "elite" and the rest of the community. This inequality has thus far not generated serious tensions within the community, but the potentiality that it may do so is there, and there is at present no solution in sight.

4. Gorotire's very own tribe of Brazilians.

A peculiar series of events at Gorotire has become the ultimate symbolic drama of "colonizing the colonizers". In about 1982, a group of approximately 60 "Romeiros", followers of the messianic movement of Padre Cicero in Ceara, were discovered by

the Gorotire making gardens at a site between the Rio Murure and the Rio Fresco. They explained that they had been wandering through Amazonia for many years, searching for a sacred image which padre Cicero had left in a cave somewhere in the region. The Kayapo had taken them at first for squatters intending to settle permanently on their land, and were prepared to expel them by force. The Romeiros, however, asked only for the right to remain in the area long enough to replenish their supplies of food. The Kayapo, perceiving that they were not only extremely poor but also humble and peaceful, granted their request.

The Romeiros were allowed to use garden land at a site about a day's walk from Gorotire. They periodically bring garden produce to the village, and are given knives, machetes, axes, fishing hooks and line, pots and other necessities by the Gorotire. The Indians also call upon them to do tedious manual work like clearing the village plaza of weeds and garbage. On days when they are performing this service, Kayapo can be seen sitting in tubular aluminum chairs on the verandahs of their new, Brazilian style houses, casually tossing banana peels into the plaza and snapping their fingers to call over a humble Romeiro with his wheel-barrow to pick them up.

B. THE REVIVAL OF SHAMANISM

One of the best indications of the revival of Kayapo cultural self-confidence and assertiveness is the revival of shamanic curing. Shamanism is a part of traditional Kayapo culture, but always played a minor role in comparison with the emphasis on collective ceremony.

Kayapo shamans performed cures by various means, including herbal medicine, and "sucking" out pathogenic objects from within the body. Neither hallucinogens nor tobacco were used to induce trance, although tobacco smoke was often blown over the patient to drive off ghosts who surround a sick person and attempt to snatch his or her soul. Shamans also performed garden and hunting magic, and sorcery ('udju) or black magic directed against either individuals or groups. They located game in the forest through dreams and visions, and learned songs and ceremonial lore from animals or ghosts, whose languages they could understand. Shamans also had important functions in raiding and warfare: they could locate enemies and foretell their movements, interpret omens of success or failure in an attack, and through sorcery inflict disease on whole villages as an adjunct to military action.

Knowledge of herbal medicines and magical charms was however not limited to shamans, but was, and continues to be, widespread among the population. Anyone can "know a cure", and

great numbers of specific remedies and magical techniques are either general knowledge or transmitted between kin. A "knower of a cure" (me be kane mari) is not thereby a shaman (wayanga), who must acquire this vocation by embarking on a soul-flight in a trance, coma, or dream, followed by a prolonged apprenticeship to a practicing shaman. Non-shamans could also learn songs from ghosts or animals in dreams, or even chance encounters in the forest.

The presence of alternative paths of access to most shamanic knowledge seems part of a general deemphasis of the shamanic role in traditional Kayapo culture. Shamanism, as an individualistic role based on the direct acquisition of powers from extra-social, "natural" beings or substances, is the antithesis of the socially-oriented ceremonialism of the Kayapo and other Ge groups. Shamanism did nevertheless have an important, if relatively marginal role in traditional Kayapo society, meeting needs that could not be met by the communal ritual system. Most important of these were those posed by individual health crises and collective danger in war.

In the 1960's and 1970's shamanism appeared to have lapsed or died out as an active part of Kayapo culture. I could not find one active shaman in any of the communities in which I worked during this period (Gorotire, Kubenkranken, Porori, or Kretire). This was still a time of contact epidemics, in which dependence on Western medicine to avert demographic catastrophes arising from casual contacts with Brazilians was so strong as to preclude much interest in native methods of curing. This absolute dependence on Western medicine and the cessation of raiding seemed to have left no cultural space for shamanic practice.

As the medical situation became stabilized and population began to recover from the depredations of the epidemics, however, interest in native curing revived. This revival of interest, however, owed at least as much to political as to medical concerns. The Southern Mekranoti (Metukti) of Kretire were in closer contact than the other Kayapo with Middle and Upper Xingu groups like the Kayabi, Juruna, and Kamayura, who all had strong shamanic traditions. A prominent feature of shamanism as practiced in the Upper Xingu is inter-tribal visiting: people go to shamans of other tribal communities to be cured.

Shamanism, then, is one of the mainstays of the inter-tribal network of the Upper Xingu, and powerful shamans (frequently the chiefs of these groups) play a prominent role in inter-tribal politics. This was a role exactly suited to the needs of an aspiring leader of inter-tribal, pan-indigenous resistance to the national society, a role which Ropni, the leader of the Kretire, had increasingly aspired to play. Not

only could shamanism make such a leader's community a central point in a network of inter-tribal movements and relations; the beauty of it from the standpoint of cultural nationalism is that it is an exclusively Indian form of knowledge, independent of Western medicine and culture. In 1981, Ropni declared himself to be a wayanga. His father had been a practicing shaman, and he claimed to have been taught by him. He also, however, borrowed freely from Kayabi and Kamayura practices. The Kayabi and Kamayura chiefs were invited frequently to Kretire, and Ropni and others visited them in their own communities. Soon three other Kayapo of Kretire declared themselves to be shamans, and all four now practice as such in Kapot.

Members of other groups have begun to journey to Kapot for treatment. In December 1986, a couple came from Gorotire, and were jointly practiced upon by Ropni, the Kamayura and the Kayabi shaman-chiefs, brought to Kapot for the occasion. The idea spread to Gorotire, where several shamans, one of them a woman, are now said to practice, and I was told of shamans in other villages. Ropni, meanwhile, made news in the national and international media by being invited by a prominent Brazilian naturalist, Augusto Ruschi, dying of a liver ailment, to undertake a shamanic cure in early 1986. This required the intervention of the President of the Republic, who gave his permission for Ropni to perform the cure. Ruschi died soon afterwards.

The revival of Kayapo shamanism in the 1980's thus seems to be a general phenomenon. It must be understood as an expression of a complex of factors, some medical (the general improvement of the medical and demographic situation), some political (the realization of the political advantages of the shaman's role in inter-communal and inter-tribal relations, and their consonance with the political ambitions of Kayapo leaders like Ropni), and some cultural (the reassertion of confidence and pride in shamanism as an "Indian" form). These political and cultural aspects were quintessentially exemplified in the role played by shamans in the seizure of the airstrip at the Maria Bonita mine in 1985. In a revival of the authentically Kayapo tradition of the shaman's role in raiding, the war party which seized the airstrip was accompanied by five shamans, carrying sorcery medicines wrapped in leaf bundles, which they were prepared to fire from their shotguns in the direction of Sao Paulo, Rio and Brasilia in case the Kayapo met serious resistance or were repulsed. "We knew that we might be killed, but if that happened, we would make sure that many thousands of Brazilians would also die", as the leader of the party put it to me.

C. CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS

1. From humanity to ethnicity

The categories of traditional Kayapo social consciousness, with the autonomous Kayapo village unit as the social center of the world, surrounded by a natural zone inhabited by animals and inferior non-Kayapo peoples, have been described in an earlier section. In this traditional view, Kayapo society was conceived as more or less synonymous with the category of the fully human (other Ge-speaking peoples were sometimes included along with the Kayapo). Other non-Ge indigenous peoples ("me kakrit" or "peoples of no worth") and the Brazilians were recognized as peoples with different cultures (that is, different languages, songs, artifacts and ceremonies), but they were not thought of as on the Kayapo level. The Kayapo, conversely, did not think of themselves as having a "culture" in the same terms as these lesser peoples, from whom they freely borrowed artefacts, songs and sometimes whole ceremonies as "valuables" (nekretch). To the Kayapo, their own beliefs and social institutions were conceived as the direct descendants of those established in mythical times by the culture-heroes who established the pattern of humanity and human society, as distinct from animal nature. Kayapo society and culture, in short, were not seen as historical products, the alteration or renewal of which were questions of current political decision or social choice.

With the development of relations with Brazilian society, a new "world view" seems to have taken form. This new formulation, like the old, expresses the relation between the Kayapo and non-Kayapo societies in terms analogous to the internal structure of Kayapo society. There has been, however, a fundamental change in the conception of "society". The isolated Kayapo village has been replaced, as the exclusive model for social humanity, by the situation of contact, in which Brazilian society, on the one hand, and indigenous societies, on the other, confront each other in a relationship of ambivalent interdependence. Not only are Brazilians admitted into this new conceptual scheme as fully human, social beings, but the Kayapo have come to see themselves in its terms as one "Indian" people among others, with similar problems and a similar "culture", the preservation or loss of which is a matter for conscious concern and concerted action. From seeing themselves simply as the paradigm of humanity, in other words, the Kayapo now see themselves as an ethnic group, sharing their ethnicity on a more or less equal footing with other indigenous peoples in their common confrontation with the national society.

The new world view can be seen as a transformation of the old, but this does not mean that they should be understood as a wholly endogenous product of Kayapo culture. They may to a

considerable extent constitute a Kayapo adaptation of ideas common to Pan-Indian ideologies and Indigenous advocacy and resistance movements in Brazil and elsewhere, to which the Kayapo have been increasingly exposed over the last twenty years. The new view has not replaced the old, but exists alongside it and as it were on a different level, being specifically focused on the interface between Kayapo and Brazilian society, whereas the older view is primarily concerned with processes and relations within Kayapo society itself. The new view, moreover, is not formulated in the same terms of ritual and myth, nor as clearly articulated with the structure of village space, as the traditional cosmology; it is rather implicit in new social forms, attitudes, and rhetoric relating to interaction with Brazilian society, in particular the usage of Brazilian commodities.

The basic structural principles of the new view are essentially the same as those of the old. The key relationships which determine the internal structure of the social domain continue to be seen as replications of those between the social and the encompassing natural domain. Within the social sphere, this same structure is seen as repeated on the successive levels of society as a whole, the segmentary household unit, and the construction of the individual social person. The relations and structures themselves, however, have changed dramatically both in form and content.

The universe is still seen as a series of concentric zones, but in place of the old view, with Kayapo society, as the fully human zone, at the center, and other indigenous peoples and Brazilians in more peripheral, implicitly animal-like positions, the new rhetoric posits a new "social" totality diametrically divided between "Indians" (the Kayapo themselves and other indigenous peoples) on one side and Brazilian society on the other. Whereas in the old view the relations between the key constitutive categories and groupings of the social domain were seen as articulated by complementary dimensions of transformation identified with aspects of social production, in the new view the relation between Indian society on the one hand and Brazilian society on the other is seen as articulated by instantaneous (but not transformative) processes of circulation. These processes of circulation or exchange are similarly divided into complementary aspects or dimensions, in this case positive and negative forms of reciprocity. These might be summarized, respectively, as commodity exchange, "presents", and medical assistance from FUNAI, reciprocated by friendship and cooperation by the Indians, on the one hand, and failure to fulfill promises, cheating, and theft of Indian resources by the Brazilians, reciprocated by hostility and resistance by the native people, on the other.

Each side of this divided social field relates in its own way to the surrounding zone of "nature". These relations are the opposites of each other, and taken together repeat the pattern of contradictory, positive and negative transactions which articulate the internal structure of the social domain. That of the Indians is constructive, consisting in the traditional processes of transformation of natural energies and materials into social powers and forms, in ways that permit the continuing renewal of nature and its powers. That of the Brazilians, on the other hand, is destructive: the chopping down of forests and their conversion to grass-land, the pollution of rivers, the mining of the earth, or the damming of rivers and flooding of the surrounding land, all of which permanently despoil nature and render it unfit for habitation or agriculture, hunting or fishing.

The relation between native and Brazilian society which constitutes the structure of this new social totality is replicated at lower levels of social organization, specifically, that of the segmentary household unit and that of the construction of the individual person. Just as the social totality is now seen as made up of a native side and a Brazilian side, with the boundary between them defined by the movement of commodities and by the struggle to assert autonomy against the source of those commodities, so the household and the individual member of native society have become double beings, diametrically divided between an internal, indigenous Kayapo part and an external part comprised of Brazilian commodities. The prototypical commodities involved at these levels are clothes, in the case of the person, and private property, with the Brazilian-style house as its most important and visible form, in the case of the domestic group).

2. From nekretch to commodity.

The Kayapo desire for Brazilian commodities stems only in part from their greater intrinsic effectiveness and utility than native products, and very little from competition to outdo one another in "conspicuous consumption". The overriding value of commodity property for the Kayapo, especially items of public display like clothing, houses, and tape-recorders, lies in the symbolic neutralization of the inequality between themselves and the Brazilians, as defined in terms of possession of the more complex and effective products of Western industry, and the ability to control the associated technology. The value of Brazilian clothes, radios, and airplanes for the Kayapo, in other words, lies above all in the negation of the pejorative contrast between themselves, as "savages", and the Brazilians, as "civilized" beings, which the Kayapo feel to be defined, in the

simplest and most obvious sense, in terms of the possession and use of such commodities. This is prototypically true of clothes, nakedness being the quintessential hallmark of savagery for the Brazilians.

The attribution to commodities of social powers (specifically, in this case, the power to mediate the integration of the indigenous and Brazilian components of the new social totality constituted by the situation of contact) appears from one point of view as a straightforward transformation of the fetishism of commodities within Brazilian capitalist society itself. From the point of view of traditional Kayapo cosmology, however, Brazilian commodities play in this respect a similar role to traditional ritual valuables, or nekretch. The latter, it will be recalled, are themselves usually items (artifacts, songs or names) taken from alien peoples or (supposedly) natural beings like fish or birds. These valuables function within the traditional ceremonial system as repositories of the social powers of integration and renewal associated with the value of beauty, but their ability to do so depends in Kayapo eyes on their very alienness, from whence the powers and values they embody are thought to derive. The meaning and valuation of Brazilian commodities, which are likewise called "nekretch", continues a pattern of the alienation of social powers into objects that circulate between the constitutive categories of the communal structure that was already well developed within the traditional Kayapo system.

One corollary of the assimilation of commodities to traditional nekretch is that they are treated in the same way upon the death of their owner. Traditional nekretch, from ceremonial ornaments to weapons and tools, are assimilated to the identity of their possessors. When the latter die, their belongings are buried with them, often being "killed" for the purpose (e.g., gourds and pots are punctured or broken). Brazilian trade goods are treated in the same way, or in the case of costly items like tape-recorders or guns, are given away to the unrelated batchelors who dig the grave. The result is that there is no inheritance of private property. Money is not yetr a problem within this pattern because it is generally not held by individuals within the community. Houses are the only significant exception (they are now sprayed with aerosol cans of deodorant chemicals to drive off the ghosts of the dead owners).

This division within the structural units of Kayapo society between an indigenous and a Brazilian component, like that between Kayapo society as a whole and Brazilian society, is a focus both of dependency and of struggle. The indigenous social entity depends on Brazilian commodities and property-forms, not merely for their practical uses but to confer upon it the

necessary cachet of viability and acceptability within the new composite indigenous-Brazilian social totality. At the same time, the indigenous Kayapo component of the resulting composite social entity struggles to assert its continuing autonomy and validity against the alien Brazilian aspect.

At all levels of the social totality, in sum, from the individual to the relation between Kayapo and Brazilian societies as wholes, a Kayapo part or aspect ambivalently defines itself in contrast to a "Brazilian" aspect, struggling to assert the separateness and autonomy of its indigenous aspect, while assimilating to itself a veneer of Brazilian-derived commodity property which it can no longer do without. Thus we find body painting of areas of the skin concealed beneath Brazilian clothing, and the owners of new Brazilian-style houses referring to them condescendingly as "unreal" or "ersatz" (kaygo) and irrelevant to the "real" continuity of essential Kayapo social and ceremonial relationships, and even, at Gorotire, a "double" village, with an "authentic" traditional circular village for the "real" (older, more traditional) Kayapo, built alongside the Brazilian "street"-style village.

This process can be seen working itself out in the evolving patterns of use of key commodities. Clothing is a good example. The use of shorts by men, replacing the penis-sheath, was the first form of Brazilian clothing to become standardized on a universal basis in Kayapo communities like Gorotire and even Kapot. The Kayapo also acquired both short- and long-sleeved shirts, long pants, and jackets, and many today possess these items. In the 1960's, it was normal for the chiefs of Gorotire to dress up in long pants and long-sleeved shirts to meet with official visitors, and other Kayapo would don similar "civilized" apparel to have their pictures taken. Short Brazilian haircuts became the norm, and lip plugs were discarded.

Today, the same chiefs and other men are again wearing their hair long. Lip plugs have not returned at Gorotire, but both there and among the Mekranoti, when chiefs go to a Brazilian city, they make a point of wearing shorts or sometimes long pants, shoes, but no shirt or jacket. Their faces, arms and upper bodies are painted, and they wear traditional shell necklaces and bead earrings. The whole ensemble is often topped off with a feather headdress. The shift away from full Brazilian clothing for official or formal dress back to a half-and-half compromise between Brazilian and Indian costume reveals more vividly than anything else the recent shift in the local social, political, and cultural balance of power between Brazilians and Kayapo, and the concomitant development of a new assertiveness and pride in Indian identity by the latter.

3. From cosmology to ideology.

To speak of the profound changes in Kayapo social consciousness simply as "transformations" of the traditional cosmology can be seriously misleading, for it tends to obscure the change in the character of social consciousness, and in particular in the level of historical and political awareness, that has accompanied the structural changes. These changes are not merely a phenomenon of semiotic restructuring precipitated by contact with an alien culture. They have themselves been brought about as part of the historical process to which they relate: one of protracted and relatively successful struggle between the Kayapo and the encroaching national society. It is this struggle, and the resulting relationship of dependency and resistance between indigenous and Brazilian society, that has become the focus of the new social consciousness. From the perspective of the relation of inter-ethnic friction which is the essence of the situation of contact, society is seen as a historical product, fraught with conflict and contradiction, and dependent both for its continuance and further change upon the conscious decisions and actions of its members.

The Kayapo have become aware of "Kayapo culture" as something essential to their existence as a society, which they must therefore struggle to defend against the pressures for assimilation to Brazilian culture. They argue about how this can best be accomplished, and what level of Brazilian economic penetration, and general social, political, and cultural accommodation is compatible with it. The community of Kapot has taken a relatively intransigent rejectionist line, while Gorotire has been more accommodating, but the debate is keenly carried on within Gorotire (and the other communities). The point here is not to predict the outcome, but simply to note that the existence of a debate in these terms, and the levels of social, historical, and political awareness which it presupposes, represent in themselves historical developments of the first importance for the Kayapo.