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MAXAKALÍ SUPERNATURALISM

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The Maxakalí Indians¹ refer to all their supernatural beings and tribal ritual as yãmíyxop. The word is derived from yãmíy 'souls of the dead' and xop 'group'. Yãmíyxop consists mostly of souls of dead Maxakalí, and a few souls of Indians of other tribes, national Brazilians, and animals. The tribe believes that all supernatural beings in the universe are souls of the dead or their offspring; they acknowledge no others.

The verb kutex collocates with yãmíyxop. Broad in meaning, it covers a variety of features of ceremonial action. One meaning is 'sing', an important feature in ritual. Another is 'play', which ranges from 'play for fun' to 'tease' to 'torment'. Supernatural beings and the Maxakalí may treat each other in these three ways.

'Souls-of-the-dead group' is used throughout this paper to refer to one of ten large groups, and 'souls-of-the-dead sub-group' refers to one of the over two hundred small groups that comprise the ten large groups. 'Totem' will not be used because, even though these groups are societies consisting of certain dead and living going by various names, they do not divide the tribe into distinct societies.

BELIEFS CONCERNING SUPERNATURAL BEINGS (small letters)

Introduction to the Souls-of-the-Dead Groups and Sub-groups (cap)

The Maxakalí do not seem to have a set of terms to distinguish between 'souls-of-the-dead group' and 'sub-group'. Rather, they refer to a sub-group as being kopa 'in' a group. Also, they use the group name to refer to a series of ceremonies which starts with a group ceremony, follows with several sub-group ceremonies, and ends with the group ceremony. It is also interesting to note that the ceremonial song, yãmíyxop xohix xãã'ax 'call of all the yãmíyxop' calls the supernatural beings by groups.

The sub-groups will be listed according to their groups. Seeming contradictions are in this list. One is the same sub-group name is sometimes listed in more than one group. Actually, they are distinct sub-groups going by the same name. To differentiate them the Maxakalí add the group name.

The other seeming contradiction is the same gloss given for different Maxakalí names. These are due to the use of old and present-day Maxakalí words both having the same meaning.

Groups are listed with their sub-group members, and the gloss of each is given except in the case of tribal heroes and heroines. Little attempt is made to give the meaning of their names. The items are lettered and numbered for later reference.

SOULS-OF-THE-DEAD GROUPS	SOULS-OF-THE-DEAD SUB-GROUPS	GLOSS OR INDICATIONS OF TRIBAL HEROES / HEROINES
A. 'Āmāxuxxop		antas
	^K	
	1. Hāmputux Kōmak	anta
	2. Kuxakkuk	capivara
	3. Kutitta	abacaxi
	4. Kukmok	cachoeira
	5. Kukmok Kutok	cachoeira pequena
	6. Mūnūy	veado
	7. Mūnūy Xe'e	bode
	8. Mūnūy Tuka'	veado pequeno
	9. Mūnūy Tuka Xop	grupo de veados pequenos
	10. Mūnūy ^K Kutok	veado nôvo
	11. Mūnūy ^T ŷut	vaca
	12. Māngāy	onça
	13. 'Īmkox Xexka	orelhas grandes (probably Botocudo tribemen)
	14. 'Īmōknāg	cachoeira pequena
	15. Xamokahnāg	cachoeira pequena
	16. Xamoka Xexka	cachoeira grande
B. Kōmāyuxop		heroínas tribais
	1. Kōmāg 'Āta'	heroína tribal vermelha
	2. Kōmāgnāg	heroína tribal pequena
	3. Kōmāg ^{Al} Mūnnīy	heroína tribal preta
	4. Kōmāg Mūnnīy Kutok	Filha da heroína tribal
	5. Mūjonnāg 'Āta'	Marte

C. Kōtkuphix Xohix Xop

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | Kōtkuphix | herói tribal |
| 2. | Kōtkuphixnāg | herói tribal pequeno |
| 3. | Kōtkup Max | herói tribal bom |
| 4. | Kōtkuphix Xexka | herói tribal grande |
| 5. | Kōtkup Puk | herói tribal fraco |
| 6. | Kōtkup Mānahnāg | herói tribal |
| 7. | Kōtkup Mānahnāg Xexka | Herói tribal |
| 8. | Kōtkup Māna' | herói tribal |
| 9. | Kōtkup ^M māna Xexka | herói tribal |
| 10. | Kōtkup ^P Pa Hok | herói cego |
| 11. | Xat'ex | herói tribal |
| 12. | Kōtkuphix Kotap | herói tribal |
| 13. | Yakhuk | herói tribal |
| 14. | Putox Koxahix | herói tribal |
| 15. | Xapaknāg | herói tribal |
| 16. | Kehmāy | herói tribal |
| 17. | Xatkuk Xexka | herói tribal |
| 18. | Xapupnāg | catetu |
| 19. | Xok 'ānēhnāg | jaguatirica |
| 20. | Kutapax | abelha |
| 21. | Xamōgpa' | mutua pinna |
| 22. | Patakak | cigarra |
| 23. | Mōkuk | fôgo de lenha |

D. Mīxuxxop

- | | | |
|----|--------------|-------------------|
| | | fôlhas |
| 1. | Mīxux | fôlhas de árvores |
| 2. | Mīxux kupnāg | grama |
| 3. | Tatakox | bambu |
| 4. | Tatakox Xeka | bambu grande |
| 5. | Mīxux 'Āta' | folhas verdes |

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 6. | Kugmax | tataruga |
| 7. | Xokxanok | frango d'água |
| 8. | Mahnõm | lagartixa |
| 9. | Kotpex | beijú, maconha |
| 10. | Xax'ana | homem da cultura nacional brasileira |
| 11. | 'Inmõxa | almas finadas da cultura nacional |
| 12. | Xaho' | gamba |
| 13. | Kuyup | herói tribal |
| 14. | Yañiy Kutexxaptox | herói tribal |

E. Mõmõkaxop

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------|
| | | gaviões |
| 1. | Mõmõka ^X xüy | dor de gavião |
| 2. | mõmõka ^H hex | gavião fêmea |
| 3. | Mõmõka Xanep | gavião velho |
| 4. | Mõmõka Yãkomak | gavião em baixo |
| 5. | Mõmõkahnãg | gavião pequeno |
| 6. | Mõmõka ^X xexka | gavião grande |
| 7. | Mõmõka ^A 'ãta' | gavião veruelho |
| 8. | 'Ükakaknãg | acauã |
| 9. | Topa Xax | roupa de Topa |
| 10. | Xupxak | manão |
| 11. | Mõy | harpia |
| 12. | ^K kupumãg | irara |
| 13. | Kak Xexka | tatu |
| 14. | 'Õnyãm | porco-espinho |
| 15. | Xoktamãta' | sabiã |
| 16. | Kaptihnãg | macaco |
| 17. | Kuptap | urubú |
| 18. | Xuitnãg | beija-flor |
| 19. | Xoktahãhãm | gavião |
| 20. | Mõmõkaxãm | chimango |
| 21. | Kupxín | gavião poabo |

F. Putuxop

	X	papagaios
1.	Putuxop xexka	arara
2.	Putuxop Koxmet	papagaio
3.	Putuxopnãg	periquitinho
4.	Putuxop Kextop	maitaca
5.	Putuxata'	periquito
6.	Kexnãg	jandaia
7.	Kõnmüg	papagaio verdadeiro
8.	'Ãmkak	arara vermelha
9.	Yãhma'ã'	arara azul
10.	'ãtok Xop	seus filhos
11.	'ãmãkup	herói tribal
12.	Xoxmẽ'	herói tribal
13.	'ãmãkup	herói tribal
14.	Xaxtop xixikãy	tuim nú
15.	'Ïpkox xexka	orelhas grandes (probably Botocudo tribesmen)
16.	'Ïnãõxa	almas finadas da cultura nacional brasileira
17.	Xupatex	cutia
18.	Kenmuk	cachaça
19.	Kugmaxnãg	tartaruga pequena
20.	Kokex kata'	suçuarana
21.	Kehex	melão
22.	Kũniõg	coelho
23.	Mãnmã	pica-pau
24.	Kokexka Kũ'ĩn	lagarto
25.	Mĩmxõhnãg	herói tribal
26.	Xoktahã	herói tribal
27.	Mũnũy tuka'	veado
28.	Xuitnãg	beija-flor
29.	Xap Yĩxux	heroína tribal

G. Xũnĩnĩaxop

	morcegos
1. Xũnnĩmnãg	morcego pequeno
2. Xũnnĩm xexka	morcego grande
3. Xũnnĩm kupnãg	muitos morcegos
4. Kotxexkanix	herói tribal
5. Xextupnãg	herói tribal
6. Nĩnĩhnãg	herói tribal
7. Memex	herói tribal
8. Kuktu'ĩnmip	herói tribal
9. Kexxop	herói tribal
10. 'Ũkaka nõ'õm	herói tribal
11. 'ĩnyĩka'ok	herói tribal
12. yĩkoxhokxopkup	herói tribal
13. 'Ũtãg 'ãkux	heroína tribal
14. Kukãgkãg xop	heroína e herói tribal
15. Mãyõn	sol
16. Mãyõn hex	lua
17. Mãyõn xop kupnãg	sol e lua
18. Mãyõnnãg pata'	Sete Marias
19. Mãyõnnãg 'ãta'	Marte
20. Mãyõnnãg xexka	Vênus
21. Mãyõnnãg xannit	Saturno
22. 'Inta'	medeoro
23. Topa	Deus
24. 'ĩnmõk	cachoeira
25. Popxexka	macaco
26. Kokex	cachorro
27. Kuxakkuk	capivara
28. Kupumõg	irara
29. Mãy'ay	jacaré
30. Xapup	queixada

31.	'Amākox yā ^Y	lagartixa
32.	Kugmax ^T tut	tataruga grande
33.	Kāyā ^A 'āta'	jaracurú
34.	Mūnūynāg	veado pequeno
35.	Māhām	peixe
36.	Māmnitnāgnāg	bagre
37.	Māmnitnā xexka	bagre grande
38.	Mām xexka	peixe grande
39.	Xāmōkpa'	jacú
40.	Xonnāg xexka	jaçanā grande
41.	Xonnēgnāg	jaçanā pequena
42.	Hup ^K kutok	larva de mosquito
43.	Xap ^X xop	colar
44.	Kukāgkāg	homem e mulher da cultura nacional brasileira
45.	Tex ^X xop	chuva

H. Yāmīy Kup Mahix Xop

		calcanhar das almas finadas
1.	Yāmīy ^P pit	herói tribal
2.	Yāmīy ^H hex	heroína tribal
3.	Yāmīynāg	filho e filha de Yāmīy ^P pit e yāmīy ^H hex
4.	Yāmīy mō'nūpaha'	herói tribal
5.	Pipkoxnāg	herói tribal
6.	Yāymāy ^M max	seis índios de uma outra tribo
7.	Hemex	herói tribal

I. Yāmīy

		almas finadas
1.	Kuxakkuk	capivara
2.	Popxexka	macaco
3.	Koxut	tatu
4.	Kokex	cachorro
5.	Xok'āmihnāg	paca
6.	Tahax	varias almas finadas
7.	Kokox Kata	suçarana

8.	'Ămaxux	anta
9.	Xupapox	lentra
10.	KutĭnnĂxop	saracura
11.	'Ăpihi'	anhuma
12.	MĂmĂkaxĂm	gaviĂo
13.	Texxop	chuva
14.	Hemex	herĂi tribal
15.	YĂgyĭkate'	herĂi tribal
16.	Kutex KumĂhnĭy	herĂi tribal
17.	KĂmĂ'Ăm	herĂi tribal
18.	YĂmĭy Kutex Xaptox	herĂi tribal
19.	Xamoka'	cachoeira
20.	YĂmĭy PuknĂg	diabo ou HĂmgĂyĂgnĂg
21.	'ĭtotĂn	mulher da cultura nacional brasileira

J. YĂmĭyxop yĭkox

bĂcas das almas finadas

1.	Xetxox ^X xexka	rato grande
2.	Xetxox ^H hax	rato de casa
3.	HĂmgĂy	onĂa
4.	Popxop	macacos
5.	Kugmax	tartaruga
6.	MĂy'Ăy	jacarĂ
7.	Kutex ^K kut	lagarta
8.	'Ăpihi'	anhuma
9.	'Ănkak	arara vermelha
10.	KoxyuxnĂg	periquitinho
11.	Putux ^A 'ĂmĭhnĂg	biguĂ tĭnga
12.	Puxap	pato selvagem
13.	PutuxnĂg	pĂssaros
14.	PatpĂmnĂg	caborĂ do sol
15.	Putuxtop	garĂa
16.	MĂpxexex	martĂ-pescador

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 17. Mĩptunuk | mutum |
| 18. Mānmān | pica-pau |
| 19. Mām xexka | peixe grande |
| 20. Kaxxōy | herói tribal |
| 21. 'Īnmōxa' | almas finadas da cultura nacional
brasileira |

The above list is probably incomplete. It was elicited from five men, and perhaps others could name more sub-groups.

← RULER OF THE SOULS-OF-THE-DEAD GROUPS AND THE CHAIN OF COMMAND

The Maxakalí fairly well agree that Hāmgāyāgnāg is the ruler over all the souls-of-the-dead groups, and that a chain of command runs through the groups. They also agree that this chain starts from the highest part of heaven, runs down through the groups at various levels above earth, and ends with the groups on earth or in the sub-surface. The Maxakalí do not completely agree, however, on the order of the groups in the chain of command.

The top ruler, Hāmgāyāgnāg, is considered an individual soul of the dead, is bad, and equated with the devil, ruler of the forces of evil. His name is derived from hām 'thing', gāy 'ferocious', yāg 'piece', and nāg 'diminutive', and the free translation is 'ferocious member' (of a group). He usually stays in the highest part of heaven, and comes down to visit the Maxakalí at the time of his ritual, Yāmīy puknōg (I-20). The Maxakalí fear that he will take away the souls of the sick and weak, resulting in deaths. The Maxakalí often speak his name in times of anger or frustration.

Individual lists of the chain of command shows some degree of correlation but no complete agreement. A typical two-list comparison is as follows from top to lowest in command. The left hand list given by Alquerino, male 35, and the right hand by João Cascorado, male 28.

Hāmgāyāgnāg	Hāmgāyāgnāg
Kōmāyuxop	'Āmāxuxxop
Mĩxux	Kōmāyuxop
Yāmīyuxop Yīkox	Yāmīyuxop Yīkox

'Āmāxuxop	Yāmiykupxahix
Xūnnīm	Xūnnīm
Mōmōkaxop	Putuxop
Yāmiy	Mōmōkaxop
Kotkuphix	Yāmiy
Putuxop	Kotkuphix

THE HIGH GOD CONCEPT

The Maxakalí credit Topa with being the creator of all things and the sustainer of the universe and moral standards. Considered a soul of the dead like the other supernatural beings in Yāmiyxop, he once occupied a place in that system. There were ceremonies to him (E-9 and G-23), but all that remains are two songs about him, sung by a very few in private and not in ceremonial context. Topa is not expected to visit the Maxakalí. He is spoken of as being Yāmiyxop kunāpa 'outside of Yāmiyxop'. The songs tell very little about Topa, myths say much. First of all, there are actually two Topas. Since little is said about the bad one, the name by itself refers to the good one. The bad Topa keeps changing what the good one created, and the good one keeps reverting things to their original forms.

Myths give contrastive pictures between Topa and the Yāmiyxop. Topa is shown as constructive toward his creation, and stern with those who are greedy or immoral. The Yāmiyxop are often pictured as destructive toward creation and sadistic and immoral. Topa is pictured as doing such things as giving a nice house to a kind, poor man. Yāmiyxop are pictured as doing such things as boiling and eating children. Topa is shown as stopping an act of incest. In one ceremonial song, he protests against Maxakalí nakedness by leaving his clothes on the religious pole. Yāmiyxop are shown killing through sex orgies.

Myths speak of Topa's father, mother, brother, wife, and son. The son is Textutok 'child of the rain'. After a storm the Maxakalí found him as a baby in the forest and raised him. Every time the boy did certain things, a storm came, and helped the Maxakalí by knocking down beehives from trees.

Lightning came from under Texkutok's armpits. Finally the mother took her son back to the sky, and she was angry with the Maxakalí that they had kept her son. It is also noted that Topa often came down to earth in an electrical storm, but it has not been found that Topa was called anything like 'Topa of the rain, lightning, or thunder'.

Topa and the Maxakalí were once friends, and he blessed them. He gave them the otter to help them fish. He rescued the progenitor of the post-flood Maxakalí tribe from a world-wide flood with peanuts and bananas, thus giving these foods to the tribe, and gave him a deer to be his wife and thus replenish the tribe. Then he gave the man and the tribe the bow and arrow.

One day Topa threw fish and lines with hooks over a mountain into the water where the Maxakalí were fishing, but some Indians were greedy over the fish and lines and were hooked and carried over the mountain. In anger the Maxakalí went after Topa with bows and arrows. They all shouted, "Kill him," and shot arrows at him, but Topa caused their legs and bows to break, and he left the Maxakalí.

Subsequently Topa went among the national Brazilians, and blessed them. He gave them good houses, cattle, much land, beasts of burden, rice, coffee, and the rifle. Meanwhile the Maxakalí did not receive these. Topa's presence with the national Brazilians is one reason why the Maxakalí equate Topa with the God of the Christians.

Topa made other basic differences between the national Brazilian culture and the Maxakalí. He divided land between them, gave the 'Inmõxa spirit to the local Brazilians, but the deer to the Maxakalí, and body hair to the national Brazilians, but smooth skin to the Maxakalí. Thus Topa is important relative to the Maxakalí-national Brazilian cultural differences.

NATURE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS IN Yãmĩxop

It was previously stated that the supernatural beings in Yãmĩxop consists mostly of dead Maxakalí. All the sub-groups in the foregoing list are in this category except the following few: Those that include souls of dead national Brazilians are Xax'ãna (D-10), 'Inmõxa (D-11, F-16, J-22),

Kukāgkag (G-44), Tahax (I-6), and 'Intotōn (I-11). Those that include souls of other Indian tribes are 'Īpkox xexka (S-13), F-15) and Yāy^Mmax max (E-6). Those that include souls of dead animals are Kotkuphix xexka (C-4), Kotkup^N mana (C-8), and Tahax (I-6).

Supernatural beings will be discussed as to their appearance and activities they are best known for.

Supernatural beings may become visible to the Maxakalí, who differ in their opinion as to whether souls materialize or whether the soul itself is a visible substance. In visible form, souls of the dead are cold like cold-blooded animals, and can appear and vanish quickly. Supernatural beings can reproduce among themselves in the sky. They can die. The vast majority appear as people. Even animal souls usually appear as people, and rarely as animals. Souls appearing as people compare in height with the average Maxakalí, but the range is wider, from eight feet down to dwarf size. Heights of souls of men, women, and children compare relatively with their counterparts among the living. Body builds vary; thin, normal, and fat. Their hair is either white or black, straight or kinky. Their eyes may be brown or red. Their skin can be red, black, white, or Maxakalí skin color, in one color or any combination. Certain parts of the body may be of one color and the rest of the body another. Many have certain designs usually of horizontal stripes or of big round spots. Male souls wear shorts in any combination of blue, white, and red, usually striped, and female souls wear a dress either red or white striped or polka-dotted.

Visible traits of some sub-groups are given as examples. 'Īnta (G-22) have two-foot diameter mouths, big enough to swallow a man, but 'Ūkaka nō'ōm (G-10) have mouths so small that they are always hungry, and also Putup Xuy Xop 'the hungry group'. The Kexxop (G-9) have still smaller mouths, and are also called Yīkox hok xop 'no mouth group'. Kutu 'Īnmip (G-8) have thin legs, and Kaxxōy (J-21) have long, thin arms, but Tatakox (D-3) are fat and strong enough to defeat the 'Īnmōxa' (D-11, F-16, J-21), the feared souls of the dead national Brazilians. Kōmāyxop (B) are all female, but other groups

are of mixed sexes usually with a male majority. 'Āmākoxyām (G-31) have white, straight hair, but Xaho' (D-12) have black kinky hair. Hāmḡāy (A-12) have huge heads and walk bent over like an ape. Kāys'āt (G-33) are eight feet tall, but Māyōnxop^K kupnāḡ (G-17) are dwarf size. 'Āmākoxyām (G-21) move slowly like a sloth. They are called in the morning, but do not arrive until evening. Mūnūy^X xe'e' (A-7) skin has white spots on red. Some komāyxop (B) are black and others red. Kehmīy (C-16) are all red, except for black stripes across the shoulders. They have red eyes. 'Āmākoxyām (G-31) have alternating bands of red, white, and black across the chest. Xūnnīm (G) are all red except for a white face. They are also called Pamnok 'white face'.

Supernatural beings are best known for certain fō their activities and behavior patterns. Quite striking is their great preoccupation with food. Much food is a requirement in feasts. Food is the most frequent theme in Yāmīyxop songs. Some supernatural beings are said to get carried away with feasting and even eat pets, children, and sometimes adults. Many supernatural beings also love to play. Some of it turns to horse-play, fighting, and injury.

Certain souls-of-the-dead groups and sub-groups are known to be helpful to the Maxakalí. Those that help in hunting are Mōmōkaxop (E), Kotkup^M manā' (C-8), Xūnnīm (G), Xat'ex (C-11), Mīxux^K kupnāḡ (D-2), Kexxop (G-9), Putuxop (F), and Kotkuphixnāḡ (C-2). Those that help in bow and arrow making are Kotkuphix (C-1), and Xatkuk Xexka (C-17). Some that help with fishing are Kutu'īmīp (G-8) and Xapaknāḡ (C-15). Those that help with planting and harvesting are Yāmīyxop Yīkox (J), Kūmē'ēm (I-17), Mūnūy (A-6), Māyōn (G-15), Māyāon^X xop^K kupnāḡ (G-17), Mūnūy^X xe'e' (A-7), Kug^M max^T tut (G-32), Yāmīyxop Yīkox (J), and Kūnnīm Kupnāḡ (G-3). Yāmīkup^X xahixxop (H) help men build houses. Komāyxop (B) help the women make nets. Those that help in ceremonial singing and making of religious objects are Kūmē'ēm (I-17), Xok'ānāhnāḡ (C-19), and Kugmax tut (G-32). Some who help the family are 'Īpkox Xexka (A-13), F-15), and 'Īnyīka'ok (G-11).

Other souls-of-the-dead groups and sub-groups are known to be harmful to the Maxakalí. 'Īmōxa (D-11, F-16, -J-21) cut people's heads off. Those

that try to kill Maxakalí with bows and arrows are Xamoka (I-19) and Kotkuphix (C-1). Hãmgãy (A-12) kills a man if the offering is too small. Yãmíy puknõg (I-20) kill sick people. Kotkuphixnãg (C-2) used to kill and eat people but does not do so today. Kotkuphix (C-1) ate children, and Kotkup^mmana (C-8) looked for a child sacrifice. The Maxakalí are trying to get revenge fũr 'ĩnta having killed and eaten a man, and Xoxtupnãg (G-5) have been killed by the Maxakalí. Antagonistic against women are the Mõy (E-11). They push down women who dance. The women fight back and the men separate them. Kexxop (G-9) hit women with clubs. Xupapox (I-9) send women to the forest and then kill their cats, dogs, and chickens, and cut down their banana trees. Kotkup^mmana (C-8) do not like women and do not let them have part in their ceremony. Kotkuphixnãg (C-2) put bees in manioc patties. Kexxop (G-9) hits men's legs.

ABODES OF THE SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

First, a description of the Maxakalí concept of the universe is helpful in understanding where supernatural beings stay. The Maxakalí believe that the earth is a flat plane, covered over by a semi-sphere shell, the sky, called pexkox. Between earth and sky is the atmosphere called hãmnõgnõy. The heavenly bodies pass across the atmosphere just below the sky, pexkox yokoma', enter the water close to where earth and sky meet, move under the earth, and continue their next day's journey just below the sky. Water is all around where sky meets earth. The nearest such place to the Maxakalí is off the shore of Bahia State, in the Atlantic Ocean. The Maxakalí believe they have seen the sun rise out of that water. At the highest point in the sky is a hole which leads to another land called Hãmnõy 'other land'.

Supernatural beings live above in the 'other land', in the space between sky and earth, on the earth, and in the earth and water. Each soul-of-the-dead group has its own usual place at a certain altitude. There is no restriction or conflict when one group moves up or down through the realm of another.

There are several places where supernatural beings tend to stay when they visit earth. Most important is the religious area of the village which consists of a religious house, a dance area, and sometimes a religious pole.

The religious house is open to souls of dead females as well as to those of males. Another important place is in the hearts of the living. Dematerialization is considered necessary before they enter. The Maxakalí fear this indwelling and consider it always bad. Other favorite places on the reserve are the east peak of Pradinho Rock, some hollow trees, some tree stumps, and forests, especially in high trees.

SACRED STRUCTURES AND OBJECTS

The religious house, the kuxex, is located at the center of the semi-circle of houses in a village. Its size is about the same as the family houses. It may have a one- or two-slope roof. A slope is down towards the center of the village. The three walls facing the village are closed with leaves, and the side away from the village is left open. It is off-limits to women and girls "under penalty of death".

The dance area, the hãpxep, is all the land bounded by the semi-circle of family houses and the kuxex. It is usually kept fairly free of vegetation.

Religious poles, the yãmíy kup 'poles of the souls of the dead', are planted upright in the ground, wide side up, about ten feet in front of the religious house. One exception is the little yãmíyhexxop kup which is placed but not planted in the houses. Yãmíy kup are straight logs with their bark removed. The poles with their diameters and heights are as follows:

POLE	AV. DIAMETER	AV. HEIGHT
Kotkuphix kup	8"	7'
Mómoka kup	6"	7'
Xunním kup	8"	15'
Yãmíy kup xahix kup	6"	5'
Yãmíhex kup	8"	15'
Ûn yõg kup	8"	15'
Yãmíhex xop kup	1"	4"

The yãmíhex kup does not have a design. All the others are marked with the same design, Fig. 1. The Maxakalí paint on the red with annatto, and the supernatural are said to mark on the black dots with charcoal. The yãmíhex

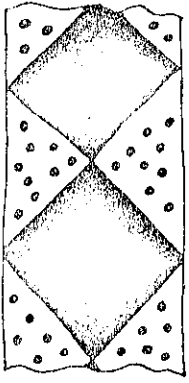
kup has a bird carved on top but the others are flat on top. Yāmīhex xop kup have some cotton pasted on top. The xūnnīm kup and 'ūn yōg kup are designed the same and are of the same dimension, but men make the first and women the second.

The function of the poles is to provide a place for the supernatural being to congregate and to spring out to appear before the people. It also is a tangible work of the supernatural beings to be among the people.

When two poles are in front of the religious house, the pole of the preceding ceremony has not yet been removed.

Yāmīhex kup, 'ūn yōg kup, and yāmīhex xop kup are all associated with the Komayxop group. That leaves four other poles of souls-of-the-dead groups. This means that the five remaining groups do not have poles.

*Pages 18 + 19 are the two
sheets of figures*



Red Squares

Black Dots

Fig. 1
yāmīkup Design

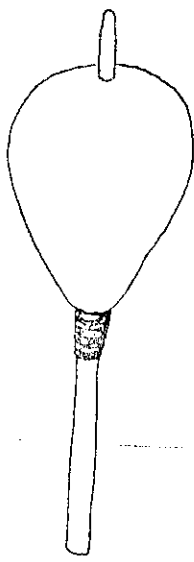


Fig. 2
Totxax Gourd Rattle

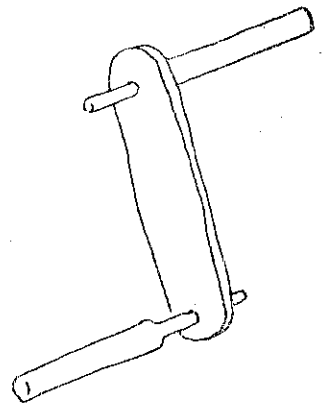


Fig. 3
Mimā'in Crank

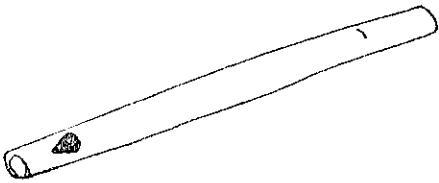


Fig. 4
Xokupxox Whistle

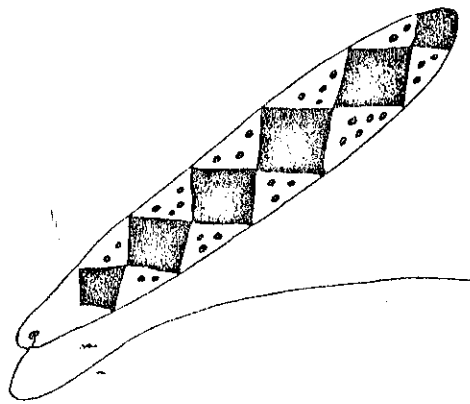


Fig. 5
Pānānot Bull Roarer

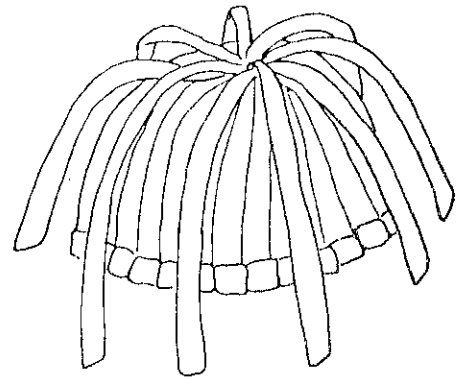


Fig. 6
Koxyux Ceremonial Hat



Fig. 7
Pitted Ceremonial Hat

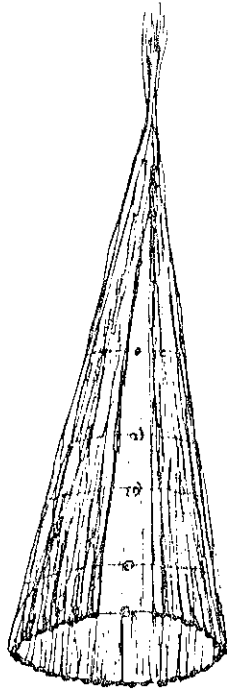


Fig. 8
Koxyux xāp kup
Ceremonial Hat

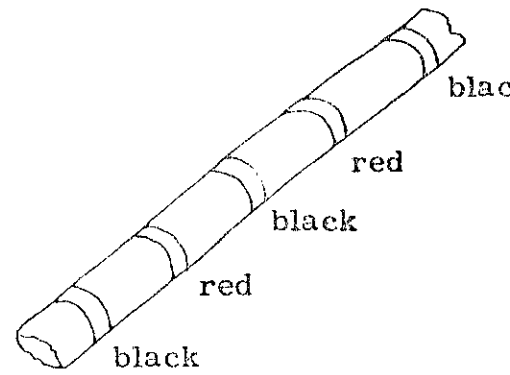


Fig. 9
Ceremonial Arrow Design

There are several instruments used in the ceremonies. One is the gourd rattle, the totxax, Fig. 2, which is used in Mixux xop (D), Momokaxop (E), and Putuxop (F) ceremonies.

The crank, the mimain, Fig. 3, is usually made of cedar. The center part is flat with two holes near the ends into which two pegs fit snugly. When cranked with two hands, the instrument squeaks.

The whistle, the xokupxox, Fig. 4, is made of one twelve-inch sections of taquara with a piece of wax to deflect the air stream toward the vibrating edge. It is used in the ceremonies of Amaxux xop (A), Mixux xop (D), Momokaxop (E), Putuxop (F), Xunnim xop (G), Yamikup xahix xop (H), Yamiy (I), and Yamixop Yikox (J).

The bull-roarer, the pananot, Fig. 5, is often painted the same design as the religious poles. There are three sizes including a small one to imitate the voice of a child soul, a medium one to imitate the voice of a woman soul, and a large one for the voice of a man soul. They are used both to attract souls and to fool the women into thinking that a departed loved one is visiting. So the men keep bull-roarers a secret from women.

There are three kinds of ceremonial hats. One is the koxyux, Fig. 6, which is woven of palm shoot leaves, that are bright green and yellow. The bottom rim is woven together tied together at the peak, and flared out beyond the peak. They are used in the ceremonies of Kotkuphix xohix xop (C), Momoka xop (E), and Yamixop Yikox (J).

Another hat, Fig. 7, is knitted with string made from tree bark fiber, and painted red with annatto. They are used in the ceremonies of Kotkuphix xohix xop (C) and Momoka xop (E). Another hat ^{is} tall and made of straw woven together. It is called a koxyux xap kup, Fig. 8, and is used in the Momoka xop (E) ceremonies. Scarves are often used especially over the wigs made from the hair of deceased women.

Ceremonial arrows look like ordinary arrows except they are marked with alternating stripes of charcoal black and red of annatto. They are used in Kotkuphix (C-1) ceremonies to kill animal sacrifices tied on forked poles

in front of the houses.

Images depicting the Yãmĩyxop are forbidden.

Beliefs Concerning Man

SOULS OF THE LIVING

A soul of the living is called koxuk. Only after the body dies is it called yãmĩy, the term that has been used thus far in the paper.

Every Maxakalí, national Brazilian, and Indian of another tribe, both male and female, has one koxuk of his own.

The majority of Maxakalí believe that animals have their own koxuk, but only a minority believe that plants have them, and very few believe that inanimate objects have them.

Each soul starts its existence sometime when the fetus is forming. It grows along with the body, and takes its form. Therefore, souls look like the body according to the Maxakalí, who believe that soul is a visible substance. Soul is more concentrated in the heart area than in the other parts of the body, and cannot be amputated along with a part of the body.

Souls can temporarily depart from the body. The soul may leave in times of fear or of severe sickness. A Maxakalí may say, "I was very sick last night and I died. My soul went up to heaven, but Topa told it to come back." Dreams are also considered wanderings of the soul. In the case of fear or sickness, friends or relatives may call the soul to return to the body.

DEATH

The soul leaves the body immediately upon death. If the person died naturally, his soul stays on earth five days. Natural death is caused by another soul coming to accompany the soul of a sick or weak person to the sky. The soul of a person who meets a violent death, however, may stay on earth longer than five days, because no soul came to accompany his soul to the sky.

The degree of precaution a village takes upon a death depends upon how much damage the soul of the deceased is feared to do. An extensive but

rare reaction is to quickly burn the deceased's house and the religious house, and move the whole village. A milder reaction is to burn the deceased's house and just the occupants of the house move away. A still milder reaction is to leave the house to decay and the occupants move away "to help forget". Or the occupants may stay in the house. The more drastic precautions are likely to be taken when the person dies violently because his soul is likely to stay on earth for a long time, and seek revenge. Houses are burned because souls of the dead tend to return to their homes. Drastic precautions are likewise taken if the soul of the deceased is thought to have a strong desire to lead away the soul of a loved one, such as is the case between husband and wife. Also, more drastic precautions are likely to be made if there is a sick or weak person in the house of the deceased. The least precaution is taken for the death of the young.

BURIAL

Often wailing starts before death, and continues until burial. Participants are all the inhabitants of the village. The body is covered with a blanket. Sometimes when a woman dies, the men close the house, and secretly cut off the hair for making ceremonial wigs. Bodies are then put into hastily-made wooden coffins. Many men take the body to burial, in order to better handle any problem that may be caused by the soul of the deceased, just as many men handle communication with the supernatural beings in Yamíxop. There are several places on the reservation used as cemeteries. Bows and arrows are buried with the corpses of men and boys, fish nets and bags with corpses of women and girls, and breast milk with babies. A blanket is buried with all.

Several generations ago the ancestors had two customs which are not practiced today, and for which there seems to be no explanation. The immediate family ate the thigh muscle of the deceased, and built a fire over the grave.

IDENTITY OF A SOUL WITH ITS SOULS-OF-THE-DEAD SUB-GROUPS

Sometime after death the soul of the deceased goes to be with any of the souls-of-the-dead sub-groups he chooses of those in which he had membership in his lifetime. He takes on the characteristic appearance of that sub-

group and when he goes to be with another sub-group he then looks like them.

DURATION OF THE SOULS OF THE DEAD

Souls of the dead often die after five years. Yet certain ones such as souls of tribal leaders live on for several generations. Souls of the dead do not reincarnate either as human beings or animals.

Ritual Practices. Interaction Between Supernatural Beings and the Maxakalí

HOW MAXAKALÍ RECEIVE MEMBERSHIP INTO SOULS-OF-THE-DEAD GROUPS

The history of a man, Capa Onça, about forty, is given to illustrate the group memberships given, by whom, and the occasion or age of the recipient.

1. Yãmíkup Xahix Xop (H), Hemex (H-7) was given to Capa Onça at age seven by his mother's father, Antônio José, when he was dying.
2. Xünnim xop (G), Hemex (G-7) was given to him at the age of fourteen by his father, Cascorado, when the father was satisfied that his son had become a working, responsible adult.
3. Yãmíy (I), Kumẽ'em (I-17) was given to him when he was fifteen by his mother's mother's brother, José Grande, when Capa Onça proved to act like a working, responsible adult.
4. Xünnim Xop (G), Tex xop (G-45) was given to Capa Onça when he married, given by his father, Cascorado.
5. Míxuxxop (D), Xokxanok (D-7) was given to him when he married, given by his mother, Maricota. This group was held jointly by Capa Onça's mother and father, but it is said to be given by the mother who had received it from her father.
6. Kotkuphix Xohix Xop (C), Kotkuphixxexka (C-4) had been given first to Capa Onça's brother, João, by his father when the father considered his son a working, responsible adult. But when João acted immature, the father took away the membership, and gave it to his brother, Capa Onça, then seventeen.
7. 'Amáxuxxop (A), Mũnúy (A-6) was given to Capa Onça at the age of 33, by his mother's mother's brother, José Grande, when he was dying.

Capa Onça has given only one membership, Xūnnīm xop (G), Tex xop (G-45) to his daughter Lenê, eighteen, on the occasion of her wedding to Antônio José. Antônio José then began to participate in this ceremony. Capa Onça continued participating in it. He second, third, and fourth child died before being mature enough to be given memberships. His fifth, sixth, and seventh children are still too young for that.

Now some comments. The givers of memberships are parents, uncles, and grandparents. And it is left to their discretion and desire as to whom and when to give them. The occasions for giving memberships are 1) at the approaching death of the donor, 2) at the time when the male recipient has shown himself to be a responsible worker, 3) at marriage. Both bride and groom may receive memberships. This is the only occasion when a female receives memberships. Her husband then performs these ceremonies.

It should also be noted that the giving of memberships is a force to encourage youth to work, and girls to marry.

AIMS OF RITUAL PRACTICES

Ritual practices are activities in which the Maxakalí and supernatural beings interact either for mutual benefit or mutual harm. Each seeks either to give and receive certain benefits, or to inflict injury and defend himself.

First are items of mutual benefit:

1. Play, fun, amusement, excitement of festivities are important aims of both the supernatural beings and the Maxakalí. The aim of many rituals seems to be no more than this.
2. Enjoyment of feasts and offerings is also an important aim. A large number of ceremonial songs speak only about this. Both supernatural beings and Maxakalí partake.
3. There is mutual help in hunting to supply meat for the ritual feasts. Bows and arrow making is also a joint project.
4. Fishing is also joint activity to supply fish for the ritual feast. Women and supernatural beings also make fish nets together.
5. Crops are a joint work. Supernatural beings are expected to help plant, aid fertility, provide the right amount of rain, and help harvest.

6. The supernatural beings are expected to help with marriage and children. They may perform a wedding ceremony. They inform males about menstruation and fertile periods. They help children grow by stretching them and by ridding them of intestinal parasites.
7. There is trading of items. Often the Maxakalí trade off easily-obtained items like woven bags to gain hard-to-obtain items like meat.
8. The Maxakalí expect the supernatural beings to help them in ritual, especially in learning to sing and making religious articles.
9. The Maxakalí expect some supernatural beings to help them in their struggle with supernatural beings who are bothering them. Also in time past, the Maxakalí expected supernatural beings to help the Maxakalí in their battles with other tribes.

Now items of mutual harm are given. As already mentioned, play between the supernatural beings and the Maxakalí can lead to teasing, and teasing to torment, which may end in killing. Some souls-of-the-dead sub-groups are not on playing terms with the Maxakalí. Rather, the two are continually at war.

Some of the ways in which supernatural beings try to harm the Maxakalí are clubbing, breaking up or interfering with ritual, keeping people from sleeping by making noise and shaking their houses, choking people, shooting arrows at people, eating people, killing pets and livestock, chopping down plants, contaminating food, entering inside people and tormenting parts of the body, and taking away the soul, thus causing death.

There are four general ways in which the Maxakalí cope with the disadvantage of the superior strength of the supernatural beings:

1. The Maxakalí use superior numbers. This method is used to expell a supernatural being from a sick person. If the Maxakalí can get the supernatural being to leave the sick person and enter one of the ritual dancers, then the group of men in the ritual work together to convince the supernatural being that it must leave. As already mentioned, this method is used in burial. In Maxakalí ritual, numbers are always used in dealing with supernatural beings; there are no specialists who legally perform

ceremonies alone.

2. The Maxakalí use cleverness. A striking example in Maxakalí myths and legends is the many clever ways the ancestors killed 'Inmōxa spirits (D-11, F-16, J-21). The 'Inmōxa's skin is as impenetrable as steel, but there are small vulnerable places such as mouth, eyes, ears, nose, anus, and navel. Myths tell of many clever ways in which the ancestors maneuvered them to pierce them through these places. 'Inmōxa have a cutting blade along their forearms and with it cut off heads. One legend tells of an 'Inmōxa cutting off a man's head. The wife stuffed the body into a net bag and hung it from the rafters inside the house. Then she went up on the roof and took along a sharp pole. The 'Inmōxa entered the house, opened his mouth to drink the blood that dripped down from the body, and the woman speared him through the mouth.
3. The Maxakalí get some supernatural beings to help them fight others as 'Inta (G-24) and Mīxux (D-1) to help fight 'Inmōxa (D-11, F-16, J-21).
4. Another method is to use speech like a dog uses a bark, to scare away a stronger foe. The Maxakalí frequently use cursing and persuading for this.

WHICH RITUALS ARE HELD WHEN?

There are guidelines as to what time of the year each ritual is held, but the rules are not rigid. Timing depends on the tribal need and the ruling elder's decision.

There are seasonal needs that favor certain rituals being held at particular times. Dry weather is needed in September favorable for burning off the fields in preparation for planting at the start of rainy season. The Mōmōkaxop (E) ritual is appropriate then because the souls-of-the-dead group both likes dry weather and fosters it. Also at this time, the Māyōn Kupnāg (G-17) may be called to help clear the land for planting. September is the start of the biggest planting season. It is also considered the first of a new year, and numbers of years are expressed in numbers of hāmyāxatamuk or beginnings of planting seasons. It is signalled by the appearance of the red xūyyapta berry. September is often the most active ritual month. Then,

sometime at the end of September or in October the first rains often come and it is time to plant. Then Mõmõkaxop (E) may be sent away, and Xunnim (G) or Xupapox (I-9) be called because they like rain. Or Munnuy (A-6) or Munnuy xe'e (A-7) may be called to help with planting. Still later, Yamixop Yikox (J) may be called to help the watermelon grow, and then in January, when the watermelon is ripe, the 'Imok (G-24) or others may be called to receive their watermelon offering. Likewise the other groups may be called at the appropriate times to help with the crops and to receive their offerings.. Hunting and fishing needs are somewhat seasonal and the appropriate groups may be called for each.

Other tribal needs are not seasonal. The most frequent of these is serious sickness. The sick person or village elder may call for the ritual of the souls-of-the-dead sub-group of the sick person. 'Ipkox Xexka (A-13) may be called to help solve the problem of infertility in a married couple. 'Inyika'ok (G-11) may be called to help a child to grow. In this way the appropriate groups may be called to help with other problems.

Because of these non-seasonal needs, the ritual schedule may vary from year to year.

Also, it has been seen several times that in times of tribal conflict ritual may be suspended. For example, one September the rituals at the Mikax Kakak village were Kotkuphix xohix xop (C), Mõmõkaxop (E), Putuxop (F), and Yamiy (I) and in Pradinho village were 'Amaxux xop (A), Komay xop (B), Kotkuphix xohix xop (C), Mõmõkaxop (E), Putuxop (F), Xunnim xop (G), Yamikup xahix xop (H), and Yamixop Yikox xop (J). But the next year an older man died in August and there was a conflict over whether or not the right ritual had been administered. The outcome was that no ritual at all was held in September.

Rituals have been recorded to have occurred during any month of the year, but more active months are May through October and January.

A series of rituals is as follows: on the first night, the souls-of-the-dead group's xana'ax 'call' ritual is given. Then on the following

nights the rituals of some of the sub-groups in that group are given, one sub-group per night. Then the series ends with the group's ka'ax 'end' ritual.

It appears that only the rituals concerned with fertility occur with a particular phase of the moon, with the new moon.

Each ritual occurs at a certain time of day or night. For example, the time for the 'ĩmok (G-24) ritual is sunrise to about 10 A. M., Yĩkoxhok (G-12) from noon to sunset, 'ĩnyĩka'ok (G-11) from about 4 P. M. to sunset, Kuktu'ĩnmip (G-8) from sunset to about 9 P. M., Kotkuphixnãg (C-2) from sunset to cockcrow, and 'ĩnta (G-22) from sunset to sunrise. Contrasting with this sunset to sunrise duration is Tatakox (D-3) ritual which lasts a few minutes. The large majority of rituals are held at night.

PARTICIPANTS

Ruling elders have been mentioned. There is usually at least one ruling elder in each village that is holding ceremonies. They are the oldest in the tribe and are recognized for their knowledge of tribal religion. They may be called mõnãyxop 'ancestor group' or 'ancestor'. The term refers to the people of yesteryear who lived in a story-land world different from the world today; a world of jaguars, forests packed with animals, enemy Indian tribes, and stone tools. At present, there are six ruling elders including one woman.

It is the ruling elder's job to make the final decision on which ritual should be held at a particular time, and to insist that the ritual be done correctly. Many tribal guidelines and people's suggestions help him decide on which ritual to call for. But sometimes he is alone in his decision which he bases solely on which supernatural beings he finds around or in the village.

Ruling elders are also recognized as political leaders, but they exercise little power in this realm.

The men's role in ritual is different from that of the women. The men contact the supernatural beings and initiate singing, dancing, and feasting. They dress in costumes to act, play the instruments, receive the offerings,

and distribute them to the supernatural beings and people. The men make the religious house, six of the seven religious poles, the ceremonial arrows, rattles, crank, whistle, bull-roarers, and ceremonial wigs. Both men and women make the ceremonial hats.

The women prepare and give the offerings, trade articles with the supernatural beings, and join in with the men in singing, dancing, and feasting.

The boys stay with the men, and the girls with the women. They are taught the rituals as early and as quickly as possible.

Supernatural beings participate in singing, dancing, feasting, and in making religious articles.

A person having membership in a certain sub-group, usually knows and participates in the other sub-group rituals in that group, but it is optional for him to do so.

Each ritual has its own stipulated participants. For example, in Mōmōkaxop (E) there is no limit to the number of men and women who may sing and dance. There are two costumed men dressed like women. In Kotkuphix^m mana there is no limit to the number of men who sing and dance, but the women do not join them. Yāmīy (I) is sung by two costumed actors. The other men and women do not join in the singing and dancing. In 'Īpkoxxexka (A-13) an unlimited number of men sing and dance with four supernatural beings. In Kotkuphixnāg (C-2) six costumed actors sing and dance, and an unlimited number of women join them. In Kugmax tut (C-32) two supernatural beings sing and dance and the Maxakalí do not join them.

MUSIC

At the writing of this paper, seventy ritual songs have been tape-recorded and several items about them were studied, including group and sub-group information, message of the songs, time of singing, participants, acts in the ritual, nature of the supernatural beings, and the aim of the ritual. Some findings are given here.

Categories of the messages of the seventy songs, and the number of songs in each category, are as follows:

A story about the supernatural beings	24 songs
Supernatural beings call Maxakalí to bring the feast and offering	20 songs
Maxakalí invite supernatural beings to the feast and offering	9 songs
As above, plus Maxakalí ask supernatural beings for help	3 songs
Maxakalí ask supernatural beings for help	2 songs
Supernatural beings call animals (to kill them for feast)	1 song
Maxakalí simply call supernatural beings to come	1 song
Men call women to the ritual	1 song
Supernatural beings call Maxakalí to dance	1 song
Supernatural beings command other supernatural beings to go	1 song

No more than one song per sub-group has been recorded. But three songs are found in the group ritual. Of these one is a xānā'ax 'call' of the group, another is a ka'ax 'end' or farewell to the group, and the other is the song of the group. Each song of the seventy averages forty seconds in length.

The men often sing loudly, and at times can be heard up to two miles away even if only a half-dozen are singing. They make full use of the resonant cavities, but also often muffle their voices by putting their arm in front of their mouths and by closing their lips more than they do for speaking. A chest pulse beat is a common feature.

Song language is divided into three categories:

1. Common, present-day Maxakalí expressions, 2. Expressions that occur only in songs, myths, and legends, and are referred to as mōnāyxop 'āktux 'ancestor language'. These expressions are in the same sound system as the common language, and have modern, every-day Maxakalí equivalents. 3. A small repertoire of nonsense syllables are of a sound system different from the above two categories. Phonetically, they are as follows: [bi.a.i], [bi.aⁱ], [aⁱo], [i.a], [o.a], [i], [o], [ɛ̃], [hai], [m^hbo]

Of the seventy songs mentioned, 66 contain at least some of these nonsense

syllables. All possible combinations of the three features may occur in one song.

The following three musical transcriptions² are illustrative of Maxakalí melody. Mómáxxop (E) represents a souls-of-the-dead group song, Hemex (G-7) a sub-group, and Topaxax (E-9) a song that is no longer sung in ritual context. The three categories of song language are printed as follows: 1. Common, present-day expressions in lower case type, 2. ancestral language in italics, and 3. nonsense syllables in small capitals. The first two categories are written in the practical alphabet and the third is written phonetically. The same sounds separated by hyphens indicates chest pulse beats. For example, 'o - o - o' represents three chest pulse beats along with the 'o' sound.

pages 32, 33, 34, and 35 are
the music sheets

Mõmõkaxop (E)

$\text{♩} = 66-80$



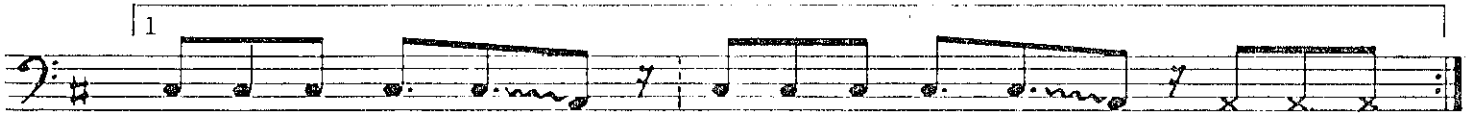
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Hemex (G7)

$\text{♩} = 72-80$

Musical staff 1: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

koí - xex - ka - nix mū yōg pu-tu - x-muk-xo - op

Musical staff 2: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

mō - yā - nām nā - mīx pu-tu - x-muk-xo - op

Musical staff 3: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

mō - yā - nām nā - mīx 0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 10 - 0 - 0

Musical staff 4: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

A - I A - I 0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 10 - 0 - 0

Musical staff 5: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

A - I A - I 0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 10 - 0 0 BI - A - I

Musical staff 6: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 10 - 0 - 0 BI - A - I

Musical staff 7: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 - 1 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 - 1

Musical staff 8: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

0 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 0 1 - 1 - 1 - 1

Musical staff 9: Treble clef, G7 chord, melody with triplets and slurs.

10 - 0 - 0 1 - 1 - 1 - 10 - 0 A - A - 0 - 0

Торпaxax (E8)

♩ = 72-76

mī-ī-mā - nām tu - u To - pa - a xax 'ā - ā - xup

mī-ī-mā - nām tu - u mīm - yī - ĭ xax 'ō - ō - nām

To - pa xax 'ā - xup mīm - yīy xax 'ōm - nām

To - pa xax 'ā - xup

mīm - yīy xax 'ōm - nām 0 - 0 - 0

mīm - yīy xax 'ā - xup 0 - 0 - 0

mīm - yīy xax 0 - OI HA I BO

DANCING

Certain ceremonial dances will be described as illustrations of the varieties of dances that exist throughout yamīyxop.

In Mōmōkaxop (E), Mōmōkahnāg (E-5) the men embrace in couples, side by side with the couples next to them and forming a circle. The women lock arms and hold hands in back with the second woman over and thus form a circle around the men.

In Xūnnīm (G), Mūnūynāg (G-34) the men hold the waist of the man in front of him, and facing forward form a line. The women attach themselves in the same manner to the end of this line. The line moves forward and weaves in and out. Forward motion is made with short jumps with feet together.

In Kotkuphix (C), Kotkup^{na} mana' (C-8) the man dance only in the religious house. They hold bows and arrows vertically in front of them, near the body, thrust them out about a foot and bring them back against the body. They give two slight knee bends while on one foot and repeat the same for the other foot. The men dance separately and move back and forth across the religious house. Women do not dance.

In Putuxop (F), Kexnāg (F-6) the men stand side by side in a circle, bend to the right at the waist and bend the right knee slightly and then do the same to the left. The line does not move. The women form a line around the men and facing them. They stand side by side holding the waist of the woman next to them. They move to one side with short side steps alternating with slight knee bends.

In Yāmīy^k kup^x xahix^x xop (H), Hemex (H-7) both men and women dance separately and at random extending right palm up while on the left foot and left palm up while on the right foot.

In Kotkuphix xohix xop (C), Kotkuphix xexka (C-4) the men dance in the religious house single file with a bundle of bows and arrows over their shoulders. The women do not dance.

In Mīxux xop (D), Xokxanok (D-7), the men dance single file with a stick suspended from shoulder to shoulder with ears of corn and bags of potatoes

oranges, rice and beans hanging from the sticks. The women do not dance.

OFFERINGS AND FEASTS

Offerings and feasts are related; the Maxakalí first ritually offer food to supernatural beings, and then join them in eating the offerings. On the other hand, some offerings are not foods; they are simply offered and not returned.

A specific list of offerings are given in each ceremony. For example, the offering for Hemex (G-7) is chicken, rice, bananas, watermelon, manioc flour patties, and coffee. For Mũnũy (A-6) it is honey. For Xũnnĩm (G), it is a banana drink made of mashed bananas and water.

A composite list of offerings is as follows: Fruits and vegetables include sugar cane, bananas, oranges, papaya, pineapples, watermelon, potatoes, manioc, manioc flour patties, yams, rice, and beans. Meat offerings include armadillo, cutia, wild pig, deer, monkey, chicken, tapir, capibara, dry meat of various sorts, variety of fish, and variety of birds. Drink offerings include potato soup, banana drink, corn soup, honey, and sugar cane juice. Non-food offerings include cigarettes, bags, and money.

Some foods as rice, beans, and coffee are given even though they are considered Topa's gift to the national Brazilians and are not "Maxakalí foods".

When the women give offerings, they usually stand on the perimeter of the dance area. The costumed actors run out of the religious house, receive the offering, and bring it back to the religious house. In the Hemex (G-7) ritual, the women throw the water offering from gourds at the costumed actors. In the religious house, the men share the food offerings with the supernatural beings, and then give some back to the women. In the Xamok (I-19) ritual, the manioc flour patties are thrown to the women and girls. In some rituals, the women bring food offerings to the center of the dance area where they are eaten.

EXAMPLES OF RITUAL

Three rituals are described: Mõmõkaxop (E), Mĩxux (D-1), and Yãmĩy (I).

The Mōmōkaxop (E) ritual is often held in September to promote dry weather favorable for burning off the fields in preparation for planting. The time is generally from about 7:30 to 8:30 P. M. The men gather in the religious house and make koxuyux hats. Five men begin to sing quietly, and go out to the dance area; others join until there are about twenty. While singing, the men shift their weight alternating from one foot to the other, but not in rythm with each other. ^{Fig. 10.} Some costumed actors join them and beat time with rattles. While singing, the men begin to dance in couples, one mounting the extended upper leg of the other. ^{Fig. 10.} Then the women form part of a circle around and facing the men. They hold hands in back with the second person over. ^{Fig. 11.} The line increases until two thirds of a circle is formed. Then with one short step to one side, and two steps to the other side, the line moves around the men. Men pass through from the outside, through the break in the women's line, and join the men's group in the center. While dancing, the women join in singing, with the men. The ritual closes this way without a feast or offering.

p 29 - M... ..

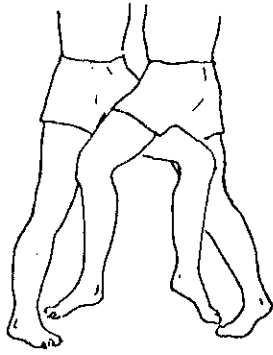


Fig. 10
Mōmōkaxop Men's Dance

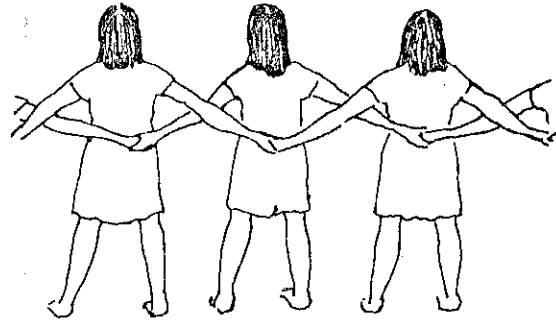


Fig. 11
Mōmōkaxop Women's Dance

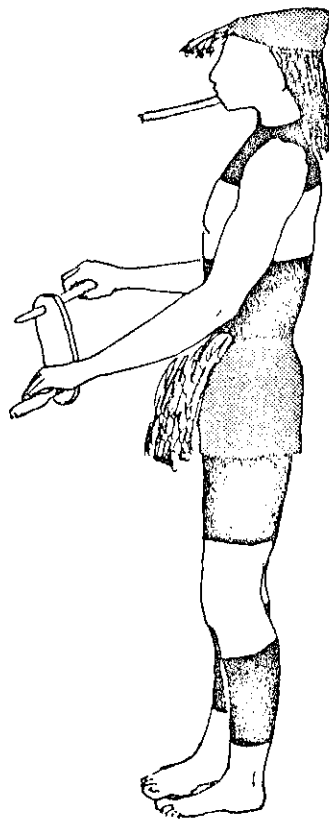


Fig. 12
Mixux xop

Costumed
Actor

The M̄ixux Xop (D-1) ritual is often celebrated in October. One purpose of the ritual is to bring rain for planting. Another purpose is to gain help from these supernatural beings in fighting 'Inm̄oxa. The time is approximately from 5 P. M. to 6:30 P. M. Some old dried corn is still standing in the field.

Eight costumed actors are dressed alike, but with three different skin designs. Their dress consists of ceremonial wigs covered with red scarves under which are ticked leaves over their foreheads. They wear red trunks with leaves tucked under their front belt lines and hanging down. Six of them consisting of two men and four boys about twelve years old, have their skin marked with wide horizontal stripes of black from charcoal alternating with off-white from ashes, ^{Fig. 12.} One man is marked with six black round spots about four inches in diameter. Two spots are high on his chest, two at mid-chest, and two just above the waist. Another man is painted red all over with annatto. All eight costumed actors have xokupxox whistles in their mouths and m̄im̄ā'īn cranks in their hands. The other men sing in the religious house, outside of the half-circle of houses, and through the cornfield all the while blowing their whistles for a second at one-second intervals and making squeaking sounds with their cranks. They return from the corn fields, dance a while in the dance area, and enter the religious house. This is repeated several times.

Supernatural beings in M̄ixux like corn and are likely to be in the corn field. The dancers go out to the field to get the M̄ixux to help in a battle with 'Inm̄oxa.

The Yāmiy (I) ritual is often held in January. The approximate time is 6:30 P. M. to 7:30 P. M. An arc of leaves stands alongside the religious house.

The ruling elder makes a hooting sound with his arm in front of his mouth. This is to call the men to the religious house. The men come and sing softly.

Costumed actors wear wigs under red scarves. They are marked with six spots (black) on their chests and diagonal black lines on their lower legs.

Then some girls, about twelve years old, standing on the perimeter of the dance area shout, and the two men race out of the religious house, through the arc to one of the girls who is holding out an offering in each of her hands. Each man takes an offering, makes a squeaking sound, races back through the arc to the religious house. The men in the religious house eat some of the offering. The other girls shout, 'Üxeheh!' 'again', and it is repeated until all the girls that want to, have given their offerings.

The offerings consist of sugar cane, manioc, manioc flour, and manioc flour patties. The purpose is to obtain fertility for the girls getting married.

SEX, SACRIFICE, AND DRUGS

Several men have reported that some sexual intercourse accompanies certain rituals. A costumed actor, after he has performed his ritual duties, may slip out of the religious house, to go to the house of an unmarried girl and there have sexual intercourse with her. In the Kũmẽ'ẽm (I-17) ritual, one man sings in the dance area while single women dance around him trying to arouse him sexually. He then goes to one of their houses and has sexual intercourse. Also in that ritual, four supernatural beings are said to have relations with unmarried women. In this case, it is said that no pregnancy results.

There is evidence that more than one hundred years ago child sacrificess were demanded by and granted to Kotkup Mãnã' (C-8) with anthropophagic participation by the Maxakalí. The Yãmĩyxop Yĩkox (J) song tells about child sacrifice.

There is also evidence of hallucinogenic drugs having been used in the Mĩxux (D) ceremonies, taken by smoking and drinking.

MYTHS

It has been stated that a fair percentage of Yãmĩyxop songs tell stories about supernatural beings. Often myths tell the same story only in more detail. The two go hand-in-hand to give a fuller knowledge of the supernatural beings.

Illegal Use of Supernatural Beings

An individual who performs a private ritual to get the supernatural beings to harm someone, is treated as an outlaw and must be killed. Accusations of such practices are much alive today, and in recent years several have been killed as a result.

The practice is called 'ūxut mīhīm 'take out wood', mīm mīy, 'make wood', or mīm xax 'tree bark'.

There are two general methods used: 1. A container is used, like a clay pot, hollowed out log, bamboo section, or a hole in the ground. Food offerings for supernatural beings are put into the container. Human excreta may be added to kill with diarrhea. Dry grass and wood sticks are put over this, and then some mud to cover it. The container is placed along a path where the victim is known to pass, and the grass and sticks are lit on fire. It is thought that the supernatural beings will leave with the smoke, and if the victim passes through the smoke, he will die. 2. In the other method, the performer shoots snake fangs through a straw in the direction of the victim while saying, Kāyānox tep-top 'snake, bite!'. A snake then is believed to bite the victim.

FOOTNOTES




¹ Maxakalí is a tribe of about 400 Amerindians living in Brazil in the northeast part of the state of Minas Gerais, at 16° 54' lat. and 40° 39' long. Located in the colonial section of Brazil, the tribe has had long contact with the national culture, yet the tribe has a surprisingly high degree of mono-lingualism. The Maxakalí language is in the Macro-Jê family. Field work was done by the author and his wife, Frances, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in accordance with its contract with the Fundação Nacional do Índio.

² These transcriptions, made by Thomas Avery, ethnomusicologist, with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, are based on performances of two Maxakalí men, Capa Onça and João Cascorado, singing together. The performances were not recorded in the context of the ceremonies of which they would normally be a part, but were sung at the request of the author. In the normal context, both Mômõkaxop and Hemex are sung by all the men and women as they dance, the women in a circle around the men grouped in the middle. According to the information given about Topaxax, which is part of a ceremony that is no longer performed, only the men sang as the women and children danced around them. The Mômõkaxop and Hemex are both accompanied by the playing of the gourd rattles by two men. During the singing of Mômõkaxop the wooden crank device called mĩmẽ'ĩn, which produces a squeaking noise, is played by from two to four men. This noise making is more a part of the religious ceremony, however, than an accompaniment to the music. In a similar way, whistles are blown by from two to four men during the singing of Hemex. Both the crank and the whistle are also sometimes used as part of a religious ceremony completely apart from singing.

In group singing there is also the optional use of harmony, which...in the few examples heard by the transcriber, was for the most part a reduplication of the melody a perfect fifth higher.

The transcriptions do not represent all the detail that could be represented by this type of musical notation, but do show the larger features...particularly form and melodic contour, elements of more interest in relation to this article. The basic principle used was to write repetitions of the same phrase or similar melodic structures in the same way each time each occurred. Thus, details of melodic and rhythmic variation do not obscure the pattern of larger structures.

Phrase divisions were indicated by a broken bar line. No measure divisions are indicated because the underlying pulse was not always exactly regular and no meter was clearly established. Other symbols used are:

♯ ...sprechstimme, like singing of indefinite pitch;  ... glissando;  ...a short upglide;  ...an inverted mordent that is always an alteration of the written note with the note one half-step above.

The messages of the songs are as follows:

1. Mōmōkaxop This song is composed completely of nonsense syllables, yet the general message as explained by the singers is that the Maxakalí are calling the Mōmōkaxop supernatural beings to come to the feast.

2. Hemex Begins with common everyday language.

Kotxexkanix mū yōg (another name for Xūnnīm, the group name)
we possessive

'Xūnnīm is ours'. Then follows some ancestral expressions.

Putuxmūkxop mōyānām nāmīx 'The glow worms are glowing': Then follows nonsense syllables. The general message as given by the singers is Xūnnīm group souls calling the Maxakalí to prepare the feast for the Hemex sub-group souls.

3. Topaxax Starts with everyday language.

Mīmānām tu Topa xax 'āxup. 'Topa's clothes you are hanging
religious-pole on Topa clothes you-hang

on the religious pole.' This is followed by a variation of a similar expression using some ancestral expressions.

Mīmānām tu mīmyīxax 'ōnām 'your clothes hang on the religious
religious-pole on clothes you-hang

pole'. The story is about Topa leaving his clothes on the religious pole in protest of the Indians going naked.