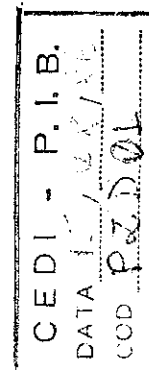


Arquivo SA
Levantamento: Situação Atual das Populações Indígenas
no Brasil - Krenakôre (Kren Akarore) por

The name "Kren Akarore" ~~designated~~ is now the most common denomination for the Panará (auto-denomination). ~~The group~~ *Stephan Schwartzman*
The name is variously given as Kren Akorore, Kreen Akarore, Kren Akarore, all of which represent versions of a Kayapo name meaning "round head", referring to the traditional Panará haircut. However, the people themselves and other xinguanos say "Krenakôre". The Krenakôre now live in a single village in the Xingu National Park.

All members of the group speak Krenakôre, a Northern Gê language. Most ~~xxx~~ Krenakôre know at least a few words and phrases of Portuguese, such as names of trade goods, fish, and animals, but only two young men speak notably more than this. These two speak fluent xinguan Portuguese, the lingua franca of the PNX, which has a vocabulary and grammatical structure different from standard Portuguese. Most of the young men and women speak either Suya or Txucahamãe, related Gê languages spoken by groups in the Park with whom the Krenakôre lived after their arrival. In fact everyone except two or three of the oldest people speak enough of both of these languages for basic hospitality and food exchange, and most young people can converse on simple subjects in one or another of these languages, while there are at least six individuals who speak one or another fluently. They are used in intertribal visits and exchanges. Amongst themselves, the people invariably speak Krenakôre, although Suya, Txucahamãe or Portuguese may be used when recounting events in which one of these languages was spoken.

The Krenakôre village is located on a small branch of the Xingu River, about two hours by canoe upstream from the mouth of the Suya Missu (two hours descending, or four hours ascending). The village is about a half-hour by canoe off the main channel of the Xingu, in a heavily forested area selected for having a relatively large amount of good land suitable for the varied agriculture practiced by the Krenakôre.



There are seventy-six people living in the Krenakôre village (as of October 1981) according to my last count. Of these, thirty-five are men and forty-one women, with twenty adult ~~women~~ and twenty-seven adult women, and fifteen boys and fourteen girls. There are thirteen Krenakôre who live outside of the village. Of these, six live in the Kayapo village Kretire, one in Jarina, one each in Mekranoti and Kubenkranken, one in the Suya village and one in the Kayôbi village Prepuri. In addition, two children were removed from the group in their traditional homeland in the Peixoto de Azevêdo during the contact by a pilot from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and are said to be living in the United States. Of the eleven living in other villages, all but two are now adults and most are married and probably will not take up residence in the Krenakôre village on a permanent basis.

Since the Krenakôre have no indigenous system of counting large numbers, and no census was taken before the group was ravaged by disease in the contact, pre-contact population figures are only approximations. Luis Beltrão, in O índio, um mito brasileiro, gives a figure of 1,500 people before contact (ie, pre-1972), which is the highest figure I know of. Richard Heelas, in his thesis, Social Organization of the Panará, a Gê Tribe of Central Brazil (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oxford University, 1979) estimates that there were between 425 and 525 people. My estimation is that there were probably around 525. Linguistic evidence discovered by Heelas in the nineteenth century traveller's reports of St. Hilaire and Pohl suggests that the Krenakôre may represent the last remaining branch of the group known as Southern Cayapo, a little known group thought to have been extinct which once occupied an immense region in southern Goiás and Matto Grosso. If this is so, the present population would represent an even smaller fraction of the "original" population.

The Krenakôre village is constructed in the typical Gê village style, with houses arranged in a circle around a large well-cleared plaza facing the center of the plaza. While this is the traditional village structure, there are no mens' houses in the center of the plaza as there were in traditional villages, and the houses are not built in traditional style. The type of construction used by Krenakôre is found all over the north of the Xingu and is said by them to be Kayabi in origin. The houses are rectangular and completely enclosed by log walls, with peaked roofs thatched with inaja palm .

~~The traditional type of house construction featured a homogenous frame of bent saplings, with a curved roof, covered all over with 'wild banana' leaves, rather than the log frame and ridge pole form now in use. Thatching is done with the inner bark of a common tree, as is much of the frame construction, although some supports and/or wall logs in the walls may be nailed on. Krenakôre say that while their traditional type of house construction was superior in that it kept out rain better than the present type, there are very few of the correct kind of leaves used for covering, so they have adopted the new form.~~

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Between three and seventeen people may live in a house, with the median being nine people. Houses are organized as matrilineal extended families, that is, as groups of sisters with their mothers and children, plus husbands who marry in from other matrilineal groups. Each house belongs to one of the four clans (matrilineal groups--all Krenakôre belong to their mothers' clans, and must marry someone of another clan) and all the houses of a given clan are usually together in one part of the circle of houses. Women remain in their mothers' houses throughout their lifetimes, while men traditionally would move to one of the two mens' houses (located in the center of the plaza) at about ten years of age, and

remain there until marriage at 16-18 years, then moving to the wife's house. The people say that since there are so few boys of the age for mens' house residence (in fact only four) they do not build mens' houses. The two ceremonial societies associated with the men's houses and having the same names as these still exist however. The central village plaza is still used as though the mens houses were there, in that it is still the priveleged space for dancing, singing, oratory, collective distribution of meat and fish and ceremonial foods, and collective eating by the men on ceremonially marked occasions.

The Krenakôre now depend on FUNAI for medical assistance and trade goods necessary for their continued survival. Their relatins with the FUNAI personell at PI Diauarum have been of great importance since their arrival in the park in 1975. The Post is the key point of articulation of the Krenakôre with the national society. At Diauarum there is an airstrip, radio (which communicates with other posts in the Park and indirectly with Brazilia and São Paulo), pharmacy, a number of motor boats, a truck, and buildings whilg house FUNAI officials and visitors to the post, as well as the houses of families of Kayabi, Suya, and Juruna who live in the post some or all of the time. The chief of the post and ~~three~~^{four} other paid employees are Indians, and there are four or five other Indians who serve as auxiliaries without pay, helping in the pharmacy, operating motor boats, cooking for ~~other~~^{the} employees and visitors to the post. In the year that I was there a nurse and a ~~teacher~~ teacher were the only permanent non-indian residents of the post, although other nurses, doctors, the director of the park, and other employees of FUNAI passed through the post at various times. The "permanenet" population of the post was augmented the commencement of literacy classes in September of 1980, when around fifty Kayabi, Suya, and Juruna (and one Krenakôre) moved to the post to go to school. This increase intensified the character of Diauarum as a center of "Xinguano" cultureq

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that is, as the place where a developing community of people from various different groups live and where important inter-tribal events take place, including meetings on matters of general interest, inter-tribal football games, and inter-tribal manioc beer festivals.

Probably the most important single service provided by FUNAI is medical assistance. There was almost always a nurse at the post, a dentist for about six months, and a doctor in the Park for about six months. The pharmacy was usually well-stocked with anti-malarials and antibiotics and other basic medicines, and by and large reasonable efforts were made to evacuate the more serious cases to hospitals in the city. Also, the team of Dr. Baruzzi from the St Paul Medical School visited the area four times to do vaccinations, which were carried out as thoroughly and conscientiously as the conditions would permit. The usual pattern is for people who are sick to go to the post for treatment, and on several occasions almost the entire village was in the post for treatment. The ^{Krenakore} people have mixed feelings on medical assistance at the post. While they realize very well the importance of western medicines in treating western diseases (such as colds, flu, pneumonia), which had disastrous effects on the group previously, living in post for more than a few days at a time is a hardship, since they have no gardens there. In addition, the difficulties of cross-cultural communication at times led them to believe that the nurse was "angry" and hence to stay away from the post. More generally, western medicine has such great efficacy in some cases that it becomes difficult for Krenakore to understand why it is not administered indiscriminately for all complaints and hence suspicions arise that the nurse or doctor is withholding treatment. Despite these difficulties, the Krenakore usually actively seek medical care in cases of illness.

In 1980-81 the school in Diauarum provided a further focus of activity in the Post. Initially two Krenakore men

attended the beginning literacy class, but one dropped out after several months. There were initially some seventy students, Kayabi, Suya, and Juruna, including an advanced class of people with some previous exposure to reading and writing. The teacher, Mariana Leal Ferreira, studied Kayabi and began teaching Kayabi children to read and write in Kayabi after about eight months in Diauarum.. The school was a great success. Initial response to the idea was overwhelming, and many more people wanted to study than was possible with only one teacher. While the classes were very effective both on the advanced and beginning levels, the Krenakôre who attended had considerable difficulties after the initial stages, because of their limited and phonetically imperfect Portuguese. (Such difficulties were in fact common to all those with relatively limited Portuguese).

The Artindia program is also in operation in the area, or at any rate, the groups in the area make and sell goods for the program. The Krenakôre made their first large scale attempt to participate in this program during my stay. One previous attempt had been made when the young man who acts as intermediary for the group sold three clubs through the director of the park. Probably because of the Krenakôre's lack of understanding of market values of trade goods and handicrafts, and of market exchange in general, people were ~~generally~~ dissatisfied with this experience. Since the whole question of access to a regular supply of trade goods is such an important and problematic one for the Krenakôre, there was much discussion of the proposal to make goods for Artindia (a proposal made by me, but also prompted by seeing other groups participate in the program). At the point at which I left, a large quantity of goods (some 25 clubs, 80 baskets, and several bows and arrows, feather headdresses, and a large number of tucum necklaces) had been made, and a small part of this production had been

sold in Brasilia by the young man who is the ~~chief~~ ^{main} intermediary for the group. By far the greater part of the goods was still with two other men in Diauarum waiting for transport to the city, by the time I left. Judging from the part that was sold, the total quantity of goods should net an impressive quantity of trade goods, and with proper care in buying, could go far to meet the immediate needs of the Krenakôre. Since there is much interest in selling goods, and people going to the city for medical treatment have priority, there are always more people hoping for a place on any given airplane than there are places, and one can wait two or three months to get one's material out to the city. The Krenakôre have the further problem that while trade goods of all kinds are very highly valued, there exists no standard of equivalence for handicrafts and trade goods, and no central authority to centralize production of handicrafts and distribution of trade goods. The intermediary is a young man, with none of the traditional qualifications for the status of elder, who is furthermore justly accused of trying to accumulate a disproportionate share of trade goods for himself and his family. The men and women who ~~are~~ are elders, however, speak no Portuguese and are generally ~~w~~less willing to interact with white people on a sustained basis, and even they do not have ~~auth~~ authority to oversee distribution of trade goods and resolve disputes. Their authority traditionally consisted in their command over formal oratorical speech, which involves moral injunction (ie, husbands and wives should not fight, plant large gardens so that food will be plentiful), but, as the Krenakôre often point out, there are very few elders in the Xingu, owing to ~~massive epidemics~~ massive epidemics in the Peixoto. And in any case, the relationship between traditional moral exhortation and political power is a tenuous one- all questions of collective interest, including performance of rituals, collective

labor, interpretation of information, are discussed and negotiated by all the adults of the group. If one disagrees with a collective decision, he may simply not participate in whatever action is taken. For example, when virtually all the men decided to clear new gardens collectively, ~~as~~ in ~~the~~ the traditional ~~method~~ way, one man continued making his own garden and refused to participate. There was no effort made to censure him, or compel him to join the other men, although all the other men agreed that the correct way of doing the work was for all the men to work together. Under such circumstances the potential for discord is immense. Traditionally, all productive tools and valuables were equally accessible to all members of the group, at least within the appropriate age categories (for example, all adult men knew and still know how to make bows.) But trade goods present a large array of different goods, all of which are relatively scarce in the Xingu, but which white people appear to have unlimited access to. Dealing with these goods thus presents the Krenakôre with a sense of their own poverty relative to the national society, and at the same time, introduces the possibility of wealth distinctions previously unthinkable. In the best possible outcome, participation in the Artindia program could give the Krenakôre a measure of control over trade goods that they want and need, and which represent status in the inter-tribal politics of the Xingu. But it is also possible that low prices, careless buying, or attempts at self-aggrandizement on the part of the intermediary, could lead to internal fights and increased dependence on "gifts" from FUNAI to meet present needs.

There are no missionaries now working in the Xingu, but there were personell from the Summer Institute of Linguistics at least temporarily associated with the contacting teams in the Peixoto de Azevedo. Also, some individuals have had ~~relations~~ ^{contacts} with Summer Institute of Linguistics people in Brasilia while there for Medical

treatment. All of these contacts have^{been} sporadic, and have left little lasting impression on the Krenakore.

As was mentioned above, a school was started in Diauarum in September of 1980 and ~~continued at least~~ ^{still functions.} ~~until January of 1982, and may still be functioning today.~~ The school ~~is~~ operates in a large house in the Post, furnished with tables and benches, a blackboard, and reading materials furnished by the teacher, who ~~either~~ produced most of the materials herself and mimeographed them. These consisted in a reader (cartilha) in introductory Portuguese, designed to introduce the idea of the syllable, then of the sound-values of letters, through exposure to familiar words, and texts of stories, myths, historic and contemporary events told by the students in class. The teacher was preparing a Kayabi reader in October 1981 when I left the Park. The school was founded on her initiative, but was a terrifically popular idea once initiated, and ~~may have been~~ ^{was} preceded by requests for education. The school has only Indian students, and the teacher did all of the teaching while I was there. Her plan to continue the project was to train teachers from those who had already learned how to read and write and equip them with a reader so that the school could continue to function after she left. While the school is in session, there ~~were~~ morning and afternoon sessions five days a week, and there were recesses in the schedule for clearing and planting of gardens, or occasionally for the professor's trips to the city (once every six months). An advanced class of people who already knew how to read was held less regularly, according to the inclination of the class members. The school was flexible, conforming to the economic and ritual requirements of the groups attending classes. Only men attended class (among the adults) and there were some 70 students, plus eleven Kayabi children

~~and~~ including three girls. The professor had originally planned to offer a class for adult Kayabi women (since only a handful of women speak Portuguese) but abandoned this idea ~~due to~~ ^{due to} lack of interest. Reading, writing, and basic arithmetic were taught, with the advanced class studying more complicated arithmetic (long division, multiplication) and some history, ^{and} geography,

From September 1980 until October 1981 there were eight ^{Krenakore} children born. Two were born with umbilical hernias, and one ^{was} crooked in the womb, which made the birth very difficult. (This last child was in fact delivered by a doctor who happened to be passing through Diauarum, the only occasion when a doctor ^{had} attended any of these births.) Aside from the one birth in the pharmacy at the Post, and one which took place in the Krenakore house at the post, all births were in the village, in the mothers' houses. Women either give birth alone, or in the company of an older woman, preferably the mother. Childcare is shared among the mother and her classificatory mothers and sisters starting at birth. As far as I know the Krenakore have no form of birth control and do not practice infanticide. Babies breast feed either until they voluntarily stop (which can be after two years) or until another child is born.

In the year that I was there four people, all children, died. One child died within 24 hours of birth, one died because of complications arising from a cyst on the testicle, at about one week of age, one died of pneumonia in Brasilia (having been evacuated from the Park with whooping cough), ~~and another~~ ^{and another} about a month ^{of age}, and one died of unspecified gastrointestinal problems while en route to the hospital in São Felix de Araguaia, at slightly over a year of age. In recent years (that is, since 1970,) =the most common cause of death has ~~been~~ probably been pneumonia. Among children, the most common diseases are worms, colds, malaria, gastro-

intestinal problems, pneumonia, and various epidemic diseases, such as whooping cough. The same diseases also affect the adults.

Various health workers serviced the Krenakôre in the time I passed with them. There was a nurse and a dentist at the post initially, who had worked in the area for about two years, and who left after some six months. There was then a nurse who had ~~also~~ worked in the area for about a year, who left and was replaced ~~by~~ at the end of September 1981. The equipe volante was active in the area for a brief period, doing vaccinations (see section on Kayabi for ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ the activities of this group) ~~and this~~ but was replaced around June of 1981 by a doctor based in BI Leonardo. The nurse and dentist who were there when I arrived had excellent relations with not only the Krenakôre, but with the other groups in the area as well. The nurse who then took over maintained good relations with the people, until the whooping cough epidemic in March of 1981. The doctor of the equipe volante was eventually held responsible for the deaths of ten children from the Suya, Krenakôre, and Kayabi, and was fired after a meeting in Diauarum between the director of the Park, a representative of the Divisão de Saude, and members of the groups affected by the epidemic. (see section on Kayabi) The nurse at Diauarum was also accused of negligence, but indians at the post who had worked in the pharmacy with her, as well as some others, supported her and laid the blame for the deaths on the doctor. However, several months later a conflict between the nurse and several individuals living in the post over whether or not they could live in the building then serving as the cookhouse for the post led to a confrontation, and the nurse left. The Krenakôre in particular had relatively good relations with this nurse, but some members of the group held her responsible for the death of the one-year old boy who died in April of 1981 (despite the fact that this child was also treated by members of the Baruzzi team). This of course led to reluctance on the part of these people to take children to the post to be treated by her, or to go themselves, and indicates an area of inherent

difficulties in health care of indigenous groups. While Krenakôre have a good understanding of the efficacy of Western medicine, their traditional understanding of the etiology of most serious disease, and especially disease which leads to death, is based on a theory of witchcraft. There is thus a tendency to hold some person, identified or not, responsible for deaths, and in this case the parents of the child who died and certain of their kin held that the nurse was responsible. This created a potentially explosive situation, and led to a meeting in the village with the chief of the Post and the director of the Park. Perhaps one reason why the situation remained at the level of oratory and threats was that no consensus was reached as to who was responsible for the death. Some maintained that it was the nurse, while others held that members of other groups had bewitched the child, and the young men who interpret for the group said at least at times, that sickness had killed the child, following the "medical" interpretation. It is also relevant that there are no shamans in the present Krenakôre village (it is said that all the shamans died during the contact), since they had, among other powers, the ability to see witches. So no definitive identification of the person responsible for the death was made, and the situation resolved itself for the time being. Since witchcraft beliefs and practices are common among indigenous groups, it can be expected that such problems are not confined to the Xingu. Furthermore, the very efficacy of western medicine creates contradictions for groups like the Krenakôre, since it is very difficult to explain why medical treatment works sometimes and not others. Since they have no effective grasp of the principles of western medicine, and also (understandably) a limited comprehension of the health worker's motives for doing the work to begin with, suspicions of negligence, or withholding of treatment, often arise. In the case of the Krenakôre such suspicions are particularly unremarkable given the recent history of the group. I ~~ask~~ was frequently asked to explain

why no doctor had treated them in the Peixoto when epidemics were rampant and pneumonia was decimating the population, which the Krenakôre contrast with the effective medical care they received on arrival in the Xingu. The principles on which medical care is offered thus remain obscure and problematic to the Krenakôre.

Other groups that furnish medical assistance in the area are Dr Baruzzi's team from the Escola Paulista de Medicina and UAIE (?= the national tuberculosis control team). The Baruzzi team comes between two and four times a year, and has inoculated all Krenakôre against polio, measles, smallpox, whooping cough, tetanus, and croup. The entire group was examined and vaccinated in 1975 when they arrived in the Park, and children born since have been vaccinated in successive visits of the team. UAIE visits once a year and has vaccinated the group with BCG, and last year took sputum samples from all the adults and x-rays of everyone over about 7 years of age, since tuberculosis had been reported by other doctors who had seen the group. The initial reports turned out to be a misdiagnosis, and only one case of t.b. (which had been previously diagnosed in Brasilia) was found. The Baruzzi team keeps individual medical records of everyone treated or vaccinated, which are updated on each visit.

Drinking water is abundant, but probably contributes to endemic worm infestation. There is no treatment of excrement, but people generally take care to defecate at some distance from the village. All the houses in the Park are sprayed once every six months with DDT for malaria control, and nurses at the post attest that this is effective in lowering the incidence of malaria. The SUCAM team which does the spraying also does a certain amount of testing for malaria, but this has little effect, since treatment is only given ~~xxx~~ to people having an attack at the time the test is made, and no radical treatment is prescribed in areas where malaria is endemic (such as the Xingu). There is generally a good supply of medicines at the Post, although shortages of various basic medicines happened occasionally. The Indians

do not have direct access to medicines; either the nurse (or a doctor when present) or one of the people who works in the pharmacy administers all remedies. Among the Krenakôre there are no practicing shamans (although there are among other groups in the area), since all of these died in the Peixoto. There are still various traditional remedies in use however. These include various kinds of bloodletting, leaf, root, and bark infusions for pain and fever (usually applied to the affected area and not consumed), and the wrapping of painful areas in bands of the inner bark of a tree. The Krenakôre have also adopted the use of tobacco in extracting bernes, which works very well. They say that this practice was adopted from the Txucahamãe. All adult Krenakôre state clearly that they did not have diseases involving high fever and cough, chest pains, runny nose (presumably pneumonia and the epidemic diseases which give rise to it) until the arrival of the road in their homeland. Some members of the group now refer to this as "white People's disease" but many regard it as a type of witchcraft, and are not certain who the witches responsible were (and are). Some say that the white people are responsible, ~~while~~ others mention other indian groups, but most still maintain that the witches were Krenakôre. There were in fact many witchcraft killings in the Peixoto after the outbreak of epidemic diseases brought by whites, perhaps forty or more, and the Krenakôre maintain that all the witches were killed there and that there are no more in the present village. Since a large majority of the people in the village either participated in witchcraft killings or are related to someone who did, it seems unlikely that this interpretation will fundamentally change in this generation. Nonetheless, some individuals say that it was diseases of white people that killed so many Krenakôre, and many consider this a possibility, but without abandoning the judgement that it was really witchcraft.

The Krenakôre now live in the Xingu National Park, where they were moved in 1975, and while the actual extent of their village and gardens, and even the most commonly used fishing and hunting territories, occupies only a small portion of the total extent of the Xingu Park, the continued existence of the group depends on the security of the land of the whole of the Park. The Park itself is approximately 350,000 square hectares (?) and the area is demarcated. Decrees dealing with the demarcation of the Xingu are: Decreto 50.455 de 14/04/61 DO 14/04/61

Alterações 51.084 de 31/07/61 DO 01/08/61
 63.082 de 06/08/68 " 08/08/68
 68.909 de 13/07/71 " 14/07/71

(source- FUNAI Legislação)

The Krenakôre do not themselves exploit the entire area of the Xingu Park, but their success as subsistence producers as well as the continuity of their culture depends on the the land base of the Park remaining intact. Although the Krenakôre now use fishhooks, shotguns, metal pots, and other trade goods that they did not traditionally, they still depend on fishing, hunting, and slash and burn cultivation for their livelihood, and produce their subsistence through their own labor. Deforestation, road-building, and cattle grazing all are liable to have serious effects on game and fish populations, although the variables controlling game and fish in natural settings are little studied. Perhaps as a result of the development that has already taken place all around the Park, game in particular is much scarcer than it was in the Peixoto de Azevedo. The game supply is also affected by the fact that a relatively large population has lived in a relatively restricted area and hunted with firearms for over a generation- before the arrival of whites, all these groups would have been free to move their villages over a much larger area. Krenakôre stat^e that game was much more plentiful in the Peixoto, and this is confirmed by members of the contacting expeditions, as welllas by Kayabi who lived on the Teles Pires, near the homeland of the Krenakôre. Consequently, the Xingu is already regarded

as an impoverished environment. Fish has largely replaced game as a source of protein, and a whole series of ritual food exchanges are held ~~very~~ infrequently (or are done improperly) because of the difficulty of obtaining meat. In addition, the Krenakôre plant a wide variety of crops which not only add variety and nutritional value to their diet, but also have complex significance in their ritual life, and adequate land for this kind of agriculture is not abundant in the Xingu. The Suya, whose village is only a few hours walk and canoe trip from the Krenakôre, cannot plant peanuts, potatoes or bananas with any success except by making gardens that are hours away from their village by canoe. The traditional xinguano groups living near PI Leonardo in fact plant manioc and pâqui almost exclusively. Probably much more than half the land of the Park would not support the multi-crop agriculture favored by the Krenakôre. As is the case with hunting, the Krenakôre say that their agriculture was more successful in the Peixoto, that the land was better, and that yields were greater. Thus, Krenakôre adaptation to the Xingu has involved a reduction of the group's productive capacity. The amount of good land for agriculture in the Xingu remains undetermined, ~~and~~ does the fallow cycle for the kind of varied agriculture that Krenakôre (and other groups in the north) of the Park) practice. Any hope of maintaining present levels of productive capacity thus depends on ~~the~~ at least the present borders of the Park remaining secure.

The Krenakôre have lived in the Xingu since 1975, when they were removed from their traditional homeland in the Peixoto de Azevedo. Until 1969, they had lived in the region in almost complete isolation from the national society, and with little contact with other indigenous groups. Because the group was known to live in the area where BR 163 (Cuiaba-Santarem highway) was to be constructed, a contacting expedition was organized and led into the area by Claudio Villas Boas. The Krenakôre fled contact, and the expedition was unsuccessful.

Construction on the road proceeded, and sporadic contacts between the Krenakóre and road crews resulted in a few deaths amongx the road workers and the spread of epedemic diseases. A second expedition was organized and made contact in 1972, and a contact post was constructed. Although the area was legally interdicted, given the resources allocated and the presence of the road, it proved impossible to keep the Krenakóre from visiting newly opened ranches and the road itself, where some would stop traffic and ask for clothes, food, and rides to the city. These uncontrolled contacts with outsiders led to massive epedemic diseases, and by 1975 only about 70 Krenakore remained alive, representing as little as 10per cent of the pre-contact population. The decsion was then made to move the group to the Xingu, where better medical assisstance would be availawle, and where contact with outsiders could be better controlled. Two elders were flown to the Xingu to inspect the area, and the group was persuaded to move to the Xingu. It should be recalled that, aside from the disease and rampant at the time, the group was socially disorganized and internally divided. Not only were accusations of witchcraft rife, but opinion was dividid on whether to move to the Xingu or not. When the Krenakóre arrived in Diauarum in 1975, they were demoralized, sick, and disoriented.

After mediaal examination and vaccination in the post, the ~~group~~ ^{people were} settled in the Kayabi village Prepuri, where gardens had been planted for ~~them~~ ^{them}. These were few, however, and were soon exhausted. The Krenakóre entered a period df extreme despondence, faced with and extremely difficult situation. They were hungry, in ~~an foreign~~ ~~territory~~ territory where they did not know how to hunt or fish. The tributaries of the Peixoto de Azevedo are much smaller than the Xingu, and ecological conditions of the rgon are generally quite different. The Xingu area is largely flood plain, and canoes

are a necessity for fishing and transport. The Krenakôre did not make canoes traditionally, nor did they know how to fish with hook and line, or hunt with shotguns (or how to hunt effectively at all in the Xingu, since knowledge of the territory is an important part of hunting in the forest). Furthermore, they had very few trade goods and did not speak Portuguese and were therefore seen as "wild" Indians by the other groups in the Xingu. Since the men were not producing meat or fish, the people depended on the men of other groups for what of these products that they got, and the fish ~~and meat~~ were given to the Krenakôre women. The giving of fish (and meat) by men to women is a basic part of the marriage relationship all over lowland South America, and the Xingu is no exception. It is thus not surprising that many Krenakôre women formed temporary liaisons with men of other groups, and some married out. When the Krenakôre moved from Prepuri to the Txucahamãe village Kretire (apparently the only village in the Park with sufficient gardens to feed so many extra mouths) the situation worsened. The Txucahamãe were traditional enemies of the Krenakôre, and the two groups had raided one another for years. The last raid, in around 1967, was made by Txucahamãe from Mekranoti who had obtained guns, and who killed almost all the adult men of one village. To live in the Kretire was thus itself a ~~kind of~~ defeat, and it was worsened by the incorporation of Krenakôre families into Txucahamãe households, which disrupted the clan-based system of residence. Txucahamãe were quite prepared to absorb the Krenakôre altogether, and went ~~as~~^{so} far as to initiate a number of boys as Txucahamãe. The Krenakôre at this point were extremely depressed, and said frequently that "the Krenakôre are finished".

However, the director of the Xingu Park at the time ~~mainly~~ recognized the seriousness of the situation, and made plans for the people to be removed from Kretire and move to the Suya village. Although some seven people remained in Kretire, conditions improved for the rest in the Suya village. They lived in their own houses outside the Suya village, and in the dry season planted their own gardens. This coincided with a resurgence in the performance of various songs and

dances- mobilizing collective labor for garden clearing in fact forms part of a complex cycle of ritual food exchanges which require the performance of various songs and dances. Although many problems continued, the morale and health of the group improved. It was then decided that a new village should be constructed, a decision made by the Krenakóre on their own initiative. The director of the Park and chief of the post at Diauarum ~~was~~ found a suitable location, and in 1977 the Krenakóre began constructing their own village and extensive gardens. This was evidently crucial in the reconstitution of their traditional culture, which has continued since the building of the village.

There are no invasions of the immediate area of the Krenakóre, but there have been such problems in other areas of the Xingu. The development plans for the area, however, have potentially the gravest of consequences for the Krenakóre and other Xingu groups. The state power company, Electronorte, has plans to build a series of dams for hydroelectric power generating, which would transform the ecology of the region, and would further require the influx of a huge labor force. Electronorte has begun to take readings of the volume of the river at the point where BR-80 crosses the Xingu, and is said to plan to start construction in 1990. What provisions will be made for the indigenous population of the Xingu I don't know. Since the projected dams would turn the river into a series of lakes, the techniques of fishing now in use would presumably become useless, and the subsistence base of all the Xinguano societies would either be transformed or the groups would come to depend entirely on FUNAI for their subsistence. Such a radical transformation of the subsistence base is liable to prove disastrous for the xinguanos.

Contact with regional Brazilian populations is in theory strictly controlled and in practice at least a little difficult. The nearest ranch is several days journey through the forest and while a few young men have visited this ranch to ask for clothes, processed food, and other valued goods,

such visits are not frequent, and may be discontinued altogether if the sale of handicrafts in the city meets the needs of the group. The closest town to the Park is São Jose do Xingu, on BR-80, on the eastern edge of the Park (some 40 kilometers from the Xingu river. Other groups have visited there to sell garden produce and fish~~xxx~~ and buy trade goods, but the Krenakóre have not.

Like the other xinguanos, Krenakóre live off^{of} a mixture of agriculture, fishing, hunting, and collecting. In terms of the absolute number of calories provided, agriculture probably provides most of their sustenance, but fishing certainly provides most of the protein. Agricultural products include manioc, bananas, corn, potatoes and yams, peanuts, squash, watermelon, papaya, and a little sugar cane. The importance of these crops depends upon the time of year, since their maturation cycles tend to be staggered so that they mature at different times. Manioc, however, provides the most steady staple. A variety of animals are hunted, including tapir, deer, pig, capybara, coati, aramadillo, monkey, paca, caiman, and various fowl, with the importance of different species varying seasonally and according to the luck of the hunt. ~~xxx~~ Overall ~~xxx~~ tapir and deer and pig tend to be most common and to provide the most meat. Products collected include arrow cane, caja, inaja, macauba, tucum, mangabeira, and several other forest fruits and nuts, inaja leaves for house construction, turtle eggs (and turtles, both terrestrial and aquatic). Manufactured products include bows and arrows, sleeping mats, baskets, clubs, canoes, a variety of ornaments for dancing, mortar and pestle for processing ~~xxx~~ manioc and corn, cotton yarn, and urucu for body painting. The Krenakóre had a very simple material culture traditionally, and did not make, canoes, ~~xxx~~ hammocks, pottery, or any kind of woven fabric. A number of goods now made both for personal use and for sale, such as tucum necklaces, have been learned from other xingu groups. Some techniques traditionally practiced have been abandoned- for example, making stone axes, for which

raw materials are absent in the Xingu.

Subsistence products are produced for internal consumption for the most part. Men fish and hunt, and clear and plant gardens, while women do all types of food preparation and harvest. Young women may also help in clearing and planting, and may participate in collective fishing with timbo. Women gather many forest fruits and nuts, but mixed groups do this and well. Very often mixed groups collect honey, although it is usually men who cut down the honey-bearing trees. Men may also harvest corn and manioc for ritual purposes. It is usually men who go turtling, but young women may accompany them, and men, women and children all collect turtle eggs. The single largest productive task, the clearing, burning, secondary clearing, and planting of gardens, brings into play a complex cycle of labor and food exchanges. Typically, the collective male labor force clears gardens for individual nuclear families (only married couples have their own gardens, and the gardens are not "owned" in our sense- the application of different forms of labor results in different kinds of rights to the products). The couple whose garden is being cleared will then provide some gift of food for the group which has done the clearing- the man may go fishing, and his wife may make fish and manioc stew, for example. If several families from the same clan-house feast the collective labor force in this way, all the men ~~may~~ may go off to the forest to collect honey for several days and then ~~feast the~~ reciprocally offer a honey feast to that clan. Once the crops have begun to mature, a given family may offer all or part of a given crop (say, corn, or watermelon) to the whole village, which will harvest it all at once for individual family consumption. Then in reciprocity, all the men of the village will go in a collective hunt, while all the women process a huge amount of manioc, to make a giant meat and manioc "pie" when the men return from the hunt, which will be collectively distributed ~~in~~ in honor of the family that originally distributed the crop to the whole village. This system of exchange has further ramifications in the ritual

life of the group, but the important point is that "subsistence production" "ritual" and "food exchange" are not separate spheres of activity; they all form parts of a single system. If, from our point of view, food production is ritualized in the Krenakore system, so is ritual about daily food production.

Food production is not however entirely for internal consumption. Since the founding of the independent Krenakôre village in 1975, agricultural surplus has been produced every year. Some of this has been traded to other groups for trade goods (such as beads), but much has been expended on simple hospitality. Visitors to the village are generously fed, and often given bananas, potatoes, or papayas to take with them, and Krenakôre often bring large quantities of bananas to the post as gifts. Members of other groups also have gotten banana roots to plant, and cara and other crops for seed as well. While the Krenakôre at times feel that their hospitality is being abused, the production of this surplus and its distribution in hospitality represents a huge advance in the groups status vis-a-vis the other groups in the area over their first one and a half years in the Xingu when they were dependent on others for food, and as such has been crucial in their achievement of autonomy.

Of manufactured goods, men make most all of what we would term tools of production, including, canoes, bows and arrows, mortar and pestle, paddles, digging sticks, clubs. Men also make feather ornaments, sleeping mats, baskets, and necklaces of tucum. Women manufacture cotton cord and blocks of urucu. Traditionally, only older women made these goods. Young women nowadays may make tucum necklaces. All of these goods are made for use, but necklaces, featherwork, clubs, bows and arrows, and baskets are also now made for sale in the Artindia program. When I left, the Krenakôre were attempting to get a quantity of material on an airplane (with several men) to sell in FUNAI in Brasilia, but I do not know what the outcome was.