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The Social Organisation of the Panara,  
a Gê Tribe of Central Brazil.

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The Panara, also known as the Kreen-Akarore, are a small Gê-speaking Upland Tropical Forest society of Central Brazil. The tribe inhabited the Peixoto de Azevedo basin in the extreme north of Mato Grosso State, Central Brazil, until 1975, when they were transferred to the Xingu Park, some one hundred and fifty miles to the east. This thesis is based on materials collected over two years of field work with the Panara and is intended as a general ethnography and as a complement to recent Gê research. A central question in Gê studies has been "social organisation" and the principal theme of this thesis is Panara classification of social and spatial categories. The thesis is divided into three parts: in Part I I discuss the historical and physical setting of the society and suggest that the tribe can be classified, at least linguistically, as 'Southern Gê'. Part II is a description of Panara social structure in which I isolate the spatial and genealogical parameters of social classification. This analysis is in part based on observation and genealogical material and in part on Panara conceptualisations and models. A major conclusion of this discussion is that Panara society can be considered as two domains, a 'divided world', represented in village space by a concentric distinction between the categories of 'centre' and 'periphery' - a dualism that pervades Panara thought and which has referents to an 'open ended' series of dichotomies, including 'male': 'female', sacred: profane, and culture: nature. Part III is an examination of the dialectic between these domains in a discussion of two aspects of Panara ritual: horticulture and the food festival cycle. In this analysis I suggest that the interaction between 'centre' and 'periphery' is fundamental to Panara notions of social life as the two are linked in economic, social and biological processes; the 'periphery' articulates the production and disposal of "raw materials", and the 'centre' socialises the 'natural' cycles of production. In the concluding chapter I summarise the principles of Panara social classification as a series of dichotomies which are organised as symmetrical or asymmetrical structures. I further suggest that asymmetrical dichotomies are articulated by the concentric model of space, which is implicitly hierarchical, whereas symmetrical dichotomies are articulated by diametric and quadripartite structures, which are implicitly reciprocal: a distinction that is also apparent in Panara concepts of 'male' and 'female'. To conclude the thesis I briefly refer to selected Gê societies and suggest that these structures, in various forms, are common to the Gê.

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ORTHOGRAPHY

VOWELS

a	as in	sat
a:	as in	fa <u>th</u> er
e	as in	pe <u>n</u>
e:	as in	pa <u>ir</u>
i	as in	si <u>t</u>
i:	as in	se <u>e</u>
o	as in	so <u>ck</u>
u	as in	bo <u>ok</u>
u:	as in	bo <u>ot</u>
ae	as in	ki <u>te</u>

CONSONANTS

b	as in	bo <u>ok</u>
k	as in	ki <u>t</u>
g	as in	g <u>o</u>
h	as in	he <u>ath</u>
l	as in	lu <u>ck</u>
m	as in	mo <u>th</u> er
n	as in	no <u>se</u>
ŋ	as in	to <u>ng</u> ue
p	as in	pe <u>n</u>
r	as in	bo <u>rr</u> ow (lightly rolled)
s	similar to	bo <u>at</u> s
t	as in	tr <u>ue</u>
w	as in	w <u>ir</u> e

## INTRODUCTION

Until 1973 the society under study was known to their northern neighbours and the "civilised world" as the Kreen-Akarore, to their eastern neighbours as the Ipewi, and they referred to themselves as the Panara. Six years later a reappraisal of these terms succinctly summarises the recent history of the society; as Kreen-Akarore, more correctly as kra-iokar<sup>1</sup>, or "people with hair cut round", the Panara now wear shoulder length styles in imitation of other Indians living in the Xingu National Park; as Ipewi, or "men with clubs", the Panara are no longer aggressive and hunt with shot guns; and as Panara, a once powerful and isolated society living in a closed social universe is now a weak, small, one-village community in daily contact with the external world.

The Panara are a Central Brazilian society of the Gê language group (see Map 1), which, after twenty years of suspected existence, was finally contacted in 1973. For this reason the Panara are not included in the corpus of material established on the Gê since the 1940's and a principal aim of this thesis is to present a general ethnography which will be available for future research. Lack of space precludes a detailed comparative study with Gê societies, but as the concepts and ideas of Gê

1 Before contact the Panara were known only by various derivatives of kra-iokar ("people with hair cut round"), a Kayapo term (see Map 1). The spelling of this term has numerous variations including Krenakrore, Kreen-Akarore (Brooks 1973, Davis 1977 and Goodland 1975), and Kreen Akrore (Hanbury-Tenison 1973). The spelling used by FUNAI (National Indian Foundation) is Kreen-Akarore. In this thesis I use the term Panara except in historical contexts.

research form the intellectual background to this thesis, were instrumental in the orientation of field research, and influenced the isolation of specific topics, I will give a brief summary of Gê research to provide some perspective for this thesis.

The Gê were first brought to international anthropological attention through the research and publications of Nimuendajú during the 1930's and the 1940's (the principal publications were in 1939, 1942 and 1946). These materials were edited by R. Lowie in the first comparative account of Gê societies which was included in the major general work on South American cultures - the Handbook of South American Indians (ed. J. Steward 1946 - 1959). Initial anthropological interest was focussed on two unusual features: the societies were technologically impoverished yet showed extremely complex forms of social organisation and, as described by Nimuendajú, one of the societies, the Eastern Timbira, or more specifically the Apinayé, presented a rare example of 'parallel descent'. The second phase of Gê research was directed towards these questions with the "anomaly" of parallel descent being shown to be structurally impossible by Maybury-Lewis (1960a, 1960b, and 1967) and a result of errors in Nimuendajú's field research by da Matta (1974 and 1976).

The question of the richness and complexity of Gê social organisation remained and was further highlighted by Maybury-Lewis's research with the Akwê-Shavante, a Central Gê society, in the 1950's. This interest led to the formation of the Harvard-Central Brazil Project in which members of Harvard University and the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro<sup>1</sup> conducted

<sup>1</sup> Participants in the Harvard-Central Brazil Project included: Jean Carter - the Krikati; J.C. Melatti - the Krabo; Roberto da Matta - the Apinayé; Terry Turner - the Kayapo; J.C. Crocker - the Bororo; Joan Bamberger - the Kayapo; and David Maybury-Lewis - the Akwê-Shavante and the Sherente.

research among a number of Gê societies under the coordination of Maybury-Lewis. During the project and subsequent research a large body of relatively homogeneous material has been collected through the comprehensive study of individual societies. However, the initial hopes of a synthesis and the understanding of the relationship between the constituent Gê societies have not, as yet, materialised; the comparative conclusions of the project in the book Dialectical Societies remain unpublished. In part this problem can be considered as stemming from the very success of the project; the empiricist's dilemma of concentration on individuality has clouded an overall perspective, and in part it has derived from disagreements within the research group over questions of interpretation and emphasis. What has emerged is that the Gê do form a related group at other levels than language and can be considered as 'some form' of continuum in which the divergent forms of social organisation are variations of a 'common' theme. In the wider context of South America, recent research has suggested that the Gê show important differences from the suggested "Lowland South America Culture Area" (Rivière 1976) based on the distribution of "two-line" relationship terminologies and that the Gê societies share a number of common features: the importance of 'space' as a principle of organisation, the rule of matrilineal residence, and the character of subsistence economics. Although it does not pretend to solve these problems, this thesis is directed towards the theme of synthesis and it is hoped that the 'fresh' materials will help in a general understanding of the Gê.

A consistent problem in Gê research has been the evaluation of acculturation both within and between societies; for example, the Timbira in southern Maranhão came into contact with civilisation in the early eighteenth century (Henning 1978:376), whereas the Panara were first contacted in 1973. In more general terms, it is apparent that the suppression of warfare, the severe reductions in population and tribal territory, and

the introduction of new economic practices and socio-political values must have resulted in radical modifications to 'pre-contact' forms. It is also apparent that certain aspects of the societies are more prone to disruption and in this respect the Panara provide a revealing example. In sum it is of importance to establish clearly the temporal perspective of both field research and analysis.

The picture I present of Panara society is a construct based on informants descriptions of 'traditional' life and my own observation of the present; the combination of a "conceptual" society and one undergoing rapid and radical acculturation. Whilst 'change' was a daily reality for both the observer and the participant, and therefore cannot be ignored, it was also clear that the process of change could only be understood through an initial understanding of "traditional" society. Two points arising from this should be clearly established: firstly, the models of social structure and social organisation presented in this thesis do not, and I argue, cannot, represent acculturation as an integral process. Thus if the relatively static models, where equilibrium is emphasised, are in contrast with the present reality of change, I justify the contradiction by the necessity of understanding the former before the latter. Secondly, the stimulus for change has been generated outside the society; the present situation of the Panara owes little to self determination. To summarise, my view of this process is of random external stimuli "striking" Panara society in a random sequence and being rejected, adopted or adapted according to Panara ideology and values. Moreover, this is a cumulative process, as modified collective representations are modified by further stimuli.

To indulge in historical reconstruction has a further justification as the Panara themselves constantly referred to the past in a dichotomy of "then" (life in their traditional territory) and "now" (life in their



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present territory). My impression for much of the period of research was that the Panara spoke and thought in terms of the past yet worked, ate and died in terms of the present; often it was as though thought and action had become divorced, as informants' descriptions did not correspond with the observed reality. Thus to observe the present did not always explain what the Panara thought they were doing; in order to understand this reference had to be made to traditional society.

The historical perspective is reflected in my use of the past tense throughout most of the thesis. My original intention of describing observed phenomena in the present tense and traditional forms, absent during research, in the past tense, was abandoned as in certain chapters the result was confusion rather than clarity; the male development cycle was a particular problem as there were no men's houses during research yet the men continued to utilise the space as if the houses were there. It can also be argued that as field research was carried out in 1975 and 1976 the situation of the Panara by the time this thesis is completed will have changed and, therefore, the observed 'reality' is itself a thing of the past; acculturation and changes at the time of research were rapid and there are few reasons to suppose that this will alter in the immediate future. However, I should emphasise that my use of the past tense does not imply that the society or aspects of the society are defunct at the present time.

The form of this thesis is a combination of Gê researches, Panara and my own interests. In Part I of the thesis I discuss the historical and physical setting of the society, referring to both their traditional and present territories. These subjects are included as more than mere background information divorced from the analysis, as the Panara are a 'secular' society, placing great emphasis on economic resources and

processes of production in both secular and ritual life. I first outline Panara history as any evaluation of the present is only possible after an understanding of the events leading to and the events following contact. In Chapter II I give an outline of field research and include brief descriptions of the main informants. In Chapter III I discuss the physical setting of the society and outline the main economic resources and subsistence activities. The inclusion of economic processes at this point permits greater clarity in later chapters when they are referred to in the context of social organisation. In addition, the inclusion of this material as a body allows a general perspective of Panara economics and an illustration of the balance between resource domains. Finally, to conclude Part I I summarise the principal environmental and economic changes in Panara society during the post contact period.

Part II of the thesis is a description of Panara social organisation with particular reference to life cycle development. In Chapter IV I delineate the parameters of Panara social structure and define the social and spatial categories. Panara conceptualisations of 'space' are of particular importance as the 'map' of space forms, so to speak, the "stage" on which social relationships are articulated. In this discussion I pay particular attention to the distinction between periphery and centre in the concentric model of village space. Chapters V and VI are principally concerned with the development of individuals in the periphery village sector; Chapter V considers 'biological' and Chapter VI sociological development. This distinction was not conceptualised as such by the Panara, and is intended as an analytical device to help clarify a complex topic. Thus in Chapter V I concentrate on the 'physiological' aspects of the life cycle, from conception, through childhood and maturity, to old age and death and trace the accompanying notions of the 'body' according to Panara ideology; this includes details of body modification, diet and body painting.

In Chapter VI I examine the same cycle from the perspective of social status and relationships with reference to three categories on the periphery: matrilineal, patrilineal and affinal "kin groups". The female life cycle presents few problems in this discussion as most stages are focussed on the same peripheral socio-spatial domain. In contrast, male development, which is characterised by a progressive sequence of moves between periphery and centre, can only be represented in fragmentary form, and the "adolescent" stage is considered separately in Chapter VII, which is concerned with the village centre. To alleviate the problem of chronology, I include brief outlines of the male and female development cycles as an introduction to Chapter V. The topic of life cycle development is concluded in Chapter VII with an examination of male development in the village centre. This aspect of Panara society was radically disrupted during the period of research and I concentrate on the observed activities as illustrations of male activity and values. The separate discussion of male and female development and status, in Chapters VII and VI respectively, parallels the major distinction in village space between centre and periphery and establishes a fundamental set of dichotomies in Panara society.

The emphasis on the polarisation of categories, centre : periphery and 'male' : 'female' in Part II is replaced in Part III by an examination of the dialectic between elements in Panara secular and ritual processes. In Chapter VIII I discuss Panara horticulture and suggest that the unusual patterning of gardens can be interpreted as a metaphorical representation of both village and family structures; I include this important topic at this late point as garden symbolism can only be understood after a comprehensive discussion of village space. In addition to duplicating village spatial order, the organisation of horticultural activity also represents biological and social processes; in particular the peanut cultivation cycle can be

interpreted as a metaphorical representation of male development in which 'male' and 'female' roles are realigned. In this discussion I analyse the Panara puberty ritual and suggest that both male and peanut cycles illustrate the dialectic between socio-spatial domains within the village; more specifically, I suggest that the two cycles represent the 'socialisation' of natural cycles of production. The theme of ritual male control over female secular processes is continued in Chapter IX in the examination of the major Panara ritual cycle; 'food festivals'. The ritual collection and distribution of a range of products from the garden, forest and river by village male groups was an important aspect of community identity and can be interpreted as representing male ritual control over economic processes and the relationship between 'male' and 'female' in Panara society. In this discussion I include an analysis of Panara 'dance and song' and suggest that these activities function as ritual mechanisms articulating the separation of 'centre' and 'periphery' in the organisation of the cycle of ritual and secular activity.

In the concluding chapter I summarise the main principles of social organisation and compare certain aspects with brief outlines of selected Gê societies. I suggest that Panara society can be considered as a series of dichotomies which are expressed in symmetrical and asymmetrical structures; the former articulate the synthesis of opposing elements in 'reproductive' processes and the latter articulate the differentiation of distinct categories prior to synthesis. In this respect I suggest that Gê social organisation must be considered as the combination of three principles: the organisation of the peripheral domain, the organisation of the centre, and the relationship between the centre and the periphery.

Finally, I should prepare the reader for two major omissions. Firstly, from this brief outline it is apparent that Panara ideology and collective representations are central to this thesis. In such research myths have rightfully been accorded high significance by anthropologists in Lowland South America and their absence from this thesis is noticeable. The Panara did relate myths and they would appear to refer directly to many of the points discussed in this thesis. However, the myths were collected towards the end of our final field trip, and I was unable to work with informants in translating the more ornate "myth language" into that of daily Panara speech. This was to have been a major task during the final trip which had to be cancelled, and as a result I have decided to omit the material rather than to include only the limited parts which I understand.

Secondly, I make only limited reference to the Bororo, a society that appears to be closely related to the Panara. Although this thesis is primarily an ethnographic study of the Panara, and not a comparative work, it now seems probable that Bororo material would add to an understanding of the Panara. Unfortunately this realisation only developed after the thesis had reached an advanced stage and as comprehensive materials on the Bororo are not easily available in this country, I have not attempted a comprehensive comparison of the two societies. Hopefully these omissions will be rectified in future research.

CHAPTER I

From 'Cayapo' to Kreen-Akarore to Panara : A Historical Survey

Panara history can be considered in three phases: a conjectural association with the Cayapo in the nineteenth century, informants' recollection of events before contact, and the observed events after contact. In common with other Gê, the Panara recalled few details more distant than two or three generations. Thus, between the time of mythological origin and the recent past, events were either forgotten or were retained in a 'collapsed' time scale.

a) The 'Cayapo' or 'Southern Cayapo'

It is possible to speculate on distant history using limited data collected in Central Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century. The material was the result of visits to the 'Cayapo' by Pohl (1832 - 1837) and Saint Hilaire (1842 - 1848). These two sources provide the only information available, as by 1910 the 'Southern-Cayapo', as they are now termed, were reduced to 20 - 40 individuals and by the 1940's were thought to have "ceased to exist" (Lowie (1963): 319). From linguistic evidence the tribe was classified as Gê, though, with few details available, they have been largely ignored in Gê research.

Pohl and Saint Hilaire adopted the term 'Cayapo' in accordance with local tradition of the Goias region at the time of their visits (Von Martius 1867 : 267). The name was thought to have originated among settlers in Central Brazil as early as the seventeenth

century. In compiling the Handbook of South American Indians (ed. Steward 1946?) the now supposedly defunct 'Cayapo' were renamed 'Southern Cayapo' to distinguish them from the well documented Northern Cayapo (now called Kayapo). What is perhaps surprising is the initial use of 'Cayapo', as Saint Hilaire was given the term panaria for "Indian", a term later emphasised, though not adopted, by Von Martius (1867: 265).

Although the evidence is limited to short word lists and general descriptions of unknown quality, it seems highly probable that the present Panara are related to the 'Southern Cayapo'. The vocabularies collected by Pohl and Saint Hilaire at the village of Joze de Mossamedes (see Map 1) are particularly interesting, as they include a number of kinship terms :

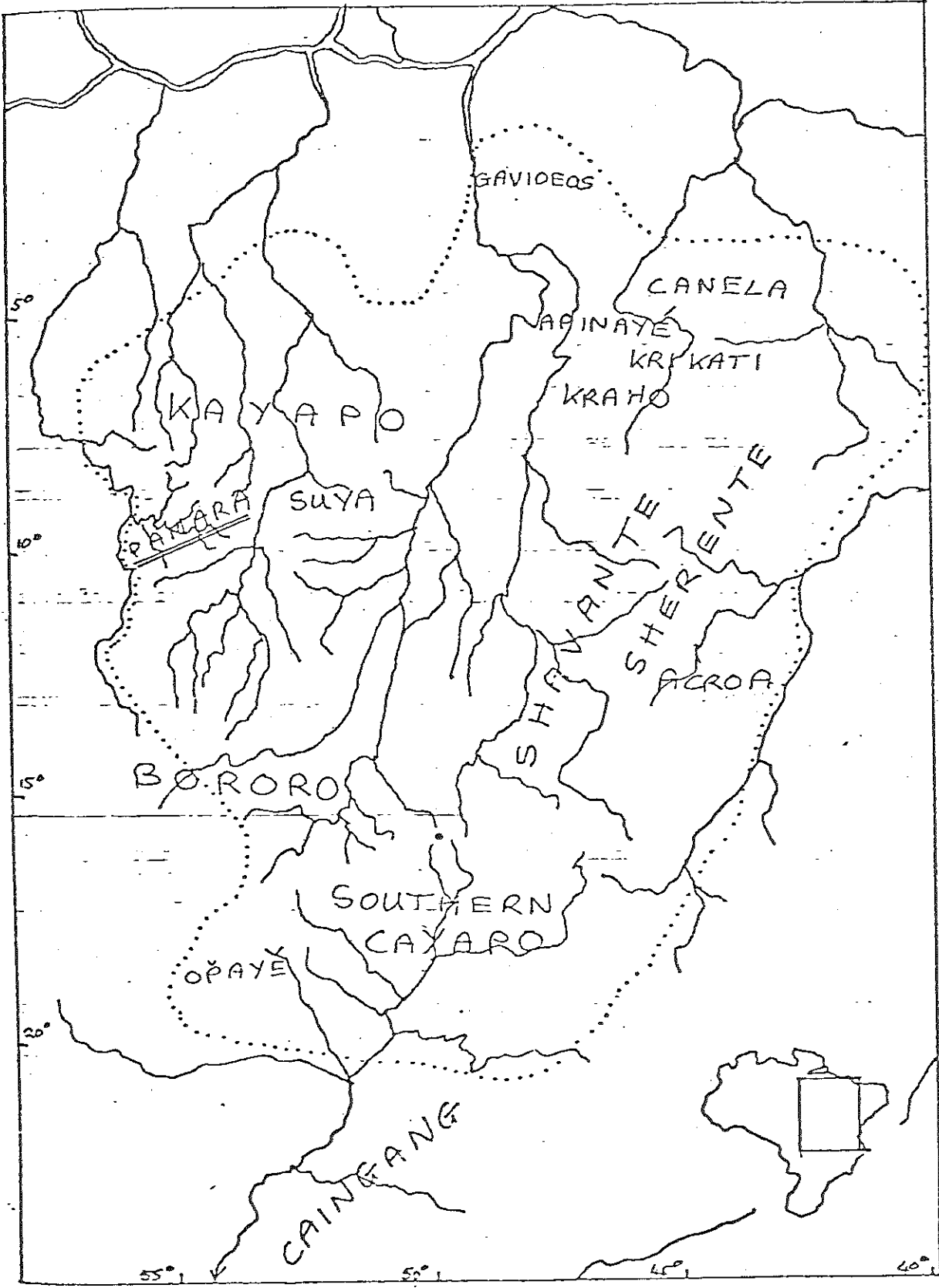
'Cayapo'	Pañara	English	Remarks
itpe	kahen	white man	Panara "to fight" is ipen
intiera	inkiará	woman	
impuaría	inpuera	man	
panaria	panara	Indian	panara - "us"
usum	wusum	father *	panara - vocative form
unisi	wunsi	mother *	" " "
pintue	wantui	child *	

\* collected by Pohl.

In the total word list of thirty three terms given by Saint Hilaire, nineteen are direct cognates, four are apparent misunderstandings, three cannot be translated and seven have no apparent affinity to the present Panara language ( the full list is given in Appendix A). The general descriptions do little to substantiate any connection, though this is inconclusive, as the 'Cayapo' were described as acculturated (living by a road) and it appears that many of the

MAP I.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GÊ  
SOCIETIES IN CENTRAL BRAZIL



..... APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY OF  
THE GÊ CULTURE AREA.  
● JOÃO DE MOSSAMEDES. (NIMUCHATÚ 1742).



details came from local settlers. One point of interest is the description of 'Cayapo' arrows as <sup>being</sup> constructed from short lengths of cane of about twelve inches, jointed together with plant fibre (Pohl). This appearance is duplicated in Panara arrows, on which segment ridges are bound with fibre. This practice is unknown among other Gê and, as far as I know, among other South American Indians.

Travellers to Central Brazil subsequent to Pohl and Saint Hilaire do not mention the 'Cayapo', but there are frequent reports of unknown and hostile Indians to the west of the Xingu and to the north of Goiás (e.g. Cunha Mattos 1874 and Coudreau 1897 : 194 - 205). The next information of substance is from tribes in the extreme north of Mato Grosso State in the 1950's.

My discussion of the 'Cayapo' is in part from historical interest and in part to establish a geographical perspective for the Panara in the Gê culture area. At present the Gê are classified into a number of sub-groups :

- 1) the Northwest Gê : comprising the Eastern Timbira (Krikati, Krabó and Canela), the Western Timbira (Apinayé and Gaviões), the Kayapó (Xikrin and Gorotire) and the Suyá (Suyá and Beicos de Pau, or Tapayuna). This group is also called the Northern Gê.
- 2) the Central Gê : comprising the Akwê-Shavante and the Sherente.
- 3) miscellaneous : the 'Southern Cayapo', who were included as Northwestern Gê in the HSAI (Vol. I : 477) but who are now generally excluded in Gê research. The Bororo, who are generally referred to as 'Macro-Gê' are ignored in a large proportion of comparative Gê studies.

Over the known past these groups have shown a high degree of geographical contiguity (see Map 1) and attempts have been made to correlate location and distribution with forms of social organisation

(W. Crocker 1977 : 266). The Panara do not fit easily into this classification as they have crucial features in common with the Bororo, the Northern Gê, and with the 'Southern Cayapo', as regards "descent" groups, ideology and language respectively. In addition, the importance and form of Panara horticulture is shared with none of these groups. If we follow a classification based on language, it would appear that the Panara and the 'Southern Cayapo' (Panaria) must be considered as a separate group as the language is approximately 20-25% cognate with the Northwest Gê (T. Turner's estimate from a limited sample) and perhaps as low as 5-10% with the Central Gê. It is indicative that the Gê interpreters at Peixoto, who included Kayapo, Suya, Shavante and Bororo, were all unable to communicate with the Panara. At this point my principal concern is to suggest that the Panara have a greater historical and cultural separation from the Northwest Gê (in particular the Kayapo) than the close geographical proximity would suggest: the Panara looked southwards rather than northwards.

b) The Panara in the River Peixoto Basin

The first tangible evidence of a tribe inhabiting the Peixoto Basin came from the Kayapo (Mekragnoti) when contacted by the Villas-Boas in the 1950's. They referred to a hostile group to the south of their territory, whom they called Kra-iokar ("people with hair cut round"), the source of the name Kreen-Akarore. These reports were substantiated by the Kayabi of the Teles Pires, who spoke of a warlike tribe to the east whom they called Ipewi ("people who use clubs").<sup>1</sup>

1 Locations of these tribes are given on Map 1.

Kayabi contact with the "Ipcwi" was limited to small scale raiding and few details could be given. In contrast, the Mekragnoti had raided frequently and constructed an outline of Panara culture, mainly originating with a man captured from the "Kreen-Akarore" as a child. During his initial visit to the Mekragnoti in 1954, C. Villas-Boas met this man, and his size, in conjunction with Mekragnoti stories, gave rise to the fable of a "race of giants". The Mekragnoti described the "Kreen-Akarore" as consisting of three groups, which they termed me-krane ("small people"), who formed the largest and most dangerous group, the me-krure ("tiny people" (?)) and the me-tuktire ("big black people"). Additional knowledge was limited to weaponry, raiding techniques and the existence of two men's houses in their villages. (G. Verswijver : personal communication.)

The Mekragnoti had been engaged in raids on the Panara from at least 1910 - 1920 in a fairly regular and reciprocal pattern. In approximately 1945 the Panara mounted their largest attack, on the Jarina village, killing two adults though losing three warriors themselves. (G. Verswijver : *ibid*). Between 1950 and 1957 the Mekragnoti group from what is now Posto Bau are reported to have raided northern Panara villages with some frequency. However, Panara recollections of this period were of tranquillity with few deaths, when raiding was limited to the periphery of their territory; their villages were not threatened.

To understand the isolation of the society and the almost total lack of knowledge about it, we must pause briefly and consider the

wider geographical and economic factors of that period. The by-passing of the region by colonisation was due to two main factors. Firstly, the early exploration of Central Brazil was essentially riverine, with limited penetration of areas away from waterways. The Teles Pires to the west was explored by government officials in 1746 and subsequently settled to a limited extent. To the east, the River Xingu south of the Von Martius Falls was first visited by the explorer of that name, <sup>Von den Steinen</sup> and he travelled overland from Cuiaba to the Upper Xingu in the mid-nineteenth century. However, in both cases the initial exploration did not result in significant colonisation or economic discovery. Not only was colonisation hampered by the isolation of the regions, but also by the surrounding hostile tribes (the Kayapo to the north, Kayabi to the west and Shavante to the south and east) who formed an effective buffer against civilisation. Secondly, the difficulty of access was complemented by the absence of attraction, as the region lay midway between the major eighteenth and nineteenth century poles of economic interest: to the north, in 'true' selva, wild rubber was the goal, and to the south, mineral extraction in <sup>Mato Grosso</sup>. Few people, including explorers, had reason to visit Peixoto.

Interest in the region came with changes in the orientation of communications. An expedition directed by General Rondon passed to the south of Peixoto in order to map the region as part of a programme to integrate the interior by telegraph. In 1951 C. Villas-Boas cut a trail from the Xingu to the Teles Pires, again during a government programme of exploration and integration. Following the second World War the importance of national and international air travel over

Central Brazil resulted in the establishment of an airbase at Cachimbo. This was the first settlement in the region (see Map 2) and it was established by crash-landing a plane and constructing an airstrip to get out; thus until the road building programme of the 1970's the area remained without land communications.

The first crack in Panara isolation made by "civilisation" came with the death of the geographer Richard Mason in 1961. A member of the Cambridge University/Royal Geographical Society Expedition to explore the headwaters of the River Iriri, Mason was ambushed whilst walking alone down a trail from Cachimbo to the expedition's camp. Some 45 arrows and numerous clubs were found near the body and these were later identified by Mekragnoti as "Kreen-Akarore". An example in the possession of J. Hemming is, in fact, identical to those used by the Panara at the present time. Some articles had been taken from the body, though the fact that sugar and cigarettes had not been touched indicated an uncontacted tribe. From food and possessions abandoned near the site it was also possible to guess that the unknown tribe was Gê.

Panara recollections of the incident were vague, though it was probably a small hunting expedition which was remembered as a source of knives. All members of the party had died by 1974. The event does, however, mark a crucial divide in Panara history, as the killing focussed national and international attention on the isolated and 'warlike' tribe. The attack also highlighted the isolation of the increasingly important airbase at Cachimbo; the "Kreen-Akarore" had become a national problem.

Until this point I have written about the Panara as a unified group defined by friction along its territorial margins. As events after the death of Mason require some knowledge of village distribution, this is an appropriate point at which to reconstruct the social geography of the Panara in the early 1960's. Such a reconstruction is conjectural, but by utilising informants' descriptions, aerial photographs and genealogical data it is possible to present an outline (Map 2). For convenience I divide the villages into three groups<sup>1</sup>:

a) Northern Concentration

A line of villages located along the Iriri and Peixoto watershed. The largest village, Soñkurnasañ, can be dated from approximately 1950 and contained at least 15 residential houses. Two smaller villages, Inkieño and Kionake, can be dated from the 1950's and 1940's respectively. A fourth village to the west, Puksupari, can be dated from at least 1940. These villages were those most involved in Mekragnoti raids and had an estimated population of 225 - 300 in 1960.

b) Eastern Concentration

The larger village, Soñse:nasañ, can be dated from at least 1950, with an approximate population of 80 - 100 in 1961. The small village of Inkieorankie is of uncertain age and housed an estimated population of 40 - 50.

c) Southern Village

Only one village is known to the south of the Peixoto. Iotimari can be dated from at least 1945 and had an estimated population of 55 - 65, but it may have been greater.

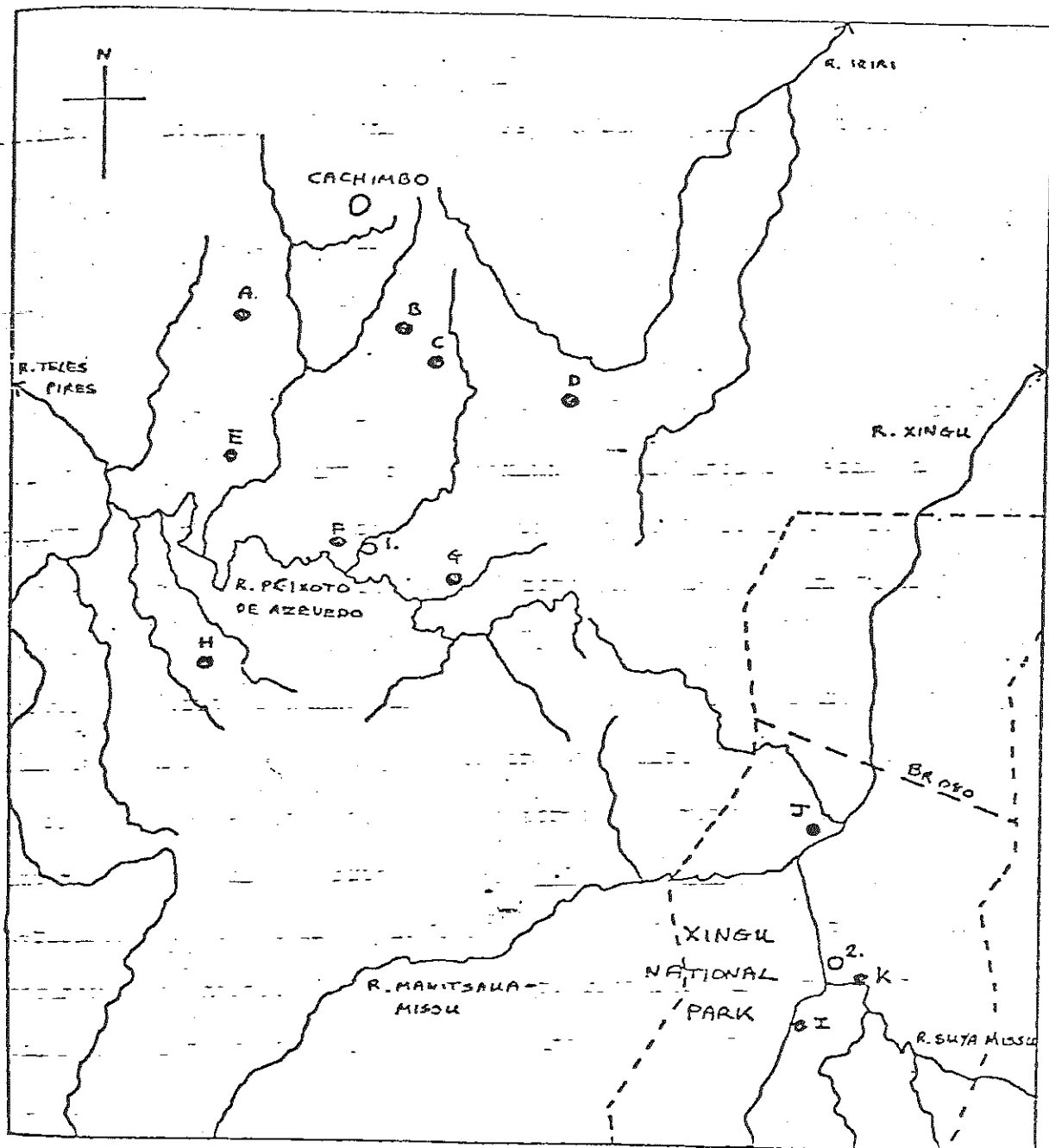
Informants also referred to other villages. (Krakien-kiekiurdi, Suparapalidi and Iobo-ton-noiui), but as there were contradictions on age, location and size it is difficult to determine whether they were villages at all. Excluding these possible villages I estimate the population of the Panara in the early 1960's as between 425 and 525, located in at least seven villages with a distinct concentration in the northern area of the Peixoto Basin.

<sup>1</sup> The location of villages is given in Map 2. Other details are discussed in Chapter IV and village plans are presented in Appendix B.

MAP 2.

PANARA VILLAGES :

PEIXOTO AND P.N.X.



KEY

- |                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| A. PUKSUPARI.    | G. SONËE; NASHAN     |
| B. KIONAKE:      | H. IOGIUPARI.        |
| C. INKIEPO       | <u>P.N.X.</u>        |
| D. SONËKUANASHAN | I. PAIPURI (KAYABI). |
| E. TOGIUANAN     | J. KASTIRE (KAYAPO). |
| F. INKIORANKI.   | K. SUYA.             |



Between 1961 and 1967 the Panara passed through a period of tranquillity with little concern for the increasing air traffic from Cachimbo. However, in the dry season of 1967 a hunting party from the largest northern village, Soñkurnasañ, "discovered" the airbase at Cachimbo. Fascinated by what they saw, a large village expedition was immediately mounted with the express purpose of meeting kahen ("other people") and obtaining knives and axes, two articles of great value which were known from raiding the Kayapo.

The Cachimbo expedition was an event of some magnitude in Panara oral tradition. The party of approximately 120 included women and children and most senior males from the northern villages. The journey at the height of the dry season was remembered as long and painful, with descriptions of sore feet and heavy loads; it was apparently longer than trips normally undertaken by women. The Panara, wearing full body paint (see p. 163) entered the airbase without warning in single file - in fact, walking across the runway. Their intentions were misunderstood by the Forca Area do Brasil (F.A.B.) personnel, and the unknown Indians, in a "suspicious attitude", were assumed to be hostile. The Panara were summarily dispersed with small arms fire over their heads and diving runs from a plane which was making an approach at the time. The Panara turned and fled, making no attempt at resistance. One man was shot in the ankle.

The reception had little immediate impact on the Panara, though, in retrospect, it had a profound bearing on future events. The reaction corresponded with known attitudes of "other people" and the attribute of sumpa ("brave"), used by the Panara to describe the



Cachimbo defenders, was one of value in their own society. The "other people" had behaved consistently, although the presence of diving planes and of guns were new phenomena.

At the time the most traumatic effect was on Cachimbo personnel and F.A.B. A radio call that they were under attack by a large force of hostile Indians resulted in the hasty despatch of a relief plane, which, with defective navigation instruments, ran out of fuel and crashed with only six survivors. In more general terms, the "attack" and the crash emphasised the vulnerability of the strategic airbase and the presence of the "Kreen-Akarore"; two problems already indicated by the death of Mason in the same vicinity six years previously. The Kreen-Akarore pacification now became a matter of priority.

Following their return to the northern villages the Panara were to suffer a more serious reverse during the rainy season of 1967/68, when a large scale Mekragnoti attack penetrated deep into their territory and destroyed the largest village of Soñkurnasañ. The motive for this raid was probably revenge: Cowell mentions the killing of three Mekragnoti men 'some years earlier' (1973: 114) and Verswijver reports that two women were killed near a village in late 1966 (written communication). It is also probable that the timing, efficiency and scale of the attack were due to Mekragnoti knowledge of the Panara rout in the face of gunfire at Cachimbo.

The Mekragnoti party surrounded the village before dawn and attacked by firing guns into the houses. The Panara were taken totally unawares, only realising the threat when they heard the whistles and imitation bird calls of the attackers. Resistance

was brief in the face of gunfire, with most of the inhabitants fleeing into the forest. In the fight some twenty-seven men<sup>1</sup>, two women and one child were killed and a further eight children were captured, of whom three survived to reach the Mekragnoti village. The Mekragnoti suffered no casualties. The survivors fled southwards to the village of Soñse:nasañ with a journey of considerable hardship.

The repercussions of this attack were profound and can be traced to the present day. Initially the Panara associated the Mekragnoti attack with the Cachimbo incident, thus further emphasising the aggression of "other people". The collapse of their largest village and garden complex and the death of a large number of senior warriors was a serious economic and ideological reverse; their territorial isolation and 'invincibility' had been put in doubt. The raid resulted in a migration from the north-eastern sector and by December 1969 a further two villages had been abandoned. In retrospect this was a fortunate decision, as a second Mekragnoti group from Poiriri attempted to duplicate the earlier attack but, after visiting the empty villages, returned home without success.

(Cowell 1973 : 246).

The Cachimbo incident precipitated the formation of the first

<sup>1</sup> In Central Brazilian 'raiding' this is an exceptionally high figure, as two or three deaths would represent a more usual level. Whilst certain knowledge of the figure is impossible, I am confident that this figure is a close approximation. It seems probable that the Panara did not understand 'guns' and stood stationary and in the open with bows and arrows and clubs well within range of the guns. The large number of deaths would also explain why the event was so traumatic to the Panara.

Villas-Boas expedition to contact and pacify the "Kreen-Akarore". Working from Megraknoti information, the burnt shell of the northern village, Soñkurnasañ, was located in 1968 and C. Villas-Boas correctly assumed that the survivors had fled south. In an aerial search a garden was located near the River Peixoto, in fact near the village of Inkiorankie, and then the village of Soñse:nasañ was located.

Deciding on a land approach from the east, a trail was cut with considerable hardship from the Manitsua-Missu to the upper Peixoto (see Map 3). In accordance with established procedure overtures were made prior to confrontation, with presents and photographs dropped over the village.

The village inhabitants, many of whom had experienced both Cachimbo and the 1967 attack, misunderstood the motive. The low flying planes were interpreted as hostile and most of the presents were destroyed. The inhabitants moved away from the village, as they feared a dawn attack, and attempted to "kill" the planes with bows and arrows; the sight of arrows bouncing off the wings or breaking in the propellers gave the Panara additional evidence of their vulnerability. Finally, the persistent presence of planes resulted in the abandonment of the village, with one group moving south to Iobluuari and another to the north-west to Puksu:pari.

Thus by the time the Villas-Boas expedition arrived on the Peixoto only small groups of Panara were present in the vicinity of the target village; these also rapidly fled the area. A Post was established near the village in the hope that presents left on the trails would attract the Panara. With no response during the rainy

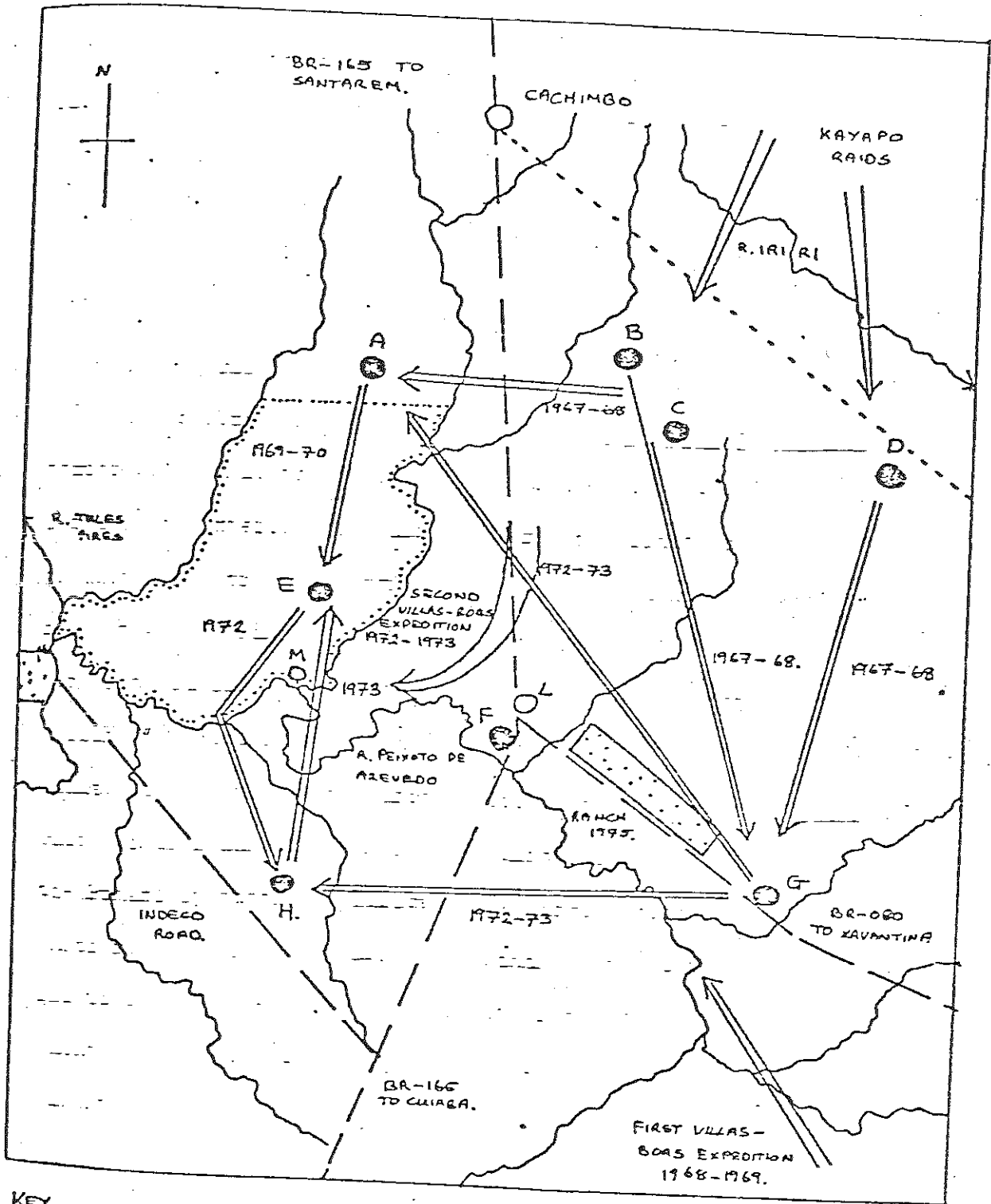
season, the expedition was abandoned in 1969, when news came that the "Kreen-Akarore" had been involved in an incident on the road which was under construction near Cachimbo. The Villas-Boas realised that the eastern sector had been abandoned.

Interest in the Peixoto area was now focussed on the road programme, with the BR-165 Cuiaba-Santarem highway advancing into Panara territory from the north and south. The route of this road had been modified to a line of 180 degrees and would now pass near the village of Inkiorkie. In addition, the BR-080, first planned to pass to the north of the area, would now meet the BR-165, not at Cachimbo, but in the heart of the Panara territory (see Map 3); an earlier realignment of the BR-080 had cut the Xingu National Park in two. Road construction caused increased dislocation of Panara settlement, with the north-western village of Puksupari being abandoned in late 1969 and a new village, called Tobiuroñ (or Aldeia Norte), being constructed to the south. By this date four of the seven villages in existence in 1961 had been lost and, as constant migration had disrupted garden construction, pressures on food resources were growing. The fusion of traditionally autonomous separate village populations in crowded settlements also resulted in political tensions, whilst the Panara attempted to decide what to do. The pressures at this time can be gauged from the incidence of violent death (see Appendix F): at Puksupari eight deaths in fourteen were violent, and at Tobiuroñ six violent deaths are known to have occurred at this time.

As the "Kreen-Akarore" were a direct impediment to the advancing road, a second Villas-Boas expedition was formed in 1972. This was

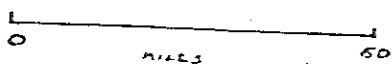
MAP 3.

MOVEMENT IN PEIXOTO 1967-1973



KEY.

- A-H. PANARA VILLAGES SEE MAP 2.
- CONSTRUCTED ROADS (1975)
- - - ORIGINAL ROUTE OF BR-080
- PANARA MIGRATIONS 1967-1975.
- ⇨ PENETRATION BY OUTSIDE GROUPS.
- [Dotted Box] KNOWN "FARMS" (1975)
- L. ROAD CONSTRUCTION CAMP / RETRIEVE.
- M. FUNAI POST OF ATTRACTION, LOCATION OF PAST CONTACT 1975.
- ..... BOUNDARY OF "KAEN-REKARAG" RESERVATION - 1975.



directed at the northern village, Tobiuron, which had been located from the air. With speed a priority, the expedition approached directly from the north, using the advance trail of the BR-165.

The expedition reached the Peixoto near the village of Inkiorankie, by then deserted, and moved downstream to the target village of Tobiuron. On arrival, however, it too was deserted.

Because of frequent planes over the village the Panara had again fled, this time to the one remaining 'unlocated' village of Iobupari, to the south of the Peixoto. This village, already swollen by migrants in 1968 (from the first expedition), had cleared and planted gardens for the 1971/72 rainy season with sufficient capacity for the population of approximately 120. The arrival of the 150 - 180 northern Panara in early 1972 resulted in chronic food shortages by the end of the year. Descriptions of this period centred on food, with local wild resources exhausted and immature crops in the gardens. Influenza also broke out<sup>1</sup> and rapidly decimated the already weakened population. To the present shame of the Panara, some corpses were not buried but were eaten by vultures. Ultimately, with little prospect of survival through the 1972/73 rainy season, a large group returned northwards to the village and gardens of Tobiuron and the waiting Villas-Boas expedition.

It seems probable that having overcome their initial fears and finding the village untouched, the group interpreted the expedition's

<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of the illness indicate influenza - cough, fever, runny noses etc. The source is unknown, though the roads to the east (ER-165) and south (a private road) are probable. The illness and symptoms were previously unknown to the Panara, which gave additional emphasis to the rapid changes in the position of their society.

intentions as peaceful. Visits to observe the expedition camp became more frequent and contact was finally made by C. Villas-Boas in February 1973. Panara problems were, however, not over and the irony is that, for a tribe who had systematically avoided contact throughout known history, the problem proved to be one of extreme attraction to, and fascination with, the "other people".

The final two years of Panara residence in Peixoto were characterised by persistent conflict between Panara desire to sample "white" or "road" culture and attempts of FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Índio) personnel to hold them away from the roads, as the roads were not only a source of interest, but also a source of illness and death. The problem of control was aggravated by poor communication, as initial hopes that the Panara would understand a selection of Gê interpreters were not fulfilled, <sup>there was</sup> a rapid turnover of FUNAI personnel. The mobility of Panara groups, passing from post to road, to the contacted village and to the as yet uncontacted southern village, Iobiupari, caused additional problems in spreading illness. Attempts to hold the Panara at specific villages were largely based on food 'handouts' which resulted in the collapse of Panara horticulture and economic independence. The attempts were also largely unsuccessful as the Panara merely travelled between road and post or village, thus gaining the best of both worlds.

In the southern village, Iobiupari, which remained isolated until early 1974, the position was particularly serious. Panara groups visiting from the post and villages brought consecutive waves of influenza and the population fell rapidly. In mid 1974 the

inhabitants eventually gave up the fight and were found wandering on a private road (INDECO) to the south of their village; twenty-two were taken north to join the group in contact and two were flown to hospital. The collapse of the southern village meant that in August 1974, for the first time in their history, the total Panara population was "officially" gathered in one village, Korokoko, which was constructed by FUNAI to the north of the Peixoto. However, groups continued to leave for the road, BR-165, to establish camps, and, now open to traffic, the road exerted an even greater pull. Violence and illness were continuing problems and by the end of 1974 the population had fallen to 82. In December the Panara were moved to a road builders' airstrip at the junction of the BR-165 and BR-080 to await transfer to the Xingu National Park. The 79 remaining Panara were flown to Diauarum Post on 12th January 1975.

It should be emphasised that the process of contact and pacification, although rapid and under the pressure of road construction, was carried out in a relatively "closed" area. Contact with "civilisation" was limited to FUNAI personnel and roadworkers, who were benevolent rather than exploitative. Thus in December 1972 FUNAI had announced the establishment of the "Kreen-Akarore Reservation" (Boletim FUNAI No. II : 5), though when details were published in March 1973 the demarcated area excluded the southern village (see Map 3) and it was a temporary decree for an "area interdita" (prohibited area) only valid for the duration of attraction and pacification (Decreto N. 71.904 de 14 Marco 1973). Though not proposing any long term solution the "area interdita" guarded by road-blocks and army personnel accompanying private road



users, did effectively control elements which might have been harmful to the Panara.

The idea of transferring the Panara to the Xingu National Park (henceforth referred to as PNX) would appear to have originated with the Villas-Boas at, or before, the time of contact. This was part of a policy to strengthen the PNX through additions to the number of resident tribes and the size of its population. The possibility of continued Panara presence in Peixoto is debatable, as the area of good agricultural land was already being colonised in 1974 with a large fazenda in construction on the BR-080. To the south the INDECO colonisation project was established by 1974 and the main town will have a projected population of 40,000 by 1983 (Sunday Times Magazine 18.6.1978 : 43). Although this project lies outside the immediate Peixoto area it will probably form a major pole for future development. To summarise, a <sup>ation</sup> quote by the owner of INDECO is illustrative: "It's an empirical fact that where there is plenty of bamboo, and some Indians, the land is rich" (ibid : 42). Finally, Panara strength and attitudes did not suggest the feasibility of a working relationship with "civilisation" - a point supported by their problems in contact with other Indians in the PNX.

c) The Panara in the Xingu National Park

The initial residence for the Panara in PNX was a Kayabi village, Pripuri, some 10 km to the south of Diauarum, the major post in the north of the Park (see Map 2). The village consisted of two long houses with a small garden area, and was located in a riverine environment (see Plan VIII, Appendix B). The Panara, now accustomed to continuous FUNAI presence, found independent survival difficult.

The houses were alien to their traditional forms (see p. 55), the gardens were exhausted within six weeks, and the use of canoes and hook and line fishing techniques were unfamiliar and managed only with difficulty. Visits to the village by sick Indians, en route for the Diamarum Post for treatment, caused a rapid increase in illness, leading to general apathy and five deaths. The Panara became extremely dispirited and discussed a return to Peixoto unless conditions improved.

With the situation at Pripuri rapidly deteriorating, the decision was made to transfer the Panara to the only northern PNK village with sufficient garden capacity to support an additional 73 people immediately, the Kayapo village of Kretire. News of this transfer came as an additional shock to the Panara, as many senior women had lost a husband or child in the Kayapo attack of 1967. When the transfer was made, on 31st March 1975, the Panara mood was one of extreme pessimism. On arrival at Kretire the Panara found the promised "new village" incomplete and as an interim measure the Panara were arbitrarily divided into groups and housed among fourteen Kayapo households: this was a Kayapo decision and the "division" of the Panara was to prove the rule of their residence. The relationship at Kretire was one of mutual suspicion, both groups being very aware of their 'raiding' relationship in the past. Moreover, the Panara presence at Kretire was very much a part of wider Kayapo political ambitions, as the Panara provided both extra population and, in their need for attention, a greater importance for Kretire within the PNK. It was also noted that the demography of the two tribes was suitable, in that the Kayapo had a surplus of marriageable males, and the

Panara of females. The Kayapo policy appeared to be the rapid integration of the Panara into their own group; women were 'encouraged' to establish relationships with Kayapo men, Panara ritual and ceremonies were actively discouraged, and in late 1975 three Panara youths were accepted into Kayapo male groups, wearing the body paint, hair style and decorations of Kayapo men.<sup>1</sup>

The process of integration and the disruption of culture were accompanied by an increase in illness, depression and apathy among the Panara. In turn the Panara were regarded as "lazy" and ungrateful by the Kayapo in an expanding circular argument. With the situation of the Panara again becoming critical, plans were made for a new transfer to the Suya tribe. The isolation of Kretire and the political importance of its chief made such a move difficult and it was only achieved in October 1975 during another influenza epidemic. However, by the time of arrival at Diauarum, in transit, the Panara had lost a further twelve members : five had died at Kretire and seven adolescents remained there (see Appendix F).

After one month's medical treatment at Diauarum the Panara moved to a new village, constructed by the Suya some 100 m from their own, in November 1975. The more isolated location on a Xingu tributary, (the Suia-Missu), the correct number of houses, and a less paternalistic attitude by the host tribe made this village instantly more

<sup>1</sup> This event was particularly upsetting to older Panara and their reaction can best be described as "insulted". Panara body decoration is discussed in Chapter V, but here we can note that, as among other Cê societies, the decoration of the body is a fundamental symbolic language and one that apparently differentiates between the individual Cê societies.

attractive. In addition, women had free access to Suya gardens and the tribe's possessions (trade goods) had been brought up to PNK standards in a large presentation at Diauarum. In this new environment the Panara revival was rapid and dramatic. Subsistence economics were re-established without reliance on external sources and village life approached a level of 'normality'. The 1975/76 rainy season marked the re-introduction of a number of rituals and ceremonies with a marked improvement in village morale. Having now acquired a firm knowledge of "canoe culture" the Panara were able to exploit the environment and, with some knowledge of PNK politics, were able to control external relations with Indians and the Post. In June 1976 they attempted to construct a new village, and during the dry season they constructed three canoes.

During their residence with the Suya it is possible to speak of a Panara revival although, with a population of only 64, a continuation is always in the balance. In particular, a limited number of individuals assumed a critical importance. At the Suya village no further deaths occurred, although illness continued to be a problem and no women were pregnant. The Panara were, however, rapidly adapting to their new physical and political environment and had attained a significant degree of independence. In sum, their attitude had moved from one of being a tribe on the verge of extinction to one contemplating building a new village and planning festivals.

#### Postscript

After our departure in October 1976 the Panara moved to a new village south of Diauarum on a small right bank tributary of the

ingu (see Map 2). Initial reports were that their revival was continuing (Baruzzi : written communication) but the descriptions of a visitor in early 1977 are less encouraging (V. Lea). She noted that the Panara had returned to temporary shelters and that the number of Panara in residence with the Kayapo had increased to twelve, suggesting that the move from the Suyu village may have caused internal dissent. The exact size of the Panara village population was not known, but it appears that no further deaths had occurred and that a number of women were pregnant.

CHAPTER II

FIELD RESEARCH

Our time with the Panara was dominated by the repercussions of their recent history, with 'contact', loss of isolation and independence, loss of territory and severe population decline occurring in the last ten years. During research the tribe was transferred three times; its members were generally in close proximity to other Indian or "white" groups, they rarely identified with their immediate physical and social environment and were commonly dependent on external food supplies. In the presence of other Indians the Panara tended to be passive and 'self-conscious', and it was only during the second year that it was possible to speak of any kind of "village life". To evaluate the ethnography of this thesis it is necessary to give an outline of research conditions and to provide an outline of Panara interests: for example, the latter may well be relevant to the prominence of food both as a topic of conversation in 1974-75, and as a subject of analysis here.

In total four field trips were made and a final trip was cancelled due to ill health. The trips included residence at all the villages inhabited by the Panara between December 1974 and October 1976 (see Map 2).

<u>date of residence</u>	<u>location</u>	<u>duration</u>
1 Dec. 1974 - Jan. 1975	airstrip village at BR-165 and BR-080 road junction, Peixoto	1½ months
Jan. 1975	Transfer to Xingu National Park	
2 Feb. - May 1975	<u>Prinari</u> (Kayabi) village <u>Kretire</u> (Kayapo) village	4 months
3 Aug. 1975 - Jan. 1976	<u>Kretire</u> (Kayapo) village Diauarum Post, Suyá village	5 months
4 April - October 1976	Suyá village	6½ months
	- total time	17 months

During the first three field trips a passive role was required, as the problems of the Panara were severe enough without the additional burdens of questioning or of feeding two extra mouths. Most of our time was spent in obtaining food, giving medical attention and attempting to resolve our often ambiguous situation with the "host" tribe. With severe and recent depopulation the Panara had little interest in kinship or genealogies and, since they were living in villages that they disliked, the topic of social organisation was an annoyance. The overriding concern at this time were the questions of where food would come from and whether the tribe would survive at all. With the absence of most ritual and secular forms of village activity, research was limited to learning the language, a problem of immediate importance, as the Panara had no knowledge of Portuguese whatsoever. In better moments a prominent subject was the comparison of PNX with Peixoto in a contrast between poor and rich. The collapse of their society, the introduction of new diseases, and their reactions to the contact attempts were popular topics of conversation and, indeed, it often felt as though the Panara imagined they were still in Peixoto. These accounts, often given in great detail, provided most of the material for Part I of this thesis.

At the first PNX village (Pripuri) we lived in a separate house which was shared with male adolescents in continuation of the practice established at Peixoto, where FUNAI had supported the group with food and amusement. Whilst this tended to isolate us in a FUNAI 'role', it was perhaps fortunate, as overcrowding in the two houses, a high incidence of illness and constant friction and violence made co-residence potentially hazardous. At the second village, Kretire, we lived at the Post, a collection of buildings including a pharmacy, radio room and "barracks".

where visitors generally stayed, located some 100 yards from the Kayapo/Panara village. Negotiations with the Kayapo "chief" to move to the village were protracted and always referred to "when we come back next time". However, as there were few observable traces of Panara culture in the village and the Panara were unwilling to speak about their culture in front of the Kayapo, this separation was not too damaging. With relatively abundant food, the popular topic of conversation was the differences between Panara and Kayapo cultures (the large lip plugs of the Kayapo were found particularly amusing) and endlessly repeated details of the "Tucarramae" (Mekragnoti) attack in 1967. With deterioration of the situation at Kretiré for both the Panara and us, work came to a virtual standstill. As a focus for Panara culture, which was our interest, we were probably viewed as an impediment to the integration of the Panara into Kayapo society, and our contact with the Panara was therefore discouraged. Informant work at the Post or village was virtually impossible as a Kayapo was invariably present, whether intentionally or not I do not know, but in their presence silence reigned. One particularly damaging feature was our reliance on Kayapo food, as this was paid for with trade goods which we had intended for the Panara. On receiving the goods the Kayapo would show them to the Panara, who would then complain that we were giving presents to the Kayapo. The attempted solution of matching gifts was rapidly dropped, as the Kayapo ended up with those as well.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In retrospect this sounds like parancia, but it does illustrate the position of both the Panara and us in the initial phase of PNK residence. A more painful example of Kayapo manipulation is as follows: A FUNAI male nurse with the team at Peixoto was sent to PNK in early 1975 to treat the Panara. On friendly terms with them, he reacted against the Kayapo integration policies by sending messages to the Post and C. Villas-Boas. The Kayapo were obviously displeased. To identify with the Panara he decided to have his ears pierced. The Kayapo chief offered to pierce one, with a Panara doing the other. The Panara proved incapable and the Kayapo pierced both in an aggressive and painful operation. The Kayapo then dispatched a boat to Diuarum to tell Villas-Boas that the nurse had "gone native" and in three days he was out of the Park in disgrace. The 'problem' had been neatly solved.



Eventually the situation deteriorated to the point of our considering abandoning this research for another group in Brazil. In Brasilia we were persuaded against such a move by Olympio Serra (the future PNX director), who pointed out that the Panara problem was now recognised and that a further move would take place when a new village had been constructed.

The Panara revival at the third (Suya) village radically altered the orientation of research. The topic of the 'past' declined and was replaced by activity and discussion of the present. We were able to live in the village in a household with two family groups. As the Panara, at that time, had no notions of social organisation other than their own, we were automatically considered as members of the 'spatial' groups (see p. 75) to which we had been kindly assigned by FUNAI personnel in Belo Horizonte. In addition, as household residence carries automatic socio-economic membership to that group, both our food problem and our ambiguous relationship with the Panara were largely solved. This also enabled us to participate in village life from a defined structural position as well as participating in life within a household.

The 1975/76 rainy season (trip 3) in particular was a time of intense ritual activity, with almost daily re-introduction of dances, songs and rituals. The revival of village activity had a marked effect on morale; in this I feel that a significant stimulus was given by the Suya and ourselves. In addition to the technological novelty of the camera and tape recorder, it is also probable that the presence of "whites" and "sophisticated Indians" showing an interest and admiration for dances or log races balanced Panara feelings of inferiority in PNX. Although the time required for medical attention rapidly diminished, we still

could not expect the Panara to provide our food and this continued to take up considerable time. Whilst daily participation increased our knowledge of economic processes, it did prevent more intensive village informant work at a time when our knowledge of the language made it possible. The time of Suya residence provided most of the materials for part III of this thesis and items of special interest were the construction of gardens and, in the final month, two rites de passage.

A final field trip planned for early 1977 was to have included the completion of the garden cycle with the first harvests, the proposed removal to a new self-selected village and the clarification of a number of issues raised in 1976. The latter point is particularly important, as the quality of sections of critical data now remains uncertain. In particular the myths, collected in late 1976, which should be basic to my analysis, cannot be utilised; the question of names and name transmission is uncertain; the kinship terminology is incomplete; and certain aspects of male development require additional study. Where these points arise in the text I will include my doubts in footnotes. I do not, however, feel that these omissions are sufficient to undermine the general aims of this thesis.

To conclude this outline or research I include a brief 'biography' of our main informants. In such a small society the position of individuals was critical. Informants were not directly paid, if only because the Panara had no understanding of the concept of work for reward, yet they took the time and patience to talk to us about what, in many cases, must have been painful and difficult subjects:

- a) Akur (male 39 - married)  
One of two surviving members of an important family group in the northern village of Puksuari. During research he was the effective

leader of the village male group, and most dances, food festivals and other rituals were performed under his direction and leadership. The general mood and level of activity in the village tended to fluctuate with his own. In particular his marital problems in 1976 resulted in extreme tensions within the village (see p. 185). Partly as a result of these problems he attempted suicide, but he subsequently recovered to play a continuing major role in village life. He was the major source of information on ritual and village activity and as a "conservative" influence was interested in and knowledgeable about Panara culture.

b) Sokredi (male 32 - married)

A young and ambitious man with whom we shared a house during residence in Panara villages. Although helpful, his knowledge of (or ability to conceptualise) Panara culture was limited and at times incorrect. He was, however, a major source of 'daily' and general information and a frequent hunting partner.

c) Polikiadi (male 14 - unmarried)

A rather extraordinary adolescent with a great interest in Panara culture and history to the extent that he could converse as an equal with senior Panara. He was one of the first individuals to recognise our linguistic difficulties and had the ability to generalise and explain in a coherent manner. As a hunting and fishing companion he consistently acted as our supporter, ensuring that we received food and news.

Among men these three individuals stand out as particularly valuable

sources. In contrast, women formed a more uniform source, and with them we commonly worked with groups rather than with individuals (the distinctions of male - individuals and female - groups is pervasive in Panara society).

Few problems were encountered in working with women and they would frequently volunteer information. In part this may well be related to the fact that we had equal language problems with men and women, the normal pattern in PNG being that men would learn Portuguese first. It is equally true that in Panara society it was women who gave most verbal instruction to children (see p. 183) and that, in many ways, was precisely our status as regards Panara culture.

Two women deserve specific mention for both their knowledge and their interest in our research:

a) Pankia (female 48 - widowed)

A senior woman, dominant in village affairs and the only grandmother in the village. Her husband had been killed in the 1967 Kayapo attack and she represented "conservative" values in the village. As the most articulate senior woman she had extensive knowledge of the 'northern group' and was a major source of genealogies. As a particular friend

of my wife, she consistently provided food and support, proving keenly aware of our difficulties.

b) Kakre (female 31 - married)

As a co-resident in the Suya village Kakre was a valuable source of daily and general information. She was married to a senior man, and the couple made great efforts to be helpful and understood our requirements. As survivors of the southern group, their position in both village and household was marginal and they tended to remain isolated from corporate activity.

CHAPTER III

THE TRADITIONAL SETTING

The Peixoto de Azevedo Basin

For the known past the Panara inhabited the basin of the River Peixoto de Azevedo (referred to as the Peixoto), an area of approximately 10,000 square miles located in the extreme north of Mato-Grosso State, centred on 10.30 degrees south and 55 degrees west. The Peixoto is a right bank tributary of the River Teles Pires, itself a major tributary of the River Tapajos (see Map 2). Flowing north-west, the Peixoto drains a well defined basin in the southern foothills of the Serra do Cachimbo, an outcrop of the Brazilian Plateau forming a prominent relief feature between the Xingu and Tapajos river systems.<sup>1</sup> Most of the area lies below 600 m, though the relief contrasts strongly with the flood plains to the north, east and west.

The Peixoto rises in ranges near the Manitsaua-Missu (a tributary of the Xingu) and for much of its length follows a well defined and confined course. Only in its lower reaches do meanders and other flood plain features become prominent. Tributaries join the Peixoto from the north-east and south-east, cutting back through a rolling landscape with numerous cataracts and rapids. Extensive flooding during the rainy season is limited to areas immediately adjacent to larger rivers and the tributaries do not form barriers to land communication.

<sup>1</sup> In large part these are the features which give the region its new importance. With the present emphasis on road and air communication, the uplands form the ideal route for the north-south communication system in Central Brazil by avoiding the swamps and flood plains to the east and west. The siting of Cachimbo and the BR-165 route are two cases of particular relevance.

As a significant feature the region appears to have a higher annual rainfall than the surrounding areas. Though still within the "Aw" category (Köppen classification) incipient features of the "Am" are present. Thus whilst the climate is one of wet with no cool season and a distinct dry season, the wet season is extended and a well defined period of rain falls in the late dry season (see fig. 1). This latter fall was emphasised by the Panara in reference to their horticultural cycle (see p. 255). The main rains occur between October and April, often as severe storms with torrential downpours and high winds. The dry season from May to October is virtually devoid of rain apart from the short spell in September. Temperatures in the rainy season are fairly even, with a high humidity, although night temperatures during the dry season may be cool and even uncomfortably so, in contrast to day temperatures rising into the 100's.

The soils of the area appear to be fertile, abundant and well drained. Alluvial sands and clays are largely confined to the lower Peixoto flood plain area, and upland soils are dominantly deep red laterites. Towards the basin periphery patches of poor stony soils are marked by savanna vegetation. In traditional horticulture the selection of garden sites was not a problem, which suggests a general richness, and this is further supported by the present demand for the region as agricultural land. It is also illustrative that peanuts were a major crop, which indicates good drainage, as yields are drastically reduced by water-logging or excessive dryness of the soil (Purseglove 1968:227).

The vegetation of the region can best be described as constantly evergreen equatorial Amazonian rain forest (Galloway 1971:339) although

FIG 1.

SUMMARY OF THE PANARA  
ECONOMIC AND RITUAL CALENDAR

SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE	JUL	AUG
<p>SHORT RAINS</p> <p>RAINY SEASON (INTA)</p> <p>CLIMATE</p>											
<p>DRY SEASON (A:KU:)</p> <p>CLIMATE</p>											
<p>HIGH QUALITY GAME</p> <p>FISH PLATFORMS - BOW AND ARROW</p> <p>FISHING IN FLOODED FOREST AREAS</p> <p>FISH 'POISONING'</p> <p>BOW AND ARROW</p> <p>FISHING FROM BANK</p> <p>GAME</p>											
<p>PLANTING</p> <p>(MAIZE HARVEST)</p> <p>CLEARANCE</p> <p>BURNING</p> <p>GARDEN CYCLE</p>											
<p>SELECTION OF NEW GARDEN SITES</p> <p>HIGH FREQUENCY OF FOOD FESTIVALS</p> <p>PUBERTY CEREMONY?</p> <p>RITUAL CYCLE</p>											
<p>EAR &amp; HIP PERFORATION</p> <p>VILLAGES RESIDENCE</p> <p>TREKKING</p> <p>RESIDENCE</p>											
<p>BRASIL NUTS</p> <p>PIQUI</p> <p>WILD FRUITS AND BERRIES</p> <p>MAIN HONEY SEASON</p> <p>WILD FRUITS AND BERRIES.</p> <p>GATHERING</p>											

transition is again evident between the true selva of the northern lowlands and the low forest with savanna to the south. In general the forest height and biomass are not fully developed, as the canopy is not completely closed, lianas are relatively frequent and ground cover is extensive. Areas of savanna are, however, relatively infrequent and varzea, or periodically flooded forest, is limited to immediate river areas. In the area visited (near the BR-165 junction) the vegetation was more luxurious than that encountered in PNK though ground cover was present and a considerable barrier to penetration. A detailed description of the flora is unavailable, but the presence, in quantity, of Brazil nut (Bertholletia sp.), cashew (Anacardium sp.) and rubber (Hevea sp.) can be interpreted as indicators of a flora approximating to that of the true equatorial rain forest (selva). These species, with a number of other unidentified hardwoods and palms were common in Peixoto but almost absent in PNK.

#### Subsistence Economics : an Introduction

The Panara exploited their environment through hunting, fishing, gardening and collecting activities. In a general description the classification "hunter-horticulturist" has a greater validity than "hunter-gatherer", as the role of gardening must be considered more important than that of collecting. The major principles of economic organisation were age and sex defined roles, seasonal variations in resources and resource emphasis and the distinction between festival and 'daily', or ritual and secular, methods of production and distribution. Age and sex roles are discussed in detail in Chapters V and VIII, and here I only include a brief summary in tabular form (Table I). Seasonal variations are summarised in Fig. 1 and are discussed in the following description



Table I

An Outline of Economic Roles

<u>age</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
childhood - adolescent	low scale -/ play hunting and fishing carrying game and supplies for mature males participation in adolescent food festivals	low scale / play in vegetable processing chores for female kin around the household - fetching water and materials from other houses carrying produce from gardens, collecting firewood, helping in primary stages of food preparation and cooking
mature adults	hunting and fishing garden clearance, planting and maintenance manufacture of articles for self and wife participation as a productive member in food festivals	control over preparation and cooking of food for immediate family participation in earth oven cooking harvesting produce in husband's garden participation in food festivals
senior adults	no defined economic role (though may continue as above)	manufacture of <u>urucum</u> blocks. (a red vegetable dye) harvesting, processing and spinning of cotton to make thread overall control of productive unit economic activity - including storage and division little involvement in primary food production unless necessary

of activities. Finally I examine food festivals as a separate topic in Chapter IX.

### Hunting

Meat was a popular food with the Panara, but its importance was as much social as dietary. In this respect it occupied a similar position to that noted among other Gê tribes, where its social value and emphasis outweigh its actual contribution to the village economy (e.g. Haybury-Lewis 1967:35). In terms of regularity and volume it was in fact horticultural produce which provided the basis of Panara diet. It should also be noted that although hunting was strictly a male occupation, it cannot be accorded the position of the prestige activity, as fishing and horticulture were also given considerable status.

In traditional society hunting was probably the most regular and important male economic occupation. Hunting was an activity enjoyed in its own right and, from the construction of bows and arrows to the chase and kill, was central to male routine. The activity showed a significant degree of organisation; mature men generally hunted for one day in three, in what was, in practice, a surprisingly regular pattern. Men did not hunt as individuals,<sup>1</sup> but in groups of two or three, typically with

<sup>1</sup> During research I can remember no instance when a man hunted alone, apart from duck shooting, which was limited to brief visits at dawn and dusk to a lagoon within the immediate village environs. In exegesis men stated that they did 'not hunt alone' and in practice when no partner was available a man would take his wife and gun, saying he was 'going to get honey'; typically he would return with an armadillo. In addition, excessive trips with a wife were considered 'mean' and therefore asocial; a concept apparently relevant to Panara notions of game division between hunting partners. (see p. 33)

membership from different households. One result of this practice was that on any one day a house would have a representative hunting or fishing, so obtaining a fairly regular flow of game for each household. The party would leave soon after dawn and would generally remain away from the village until mid or late afternoon, unless a large animal was killed early in the day. On some occasions groups waited or travelled back to the village slowly to avoid an early return; "to go home" (ts:kre-ta) was determined by the position of the sun.

Hunting was by bow and arrow, with only limited use of clubs, which were cut as required and discarded after use. Hunting was a forest activity and the Panara made no mention of the savanna or of the use of fire as a technique. In the forest the small group usually divided, with the members remaining in the same general area and communicating by means of calls and whistles which conveyed information on the size, number and direction of prey. With the termination of hunting, decided by time, amount of game or the absence of game in the vicinity, the group reformed and the total game was distributed between its members. Smaller game (e.g. birds, armadillo, monkey etc) was approximately balanced in the forest and larger game was divided at the point of kill for portage to the village in sections, or carried whole and distributed in the village before cooking. A similar practice was used in fishing and it should be emphasised that group identity was stressed above individual prowess; generally no man returned empty handed unless all did. In adolescent groups the re-allocation was given strong emphasis in attempts to imitate their elders.

Game was transported to the village in crude baskets constructed from leaves and bark fibre, or was tied by the feet and carried suspended from the forehead by a bark fibre sling. Mature men would only carry when necessary and then usually left the game outside the village for collection by younger members of their household. Entrance into the village was in silence and in single file, with younger members in front. Whilst men were obviously delighted with success, there was little overt display of meat by individuals. Indeed the distribution outside the village often made it difficult to determine exactly who shot what - an ignorance commonly shared by the wives.<sup>1</sup>

Festival or ceremonial hunting will be considered in detail in Chapter IX, though a brief outline is required here. Meat festivals were organised by village male groups and involved an extended hunt by all village males. Meat was cooked and preserved over smoking fires in forest camps for return to the village where, in a grand finale, portions were distributed to all village members. Apart from the preservation of meat by smoking and the duration of the hunt, festival hunting techniques were identical to those in "daily" activity. It should also be noted that meat festivals were major events in the ritual cycle.

Success in hunting was seen as a result of maturity, experience and physical attributes, rather than of the intervention of 'external' forces.

<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that all hunters from the group returned with equal portions, but rather that all returned with some. The degree of balancing may also have depended on the relationship between the hunters. It is indicative that partners were often "brothers-in-law", a relationship with an emphasis on male cooperation (see p. 196).

As positive influences, small feathers were attached to the main arrow fletchings to give a truer flight, and a man's bow-string arm was sometimes bleached to promote strength (see p. 130). The faculty of vision was not referred to as a limiting factor and in general hunting was conceptualised as a physical activity reflecting the physiological values of the Panara. Restrictions on hunting were limited and associated with the potential 'sympathetic' results of vigorous physical activity on "offspring"; the major occasions for such influence were during the late foetal and early post-natal growth of children and during the initial growth phase of a man's peanut crop (see p. 267).

In contrast to "fish" (tepi), animals were not referred to by a generic term; even in festival contexts species were referred to individually. The most sought after animal and the most popular meat was tapir (tu:di)<sup>1</sup>, which combines qualities of size, texture and fat/juice content. Next in order of preference were the peccaries (nankio and ioriti), deer, (asu), monkey (kwakri:di) and a range of smaller animals in which tortoises (aku:di), armadillo (into and tidi:ti), the rodents paca (inkia) and aybara (intuñ) were prominent. The quality, and hence popularity, of meat from larger animals was conceptualised as varying with the seasons. ~~was~~ during the rainy season and early dry season meat was considered to be "better to eat" (na:sisi) as it generally contained a higher fat content after the animals had fed on the abundant fruits, berries and young vegetation to be found in the forest. In contrast, dry season meat was characterised as "dry", hard and lacking concentrations of fat (san-no). A

<sup>1</sup> I include only English and Panara terms in the text. Latin nomenclature is given in Table 2.

Table 2

1

(Principle Panara foods)

English	Panara	Latin
tapir	inku:di	Tapirus terrestris
white lipped peccary	nankio ("hot")	Tayassu peccari
collared peccary	ioriti	Tayassu tajacu
deer	iosu:	(various)
monkey: unident	kwakri:di	
howler	i-koñ	Alouatta fusca
giant armadillo	tidi:ti	Prionodontes giganteus
leopard armadillo	torinsi	Canassous centralis
nine-banded armadillo	into ("eye")	Dasypus novemcinctus
tortoise	a:ku:di	Geochelone carbonaria
turtle	apiañ	Podocnemis (expansa ?)
capybara	intuñ	Hydrochoerus sp.
paca	inkia ("hair")	Cuniculus paca
jao	koti:da	
heron (unidentified)	kro-kro	
toucan	kwe:-kwe:n	Ramphastidae fam.
ateater, giant	potiti:	Myrmecophaga tridactyla
sloth	py:deriti ("two")	prob. Choloepus hoffmanni
cayman	ni	Caiman niger
jaguar	iobo	Panthera onca
vulture	nampuñ	Cathartidae fam.
eagle	sur ("pain")	Acciptridae fam.
worms	kwansobu:	
snakes, small	nanka ("ugly")	

1 This table is arranged in approximate order of preference of consumption. Game towards the top is 'nice to eat' (na-si-si) and below the line is prohibited. With problems of identification in a new environment the list does not pretend to be exhaustive.

variety of birds were hunted when found but were seldom the reason for a specific trip. The jacu (kotida), mutum and various other river fowl provided the main source.

Traditionally meat was cooked by roasting in an earth oven (a description of this basic process is included in the horticulture section of this chapter (p. 43)), and smaller game, such as birds, was grilled on the embers of an open fire. Whenever possible meat was cooked in combination with vegetable produce, which absorbs meat juices and fats. This reached a peak of expression in delicacies where sections of tapir, tortoise or armadillo fat were cooked in this manner: the result, a kind of "fried bread", was extremely popular. In more general terms, both meat and vegetable products were not eaten alone; they were explicitly seen as complementary products.<sup>1</sup>

Certain animals and birds were also valued as a source of materials and were hunted with this purpose specifically in mind. Tapir were valued for their hooves (inku:di-kur), the paca for teeth (inkia:-su:a) monkeys for teeth, howler monkey (ikon) for its voice box, the bones of certain unidentified river birds were used for flutes, and feathers, principally from the eagle and parrot, were used for arrows and decoration.

At a later point I suggest that the earth oven represents a synthesis of male and female economic activity. Here the location of earth oven looking at the end of the day corresponds with the time of male return from hunting or fishing and also the termination of female work in vegetable preparation. This expression of synthesis is also evident in meat festivals. (see p. 321)

Prohibited game were relatively few, and exegesis referred to a variety of reasons. Certain animals were excluded as "ugly" (nanka): these included most snakes (nanka)<sup>1</sup>, vultures (nampun), worms (kwansobu), pu:deriti and perhaps alligator (mi). Such animals were usually killed and whenever possible not touched and certainly not eaten. Eagle (sur) and jaguar (iobo) were not eaten, but for other reasons than "ugliness". Eagles were hunted for their feathers and stood in direct contrast to vultures. The former were admired as agile and fearless attackers, and as physically beautiful, with feathers which were associated with the ritual passage of males to cosmological domains after death (see p. 126). In contrast, vultures were described as physically ugly, ungainly birds which live on animals killed by other forces and with no use as materials. This contrast was given greater emphasis by Panara in PNK by associating the vulture with the social situations during contact when vultures consumed and so destroyed unburied Panara at the Southern Village (p. 14). Jaguar (iobo, also "dog" or "cat") were hunted by groups of men but were not eaten either as a daily or as a ritual food. The animal was feared and admired as a real threat in Peixoto villages and as an animal exhibiting many of the physical properties valued by the Panara. In exegesis no reason for dietary restrictions could be obtained, but there were emphatic denials of consumption.

Finally, a number of animals and birds were not generally eaten because of the quality of their meat: sloth was considered "ugly" (in

<sup>1</sup> Nanka refers to both "physical ugliness" (see p. 121) and as a generic term for snakes. Although there is no indication that "ugly" people were considered "snake-like" it is apparent that snakes epitomise physical "ugliness" in the natural world.



particular slow moving) and extremely hard and dense; ant eater (potiti) was regarded in a similar manner, but might be eaten in extreme hunger. Here the meat was regarded as a joke rather than as food, though it should be noted that the meat was a prescribed food in a horticultural ritual (p. 263).

### Fishing

In Peixoto fishing was an important activity, but secondary to hunting; meat was preferred to fish as food. In technique, organisation, cooking method and classification, fish (tepi) can, however, be related directly with meat. Fishing was by two methods: bow and arrow and 'poisoning', both of which were organised as daily and festival activities, with the four permutations forming an approximate annual cycle (see fig. 1).

As a daily activity throughout most of the year, fishing was by small groups of men using bow and arrow techniques in the shallow streams and rivers of the Peixoto system. The clear water and shallows formed by rapids were particularly suitable for this method and from informant descriptions certain rivers were abundant in good quality fish. On larger rivers and during the rainy season platforms were constructed by lashing saplings to trees as noted by Cowell (personal communication). As far as is known fish traps were not used.

At the height of the dry season the Panara made extensive use of lianas to stun small fish in the network of pools and lagoons left by the retreating rivers. The scale of operation would appear to have been small<sup>1</sup> though during the months of August and September the practice

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that poisoning was limited to small areas. In one PAN example a large lake was selected and the amount of liana prepared had no effect. The Panara were surprised but said they were used to smaller pools.

provided substantial amounts of fish. Poisoning was a group activity, and, to my knowledge, was organised either according to the same principles as food festivals or by trek groups.<sup>1</sup> The liana (hakio) was collected by all participant men from the forest in late afternoon. Each man cut 5 or 6 one metre lengths which were then pounded with a club or axe until the internal fibres had separated. The lengths were tied into bundles and carried to the village for storage overnight. The following day the party travelled to the selected 'water' where the bundles were alternately dipped in the water and beaten on the land. As the white 'poison' spread out from the bundles, small and medium fish floated to the surface. If the event was a fish festival (tepi-sokiuri) the fish were collected by adolescent males, but if it was a trek group, women would also participate in collection. When streams were exploited, a crude dam was constructed to catch the stunned fish. Bow and arrow techniques were also used for fish festivals, in which case the produce was cooked and preserved by smoking before portage to the village for consumption.

In all methods of fishing the produce was 'balanced' between members of the group. Fish were not eaten away from the village, and non-festival fishing trips were limited to one day's duration; during research I can remember no instance of a "daily" hunting or fishing group remaining away from the village overnight. Prior to returning to the village with their catch, the fish were washed and strung on thin lianas and some care was

<sup>1</sup> Trek groups and trekking are discussed on p. 49. In outline they were large groups travelling for some time away from the village in the dry season. These should not be confused with food festivals which concern the whole village population and are focussed on the village.

... in 'presentation', with the fish ordered by size and species. ... with meat, fish were given to younger household residents to carry or ... left for collection at the point of entry to the village.

The Panara distinguished between "small fish" (tepi-pa; pa: "child") and medium/large fish (tepi). The former were associated with the poisoning technique and were characterised by their lack of digestive organs (i-iñ) and blood streams, and as mud-eaters (ku:ba-kukre:n). The latter formed a category in that they required gutting to remove excreta and required careful cooking to transform blood (nanpiuz). The most popular species were those with a high fat content, a firm flesh and few bones, such as tukunare and pintado. As far as I know all species of fish were eaten, though, for example, the sting ray (asur), with a poor taste and soft flesh was unpopular. For large fish the best season was towards the end of the rains, when forest feeding had resulted in the accumulation of large fat deposits. As with meat, these could be separated for cooking. Electric eels were popular for the extremely rich and fatty flesh -- an attraction outweighing the numerous small bones. Equally, "small fish" were highly prized as they also yielded large quantities of fat.

Whenever possible, fish, like meat, was cooked in combination with vegetable produce in the earth oven (p. 45). Smaller fish were often grilled on the embers of an open fire for immediate consumption, but this method was not used for larger quantities. Smoking racks appear to have been used primarily as a method of preservation for fish festivals and treks, and it would be difficult to see a wider application in traditional Panara households (see p. 72). Another major use of smoked fish was as flour: smoking was continued until the fish was dry, when it was pounded;

the flour was mixed with water and vegetable flours for cooking.

From the evidence of visitors to Peixoto, who describe complex patterns of fishing platforms and trails leading to rivers, and from informant descriptions of the area, with references to fish-rich and fish-poor rivers, we can assume that fishing was an important source of protein. This contention is supported in the later discussion of "blood", where it is apparent that fish were attributed similar properties to animal flesh.

### Horticulture

The first view of Panara culture from the air in 1968 was of an extraordinary garden, where crops were planted in geometrically ordered patterns (a photograph is reproduced in Cowell 1973 facing p. 102; also see fig. 22). This provides a vivid illustration of the importance of horticulture in Panara society and economy, where their construction was of considerable complexity and significance. I will only introduce the topic at this point, as a detailed examination requires a prior knowledge of Panara social and spatial organisation and is therefore presented in Chapter VIII.

Gardens were located in virgin forest within the close village environs.

The Panara said that areas with few large trees were selected, to ease the task of clearance with stone axes, as "ringing" or the use of fire were not practised, and no tree should be left standing in the garden area. Gardens were cleared, planted and "owned" by mature married men and were harvested by the owner's wife in daily collection, or by village male groups in festival collections (see p. 289). Construction followed typical slash-and-burn techniques, with clearance of vegetation during the initial dry season, June to August, burning before the onset

of rains in September and planting after the initial rains in October. Burning did not present the problems typical in "Tropical Rainy Climates" as the distinctive dry season permitted more than adequate drying of the felled vegetation. A new garden was cleared by each productive unit each year. Thus at any one point of time a garden "owner" and his wife would have access to a number of gardens in varying stages of production: a new garden reaching maturity, the previous year's gardens in full production, gardens which were largely overgrown but still producing certain crops, and older gardens now reverted to secondary vegetation, which could still be exploited for certain long term products.

Following the extensive clearance of debris left unburnt, crops were planted by men in a formal order which can be summarised as three zones. On the perimeter of the garden various creepers and inedible crops were planted in, or adjacent to, the piled wood and debris removed from the garden. Moving inwards a broad zone of white-yellow maize interspersed with manioc was planted in regular circles with regular spacing between plants; this zone I refer to as the periphery. Enclosed in the centre of the garden was a well cleared flat area which was planted with bisecting lines of red maize, two to three rows deep, with sweet potatoes and peanuts planted in the remaining areas; this I refer to as the garden centre. The range of crops identified and planted by the Panara was substantial (see Table 3) and in Chapter VIII I will suggest that horticulture had important sociological significance as a representation of village social space. Here I will limit my remarks to the preparation and cooking methods of selected crops which are referred to in the examination of social organisation in Part II.

Table 3

## Traditional Panara Crops

Crop	Latin	Panara generic term	Panara varieties	Related concepts
peanuts	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>	surti	ku:pũpia surtinakri:di se:akia:di surtinape: inpo	? peanuts, large black ? milk
maize	<i>Zea mays</i>	musu:	supoa sumampri kwakretinto sumanprur	white (yellow) (black) - into eye red
sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batata</i>	itu:	itu:kian̄-si itu:kian̄-pa: lmpobu:	? ? pa: - child ?
yams	<i>Dioscorea</i> sp.	kræur	krakri:di kræurkri:di kræur nampri	
	<i>Cissus</i>	tu:su:poa	tu:su:poa	?
manioc	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	ku:a	se:akian̄ sokwe:a: se:amprur	black ? red
banana	<i>Musa</i> cvs	pakwa	te:amprur te:u:a sanasonse: ku:bamata:a sodikiwa poripoa pakwampe:	red ? breast to earth ? ? ?
calabash	<i>Crescentia</i> L.	inko	inko	water
cotton	<i>Gossypium</i> sp.	asurdi	asurdi	formal anger
urucum	<i>Bixa orellana</i> L.	pu:	pu:	garden
pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita</i> spp.	kurku:di	kurku:di	?

Table 3

## Traditional Panara Crops

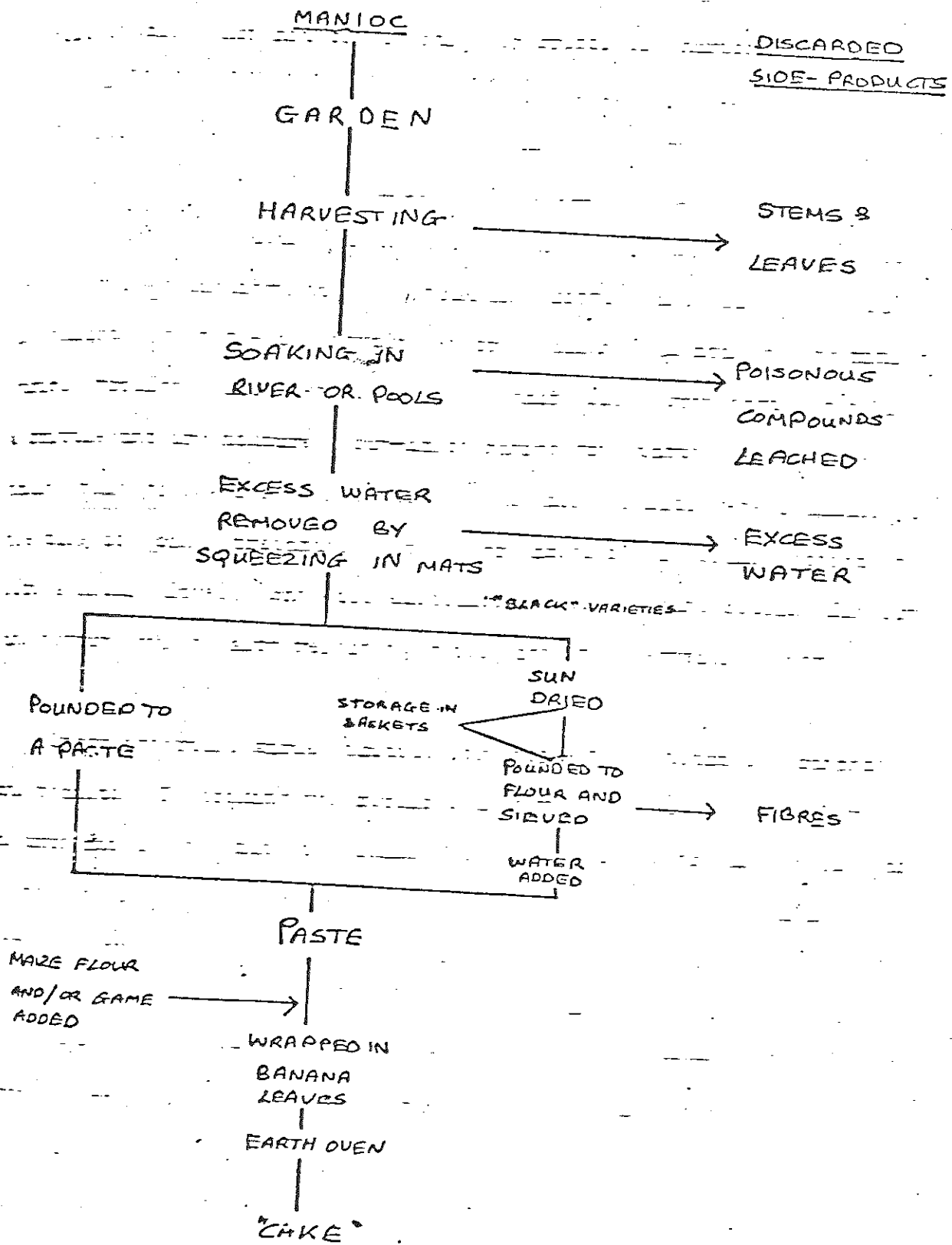
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	<i>Dioscorea sp.</i>	kræur	krakri:di kræurkri:di kræur nampri	
	<i>Cissus</i>	tu:su:poa	tu:su:poa	?
cassia	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	ku:a	se:akiañ sokwe:a: se:amprur	black ? red
banana	<i>Musa cys</i>	pakwa	te:amprur te:u:a sanasonse: ku:bamata:a sodikiwa poripoa pakwanpe:	red ? breast to earth ? ? ?
calabash	<i>Crescentia L.</i>	inko	inko	water
cotton	<i>Gossypium sp.</i>	asurdi	asurdi	formal anger
zucchini	<i>Bixaprellana L.</i>	pu:	pu:	garden
ampkin	<i>Cucurbita spp.</i>	kurku:di	kurku:di	?

The traditional staple vegetable food of the Panara was kiando, a product I refer to as "cake", following other students of Gê societies; the Panara term refers to "grey" - e.g. grey hair is inki-kiando or circuit is kiando-ti:di. "Cake" was produced from maize or manioc with maize being the more popular ingredient. According to the Panara maize provides taste and nourishment and manioc contributes texture and nourishment. In addition to its importance as a staple food, "cake" appears to have had important social significance, in particular, the process of making "cake" reflects principles of social organisation.

"Cake" production was a fundamental female activity and, I suggest, one which symbolises female socio-economic identity. Manioc (ku:á) was traditionally limited to bitter varieties requiring initial processing to remove poisonous compounds before preparation and consumption. In common with other Gê, the Panara process was relatively simple (fig. 2), with the absence of important side products or of technological complexity in the form of baskets, sieves, graters or squeezing tubes, such as, for example, those used by the Barasana (C. Hugh-Jones 1977:212). Manioc tubers were harvested as required from the garden, carried to the river, or a pool, by women and placed under the water. After three or four days' soaking the hard skin separated, the interior was reduced to pulp, the poisonous compounds had been leached and the central pithy fibres were easily removed. The pulp residue was washed, loaded into baskets and carried to the village, a task normally carried out during the first bathe of the day by women. In or behind the house the manioc was squeezed in small hand held mats (piobo) to remove excess water before pounding to a smooth consistency by pestle (kobasur) and mortar (asua). The residual water, fibre, skin and other plant remains were not utilised as food but were discarded. The pulp, with a texture of bread dough, was wrapped in



Fig. 2.  
THE MANIOC PROCESS.



Banana leaves to form a parcel measuring some 30-100 cm in length, 10-20 cm in width and about 4-6 cm deep, which formed the "cake". In an alternative process certain manioc varieties were taken from the river and sun-dried on racks behind the house. Once dry, these were stored in baskets and were pounded when required to form a flour, which was then mixed with water to form paste. "Cake" prepared in this manner was valued more highly and was described as better tasting (na-si-si) or "less sour".

In maize preparation, white-yellow varieties could be removed from the cob when green and pounded to paste in a mortar for use in "cake" or alternatively toasted over an open fire on the cob. Red maize was left in the garden to sun-dry before harvesting for storage. This variety was pounded to flour and mixed with manioc paste for "cake" when required. Flour from dried manioc or maize was sifted and graded by using mats and not sieves. The woman sat with the mat sloped against her body, the ungraded flour was placed at the top and the larger particles fell to the bottom of the mat to be recycled for additional pounding; smaller particles remained in the centre of the mat and were removed for use.

"Cake" and all large quantities of fish, meat or other vegetables were cooked in earth ovens (kien "stone"), a cooking method common to the Gê. Earth oven cooking was a female task and in Panara society was organised as a formal group procedure. Specific varieties of fire wood were collected in prepared lengths and arranged to form a small tower on the earth oven site behind the house. Large stones (kien) were piled on top and the structure burnt to heat the stones. These were then taken out and the "cakes" were placed on the hot surface, with additional stones placed on top of them. These were then covered with banana

and earth and ashes, and left to cook for approximately two to  
hours.

The cooked "cake" was a slab of grey-green substance, having the  
texture of glue when hot but becoming progressively harder with time.  
"cake" was best eaten hot, as over time its appearance, taste and texture  
became increasingly unappetising. Generally one earth oven provided "cake"  
for three to four days. Preparation was a culinary art, and younger women  
were relegated to primary tasks whilst mature women assumed responsibility  
for the more demanding stages of pounding, sifting and wrapping. "Cake"  
was evaluated by taste and texture, where a balance was achieved by mixing  
various products which were available: maize flour gave taste, but also  
a brittle and dry texture; sun-dried manioc gave taste; and "squeezed"  
manioc pulp gave a smoother texture. When meat or fish were available at  
the time of "cake" preparation, they were added raw in small sections to  
form a middle layer. When cooked, sealed in "cake", game retains flavour  
and texture whilst also releasing juices into the vegetable layers.

Other important garden produce were yams, sweet potatoes, bananas  
and peanuts. If cooking was required an earth oven was used for large  
amounts and an open fire for small quantities. Yams were also cooked and  
pounded to form a paste, though in PNK this was infrequent. Bananas were  
harvested when unripe and buried behind houses to ripen. Gardens also  
contained a number of inedible crops of importance: the plant yielding  
red vegetable dye, urucum (pu:), cotton (asurdi) and gourds (inko).

There is no evidence that fruit trees other than bananas or palms were  
planted.

Gathering

To conclude this outline of economic resources we must examine the relatively irregular and seasonal activity of 'gathering'. It is especially important to establish that gathering cannot be given the same prominence as that advanced to other Gê groups (e.g. the Shavante - Maybury-Lewis 1967:43). Rather, in Panara economics the collection of berries, wild roots, nuts, honey and various insects provided a supplemented variety to an essentially garden based vegetable diet. Certain wild products were important as foods during times of dietary restriction, when the Panara made a clear distinction between meat, fish and garden products as "strong" foods and wild products as "weak" foods. This topic is developed in Chapter V.

In general the Panara do not appear to have followed the concept of 'living off the land' whilst in or away from the village. On daily trips, hunting or fishing, wild resources were noted, but foraging seldom disrupted the task in hand; rather, a specific trip was made at a later date to exploit the resource. On meat or fish festival expeditions, when a number of days were spent away from the village, emphasis was placed on taking sufficient "cake", and, in my experience, a return of the expedition was often made when supplies ran low. In the same way, trekking groups (see p. 49 ) took large supplies of garden produce and sent small parties back to the village to replenish supplies.

Wild roots did not form an integral part of Panara diet, though plants were often pointed out as edible in the forest. This may possibly be a reflection of the relative absence of savanna in Peixoto, as this is the major root gathering environment. Various fungi and termites were

eaten raw, but never in quantity or with particular relish, and a large variety of fruits and berries was exploited, generally in a very short season during the rains. At this time small groups made specific trips, returning to the village with large quantities for instant consumption. Palm heart (port. palmito) was abundant and available throughout the year. An important food at times of diet restriction, this was either eaten raw or baked in an earth oven. Palm nuts (kwadikian) were also eaten and those containing insect grubs were particularly popular when lightly roasted for their fat content. The piqui fruit (sob-a-sur) was also important, with collection by daily and festival methods.

Two wild products require specific mention as important and popular foods: the Brazil nut and honey. Brazil nut (duksu:) collection was limited to a short season after the rains had weakened the nut stem. Brazil nuts were the subject of "daily" and festival collection and the stands of the trees at Peixoto were focal points of intensive activity during the collection season. Descriptions of traditional village refuse zones attest to the popularity of the nut (Cowell 1973:175) and at the Peixoto road camp the discarded shells presented formidable hazards on the airstrip. The nut was highly valued as both "good to eat" (na-si-si) and nourishing. With the absence of sugar cane, honey (lampe:n) was a popular food and the subject of frequent "daily" and festival collection. Honey was generally found in rotten sections of tree trunks and the Panara would spend considerable energy and time, with no little danger, to obtain even a small quantity. Collection was rarely combined with other activities, though the nests were generally located during hunting or fishing expeditions. The Panara placed emphasis on collection during the dry

season, when, they said, access was easier, the honey more concentrated and sweeter, and without concentrations of pollen (siñ). In "daily" collection the typical collecting group was a nuclear family, and honey collection was the only regular reason for joint husband and wife economic activity. Large quantities of honey were eaten at the site of collection and the remainder was carried to the village in leaf baskets for division within the household. Dead bees, grubs and wax were eaten together with the honey, either in a pure state or diluted with water. Better quality waxes were retained and stored by men for use in manufacturing.

Finally, continuous and extremely important collecting trips were made by women to provide basic materials for most economic processes. Though mainly limited to the immediate village environs, unless accompanied by a male, these trips still formed an integral part of the flow of materials into the village. Large quantities of wild banana leaves (dukso) were collected in large bundles for use in "cake" preparation, as working surfaces, for covering earth ovens and for lining carrying baskets. Bark fibre (pium-pium) - the inner bark of certain trees - was used extensively and served most tying, binding and carrying purposes. Lengths were obtained at the site of requirement and discarded after use. Daily trips were also made for firewood (pi), generally found in the immediate vicinity of gardens or village, and certain varieties were sought for particular burning qualities; and frequent trips were made throughout the day to the river or stream for water (inko).

### Trekking

Few details are known of traditional trekking practice and it was clearly apparent that PMX patterns were highly modified (see p. 53). Up to this point I have mentioned two forms of economic organisation, which I have referred to a "daily" and "festival". Whilst the former was organised by family and household groups and the latter by the village, both were concerned with consumption of produce within the village. In trekking, large groups left the village during the dry season in order to move between forest camps exploiting local resources: production and consumption were away from the village. The trekking season fell between the time of garden clearance (June and July) and burning and planting (August and September), when garden owners had to be near the village. Treks appear to have been shorter than those of the Kayapo or Shavante, as they averaged little more than three weeks in the 1976 dry season. The expeditions were directed towards specific resources, with meat, fish and honey as principal objectives. The Peixoto basin was criss-crossed by a complex and extensive network of trails and camps which led away from the villages, and it is probable that these were the result of trekking.

As the technique of trek economics was similar to those practised in "daily" and festival economics, I will leave the subject at this point and return to the question of trek group membership in Chapter VI.

### PANARA TECHNOLOGY

Prior to the initial contact overtures Panara access to "civilised" materials was limited to a few knives<sup>1</sup> captured in raids. During that period the Panara subsisted with what can best be termed 'stone-age' technology, with materials and tools selected from their immediate environment. Traditionally, possessions were few in number and simple in construction, with a family's belongings easily packed into baskets and carried.

In presenting a picture of Panara technology it is perhaps best to consider absent techniques first. In traditional society the concepts of milling and pottery were absent, with the exception of small fire-baked clay pots used in the preparation of the vegetable dye urucum (Bixorellana L.) (see p. 156). This was not referred to as cooking by the Panara and there is no evidence to suggest that any extension was made to food preparation. The absence of pottery is common to the Gê and can almost certainly be correlated with the importance of the earth oven as a cooking technique. Secondly, the use of cotton thread was limited to spinning, binding and crochet, with weaving absent; and finally, there was a striking absence of 'household possessions' as, for example, hammocks, sleeping platforms, stools or complex basketry. There was a very small range of ritual ornaments; most Panara artifacts had a functional economic value.

Manufacturing was dominantly a male activity, with wood, plant fibre and cotton thread as the principle raw materials. The basic wood, as used

<sup>1</sup> Knives (ka-sur "stone"? "angry") were highly valued possessions in pre-contact society. When knives broke the fragments were made into new knives by binding on a new handle with cotton thread. This binding ended with a large loop so that the knife could be carried from the male owner's neck, hanging down his back.



for the primary economic tools - bows, clubs, digging sticks, pestles and spinning sticks - was a thorny palm (unidentified), of which the refined vertical columnar grain, density and 'blackness' were given as significant properties. The wood was split with relative ease along its vertical axis, and had great lateral strength and flexibility. Fibre for the construction of baskets and mats was from a variety of palm, collected when yellow, sun dried and then split into sections for plaiting by men. Cotton (asurdi) was cultivated as a garden crop, spun by senior women, and used in manufacture by men as thread. The tools for manufacturing were limited, but artifacts of a high quality were produced. The basic cutting tool for wood was the stone axe (ki ?) with secondary shaping by means of peccary teeth (nankio) attached to the lower jaw which served as a handle. Additional smoothing was done by rubbing with leaves and a final polish by the application of beeswax. In basketry and mat construction a temporary frame was used to hold the work, which was plaited by hand. Cotton was worked in crochet using a small hook which was carved from a fish bone.

#### INFLUENCES AND CHANGES AFTER CONTACT

From 1968 the Panara have been increasingly exposed to influences from the external world, and these have radically modified their traditional culture. In this concluding section to my introduction to the Panara historical and physical setting, I will outline the more prominent themes of 'change'. Many of the modifications have been popular to the Panara, as new techniques and materials have greatly diversified and expanded their modes of production. As I will suggest in Chapter V, the implications for social organisation are less clear, but possibly no less fundamental.



Although the Panara were totally fascinated by the road culture, its very remoteness and incomprehensibility resulted in little long term impact on their material culture. Residence and contact with Xingu Indian groups has had a more pervasive and profound impact, perhaps as the common factor of living in, and subsisting from the same environment has provided a more immediate model for identification; the benevolence and cultural separation of "civilisation" at Peixoto were replaced by competition in PNK. A comprehensive account of "change" in Panara society would demand a separate thesis and here I merely attempt to provide an outline by reference to environmental, technological and political influences.

#### Environmental Influences

A principle change following transfer to the Xingu was movement from an essentially silvan environment to one dominated by rivers. As a low lying flood plain, the northern PNK landscape is one of large meandering rivers flowing through an area with no significant relief features, where swamps, ox-bow lakes, cut-offs and recolonised river courses are the principal land forms. Large areas near the rivers are liable to flooding for as long as six months during the rainy season, communication throughout the year is focussed on the rivers and, for reasons of economic convenience and PNK political strategy, villages are located on or near rivers (see Map 2). It is also PNK policy that settlement should be located near the River Xingu and not on the upper courses of its tributaries, i.e. in the vicinity of colonisation on the boundaries of the PNK.

The Panara had no traditional knowledge of canoes and found adaptation to the riverine environment difficult. Initially they attempted to continue with traditional land oriented hunting and fishing techniques, but these proved unsuccessful, particularly in the relatively exhausted

vicinity of established villages. As an economic necessity the Panara rapidly adopted a canoe culture and, in line with other PNK groups, moved from a meat oriented economy to one with fish as the major source of protein.<sup>1</sup> The use of canoes also became common in travelling to the Posts, for use in reaching new hunting areas, and, most significantly, for 'trekking' to more distant land areas. By mid-1976 the Panara had constructed three canoes of medium quality, and were using them as a matter of course. The introduction of canoes was paralleled by the adoption of hook and line fishing methods, using materials supplied by the Posts, which were more suitable for the deep and often murky waters of the Xingu system than the traditional bow and arrow. One result of canoe and hook and line technique and guns in hunting was an increase in the economic importance of adolescents. In traditional society adolescents would have functioned as 'apprentices', contributing less than mature men. However, in PNK they proved quicker to learn new methods, and in some instances became the most important providers of protein in economic units. (See Chapter IV).

A less immediate, though perhaps no less fundamental, impact of the transfer from a silvan to a riverine environment was the distortion of 'space': a modification in the exploitation of the village environs. In effect the village hinterland was reduced from a fairly homogeneous concentric pattern:  in a forest area to a half circle  when located on a river, with further barriers imposed by swamps and flooded areas. The sociological implications of this are less clear, as traditional concentric models were retained as conceptualisations although in practice activities and communication were lineal (along rivers) in

<sup>1</sup> This trend is noticeable among the Suyá and Kayapo in the PNK. The Suyá in particular are now almost exclusively dependent on canoes and many of the younger men find the forest 'unpleasant' and to be avoided if possible.

character (see page 377). At the time of our departure the Panara were incorporating lineal concepts in viewing the 'world' as an "open ended structure" linked by rivers. Whilst this did not invalidate the traditional model (fig. 5), their perception of the universe was certainly being modified. To illustrate these changes I include a series of 'perception maps' in Appendix E. In the wider context of Lowland South America there would appear to be a significant correlation between the importance of rivers in cosmology and settlement location and the 'openness' of the social universe - as, for example, among the Vaupés groups. In contrast, Gê societies tend to impose a socio-spatial model onto a forest or savanna landscape without particular reference to rivers - in effect they are closed structures.<sup>1</sup>

The change from a silvan to a riverine environment also affected exploitation of natural resources, as the PNK forest proved significantly different from that in Peixoto. A variety of plants and trees formerly used were not present in PNK; in particular the thorny palm which had been traditionally used in technology. Other potential woods were not adopted during the time of research. In PNK the Brazil nut, piqui, and cashew trees were extremely sparse, and their importance as seasonal foods virtually ceased. Equally, after three transfers in two years, Panara knowledge of the area in which they were resident was minimal and this resulted in difficulties during daily activity and severely limited longer treks on which more distant areas were visited. In horticulture the poor alluvial

<sup>1</sup> Among the Gê the Bororo are an exception to this generalisation, as the eight clans are divided by a north-south axis with reference to "upper" and "lower"; or, when the village is located on a water course, to "upstream" and "downstream" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:142). This does, however, appear to be a classificatory device within a concentric and closed structure rather than evidence that the society is organised by "lineal" principles.

clays and sands of the PNX appeared to be unsuitable for Panara gardens and the hardy crop of manioc inevitably replaced the more demanding crops of maize, yams and peanuts. The ambitious gardens planted by the Panara in 1976 were recognised by the more experienced Suyá and Post Indians as probably being doomed to failure, and they made strong attempts to ensure that manioc rather than maize was planted.

#### Technology and Material Culture

In the four years after contact Panara material culture has been transformed from a state of "impoverishment" to a level approaching that of 'interior Brazilians'. The new materials and techniques influenced most facets of life, with a particular impact in the domestic sphere. Houses are now of "neo-Brazilian" design with wooden walls, a 'thatched' roof and a pounded sand floor. These contrasted radically with traditional 'shelters', and provided interior work areas, greater comfort, and support for hammocks etc., and were far more permanent. With large beams and a complex construction, home building was now undertaken by large groups of men, as opposed to the traditional organisation by family groups including women. Inside the house, sleeping platforms with mosquito nets were common, permitting a significant degree of privacy, and on the walls shelves were constructed to store the ever-expanding range of new possessions: guns, ammunition, hooks and lines, pots, clothing etc. The major source of these materials was from FUNAI through the PNX Posts; initially they were given as gifts to bring the Panara near to Xingu standards, but more recently they have become payments for labour or goods. The Panara became dependent on these goods and, therefore, on the maintenance of good relations with the Post.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Footnote on next page.

Manioc was the staple food available to the Panara in the PNK, and the methods of processing and preparation have diversified through the adoption of Xingu techniques. The process practised by the Panara by late 1976 was Xinguano and not traditional, as described on page 43. In the new process the raw tuber was carried directly to the household where, after removal of the skin, it was reduced to a pulp by grating. The pulp was washed through a mat into a large earthenware vessel to allow the starch content to settle. The surface water was then removed and the now hard starch cut out as blocks for storage. This method had a number of attractions:

- a) the starch blocks could be stored for as long as two weeks without deterioration, which, together with the possibility of completing the process within one day, gave the process the advantage of flexibility.
- b) When the starch was crumbled to powder and sieved it could be grilled as a flat 'pancake' (Xingu - beiju) within minutes over an open fire.
- c) Beiju is a tasty and well textured "cake" and is ideal when eaten with roasted, grilled or boiled fish and meat.

1 As elsewhere in Lowland South America, the 'goods' or presente of civilisation have become a serious problem in PNK. Once societies have entered the cycle of dependence on hooks, line, salt, guns etc., supplies of these materials present problems. In PNK this is particularly the case as the societies do not have 'official' access to the 'open markets' outside the boundaries of the PNK. As a result these supplies have become a powerful instrument in political manoeuvring by both the PNK authorities and the Indians; on the one hand the authorities have created a political structure based on "cheffe" (perhaps the equivalent of a "Minister of External Relations") which is central to the complex political structure of the PNK, and, on the other hand, the Indians can use the threat of going outside the PNK to obtain supplies as a lever against the authorities. More recently, and particularly under the direction of Olympio Serra, this policy has been modified so that Indians now work at the Posts or grow 'cash' crops (rice) in return for credit or supplies. This is a complex and extremely interesting subject that merits a more detailed examination.

2) The side products of manioc fibre (the coarse vegetable material left after the washing out of starch) can be dried and added to the starch in beiju to expand the quantity. In addition, the water that is separated from the starch can be boiled to remove the poison, and then produces an extremely popular and nourishing drink (manioc-water). When made with sweet manioc varieties available in PNK this drink becomes the reason for the activity. Farinha, or the toasted flakes of manioc and fibre, was only occasionally produced, as it could generally be obtained through barter or begging.

Whilst the production of traditional "cake" did not disappear, it was relegated to secondary importance by beiju. The implications of this modification were twofold. Firstly, the new process involved a new set of tools and techniques which can best be shown in a direct comparison:

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Xingu</u>	<u>Traditional</u>
raw tuber to pulp	scraping - <u>metal can</u> or <u>sharpened spoon</u> . grating - a <u>board</u> holding a flattened ' <u>tin can</u> ' punctured with holes and fixed with <u>nails</u> .	river action  river action and pounding in <u>mortar</u> with <u>pestle</u> .
separation of products	straining - washing through a <u>mat</u> into an <u>earthenware vessel</u> . removal of water - a second <u>vessel</u> to store.	when dry produce used - sieving on a <u>mat</u> .
cooking	a) for <u>beiju</u> - a flat <u>earthenware griddle</u> and a <u>wooden spatula</u> for turning; a <u>sieve</u> for reducing the starch to a fine powder; <u>baskets</u> for storing the powder and the cooked <u>beiju</u> . b) manioc-water - a large <u>earthenware vessel</u> for boiling.	<u>banana leaves</u> for wrapping.

The Xingu process was of greater complexity and required a number of utensils which could only be obtained from other tribes or the Post. In

Particular the earthenware vessels, which were highly valued and important items in PNK, were produced by a limited number of societies.

Like traditional possessions, an earthenware bowl, perhaps measuring 75 cm in diameter and 30 cm in depth, represented both a considerable investment and a very heavy article in portage. In addition, the bowls and griddles broke quite easily and this presented the Panara with a new facet of property ownership.

Secondly, the beiju and manioc water process was completed in a day, of particular importance, the cooking was over open fires. With space available inside the house as a work and fire area, the open fire, (usu) traditionally a poorly defined though important local heat source, became a major focus of cooking, with permanent stone supports for pans and bowls. The dislocation of emphasis from earth oven to interior fires also influenced the cooking of meat and fish, which were now eaten with beiju and salt, after being boiled in saucepans or toasted on a wooden frame over the open fire. In Chapter V I argue that economic processes share a common structure with social organisation and that the distinction between earth oven and hearth fires articulates a fundamental distinction in the social structure. In this respect I suggest that modifications in cooking practices may be related to modifications in Panara society through depopulation and village mergers.

#### The Social and Political Environment

Co-residence or a close proximity with other Xingu societies required regular contact with groups and individuals located outside Panara terms of reference. The defined geo-social boundary of their universe in Peixoto was replaced by the necessity of peaceful external relations in PNK. In addition, the distinct Peixoto villages were replaced by one village,



which lacked territorial definition and was dependent on PNK groups and FUNAI posts for survival.

The reduction of their society to one village with a relatively small population profoundly affected Panara views of themselves and their culture. In Xingu they were very aware of their weakened state and of their 'primitive' position among Xingu cultures. Panara culture, which had provided the framework for 'the way to live' in Peixoto, was now commonly a matter for ridicule by others and themselves. Demographically the severe reduction of "elders" and children radically altered the quality of village life, and also reduced the potential of leadership and tribal survival. Further problems were presented by the surplus of marriageable women, by numerous post-contact marriages, by the many orphans and by the decimation of families and matriline. It is illustrative that in a population of sixty-four, there were only two families where a child could claim a genealogical relationship with both parents. The picture is one of manifold social disruption from the level of ideology to that of the nuclear family.

Politically the Panara were ill-prepared and ill-suited for the intense and dynamic political environment of the PNK, where the manipulation of external relations was given great prominence. No Panara could speak or understand Portuguese, the lingua franca of the PNK, and even in late 1976 they were only partially integrated into the nexus focussed on the Post and were largely unable to express their requirements. However, it is difficult to see how they could readily adapt to the PNK system, as they were not generally willing to assume responsibility for the group as would be required in the role of cheffe (see f.n. p. 56). We can also

note that in Panara society women played an important role in political and social decision making and that this contribution would be excluded in the PNK system. In sum, by the time of our departure, the Panara were operating a dual system; in matters concerning the Panara the traditional forms of debate were maintained and in external relations, in contacts with the Post and with other villages, individual families, men and women were establishing their own relationships.

Political security and material possessions were given to the Panara on a benevolent basis by the PNK authorities. However, throughout the first two years of residence in PNK the weak political position of the Panara was largely responsible for the loss of seventeen children and adolescents to other Xingu tribes. In part this resulted from genuine kindness and concern in the adoption of orphans who were obviously unwanted by the Panara (see p. 101), but I feel that in many cases the motivation was political; the children represented future adult strength and a potential future claim to the Panara. Whatever the motive, the result for the Panara remained the same; an already small population with a high incidence of illness and death was losing the children who were the tribe's future. It was not until late in 1976 that the Panara came to terms with this problem by confronting Indians who attempted to take children and by stating that Panara should live in the Panara village. However, even these actions were individualistic, though they did reflect the consensus of the society.

Finally, it is important to mention the virtual disappearance of violence and killings in Panara society after transfer to PNK. Classified a violent tribe, the Panara were consistently lectured by PNK authorities and other Indians that they must not fight or kill. The principal approach

was by pointing out the very real reduction in the population of the  
 tribe and the danger to their survival that would result from any further  
 deaths. However, it is apparent that violence played an important role  
 in traditional Panara society as a political device, as an expression of  
 male status and values, and as an instrument of social control. It  
 would appear probable that these roles will in future be filled by the  
 achievement of PNK political status, the accumulation of trade goods as  
 status symbols and the emergence of some form of political hierarchy  
 among men.

Although we are considering a short period of time it would appear  
 that by the end of 1976 Panara society was already moving towards a  
 syncretic construct which included elements of Post and Northern PNK  
 cultures. Radical changes had occurred in domestic life, diet, communi-  
 cations, house construction, technology and even ritual life, which had  
 been modified by the introduction of new dances, songs and 'football'.  
 In social organisation emphasis had shifted significantly from matriline  
 based households to nuclear or extended families and this change would  
 appear to be related to more general modifications in the balance of  
 'male' and 'female' in Panara society.

PART II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND LIFE CYCLES

Introduction

Part II consists of four chapters which are concerned with the description of Panara 'social structure' and the isolation of principles of social classification. In Chapter IV I examine Panara conceptualisations of space and advance a model of social space as a domain with vertical, concentric, diametric and quadripartite order. Within these essentially 'spatial' domains, I further distinguish kinship based principles of classification. In Chapter V I examine the general topic of 'human development', partly to extend an understanding of the social significance of 'space', and partly to introduce Panara concepts of the body - the 'classification' of the human structure. Finally, in Chapters VI and VII, I discuss male and female life cycles in both the context of kinship-based groups and the status of individuals vis-à-vis spatial domains. In these chapters a central theme is the distinction between the categories of 'centre' and 'periphery' though, in Part II, my emphasis is on the identification and polarisation of the domains through the establishment of dichotomies; the relationship between the categories is the subject of Part III.

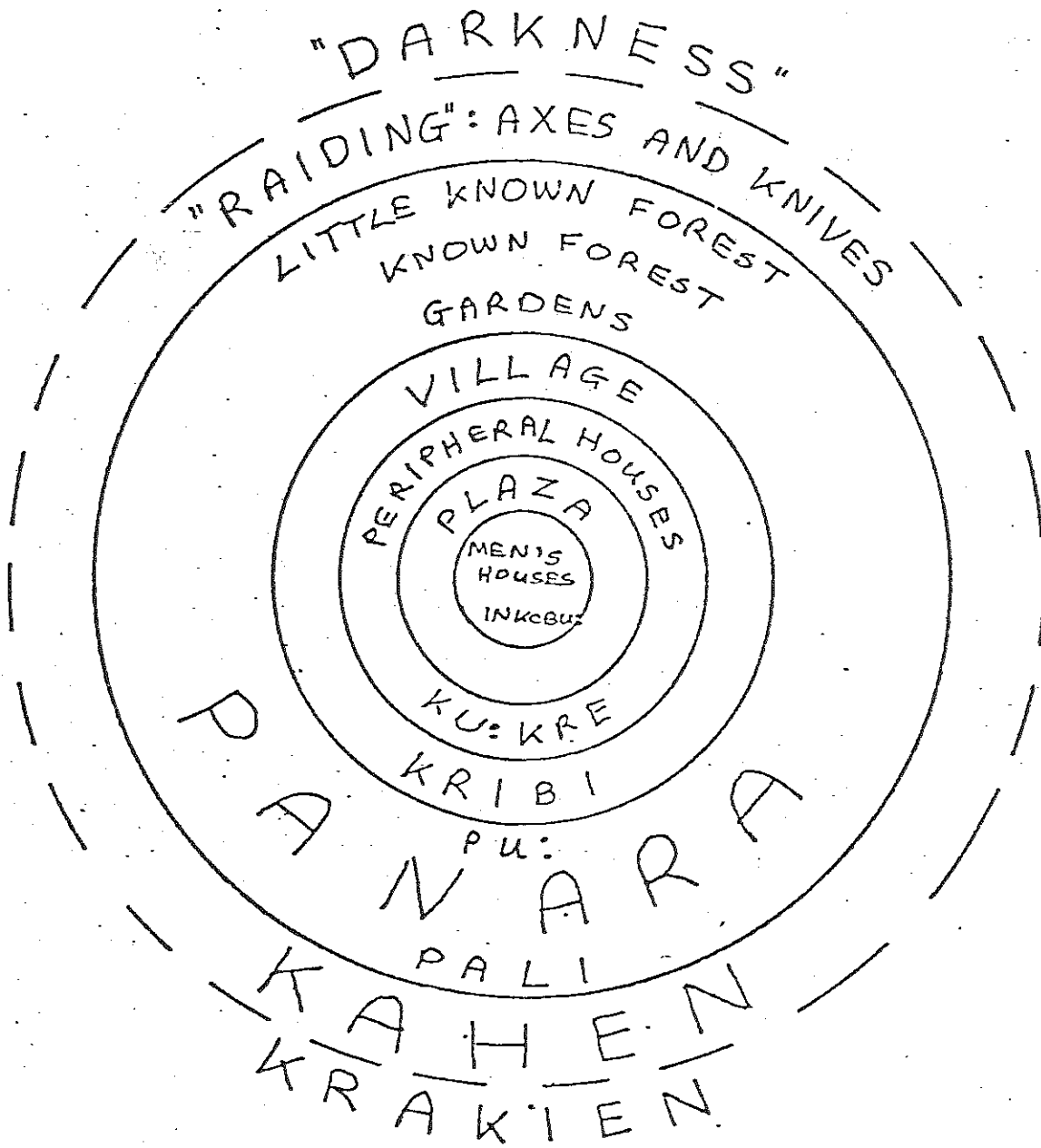
CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL GROUPS AND SPACE : A MODEL

In Gê research a consistent approach to the subject of social organisation has been the analysis of the geographical and conceptual ordering of space. The formal and often impressive morphology of Gê villages, with large open plazas encircled by regularly spaced households, was first noted by early visitors to Central Brazil and has since been developed into one of the unifying themes of Gê research. In Central Brazil we can trace this heritage to Nimuendajú (1939, 1942 and 1946), though the concepts had been expressed elsewhere by Radin (1923) and Malinowski (1929) among others. More recently the approach has been adopted by T. Turner (1966), Maybury-Lewis (1967), Bamberger (1967), J. Lave (1967), J.C. Meiatti (1970), R. da Matta (1971), A. Seeger (1974), L. Vidal (1977), J.C. Crocker (1977) and W. Crocker. In this development the approach has diversified from simple village plans drawn largely from observation to 'maps', of some complexity, representing informant conceptualisations of village and cosmological space (e.g. da Matta 1976 and Vidal 1977). In conceptualisations of space the Panara are firmly located in the Gê model, as pervasive and fundamental distinctions were made between spatial domains. The importance of these distinctions is such that an understanding of spatial order is necessary before discussing virtually any aspect of the society. For reasons of clarity, I commence the discussion of spatial order with a model as an a priori construct (fig. 3); the model is defined and justified in the following section.

FIG 3.

PRIMARY MODEL OF  
CONCENTRIC SPATIAL ORDER



The Panara conceived of the world as a flat disc of "earth" (ku:ba) which was surrounded on all sides, at the horizon, by "darkness" (hankien "child"? "stone"). In the vertical plane the "earth" lay between two cosmological zones: above, the "sky" (dukwa "elliptical") and below, the "underworld" (ku:ba-swobu "earth" "burrow"). As noted among other Gê societies (e.g. by Seeger on the Suyá - 1976), the cosmological zones were essentially secular and were conceptualised as duplications of "earthly" order. In the "sky", the sun (imdu:di "one") and the moon (sokiantide) were not attributed a gender, and the stars (nansurti surti "peanut" "heavy") were seen as representing deceased Panara who observed the "earth" villages during the evening and night.

The human inhabitants of "earth" were placed in two categories: Panara ("us", "people like us") and kahen ("other people", "people unlike us"). In Northern Gê societies a distinction is made between "us" and "them", and the term for the latter, kuben, is possibly a cognate of the Panara term kahen. However, kuben functions relativistically as it can refer to "non-humans" when contrasted with "humans"; to "non-Gê" when contrasted with "Gê"; or to "x-society" contrasted with "our society". In contrast, in Panara society the kahen distinction appeared to be fixed at approximately the level anthropologists refer to as "tribe"; the term kahen was not used to refer to people within the group we knew as Panara, nor was the term Panara used outside that group. An interesting exception to this rule was when Panara incorrectly identified various Indians as Panara from photographs in magazines and periodicals. The classification as Panara was made with reference to specific characteristics - hair style, physique, stance or absence of clothes - and it was apparent that the Panara recognised the possibility that other Panara could be in existence even though beyond their boundaries of know-

edge. Together with the absence of its use in relativistic contexts, this example suggests that the Panara-kahen distinction referred to a complex of linguistic, biological and cultural criteria; correspondence resulted in a classification as Panara, and non-correspondence in a classification as kahen.

The suggestion that Panara and kahen referred to fixed social categories is supported by other aspects of Panara culture:

- a) In raiding, the Panara did not take captives, whereas this was a prominent motive among other Gê groups. Equally, the Panara killed all kahen found entering their territory.
- b) In the known history of the Panara there is no evidence of friendly contact with neighbouring societies and certainly no record of marriage or ceremonial contact.
- c) In traditional society the Panara did not distinguish categories amongst "other people", but referred, for example, to "whites", Kayapo and Kayabi by the same term (kahen).

In sum, I suggest that the distinction of Panara-kahen represented concrete categories which were expressed geographically by the Peixoto watershed<sup>1</sup> and sociologically by the cultural complex of the Panara.

During contact and residence in PNK the category of kahen was gradually replaced in popular use by specific tribal identifications and Xingu categories. An initial distinction was made after Cachimbo

<sup>1</sup> In this context it is of interest to note the spatial similarity between Peixoto (map 2) and the model of concentric zones (fig. 3). Surrounded by hostile 'forest' the "peripheral" ring of Peixoto villages looked inwards towards the Panara 'core area'. This picture has many resemblances to the village plan though the association was not recognised by the Panara.



and the Mekragnoti attack between "others" (kahen) and "others with guns" (kahen-aton), where the latter group, for obvious reasons, was considered more dangerous. In PNX the term "Kreen-Akarore" had an initial popularity, though it declined after co-residence with the Kayapo (Kretire). In regular contact with defined PNX groups, the Panara adopted Xingu terms, e.g. Txukarramae (Kayapo), Juruna, Kayabi etc., and, with a need for precision in often complex situations, used these terms in daily conversation. The category of kahen was only utilised in cases of unknown tribal affiliation. It is interesting that the Panara found difficulty in understanding the category of "indios" - one given great emphasis in PNX - and initially rejected their inclusion, saying "We are not indios, we are Panara."

#### THE VILLAGE AND VILLAGE ENVIRONS

In traditional society 'Panara' denoted the geographical and conceptual boundaries of the social universe. Functioning Panara society was, however, located at the lower level of the village and its environs. Panara society could be considered as a number of similar village units where, for the functioning of the society, the number of units was of little relevance. From informants' statements, the known distribution of traditional villages and knowledge of Panara ceremonial, political and economic organisation a picture emerges of relatively autonomous and 'self-sufficient' villages; each village was the centre of its own social universe. In Peixoto, villages were located a considerable distance apart; for example, the northern villages and the southern village were separated by one hundred miles of dense forest and the river Peixoto (see map 3). In addition, villages were not exogamous, no Panara

... or ceremony necessitated the cooperation of villages, and raiding and defence were conceptualised as matters for local village populations. It can also note that there is no evidence whatsoever of raiding or ... of friction between villages before the contact period.

The extent to which traditional villages can be considered as autonomous is difficult to determine. Demographically it seems probable that marriages did take place between members of different villages, that some families did move between villages before the migrations that characterised the 'contact' period, and that men did visit other villages. In this respect it is perhaps more accurate to view village autonomy as ideological rather than as actual; this is a distinction that is also apparent in Panara notions of the household (see p. 93 ). To clarify this fundamental point, when I speak of 'Panara society' I am referring to a village and not to a 'tribal' unit or to groups of villages. I contend that villages were politically, ritually and economically autonomous at a level of ideology and that each settlement had a common structure and was located at the centre of its own conceptual universe.

Traditional Villages and Village Environs<sup>1</sup>

The approximate distribution of known Panara settlements in Peixoto (maps 2 and 3) suggests that villages were located in the upland areas of

<sup>1</sup> The last village to be sited and constructed by the Panara, Tobiuroñ, was abandoned in 1973 and I had no opportunity to visit a traditional settlement. This description is based on accounts by Cowell and Parise, aerial photographs and informant descriptions. Most points are consistent between these sources though some aspects still require clarification. In particular the 'groups of villages' and 'camps near the village' noted by Cowell (1973) do not correspond with informant descriptions. One possibility is that they were literally 'refugee camps' or dwellings constructed by the Panara fleeing from the Kayapo attack. Cowell's visit was during a phase of extreme population mobility.

the Peixoto watershed, in a region of small rivers and streams away from the larger rivers. The Panara emphasised that the larger rivers ~~were~~ were avoided. All traditional villages photographed from the air (see Appendix B) were located in dense forest (pali) and the limited areas of savanna were not utilised for settlement.<sup>1</sup> Within this silvan environment, the location of individual villages appears to have been by reference to a number of criteria: a distancing from other settlements (probably related to the extent of resource areas - see below), the game and fish resources, wild resources, the fertility of the soil for gardens and the absence of mosquitoes.<sup>2</sup>

The forest, extending from the village perimeter to the maximum of economic exploitation by the village population, can be differentiated through the frequency of its use and its social significance. The most distant areas, beyond one day's travel, were only visited by large groups, on trek, food festival or raiding activities, when specific resources were exploited. These areas were not extensively known and were potentially dangerous, as possible conflict areas with "other people".

In the more immediate environs of the village, the forest was 'known' through regular exploitation in hunting, fishing and collecting. Permanent trails led to the village and, after many years of settlement, these formed

<sup>1</sup> Among the Central Gê and some Northwest Gê the savanna was utilised for settlement and villages formed prominent features, often with extensive plazas. Nearby forest areas, typically in the form of gallery forest, were used in horticulture.

<sup>2</sup> Information regarding village site selection was limited. Traditional Panara villages were relatively stable, which perhaps explains the absence of explicit conceptualisations. In PNK the main criteria were soils (for gardens) and the absence, or low levels, of mosquitoes, which were a considerable problem.

extensive network with temporary 'camps', constructed during food  
travels and treks, at regular intervals. Near the village the forest  
was progressively cleared for horticulture and, in conjunction with trails,  
streams and small rivers, constituted an area of intense economic exploi-  
tation. With the suggested permanency of settlement, it is apparent that  
gardens must have been located some distance away from the villages, as,  
as a system of shifting cultivation, new areas of virgin forest were  
progressively cleared each year. It was noticeable that the location of  
gardens in 1976, some 2 to 3 km from the village, was not considered as  
particularly distant by the Panara, and that during the first Villas-Boas  
expedition in 1968 no village could be found near one garden which was  
located from the air. The garden domain (du:) marked an important transi-  
tion between village (kribi) and the forest (pali). In economic activity  
gardens were the most distant domain frequented by unaccompanied women,  
and female collection beyond this domain was, in my experience, always  
with male accompaniment. Finally, in the 'daily' and ritual movement of  
male groups between village and forest, the garden zone was consistently  
used as a 'transition' area where, for example, groups formed or produce  
was left; this topic is discussed in greater detail in Chapter IX.

The village hinterland can be considered as a resource and social  
domain, with a decreasing frequency of exploitation and a decreasing degree  
of sociability with movement away from the village. Near the village,  
gardens were frequented daily by women, whereas more distant forest was  
infrequently visited by male groups. As noted by Seeger (1976) the socia-  
lisation of the forest through camps, trails and named landmarks represents  
an important temporal perspective in Gê societies. Though this time scale  
was obviously absent among the Panara in PHX, it was apparent in discussions  
of Peixoto, as individuals were commonly remembered in the context of forest

activity or specific locations: raiding and hunting in particular come to mind.

### The Village (Kribi)

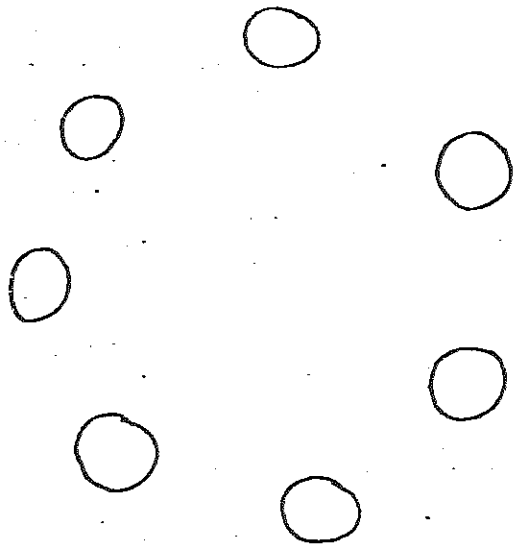
An excellent introduction to the subject of village space is provided by informant models or representations which were drawn by the Panara in the sand. Panara models were relatively uniform, and I summarise a number of such drawings in figs. 4(i) and 4(ii). The village was represented by a circle of households which were verbally identified and drawn as separate units in a determined geographical location. In more complex drawings two men's houses were included, which were distinguished from peripheral houses through shape and location, and two racing paths entering the village from the east. (fig. 4(ii)). In discussions of history a number of such village models were linked by lines which represented trails. Spatial zones, or boundaries between zones, were not represented by lines (see other Gê models - figs. 4 (iii, iv, v and vi)) and no extension of the model was made into the external world in the manner I have represented in fig. 3.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst adequately representing the fundamentals of village order, the Panara models exclude a number of important distinctions in village space.

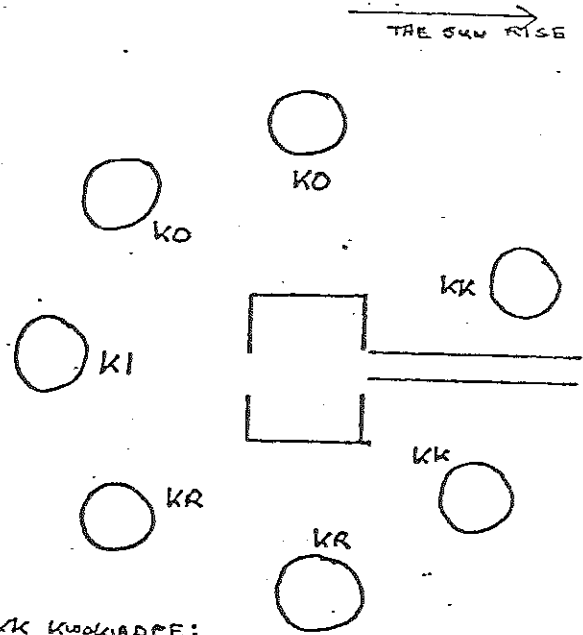
A number of informant models have been collected in recent research among the Gê. Evaluation is difficult, as I feel that acculturation may have a profound influence. As a recently contacted society, the Panara could not draw on a blank sheet of paper and even the most simple of models were produced by scratching in the sand. However, the concept of models or representing a village did not appear to be alien to them. In Gê models in fig. 4, it is interesting to compare the use of lines: the Kayapo present the periphery as a continuous line, the Apinayé as a line plus houses and the Panara as only houses. This appears to reflect Panara views of peripheral households as discrete and separate units, the Apinayé view of linked yet separate units and the Kayapo view of a relatively differentiated periphery. Finally in their essential similarity (in particular the separation of centre and periphery) the models show a common ideology which appears to be a basic principle in Gê societies.

FIG 4  
INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATIONS  
OF SELECTED GÊ VILLAGES.

(i) PANARA



(ii) PANARA (INCLUDING VERBAL IDENTIFICATION)



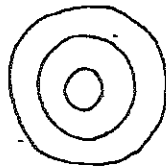
KK KWOKIADPE:  
 KO KWOSIPE:  
 KI KWOSIPE:  
 KR KRENDEPE:

KAYAPO

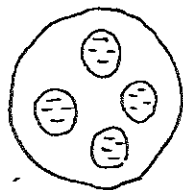
(iii) VILLAGE  
 OUTLINE



(iv) SPATIAL  
 ZONES



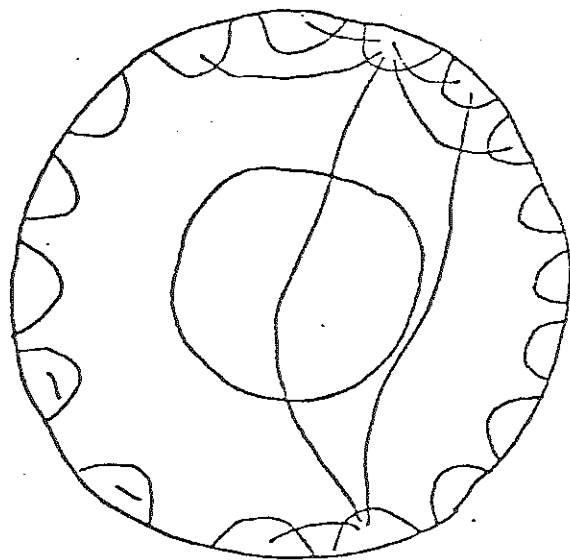
(v) CEREMONIAL  
 GROUPS



(AFTER: T. THANDR).

APINAYÉ

(vi)



(AFTER: R. DA MATTA (1976:65)).

which were evident in the organisation of social, economic and ritual activity. The more complex analytical model (fig. 5) introduces a number of spatial distinctions which, as the basic "map" of space in the following chapters, requires an initial discussion.

a) The village perimeter represented a clearly defined boundary between virgin forest and the well cleared circular village area. In this respect, the village clearing closely resembled that of gardens, where the forest wall formed an immediate and often impressive boundary. In most traditional villages, gardens were not located adjacent to, or merging with, village space, and the general picture was one of enclosed and relatively 'crowded' settlements - a picture in radical contrast with the open and 'spacious' villages of the Central and some Northern Gê. The village perimeter was marked by a "rubbish" zone formed by the accumulation of the debris of village processes. Most of this material was from food production and in 1968 Cowell was able to present an informative survey of Panara diet by examining the contents of such a zone. Immediately outside the "rubbish" area was a zone used extensively as a "toilet". Unlike Northern Gê, who call this "waste" area a-tuk or "black", the Panara had no discernible term for it;<sup>1</sup> they did not refer to the area as "black", and it had little ritual or social significance.<sup>2</sup>

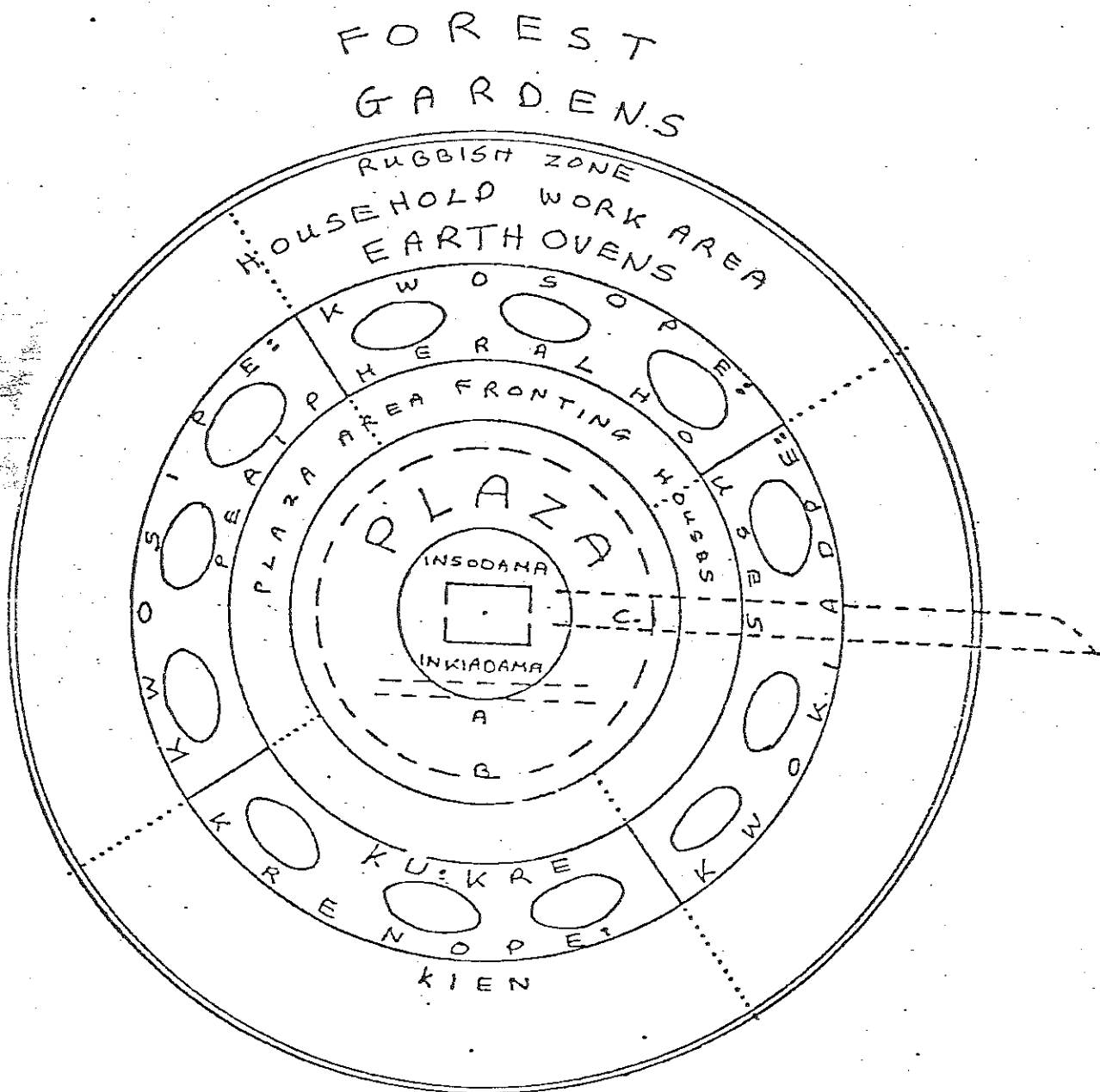
b) Between the "waste zone and the circle of households was a broad cleared area used by women in domestic food preparation and cooking.

<sup>1</sup> Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining terms for the spatial zones, whether because of their absence, which is unlikely, or from living in 'alien' villages at the time of research. Enquiries were to have been continued in the final cancelled field trip.

<sup>2</sup> A major exception was an "attack" on the rubbish zone by adolescent males as part of a minor "killing" ceremony (see p.218 ). The important point to be made is that the zone is the least social area of village space; it was not utilised by men's house groups as found among the Kayapo.

FIG 5.

VILLAGE SPACE:  
AN ANALYTICAL MODEL



KEY

- A EAST-WEST PLAZA DANCE TRACKS
- B CIRCULAR DANCE TRACK
- C LOG RACING PATHS





This household maintained an earth oven (kien) in this area and during dry season, stands, consisting of sapling frames with slats to form surface, were constructed to sun-dry vegetable produce. Other produce, including peanuts, sweet potatoes and cotton, was dried on mats laid out on the ground. The area immediately behind the houses was used by women for daily food preparation, using mats or banana leaves as work surfaces. This zone was not associated with male secular or ritual activity, with the important exception of its use as a burial site (see p. 126).

1) Domestic Houses (ku:kre): The houses forming the 'outer ring' of the village, which I refer to as peripheral houses, contrasted in design, membership and activity with those of the village centre, which I refer to as men's houses. Peripheral houses (ku:kre, "hole" "egg") were "owned", controlled and in large part constructed by women, and were essentially female in character. Construction was rudimentary, with a sapling framework, lashed with bark fibre (pium-pium), and covered with palm and banana leaves. Walls were made of leaves, with openings left facing the plaza and the food preparation area at the rear. The alignment and shape of peripheral houses varied: some formed a relatively continuous line and the axis of others lay at right angles to the village circumference; some houses were rounded and others had a well defined ridge (see Appendix B). The space inside the houses was dominated by sleeping mats (su:tu:) with at most a corridor for movement left on one side. When additional space was required, as, for example, for a newly married couple, the end of the house was dismantled, the framework extended and a new roof and walls added. Small open fires (itsu:) were maintained between the sleeping mats, but these were not used extensively for cooking (see p. 99). An important point to emphasise here, is that within peripheral houses there were no communal areas or spaces used as 'meeting' places for men; we can also

is that, with few exceptions, no village ritual or ceremony was located in this domain.

d) The plaza area immediately fronting peripheral houses was associated with evening activity, in which each household assembled to eat, "orate" and observe activity in the centre of the village. This zone was not used during the day and was marked by concentrations of racing logs which were rolled from the centre for use as seats. The zone was intimately associated with household residential groups and can usefully be considered as the public extension, or 'face' of the household unit.

e) Located within the ring of peripheral houses was a well cleared flat area, which, in common with accepted Gê use, I refer to as the plaza. In traditional villages the size of the plaza was small, commonly leaving a minimal separation between the houses of the periphery and those of the centre (see Appendix B). This picture contrasts with the typical 'open plan' of Central and Northern Gê villages, where plazas were often large, and the 'crowded' nature of Panara villages may well reflect their forest, as opposed to savanna, location. The reason, however, is more likely to be sociological, as in the one village constructed in PNX (see p.90) a similar 'crowded' form was adopted although the vegetation was relatively sparse. The plaza was essentially a male zone, dominated during the day by adolescents, resident in the men's houses, and, during the evening and night, by mature men in plaza dance and song. Finally, other distinctive features in the plaza, which can be identified in photographs of traditional villages, were dance tracks; a circular path on the plaza periphery some 3 metres in from the peripheral houses and two short tracks running east-west in the plaza centre; and burnt areas in the plaza which mark the location of earth ovens used in food festivals.

The central area of the plaza, including the two men's houses, was referred to as inkobu: ("humanising prefix" "path"). The two men's houses were aligned on an east-west axis (fig. 5) and were located on either side of the north-south division of central plaza space. The construction of men's houses differed from that of peripheral houses as they were open sided and typically had a one plane sloping roof. The largest open sides of the two houses faced each other across a narrow divide, in some cases a separation of 2 to 3 metres, giving the impression of a 'wall-less' peripheral house cut in two (see Plan II, Appendix B). The space inside the houses was dominated by sleeping mats, though these were not in evidence during the day, and large concentrations of racing logs which, in some photographs of traditional villages, were stacked three or four high inside the men's houses (see Plan III, Appendix B). Other racing logs commonly littered the men's house and peripheral house areas of the plaza. Finally, I should emphasise that all photographs of traditional villages show two separate men's houses and this includes one small village with only three peripheral houses (see Plan II, Appendix B).

#### Social Groups and Spatial Categories:

##### Distinctions within Concentric Domains

In the representation of village space, informants identified a quadripartite division of the peripheral house domain and a diametric division of the village centre. In this section I will discuss these divisions as they constitute social categories which are fundamental to the following chapters. As I am now moving away from relatively abstract spatial divisions and towards socio-spatial categories, it is first necessary to discuss briefly the demography of the Panara at the time of research.

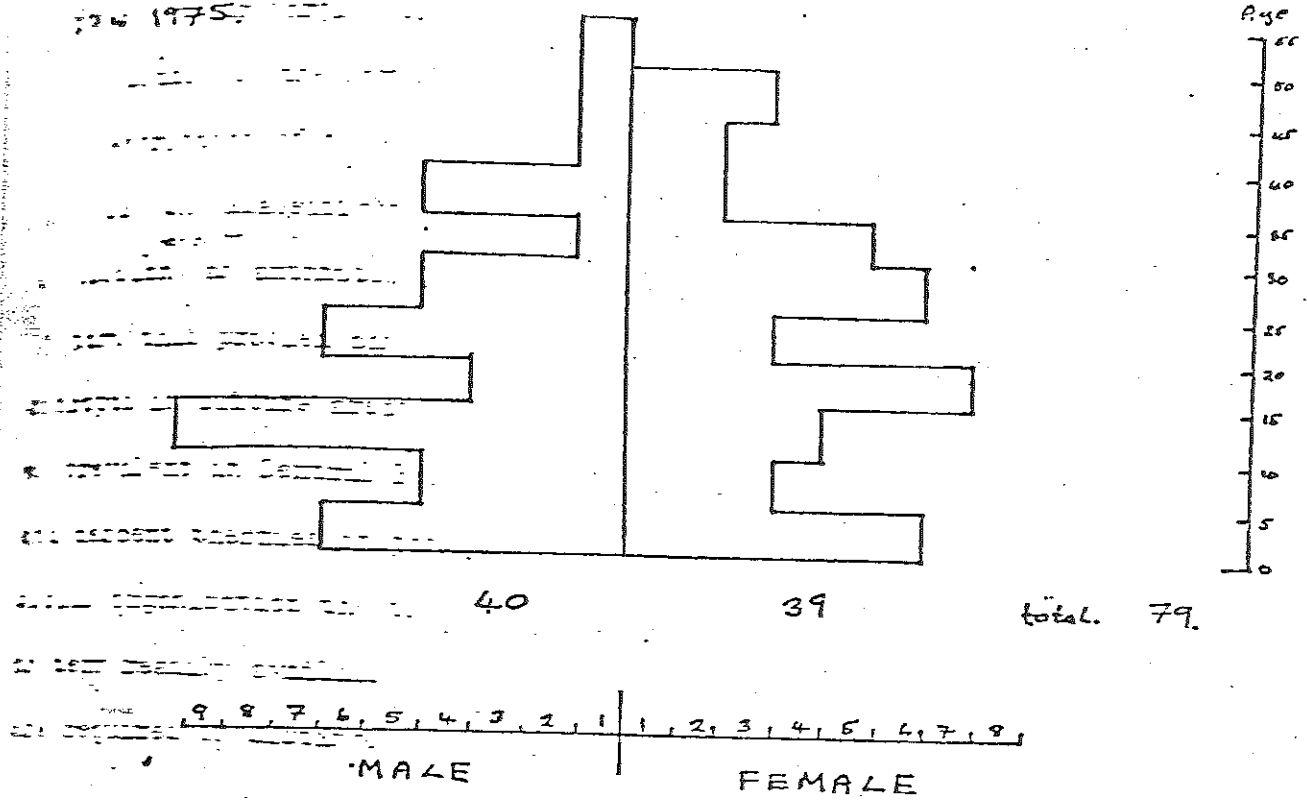
The demographic structure of the Panara at the time of research (p. 6) largely speaks for itself: the population was small and with a structure owing more to contact with "western" diseases and to the attention of other PNK tribes than to any 'natural' influences. With a village population of sixty-two by the end of 1976, we are often referring to two or three individuals when discussing specific age groups or categories. A number of points can be mentioned to give a general perspective of the Panara at the time of research: in PNK there were only two examples of a nuclear family in the village, i.e. a husband, wife and their child. Many of the mature women were widows, the majority of marriages were recent and many of the children were orphans. Only one child had been born between 1973 and 1976 with the result that the range of female activity associated with child-rearing was largely absent - as the Panara noted: "A village is full of children". The senior male and female generations had severely declined and, more specifically, the few surviving senior men were insignificant figures. We can also note that the size of the village in PNK, and here I am referring to the number of mature men and women in particular, was below that of most traditional settlements and this reduction in scale almost certainly had a pervasive influence on village life. As is apparent in the following discussion of socio-spatial groups and categories, the social organisation of the Panara in PNK must be considered as an "ad hoc" construction and one in which the history of depopulation has played a prominent role.

#### The Socio-Spatial Organisation

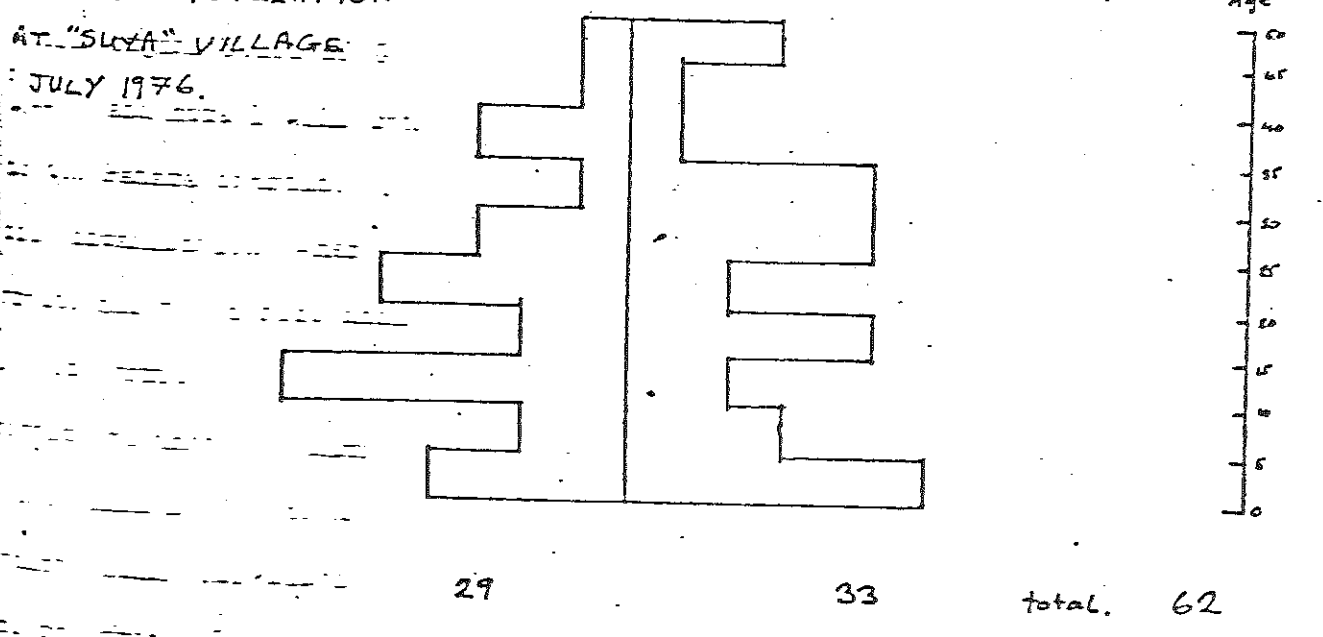
The periphery of the village was divided into four segments, which were located in geographically defined positions with distinct membership groups. The southern sector was referred to as kwonope:, the west as kwosipe:, the north as kwosope: and the east as kwokiadpe: (see fig. 5).

PLANA POPULATION  
STRUCTURE 1974-1976.

POPULATION AT TIME  
TRANSFER TO P.N.X.  
24 1975



RESIDENT POPULATION  
AT "SUYA" VILLAGE  
JULY 1976.



Group members were referred to as krenoantera, kwosidantera, kwosodantera and kwokiadanetra respectively. No clear interpretation of these names could be discovered, though kwosi refers to "liver" and was a male name (the boy so named was in fact a kreno member), and kren- was a common prefix to names and, turning further afield, it was also present as the name for an Apinayé ceremonial moiety, krenotxoin ("people of the crosses")<sup>1</sup>. This association was not, to my knowledge, made in the Panara language.

Membership of the groups was through matrilineage; it was passed from mother to child as an integral aspect of birth and was retained throughout life, and indeed in "life after death" (see p. 64). The categories were exogamous and regulated residence in the periphery sector through the rule of matrilocality. Thus a woman moving from one village to another established residence in the segment of the periphery of which she was a member. The groups were not associated with a myth of origin nor, as far as I know, with a common ancestor: they did not "own" dances, songs nor ceremonies and had only a limited relevance in ceremonial organization. The quadripartite division was represented in all settlements and according to Panara ideology, all human settlements, including those of "other people", were organized on this principle. The principle was also extended to both cosmological domains. Within the village, the categories had no apparent corporate functions and I know of no context in which the categories, present in all villages, were represented in unified action. Membership did, however, imply some obligation towards fellow category members in matters of residence, shelter and access to food. These roles are discussed in detail in the context of residence in the Suyá village (1976), where they were of importance in household values (see p. 92). Finally, I should mention that in certain ceremonies the village was

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that these terms refer to constellations.

identified by reference to the four categories; for example, in food  
materials, the produce was measured by reference to the respective sizes  
of the categories in the village. The village was conceptualised as the  
sum of the four categories rather than as the sum of the actual houses.

The quadripartite division of the periphery represents a classificatory  
scheme common to the Northern Gê societies. In Gê research the delineation  
and description of these categories or groups has posed few problems.  
However, the classification of these units in terms of anthropological  
terminology, <sup>and to give</sup> an anthropological explanation, has proved a consistent problem.  
In part this problem can be traced to the development of anthropological  
concepts in culture areas where the particular forms of social organisation  
are prevalent in Central Brazil are absent. Here, I am referring to lineage  
and descent theories in particular. In the analysis of Central Brazilian  
social organisation the problem is further complicated as, not only is there  
no term readily available to define the general principle, but also terms  
are required to distinguish variations within the general principle.

An extensive examination of the variations of this principle in the  
social organisation of Gê societies is beyond the scope of the present  
work, and here I will confine my remarks to those with direct relevance  
to the Panara example. In Gê societies we can first note a common concen-  
tric organisation, where the periphery domain is organised by kinship based  
groups and the centre domain by various non-kinship principles, including  
age categories. In periphery organisation we also find the  
consistent theme of matrilocal residence and the formation, generally at  
a household level, of matrilineal households. Households are typically focussed on a  
senior woman, her daughters and daughters' daughters, with their husbands  
and children. Furthermore, Gê societies are uniformly a-genealogical in  
orientation, and individuals seldom trace ancestry for more than three

generations. The latter point is of particular interest, as it does not represent an inability to remember, but rather illustrates a lack of emphasis on the principle of descent. In sum, an "ideology" of relationships or ties through common descent is conspicuously absent beyond the level of local groups. Thus, in Gê social organisation we find evidence of 'matrilines', 'shallow descent groups' or matrifocal 'families', but they are units in a constant state of flux; they expand or contract, pass through fission or fusion, disappear or new ones are established, but they are not 'fixed' by anchorage to a common ancestor through the notion of descent.

The identity of these groups is maintained through time by 'fixing' space rather than through an ideology of descent.<sup>1</sup> The 'fixing' takes various forms, from reference to geographically determined segments on the village periphery, as with the Bororo and Panara, <sup>to the identification of</sup> a house or house 'clusters' as residential groups, as with the Kraho, Apinayé and Krikati. The Suyá make a weak reference to space in the location of named houses or house groups. However, in all cases, the 'fixing' is transient giving an illusion of continuity of the specific residential groups; the categories of village segment, house name or even houses are maintained through time, whereas the identities of the resident groups themselves change through time. The illusion reaches a maximum expression in Bororo and Panara societies with the delineation of fixed space categories to the village periphery. In Bororo society the categories have ceremonial

The Central Gê are an important exception to this generalisation. Akwë-Shavante and Sherente societies there are patrilineages and clans operating in the periphery domain without reference to space. Thus, although segments of the village periphery are associated with a lineage, this reflects a concentration of male members of the specific lineage rather than any geographical order (Maybury-Lewis 1967:169). This point returned to in Chapter X.



...and, indeed, J.C. Crocker notes that we meet:

... "albeit in an unsettling way all the usual criteria of a corporate group even though it rests on premises alien to those underlying the usual ethnographic "clan" (1977:248).

One of the premises referred to is also fundamental to the character of the Panara groups and it is that unity is <sup>conceived as being</sup> through a common identification with a spatial category rather than through a concept of shared blood or a common ancestor (J. Crocker 1977:246). Crocker continues to use the term "clan" in the Bororo instance, though with a qualification:

"I use this term in spite of its inaccurate connotations because I have not been able to find another less misleading or unawkward". (ibid:246).

The quadripartite division of Panara society had a number of characteristics in common with Bororo "clans", though the function of corporate activity was absent. However, I propose to refer to the Panara units as spatial descent groups (SDG), as this term conveys the fundamental principles, although it is a rather awkward term. Thus 'spatial' refers to the principle by which the categories were 'fixed' by reference to an absolute, geographically determined location on the periphery; 'descent' refers to the transmission of membership from a mother to her children, and 'group' refers to the defined membership associated with the spatial categories. The term emphasises that continuity was through space rather than through an ideology of genealogical relationship and that group 'identification' was through shared space rather than through shared blood.

In my experience, the transmission of SDG membership from mother to child was strictly followed, and the residential and exogamous 'rules' were also a matter of considerable concern and attention (see p. 81 ).

In this respect the SDG may well have functioned as a 'unilineal descent' group over time, beyond the reckoning of the Panara, if the rules of

mission, residence and exogamy were strictly followed. However, the central issue is that the Panara did not conceptualise the groups in this manner, although, as I will discuss, the principle of genealogical relationship was operative at the lower level of household structure;

The fundamental nature of SDG in Panara society was immediately made apparent to visitors entering the village, who were plied with questions to determine their SDG affiliation, then by questions to determine the affiliation of father, and, if male, that of the wife. These questions were not asked from politeness, but were crucial to the incorporation of "outsider" into village society; the visitor's answers would determine which group was responsible for providing shelter, which partners were available for sexual relations and as potential spouses, and, ultimately, where and by whom he should be buried. In sum, until the details of SDG relationships were established, a visitor could not be assimilated into village society.<sup>1</sup> In this respect I should mention that single male visitors would reside in their related men's house.

To illustrate the significance of the SDG division in Panara thought, it is useful to refer to two PNK situations. Firstly, during the numerous changes of residence, the Panara, and in particular nature and senior

Although not conceptualised by the Panara, this may help to explain why they did not take captives. The capture of young children to be brought up 'as Panara' would have raised problems in residence, marriage and death. Without knowledge of the captive's SDG, marriage would pose a particular problem in the risk of an incestuous union. It is also unlikely that a captive brought into the village by men would have been accepted by primary groups of women, as the identity of SDG membership was emphasised. These points also illustrate the essentially closed nature of the Panara social universe, where known relationships through both space and genealogy were crucial, if not prerequisite, for membership in the community.

... showed a consistent concern in establishing and maintaining the correct spatial location and the correct residential membership of the ... When this was not possible, as for example when only two houses were available, women would arrange their sleeping mats in an approximate order ... that of the 'ideal' arrangement (see Plan VIII, Appendix B). When the pattern was radically disrupted, as, for example, at Kretire, the subject ... a frequent source of complaint and was an apparent factor in the collapse of functioning Panara society. When the SDG locations were open to question, as at the Suya village, where the PNX constructed houses were located between ideal geographical locations, the subject gave rise to considerable argument between women and a tension between groups which, to my knowledge, continued for the duration of residence in that village. In sum, the question of 'correct' SDG location and membership was a matter of great concern. Finally, it is interesting to note that the lowest point in Panara morale came with the death of the last mature male of one SDG. This was the first occasion in Panara memory that this had occurred, and, although it had no practical effect on ritual or ceremonial life, as far as I could determine, and although there were a number of adolescent boys in that group, the event stimulated the admission that the Panara were "finished" as expressed in the often repeated phrase "Panara si-ma-ma".

At the time of research the identity and functions of SDG were obscured and complicated by depopulation. The SDG, which until 1973 had been represented by a number of houses in each of a number of villages, were, between 1973 and 1976, represented by one house and in some instances by a shared house. In addition, the number of houses allocated to the Panara by PNX authorities never resulted in a village with more than four houses where principles could be distinguished from those of households.

## HOUSEHOLDS

In a traditional village each SDG was represented by between one and five houses. Households were the fundamental units of the village primarily in the regulation of social, economic, political and biological processes; in village life it was the household, and not the SDG, which emerged as a discrete unit. Households were kinship based and, before proceeding to the examination of membership and activity, it is first useful to establish the principles of social classification in Panara sections of "kin-groups" and the relationship terminology.

## SOCIAL CLASSIFICATION : THE RELATIONSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND KINSHIP-BASED GROUPS

The Panara can be said to have a "Crow" type relationship terminology<sup>1</sup> with non-reciprocal cross cousin and reciprocal parallel-cousin terms. This is illustrated by the following equations:

$$\begin{array}{l} F = FB = FZS = FZDS \\ FZ = FZD = FZDD \\ D = MBD \\ S = MBS \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(male and female ego)} \\ \text{" " " " } \end{array} \right\} \\ \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(male ego)} \\ \text{" " } \end{array} \right\} \end{array}$$

The reciprocal parallel cousin terms are not merged:  $MZD \neq FED$  and  $ES \neq FBS$ . The classification of the Panara terminology as "Crow", or more specifically as "Crow Type IV" (Lounsbury 1964), has only limited relevance in this thesis. In Gê research, the utility of such classification has declined with the movement away from 'particularism', the separation of individual societies, towards the recognition of a 'continuum' in forms of social organisation among the Gê societies. Thus, to characterise the Gê as "Omaha", the Shavante as "Dakota" and the Kraho as "Crow" is to extent misleading, as it implies thematic differences between

The relationship terminology is presented in Appendix C.

societies which are culturally related. In addition, such a classification implies that individual Gê societies are, in fact, more closely related to diverse societies distributed across the world, by merit of a common use of terminology, than to neighbours in Central Brazil. Recent researchers have emphasised the need to look for similarities rather than differences, particularly when the 'differences' are often obscure, and, in the societies in question, marginal, cross cousin terms (e.g. Da Matta 1975:182). Finally, it is important to note that in Panara society the relationship terminology and the delineation of kinship-based groups refers to only one aspect of social organisation: ~~relationships~~ in the periphery domain.

At this point my concern is to establish certain principles operative in the formation of households. To return to the hypothetical visitor entering a Panara village: the questions to determine SDG ties would be followed by more precise questions to determine relationships within the spatial categories. Typically these questions were phrased as "Who are your "mothers" (wuñsi, voc.)?" "Who are your "fathers" (wusum, voc.)?" and "Who are your "wife's sisters (kiatuñ)?" or "Who are your husband's brothers (kiatuñ)?" Here, reference was being made to kinship-based groups which dominated an individual's relationships in the periphery domain. The three categories can be considered as well defined groups, as represented by households, which formed the framework for interaction with other households on the periphery; the tripartite division was central to Panara conceptualisations of the domestic sphere.

A fundamental principle in kinship classification was the reckoning of relationships through women as opposed to men. The extreme matrilineal emphasis in Panara kinship classification is most apparent when we compare

terminology with the "Northern Gê Invariables", i.e. terms common to the Northern Gê, which have been suggested by Da Matta (see Table 4). In the Panara society  $F \neq M$ ,  $FS \neq B$  and  $FD \neq Z$  unless the relationships are also traced through a classificatory "mother"; i.e. the "father" and "mother" are married. A second point to arise from a comparison with the suggested "invariables" is the classification of matrilineal kin in Panara society. — Here we find an extreme skewing of generations which is illustrated by the equations:

$$M = MZ = (FBW) = (FZSW) \\ (MMB) = MB = B = Z = MZS = MZD = ZS = ZD = MZDD = MZDS = (ZDD) = (ZDS)$$

and for a female ego:

$$Z = B = MZS = MZD = MB = (MMB) \\ D = S = ZD = ZS = MZDS = MZDD$$

This skewing reveals a radical contrast between the male and female classification of matrilineal kin; men distinguish generations only among ascending generations of women whereas women distinguish generations among all matrilineal kin apart from ascending generations of males (see fig. 7a).

The classification of both matrilineal and patrilineal kin as matrilineal is also expressed through the idiom of space. Thus a man's children are placed in the category of "child" (pa) which, <sup>also</sup> includes all children of his male "siblings", i.e. itoñ or male members of his natal matriline, and by the rule of SDG exogamy the children can not be members of the man's SDG. In contrast, the children of a man's female matriline members are classified as "sibling" (itoñ) and are by necessity members of his natal matriline and SDG. In the case of women we find a similar distinction: a woman's children and those of her female matriline members are classified as "child" whereas those of her male "siblings" are classified as tupia. Matrilineal bias is also apparent in the

The use of brackets denotes uncertainty.

Topic 4

da Matta's Suggested "Northern Gê Invariables"  
Panara Terminology.

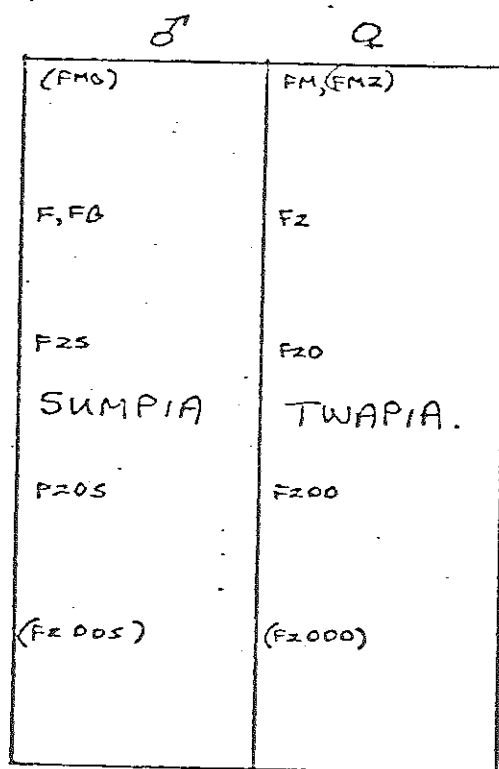
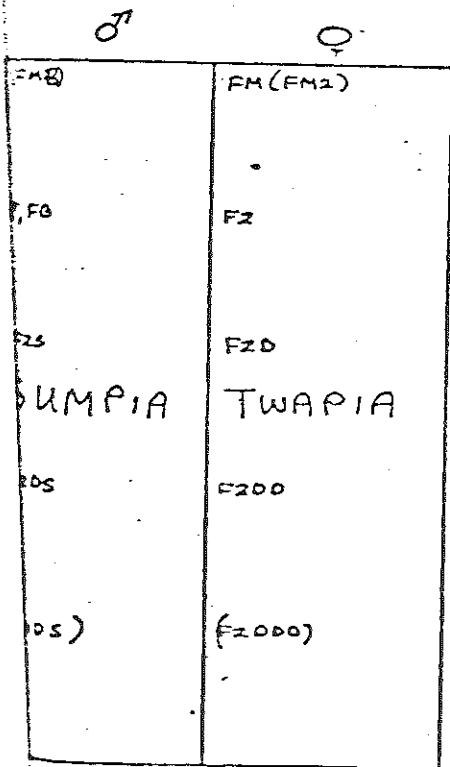
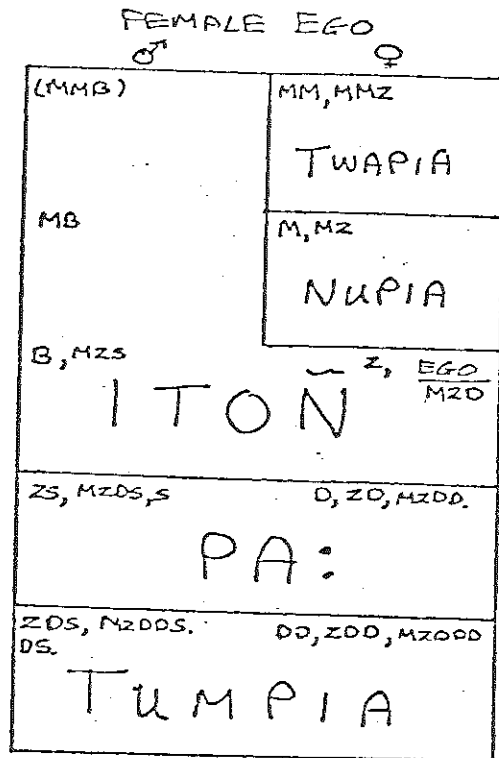
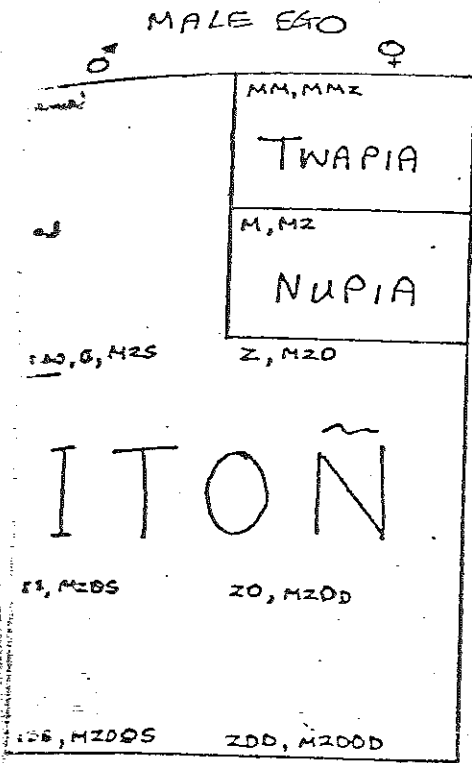
Kayapo Panara	terms	Panara terms in agreement	Panara terms in disagreement
1.	geti (ngeti) tobiupia	FF, MF, FZH	MB
2.	tui (tukatui) tupia	MM, FM, FZ	MBW
3.	pan sumpia	F, FB, MH, MZH	
4.	na nupia	M, MZ, FBW	FW
5.	to itoñ	B, MS, MZS	FS, FBS
6.	tody itoñ	Z, MD, MZD	FD, FBD
7.	kra pa:	S, D, BS, BD, ( male ego ) S, D, ZS, ZD ( female ego )	
8.	tantxua tumpia	SD, SS, DD, DS, ( male ego ) DD, DS, BS, SD, SS ( female ego )	ZD, WZS, WZD ZS, HZS, HZD.

The table is based on materials from the Kraho, Krikati, Kayapo, Gavioes and Canela ( cf. Nimuendaju 1946, Crocker 1962 and Keessing n.d. ) utilised by da Matta ( 1976 : 178 - 182 ).

3. CLASSIFICATION OF MATRILATERAL PATRILATERAL KIN.

(MATRILINEAL GROUPS).

MATRILATERAL KIN.



MALE EGO  
PATRILATERAL KIN.

FEMALE EGO.



classification of patrilateral kin. In Panara terminology cross and parallel cousin terms are not merged and a clear distinction is maintained between members of the mother's and father's matriline. The father's matriline is classified by both male and female ego as two categories: men are termed "fathers" (sumpia) and women are termed "father's sisters" (ivapia) or, in wider use, as "grandmothers". Tracing relationships through women, this classification continues indefinitely, though the descendants of "fathers" are distinguished through the marginal and 'progressive' classification of "father's child" (pin̄koñwapo). The relationship of pin̄koñwapo was often forgotten by informants and had no discernible roles or obligations and stood in contrast to <sup>the relationship with</sup> matrilateral parallel cousins, "siblings" (iton̄), indicating ~~one of the closest and most enduring relationships~~ one of the closest and most enduring relationships. Finally, we can note that the term tobiutia ("grandfather") refers to all males marrying classificatory senior generation women in the mother's, father's and wife's matriline; for example, the category includes "mother's mother's husband", "father's mother's husband" and "wife's father".

#### PERIPHERAL HOUSEHOLDS

In traditional villages the average size of a household was between ten and twenty-five, representing two to five families or 'hearth groups' (see p. 98). The initial pattern of residence was determined by SDG membership and the rule of matrilocality, though within these parameters membership of a specific household appears to have been through known genealogical relationships: the women of the household traced common matrilineal ties to a living or deceased woman. However, it must be emphasised that the genealogical depth of such units was shallow; <sup>the emphasis on</sup>

matrilineal relationship was not extended beyond the level of household and genealogical relationships were seldom remembered beyond two generations at the most. It would also appear that the organisation of households by matrilineages occurred in practice in addition to being an ideological concept; unlike the Bororo, there was no evidence to suggest that the matriline structure was "diluted" or obscured by visitors or peripheral relatives in residence (J.C. Crocker 1977:246).

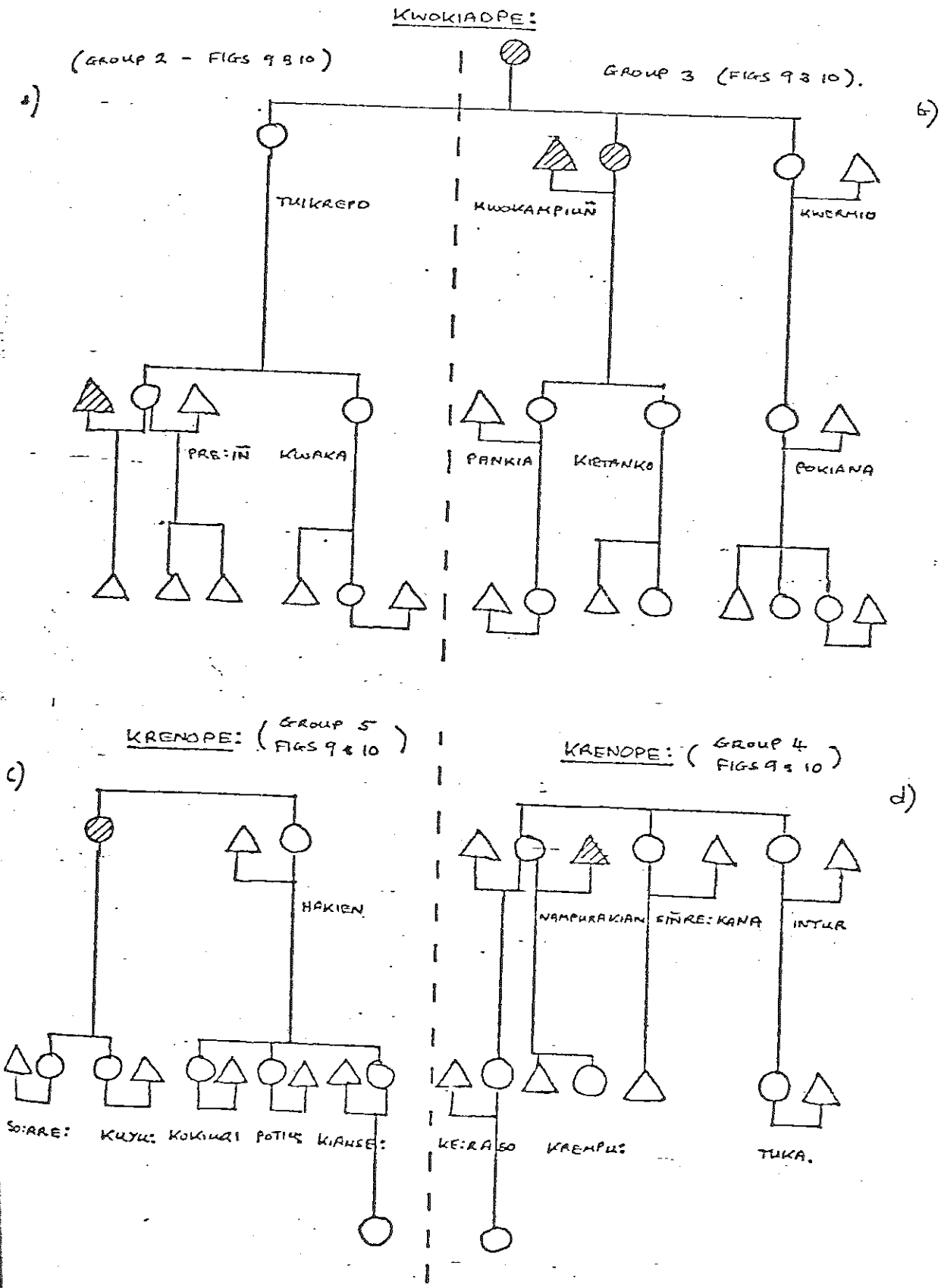
The comprehensive reconstruction of traditional house groups has proved to be a considerable problem, but the data collected suggest that the 'rule' of residence (matrilocal) and the rules of SDG residence in the correct village sector and exogamy were strictly observed in practice.<sup>1</sup> In fig. 8 (a) to (d) I represent four houses in the village of Tobiuroñ, in approximately 1970<sup>2</sup>, illustrating the principles of household membership. The structuring principle of matrilineages is clearly apparent: the kwokiadpe: households (8 (a) and (b)) were unified by reference to a common ancestor whose two surviving daughters were matriline heads of the two houses. The two houses were located in adjacent locations in the kwokiadpe: sector of the village. In the krenope: households (figs. 8(c) and (d)) the matriline structure is again apparent and we can also note that a number of female

I emphasise this point as among other Gê societies practice does not always correspond with ideology. Among the Shavante the actual pattern of residence on marriage was matrilocal, yet statements and emphasis by informant suggested patrilocality. Among the Canela the ideal house structure of matrilineages stressed in ideology was rarely present in practice.

This village had already been affected by depopulation and migrations after 1968. Initial hopes of reconstructing a village population before its date have not been fulfilled and more research on this topic is required.

Fig 8.

HOUSEHOLDS : TOBIURON (1971)



may form the senior generation of the household; the balance of the matriline as a corporate household and the processes of which will be discussed in the context of household size, though here I note that there is no conflict in ideology or practice of female co-residence.<sup>1</sup>

With the impossibility, at present, of satisfactorily reconstructing traditional village and house populations and with the absence of observation of traditional house activity, I will limit my remarks on households to the patterns observed at the time of research.

In the observed reality, PNK house groups were typically composed of genealogically unrelated groups from various traditional villages, and residence was determined by SDG membership. However, although the matriline principle was commonly absent or only present in a weak form, as far as I could determine, households continued to function in much the same manner in traditional society. In other words, household members co-operated through values of common residence and common SDG membership rather than through matrilineal relationships. Whilst it is possible to argue that household values may well have been intimately associated with those of matrilines, there appears to have been an independent ideology of "residence"-definition of the household as a political, social and economic unit.

In contrast, in Bororo society married sisters tend to dwell in the households; "[the] uterine relationship has a marked centripetal (Crocker, J.C. 1977:246).

In the following discussion of PNK households, my principal sources of data are the Suva village, that is, the village constructed by the PNK for the Panara, and the Suva Garden Village. The latter settlement is of particular importance as it was the only village to be constructed by the Panara during the time of research, and showed how the 1976 population thought they should be living. The village was constructed near the 1976 garden sites, and was half completed when work was halted on the instructions of the PNK authorities. Plans of the two villages are presented in Figs. 9 and 10 and, as only small numbers are involved, I will examine all of the households.

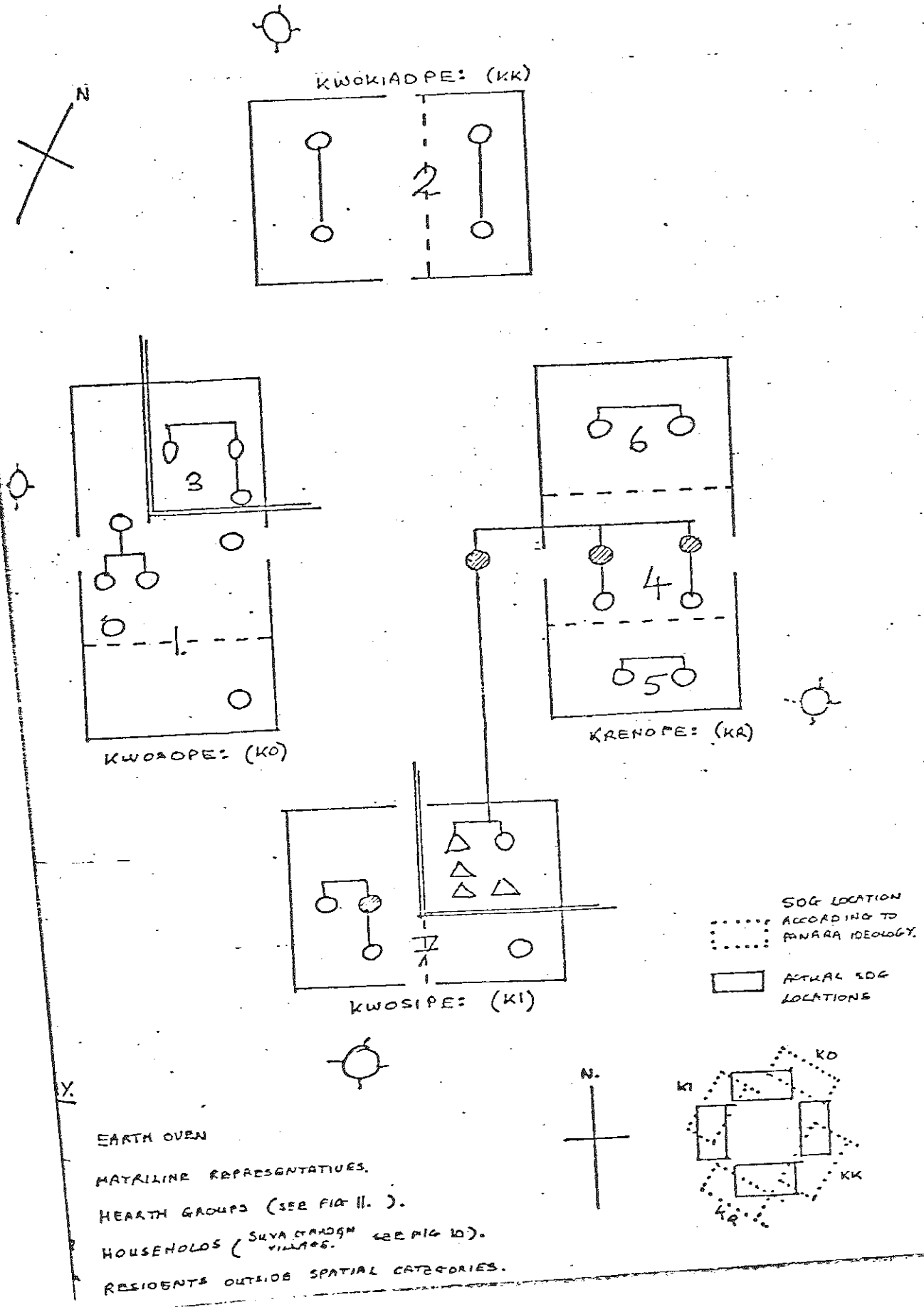
#### The Suva Village

The initial residential pattern at the Suva Village, November 1975 to January 1976, shows a number of exceptions to the rules of matrilocal and SDG residence (Fig. 9). These exceptions were temporary and are of some interest. A kwokiadape group was resident in the kwosope household, but formed a discrete group in the corner of the house nearest their 'ideal' geographical location. The reason was given as over-crowding in kwokiadape, though, linked by a number of marriages, the kwokiadante women were on friendly terms with their kwosodante co-residents. In the kwosope household a group of young boys established residence on arrival at the village, referring to the house as a 'men's house' (inkobu).<sup>1</sup> As the four houses in the village corresponded with the four SDG, the adolescents were gradually 'squeezed' out by kwosidante women (during a break in our field work) and the boys returned to their natal households. The krenoante

<sup>1</sup>The building was originally planned for us. From the time of contact, "whites" always shared their accommodation, food and radio with male adolescents and the houses of "whites" often functioned as "men's houses".

Fig 9.  
SUYA VILLAGE:

HOUSEHOLDS, NOV. 1975 - JAN 1976



woman resident in kwosipe: had left her husband at Kretire to live with Kayapo and at this time was "afraid" to return to kreno: as her ex-husband was still resident there, married to her "sister" - this dispute is discussed on pp. 185-7 . Finally, adolescent males and unmarried mature men were resident in their natal peripheral households and were not in men's house residence; no plaza buildings were present on arrival and none was constructed during residence.

By March 1976, some five months after arrival in the village, the residential pattern corresponded with ideology, with the exception of adolescent and unmarried men and of one young girl, Pakie, and her brother Okara, who were kwokidantera now living in kwosope: (see fig. 11). The girl was the sole female survivor of a matriline and had been affiliated to a dominant matriline in kwokiadpe:. After ill treatment from the women in that group she had eventually moved to kwosope: to take up residence with her father's matriline. This unusual move was commented on in the village, but as her "father's" matriline head was an important village figure and her own SDG obviously did not want her, the situation was accepted.<sup>1</sup> The move closely followed the loss of two active women to kwosope:, as they had married Kayapo and moved to Kretire, and the young girl literally filled their places as 'workers' in that kwosope: group.

A number of general points raised in the transfer to this village should be mentioned. Firstly, it was noticeable that on arrival at the 'alien' village, the great majority of men and women immediately went to

<sup>1</sup> The girl was below the age of puberty so that the question of uxorial residence for a husband or the membership of her children in a SDG did not arise.

and established residence according to rules of SDG location and locality. The one residential dispute which did arise and which recur at sporadic intervals over the following eighteen months, concerned the positions of the actual houses, which lay midway between the biological geographical locations.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the exceptions in residence which did occur were a focal point for the attention of mature and senior men and were largely corrected within the first six months of residence. Thus, even at a time of great cultural disruption, the principles of SDG location and matrilineal residence remained central to Panara notions of village life. In this respect it was striking that in all the changes of residence in PNK, the sole occasion of total breakdown of this order was at Muanum Post prior to the transfer to the Suya village (see Plan X, Appendix B). In this instance I suggest that a principal factor was the suspension of economic processes, as the tribe was totally dependent on food cooked in the Post kitchen.

To extend the analysis of the Suya village population, the proposed households for the Suya Garden Village are of particular interest. The plan of this village is presented in Fig. 10, where the house numbers refer to the groups demarcated in Fig. 9. Membership of the households was as follows:

Kwosope:

The 1976 residential population of kwosope: was fourteen (including two members of kwokiadantera) and there were female representatives of

As represented in Fig. 9 (inset) the SDG were dislocated one house clockwise from their correct locations. A principle factor here was the house to the east was the largest (adopted by krenope: as the first residential unit) and the house to the south was the smallest (kwosope: was the smallest group). The most complaints came from kwokiadpe: house was overcrowded.

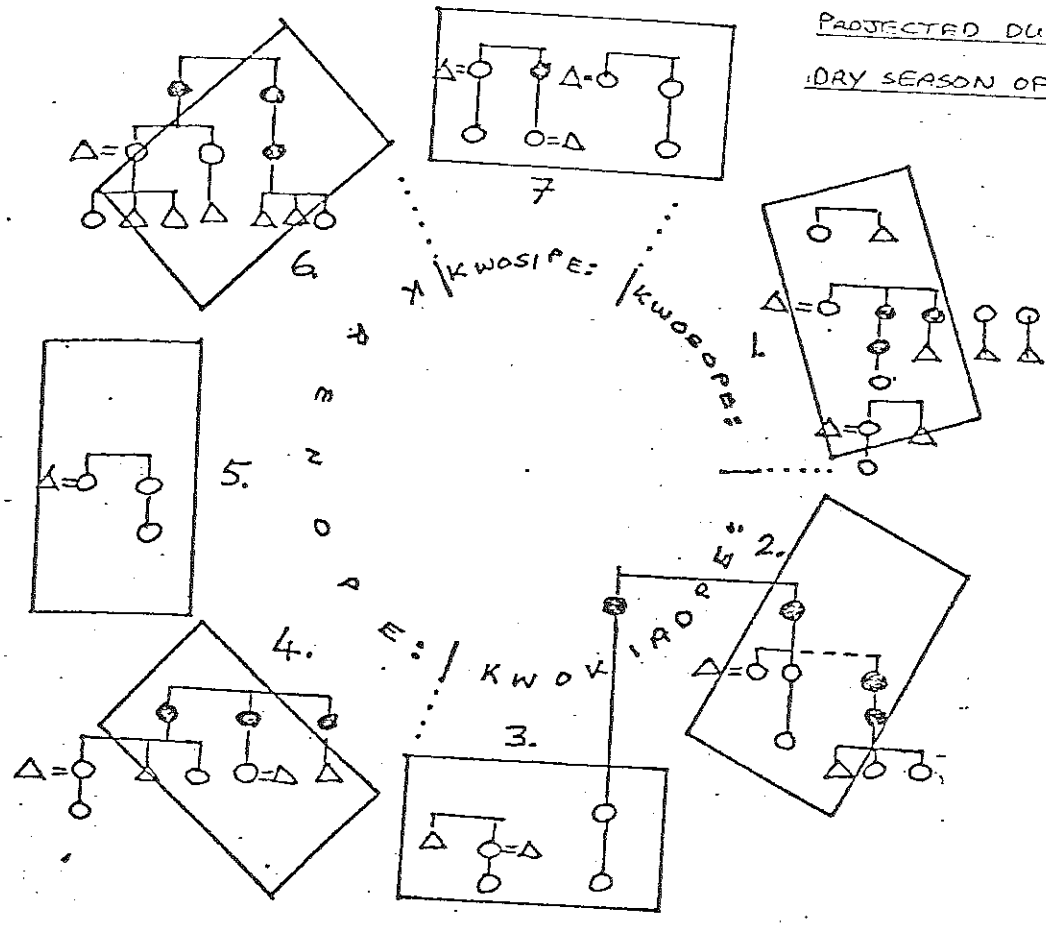


FIG 10.

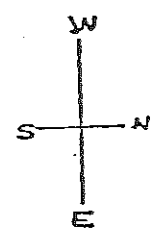
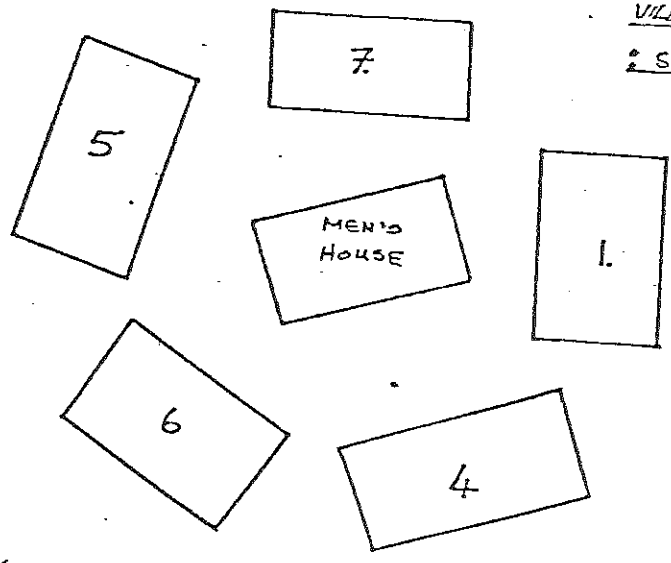
90 = 91

THE SUYA GARDEN VILLAGE :  
PLANNED AND CONSTRUCTED.

SUYA GARDEN  
VILLAGE - AS  
PROJECTED DURING  
DRY SEASON OF 1976



SUYA GARDEN  
VILLAGE AS CONSTRUCTED  
SEPTEMBER 1976.



at least four traditional matriline from three Peixoto villages.<sup>1</sup> When the village was being planned, the SDG did not contemplate fission, although cooperation and harmony within the group had been low. The reason was that of size, and more specifically, that after fission some residual groups would be too small to form an independent household; the group contained two senior women, two young children and only two mature men. Fission was probably desired for social reasons, but it was not contemplated on the grounds of viability of household groups which would have been left after fission. This point is returned to later.

4.3 kwokiadpe:

This SDG had a residential population of sixteen, which included representatives of at least four traditional matriline from three Peixoto villages. The group proposed to form two households, focussed on the two senior siblings (iton), which were remnants of the Tobiuroñ households represented in figs. 8 (a) and (b). The strength of these now small matriline was to have been supplemented by other unrelated kwokiadpe members to form two households of eight. Although both proposed households would each have included only one mature, married, man, they were considered viable as both contained at least three active women. However, at the time of village construction, in "neo-Brazilian" style, the absence of male labour proved critical and the group decided to remain in the Suya village.

4.5 & 6 kreno:

Kreno, with twenty-four residential members, proposed to divide into three households focussed on three matriline. Depopulation had been effective in kreno; at least four Peixoto villages and probably eight

In these descriptions I am concerned with households as residential units rather than as matriline or genealogical relationships. Mature men are therefore, located in their uxorilocal households.

matrilines were represented, but the group did not contain a high proportion of 'unattached' individuals. House 4 contained the remnants of a traditional household (fig. 8(d)) and with three active women and three mature men it formed a viable economic unit. House 5 (the remnants of A.5)) is of particular interest, as viability of the core group, two female siblings and a husband, was explicitly seen to depend on the contributions of an adolescent male, who was the only remaining member of a traditional matriline. In the later discussion I will suggest that this group can be considered as a minimal household in Panara society. Usually, household 6, with ten resident members, represented a traditional matriline and formed a well defined and large unit, although only one mature man was resident.

\* kwosipe:

This SDG, representing three traditional matriline from two Peixoto villages, did not consider fission. Whilst one group of five members, including two mature men, could contemplate, and, indeed, desired separate residence, it did not decide on it, as the remaining kwosipe: group would not have formed a viable household, as there was only one woman present. This example suggests that SDG members had some responsibility towards another in the context of residence.

In these descriptions we can isolate a number of principles of household organisation. At this point the following generalisations can be made:

- a) House membership and location were initially determined by SDG membership and geographical location on the village periphery.
- b) A senior woman or senior female siblings (itoñ) formed the core of households. In traditional villages these were representatives of matriline; in PNK they were 'focal' figures for fragments of traditional matriline.
- c) If the matriline was of sufficient strength, fission occurred between female siblings, with each leading a new household. Such new households would appear to have been located in adjacent positions on the

sector of the village periphery associated with the SDG.

The maximum household size appears to have been in the region of twenty-five. Minimum size was two female siblings with their husband(s) and children. A nuclear family in the 'western' sense was not considered as a viable household.

There appears to have been an obligation for women to share residence with other SDG members if these were unable to form separate households.

In this discussion I have referred to household 'viability' and this requires clarification. In the absence of exegesis, it is necessary to approach the concept of "household" through an examination of activity. The fundamental point to establish is that households were conceptualised as corporate units in economic, social and political activity; the household articulated the processes of secular production.

#### The Household as an Economic Unit

The daily routine of village life for women was as members of a corporate group where cooperation with co-residents and joint activity were the dominant principles of organisation. Collection trips for garden and wild produce were made as a group, although at the site individual resources were exploited; in the morning and evening the group bathed and collected water, and during the day and evening women spent most of their time in social contact with co-resident women. The corporate identity of households was, perhaps, most evident in the organisation of earth oven cooking. This process has been described in Chapter III (p.43) and here I will add a few details. The Panara emphasised that individual women did not construct or use earth ovens, as their use was a group process; this contention was supported in practice and I can remember no example of an individual woman using an earth oven. The process of harvesting cotton or maize, preparing flour and collecting earth oven materials was

organised operation by the house group, and tasks were shared among members by senior women. The insistence on certain stones, firewood and the emphasis on group organisation must be considered as cultural rather than technological. In other Gê societies individual ovens were constructed and used earth ovens and also utilised a range of alternative materials, e.g. termite mounds instead of stones. The earth oven was the most important method of cooking in traditional Panara society; "meat" was the principle vegetable food and a major prestation; its preparation was the highest expression of female culinary art. As <sup>this method was</sup> the principal means of transforming raw produce into cooked food, it is particularly interesting that the household as a corporate female group should be emphasised.

The identification of the earth oven with the household was also evident in earth oven location. For daily, or secular, cooking one earth oven was located in the food preparation zone at the rear of each periphery household. Cowell noted this distribution in a traditional village which he visited in Peixoto (1973:177) and regardless of changes in residence in all this practice was continued: women living together were expected to cooperate in earth oven activity regardless of genealogical or SDG ties. The earth oven as a symbol of cooperation was also apparent at the level of village life, as, in meat festivals, a large "meat cake" was cooked on one large earth oven constructed in the village plaza. The produce for this ceremonial "cake" was collected and prepared as a village activity, and the product was shared among all village members (see Chapter IX). In the present context I note that festivals can be interpreted as an expression of village 'unity', in which cooperation between village residents is emphasised; household values in secular cooking corresponded with village values in ritual cooking.

with modifications of the manioc process in PNK, the use of earth  
declined (see p. 58). It was clear, however, that the organisation  
of new processes often remained at a household level. Thus in the  
preparation of beiju and manioc water (ku:a-ango) individual women within  
the household would take turns in preparation and cooking, dividing their  
labour between all the members of the household. In practice this was  
done on a fairly consistent rotation, commonly under the organisation of  
senior women.

Finally, game or wild produce, which entered the house through  
individuals, was shared among all members when of sufficient quantity.  
Meat or fish were given raw and, whenever possible, were cooked in an  
earth oven. Honey or other wild produce was immediately passed to all  
household members to eat a portion, and in prepared vegetable produce or  
material possessions there was constant borrowing between women, although  
gardens and material possessions were individually owned. Thus, with the  
exception of very small amounts of food, the household can be considered  
at the lowest level of distribution which, in practice, appears to have  
been obligatory and automatic.

#### The House among Households

Defined from within, by a core matriline and values of economic  
cooperation, the household presented a unified identity to the village  
in evening plaza groups. The main meal of the day was consumed by house-  
hold members assembled on racing log seats in the plaza area in front of  
their houses. During the evening each group remained in its own location  
to observe plaza activity or to "debate" with other households. These  
groups were explicitly residential in character; mature men sat and ate  
with their uxori-local household and male adolescents with men's house  
groups in the village centre.

Evening "oratory" in the plaza had two forms: "little speeches" (ipen), which had a 'daily' frequency and were delivered as a formal address with a distinctive tone and construction, and "speeches" (ipen) which were infrequent and were often accompanied by side-slapping. Both were given by senior men or women as a monologue or as a debate, and represented the principal mechanism of direct social and political expression in Panara society. In Panara 'politics', "men's debates" in the men's houses or "men's councils" were not a social or political mechanism, but, rather, decision or disagreement was reached through addresses from the village periphery, where households commonly represented specific 'points of view'. The subject matter of "little speeches" extended from comments on the day's activity, details of individuals' condition (e.g. menstruation), complaints about individuals or groups, defence of individuals or groups, or often an apparently meaningless monologue, where speech itself appeared to be the main motive; for example a repetition of the remark "shoes prevent splinters". In disputes between households, the household presented a unified front, where female "elders", who were usually the senior figures on the matriline, were 'fed' information by residential members for 'broadcast' to the village.<sup>1</sup>

"Speeches" (ipen) were infrequent forms of "oratory" and concerned political or social problems facing the village as a whole. During the period of research four such debates were held:

December 1974 - PEIXOTO

A "speech" was held after the merger of two Panara groups who had

Examples of debates are discussed in Chapter VI in the context of household control. At this point the topic is introduced as illustration of the household as a defined socio-political unit.

in dispute over the proposed move to PNK. In a debate by senior men and women lasting well into the night the conflict was not resolved, a splinter group left the camp for an old village the following day. The debate was held in kwokiadantera house.<sup>1</sup>

March 1975 - Pripuri Village, PNK

Two "speeches" were held in one week to determine whether to remain in PNK or to attempt a return to Peixoto. The debate was held inside one of the two houses and the eventual decision was to remain in PNK only if conditions improved. Both speeches were precipitated by deaths in the village.

June 1976 - Suya Village, PNK

The "speech" was delivered as a monologue by a senior man from the plaza area fronting his uxori-local household. In the address he detailed the threat of the Kayapo, the weakness of the Panara and their poor position of material wealth in comparison with other PNK societies. In the "speech" he announced that all non-resident Panara were no longer panara (si-ma-ma) and would be killed if they returned. The "speech" was stimulated by the senior man having been tricked out of a new pair of pants by a Suya earlier that day.

The organisation of these oratory forms suggests that peripheral households were the socio-political units of village society; village

It was extremely unusual for the village group to assemble in a peripheral house, which was primarily the domestic domain of the residential group. In this example and at Pripuri village there was no functioning plaza, but I was unable to discover why this specific house was selected.



rested on a consensus between households. In this respect it is of particular interest to note that the groups of the centre, which cut across the peripheral household divisions, were not concerned with social or political decision; men's house debates (swakre: see p. 226) excluded female participation and had a function limited to the organisation of ceremonial, ritual and male economic activity.

#### Hearth Groups: The Nuclear Family

Within the household a further level of social organisation was that of family or hearth groups. Each household comprised between two and three hearth units, which were defined in space, economic orientation and membership. Household residence necessitated affiliation to a hearth group, the establishment of a new hearth group, and participation in household activity was only possible from an established hearth group position; hearth groups were the "building blocks" of households, but were, in themselves, incomplete social units. In this respect we can note that the path of female socio-economic development was from hearth group identity and activity as a "child" and "adolescent", to household activity as a "mature" woman, and, finally, to the position of house representative as a "senior" woman (see Chapter VI). A hearth group was focussed on a mature, though not necessarily married, woman, referred to in this thesis as a hearth head, and the group varied in size from an extended family - woman, her husband, their daughters and their husbands and children - a minimal unit of a woman and her child. Thus, in a household focussed on a core group of three female siblings, each of the women would have controlled a hearth group. At this point of the discussion I will only mention two aspects of hearth groups: an outline of hearth economic activity and the principles of hearth group membership.

### Hearth Group Economic Activity

In the discussion of households, I suggested that the organisation of the hearth oven process can be interpreted as an expression of corporate lineage identity. Within the house, the open fire (atsu: "flame" "fire") can be isolated as a focal point of group identity and, in the associated processes, as a symbol of hearth group status. It is primarily because of the utility of adopting the "fire" as a symbol of group identity that I refer to this unit of social organisation as a 'hearth group' rather than as a 'nuclear' or 'extended' family. Fires in traditional Panara houses were small,<sup>1</sup> open, were not delineated by stones or stands, and were only maintained intermittently. The fires functioned as local sources of heat for warmth, medical treatment, and for cooking limited amounts of food for consumption within the hearth group.<sup>2</sup>

The hearth head regulated the economic organisation of the hearth group, controlling all produce entering or leaving the group and supervising the internal processes. Game was given to her for preparation, cooking and division, and she delegated tasks to younger female group members. She also controlled vegetable produce from her garden<sup>3</sup> and supervised its storage, preparation and division. Presents of food from other households, or from other hearth groups within her household, were made to her, and gifts of

<sup>1</sup> As in much of my description of Panara society, my use of the past tense is intentional, as with residence in PNG and altered methods of cooking, these fires have changed radically, to large, relatively permanent cooking sites, often demarcated by large stones and stands for drying or grilling fish.

<sup>2</sup> Panara concepts of health, illness and medical treatment are discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

<sup>3</sup> It would appear that each hearth group typically maintained one set of gardens. If a couple were members of the wife's mother's hearth group, then the husband would work on the garden of the wife's mother's husband, and the wife would have access to the produce. (see p204)

Food from her hearth group were made by her. Thus in food festival contexts all hearth heads received portions in the division of food (see p.316). In addition to supervising hearth group economics, the hearth head represented her hearth group in corporate household activity. The dialectic between hearth and household roles is illustrated by "cake" production. As discussed earlier, the stages of produce collection and cooking were organised as a household activity. In contrast, the intermediary process of preparation - the squeezing, pounding and grating of manioc and maize (see fig. 2), and the making of "cake" parcels were tasks for hearth group members and were located in the vicinity of their hearth fire. Two points should be emphasised in this context: firstly, hearth groups were concerned with the preparation of raw materials, but not with their initial collection nor with their transformation (cooking) and, secondly, that all produce entering the household through in-married men was regulated by individual hearth heads. In Chapters V and VI I suggest that these principles are fundamental to the "process" of human development.

b) Hearth Group Membership

My examination of hearth group membership after that of economic activity is a reflection of the present demographic structure of Panara households and hearth groups. In traditional society it seems that hearth groups were represented by extended family groups which were elements of well defined matrilineal lines. Hearth groups at the time of research were more commonly ad hoc groups in which principles of genealogical relationship had in part been replaced by economic and functional criteria. The population was characterised by a large number of 'family fragments' and a high proportion of children and mature men without close matrilineal relations. As it was crucial for individuals to be affiliated to a hearth group for economic and social survival, a significant degree of manipulation

and apparent in hearth group organisation during research.

Hearth groups in PNK, as defined by socio-economic relationships and geographical location, are represented in fig. 11, where I also locate the hearth groups and delineate known households and traditional hearth groups. In contrast to the previous representations of the Suya Village (figs. 9 and 10) individuals are located in groups of birth and not in those of residence. The picture of hearth groups disrupted by depopulation was further confused by the increased size, importance and permanency of "hearth fires" during residence (see p. 58). To clarify this picture I will examine three aspects of hearth group membership: individuals not resident in the village, the merging of groups and a note on kinship categories.

#### Non-residents

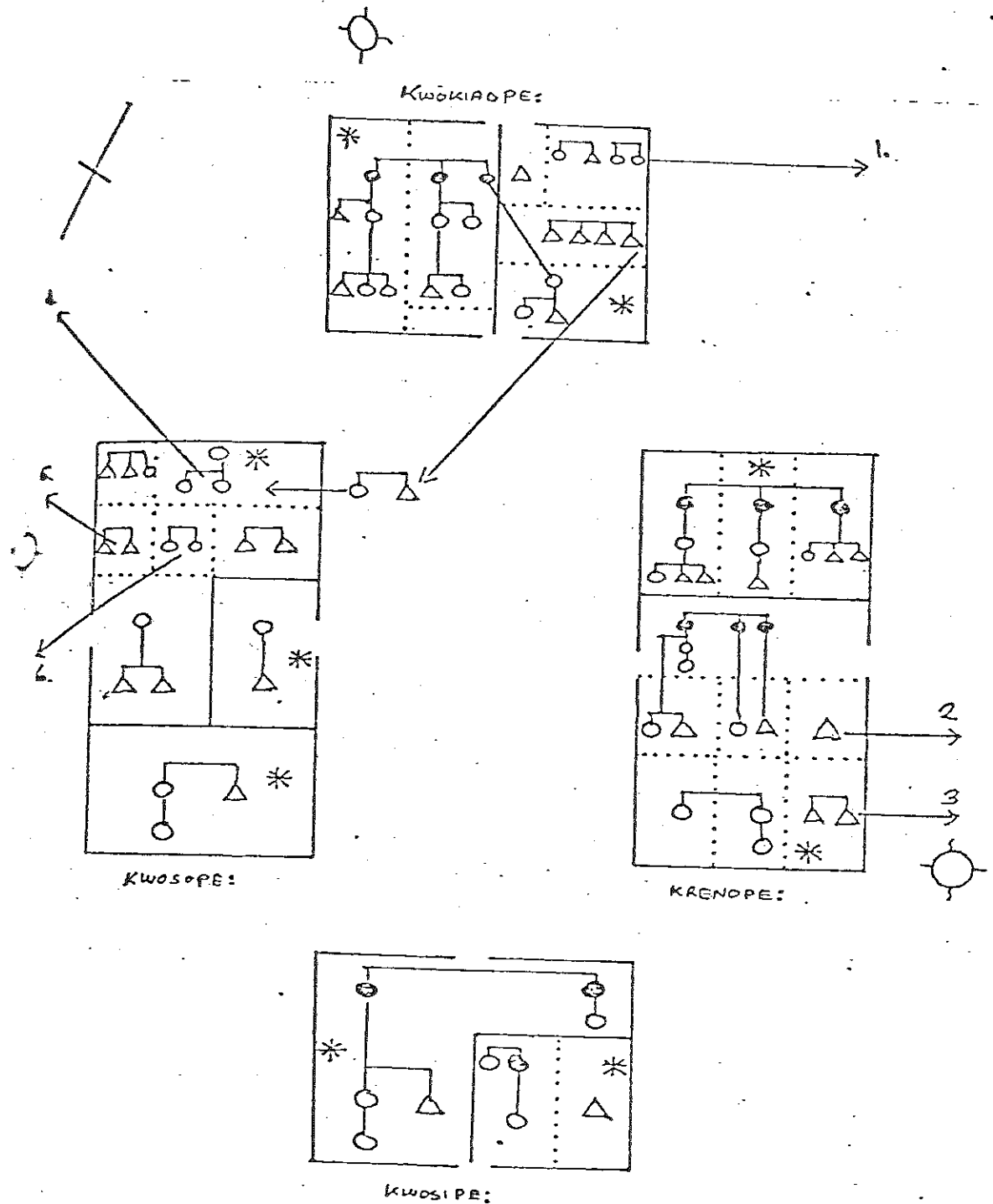
The case histories of the ten Panara non-residents in 1976 are illustrative of hearth group principles. With the exception of the two kwosope: sisters, who were married to Kayapo and resided at Kretire, all other non-residents were children or adolescents who lacked close matrilineal relatives in PNK. I have already discussed the kwokiadantera brother and sister who moved to kwosope: after failing to integrate with either of the two kwokiadpe: hearth groups; this appears to have been a very unusual solution (see p. 89). The other examples are best considered individually. The numbers refer to those given in Fig. 11.

1) Following the killing of their mother<sup>1</sup> the two sisters were thrown into the river, apparently by kwokiadantera women. They were rescued by FUNAI personnel, but were not re-accepted by kwokiadantera women and have since been in FUNAI care. As they were members of a matriline which had been reduced to one man, no kwokiadantera woman was willing to assume responsibility for their support.

Disputes and killings are discussed in greater detail in Chapter VII. Also see Appendix F.

11.  
VILLAGE ; TRADITIONAL  
P.N.X. HEARTH GROUPS.

(... DWALS LOCATED IN NATAL HEARTH GROUPS)



KEY:

- ..... TRADITIONAL HEARTH GROUPS.
- FUNCTIONING HEARTH GROUPS IN PN.X.
- \* HEARTH FIRES IN PN.X.

NON-RESIDENT PANARA (AZL)

- 1' APA & SURINTA (RD DE JANCIRO).
- 2 TUNOQUIAN (DIAMAKUM FOOT).
- 3 PALISUM (KAYAGI)
- 4 KAPO & GOGO (MARRIED TO KAYAPO)
- 5 KARETU: (KAYAPO) & TORAMPA (LWA).
- 6 KOKIAMA & TOTASUR (KAYAPO).

The sole survivor of a matriline, this young boy was rejected by all kwosope hearth heads, and in a condition of ill health and malnutrition was adopted by a Kayabi family at Dianuarum Post in early 1975. It was particularly noticeable that his father and the father's matriline, kwokiadpe, did not assume responsibility.

Two brothers with no close matrilineal kin, one of whom formed a working relationship with a kwosope hearth group and remained in the village, whereas the other did not, but preferred to remain with a Kayabi family in 1975.

Two sisters in kwosope married to Kayapo, in whose case the Panara and PNK authorities - did not have sufficient influence to enforce the rules of matrilineal residence, a principle common to both Panara and Kayapo societies.

Two brothers who were marginal to the kwosope hearth groups; their relationship to the hearth head probably being MMZD, who were not well accepted. One boy resided with the Kayapo and the other with the Suyu.

Two sisters resident at Kretire with the Kayapo, who were members of kwosope hearth groups and were generally not well treated. They remained at Kretire during the transfer of the Panara.

In these examples it was apparent that individuals who were marginal to their closest hearth group, in terms of genealogical relationship, were "marginalized", given inferior quantities of food, if any, and were expected to work harder than the close "sons" or "daughters" of the hearth head. In matrilineal society it would appear that such individuals would have been killed or totally abandoned unless they were able to establish a working relationship with a hearth head. This problem did not apply to the same degree to adult men and women, as their productive potential ensured economic if not social survival. The point to be made here is that identification with a hearth group, or more specifically with a hearth head, was crucial for continued presence in a household and hence the village.

#### The Merging of Hearth Groups

The projected Suyu Garden Village (fig. 10) shows three houses where one household was represented by a hearth group, as present in the Suyu village (fig. 11). The increase in hearth group size and the decrease in household size reflects both the demographic changes in Panara society

The introduction of new economic and technological practices in PNK. changes appear to have resulted in a merging or regrouping of the original hearth group fragments into new and larger units.

A Note on Kinship Categories and Spatial Descent, Household and Hearth Groups

The analysis of relationships between spatial units of social organization and kinship categories is problematic because of the recent depopulation and the fact that residence in villages and households was in a constant state of flux. By the end of 1976 this problem had been only partially resolved and for this reason I have not included certain points in this discussion and will only suggest an outline here.

During the collection of genealogies it was apparent that the delineation of "matrilines" varied when considered as a patrilateral or as a matrilateral group; i.e. when considered as "fathers" by one individual and as "mothers" by another. Classification of patrilateral kin (wusum) was based on known genealogical relationships, referred to a discrete matriline and, when the matriline was defunct, no extension was made to other SDG or household members; informants would state that they had no "fathers" or "father's sisters" or would name deceased representatives. In contrast, when questioned on matrilateral relationships extensions were made, beyond the boundaries of 'known genealogical' ties, to include present "functional" hearth heads and their uterine kin in the "mother" or "sister" category.

The extension of matrilateral terminology raises questions on the relationship between kin categories and household and hearth groups. In this respect some informants, generally reliable in other fields, classified their natal SDG and household members - in Suyu Village these units were identical - by two categories:

reference to individuals as "mother" (nupia) and sibling (iton̄);  
this could be through either a known genealogical relationship or  
through affiliation to a hearth head, and -

reference to individuals as inpe:pia, inkienpia, pimpia or i-pia.<sup>1</sup>

In practice such individuals were natal household co-members who were  
not referred to as "siblings" or "mothers". The use of these terms  
was not uniform between informants and in the case of adolescents they  
were typically not used at all; they usually referred to all senior  
women of their natal household as nupia ("mother") and all 0 and -1  
generation men and women as "sibling" (iton̄).

Returning to the postulated structure of traditional households, it  
appears probable that the terms nupia and iton̄ were confined to natal  
line members (hearth, household or a number of adjacent households)  
that inpe:pia ("human prefix" "SDG"?) etc. possibly referred to natal  
members outside the natal matriline. This may possibly explain why  
informants tended to delineate small matrilineal groups in the 1976  
survey, whereas adolescents generally extended the terms to all house-  
hold and therefore all SDG members. This suggests that the kinship cate-  
gories were in part concerned with spatial values of residence. Given the  
emphasis placed on the household as a female socio-economic domain, the  
relationship of kinship categories to the household unit appears to be highly  
significant. The relationship between kinship categories and units of spatial  
organisation is obviously one of some importance in social organisation.  
Unfortunately, with incomplete data on a very confused socio-residential  
organisation, I will not attempt further speculation.

These terms were only obtained towards the end of the fourth field  
trip and were to have been a focus of attention during the final trip.  
Due to incomplete knowledge of their application, I have not included them  
in the list of reference terminology (Appendix C, Tables I and II).



SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE 'CENTRE'

The socio-spatial principles of social organisation operative in the village periphery were not extended to the 'centre' where, in contrast, we find a diametric division with differentiation through space. Furthermore, the principles of the centre were not extended outside this domain<sup>1</sup>; the social organisation of the 'periphery' and 'centre' were distinct and <sup>each</sup> can be considered as one facet of "dual organisation". In traditional villages the centre of the plaza was dominated by two houses located to the north and south of an east-west conceptual division of plaza space; the east-west axis was marked by the plaza dance tracks and the dual racing paths entering the village from the east (see fig. 5). The 'northern' men's house was referred to as insodama and the southern as inkiadama (in- "human prefix", kiad "head" - though this does not appear to imply hierarchy, inki "hair"). The two buildings and the central plaza area were collectively referred to as inkobu; a term that can literally be translated as "human" "path" or "burrow". The two houses had defined membership groups which I term moieties following accepted Gê terminology; the members of the northern house were called insodantera and of the southern inkiañantera.

The Moieties

Moiety affiliation was through patrification in the case of males and through taking the membership of the 'first' husband in the case of

<sup>1</sup> In this respect the Panara are similar to the Suyá but unlike the Mbirá, as no extension of the diametric division was made outside the plaza domain. In other words, in Panara society the world was not conceived of as a diametric structure generated in the village centre.

males. Moiety affiliation will be discussed in the context of patrilineal relationships (Chapter VI) and here it is sufficient to note that this principle of membership resulted in a 'cross-cutting' of the space-kinship relationships generated on the periphery; in practice, groups of male "siblings" were commonly dispersed between the moieties. Moiety membership was not transmitted by the genealogical father but rather by a male member of the "father's mother's" matriline. As the patrilineal group was classified by descent through women it is apparent that "fathers" may, themselves, have different "fathers" who can also be representatives of other matrilineal lines and SDG (see fig 18).

In sum, moiety affiliation played down the idiom of descent and focusses on the formation of two agamous groups which were not duplicated on the periphery. Indeed, we can suggest that this 'cross cutting' is central to the concept of 'moieties' in both their ceremonial function and as one facet of a dichotomy with the 'periphery' domain.

Panara moieties were not exogamous, they did not regulate marriage, and they did not form the framework for 'social' groups outside plaza contexts. Thus, as far as is known, feuding, politics and social control were aspects of Panara society which were articulated by groups of the periphery. Rather, the moiety system regulated two major aspects of life: the houses were the residence of male adolescents and unmarried mature men (hence the description as men's houses), and the moieties were a dominant principle of organisation in Panara ritual.

a) Residence

As residential institutions the men's houses were severely disrupted throughout the period of research. At the "airstrip"

village the Panara constructed one small hut, which, in conjunction with the FUNAI house, was the residence of unmarried males (see Plan VII, Appendix B). At Pripuri village (Plan VIII, *ibid*) no building was constructed or utilised, at Kretire the Panara shared the single Kayapo men's house and during stays at Diauarum the male adolescents slept in an empty 'room' (Plan X, *ibid*). At the Suya village adolescents initially attempted to establish men's house residence in a peripheral house (see p. 88) and at intervals, thereafter, slept in a half completed peripheral house. The one attempt at constructing a men's house was at the Suya Garden Village, where one building was constructed in neo-Brazilian style, though the village was abandoned before the house was completed. As a result we were unable to observe functioning men's houses and adolescent and unmarried males were resident in their natal households. This situation must have radically altered the quality of life in the Panara village, though it is of interest that the absence of men's houses did not appear to be a matter of pressing concern to the Panara as did, for example, the correct number and location of peripheral houses.

#### Spatial Categories

In traditional society male moiety affiliation was expressed through men's house residence and male and female membership was expressed through the division of the village population during ritual; though not all Panara ritual was articulated by the moieties as I will discuss in Chapter VII. In sum, the identity of the moieties was articulated by 'space' and in Panara society there was no evidence of additional polarisation by reference to other dichotomies (see Chapter X). However, whilst we can note that both moieties and SDG were 'fixed' by spatial distinctions, we cannot directly equate the two forms of organisation.

In Chapters V, VI and VII, I will suggest that the periphery and centre were concerned with distinct aspects of life, as represented by socio-biological processes. Here we can contrast the forms by reference to the 'concern' shown by the Panara. The relative interest in buildings, which I noted earlier, was paralleled in the question of membership, where the confident knowledge of SDG affiliation contrasted with a certain vagueness over moiety membership. Thus in two lists of moiety affiliation, collected some six months apart, we find a number of variations (see Appendix D) and the Panara showed little concern when these discrepancies were pointed out. Informants also typically had to ask other Panara for information on the moiety membership of individuals outside their immediate social group<sup>1</sup> and the affiliation of visitors to the village was seldom requested. Finally, it was also apparent that known moiety membership (i.e. as given by informants) did not always correspond with the 'spatial' location of individuals in rituals organised by the moiety principle - see p.231. Thus, as a general impression at the time of research, the Panara placed less emphasis on the correct organisation of the centre than on that of the periphery.

To understand the identity of the moieties we must examine men's house activity and values, the subject of Chapter VII, rather than attempt to polarise the two groups as concrete entities. Panara moieties always functioned in a complementary relationship as elements of a reciprocal and, as I will suggest later, a symmetrical dichotomy.

<sup>1</sup> In part this may well have been the result of the merging of villages. In traditional society, with relative village stability, men would have spent their adolescence in close contact with other men's house residents and this would have been maintained in adult life during ritual; the moiety would have retained its identity throughout the man's life.

Thus we can suggest that as long as the dualism was maintained the precise membership of the groups was not a matter of critical importance; furthermore the very identity of the moieties was that they were agamous. Thus to contrast the 'periphery' and 'centre' we can suggest that the spatial categories of the former articulated 'biological', i.e. genealogical, relationships between individuals and specifically in marriage, whereas the spatial categories of the centre articulated the sociological relationship between categories, more specifically in ceremonies. In sum, on the 'periphery' emphasis was placed on the differentiation of individuals into distinct categories whereas in the 'centre' emphasis was on the differentiation of the village population into two groups.

#### Differentiation within the Moieties: Age Grades

In contrast to the genealogical differentiation of the spatial categories of the 'periphery', the moieties of the 'centre' were differentiated by reference to 'socio-biological' age; more specifically genealogical relationships, with one exception (see p. 196), were not emphasised. Panara society, male and female, was divided into categories which referred to 'age', which I summarise in Table 5. Following accepted Gê terminology, I refer to these categories as 'age grades', which can be distinguished from the 'age sets' of Kayapo and Akwê-Shavante society in that passage between categories was individualistic rather than as groups; in the age set system all individuals between certain 'ages' are identified as one group and all pass to the next category at the same point of time.

In Panara society age grade status was associated with socio-biological characteristics as expressed in social and economic activity, diet, biological status, body painting, hair styles and body modification etc. In this respect the sequence of categories was progressive

note 5

Age Grade Classification

Approximate age	male	female	"western" (as used in text)
conception	<u>wantu:i</u>	<u>wantu:i</u>	"foetus"
• 19 years	<u>inpriera</u>	<u>inpriera</u>	"child"
• 19 (male) • 17 (female)	<u>piuntu:ara</u>	<u>piuntu:ara</u>	"adolescent"
-----			
• 40 (male) • 45 (female)	<u>sitibara</u>	<u>inkiara</u>	"mature adult"
• 45 (male)	<u>tobutuñ-pa:</u>		
-----			
49 years	<u>tobutuñ</u>	<u>twatuñ</u>	"elder"

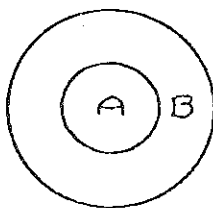
and can be approximated with the "western" classification of "foetus", "child", "adolescent", "mature adult" and "elder" (see Table 5). The system will be examined in greater detail in the following chapters, where it is adopted as a principal theme in the organisation of material life cycles.

The age grade classification was common, though not in identical form, for males and females. However, in peripheral contexts the system was not emphasised and, indeed, we can suggest that it duplicated the structure of household matrilineal descent (see p. 177). In the context of the centre, the sequence was emphasised and was a major principle in the organisation of both male and female groups in plaza activity. In this respect we can note that a major distinction within the sequence was between unmarried and married on the one hand and between "mature" and "elder" status on the other; in conjunction we can suggest that the attainment and loss of 'reproductive' status appear to have been life cycle stages given particular emphasis by the Panara.

#### Summary

In this chapter I have delineated the spatial domains of the Panara social universe and outlined the social groups and categories associated with specific spatial domains. The 'model' of space is fundamental to the following chapters, and I think it accurate to say that the Panara used the model as an implicit order, as a "stage", in the expression and articulation of social life. The Panara social universe can usefully be considered as a closed concentric structure, where increased distance from the centre represents a decreased social significance. In basic

This model can be represented by two concentric zones:



B : A have reference at a number of levels.

B	A
nature	culture
unknown land	known land
<u>kahen</u>	Panara
forest	village
village periphery	village centre
peripheral houses	men's houses
female	male
(garden periphery)	(garden centre)
spatial-kinship-based groups	moieties/age grade based groups
secular	ritual

This model will be referred to at various points in the following chapters and it would appear to represent a fundamental aspect of Panara thought.

Within village space, the concentric zones were differentiated by a quadripartite division of the periphery and a diametric division of the centre. The four periphery categories, spatial descent groups (SDG), were exogamous and regulated residence by reference to fixed geographical locations on the village circumference. The SDG were also represented in all villages. Each SDG comprised a number of matriline, shallow descent based groups, which formed the structuring principle of households. When matriline were large, the group may have been represented by a number of households located in adjacent positions in the relevant SDG sector of the periphery. Finally, each household was further organised into a number of hearth groups, which represented nuclear or extended family units. In the village centre the diametric division was expressed by the two men's houses and their membership groups or



ties. The men's houses were akin to the SDG of the periphery in that they were 'fixed' by reference to space, but with the moiety organization was by reference to age rather than to genealogical relationships.

#### State on Socio-Spatial Categories in PNK

In the preceding discussion it was apparent that depopulation, transfer and residence in PNK villages had disrupted the traditional relationship between social space and social groups. To conclude the matter I have attempted to represent these modifications in Fig. 12 where I compare a reconstructed traditional pattern with that present in PNK at the time of research. The main point is that, on the one hand, the boundaries of the 'social universe' have been expanded whilst, on the other hand, the distinctions of SDG, household and hearth groups have to some extent merged. It appears probable that these changes will continue, with the emergence of family, or extended family units, as the principle socio-economic units. Marriage outside the 'tribe' is an interesting question which is likely to produce profound effects; on the one hand, extra-tribal marriage in PNK is an important aspect of 'political relations', yet, on the other hand, other PNK societies lie outside the framework of SDG. By the end of 1976 two marriages had been contracted by women with 'non-Panara', although senior Panara maintained that marriage should be within the tribe. For the Panara to integrate into northern PNK society it appears inevitable that this attitude must change, and this implies a modification in SDG ideology. Marriage outside the tribe presents a particular problem for men, as their wives would have no SDG membership and nor would their children. Any offspring would therefore have no position in Panara society.

Social Space and Social Categories: A Comparison between Traditional and Modern Societies

	"other people" <u>kahen</u>	"people like us" <u>Panara</u>	village <u>kribi</u>	spatial descent groups (SDG)	matrilines <u>ku:kre</u>	hearth groups <u>itsu:</u>
<u>Traditional Society</u>	no social contact raiding/killed	social universe "people like us"	ideological, political, economic and ceremonial autonomy	exogamous groups	shallow kinship-based groups	nuclear/extended families
	"other people"	"affines"			"kin"	
<u>PNX Society</u>	social universe			merging of SDG and household units		
	<u>Indios:</u> Suya Kayabi Juruna etc.	<u>karalba</u> "whites" Panara one village society				remnants of nuclear families ad <u>hac</u> hearth groups
		"affines"			"kin"	

CHAPTER V

THE 'BODY' : ASPECTS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The human life cycle, the passage of individuals from conception through maturity to old age and death, is a complex process which involves the growth and socialisation of the body, "education", participation in secular and ritual life and the regulation of social and biological relations. As is the case with other Gê societies, the topic of life cycles introduces the full complexity of social organisation with reference to both secular and ritual life and with the necessity of referring simultaneously to a number of parameters. As these are central to the following chapters it is useful to give a preliminary outline of the principles:

a) gender

A fundamental distinction must be made between male and female life cycles as the Panara placed emphasis on the distinction between 'male' and 'female' and we find significant differences in the male and female cycles. This should not, however, obscure the fact that both life cycles are structured by common principles.

b) space

The 'social universe', the village and its environs, can be considered as the "stage" of human development and the location of individuals in, and their movement between, the spatial domains outlined in Chapter IV, articulated life cycle status. The spatial order was imbued with social significance and we find a consistent emphasis on space in the sequence of development; more specifically, the principle is fundamental to an understanding of most rites de passage and the residential cycle.

Age grades

The classification of Panara by reference to socio-biological represents the progressive sequence of development.

'social' and 'biological' development

Finally, I make a distinction between social and biological development: the former refers to the establishment and maintenance of social relationships and the attainment of socially recognised qualities; the latter refers to the establishment, maintenance and disposal of the 'body'. This distinction was not explicitly made by the Panara and is intended as an analytical device to simplify the organisation of the wide range of materials included in Part II. In this respect, I should make clear that 'biological' concepts, for example "growing old", are socially determined and that development, in general, must be seen as a culturally determined process. However, as I hope will become clear in the following chapters, the two aspects of development were concerned with distinct socio-spatial domains in Panara society and that this justifies my 'ethnocentric' distinction. Unlike age grade classification 'social' and 'biological' status may be recessive; for example, 'biological' status may be reversed by illness or 'social' status by divorce.

The necessity of referring to these parameters presents certain problems; the analysis of life cycles in a general consideration does not permit the isolation of principles; and yet the isolation of principles obscures an overall picture of the cycles as a continuous process. In research, a popular approach has been to examine male and female cycles separately, utilising the 'age' classification as a framework. However, whilst this format presents a clear sequence of stages, it does tend to obscure the underlying principles, which may not be progressive. For reasons of clarity, I make no attempt to consider, in detail, general

... and, to provide an overall perspective, I introduce this  
... with life cycle outlines which are summarised in Table 6.  
... the remainder of the chapter I discuss a number of topics related to  
... general theme of the 'body'. The Panara placed great emphasis on  
... 'body' and, to place this in perspective, I first examine Panara  
... concepts of "beauty" and "ugliness". I then discuss the 'terminal'  
... stages of development and suggest that conception, birth, old age and  
... share a common socio-spatial location and are identified as  
... 'biological' stages of development. This analysis is extended through  
... examination of 'illness', healing and menstruation, and the dialectic  
... between 'biological' and 'social' status; and identification with socio-  
... domains is introduced through an analysis of 'diet' and the values  
... of foods.

In the second part of this chapter, I examine the complex cycle of  
... body modification, practised by the Panara, which can be interpreted  
... as both symbolising and regulating the status of the body at various  
... 'critical' life cycle stages. The progressive 'modification' and  
... ornamentation of the ears, lip, thighs, chest and back can be considered  
... as representing the socialisation of the 'natural' body; a process that  
... involves reference to Panara concepts of 'mental' and 'physical'  
... attributes. To conclude the chapter, I discuss body painting, the  
... decoration of the body surface, to synthesise some of the points raised  
... in the chapter and to introduce a further aspect of spatial order.

THE CYCLE : AN OUTLINE

1-12

Conception, birth and infancy were ideally located in the natal hearth domain and were characterised by dependence on matrilineal female kin. The child was named when about six months of age and this established the boy's moiety membership. At this time the father also 'announced' a number of potential "wives" for his son. At about four years of age the child's ear lobes were perforated in a natal hearth ceremony. Soon afterwards the boy left his natal household to establish residence in his men's house in the village centre. From this age until marriage, at approximately 20 years of age, the boy would spend most of his time in the company of other adolescents in a routine dominated by male economic and ceremonial interests (see Chapter VII). The period of men's house residence can be considered as a phase of male 'education', when most of the skills and knowledge required for adult participation in society were learnt. During men's house residence the lower lip was pierced, at about 11 years of age, and both thighs were cut during two puberty ceremonies, between the ages of 13 and 15 years.

On marriage men transferred their sleeping mats from the men's house to their wives' peripheral household, but regular visits to the men's houses for ceremonial and male social contact continued to play important roles. The initial phase of marriage was marked by chest and back scarification, which completed the cycle of body modification. Marriage and uxorilocal residence were directly associated with mature male status, though integration into the wife's household was slight and any breakdown of the marriage resulted in the loss of residence, access to children and ownership of gardens by the man, and a return to men's house residence.

TABLE 6  
COMPARISON OF LIFE CYCLES

	MALE	AGE GRADE	FEMALE	
	CONCEPTION	WANTUA	CONCEPTION	
0	BIRTH NAMING			BIRTH NAMING
5	EAR PERFORATION			EAR PERFORATION
10	MEN'S HOUSE RESIDENCE	INPRIERA		
15	LIP PERFORATION			FIRST MENSES.
20	1st PUBERTY RITUAL 2nd PUBERTY RITUAL	PIUNTWARA	1st PUBERTY RITUAL 2nd PUBERTY RITUAL MARRIAGE	
25	MARRIAGE.			
30	CHEST SCARIFICATION BACK SCARIFICATION	SITIGARA	CHEST SCARIFICATION	
35				
40		INKIARA		
45				
50	("LITTLE SPEECHES") ACTIVE MEN'S HOUSE LEADERSHIP	TOBUTUN PA:	HEAD OF HEARTH GROUP ("LITTLE SPEECHES")	
55	WIFE'S MENOPAUSE			MENOPAUSE.
60	ORATORY in "SPEECHES" AND CEREMONY	TOBUTUN TJATUN	ORATORY AS A HOUSEHOLD REPRESENT- ATIVE.	
65				

By the age of about 35 men were prominent in the organisation of men's house or ceremonial village activity. Now in the "young elder" grade, they were active in instigating and leading men's house events and performing rites de passage on members of the village. A man's "elder" status was marked by his wife's menopause, and he then passed to contributions of "oratory" and advice from his peripheral house of residence; the termination of an "elder's" marriage resulted in a return to his natal household rather than to his men's house. Male old age and death were associated with the natal household and the grave was located in the food preparation zone at the rear of the natal house.

#### Female

Until the age of about six years female development closely followed that of males, with an identical ear perforation ceremony. Divergence of cycles followed the transfer of males to residence in men's houses. From that time girls were gradually incorporated into natal hearth group and then into natal household socio-economic activity. Constant daily contact with senior matrilineal female kin formed the process of female education.

At the approximate age of 12 or 13, girls passed through an identical puberty ceremony to that of males. Women married at a younger age than men, and in traditional society were commonly co-resident with a husband by the time of their second puberty ceremony. Marriage did not mark a radical change of relationships with a woman's matrilineal kin, as she remained a member of her natal hearth and household. It was not until the establishment of a family, the clearance of gardens, and the collection of material possessions that the wife achieved a degree of independence from her mother as head of a separate hearth group within her natal household. Maturity represented a gradual increase of authority and status within the



and was associated with the replacement of a woman's senior  
kin with her own children and their husbands and children.  
Change through the matriline was most apparent with "elder" status,  
by menopause, when women became actively involved in representing  
group in "oratory". The economic orientation of female "elders"  
from primary production to that of specialist tasks and they were  
figures in periphery village society, both as representatives of  
households and in the management of relationships between the con-  
sistent hearth groups. As in the case of men, old age and death were  
associated with the natal household and the graves of women were  
located in the food preparation zone at the rear of the house.

FACTS OF THE BODY: "BEAUTY"

In discussion of Panara notions of the human, the concepts of "physical  
beauty" and "physical ugliness" form a useful starting point. "Beauty"  
(in, inki "hair") was regarded as a positive state reached through  
observance of dietary rules, by adherence to social norms of behaviour  
& activity, and through the 'control' of the body by modification and  
fasting. Deviations from this "path" were thought likely to result in the  
negative states of "ugliness" (nanka "snake") or of body disorder in  
disease (sokiu:di)

Most Panara lay somewhere between the extremes of "beauty" and "ugli-  
ness" and could be considered as 'normal'. Among the population at the time  
of research few individuals were considered as "beautiful", but, by utilis-  
ing photographs of deceased Panara who were considered as "beautiful", it  
was possible to present a picture of the relevant qualities:

Female

The female figure should be large, broad, (mu:) and the face round. Her thighs should be large and muscular, breasts and belly 'small', and the vagina 'large'. In descriptions, one woman was consistently referred to as "beautiful" and from photographs it is apparent that she represented a physical 'type' absent in the PNK population. The woman was tall and had extremely large thighs and arms, but without being 'fat', as was the case with the larger women in PNK.<sup>1</sup> The qualities of "beautiful" women were strength and endurance as expressed in lifting and portage and in the use of the pestle and mortar. In the daily routine of female activity these skills were synthesised in the production of "cake", when large quantities of raw produce were carried to the village, and the ability to pound was reflected in the culinary emphasis on the fineness and smoothness of manioc-maize flour. In movement, females were characterised as "slow"; they rarely ran or moved rapidly in either secular or ritual contexts, and in plaza activity women participated in supportive or accompanying roles, where movement was typically slower and more simplified than that of men (see p.229).

Male

In descriptions of "beautiful" men, emphasis was given to a relatively tall build, muscular arms, thighs and chest, tallness and the general

The woman in question (Sakre) made a considerable impact on early visitors to Peixoto as an extremely large woman by western standards. She was extensively photographed by Jesco von Puttkamer and was featured on the cover of Stern Magazine (December 4th 1975). After contact she was 'taken' over by another Panara and was subsequently found dead in the river, though with no apparent injuries. In PNK her death was still remembered with sadness and was made all the more remarkable as her body was only discovered after FUNAI personnel had gone to find out why so many flies (10-10) were swarming around what turned out to be her body.

tributes of stamina, strength and agility. Here the concept of "beauty" in many ways approximates to that of the western concept of the "well built man". Photographs of "beautiful" men (e.g. the young man Nasuri in Cruzzi 1976) conform to this model and the slim build contrasts radically with the proportions of the "beautiful" women. Male attributes were expressed in hunting, fishing and plaza activity; in particular, log racing appears to synthesise male attributes and in exegesis the activity was associated with the idea of "making strong". Log racing was a male activity and involved running logs from a forest site to the village centre (see p. 232). This activity is widespread among the Gê (see Stähle 1970 and 1967), and in Panara society was both frequent and the maximum size of log was used.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of "beauty" was used in reference to children or adolescents, when the relevant criteria were the physical attributes associated with the particular age and gender. I should emphasise that the concepts of "beauty" and "ugliness" appeared to refer to physical characteristics; social attributes were expressed in the concepts of sumpa ("bravery"), asur ("anger"), nankio ("emotion") and san-pan-no<sup>2</sup> ("stupidity"). At this point it is useful to suggest a number of distinctions between male and female attributes:

Female

large, heavy  
portage (strength)  
slow moving  
pounding (pestle and mortar)  
periphery (secular)

Male

slim, light  
log racing (strength)  
agile, fast moving  
striking (bow and arrow, club)  
plaza (ritual)

The size of traditional logs is illustrated by the assumption of early visitors to Peixoto villages that two men would have had to carry each log (Cowell 1973:177). In fact, all Panara log races involved one man carrying the log as part of a relay team. (see p. 232).

Also referred to as san-turdi ( san-puñ "to hear", turdi "hard"/"raw")

"UGLY" (nanka)

Whereas the social significance of "beauty" was limited to status, classification as "ugly" had profound social implications. Descriptions of "ugly" individuals included details of swollen legs,<sup>1</sup> 'fat' stomachs, deformed limbs, skin diseases,<sup>2</sup> excessive thinness or obesity and blindness or deafness. If an individual was described as "ugly", reference was made to some physical characteristic. In 1976 three individuals were described as "ugly", but I must emphasise that the term was not used in their presence. One was a boy with a spinal abnormality which had resulted in an underdevelopment of his body and a lack of coordination in movement; the second was a young man with tuberculosis, who was very thin and weak; and the third a male "elder" who was short, rather fat and described as having a "large bottom". Informants also stated that young children were rarely considered "ugly" regardless of their physique.

In traditional society "ugly" individuals were commonly killed and their bodies disposed of by burning. This was seen as "dispersing the body in the wind" (surpe:li) so that the individual did not pass to the cosmological domains. The classification of "ugly" and the relationship between "ugliness" and violent death pose a number of problems. In my experience all known violent deaths (see Appendix F) were discussed in terms of "ugly"; for example, "We killed Iompa because he had a large stomach." However, it was equally apparent that not all "ugly" individuals are killed and that many of the deaths attributed to "ugliness" could also be placed in patterns of feuding between kinship-based groups. Without

\* 2 These diseases were endemic to the Panara in Peixoto, though neither identified at the time of research. The "swollen leg" illness generally resulted in natural death if the individual was not first killed.

into detailed discussion of feuding at this point, it appears that individuals were 'marginal' members of society and were therefore potential victims in violent dispute between groups; social friction expressed through concepts of the body (ss p.189). Finally, it is interesting to note that 'justification' of violence, or a rationale for it, was invariably through reference to 'non-social' physical attributes.

The classification of "beauty" and "ugliness" was extended to the animal world where, in particular, nanka was also the generic term for snakes. Whilst there was little evidence to suggest that the animal world was conceptualised as divided into the two categories, certain species were contrasted by the distinction; the eagle and the vulture are a good example (see p. 37). At a more general level it was also apparent that the Panara drew many parallels between qualities of various animals and humans (see p.141).

#### BILATERAL KIN

##### Establishment, Maintenance and Termination of Biological Identity

Conception, foetal development and early childhood can be compared with old age, death and burial in that they represent the terminal stages of human development. In opening and closing the life cycle these stages shared a common location in the natal hearth socio-spatial domain. In discussion of these life cycle stages I suggest that the hearth group was 'biologically' oriented in the production and disposal of 'raw materials' in Panara society. This section is, therefore, concerned with matrilineal relationships and the identity of the "family" in Panara society.

Conception

Concepts of conception were given little explicit expression in the society, where the 'physiological' aspects of reproduction were seen as such a female domain and discussed in terms of women. This contrasted sharply with the ideology and symbolic representation of reproduction, where emphasis was on males (see Chapter VIII). In conception the contribution of both parents was recognised, with the mother providing blood (tu:) and the receptacle for growth (itu: "belly") and the father the bones and flesh through semen (siñ). Details of this scheme were open to variation between informants and in general greater emphasis was given to blood. Semen was conceptualised as solidifying; initial intercourse was thought to contribute form to liquid blood, and, during pregnancy, repeated intercourse gave "size" and "strength" to the foetus (wantu:i). The action of halting the female blood flow was also symbolised in the ritual promotion of pregnancy, when a padded arrow was fired into the small of the back of mature, though not necessarily married, women.

Sexual intercourse between husband and wife was associated with the husband's sleeping mat within her hearth area. Sexual activity outside the household domain was interpreted as resulting from extra-marital unions. Specifically, the garden site was not associated with sexual relations between husband and wife. The economic and social organisation of male and female routines largely precluded private contact between husband and wife during the day and the sleeping mat was the principle location for husband and wife presence.

Birth (nampiu: "blood") did not mark the termination of the phase of gestation, as the child remained in the wantu:i age grade until the child was about six months. In horticulture, swantu:i referred to 'green'

young manioc, where the relevant qualities would appear to be lack of form and the immature stage of development. Birth took place in the mother's natal hearth area with her senior patrilineal kin in attendance. The woman knelt over her sleeping child and pressed the house structure with her hands and literally dropped the child onto her mat. The umbilical cord was cut by the "mother's" with a sliver of cane and the afterbirth was discarded in the back zone at the rear of the house. The event was discreet and did not involve the participation of household, SDG or village groups.

During the first six months of post-natal development the relationship between mother and child remained essentially the same as during pregnancy. The child (wantus) remained in close physical proximity to the mother at all times, was dependent on her for warmth, food, locomotion and control of bodily functions, and the dietary restrictions followed by both parents during late foetal development were maintained. As an "infant" the child could not establish relationships outside the hearth group, and until naming, approximately six months, the death of a child was not mourned by patrilineal kin. In sum, the child lacked social identity - i.e. names, group membership, announced wives (see p.190) - and can be considered as a raw 'biological product'. The Panara emphasised a high mortality rate during infancy, and in many instances mature women only remembered the number of pregnancies and births with difficulty and the death of "infants" was not an emotional subject.

#### Age, and Death

Establishment of biological identity after conception and birth was associated with the natal hearth, and we can note an association with this again in the termination of biological identity through old age, illness, death and burial.

In old age the pattern is most evident in the male cycle, as individuals of "elder" (tobutuñ) status returned to natal household residence if they were unmarried. This transfer marked the termination of a sequence of residential moves during the male life span, and, so to speak, represented the 'closing' of the cycle. The completion of the residential cycle can be directly equated with the completion of the 'biological' cycle as, in many respects, male "elders", though respected and powerful members of village society, had a status akin to that of "children". Thus "elders" of both sexes were conceptualised as non-productive; in economics their roles in primary activity were minimal, and "elders" did "not have children." The absence of reproductive powers was particularly relevant in male "elder" co-residence with female "siblings" - a presence explicitly precluded during the years of sexual maturity, and in the case of female "elders" we can also note that members of the age grade might accompany male ceremonial groups, when sexually mature women were explicitly excluded. In both instances the changing biological identity of individuals was paralleled by a changing sociological status as expressed in socio-spatial domains.

"Elders" in natal household residence were dependent on their natal hearth group for food, shelter and social contact. Male "elders" contributed to plaza activity from their peripheral house of residence and members of the age grade seldom played active roles in plaza events. This is of interest as I later suggest that many plaza events expressed male physical ideals. The absence of male "elders" from these activities suggests that they have passed beyond these concerns. We can also note that when "elders" participate it was commonly in a "joking" manner (see p.218).

Individuals of both sexes should ideally die in their natal hearth area and be buried at the rear of their natal house. In cases of serious illness they may be carried from their house of uxorilocal residence to their natal



, often on the instigation of "mothers" or "sisters". The subject illness and its treatment is considered in the following section and will first discuss burial and mourning.

### Mourning

"Mourning" (inku:a, "to cry") commenced when the point of recovery was considered past and was started by female matrilineal kin, who intoned the names of deceased members of their matriline. Mourning<sup>1</sup> was taken over by the spouse of the deceased and by members of the deceased's father's matriline; the spatial separation of these matrilineages was maintained throughout mourning. On death (intu:) the possessions of the deceased were gathered in his natal hearth area and a grave (kreku:ba, "house" "earth") was prepared by "fathers" at the rear of the natal house within the cleared and defined village area.

The body was prepared within the house by senior hearth group women. The corpses were decorated with a feather necklace (puñsasa) which was loosely tied around the neck and a dance belt (nankur - see p.170), which was tied around the waist. The necklace was constructed from the tail feathers of the eagle (tomasur), which were collected by men throughout their lives and stored in water gourds specifically for use in burial. Men frequently stored their feathers over their "mother's" sleeping mat whilst in uxori-local residence. The necklace was explicitly associated with promoting the passage of men from "earth" to the cosmological planes after burial. The dance belt was used in plaza activity as the principal

"Crying" took the form of a continuous chanting wail delivered in a high voice. The mourner was seated inside his or her hearth area (in the case of men in uxori-local residence if applicable) and the mourner would not eat or drink for the duration of "mourning".

... and musical instrument (see p.170) and its use in burial  
... associated with the participation in rituals in the cosmological  
... when the deceased man was below the age of 'necklace' and 'dance  
... membership the articles were supplied, if possible, by a member of  
... father's matriline.

The grave was a round pit some one metre in depth and one metre in  
diameter. The body was placed on mats and leaves in a foetal position  
with the head-feet axis aligned to the east-west and with the face towards  
the north. Adults were not buried with food supplies, but for children  
below the age of weaning a quantity of breast milk was squeezed into small  
water containers and placed in the grave. Corpses were not painted but  
were wrapped in sleeping mats and carried to the grave by "brothers".  
All personal possessions were placed around the body: in the case of a  
man, his bows, arrows, arrow heads, bone flutes, feathers etc., and in  
the case of a woman her digging sticks, baskets, spinning sticks etc. These  
were covered with additional mats and leaves, followed by a layer of earth  
and finally a racing log which had previously been cut in half by "fathers".  
The two halves of the log were firmly pressed into the opening of the  
grave, which, informants, explained, prevented iobo ("cats" and now "dogs")  
from eating the body. The excavated earth was then replaced by female  
patrilineal kin of the deceased to form a large mound over the grave,  
which, over the following days, was shaped into a regular cone some one  
metre in height, which was then covered with lengths of wood and leaves.

In FMX burials not all possessions were buried with the deceased.  
Exceptions were valued trade goods, as, for example, scissors, mirrors,  
knives etc., none of them 'traditional' possessions. Prior to the removal  
of the body from the household for burial, these objects were placed in  
the hand of the deceased, which was pressed around them. Apart from these  
articles, death usually resulted in the virtual destruction of all the

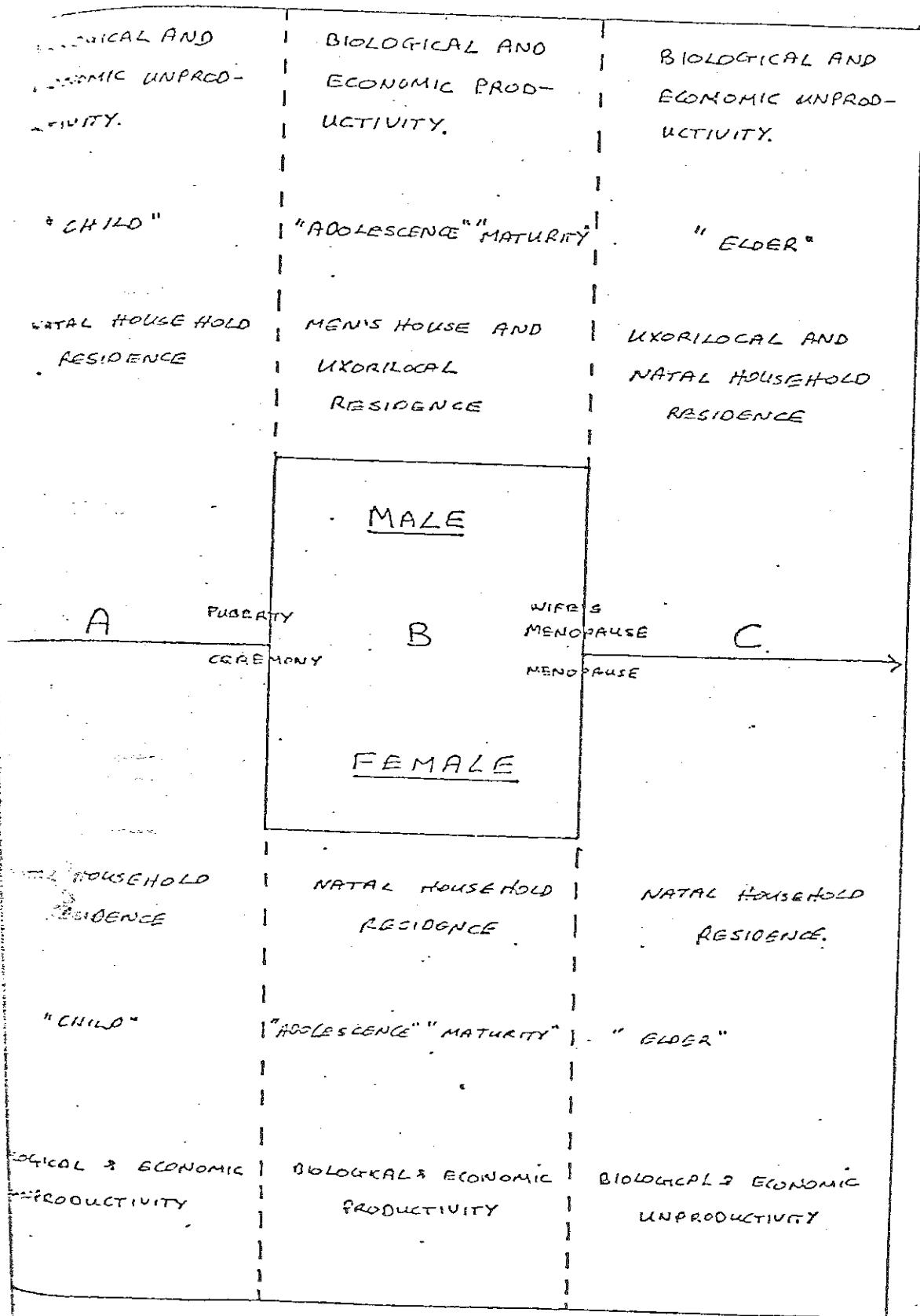
deceased's hearth group's possessions, including sleeping mats, water  
containers and even pestle and mortar; the hearth area of the house was  
usually 'cleared'.

In the immediate post burial period 'crying' was maintained by both  
matrilateral and patrilineal kin, though within three days this  
was mainly diminished to infrequent chanting by the parents. 'Crying'  
continued with decreasing frequency and, in the case of one senior woman  
in PNX, was resumed for brief periods at least ten years after the actual  
death. With the exception of 'crying' and the destruction of property,  
death did not result in significant changes among the living. There was,  
for example no evidence of hair cutting (see p.268), specific styles of  
body painting nor mutilation of the body.

At this point it is useful to introduce an analytical model which,  
I suggest, represents a basic principle of organisation in Panara society.  
The model is given in Fig. 13, and here I will comment on points relevant  
to the terminal stages of the cycle. Phase A represents common male/  
female natal group residence which is terminated by the departure of male  
adolescents for men's house residence. Phase B represents the separation  
of male and female siblings during the years of sexual and economic pro-  
ductivity, and Phase C represents "elder" status and the possibility of  
male/female sibling co-residence. I suggest that the terminal stages are  
'biological' and are associated with natal hearth identity, whereas <sup>for men</sup> Phase  
C is explicitly located outside the natal hearth domain and is the stage  
of transformation or sociological development. To illustrate further the  
dialectic between natal hearth and extra-natal hearth identity and status  
I will examine Panara notions of illness and its treatment.

13

CYCLES = A MODEL



(okiu:di)

Panara notions of illness reference was not made to sorcery, witch-  
monsters (pe:pu:di) though the latter were said to live in holes  
ground and to "eat Panara".<sup>1</sup> Rather, illness was essentially  
realistic, internal, and even if the source of contamination was  
no recriminations were made against the contaminator. Illness was  
result of individual action.

Illnesses with no apparent environmental cause, such as splinters,  
wound cuts etc., were attributed to contact with 'natural' blood or to  
normal blood disorder. A classification of illness by source is given  
Table 7, in which the order represents potential severity and I include  
approximate "western" diagnosis. The most serious source of contamination  
is considered to be male contact with menstrual blood during intercourse.  
This was said to result in fever (nankio), "heaviness" and "tiredness" and  
is generally considered to be fatal; this was given as the cause of one  
death (see Appendix F). A more frequent source of illness among men  
and women was the consumption of undercooked animal or fish blood (nampiu:)  
which was seen as forming a "ball" in the lower intestine, blocking the  
digestive process and causing "fever", "tiredness" and "heaviness". In  
most cases of persistent fever were diagnosed by the Panara as result-  
ing from "raw" blood consumption. Body pains, muscular strains and  
lethargy or tiredness were often attributed to excess blood in specific  
body areas, for example, in the case of headaches to excess blood in the

The relationship between "monsters" and illness could not be clarified.  
Known cases of illness "monsters" were not given as a cause, but Panara  
state that fewer people died in PNK because the "monsters" were left  
Peixoto as they could not follow the group travelling by plane. This  
could, however, refer to deaths in the forest from animals or "other  
people" rather than to deaths from illness. Some Panara stated that  
okiu:di were "like jaguars" (lobo).

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CLASSIFICATION OF ILLNESS

source	potential gravity	symptoms	approximate western diagnosis
sexual intercourse with menstruating woman	fatal	high fever tiredness "heaviness" general blood contamination	severe malaria/ pneumonia/ T.B. in men
consumption of "raw" game blood spill of blood blocking intestine	serious/ fatal -	fever tiredness heaviness	malaria/ severe influenza/ pneumonia
<u>iben-sokindil</u> <sup>1</sup>	serious/ fatal	cough runny nose chest pains	influenza/ cold
excess blood in specific body area	minor/ serious	pain tiredness laziness weakness	muscular pain/ tiredness/ head_ache etc.
skin contact with menstrual or "raw" game blood	minor/ serious	pain heaviness tiredness general blood contamination	-

Influenza was common at the time of research and between 1972 and 1974 was the cause of most deaths. The symptoms of runny nose (se:-ioto "nose"/"jaguar" and cough (inka "breath") were unknown in traditional Panara society. The illness was explicitly associated with "other people" during the period of contact and at least some of the initial Panara generalisation appears to be related to their incomprehension of the illness and its dramatic results. It is interesting to note that whereas ill people were not generally considered as "ugly" the term was used in reference to influenza and during the early post contact period individuals were killed for having a "cough" as "ugly" people - "We killed X because she came to the village with a cough. She was ugly."

The excess blood might be attributed to overeating, laziness or lack of fitness, a common factor being the disruption of the balance between rest and activity; greed and laziness were contrary to Panara norms of behaviour. To give a simple example of such diagnosis: a man returning from a long day's labour in his gardens may complain of pains in his cut arm. The pain (sur) was not seen as a result of his labour but rather as a 'body' condition which prevents him from working; the idea seems to be that men should be able to do that activity and, if they cannot, then the body is at fault.

Finally, skin contact with 'natural' blood, i.e. menstrual, animal or other human blood, was a potential, though infrequent, source of contamination. Blood from any source which was spilt inside the house was removed with the surrounding earth, and blood on the hands or body after cleaning meat or fish was washed as soon as possible. In practice this source of contamination was seldom given as a cause of illness.

#### Regulation of the Body : Healing

The treatment of illness was not associated with a specialist role, although senior women were said to "know more", and the use of drugs, tobacco, smoke, ritual ornaments or journeys to a cosmological plane were absent. Panara healing was related to notions of 'physiology' and generally be considered as attempts to restore a balance between the body and elements and between nature and culture.

Heat was an integral element of most healing, with the patient lying immobile by a hearth fire, whilst further heat was applied to the body via stones or hands. Areas of pain were tightly bound with bark fibre (pium-), though exegesis of this practice was limited to the "reduction of

When illness was diagnosed as stemming from the consumption of animal blood various attempts were made to 'dislodge' the intestinal ball: the stomach was kneaded to 'break up' the ball and allow passage through the intestine; the patient was given neat honey to eat, which was seen as causing diarrhoea (si-nanko; inko "water"); or the patient consumed urucum to induce vomiting of a red colour, which was considered to remove the "raw" blood. When the diagnosis was of excess blood or blood contamination, a form of blood letting was practised, with the affected area being repeatedly punctured with a miniature bow and arrow (saka). The arrow was made from a small section of split cane tipped with bone (or in PNX a splinter of glass) and was flicked into the skin by a small split cane bow. This treatment was common and was carried out in most areas of the body even for relatively minor aches or pains. An alternative method of reducing pain was the application of ant bites; a large black ant, prebasur ( - sur "pain") was held over the affected part between sticks and pushed onto the skin. In these practices the curative properties were given as "bleeding" (nanpiu) and "pain" (sur). Finally, painful cuts or abrasions were often soothed by breast milk (indo)<sup>1</sup>, which was squeezed over the affected area from the breast.

In the context of progressive development as represented by spatial domains, illness can be interpreted as a regressive state. As in the related aspect of death, medical treatment was ideally given in the natal hearth area, using heat from the natal hearth fire and treatment given by natal hearth women; "mothers" and "sisters". This was particularly apparent in the case of mature married men, whose illness would result in suspension of men's house or uxori-local residence and the return to natal house residence. The patient, lying immobilised by his "mother's" hearth fire, effectively returned to an "infant" status, dependent on matrilineal

Also referred to as sañse-anko ( "breast" "liquid" ).



for food, shelter and support, and his 'biological condition' prevented from participating in plaza or uxori-local house activities. Thus his return to his natal household was paralleled by the temporary suspension of his extra-natal household, or matriline relationships.

The analysis of hearth group status can be extended through examination of menstrual blood as a source of contamination and illness. I have noted that potentially the most fatal contamination was male contact with menstrual blood during intercourse. This is of particular interest as the "illness" was limited to mature men and the source refers to women of other SDG groups, that is to females as "wife" rather than as "sister" or "mother". Here menstrual blood refers to the extension of extra-natal SDG ties through marriage and to contact with affines. The relationship between marriage, sexual intercourse and illness is apparent in a number of other aspects. Firstly, menstruation can be seen as a denial of the husband's procreational role as it is an empirical statement that the wife is not pregnant. This is of special importance during the initial phase of marriage, when great emphasis was placed on sexual intercourse and the marriage was not 'stabilised' until the wife conceived (see p.204). Secondly, marriage without intercourse was anomalous, and the Panara stated that in traditional society husbands returned to men's house residence for the duration of their wives' menstruation. In PNK, with the absence of men's houses, men slept in hammocks away from their wives' sleeping platforms. This practice can in part be explained as a male avoidance of potentially harmful substance, menstrual blood, but it can also be interpreted as the temporary suspension of marriage, or co-residence, at a time when the wife has a 'biological' status. This point will be returned to in the following discussion.

Secondly, the implied modification of the husband's status through suspension of marriage and return to men's house, i.e. unmarried, was paralleled by modifications in the wife's socio-biological status during menstruation. During menstruation women spent most of their time in their hearth area, although this was not a prescribed seclusion. Within her hearth domain a woman's menstrual blood was not considered as particularly "dangerous" or "polluting" and evidence of blood on legs or sleeping mats was quite common. Women took some precautions to cover their sleeping mats with sections of wood when they were absent from the house, but this was seen as a measure to prevent people accidentally sitting on the mat. In this respect it appears probable that the danger of contamination from menstrual blood was less for members of the woman's matriline than for in-married men.<sup>1</sup>

Outside the woman's hearth area menstrual blood was a more dangerous force, and we found a number of restrictions on the activity of menstruating women. The onset and termination of menstruation were made known to the village in "little speeches". In the domestic sphere, menstruating women were not supposed to participate in earth oven cooking, as produce, especially meat and "cake", would not cook.<sup>2</sup> We have seen that earth oven

This is an important point in Panara social organisation. The question could not be resolved during research, but almost certainly the notion of 'common' blood did not extend beyond immediate matrilineal kin. Any blood spilt inside the household was considered as "dangerous" and a mother would push her son out of the house or complain about blood being spilt on the floor even in cases of serious injury.

Here I should also note that transgression of tribal "endogamy" by women in PIX was also seen as preventing earth ovens from cooking. This could suggest that sexual intercourse outside the "tribe" was anti-social and potentially harmful in much the same way as intercourse during menstruation. In traditional society extra-tribal marriage could hardly have been common, or even have occurred, which suggests that the extension of this concept to earth oven cooking was recent. It does, however, fall within a general concept of a relationship between social cooking and the social status of the participants.

... symbolises female social status as a member of her household, ... in the case of men during illness or their wives' menstruation, ... exclusion of mature women from this process can be interpreted as a ... to the natal hearth domain and 'biological' status. In this ... argument four points can be made:

1) The exclusion of women at times of 'biological' status suggests that the household, as a unit, was not concerned with the production of raw materials. The dialectic between hearth and household has already been noted in the context of the "cake" process, where collection of produce and cooking were house group activities and the preparation of "cake" and its consumption were hearth group oriented. House groups were not concerned with the production of 'biological' raw materials - menstrual blood and children - and, in the economic domain we find a parallel, as gardens were owned by hearth groups and game entered the house through hearth group channels.

2) The dislocation of menstruating women from 'social' participation in earth oven cooking to 'biological' status as hearth group members is illustrated by Panara notions of diet. Foods consumed at times of 'biological' status were essentially wild products which were either eaten raw or toasted on an open (hearth) fire. In contrast, foods prohibited during these times were game and horticultural produce associated with earth oven cooking. This suggests that earth ovens (the household) were 'social' in character, whereas hearth fires (the hearth group) were intrinsically 'biological'.

3) In the context of "raw" blood as a source of illness, it is also apparent that the participation of a menstruating woman in earth oven cooking would be a potential source of illness, as "she prevents the meat from cooking". This can be equated with intercourse during menstruation as another facet

restriction of extra-natal hearth group contacts at times of 'biological' status; on the one hand transgression may lead to the death of a woman's husband through intercourse, and on the other hand transgression may lead to illness and perhaps to the death of household members from the consumption of "raw" animal blood.

Finally it is possible to equate earth oven cooking with conception, and that both processes represent the 'transformation' of liquid or "raw" food (nampii:). In the example of game, a dangerous natural product, where game is a potential source of illness, it is transformed into a "strength"-giving food, and, in the case of conception, the destructive force of menstrual blood is transformed, through a combination with semen, into children or the "strength" giving elements of Panara society. In the former the transformation is through the extension of a woman's ties to her household or matriline; as expressed in earth oven organisation, and in the latter through the extension of ties to other SDG in marriage. In both instances 'social' status is necessary for participation and 'biological' status may result in illness.

Two further restrictions support the contention that menstrual blood is at once a symbol of female fertility (see puberty ritual, p.151) yet also an antithesis to creative force: menstruating women should not visit a growing garden, as the crops would be "destroyed by wind" (surpe:li), nor should they collect honey, or the produce would be "sour" (siñ "semen"). Horticultural symbolism is complex and is discussed in detail in Chapter VIII. Here I note that male garden owners observed "post natal" restrictions during the initial phase of garden growth and that the peanut crop can be interpreted as a metaphorical representation of "children". The restriction on menstruating women appears to refer to the destructive force of menstrual blood during the phase of initial growth or 'transforma-

of the crops. In the case of honey, I suggest that the product was valued for its sweetness (lampe:n) and that honey also symbolises "fertility", or the initial generative phase in development, as a 'male' product. This point is returned to in the following discussion of diet.

I have so far concentrated on establishing the association between various life cycle stages and the hearth group. In this argument two points require specific emphasis. Firstly, 'biological' establishment is a pre-requisite for the formation of extra-natal hearth group ties; i.e. social development or participation in society was from a position of established biological identity. Secondly, hearth groups were concerned with the establishment and maintenance of biological identity, with the production of "raw materials", but they were not concerned with the process of progressive social development.

#### Regulation of the Body : Diet (1)

The discussion of diet allows further clarification of the relationship between hearth and house levels of organisation, and a consideration of the relative aspects of growth.

The Panara would eat most foods with apparent relish, but within the category of "edible" substances (see p. 35) we can distinguish between those associated with the promotion of "strength" and those associated with 'biological' status. The Panara referred to the former in contexts of "strength" diet, and the latter in contexts of pregnancy, illness etc. The foods of these categories are presented in Table 8. Rather than discussing each food individually I will select certain themes of interest.

To illustrate the distinction between "strength giving" and "biological" it is useful to contrast two examples which were given importance by

CLASSIFICATION OF FOODS

domain	foods associated with "strength" and consumed at times of 'social' status	foods consumed during diet restriction and 'biological' status
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maize	"cake"	
manioc		
yams (all varieties)		
bananas		
peanuts		
sweet potatoes		

large game :	tapir	small game:
	large armadillo	smaller armadillo
	deer	
	peccary	

large fish	small birds
	small fish and back portions of medium fish
	palm heart
	palm nuts
	various fruits
	honey

This table includes only those foods emphasized by the Panara in the text of 'social' and 'biological' diets. The table is not intended to represent actual patterns of consumption.

... : "cake" and honey. The consumption of honey was prescribed  
... number of life stages:

	<u>honey consumption</u>	<u>reference to "cake"</u>
honey	is "liked" by the foetus ( <u>wantu:i</u> )	prohibited
...	curative properties in removing "raw" blood	prohibited
... of ... with ... (owner)	should be collected and eaten after division of peanuts for planting (see p.266)	prohibited
*****		
...	sweet ( <u>lampe:n</u> ) and "nice to eat" ( <u>na-si-si</u> )	"makes you strong" ("smell")

Although honey was a popular food throughout the year, the examples  
prescribed consumption suggest an association with initial growth phases.  
... human conception and peanut cultivation there is an apparent analogy  
... between honey and semen, as both can be considered as "white" foods  
... giving strength to embryonic forms. This "creative" or fertilising charac-  
... is evident in the sexual symbolism of honey festivals (p.318) and in  
... belief that menstrual blood 'sours' honey, i.e. that menstrual blood  
... inside the body transforms the significant quality of honey. Finally,  
... 'daily' collection of honey was unusual, in that it was the family which  
... the collecting ; ... this was one of the few examples of joint husband  
... wife economic activity outside the uxorilocal household.

"Cake" was considered to be a food to "make you strong"; a con-  
... tion with social as well as biological references. "Cake" was ideally  
... as with meat, a synthesis of corporate female and corporate male activity  
... ed through marriage, as "cake" preparation and hunting and fishing were  
... ased as group activities. Whereas honey consumption referred to  
... logical' status, the consumption of or access to "cake" referred to

relationships between social groups. The following references to "cake"

by Panara illustrate this point:

- Pre-marriage: "cake" was given at periodic intervals by the "husband's mother" to the future "wife's mother".
- Men's house residence: "cake" was taken to the men's house by a "sister" for consumption by adolescents.
- "Maps" of the village: individuals delineated social groups on the village periphery by reference to, or the obligation to give, "cake" - e.g. "That is my mother's house, where I can eat "cake" ".
- Household values: all female residents should cooperate in the collection of materials and the cooking of "cake" (earth oven).

I suggest that in addition to giving "physical" strength the "cake" also expresses the extension of relationships from 'biological' (hearths) to higher social levels. In pre-marriage prestation, "cake" establishes the "path" for future male residence, and hence development, on the village periphery. This prestation is of interest, as although "cake" was given by the future "husband's mother", it can also be seen as the product of her household; the gift symbolises the relationship between the "husband's" natal household and his future "wife's" hearth group - as developed in Chapter VI.

The 'social' status of "cake" is also apparent in patterns of consumption. In descriptions of "daily" diet the consumption of "cake" was explicitly associated with the evening, when groups assembled in the plaza in front of peripheral houses. The time of this meal followed the completion of earth oven cooking (see p.290). Membership of the groups was strictly based on residence; mature men ate with their uxorilocal household and adolescent males ate in the men's houses. In contrast, married men had access to natal hearth "cake", which formed an important aspect of enduring matrilineal ties, during the day, when the man would visit his natal house and ate his "cake" in silence. In this respect



was not identified as a member of his natal household, which was an economic group, but as a member of his natal hearth group, a social entity.

Regulation : Diet (2)

At this point I have examined foods as symbols of the distinction between 'biological' and 'social' phases in the life cycle. However, dietary control was also exercised by mature and 'biologically established' individuals, and this brings us back to the distinction between "male" and "female".

With the establishment of biological identity as marked by weaning at approximately four years of age, children of both sexes could eat freely from the total Panara source range without restriction as to quantity.<sup>1</sup> During this stage of maximum growth children might eat fish, meat, "cake" etc. without reference to the 'balance' of body elements. We can also note that this phase of development was not associated with body modification through cutting, perforation or body painting styles.

With passage through adolescence towards mature status we find an increasing male concern with diet, the principle restriction being on the consumption of blood-rich portions of meat and fish. When game was divided, the head, neck, liver and other offal and the heads of fish

The main exception was the wild fruit nando ( unidentified ) which was said to kill young children. The fruit had a very strong flavour and had a pronounced effect on the digestive system. It is possible that diarrhoea was associated with a regressive return to infant status, in the context of emphasis in childhood over control of body functions.

...ically given to women and senior men for consumption. Informant  
... on this point was quite clear: if mature men ate these portions  
... and become "heavy" and "tired". These were symptoms of excess  
... (see p.129) and were negative male qualities - they made men "like  
... Children and senior men did not need to observe these dietary  
... as the respective age grades were not associated with the physical  
... of mature male status. It is also significant that an emphasis  
... consumption should be accompanied by emphasis on plaza activity.  
... particular, "meat festivals" (see p.308), which culminated in the con-  
... of large quantities of the "strongest" food, i.e. "meat cake",  
... introduced and terminated by a series of log races; a combination of  
... and plaza activity expressing Panara ideals of male values.

The increased concern of men over the body during adolescence and  
... can also be interpreted as a facet of a more general 'separation'  
... "male" and "female" identities. A crucial aspect of this separation was  
... that male reproductive roles were characterised as "white"-(bone/semen)  
... whereas those of females were as "blood"-rich individuals. In Panara  
... society the separation, maintenance of the separation and, finally,  
... relaxation of the separation between "male" and "female" was a prevalent  
... in economic, ritual and social organisation and can be equated with  
... model presented earlier in this chapter (fig. 13). At this point I  
... note that separation was marked by the puberty ritual, the maintenance  
... the distinction was through dietary control, scarification, body painting  
... and plaza activity, and the relaxation of the distinction was marked by  
... "menopause" and was evident in the "roles" and status of members of  
... "elder" age grade.

It can be suggested that the Panara extended this "physiological"  
... distinction to the "psychological" plane. Fits . temper, crying and

Uncontrolled anger were conceptualised as "female" behaviour, and were referred to as nankio. This term also referred to "heat", "fever" and "bad" temper in the lipped peccary (Tayassus Peccari). The reference to the peccary is of interest as the animal is gregarious, dangerous when threatened, and acts without controlled action in defence. As described by the informants, the characteristics of the animal correspond to our concept of "hot" or "bad" tempered, which has a similar correlation with Panara references. The Panara associated these states with excessive blood and therefore with the "blood-rich" physiology of females. This stereotype is supported by life in a Panara village, where argument, temper and uncontrolled aggression were typically types of behaviour observed among children and women.

In contrast, male anger and aggression were referred to as asur ("pain")<sup>1</sup>, a term which also referred to the sting-ray and to ritual exchanges between moiety representatives. The term can best be translated as "formal anger"; in ritual exchanges moiety representatives faced each other in the plaza, adopting an aggressive stance and addressing each other in raised voices, often with the accompaniment of foot stamping. However, the content of the address and the relationship between the two men was not 'hostile', rather the behaviour expressed notions of "male" behaviour and symbolised the ritual status of the participants (see p.220). To return to the natural analogy, an asur man was akin to a sting-ray in possessing great agility, fast movement, strength and, in the last resort, a very powerful weapon. The sting-ray was the most feared inhabitant of

<sup>1</sup> My identification of nankio as "female" and asur as "male" is based on contextual use of the terms and not on informant explanation. Nankio was used in reference to children and women and asur in reference to men. Both terms were, however, also used as, or as part of, male names.

... and its sting barb was valued as a tip for fishing arrows and  
... decoration worn suspended behind the neck.

... sum, the "emotional" attributes associated with mature men and  
... reflect a 'physiological' distinction between the sexes in Panara  
... which was expressed through the idiom of nature. We can represent  
... distinction as a set of oppositions:

<u>asur</u>	<u>nankio</u>
sting-ray	white lipped peccary
powerful sting (cuts)	powerful teeth (roots)
controlled aggression	uncontrolled temper
white flesh <sup>1</sup>	blood flesh <sup>1</sup>
blood-poor	blood-rich
formal anger	tantrum - crying
male	female

Medical Regulation : Scarification and Perforation

In life cycle development the surface of the body was modified in an  
... and complex series of perforation, scarification and ornamentation  
... (Tables 9 & 10). In this section I include a wide range of material  
... to 'body modification', as an illustration of Panara concepts of  
... body. At this point I only give a limited account of the puberty  
... (see Chapter VIII) and body painting is dealt with in a separate  
... at the end of the chapter.

Infancy

The 'biological' status of infants was reflected in their diet, their  
... as hearth group members, and in their dependence on natal hearth

... sting-ray was not a popular food and was generally given to marginal  
... members in food distribution. Peccary flesh was very popular. This  
... does not negate the values associated with the two species.

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## DEFINITION OF BODY MODIFICATION - 1974 POPULATION

grade atus	name	app. age	ear perf. <u>sikre-ko</u>	lip perf. <u>sa:kur</u>	thigh scars <u>krasuri</u>	chest scars <u>nope:n</u>	back scar lines <u>nope:n</u>
<u>tiara</u>	Sukiañ	4	-	-	-	-	-
	Porota	5	-	-	-	-	-
	Kiumpu:	5	-	-	-	-	-
	Tuñgokiañ	5	-	-	-	-	-
	Pau	5	-	-	-	-	-
	Posoa	6	2	-	-	-	-
	Topampa:	6	-	-	-	-	-
	Koka	8	-	-	-	-	-
	Tanko	9	2	-	-	-	-
	Kwosi	12	2	-	1	-	-
	Kieno	13	2	-	1	-	-
	Potika	13	2	-	1	-	-
	Polikiadi	14	2	1	2	-	-
	<u>matu:ara</u>	Iotu:	15	2	1	2	-
Okara		15	2	1	1	1	-
Karetu:		16	2	-	1	-	-
Palisum		16	2	1	1	-	-
Krentoma		19	2	1	2	3	-
<u>akibara</u>	Se:ikian	20	2	1	1	4	-
	<u>Kreto:di</u>	20	2	1	2	6	-
	Se:akore	22	2	1	2	1	-
	<u>Titikre</u>	22	2	1	2	2	-
	<u>Kuñasur</u>	22	2	1	2	6	4
	<u>Nansuri</u>	23	2	1	2	6	4
	Kiekampo	26	2	1	2	6	4
	Ku:pe:li	26	2	1	2	4	4
	<u>Topku:</u>	27	2	1	2	6	4
	Poka	27	2	1	2	6	4
	Penswa	27	2	1	2	6	4
	<u>Ka:ku:</u>	30	2	1	2	5	4
	Futi	32	2	1	2	5	1
	Sokri:di	32	2	1	2	6	4
	Popoa	33	2	1	2	6	4
	<u>Iopo</u>	33	2	1	2	6	1
<u>tutun-pa:</u>	Sumakri:di	34	2	1	2	6	4
	Tese:a	38	2	1	2	6	1
	Akur	39	2	1	2	6	4
	Watu:ia	42	2	1	2	6	3
<u>tutun</u>	Kokri:di	55	2	1	2	6	7
	Krekoñ	55	2	1	2	6	4
	<u>Tapiñnoñ</u>	58	2	1	2	6	8

deceased 1976

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## DISTRIBUTION OF BODY MODIFICATION - 1974 POPULATION

grade status	name	approx. age	ear perforation <u>sikre-ko</u>	thigh scar (lines) <u>krasuri</u>	chest scar (lines) <u>no-de:n</u>
<u>antui</u>	Tu:ren-pri	6 m.	-	-	-
	A:ku:dinkre	5	-	-	-
<u>ariera</u>	Kiek-an-ku:a	5	-	-	-
	Tuñgopo	5	-	-	-
	Kapeso	6	-	-	-
	Sampuiaka	7	-	-	-
	Pokiadi	8	2	-	-
	Pa:kie	9	2	-	-
<u>untu:ara</u>	Toti:di	12	2	-	-
	Kobu:tu:	13	2	1	-
	Kokiana	14	2	1	-
	Penso	15	2	2	-
	Kapo	16	2	2	-
	Kotadi	17	2	2	-
	Kobaur	17	2	2	-
	Tu:ren	18	2	2	4
	Sekikiu:	18	2	2	4
	Totasur	18	2	2	4
<u>akiera</u>	Soso	19	2	2	4
	Iokera	20	2	2	4
	Krempu:	22	2	2	4
	Inpu:di	23	2	2	4
	Kote:	28	2	2	4
	Swakie	28	2	2	4
	Prinsi	28	2	2	4
	Kianse:	28	2	2	4
	Tuka	30	2	2	4
	Kietanko	30	2	2	4
	Kaki	31	2	2	3
	Kitakri:di	32	2	2	4
	Potiu:	34	2	2	4
	Poripu:	38	2	2	4
	Kwaka	42	2	2	4
	Kieraso	43	2	2	4
<u>watuñ</u>	Setuñ (Iopo)	46	2	2	4
	Pankia	48	2	2	4
	untu:ikre	50	2	2	4
	Porito	55	2	2	4

deceased 1976

... for locomotion, food, warmth and control of body functions. During this stage children were not painted, their hair was allowed to grow and the sole ornamentation was the use of cotton calf bindings which were stained with the red dye urucum. Exegesis of leg binding was limited, but it can be interpreted as symbolising the "blood-rich" status of children, more specifically, the 'lack of form' and weakness of the child's body. Hair growth was explicitly associated with phases of initial growth (see page 268).

At about the age of weaning the child lost these trappings of infancy; the leg bindings were removed and the hair was cut to the adult style, which can best be described as a 'short basin crew cut' as the hair line formed a regular and even circle around the head some three cm above ear level. All hair below this line was removed by scraping or plucking. The hair on the crown of the head was cut to a very short length in a series of concentric circles, so that immediately after cutting the scalp was clearly visible through the hair. Adolescent, mature and "elder" women also shaved the crown of the head. From approximately this age the grooming of the body assumed a 'daily' importance: initially this would be carried out by female matrilineal kin and later by the individual herself, by the spouse or by matrilineal female kin. In addition to regular hair cutting and inspection for "fleas" (kiańko) the Panara removed all eye brow and eye lash hair ( into-tsu: "eye" "white matter") and all body hair apart from pubic hair, and, in the case of men, facial hair. Grooming had reference to notions of "beauty", or to man as a social animal, and was also obviously considered as a pleasant activity where physical contact between individuals reflected social relationships. In this respect most grooming of men and women was located in their natal domain.

At about the age of four years children of both sexes passed through an ear perforation ceremony, which can be interpreted as terminating the process of 'biological establishment', being, so to speak, the final contribution of the natal hearth group to the child's biological identity. The ceremony symbolises the recognition of the child as a complete entity capable of responding to social requirements; it could now develop extra-hearth group relationships and could commence the process of incorporation into social domains. To understand the significance of the ceremony we must examine the procedure, the use of ear-plugs and the Panara concept of 'hearing'.

#### Ear Perforation

The ear perforation ceremony was located in the child's natal hearth, close to the hearth fire, and it was held in the rainy season.<sup>1</sup> In the PAN ceremony the child was seated by the hearth fire and both lobes were prepared by applications of heat via the fingers of senior hearth group members; in this case by a "mother" and a "mother's sister", who were seated on either side. When the lobes had been heated the perforation was performed by a "young elder", who pushed the pointed end of a spinning stick (karkwa "nail" "rounded") through the lobes. The holes were immediately filled with long thin wooden spacers (kurnunpiur) which had previously been shaped and painted with urucum by a male "sibling" of the initiate. The ceremony was discreet and participation and significance

The ear perforations were resumed in the rainy season of 1976-77, the operation described was performed on a boy by the dominant "young elder" of the village. The practice had been suspended during the social disruption of migration, contact and transfer, though the "young elder" intended to perforate the ears of all young children in the village during the rainy season.



limited to the immediate hearth group and household. The wooden  
 (kurnumpjur) were turned at frequent intervals after the ceremony  
 prevent the holes from closing. The perforations were not stretched  
 until the age of approximately six, when ear ornaments (sikre-ko "ear"  
 "plugs") were worn as decoration.

The Panara ear-plug was a variation of a decoration common to a  
 number of Central Brazilian societies (for a comparative study among the  
 see Seeger 1975). However, in contrast to the typical Gê disc of wood,  
 the Panara ear ornament was a complex article. The stem of the plug was  
 formed from a long cone shaped softwood shaft which tapered to a point at  
 the end. A disc of polished river-shell (palinto -into "eye") was  
 attached by beeswax to the other end with its concave surface facing  
 backwards. The shaft of the plug was bound with cotton thread stained with  
 and two long tassles of thread were left to hang from behind the  
 shell disc. The plug was worn by passing the tapered stem through the  
 perforation so that the disc lay adjacent to the ear, on the same  
 plane as the face, and with the two cotton tassles hanging down to shoulder  
 level from between the ear and disc.

The size of the ear-plug and the frequency of use were related to  
 the life cycle status of the wearer. This relationship is represented in  
 the table below, where the size of plug refers to the length of the shaft  
 which is approximate.

Table 11 ; Ear-Plugs: Size and Use of Plug by Sex and Age Grade

<u>wantu:i</u>	<u>inpiara</u>	<u>pluntu:ara</u>	<u>sitibara</u>	<u>tobutuñ</u>
"infant"	"child"	"adolescent"	<u>inkiara</u>	<u>twatuñ</u>
-	4-6 cm	6-8 cm	"adult"	"elder"
-	6-8 cm	14-16 cm	3-4 cm	-
			6-8 cm	-

During childhood and adolescence the use of ear-plugs by both sexes was frequent within and outside the village domain. The Panara emphasised that children should wear plugs as a "daily" decoration.<sup>1</sup> With maturity frequency of use declined; male use was limited to ceremonial activity in the village or on longer hunting or 'raiding' expeditions, and only women used plugs during ceremonial activity in the village. "Elders" of both sexes were said not to wear plugs, and the hole was left unobscured. Female plugs were larger than those of males in the same age grade, but the plugs of both sexes showed a similar pattern of grading according to the wearer's age grade status.

#### "Hearing"

In exegesis of ear perforation and the use of ear-plugs, the Panara clearly stated that the practice prevented san-pan-no. This refers to a concept common to most Cê and is translated by Seeger (1975:21) as "(not) hear-understand-know". The concept was wider than that of "hearing" as it included physical deafness, intentional or accidental absence of response to instruction, laziness, stupidity or general irresponsible behaviour. The common factor was the absence of response to the often expressed norms of socially expected behaviour. Reference to the concept was made with surprising frequency in daily life and a common explanation for the term by informants was that san-pan-no individuals would not obtain or maintain a spouse. This was a serious matter in Panara society, where

The use of ear-plugs had virtually ceased by the end of research. The Panara were in great demand by other Indians and "whites" and eventually Panara ceased constructing new ones to replace those lost in 'exchange'. For ceremonial activity an alternative to ear-plugs was the use of cotton (or other material) from medical supplies, which was pushed through the ear perforation.

... was fundamental to mature development and status and where there  
... association between adult status and social maturity.

The association of "to hear-understand-know" with the use of ear-  
... suggests that the plugs 'socialised' and emphasised the auditory  
... and faculty. In this case the use and size of plugs directly  
... reflected "hearing" as an aspect of social development with maximum  
... during the life cycle stage of female incorporation into hearth  
... household socio-economic groups and of male incorporation into the  
... house and plaza activity. With maturity and passage towards "elder"  
... status the declining use and size of ear plugs reflected the movement  
... towards a position of authority when emphasis passed from "hearing" to  
... speech". In the present context, however, the important point is that  
... perforation marked the termination of 'biological' development and the  
... inception of the process of social development. In Chapter VI I suggest  
... that the symbolism of the ceremony and of the plug indicate that the  
... orientation of this process was towards the senior women of the natal  
... hearth group (see p.182).

#### Lip Perforation (sikid-ako)

Boys entered men's house residence at about the age of six, and at  
... about eleven years their lower lip was perforated in a men's house cere-  
... mony (sikidako "lip" "plug"). The lip was prepared with heat from an  
... open fire and the perforation was made by a "young elder" using the central  
... shaft of a spinning stick (kurkwa). The hole was filled with a wooden spacer  
... (umumbiur) which had an initial length of some 10-14 cm, though it was  
... replaced by progressively shorter sections until the hole had healed. The  
... adolescent manufactured his own lip-plug (sz:kur "round"?) from soft wood  
... and the ornament was worn throughout the remainder of his life. The size

the plug was small (1 cm in diameter) and was not enlarged in later years; the hole remained unstretched and the plug did not form a prominent facial feature. Lip perforation and the use of lip-plugs was limited to males.

The rationale of lip perforation was not conceptualised beyond statements that it was necessary "to be an adult male". The event did, however, correspond with the stage of male adolescent incorporation into public activity, when his participation in song suggests that the perforation was associated with the faculty of "sound". The oral emphasis appears to have been directed towards song, as "speech", in the form of oratory, as an activity limited to members of the "young elder" and "elder" age grades.<sup>1</sup> (see p184).

#### cutting

During early adolescence the emphasised bodily quality of both sexes was that of "strength", and particularly the ability to carry "heavy" (uti) loads. This was a common task for adolescents as girls carried loads for their mothers and boys for senior men when hunting, fishing or ceremonial food collection. This attribute was given ritual expression in regular<sup>2</sup> cutting of male and female adolescents, when long vertical incisions were made on either side of the backbone. These cuts, which soon left a scar, were seen as promoting "carrying ability" (ka:n-ahet "for") or, as said by the Panara, to "carry weight". This

The practice of lip perforation was resumed in October 1976 when two were pierced at Diaurum Post. Both ear and lip perforations were related with the rainy season.

In 1976 three such cuttings occurred with a "young elder" operating on adolescent males and females present in the village.

introduces the concepts of bleeding and pain which are prominent modification during adolescence and maturity.

Puberty Ceremony (krasuri "child" "pain")

The puberty ceremony was in two stages which were held at the end of consecutive rainy seasons. In the case of females the ceremony followed onset of menses and in the case of males it was determined by sociological age. The female ceremony was introduced by a log race, when the initiate accompanied the men's house groups to the log cutting site and ran with the teams back to the village plaza. In the puberty log race the size of the log was smaller than usual and was referred to as inkl:di instead of inkwa. The girl did not, however, carry the log during the race. This was the only known occasion of female participation in log racing and its significance will be examined in Chapter VIII.

The puberty ceremony was common to males and females and was located at a garden site. Group initiation was common, but shared-discomfort between friends was emphasised by informants rather than the passage of groups' through life cycle stages. It was not clear, however, whether males and females shared the same ceremony or whether all ceremonies were held at the same garden site. Initiates were painted in the village (see p. 163) and accompanied the men's house groups to the garden site before sunrise. In the garden 'centre' (see Chapter VIII) the initiates were held supine on the ground whilst a long incision was cut on the front of one thigh. The cutting was performed by a "young elder" using the "beaked" end of a large dried peanut shell (the variety surtinakri:di - "peanut", sur "pain") as a tool. After cutting, the initiates were taken to the river to bathe before returning to the village for some days of enforced immobility. The operation was repeated on the other

at the end of the following rainy season.<sup>1</sup> Interpretation of the ritual depends on an understanding of horticulture and men's house and I will return to the topic in Chapter VIII. However, certain aspects of the puberty ceremony can be included here as they add to a general understanding of scarification and concepts of the body.

### The Thigh

The extensive scarification of thighs as a rite de passage is unusual in Lowland South America; scarification is unusual among the PNK and is limited to body cutting after 'killing' among the Krapo and Suya (see p. 152). The cutting of thighs reflects Panara concepts of the body, as the thigh is an emphasised body area. The term for thigh, inkre, may be translated literally as "human" "house", and inkre refers to a "circular dance" and to "eggs". In discussions of physical "beauty" the thigh was given considerable emphasis, and the length and agility of the legs were emphasised in many plaza activities. This was particularly apparent in the "circular dance" (inkre) when the posture of the dancers and the dance step gave prominence to the thighs (p. 228). In this respect thigh cutting can be interpreted in much the same way as ear and lip perforation: as an emphasis on a specific part of the body at a specific life cycle stage. In some examples the scar was 20-25 cm in length and 2-3 cm in width, forming a prominent feature running vertically down the thigh from the groin to just above the knee; the scar drew immediate attention to the thigh.

The puberty ceremony was probably more complex than I have described. Thigh cutting was suspended from about 1971 and it is probable that the practice will not be resumed. The adolescents of thigh cutting were not at all eager to pass through the extremely painful ceremony, and it is also probable that the PNK authorities would attempt to prevent this on this scale for reasons of health.

Blood and Pain

In descriptions of thigh cutting informants gave major emphasis to severe pain and bleeding. Apparently the peanut shell ripped rather than the flesh (on some scars this can be seen as a jagged edge) and all mature informants had memories of extreme pain during the ceremony and the subsequent months of recovery. The term for the puberty ceremony, krasuri ("child" "pain"), suggests an immediate analogy with childbirth and, perhaps, with loss of virginity. The location and the shape of the cuts can be interpreted as symbols of the vagina, and furthermore, the cuts made at childbirth and the puberty cutting were characterised by loss of blood and pain. In Chapter VIII I will also suggest that the peanut, the cutting tool, can be interpreted as a phallic symbol.

In addition to symbolising reproduction, bleeding can also be interpreted as having a regulative function in the reduction of blood in specific body areas (see p. 129). Thus the puberty rites de passage marked the attainment of reproductive roles, i.e. a sexual symbolism, and the separation of mature "male" and "female" physiological attributes: on the one hand, the ritual terminated a common male/female stage of physiological status, when both are 'unproductive', through the differentiation of mature male and female sex roles - semen producers were separated from blood producers; and on the other hand the ritual marked the separation of male and female 'physical' roles, in which mature women were characterised as blood-rich and large, heavy and slow moving, whereas mature men were characterised as blood-poor, and slim, muscular, hard and fast moving. In this respect the rites de passage introduced a phase of intense male incorporation into plaza and men's house activities, in which male physical attributes were emphasised.

Back Scarification (none:n)

The cycle of body modification through cutting was terminated in the initial phase of maturity with a series of chest incisions for women and a further series of back cuts for men. The scars were cut in a series of short diagonal lines which ran in paired lines from shoulder to groin level. Male chest and back scars were cut in men's houses and female chest scars were cut in their natal hearth.<sup>1</sup> In some instances the cuts were made by a "young elder" using teeth of a porcupine (inkia) as a tool. The complete series was cut in a number of ceremonies and was completed by the age of sixteen in the case of women and twenty in the case of males (see Tables 9 and 10).

In exegesis the chest scars were associated with initial "mature" status and back scars were associated with "raiding". Among other Gê societies body scarification is directly associated with violent death: the Kayapo made horizontal cuts on the abdomen and the Kayapo made diagonal cuts on the chest in a style similar to that of the Panara (Turner - personal communication). It is, however, unlikely that Panara back scars represented specific deaths or raids, as the distribution of cuts in the population was related to age and did not reflect the known history of individuals in 'raiding'. Rather, 'raiding' may be considered as one aspect of male status which was emphasised at the time of initial maturity.

There was some disagreement among informants on this point, with some saying that female chest scars were cut in the men's houses. The question was not resolved. No chest or back scars were cut during research and there was little indication that the practice would be resumed.



Chest and back scars, like thigh scarification, can be interpreted as emphasising specific areas of the body. The chest was emphasised through the presence of scars, body painting over the scars (see p.169) and plaza activity, in which the chest was frequently used to demonstrate "strength" and "sound". In the "circular dance" the dancers 'thrust' the chest forwards and great emphasis was placed on loud shouts and exhalations of breath which were in harmony with leg movement (see p.229). A further example was a dance-song 'confrontation' between moiety groups, when the impact of the dance was taken on the out-thrust chest (see p.235). Finally, we can also refer to a point made earlier about the cutting of adolescents' thighs to promote "carrying strength."

The single thigh scar and the lines of diagonal chest and back scars can be interpreted as symbols of the thigh bone and the ribs. The relationship between blood and bone as body elements is discussed in detail in the context of body painting, and here I will note that blood was conceptualised as "liquid, weak and soft", but bone as "hard, solid and strength giving". Thus the scar can be interpreted as an "external" symbol of bone, and the bleeding involved in scarification as the loss of the weakening body element. The concept of 'regulation' was not explicitly recognised in the Panara, but it is consistent with the location of body cutting in relation to the emphasised physical attributes of the relevant age grades.

Chest cutting corresponded with the time of initial "mature" status, approximately, marked marriage or the commencement of actual reproductive and economic roles in the life cycle. With mature status (libara si "bone"?) men moved to uxori-local residence with the defined role of "fathers", hunters and horticulturists. Equally, mature and aged men were active participants in men's house activity as members

the "mature" village group. In plaza activity the distinction between married and unmarried status was a prominent theme (see p.226) and one suggesting that marriage marked a significant divide in male sociological status.

In the case of females there was a more explicit association between 'mature' status and chest scarification: the mature age grade was called panara and the scars were cut with inkia-suia ("paca" "teeth"). Both are cognates of inki ("hair") and belong to a general group of terms associated with reproductive values (see p.288). Mature female status is directly linked with reproductive powers; entrance to the age grade is marked by pregnancy and exit by menopause. Chest cutting also appears to have symbolised economic roles, in that the scars emphasise the trunk and the body - the area associated with 'carrying' and strength. In this respect men and women shared a common body value, but it is indicative that male chest and back cutting was more extensive than female: men had six lines on the chest and eight lines on the back whereas women only had four lines on the chest (see Tables 9 and 10). Thus, although referring to similar physiological concerns, the scars also differentiated between male and female, isolating the higher social status of men; a greater emphasis was placed on male control over the body.

The complex cycle of body modification can be seen as both symbolising and regulating the 'transformation' of raw biological produce - children - into socialised, mature members of society. Ornamentation, scarification and perforation were elements of a complex symbolic language which related concepts of "how a Panara should be". The events in the cycle represent crucial stages in the development of individuals: ear perforation and ornamentation "opened" the child to social response and activity; lip perforation brought male adolescents into plaza activity;

... ceremony symbolised the attainment of reproductive roles; ... and back cutting symbolised the fulfilment of mature economic ... rules on marriage. As I have attempted to show, these ... can be considered as rites de passage marking the movement ... life cycle statuses and, with reference to the body area and ... of modification, as events symbolising important positive ... within the 'body'.

... and back cutting marked the termination of the cycle of body ... and subsequent development towards old age can be seen ... process of 'decline', with the relaxation of body regula- ... In the context of the 'body', this suggests that the Panara ... 'biological' and economic development as effectively ... with mature status; mature men and women could marry and ... producers of raw economic and biological materials and, as I ... discuss further in Chapter VIII, men left men's house residence on ... In referring to 'decline' we must, however, clearly distinguish ... social and biological status. With age the emphasis passed ... 'physical' to 'social' contributions and we find no regression ... status with age; "elders" of both sexes were important ... in Panara society.

... painting, the decoration of the body surface, provides a ... expression of the changing concern for the body during life ... of the distinctive conceptualisations of 'male' and 'female'. ... reasons I include this topic to synthesise and summarise many ... raised in this chapter.

panara society body painting was a facet of daily life, and at a point of time many of the village inhabitants would be wearing clothing from the vivid visual impact of freshly painted designs to their 'dirty' appearance of faded patterns. The range of materials and colours was small and the designs simple; the art did not reach the consuming levels of complexity found, for example, among the Kayapo (1969 and 1979). Panara body painting can be interpreted as a 'language' in much the same way as that noted by Turner among the

Before examination of specific body painting styles it is useful to discuss Panara colour classification (Table 12) and to examine the use of colour in Panara material culture. The latter is of particular relevance in establishing the symbolic referents of colours.

"Red" was by far the most 'popular' colour. This was particularly evident in choice of trade goods, when "red" articles were inevitably selected with reference to nampura (nampiu: "blood", pu: "urucum"). Such preferences were made with admiration and "red" planes or cars were all the more extraordinary for being that colour; "red" plainly held a fascination which set it apart from other colours. However, whilst "red" material goods were highly valued, food which remained red after cooking was refused: lines in tomato sauce and tomato soup were among the few imported foods coveted by the Panara. As will become apparent in the following discussion, there were good reasons in Panara thought for making this distinction.

"Red" paint was produced from the cultivated crop of urucum (pu: "urucum", len), which was planted in close proximity to the cotton crop (asurdi)

Colour Classification

	Panara	examples of use of term
colours)	sa:poa	sa:poa supoa inpo variety of manioc "white/yellow" maize "milk", "flour", "cow"
	nampura	siamprur sunanprur tamapru:a te:ampru:a kianpru:a pu: nampiu: red squirrel "red" maize red beads "red" bananas species of fish (unidentified) urucum, garden blood
	se:akian	se:akiañ se:akia:di variety of manioc variety of peanut
colours) <sup>1</sup>	kiampo	kiampo inki-kiampo kiampoti:di "cake" grey hair biscuits
green	se:puña	
	taturdi	taturdi "green", "unripe"

This distinction was not explicitly made by the Panara and is added to distinguish between those terms used to describe specific and instant colours and those used to describe 'states'. The distinction should be considered as a continuum; in general, the subject of colours needs further research.

periphery zone of the garden (see p.251). The association of urucum and urucum was continued in harvesting and processing, as both were most tasks of female "elders". In manufacture all cotton thread was dyed with urucum and in the diverse uses of cotton thread I can remember no example of white cotton thread. Urucum was also used to decorate mats constructed from palm leaf fibre with various animal designs, for example turtle, frog and snake. Mats which were painted were principally used for squeezing and straining manioc or for carrying children. Usually, most softwood used in manufacture was painted red with urucum; this was evident in the decoration of ear ornaments (see p.170); the lip spacers used after perforation; and clubs (ko "plug") of male elders".

Whereas "red" paint for both the body and artifacts was from urucum, "black" paint was obtained from two sources: beeswax was used to enhance the "blackness" of certain hardwoods in the construction of artifacts and the forest plant of genipapa (piu:ti, lat. Genipapa americana) was utilised as a staining body decoration. In the construction of bows, arrow points, "young elder" clubs and pestles and digging sticks, Panara specified a variety of black thorny palm (unidentified) which was noted for its qualities of flexibility and "blackness" (see p.51). Wood was shaped with peccary teeth (nankio-sua), followed by a final rubbing with leaves before the article was held above an open fire and wax was rubbed into the surface to produce a shiny black finish. Such articles were described as "good" or "beautiful" in contrast to those of other PNK societies, which were described as "ugly".

In manufacture it appears that the colours "red" and "black" were associated with two distinct sets of properties, which may be summarised

set of oppositions:

"red"  
urucum (pu:)  
softwood (pu:)  
cultivated

"black"  
genipana (piu:ti) - wax  
forest (pali, "wood")  
wild

Painted over white  
soft fibre material  
articles for carrying,  
binding and squeezing

emphasises natural colour  
hardwood  
articles for digging, hitting,  
firing and pounding

soft, flexible  
cotton, softwood

hard, inflexible  
hardwood

(female - "elder")

(male - "mature")

This contrast is illustrated by a comparison of "elder" and "young elder" clubs. "Elder" clubs were constructed from softwood, were cylindrical in shape and were painted with urucum. In contrast, the clubs of "young elders" were made from "black" palm wood, were a flattened blade shape, rather similar to a lengthened narrow paddle, and were sanded and highly polished to a "black" finish.<sup>1</sup> Neither club was associated with "killing", as the Panara generally used ad hoc clubs of sapling strips cut specifically for that purpose. Rather, the manufactured clubs were insignia of male status within the village domain, as is illustrated by the contrasting use of the two kinds of club:

"red"  
softwood  
carried for support in  
daily village life  
owner contributed to plaza  
activity from peripheral  
house  
contribution of oratory -  
into  
no ritual aggression  
"elder" age grade status  
"unproductive" male  
biological status  
blood-rich

"black"  
hardwood  
carried during participation in  
plaza activity  
owner actively participated in  
plaza activity from  
men's house  
contribution of oratory -  
asur  
ritual aggression  
"young elder" age grade status  
"productive" male  
sociological status  
blood-controlled

<sup>1</sup>"Young elder" clubs were not constructed in PNY. Von Puttkamer 1969:259 gives an example.

...tion here is that the colour of finished artifacts had reference to the level of levels; to the initial properties of the raw material; to the properties associated with the finished article; and to the life status of the user. To generalise, "red" was associated with soft wood-rich, whereas "black" was associated with hard and blood-poor artifacts.

In these respects the decoration of the human body can be equated to the use of colour in artifact construction, as the specific paints and styles can be seen as both conveying information on the status of the wearer, as the decoration symbolised age grade status, and as expressing and regulating the internal properties of the wearer. In this respect body painting was more than a mere statement of an attained status, as it was also a statement of how the body should be.

"Infants" (wantu:i) were not associated with body decoration apart from their leg bindings stained with urucum. I have previously interpreted this decoration as a symbol of biological status and the absence of "biological" form (see p.143) and the bindings were removed soon after weaning. Children were occasionally painted in adult styles, but this was infrequent and was often done as a 'joke'. The Panara conceptualised "infancy" as a life cycle stage of rapid growth, but this was given little biological emphasis and was associated with the biological group, the maternal hearth (see p.124). It can be suggested that for this reason we do not find extensive social expression of the age grade, as we are concerned with the domestic and not the public domain. The low emphasis on body painting of "infants" does, however, radically contrast with Kayapo society, where this is one of the age categories associated with the most complex and time consuming designs: <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Kayapo society the decoration of "children" is also by matrilineal kin. However, with a significant degree of integration into his matrilineal household, the husband is also closely identified with the



at approximately eight years of age the use of genipana stain as  
paint became increasingly frequent and was continued into "elder"

The method of application and the styles of painting differed for  
males and females and require a separate examination.

female

During late childhood, adolescence and maturity (inbriera, biuntu:ara  
ikiara age grades) the female body was decorated with 'lineal' patterns  
genipana. These were usually painted with a small three-pronged brush  
and were associated with 'daily' village life, i.e. they were not linked  
with specific rituals or ceremonial events. I refer to the style as  
'lineal' as vertical bands of 'paint' were applied to the chest and abdomen,  
and bands ran from shoulder to calves down the sides of the body, and  
the fronts of the arms and legs were also painted with broad lines. The  
chest bands were referred to as sur-kwa-pe: ("pain" "rounded" "associated  
with") and the limb patterns as inkrur-pe:(?). Women also decorated their  
faces with a similar design: vertical lines on the central forehead  
siã-pari "?" "thin"), which divided at the bridge of the nose to run  
across the cheeks (swasi-pe:) and followed the jaw line to the ears  
(ku-pe:). The whole face pattern was referred to as tau-pe:.

male

In 'daily' village life men decorated their bodies with genipana,  
though they did not use brushes but gathered two handfuls of genipana  
pulp, held their hands over the pectoral muscles and squeezed, allowing  
the juice to run down their bodies. The body was moved to produce a fairly  
even distribution. After staining, the result was two concentrations of  
stain on the chest with irregular 'flow' lines running down the body. The  
style was referred to as inkia-sa:n-ta:n ("paca" "?") and was a frequent  
decoration for men between the ages of sixteen and fifty years. Men also  
(f.ncont.) ....child. In contrast, in Panara society, the relationships  
within the family were firmly focussed on that of the mother-child.

and their faces with a band of stain across the eyes (intomaka, "eye" and, more recently "camera"), a vertical band on the central forehead or patches on the cheeks.

The interpretation of gonipapa designs raises certain problems on the relationship between "white" and "black". In Panara society there is little evidence to suggest that "black" was associated with 'rottenness' or 'death', as has been noted among other Gê societies (e.g. Turner 1969: 70). Rather, I suggest that "black" symbolises 'richness' and 'strength' as 'positive attributes'. This contention can be supported by a number of facts:

The variety of manioc with the highest preference as "nice to eat" (si-si) was called "black" (se:akian) and was characterised as "less sweet" (san-no) than other varieties. The variety was soaked in the river, which could perhaps be equated with 'rotting', but it was then sun-dried on platforms until hard (see p. 44). During drying the surface of the tuber darkened to a "black" colour. This variety of manioc may be substituted for "red" maize in the garden planting pattern and this location and the sun-drying are significant, as both can be associated with high status foods (see p. 260).

The "blackness" of hair appeared to be associated with maturity and 'reproductive' potential. The rodent paca, with a dense "black" coat appeared to symbolise generative powers; for example, paca teeth were the cutting tool in the rites de passage associated with the initial maturity; and thus reproductive, status. Other referents of hair will be discussed in Chapter VIII, though we can note here that "hair" was associated with "sprouting", "division" and growth. In this respect it is indicative that the ritual removal of hair was associated with the germination of a new crop rather than with death and mourning. Finally we can also note

aging process was often expressed in terms of "greying" of  
(ARIKIMPO); i.e. the loss of "black" hair.

Panara material culture I have already suggested that "black"  
is associated with 'hardness' and the properties of hitting, pounding  
etc.

Originally, the Panara did not refer to the "waste" zone of the village  
"waste" (see p. 71) and graves were located within the cleared village  
rather than in the "waste" zone.<sup>1</sup>

Body painting in genipapa styles commenced at the life cycle status  
associated with developing physical powers and declined with old age when  
emphasis was placed on 'the body'. It is also apparent that the  
genipapa styles emphasised those areas of the body, in particular the  
arms and thighs, that were emphasised by scarification. This association  
is particularly evident in female body painting, where we can almost say  
that the scars were 'over-painted' with genipapa. In this respect there  
seems to be an analogy between genipapa stain on the exterior of the  
body and the internal skeletal structure; genipapa lineal designs can  
be compared with scar tissue as the external symbols of 'bone' as, for  
example, in the facial design (tau-pe:). and we can further suggest that  
scar tissue and genipapa lineal designs are symbols of 'hardness'  
'strength'. In the later discussion of the 'honey complex' I will  
return to this point and suggest that "white" represents 'internal'  
qualities whereas "black" symbolises the 'external' (see p. 168).

At first I suggest that in Panara society "black" referred to a different  
set of qualities from those of the Northern Gê societies, I should make it  
clear that the Panara did not associate "black" with the "perimeter"  
since the spatial referent of "black" was in accord with that of the  
Northern Gê. (see p. 283 and fig. 31).

In addition to male and female lineal designs, genipapa was also used as a complete covering of the human body - this coverage excluded the face, hands and feet. With one exception, the puberty rite for males was a mature male style, and was limited to occasions of physical danger. Many of the aerial photographs of Peixoto show men 'painted' in "black", but the decoration was not worn in the village, where informants described it as sumpa - a concept denoting "war" and physical aggression (see p.239). Men were decorated in the village during the 'visit' to Cachimbo in 1967, and it also appears to have been associated with the more distant hunting or raiding expeditions in the past.

During the puberty rites de passage the bodies of both male and female initiates were stained with genipapa, though the face, neck and hands of girls were painted with urucum. In the case of male initiates the style can be interpreted as representing both the transition to a mature male status and the protection of the individual in a physically dangerous domain; the complete coverage of the body with "black" identified the initiate with mature males and 'protected' his body during contact with 'natural' forces during the ritual (see p.293). This aspect of "black" symbolism is also apparent in the use of soot (nia-via "wood") as a body 'paint' during the village entrance of men after 'raiding'. This activity is discussed in Chapter VII and here we can note that the coverage of soot can be interpreted as 'sealing' in natural forces, generated during raiding, which are incompatible with the village life (see p.294). In sum, a total coverage of "black" appears to have blurred the boundary between the individual and the external world; in the case of genipapa paint this boundary delineated the identity of the individual in 'hostile' domains and, in the case of soot, the protection of

...society from potentially dangerous aspects of the wearers.<sup>1</sup>

...body painting during the puberty ritual reflects both male and mature female values: the body was decorated as a male and the face as a mature woman. This is the one known occasion when males were decorated with total genipapa coverage and, indicatively, also the one occasion when females entered a ritual or 'hostile' domain where women did not 'raid' and the other female rites de passage were performed in the domestic domain of the village. The genipapa body paint is interpreted as both representing the 'protection' of the body and identification with 'male' status. The latter point will be returned to in Chapter VIII, though two points can be made here: firstly, that initiates were identified with men in log racing (see p.297) and, secondly, that the puberty ritual marked the termination of the common female stage of development in that both sexes were characterised as non-productive, i.e. 'asexual' (see p.274). In this respect a fundamental aspect of the female puberty ceremony was that the initiate was removed from her household domain or matriline, identified with male status and finally returned to her household and matriline with a totally different status; the transition from non-productive child to productive adult was articulated through "males" (see p.273). However, most aspects of the puberty ritual were identical for males and females and the latter were distinguished by the use of urucum paint on their faces. This style was worn by mature women though the frequency was limited to specific occasions: during village ceremony, immediately

...aiding both of these aspects were represented; during the raid participant men wore the genipapa style and during entrance to the village this was 'over-painted' or covered with soot.

men returned to the village from extended trips or during periods of idleness in the village. I should also emphasise that the style was worn in conjunction with lineal genipana designs.

The decoration of the upper body with urucum, which was applied as complete coverage, can be interpreted as a symbol of the blood-rich status of women. This status has already been illustrated by Panara aspects of diet, activity and emotional states, and it is significant that the body painting style was emphasised during mature age grade status (panara); the style was not worn by female children or adolescents and was infrequent among female "elders". The painting of the upper body appears to reflect Panara notions of 'physiology'; in the classification of game the head and neck portions were considered to be 'blood-rich' (see p.139) and the head was also the location of the faculty organs through which some aspects of "female" identity were expressed (e.g. 'emotional' behaviour see p.141).

With old age the distinction between male and female body values was seen as declining and this is reflected in body painting by the use of urucum by men. This was most apparent among "young elders", who decorated their chest and abdomen with urucum spots during plaza dances. Male "elders" decorated their faces with urucum lineal patterns (in a similar design to the female tau-ue style) and also painted their hair and eyes with urucum. The change in emphasis from "black" to "red" in male body painting can be directly equated with the transfer from "black" to "red" clubs and, in a more general sense, to modifications in diet and economic, reproductive and ritual roles; in sum, the process expresses the Panara concept of "aging."

Although further research is required on the subject of body painting, the practice in Panara society had much in common with that noted among northern Gê societies. The specific colours and styles conveyed a wide range of data on sex, age grade status and the 'social' status of the wearer in addition to regulating the physiological make up of individuals according to Panara values of the body. In these respects body painting must be considered as one facet of a complex that includes diet, scarification, and the use of ornaments, which together form a symbolic meta-language that is fundamental to Panara notions of social life. At its most general level, this 'meta-language' represents the 'socialisation' of the body in Panara society.

To conclude the discussion of 'the body' I will examine four examples of colour symbolism. In the first example of 'bees and wasps' I return to the relationship between "white" and "black" and advance a tentative model of Panara colour symbolism. I then discuss scarification, the dance ornament and the dance belt to illustrate the relationship between colours and 'properties'.

#### Bees and Wasps : "Black" and "White"

Honey was a popular food and one that was particularly prescribed at certain times of biological status (see p.157); the Panara attributed the food with "generative" qualities and it is significant that honey was one of the few economic activities organised by the nuclear family. Honey collection also yielded wax as the higher quality sections of the comb were retained by men and, after heating in the village, was stored as a ball for use in manufacturing. Wax was used both as a polish to enhance "blackness" and as a 'glue'.

turning to 'wasps' (mansu:) we find a considerable contrast in the products attributed to the products and the methods of 'collection' to honey; the classification of bees and wasps as opposites is in South America (Lévi-Strauss 1973:55). Panara exploitation of wasps was not an economic activity but rather was organised by men's groups and was referred to as 'raiding' (ipen-su: - see p.219).

A Panara wasp nest attack was an activity of destruction, as the objective was to destroy the nest and to collect the dead adult wasps, the honey and the comb. These 'products' were collected in small leaf bundles, the honey, and in the village the mature wasps were burnt on hearth stones and the grubs were toasted in the combs for consumption by men. Consumption by women and children was prohibited as the food was considered to promote 'strength' and 'aggression', which were male attributes.

The relationship between wasp and bee "collection" can be summarised as a table of oppositions:

<u>wasp (mansu: )</u>	<u>bee ( sodintsu: )<sup>1</sup></u>
hostile - attacks	not hostile - defends honey
strong sting	does not sting ( <u>Meliponidae</u> )
grubs as food	honey as food
male collection as a men's house activity	nuclear family collection as a domestic activity
"raiding"	"intercourse"
destruction	creation
mature male food	food for 'embryo'
mature male "strength"	biological "strength"
aggression/destruction	growth

Adult wasps are brown/black and were burnt, whereas wasp grubs are "white" and were eaten. Similarly, bees wax was heated for use in manufacture (black) whereas honey was classified as "white" and was eaten. The four products represented different aspects of "strength"; the killing of wasps was instrumental in the development of male adolescents towards maturity.

The Panara distinguished between the "European" and "indigenous" American bees; the former was termed kumakri:di and the latter (Meliponidae) as sodintsu:. "European" honey was more popular and the dark indigenous honey was termed kiati; both were termed lampain.



1, the consumption of wasp grubs made mature men "strong and  
active"; wax was associated with the "strength" of wood manufactures  
they promoted "strength and size" during biological status. We can  
also suggest that "white" symbolises 'internal' strength, whilst  
"black" symbolises 'external' strength; adult wasps, wax and genipaba  
applied to the exterior of the body or artifact, whereas grubs  
and honey were eaten and influenced the body through digestion.

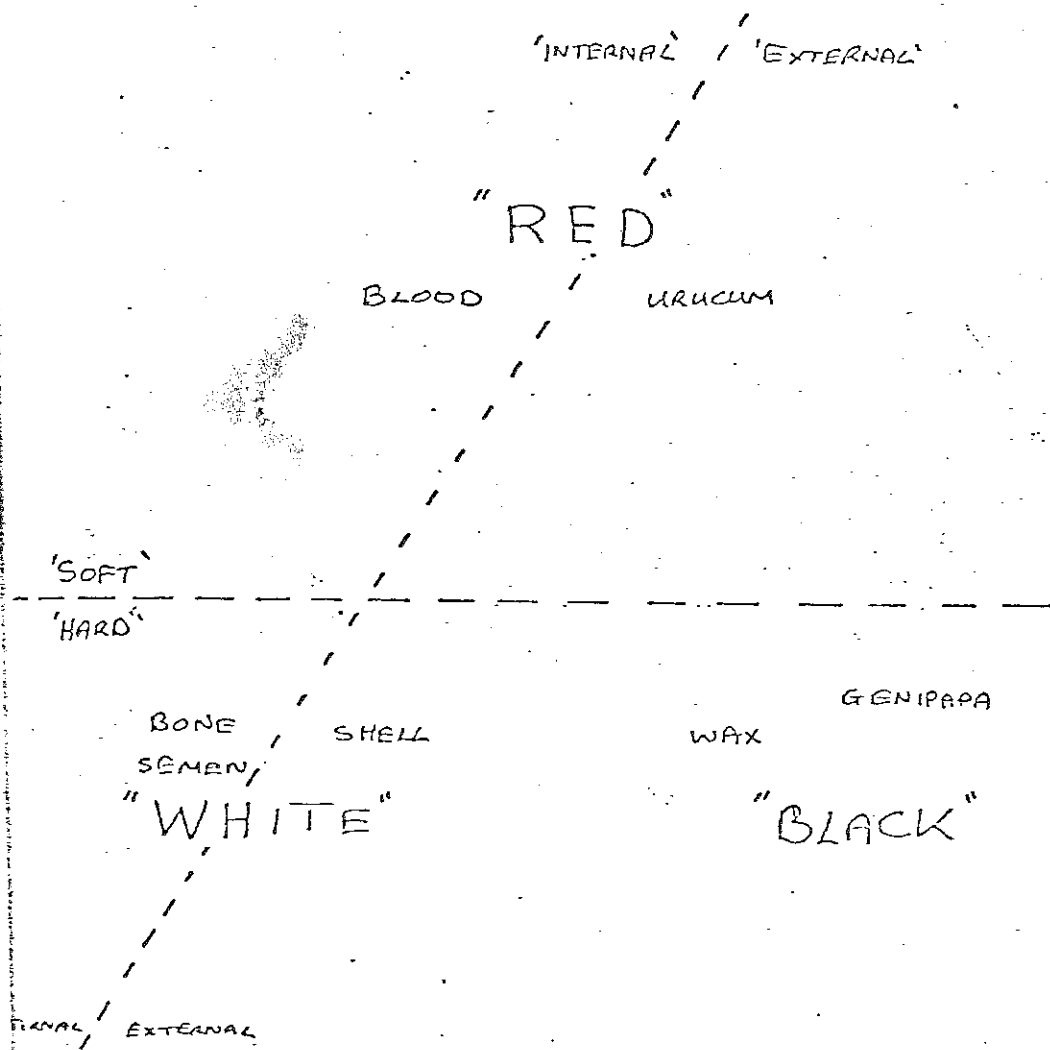
Incorporating the parameter of 'internal-external' into the previous  
discussion of "red" and "black" we can now suggest a tentative model of  
Panara colour symbolism (fig. 14). In fig. 14 the colours "white", "black"  
and "red" are represented by the paints, body elements and materials dis-  
cussed in this chapter, and these elements are organised by reference to  
the qualities of "hard/soft" and "internal/external". Thus in the cate-  
gory of "red", urucum can be interpreted as the 'external' symbol of blood  
and in the category of "white", shell can be interpreted as the external  
symbol of 'bone' and 'semen'. To my knowledge "black" was not used in  
reference to 'internal' body elements or values, though with "white" it  
can be contrasted with "red" in a distinction between "hard" and "soft".<sup>2</sup>

Following the wasp nest attack in 1976 the dead wasps were rubbed  
into the faces and backs of the village dogs. Some men also rubbed wasps  
into their arms, thighs and chests. In traditional society the Panara did  
not own dogs and they stated that this practice was adopted from the Kayapo  
in PMA and it was seen as increasing the aggression of dogs for hunting.  
It seems probable that wasps were traditionally rubbed into the human body  
and that the Kayapo and Panara share a common conceptualisation of wasps  
as aggressive and strength-giving insects.

Though more research on this topic is required, it appears that the  
Panara classified "excreta" and "excreting" in a general category of 'body  
functions'; the term i-iñ is probably related to ku:-viiñ ("to kill" -  
to kill), soi-iñ ("to vomit"), and ton-iñ ("sexual intercourse") though "to  
defecate" was referred to as sur ("pain") and breast-feeding as piasuri.  
Finally, "pregnancy was referred to as iu-sur.

- 14.

REPRESENTATIVE MODEL OF  
SARA COLOUR SYMBOLISM.



I suggest that "black" body painting and use of "white" shell pigments symbolised the 'external strength' of the body and contrasted with "red" paint which symbolised a "soft" or "blood-rich" status.

### Scarification

Scarification expresses a number of themes related to the control and expression of body elements:

An integral element of scarification is the loss of blood from specific body areas. In this respect 'bleeding' can be interpreted as a 'control' of the internal balance between body elements; the decrease in blood levels is related to Panara notions of blood as the 'weakening' element. Bleeding is thus seen as 'curative' or strength promoting, and it is significant that men were 'bled' more extensively than women.

1) Scar tissue can be interpreted as an 'external' symbol of the 'internal' bone structure. As a physical analogy we can note that scar tissue is of a lighter colour than the surrounding skin and also that it is 'harder'. Furthermore, the location of the scars on thigh, chest and back suggests an analogy with the underlying bone structure.

2) The areas of the body emphasised by scarification are also those which were painted with genipapa in 'daily' male and female body painting practices. It is possible that overpainting with "black" represents the 'filling' of scars as places of 'bleeding', but it seems more likely that the painting gives further emphasis to the values of "strength", "firmness" and vertical height which we emphasised in describing Panara notions of the human body.

### Ear Ornament

In an earlier section of this chapter I described the ear ornament and reported ear perforation and decoration as a symbolic emphasis on "hearing". The artifact is of interest here as a complex manufacture incorporating the range of materials mentioned in the discussion: the stem is softwood ("white"), it is bound with cotton ("white") which is stained with urucum ("red"), and the shell disc ("white") is glued to the stem with beeswax ("black").<sup>1</sup> If the ornament is a symbol of "hearing", we can suggest that the shell disc represents an extension of the 'head bones' which 'capture' the sound; the disc faces forwards on the same plane as the face and is the prominent feature of the ear-plug. We can also note that the outer surface of the disc is "black" (from wax) so can be interpreted as representing a "hard" exterior and closed surface. The disc is linked to the ear of the wearer by a softwood shaft covered with urucum dyed cotton; the shaft penetrates the ear lobe. Thus "hard" white and "soft" red materials are combined to represent the communication of sounds to the body. The two long strands of cotton can be interpreted as serving the same purpose.

### The Dance Belt (nankur)

The dance belt was the only musical instrument accompanying dancing in Panara culture;<sup>2</sup> it was also the most complex artifact and the principal ritual ornament. The belt was worn round the waist by men, as a mark of

In a number of photographs taken soon after contact ear-plugs are shown with the shell disc decorated with a circle of black spots (e.g. Von Puttkamer 1955:267). No plugs in PAN were decorated in this manner and unfortunately the photographs were not available at the time of research.

The Panara constructed a 'flute' from the leg bone of an unidentified silver bird (kro-kro). The bone was hollow when cleaned and a small hole was carved on the stem and filled with wax which was shaped to produce the correct note. The bone was painted with urucum. The 'flute' was used to communicate with deceased Panara in the cosmological domain of the sky during the evening and night. According to the Panara, an alternative method of communication was whistling through finger-nails. Traditionally, the "elders" grew "long" nails for this purpose.

status as a 'dance belt owner', or as an insignia of moiety  
 as a 'dance belt wearer' in certain plaza activities (see p. 296).  
 By women in plaza activity the belt was worn suspended around  
 the neck (see p. 296).

The construction of a dance belt was an arduous and time-consuming  
 task which was the prerogative of men of the "young elder" age grade.  
 The belt consisted of a band of crocheted cotton long enough to pass  
 around the owner's waist four or five times, i.e. approximately nine feet.  
 A number of elements were suspended from the central section of the band  
 so that when the belt was worn they hung, as a group, over the buttocks.  
 In dance or 'races' it was the movement of the body that produced  
 noise from the elements hitting the buttocks. The elements are of interest  
 as they synthesise a number of classificatory themes introduced in this  
 chapter. Their significance is most apparent when shown in tabular form:

<u>dance belt elements</u>	<u>domain of collection</u>	<u>colour</u>	<u>function on belt</u>
cotton belt - stained and <u>urucum</u>	garden	"white" stained "red"	unites elements with the body
shell segments	river	"white"	strikes
tapir hoof howler monkey voice box	forest "	"red" dried to "black"	struck to produce noise
bird rib bones	air	"white" stained "red"	connect elements with dance belt

The elements represent the resource domains of the Panara economic  
 universe: garden, river, forest and air. They may also be seen as symbols  
 of the human body: urucum symbolises blood; river shell and bird rib  
 bones symbolise human bone; and tapir hooves and howler monkey voice box  
 symbolise flesh and skin, where "red" is transformed into "black". The  
urucum stained cotton 'unites' the elements of the belt with the wearer.

"white" elements provide the structure and are "hard" and striking, the "black" elements are "hollow" and are struck. In this respect we note that Shell was one of the hardest "white" materials in the environment, the howler monkey was the noisiest animal - it can be heard for a distance of up to 5 km in dense forest - and the tapir was the most sought after meat. By physical analogy we can also suggest that the voice box and hooves are symbols of the vagina (hollow and 'struck')<sup>1</sup> whereas shell segments are symbols of the penis (elliptical and 'strike').<sup>2</sup>

With the elements combined as a group on the belt we can suggest a further level of symbolism (see fig. 15). The crochet belt unites the elements and also links them with the wearer. Cotton-urucum as a symbol of 'linkage' has been noted in the ear ornament, and more generally these materials reflect the values of 'binding', 'tying' or 'uniting'. Furthermore, urucum and cotton were the specialist product of female "elders", and were the structuring principle in the village periphery domain as wariline heads. The bird rib bones, which link the elements with the crochet belt, can be related to a more general symbolism of birds.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In belts constructed in PNK, where there were few howler monkeys, small water gourds were used as substitutes. In this instance the hollow vessel was explicitly associated with females.

<sup>2</sup> The shell segments were concave in shape (see fig. 15) and were also used as an ornament in necklaces. This decoration was worn only by men and was generally worn suspended from the back of the neck.

<sup>3</sup> In some dance belts constructed in Peixoto and in all belts constructed in PNK, the rib bones were substituted by beads or even buttons; these were originally obtained from raids with the Makragnoti and in PNK through 'trade'. It is of interest that "blue" beads were preferred, perhaps symbolising the sky, as these were not popular in other decorative uses, where "red" was the sought after colour. The Panara also emphasised that 'traditionally' bird bones were used. Nankur ( kur, "skin", "tail" - kur-te: "goose-pipples" ) also referred to a narrow line of black paint applied to the edge of the shaven crown of women's heads. This reference would appear to be both to 'boundary' and to the generative significance of hair removal (see p. 162).

15.

DANCE BELT :  
REPRESENTATION

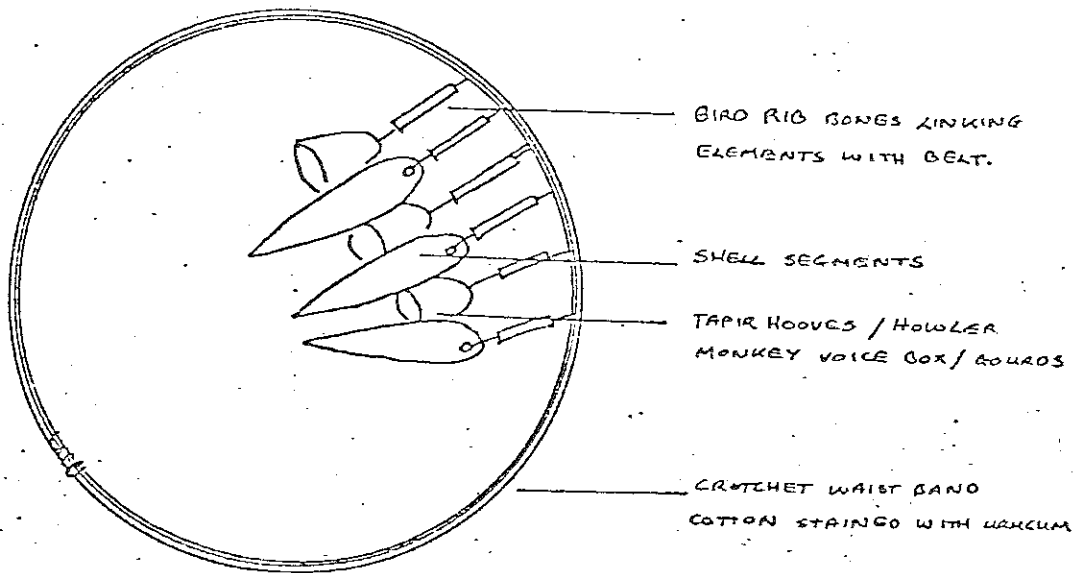
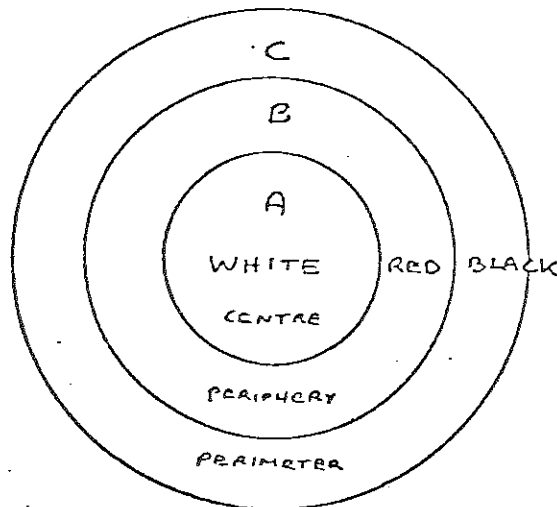


FIG 16  
THE SPATIAL SIGNIFICANCE  
OF COLOURS.



birds were consistently associated with 'communica-  
 tion' in the following examples:

They were associated with 'guiding' the arrow in flight and  
 were attached to increase accuracy.

The ritual passage to the cosmological domains was

accomplished by feather necklaces (puñsaea see p. 126).

The (juñswa) used in communication with deceased Panara

was made from the leg bone of a bird.

It can, therefore, suggest that the bird rib bones rep-  
 resent 'communication' between elements and the wearer via the belt, the

properties being hardness and "blood-poorness" as shown in the

bones, and hollowness and "blood-richness" in the animal parts.

The dance belt symbolism introduces a more basic model of  
 classification, which is represented in fig. 16, where I refer to

the order of categories.

	A	B	C
	village centre male	village periphery female	forest male
	culture		nature
	ritual society	biological society	
	Panara	<u>kahen</u>	"monsters" (darkness - "black")
	bone/semen "white"	flesh/blood "red"	skin (excreta) "black"
	shell	<u>urucum</u>	<u>genipapa</u>
	garden centre peanuts "white"	garden periphery <u>urucum</u> "red"	garden perimeter/ forest

See the spatial order of gardens for comparative purposes -  
 Chapter VIII for a general account.



spatial model of "white" enclosed by "red" which is then enclosed by "black" appears to have been pervasive in Panara thought and will be discussed in Chapters VIII and IX. Whilst the significance of the dance should not be taken to extremes, it does illustrate what I consider important themes in Panara symbolism, particularly the following:

- the major economic domains and their classification
- the three primary colours and their values
- the elements of the human body
- the relationship between 'male' and 'female'.

#### VI

In this chapter I have attempted to draw together a wide range of ethnographic material in a general examination of Panara notions of 'the body'. This analysis was intended to establish the principles underlying the extensive modification of the body as practised by the Panara and to introduce some fundamental concepts which are referred to in the following chapters.

Whilst I am not suggesting that Panara forms of classification can necessarily be traced back to a "physiological" model, it is apparent that Panara classification of the body represents a similar principle to that used in the conceptualisation of other domains; the values of colours, the properties of substances and spatial organisation appear to be central in Panara classification of the natural and the social world.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE CYCLES : KINSHIP BASED  
GROUPS ON THE VILLAGE PERIPHERY

In Chapter V I was concerned with Panara concepts of the body and emphasised the life cycle status of individuals as 'biological' entities, opposed to social beings. In this respect, I suggested that the nuclear family, the hearth group of matrilineal kin, articulated the terminal life cycle stages, the production and disposal of "raw materials". In the context of food it was apparent that the dialectic between female 'biological' and 'social' status was reflected in identification with socio-spatial levels of organisation, the hearth and household respectively, and, in this chapter, I continue this theme with an examination of the incorporation of individuals into socio-spatial domains outside their natal hearth. In this chapter I am concerned with the social development of established 'biological' entities. This discussion is divided into two chapters: Chapter VI is concerned with the relationships between kinship-based groups on the periphery; Chapter VII is concerned with the age-based moieties of the centre. This division obscures the sequence of male development but is, I feel, necessary for the continued delineation of the 'centre' and 'periphery' in Panara society.

Chapter VI is divided into three parts: matrilineal kin - referred to by the vocative term for "mother" - wuñsi; patrilineal kin - referred to by the vocative term for "father" - wusun; and "affines" - referred to by the term kiatuñ - "potential sexual partners". This division is not arbitrary, but is based on explicit conceptualisations of the periphery of Panara, in which the three categories, each typically represented by a household, formed a social 'map' of the village.

... division also facilitates the isolation of specific ... with the groups. In the discussion of matrilineal ... suggest that female development was articulated within ... domain and can be considered as a movement through the ... line structure. In contrast, whereas matrilineal kin ... importance, in social support and defence, throughout ... cycle, progressive male development was located outside ... domain. For both males and females the extension of ... relationships was articulated by patrilineal kin and in Section II. ... society affiliation and 'announced marriage' as aspects ... In the final section of the chapter I turn to the question ... in an examination of marriage, uxorilocal residence and ... relationships.

I

A Household : A 'Social' Domain

Female Development

... contrast to the sequence of residences that was crucial to the ... of male development, females remained in natal house residence ... their life span, and we can identify a progression from ... 'social' status as a hearth group 'child' to 'social' status as a ... "elder". This sequence of development can be seen as both a ... or matriline hierarchy and a movement through the categories ... biological age, i.e. the age grades. There are some interesting ... between these two systems of classification if we take the ... relationship terms of matrilineal kin as representing the ... (matriline):

	age grade categories	female classification of female matrilineal kin			
"hard"	<u>twatuñ</u>	<u>twania</u>	(+2)		
"hair"					
"paca"	<u>inkiarara</u>	<u>nupia</u>	(-1)	<u>nu:</u>	"large"
"wood"	<u>piuntu:ara</u>	<u>itoñ</u>	( 0)		
"human prefix"					
"tiny"	<u>inpriera</u>	<u>pa:</u>	(-1)		"child" "small"
immature crops in horticulture	<u>wanturi</u>	<u>tumpia</u>	(-2)	<u>tum</u>	"fat"?

In practice the two systems of classification were intimately related, the household was frequently a matriline, and therefore the female life was both a passage through categories of "age" and a passage through hierarchy of kinship categories.

As young children (wanturi and inpriera), girls were closely tied to their "mothers" or other natal hearth women, with a minimal extension of relationships to other hearths in the household. As discussed in Chapter V, a hearth perforation ceremony was performed by the natal hearth fire, with matrilineal kin participation. At the approximate age of male departure from the natal house residence, girls were gradually incorporated into hearth activity by involvement in primary processes: garden collection and preparation, peeling manioc, carrying and other menial chores around the hearth. This phase can be considered as a process of "education" and was characterized by close supervision and control by "mothers". This identity of young children is illustrated by their important role in contact between hearths and households. Panara households were "ideologically" autonomous economic units and mature women typically avoided situations in which their autonomous identity was threatened or questioned as, for example, in requests for food, fire, the loan of utensils etc. In such instances a

...ution was to send a child, even though instructions and ... were often required and it often ended in fiasco, with the ... to the wrong house or being side-tracked by other children. ... tion did, however, allow for possible refusal and avoided the ... of having to borrow from another household. In village life ... children played an important role in the movement of goods between ... olds, the diffusion of knowledge of activity and the transmission ... ests, in a system where periphery households otherwise had little ... contact. This suggests that young children were not, as yet, ... tualised as representatives of the core household matriline.

By the age of puberty adolescents were proficient in the basic ... processes and were moving towards marriage. The puberty ritual ... a radical divide in the relationship between the individual and ... household, as she passed from the social status of an economically ... biologically unproductive "child" to the status of a socially recog- ... ed, economically and biologically productive "woman". The transition ... 'product' to 'potential producer' was articulated not by matrilineal ... but by the intervention of the men's house groups in a ceremony ... ted in a garden, which also involved accompanying a log race. The ... erty ritual was the only female rite de passage which was performed ... side the natal house, and it was also the only female rite de passage ... which explicitly excluded female matrilineal kin. This is significant, ... the puberty ritual marked a radical change in female status vis-à-vis ... household. In Chapter VIII I will return to the question of male ... intervention and suggest that the ritual represented male 'socialisation' ... control over the 'ideology' of reproduction, in contrast to the female ... emphasis in the practical aspects.

In traditional society women were generally co-resident with their husbands or in the process of "marrying" by the time of the second marriage ritual. "Marriage" was not marked by a particular ceremony but rather the gradual incorporation of the husband into his wife's hearth unit. "Marriage" did not result in a significant alteration of status as the wife continued in a subordinate role to her senior matrilineal kin. All produce entering the hearth unit through the husband was passed to his wife, who in turn gave it to her "mother" for division, preparation and cooking, a process in which the wife participated under supervision. A degree of independence was not established by the wife until the couple had established gardens and a family, and it was not until the age of thirty to thirty five-years that she reached the status of hearth head.<sup>1</sup>

During the years of "maturity" (inkiar age grade) social status was expressed through the household. As I have previously noted, the daily organisation of house life - child rearing, food collection, food preparation, bathing and social groups - was organised by the household.<sup>2</sup> Social status was largely determined by a woman's location in the hierarchy of the household matriline, by her control over resources and processes, the size of her family and by the services of her husband. During

This progression naturally depended on the demographic structure of the specific household. In FNK one young mother, approximately 25 years old, was an effective hearth head, as all her matrilineal kin were dead.

The principal exceptions to this form of organisation were trekking parties and occasional collecting trips with a husband, as for honey. The relaxation of household boundaries during trekking was also apparent in the village during the absence of men as, for example, during 'raids' or food festivals ( see Chapter IX ).

the participation of women in ritual did not serve as an indication of status vis-à-vis other women. In this respect mature women were explicitly excluded from festival food collection, and when they did participate in the festival cycle they did so 'as males' (see p. 306). Usually, female participation in the daily routine of dance and song was largely absent. In sum, female interests and orientation were firmly rooted in the domestic sphere and expressed through secular activity.

With the transition from mature (inklara) to "elder" (twatuñ) status the orientation of women moved away from primary production and towards the organisation and representation of household groups. "Elder" status was conceptualised as "infertile" (tu:ne:); "elders" do not menstruate and do not have "children". Menopause marked a significant alteration in social status and, for example, female "elders" could accompany food collection groups whereas mature women were explicitly excluded. In economic activity there was a marked decline in primary food production<sup>1</sup> - earth cultivation groups, garden collection and food preparation - with a movement towards the specialist tasks of cotton processing, the manufacture of tecum blocks, grooming household members, painting mats and treating illness. As "elders" according to both age grade and genealogical classifications, these individuals were in positions of ultimate authority and articulated the household by the organisation of activity, the 'control' of matrilineal kin and the representation of the household in dealings with other houses; female "elders" were important social and political figures.

This transition was dependent on the presence of supporting "children". In the 1976 population, where support was often absent, female "elders" continued to work in primary tasks.

### Control and Authority

Control and authority within the hearth group and household followed the lines of the household hierarchy. In such an intensive domain friction is often apparent between co-resident women, but this seldom reached the level of public expression. In traditional households with a defined matriline, co-resident women were close matrilineal kin, and it seems probable that the emphasis on 'closeness' between "siblings" in Panara society kept friction to a minimum. In discussion, the Panara appeared to view the household as a female domain characterised by cooperation rather than dispute between co-resident women. We can also note that it was hardly possible for a woman to leave her matrilineal group, as she had to establish residence in her SDG sector of the village, and, in the context of Panara notions of 'the house', she could only establish a new household in cooperation with other mature women (see p.93). Thus in traditional society it would appear that house fission was associated with size rather than with dispute. During research in PNK it seemed probable that friction in households was higher, as the co-resident women were often representatives of diverse matrilineal lines. However, even in PNK it was noticeable that disputes within households seldom reached the public arena, but were generally resolved through the intervention of senior women of the household.

In the wider context of control and authority in Panara society we can note that the positions of "chief" or "leader" were absent, although individual men may have dominated village life. My general impression was that the Panara were unwilling to assume 'leadership' in any abstract sense, and, for example, in the organisation of men's house activity 'leadership' was passed between senior men in consecutive events in an approximate rotation (see p.230). Without individual positions of authority, control was regulated at the level of the village by a consensus between



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olds. This system lacked a developed political hierarchy and the  
of control and authority over individuals can only be answered  
reference to periphery household organisation.

" : The Source of Instruction

In Chapter V I suggested that ear perforation and the ear-plug sym-  
as the emphasis on, and socialisation of, hearing. The hearth location  
ceremony and the prominence of female matrilineal kin suggest that  
symbolism was directed towards "mothers" and "mother's mothers".  
Moreover, the hearth fire was prominent, and the instrument of perfora-  
was a spinning stick, a tool associated with female "elder" activity.  
extensive use of urucum and cotton in the ear ornament (see p.170) also  
as to female "elders" as members of the age grade which supplied and  
pressed the materials. Finally, female plugs were larger than those worn  
males of the same status, which can be seen as reflecting the more exten-  
control over females by senior household women; female development  
within the household. In these respects the practice of ear decoration  
also be seen as symbolising the importance of female "elders" in the  
household as a source of "instruction".

The importance of senior women reflects the essentially 'female'  
character of the periphery and domestic domain; to illustrate this we can  
briefly comment on the two potential male positions of authority: senior  
matriline members, i.e. "mother's brothers", and senior "in-married" men,  
i.e. "the mother's husband" and "mother's father". Men were explicitly  
excluded from natal household residence during the years of "maturity",  
and when they did return, their status was 'biological' (see p.131).  
Moreover, men were identified with their natal hearth and not the natal  
household as a functioning socio-economic unit. In the Panara classification

...up, the ascending genealogical generation of men - "mother's  
... "mother's mother's brother" - are placed in the general  
... of "sibling" (itoñ); the potentially authoritative figure of  
...ernal uncle is classified as "brother". The implication of  
...y among matrilineal group males was borne out in practice and men  
... authority over "sister's children" or "sister's daughter's children".  
...sition of in-married men will be discussed in greater detail in the  
...rt of uxori-local residence; but we can mention here that integration  
...the wife's household was minimal, and that all the husband's rights  
...-married status terminated with the end of the marriage. This position  
...ained throughout the marriage and, as discussed previously, his death  
...burial were associated with his natal and not his uxori-local group.  
...s status was highlighted in PHX when the authorities attempted to  
...ade "fathers" to take responsibility for their "motherless" children.  
...requests caused embarrassment to the point of denying paternity and  
... never met. Requests to transfer children to the Post for medical  
...atment were also addressed to "fathers" following normal PHX practice.  
...such cases the man would sit in silence, perhaps realising that his  
... 'male' status was threatened, whilst his wife and her "sisters" decided  
...ether the child should go or not; at most he would offer an opinion, but  
... certainly never pressed his point of view. Here it was clear that  
...thority and responsibility for offspring were in the hands of the senior  
...ten of the household matriline.

The distinction between the father-child and the mother-child relation-  
...ps was also reflected in contrasting methods of enforcing authority.  
...though women occasionally resorted to violence in dealings with children,  
...ey generally depended on verbal means for control, instruction and censure.  
...thin the house women maintained a constant stream of instruction to  
...ildren, and the maximum interaction was between adjacent generations,

son/daughter. Men generally relied on their "wives", "sisters" and "daughters" to censure children and whenever possible refrained from becoming involved in such 'female matters'. However, when, after prolonged provocation, men did become involved, they often resorted to 'physical' punishment. If they used verbal censure they adopted an aggressive attitude and their remarks typically included physical threats. In extreme examples men resorted to punishment which ranged from knocking glowing brands against the offender's ankles (*inti:di, inta "calf"*), cutting calves with a knife, and, in the most extreme cases, to clubbing. The male response to aggression and verbal and physical violence illustrates both their lack of low authority in peripheral households and the ideology of 'male dominance' (see p.240).

#### Category I: Relations between Households

Female control of, and responsibility for, female offspring can be considered as an aspect of the hierarchy generated within the household as a domestic domain. However, the control of out-married males by matrilineal kin lacks reference to household hierarchy as men were largely excluded from this domain. It was clear, however, that the Panara considered women

These punishments were formal and were seen as justifiable if the child was "stupid" enough to irritate men. During one incident in 1976 a senior matrilineal kin did not intervene and the event was followed by a long discussion of punishment they had received during childhood. Most individuals present could show scars from such punishment and appeared to be proud of both their own daring and the aggression of men in Peixoto. In one instance a child had died after having his calves cut, and certain violence towards children is unusual among the Gê and on a number of occasions the attitude of the Panara was obviously disturbing to Kayapo and Suyá, and, indeed, to Kayabi onlookers.

'responsible' for their male 'children' of all ages; as was apparent in disputes, where this responsibility was a frequent point of reference. Disputes reached public expression in plaza oratory and were generally concerned with the relationships between households and particularly those created by marriage. This is best illustrated by an example of such a dispute:

Dispute between Krenoꝑe: and Kwoꝑe:

Suya Village, December 1975-February 1976

From approximately 1973 Akur, a "young elder" member of kwoꝑe:<sup>1</sup> had been resident in krenoꝑe:, married to the "sisters" Tuka and Krempu: . During the tribe's residence at Kretire in 1975 the younger "wife", Krempu: had formed a relationship with the Kayapo "chief" and she had remained at Kretire after the transfer of the Panara to the Suyu village. When Krempu: returned to the Panara, some two months later, Akur threatened to kill her for unfaithfulness and she was forced to move into kwoꝑe: as an interim solution (see p.89 ). Initial attempts by krenoꝑe: women to negotiate her return were unsuccessful<sup>2</sup>, but after considerable tension Krempu: eventually remarried and returned to her household, with her husband, for residence. The incident severely strained the relationship between Akur and senior krenoꝑe: women and, with increasing marital problems of his own, he commenced nocturnal visits to kwokiadꝑe: to sleep with a senior woman, who was in a kiatuꝑ relationship as a (deceased) "brother's wife". After a period of combined nocturnal visits to kwokiadꝑe: and day presence in krenoꝑe: an open argument developed between senior krenoꝑe: women, representing Akur's wife, and senior kwoꝑe: women, representing Akur.

The names refer to SDG, though in the context of the Suyu village I use them to refer to households. (see p.88 )

Whilst this apparently contradicts my assertions that there was female domination in the periphery domain, it is important to note that at that time the krenoꝑe: SDG had no mature male members. This point is returned to on page 190.

debate in plaza "oratory" or "little speeches" (ipen-pa) continued a number of weeks, but it was not directly phrased in terms of the individuals involved, particularly as Akur's kwokiadantera relationship within the accepted boundaries of male behaviour; as a kiatuñ the was a potential sexual partner. Rather, the argument was phrased in terms of the behaviour, or lack of it, of the senior krenope: and krenope: women; on the one hand there were accusations that krenoantera behaved unreasonably to Akur and forced him out, and on the other that kwosodantera women were failing by not insisting that Akur resolve his marital problems and decide which woman he was 'married' and which house he was resident in.

Akur, who had probably only started the "affair" in an attempt to salvage his own marriage, did not want to marry into kwokiadpe:, nor did he want to separate from his wife and lose married status (see p.205). Finally, as the krenoantera women lacked any mature male members it was difficult to see how they could have forced Akur out. In a stalemate, the intensity of the debate through "little speeches" increased and the dispute spread to other marriages between the two households and SDG; kwosodantera men resident in krenope: became involved as supporters of their "mothers" and "sisters" who were representing Akur's interests as matriline representatives. Eventually Akur left the village on an extended fishing trip and his "mother" visited krenope:, confronted her wife's group, demanded the return of his possessions and returned to her own household. On his return to the village the dispute was resolved and Akur eventually attempted suicide (see p.208); the attempt was unsuccessful and on his recovery his marriage with Tuka was resumed and the relationship between krenope: and kwosope: returned to normality.

A number of points illustrating social control and responsibility are apparent in this example;

the dispute was phrased in terms of the rights and obligations of residence in hearth and household units. If Akur was married to a ~~woman~~ member he should not simultaneously establish a relationship with a woman outside that household or SDG.

The dispute was about the control of individuals by female members of their matriline. The individuals themselves were usually silent during the debates, which were concerned less with their actions than with the "stupidity" or "laziness" of their matrilineal kin.

With the breakdown of the marriage the husband left the village and was his "mother" who visited his "wife's" house to confront the group and retrieve his possessions.

Finally, in this dispute there was a clear polarisation based on residence, matriline and SDG membership. This was accompanied by a conflict between hearth and household membership; in the case of women this was between household membership, where corporate identity with other co-resident women was emphasised, and with hearth group membership, where the relationship with the husband was emphasised. The male position was more complex, as he identified with his matrilineal kin and had to refer to his uxori-local relationship with his "wife" and her hearth group, where his "wife" was just a wife, and to his uxori-local household, where his "wife" was a representative of the matriline. In such situations it is possible to say without qualification that matrilineal ties overrode affinal relationships.

In cases of dispute between households it was apparent that support from female matrilineal kin was essential for representation in plaza activity, which, as discussed previously, was the major form of socio-

tical expression in Panara society. It also appears that verbal  
ert from women was backed up in traditional society by physical  
ert from male "siblings".

Part II : "Violence"

In traditional Panara society it is clear that the incidence of  
ent assault and violent death was far more frequent than in PNK at  
time of research.<sup>1</sup> It also appears probable that levels of violence  
eased at times of political tension and social disruption, as during the  
s preceding contact (see Appendix F). It seems that 'killings' repre-  
ented friction between matrilineages which, over time, became incipient  
ding" or revenge killings, though most deaths were placed in the frame-  
x of "ugliness" (see p.121).

Violent deaths appear to have been spontaneous and lacking in formal  
organisation. Small groups of mature men attacked the victim either when  
er she was asleep (this was common in the case of wife-killing) or in  
- immediate village environs, often on a path to the gardens. The small  
de must be emphasised, as there was no evidence whatsoever to suggest  
confrontation between groups of men. Rather, the picture is one of  
ion between matrilineages, possibly over long periods of time, with  
-sinal' or "ugly" individuals of the matrilineages as potential victims.

The question of violence presented particular problems for research  
PNK. Frequent 'instruction' from PNK authorities and other Xingu tribes  
ited in a 'playing down' of the topic by the Panara. Further, the  
e of a multi-village tribe to one village often meant that past  
oponists were now resident in the same house and had little wish to  
old hostilities. The Panara also accepted the argument that further  
s would be disastrous in a tribe of their size and they also accepted  
'killing' was incompatible with residence in PNK. Violence was  
ed to the time of initial residence and by the end of 1976 there was

This contention can be supported by the rather surprising fact that violent deaths mentioned by the Panara were never of dominant, aggressive men, although these were the very men who killed the most people (see P.240).

Although reconstruction of the pattern of violent death proved to be a considerable problem, it appears that the groups concerned with attack and defence were based on male "sibling" ties. (iton). From a negative point of view, other potential relationships did not provide a basis for support:

1. Patrilineal kin were not concerned with 'the body' and in daily village contexts they formed a 'remote' group concerned with the extension of social ties (see p. 190).

2. The moiety groups of the village centre were ceremonial and outside ritual contexts were neither corporate nor political.

3. The uxorilocal group did not provide support in such instances, as integration was minimal. It is, however, possible that "wife's brothers" were a potential source of support.

From a positive point of view, matrilineal support in violence can be related to the group's interest in 'biological' survival of its members and the verbal support it gave in "oratory" during disputes. The male strength of matrilineages may have been instrumental in the protection of female members, particularly as in traditional society it was females and young members who were most at risk. It is significant that the dominant individuals in traditional villages were members of large matrilineages. Equally, in three observed cases of 'threatened killing' in FNK, the intended victims were individuals without male "sibling" support: Poka, who was



solitary male representative of a kwokiadpe: matriline; Krekoñ, a "elder", who was an isolated member of kwokiadpe: and was also considered to be "ugly"; and the woman Krempu:, who was a member of kwokiadpe:, a SDG without mature male representatives.

## Section 2

### Patrifiliation : Social Identity

The male role in conception was through semen, which gave an initial impetus to female blood and added to the "size" and "strength" of the foetus (antwi); the theme of 'structuring' was, I suggest, central to patrilineal roles. In this section I examine the patrilineal contribution to male and female development and suggest that a central role was the establishment of ties outside the "child's" matriline; in sum the establishment of a "path" of development. In this discussion the term 'patrilineal kin' refers to the true father's matriline, as members of the "father's sisters'" household; in residence the "fathers" were dispersed among peripheral houses or were in the men's houses.

Finally, to avoid constant qualification in this section, I must make clear that many aspects of patrifiliation require further research. In particular the questions of name transmission, moiety affiliation and marriage, which are topics of great importance in Panara social organisation, remain incomplete.

During the final stage of his wife's pregnancy and the initial postnatal period the father followed restrictions on diet and activity which might harm the child. The parents should not eat 'larger' game or manioc 'cake', and the father should not participate in 'physical' activities

... hunting, fishing and plaza activity. In the case of the one  
born during the time of research these restrictions were only par-  
tially followed for approximately two weeks. This appears to have been a  
function of individual choice and may well have been related to the health  
of the mother and child. In such matters the Panara were generally very  
matter of fact and informants mentioned a number of instances when women had  
given birth in gardens or on trails during 'daily' economic activity.

Following birth the father had little direct involvement in the early  
development of his child, which was the concern of the mother and other  
birth women. At about six months the child was named in a simple announce-  
ment by the father from his uxorilocal house. The Panara stated that names  
were "given by the father", but I am not sure which names were transmitted.  
It is apparent that names were not passed directly from father to son, and  
also that names were not passed from matrilineal kin to children. Name  
transmission was commonly from same sex members of the child's patrilineal  
group (see fig. 17), but some examples of naming suggest that this was not a  
rule. There was no evidence that names were passed as 'groups' or 'sets',  
and they did not seem to be associated with any classification as "beauti-  
ful" or "common", as among the Kayapo (Vidal 1977:115). A  
specific name could also be held by more than one individual at the same  
time. In sum, as far as I know at present, names were given by the father  
after consultation with his wife and his matrilineal kin from names of  
living Panara of the same sex associated with the relevant groups.<sup>1</sup> An individual  
could have from two to six names, though at the time of research many could

The question of naming requires further research and at present there  
is little point in speculation from uncertain data. Although the process  
of naming had considerable social significance, the actual names do not  
appear to have been as important as among other Northern Cé  
societies.

17

EXAMPLES OF NAME TRANSMISSION

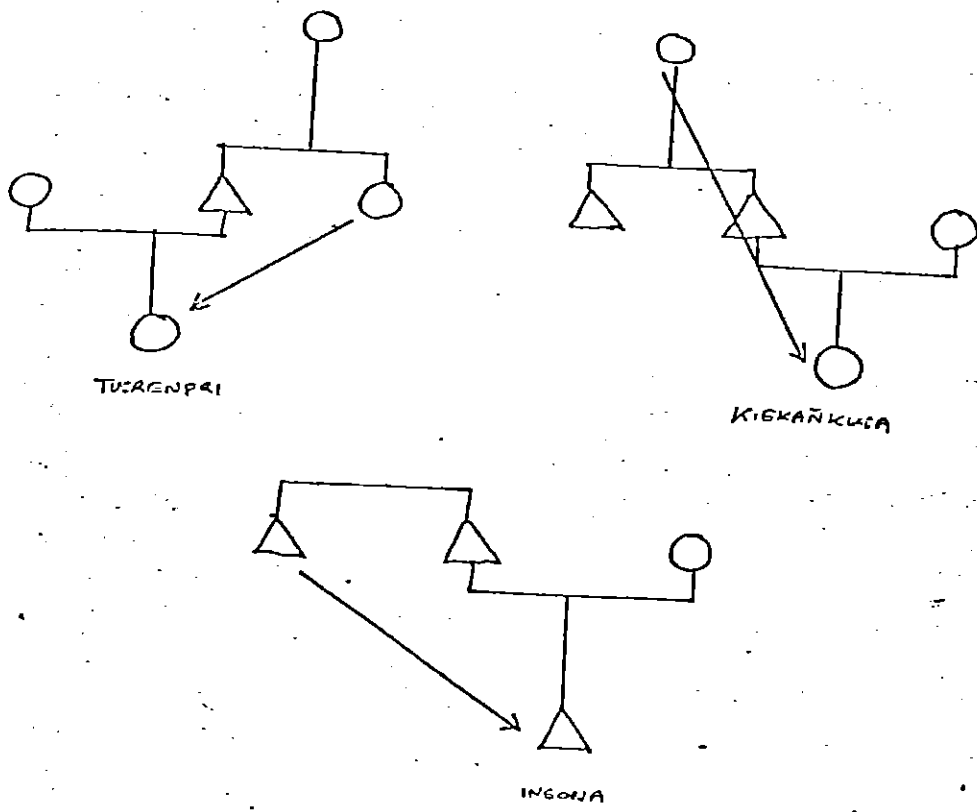
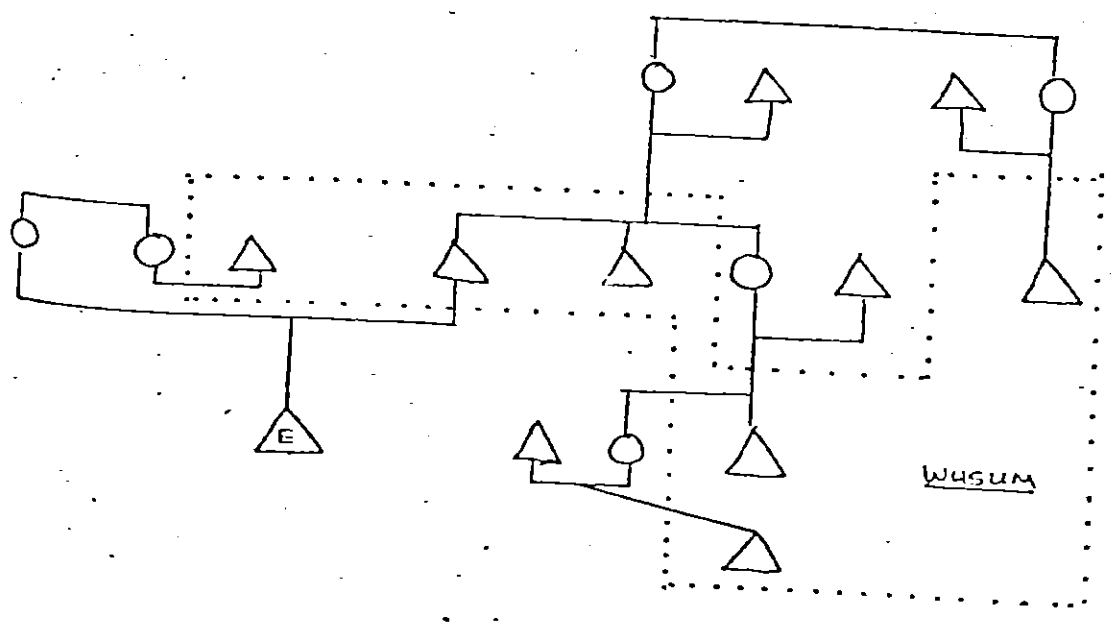


FIG 18

THE "WUSUM CATEGORY"



remember all their names without guidance from senior kin. Names  
related to aspects of nature, inanimate objects in the environment,  
biological processes or elements of the body, for example:

:"Brazil nut"	(m)	Nansu:	"wasp"	(m)
:"genipapa"	(m)	Nankio	"white lipped peccary"	(m)
:"fish water"	(m)	A:ku:dinkre	"turtle egg"	(f)
:"sun"	(f)	Iobo	"jaguar"	(m)
:"river"	(m)	Kwosi	"liver"	(m)
:"kri:di "large fire"	(m)			

Nicknames were used with some frequency, as for example, Kiampoti:di  
was used for a man who was extremely fond of "biscuits" during the  
contact period. Individuals were also called by different names,  
within their groups of names, by different social groups; for example,  
one name was used by patrilineal and another by matrilineal kin. Names  
were also qualified by the addition of a suffix, as for example -pri, which  
qualified a "young child", or by the addition of a prefix, as for example  
ma- and tobutu- in the case of female and male "elders" respectively;  
these referred to age grade status.

The naming ceremony marked the transition of the child from wantu: to  
para age grade status and although the ceremony was simple in form it  
had profound social significance. After receiving names the "child" passed  
from an age category of an 'un-named' and undifferentiated status (wantu:)  
to a status of individuality and with a defined location in society. In  
this respect the ceremony marked the termination of 'biological' establish-  
ment and it can be considered as a 'social birth'. Thus patrilineal kin  
mourn for a deceased "child" if it has been named; the ceremony was  
the recognition of the "child's" social status through the recognition of  
matrilineal ties; matrilineal ties - SDG membership - were deter-  
mined at birth whereas patrilineal ties were recognised through naming.  
In addition to establishing the "child's" individuality as a named person,

Names also located the child in progressive Panara society through affiliation with senior generations.

#### Moiety Affiliation

It appears that male moiety affiliation was transmitted with names and female moiety membership was taken from that of the woman's first husband. The moiety affiliation of men was to have been studied during the cancelled field trip, and with my present knowledge the picture is insecure. The following points can be made from information gained so far:

- a) Sons may or may not be members of their genealogical father's moiety.
- b) In the few known examples the moiety of the 'name giver' (i.e. the man whose name is given) corresponded to that of the 'name recipient'.
- c) Some informants stated that moiety affiliation was from tobiupia to tumbia. Tobiupia is the category that includes "wife's father", "mother's father" and "father's father", but is not used in reference to patrilineal kin; male members of the "father's" matriline are classified as wusum.

The significance of moiety affiliation is illustrated by two points:

- a) As discussed previously a crucial distinction between male and female paths of development was that adolescent males moved to men's house residence during childhood. This dislocation was through moiety membership and was, therefore, articulated by the father, as the 'name giver'. The important point here is that matrilineal kin did not articulate the progressive aspects of social development of their "children". If we turn to Gê societies we can see that this mechanism represents a common theme, though the particular form of adolescent male dislocation from the natal matriline takes individual forms. For example, among the Kayapo an 'unrelated' or marginally related couple is selected to act as 'substitute' parents to give the child moiety affiliation and to guide him through the transfer residence (Turner 1969 : 52 ).

The differing roles of the "father" reflect the contrasting positions of the "father" or "husband" in the structure of Panara and Kayapo families. In Kayapo society there was a significant degree of integration and by the time his "son" was of age for men's house residence the "father" was identified as a member of his wife's household ; a position which was incompatible with articulating his son's exit from that group. In contrast, in Panara society the "father" or "husband" was not integrated into his uxorilocal household and there was no contradiction in his role of establishing men's house residence for his sons. In this respect we can also note that in Kayapo society Turner states that the move to men's house residence was traumatic, i.e. it required mediation, whereas in Panara society it was noticeable that it was male adolescents who attempted to establish men's house residence and in general they regarded the move as positive and welcome. The important point is that in both societies men's house residence was regarded as crucial for male development.

b) Moiety membership through patrification resulted in a degree of cross-cutting of kinship based groups generated on the periphery. The breakdown of male "sibling" groups is of importance in understanding the non-corporate and non-political identity of the moieties. The function of the men's houses can be seen as linking and uniting the essentially autonomous households of the periphery. In fact, from my description of Panara society so far, there are few reasons to explain why the Panara should live in villages or why villages were enduring in traditional society. The cross-cutting of "sibling" groups illustrates the matrilineal bias of periphery social classification. The wusun of a male were defined by relationships through women (twapia) and the genealogical fathers of "fathers" may well be members of disparate matrilineal lines and even SDG. It would thus appear that a man could potentially be affiliated to either moiety depending on which wusun was the actual 'name giver'.

### Announced Marriage

At about the same time as 'naming' the father also announced future marriage partners for his son in an address to the village. The number of announced partners varied from one to five and the 'partners' may have previously been announced as potential spouses by other fathers for their sons. From the time of announcement, the son was part of a network of affinal ties with the 'announced' "wives" (kasipia) and their hearth group which were enduring whether the "marriage" was fulfilled through marriage or not. Whilst there was an expectancy by the parents that the 'announced' partners would 'marry' when mature, little pressure was placed on them to do so. A girl may have been 'announced' as a wife for a number of boys and it is obviously impracticable for all the unions to take place. However, it is clear that in traditional society many such unions were completed and that the choice of 'announced wives' by fathers referred to certain preferences.

"Marriage", or the establishment of uxori-local residence, can be seen as a fundamental step in male development, as is the earlier transfer to the men's houses. Thus in 'announced marriage' a father mapped out the future path for his son's social development and set in motion a series of prestations from the potential husband's mother to the potential wife's father. In addition, the announced marriage mediated in the eventual transition from un-married to married male status. Thus during childhood and adolescence the 'potential wife' (referred to as kasipia "wife") and her natal group were an integral part of the boy's social relationships: "affines" were present from childhood as an integral aspect of life. During adolescence two affinal relationships were of particular importance: that of "wife's mother" (puñkia) and that of "wife's brother" (kietundia). The child's relationship with his "announced wife's mother" was established

through instruction during childhood and by the age of about nine the behaviour of 'avoidance' (gripisa) was well established; the boy should avoid his "mother-in-law" and whenever possible should not look at her, speak to her or listen to her (see p.203). As it was the "son-in-law"/"brother-in-law" relationship which was problematic during the initial phase of marriage, it can be argued that the gradual development of 'avoidance' behaviour as an integral part of development mediated the man's eventual residence with his "wife's", and thus his "wife's mother's", birth group.

A boy's relationship with his "announced wife's brother" (kietumpia) was a more positive aspect of his development and was characterised by closeness and friendship during men's house residence, when 'potential' "brothers-in-law" were frequent hunting, fishing and ritual partners. The quality of this relationship had much in common with that of "siblings", though the "brother-in-law" relationship was most emphasised outside the periphery house domain.

In the selection of potential marriage partners for his son, the available choice for the father was wide.<sup>1</sup> The largest unit of exogamy in Hamar society was the SDG and the father could therefore choose any girl of the relevant age from any of the other three, i.e. excluding his son's SDG. In practice fathers generally showed preference for selecting partners from within their own SDG but from outside their own matriline.

This subject requires more research. I do not know whether the potential wife's matrilineal kin had to agree with the father's choice or whether he just announced names. Nor do I know the form of the announcement. It is possible that the system had a more formal basis, as in PNK the oldest woman once referred to the only female born during the time of research as kipia. It also seems probable that a father could announce that his son would marry the daughter of a woman even though the child had not been conceived or born at that time.



from households in their SDG sector but not from their "mother's" field. Some informants stated that sons should marry into their father's SDG, but at present this cannot be supported with statistical evidence. A picture of SDG linked by a system of marriage exchange based on father's choice of partners for their sons must, however be qualified as an over-all distribution of marriages between SDG showed an approximate balancing once the groups were weighted for size (see Table 14). A more accurate picture is one of reciprocal marriages between matriline, although this seldom extended to adjacent generations, or was absolute in the same generation.

Rather than the father's choice being evidence of a 'system', it may possibly afford a solution to the uxori-local "problem". "Marriage" was a crucial stage in male development, but also one involving considerable tension and friction, particularly in the "son-in-law"/"mother-in-law" relationship. The success of the marriage depended to some extent on the attitude of the "wife's mother" towards her "daughter's husband". I am not entirely satisfied with the argument, but it may be that choice of a marriage partner for his son within the father's own SDG eased the problem of uxori-local residence for his son. Thus, the son's uxori-local house would be located in the same village sector as the house of the father's "sisters" and "mothers", who might be able to influence the attitude of his son's "mother-in-law". However, given the relative socio-economic autonomy of peripheral households, the degree of influence which could be exerted

1 A difficulty was determining precise matriline membership and in separating "announced" spouses from those actually selected. Panara referred to both as kasipia (male ego) and inipipia (female ego) and the picture was confused by the short duration of marriages during the migrations before contact.

appear at most to be minimal. Finally, it can be suggested that bringing for his son to marry into his own SDG the father was in fact bringing his grandchildren to his own SDG. This concept was not recognized by the Panara.

The potential solution to the uxori-local problem, marriage with a "father's sister's daughter", was rare. Whilst such unions were possible, as a "father's sister's daughter" must be a member of another SDG they would bring the roles of "wife's mother" and "father's sister" into conflict. Thus in terms of behaviour, the "wife's mother" relationship was one of avoidance, whereas that of "father's sister" was one of benevolence and remoteness. Furthermore, the "wife's mother" was a representative of her household and hearth who regulated the presence of an unmarried male in the group. As a "father's sister", however, the woman could be tracing ties to a man through a male (her "brother") and that relationship did not involve household or hearth identity.

Following the establishment of these relationships for his children, the father had little involvement in their social or biological development until their death. During childhood and adolescence boys might have contact with their "fathers" in the men's houses or during hunting or fishing expeditions, but the relationship can be characterised as one of reserve; it was common to see men of all ages with members of their own age grade. This aspect of paternal roles will be discussed more fully in the following section.

In the case of women, I have previously outlined their development as being oriented towards the natal hearth and household. Within these SDGs the "father's" household was a major source of contact as expressed in periodic exchanges of goods and services. Typically these were

with earth oven activity, when groups of women collected banana leaves for their "father's sisters" and were given processed flour or "cake" in return. These exchanges were organised as a household activity when female "siblings" gave materials to their respective "father's sisters" who could be located in different households. Women also joined the earth oven group of their "father's sisters" if they wished to cook when their own household women were absent from the village. Although these events were infrequent they provide noticeable exceptions to the general rule of household autonomy. Classificatory "fathers" also had the right of access to "cake" in the households of their classificatory "daughters", and women could help in the construction and planting of gardens belonging to "fathers" in return for access to the garden when it was mature (see p.272).

#### Death and Burial

During research it was noticeable that serious illness, death and burial were often the first occasions of public demonstration of what we know, from genealogical information, to be "father"/"child" relationships. On these occasions men who had previously avoided children or even denied kinship would commence mourning, participate in the burial and generally show concern. The subject of death and burial has been discussed in Chapter V, but here I will discuss some relevant aspects.

On the death of "children" matrilineal and patrilineal kin showed common concern through mourning and in burial preparations, though the distinct spatial identity of the two matrilineages was maintained. The joint mourning (inku:ca) can be interpreted as expressing the termination of both social and biological existence. Thus whilst the preparation and disposal of the "child" as a biological entity was within the deceased's

Footnote on next page.

father's" household the paraphernalia of burial - the racing log, the  
mother necklace and the dance belt - were associated with the deceased's  
father's" matriline. In this respect patrilineal kin can be associated  
with the passage of their male "child" to the cosmological domains in much  
the same way as they articulated the "child's" transfers to men's house  
and uxorilocal residence. This contribution on death was clearly concep-  
tualised by Panara with no living "fathers" who stated that when they died  
"one would cry" for them.

Section 3

Uxorilocal Residence : Marriage

The major part of the male life cycle was spent in uxorilocal  
residence; this is a crucial point, as in order to marry, to father child-  
ren and to achieve mature status, men had to move residence from their  
father's household and SDG periphery segment and from their men's house.  
Thus, whilst the children of both males and females were classified as pa:,  
in the case of women the category included all offspring of same generation

In some instances concern took extreme forms. In one case a "young  
father" had three surviving children by a previous marriage, who were resi-  
dent with their MMZD in kwokiadne:. The man was now married to a Krenope:  
and totally ignored the children, to the extent of leaving our house  
when they were present. The children were not treated well, and, knowing  
from other sources that the man was the true father, we assumed that his  
difference was due to his marriage having ended in dispute, or that he  
disliked the children for some other reason. However, when one of the  
children became critically ill with a severe throat infection he took the  
child to the Post and sat with her through a night of treatment in a  
very emotional state. This reversal of behaviour between father and  
children at critical times was repeated in numerous instances in FNX and  
is perplexing for other Xingu Indians, the Post authorities and ourselves.

the "children" of women shared their mother's SDG  
relationship, whereas the "children" of men were scattered  
matrilines on the village periphery. In this final  
periphery organisation I will re-examine hearth and household  
aspect of in-marrying men, i.e. as uxori-local households.

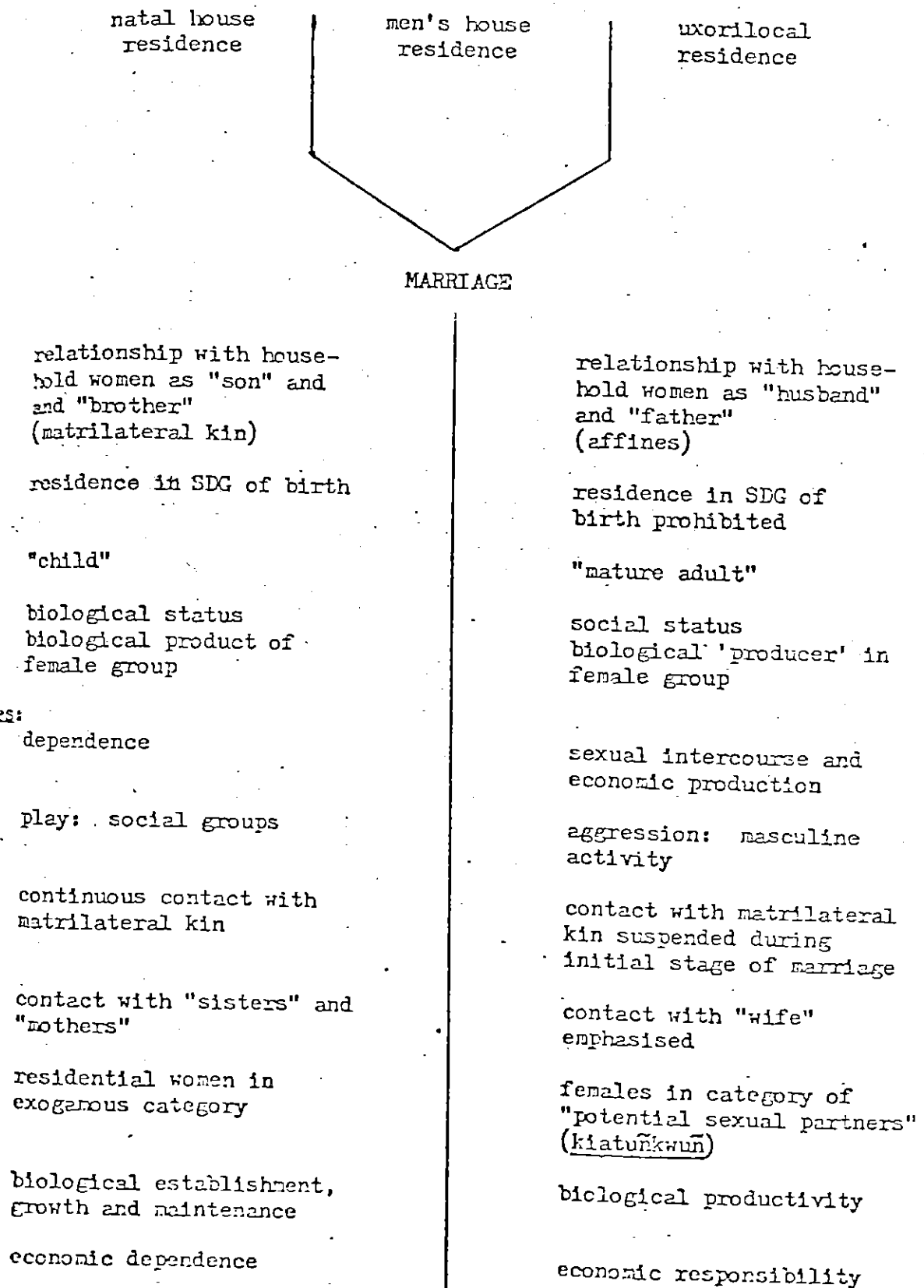
### Process of Marriage

Process of marriage was introduced at an early age in Panara society,  
relationships were established in childhood (see p. 195). During  
the relationship between the 'potential' husband and wife was  
marked by mutual embarrassment and, in practice, avoidance. Marriage  
process which was not marked by specific ceremonies or events,  
slow incorporation of the husband into his wife's hearth group.  
adolescence, as men's house residents, boys were sexually active,  
partners in the village environs during the evening after adults  
retired to their sleeping mats; there was no evidence of an ideology  
'purity' during men's house residence. It also appeared that adoles-  
cents were encouraged to participate in such liaisons, as mature  
men would comment that it was good for their young daughters to have  
sex, as it "increased the blood flow" when they reached first menses.  
relationships may occur between 'announced' partners, though in PNX  
was seldom the case. Such liaisons developed into nocturnal visits  
to the girl's sleeping mat, when he entered the house late at  
night and left well before dawn. In time such visits became longer and  
more frequent and although both partners typically denied the relationship  
visits were commented on by senior household women, often in crude  
terms. When the visits by the husband were extended to include day-time  
residence in the house, the couple were considered to be 'married'. If the

ship did not follow an "announced" union, it was at this time that the husband's "mother" started to give prestations of manioc "cake" to the wife's mother".

The commencement of uxori-local residence was marked by a radical transition in the husband's social status and social relationships; about the first six months of 'marriage' the husband's contact with his natal household was suspended and he no longer made visits to "mothers" and "sisters" for food and social contact. When contact between the husband and his matrilineal kin became necessary, a "mother" would go to his uxori-local residence and address her "son" in a subdued and 'reserved' manner. In practical terms the suspension of this relationship resulted in the husband's total dependence on his wife's hearth group for social contact and food. The suspension of matrilineal ties can be interpreted as emphasising the progressive nature of the movement from men's house to uxori-local residence. Men leaving the men's houses on marriage had a socially different status from that of children entering them from their natal households; the relationship between males and periphery matrilineal kin significantly changed. When entering the men's house, boys were identified as residential members of their natal household in co-residence with "mothers" and "sisters"; in contrast, on returning to uxori-local residence as men, their status was that of sexually and economically mature individuals, co-resident with a matriline represented by "wife's mothers" and "wife's sisters". Thus the suspension of contact with matrilineal kin can be seen as emphasising male development and precluding the resumption of child relationships with matrilineal kin on the termination of men's uxori-local residence; the practice emphasised the sequence of development as a 'way' process. This point is summarised in Table 13 and will be referred to in Chapter VIII.

MALE DEVELOPMENT VIS A VIS PERIPHERAL MATRILINES



The initial phase of marriage was given explicit sexual emphasis and led to the time of maximum instability in the union. The idiom of sexual relations was apparent during the months of nocturnal visits by the husband before co-residence and during the first months of co-residence. Economic contribution of the young couple took second place to sexual intercourse; according to informants, the couple should spend the day sleeping and have sexual intercourse "all night". The suspension of the husband's contact with his natal household and his avoidance of his "wife's mother" gave a particular intensity to the relationship between husband and wife during this phase of marriage. In the hearth area there was a marked restraint in the husband's behaviour and he was commonly silent or at most whispered to his wife. The tension was primarily between the husband and the "wife's mother" and in traditional houses, with a lineal sleeping mat distribution (see p.72), the separation between the two was physical. Within these confines the husband maintained "avoidance" behaviour as far as possible and, for example, in eating the husband and the "wife's mother" would sit back to back, with the "wife's mother" passing food to the "son-in-law" over her shoulder. The husband rarely remained in the house in the absence of his wife, and certainly never did so if he were likely to be alone with any senior woman of his wife's household.

The time between the commencement of co-residence and conception by the wife was the phase of maximum instability in the union; it was characterised by tension and frequent outbreaks of violence. The tension between "son-in-law" and "mother-in-law" was often expressed in economic terms with accusations of "meanness" (soñsuri)<sup>1</sup> made by the husband and complaints of laziness (san-pan-no) made by the wife's mother. This argument was often particular, as the husband did not relish hunting or fishing when he had to give all his produce to his wife, who in turn had to give it to her mother,

Also referred to "sadness" or "unhappiness".



only received a small portion in return. On the other hand, the mother often regarded her "son-in-law" as a marginal member of her household, and in food distribution accorded him less status than her own children. In the close confines of periphery houses tensions frequently turned to violence, when the principal targets of the husband's anger were his wife and her mother; in the past, at least, a number of wives were killed in such contexts and in PNX two "sons-in-law" were wounded.

With conception by the wife the "marriage" passed through a dramatic change and developed into a relatively stable partnership. By this time the husband had resumed visits to his matrilineal kin, thus providing alternative sources of food and social contact outside his uxorilocal household. His position with his wife's household was also modified, as he had fulfilled his procreational role and was becoming increasingly significant as an economic contributor to the household. However, the couple still remained directly within the "wife's mother's" economic sphere and they had little self determination in socio-economic activity.

With the growth of their family and increased maturity the position of the couple in the household gradually improved. After some years of marriage the husband cleared and planted gardens for his wife, which gave her independent access to garden produce, and as an experienced hunter the husband became a major source of game for the household. Men could only own and construct gardens when they were married, and it is apparent that husbands worked their "wife's father's" gardens until the age of 25-27 years.

wife's movement towards independence and hearth group leadership  
the decline of the senior household generations as the wife's  
"mothers" and "mothers" died or moved towards the more specialised  
associated with female "elder" status. With "elder" status the  
controlled their own hearth group and also dominated household  
through the wife's position as a senior figure in the house  
In this capacity the woman would organise most household  
and would represent the household in plaza oratory.

Although we can refer to an 'improvement' of the husband's uxori-  
position, the notion of 'integration' into the group has only  
validity. Regardless of the man's age, the size of his family,  
as a hunter or his status in the village community, his rights  
and his access to children remained absolutely dependent on  
continuation of his marriage. The breakdown of the union through  
or divorce resulted in his immediate return to the men's house or  
group residence - the latter if he was of "elder" status. Further-  
the "wife's mother" retained the 'avoidance' relationship until  
death, and this precluded any direct communication between the  
and his hearth and household leader. With the death of the wife's  
female kin the husband's position was undoubtedly stronger, but  
then his position was only a reflection of that of his wife, and,  
the running of hearth and house life, it was the women of the house-  
who emerged as the dominant figures.

To understand the uxori-local position of men we must return to the  
relation between hearth and house levels of organisation discussed in  
Part IV. Men in uxori-local residence were members of the group through  
relationship with an individual woman: the wife. In this respect  
local residence was essentially 'biological' as it was firmly

ated at the hearth level of organisation, and the 'avoidance' relationship with the "wife's mother" excluded his involvement in household affairs. In contrast, mature women participated at both levels: as "wife" the relationship was procreative and productive, emphasis being placed on "raw materials" - children and gardens - through union with a man from outside her household and SDG as husband; and as a "sister", as a socio-economic relationship with "sisters" and with a responsibility over out-married "brothers". The point here is that a woman's matrilineal relationships formed the core of household identity and that this was a 'group' from which the husband was excluded. These relationships were established at birth and were not modified during the life cycle, the husband always remaining an in-married male vis-à-vis his exorilocal household.

The picture of the household as individual men linked to individual female representatives of a matriline is illustrated by reference to house 'space': female corporate activity was given expression in the earth oven and communal food preparation zone at the rear of the house, but there was no area which could be identified as a 'male' domain; the interior of traditional houses was dominated by sleeping mats and hearth fires, a female domain, and there was no cleared area inside the house where men could meet or work. Furthermore, a husband's presence in the house was on his wife's sleeping mat, a location implying a 'biological' relationship and sexual intercourse. Thus, even when "brothers" married into the same household (see p.211), they did not form a 'group' but remained as isolated individuals sharing common residence through marriage with co-resident women. The domain of male interaction, of work and social groups, was in the village centre.

### Uxorilocal Dilemma

The ideology 'marriage' appears to present a number of contradictions which can best be referred to as the "uxorilocal dilemma". The main contradiction is that, on the one hand, marriage terminated men's house residence, which was the location of male development and represented ideals of 'male society' (see p. 215). It was not unusual to hear adolescents approaching maturity express the desire of remaining single and continuing 'residence' in the village centre. On the other hand, marriage was a crucial step on the path to maturity, as married men could own gardens, participate in adult plaza activity and share the interests and activities of the married male group. The contradiction between ideology and practice has been noted in other Gê societies and will be returned to in the context of peanut cultivation (see p.278). We can also note that the tension of initial uxorilocal residence was expressed through the distinctive values of the periphery and the centre; the "wife's mother" referred to "laziness" and emphasised the values of kinship relationships, whereas the young "husband", as a product of the men's houses, referred to "meanness" and resorted to violence, a male expression of his status.

Once a marriage had survived the initial phase the "uxorilocal dilemma" moved onto a different plane. Whereas separation during the initial phase only resulted in the return of the husband to men's house residence, a separation during maturity resulted in loss of access to children, loss of gardens and loss of the established mature status. The status of women was relatively independent of marriage, as it was more specifically directed towards her location in the hearth group and household. In this respect marriage was an institution conducted in female space, between an individual man and a female group, and on female terms.

At this point it is illustrative to return to the dispute outlined in the context of social responsibility (see p.135). In this example a problem between husband and wife progressed into a confrontation between the husband's and the wife's households. It was apparent that as the dispute moved away from the specific matter of marital discord the position of the husband became increasingly untenable. The options open to the husband were a return to co-residence with his wife, which was impossible given the feeling among the women of her household, or a return to his natal group (there were no men's houses in PNX) and the loss of married status. The latter solution was unacceptable as the man in question was a dominant "young elder" and he would have effectively lost this status. In traditional society it seems probable that an alternative solution would have been to kill the wife and thus regain some status through the 'male' act of aggression. In this particular example the husband's solution was to leave the village on an extended trip, and, when that failed, to attempt suicide.

Suicide by hanging (sokrase: "necklace") was a male practice and was generally associated with affinal 'problems'. It was accomplished by tying a bow string round a branch, tying the other end round the neck and leaning forward to strangle slowly. The action was not discussed prior to the event, but it appears that close friends and matrilineal kin did know that such action was possible. In the four instances of attempted 'hanging' it also appears that kietumbia ("brothers-in-law") were associated with 'rescue'. It is interesting that the man who 'discovered' and cut down Akur in this example had himself been 'discovered and cut down by Akur in Peixoto; the two men were "brothers-in-law". Suicide in this context appears to be a negation of both affinal and matrilineal ties and the severity of the solution indicated

ment of the male dilemma when faced with the prospect of single  
In less extreme examples of marital discord the husband  
usually referred to 'self destruction' and a negation of village  
status, e.g. he would threaten to go and "live in the forest", to go  
on a long trip away from the village, or to go and be eaten by jaguars.

Although in Panara society we find formal 'hanging', a high inci-  
dence of wife-killing (see Appendix F) and a high frequency of violence  
at breakdown during the initial phase of marriage, the overall picture  
of marriage was one of stability and close enduring partnership between  
husband and wife. The question of marriage stability in traditional  
society is a problem, as mature individuals in the PNK population could  
have as many as five or six spouses, though in the majority of cases the  
termination of the unions was from natural death in the period between  
1967 and 1974. However, it is apparent that marriages did break down  
in traditional society and the process was accompanied by tension and  
violence, and possibly movement to another village. Finally, as a  
general point, we can note that even during the economic disruption in  
PNK the daily life in peripheral houses was not characterised by dispute  
or friction between husbands and wives, and it is possible that the  
husband's weak position had a mollifying effect; he could either accept  
his uxori-local position and stay silent or he could exert his individuality  
and perhaps lose his married status, his residence and his access to his  
children.

In the discussion of marriage to this point I have concentrated on  
the relationship between individuals. Here I will briefly examine  
marriage as a relationship between matriline and SDG.

Marriage

a) "Tribe"

In Peixoto the Panara appear not to have made reference to a concept of "tribal" endogamy, as they were not in contact with surrounding tribes and all 'visitors' were killed. Certainly there is no record of marriage between Panara and members of other tribes in the period before contact. In PNX some senior Panara stated that Panara should only have sexual intercourse and marry with Panara, but this appeared to be only a general comment. In practice men generally said that they "did not like" the women of other tribes and that they would not marry outside the Panara. This may well have been associated with the practice of uxori-local residence, as men would have had to leave the village (see p.112). Panara women were less concerned about this question and in Peixoto after contact and in PNX women formed regular relationships with non-Panara men. These women were severely criticised in the village and in one "speech" were said "not to be Panara", the main point of contention being that they were not living in the Panara village.

b) The Village

In discussions of Peixoto the Panara did not refer to any notions of village 'endogamy', though in the majority of known marriages and 'announced' marriages the individuals were born and raised in the same village. In this respect it can be suggested that the enduring importance of matrilineal kin throughout both male and female life cycles tended to hold individuals in the village of their "mother's" matriline and household.

c) Spatial Descent Groups

In all known marriages the rule of SDG exogamy was strictly followed. The SDG did not appear to be linked in any 'system' of marriage, and in

the FNK population and in the Tobiuroñ village population of 1971 the distribution of marriages between SDG shows few regularities once the groups are weighted for size (see Table 14). The Panara themselves made no reference to links between specific SDG.

d) Matrilines

As mentioned in the context of "announced marriage" (p.195) there is some evidence to suggest that matrilines were linked by reciprocal marriages. In fig. 19 one example of such linkage in the marriages of a kwosope matriline is presented: fourteen out of twenty known marriages were with various kwokiadpe matrilines. This pattern was more developed in some matrilines than others, but it appears to have been prevalent in traditional society. In this context a number of points can be made:

- a) In announced marriage there was a tendency for fathers to select spouses for their sons from their own SDG (see p.196). Unfortunately few 'announced' marriages are known in the matrilines shown in fig. 19, though many of the marriages were possibly established in this manner.
- b) In Panara society there was no rule preventing "brothers" marrying into the same household. Such marriages were a common feature in traditional society and the practice is represented in the relationship terminology by the equations  $BW = WZ$  (male ego kiatuñkwuñ) and  $BW = HZ$  (female ego surpia). Men also commonly re-married into their deceased wife's matriline, and women commonly took a new husband from the deceased husband's matriline; in both instances the same sex siblings of a spouse are classified as kiatuñkwuñ, which signifies "potential sexual partners".
- c) In traditional marriages there were frequent examples of brother exchange, which is represented in the terminology by the equations



TABLE 14.

MARRIAGE BETWEEN SOG.

3) TOBIUAON POPULATION (1971 APPROX).

WOMEN OF  
MARRIED TO  
MEN OF

	KO	KK	KR	KI
KO	—	9	14	5
KK	9	—	3	3
KR	4	4	—	0
KI	0	5	5	—

APPROXIMATE SIZE  
OF SOG.

KO 60

KK 55

KR 55

KI 25

KO KWOROG:  
KK KWOKIADPE:  
KR KRENDE:  
KI KWOSIPE:

4) SUYA VILLAGE POPULATION (1976)

WOMEN OF  
MARRIED TO  
MEN OF

	KO	KK	KR	KI
KO	—	2	2	1
KK	2	—	2	2
KR	0	0	—	0
KI	0	0	1	—

KO 19

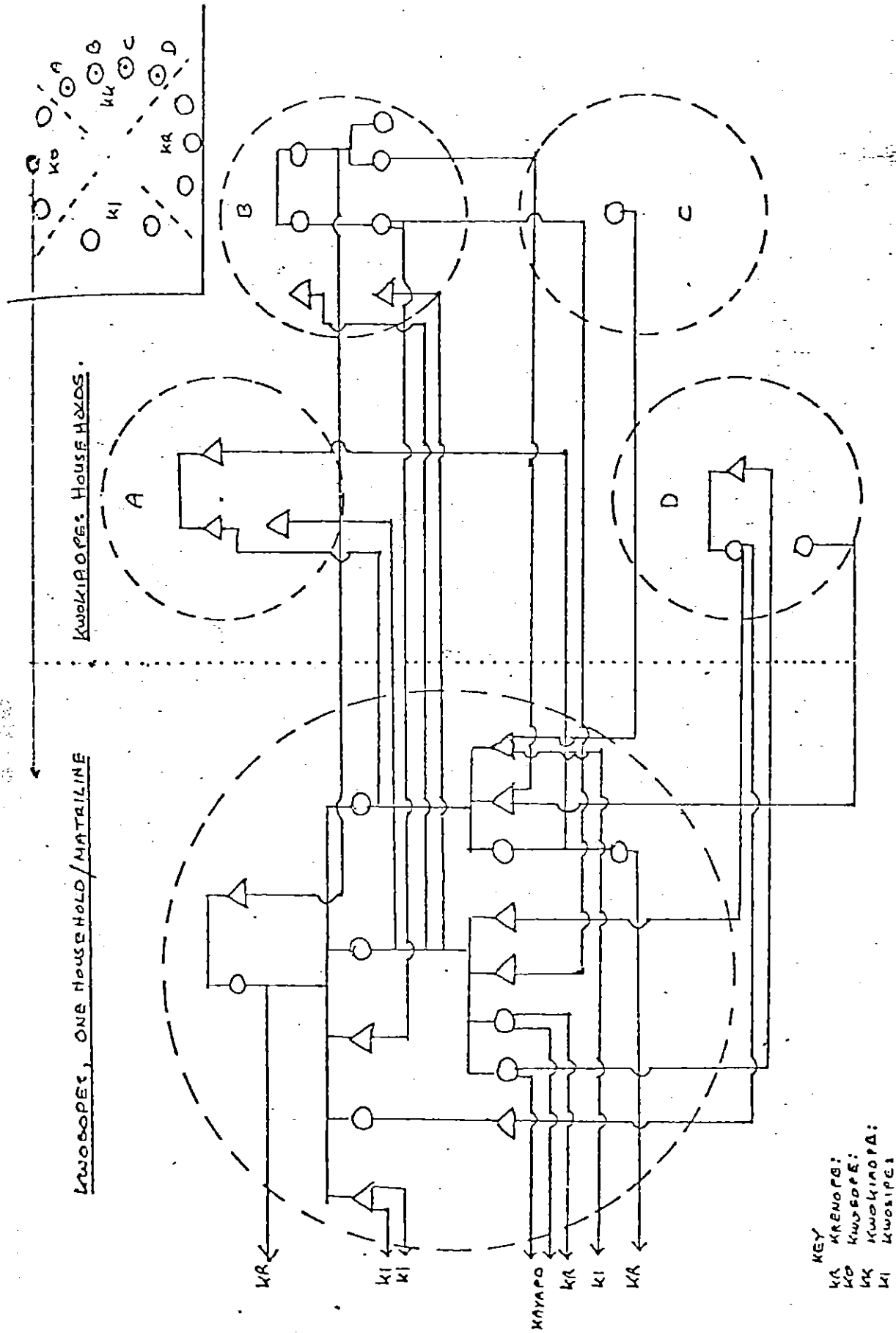
KK 23

KR 21 NO MATURE  
MALE MEMBER

KI 7 ONE MATURE  
MALE MEMBER

FIG 19.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPATIAL DESCENT  
GROUPS AND MATRILINES : MARRIAGE.



MH = WB (male ego) and HZ = BW (female ego). In many respects this can be considered as an 'ideal' arrangement in marriage as the relationship of "brother-in-law" (kiētumpia) was particularly close and associated with cooperation in economic and ceremonial activity (see p.196). This was particularly relevant in hunting and fishing, where the partners shared game (see p. 33), which was then further shared between the hunters' uxorilocal and matrilineal groups. In the case of brother-exchange these prestations overlapped, as a share of the game of each hunter was given to the matrilineal kin of the other. We can also note that brother-exchange is represented in the classification of the first ascending generation, with the equations MZH = F and FBW = M (male and female ego).

a) The Panara practised a weak sororate in that if "brothers" were married into the same matriline a "brother" would assume responsibility for his "brother's wife", i.e. "wife's sister", on his death.

At the time of research there were three examples of this practice in various stages of stability. The husband referred to both women as kasipia ("wife"), as opposed to calling the "wife's sister" kiatun̄kwun̄, and both women shared access to his gardens, manufactures, game produce and sexual services. The two women would maintain separate socio-economic identities if they had children, and were classified as individual units in festival food distribution (see p.316). The 'true' "wife's sister" could remarry when she wished to and this appeared to cause little friction.

Many of the Panara affinal relationships are anomalous to the northern Gê, and it is possible that these relationships are significant indicators of differences in social classification in the periphery domain. For example, in Kayapo society "brothers" should not marry into

the same household and the brother-in-law relationship was fraught with tension. T. Turner associates both phenomena with the household or 'matriline' identity. In Panara society the reverse was true, though one can argue that the identity of the matriline households was retained through the extreme emphasis on peripheral houses as female domains; in sum, male "sibling" groups were allowed to form but were given no importance.

#### Trek Group Organisation

In 'secular' life the major exception to household socio-economic emphasis was the organisation of trek groups during the dry season. In trekking the socio-spatial order of the village was replaced by groups focussed on a mature man, comprising of representatives of his matrilineal, patrilineal and affinal households. Thus on a trek it was not unusual to find a man's "mother", "sisters", "father's sisters", "wife" and "wife's mother" travelling, working and living together. This dramatically contrasted with the socio-spatial separation of these individuals in the village, and was accompanied by a significant relaxation of village social boundaries; for mature women in particular trekking provided a rare opportunity for social contact with men from outside their own household. It is significant that trekking was organised and controlled by men, whereas economic organisation in households was dominated by women. In a wider context, cooperation between women of different households was generally articulated by men, and this will be discussed further in the analysis of 'food festivals' in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER VII

THE VILLAGE CENTRE : THE PATH OF MALE DEVELOPMENT

In the discussion of life cycles a major break in chronology was the omission of male residence in the village centre between the age of six years and the age of marriage. The separate discussion of this life cycle stage is an analytical device which facilitates the continued delineation of centre and periphery socio-spatial organisation; in the reality of village life and life cycle sequence the two were intimately related. In this chapter I conclude the examination of life cycles and social groups by discussing plaza activity, moieties and men's house organisation.

Before proceeding to this discussion it is necessary to qualify the ethnography of this chapter. As discussed in Chapter IV (p. 107), we were not able to observe functioning men's houses as full-time residential groups. As a result the materials on men's house residence are incomplete and what is known was derived from informants. During the period of research the location of the men's houses was commonly marked by concentrations of racing logs (inkwa) and although the absence of men's houses themselves probably had little practical influence on plaza activity, it tended to be intermittent, fluctuating with the 'mood' of the village. Thus, although we were able to observe a wide range of activities, many of the events were re-introduced on one or two occasions and were not repeated again. In traditional villages with men's houses and men's house residence, plaza activity would have formed a 'continuous' cycle as an integral part of the village life; in PNK this aspect was largely absent.

MEN'S HOUSE RESIDENCE

After naming, all males were affiliated to one of the two moieties of men's houses: inodama or inkiadama. As discussed in Chapter IV, the membership of the moieties cut across the kinship based groups of the periphery, and can best be considered as diametrically organised categories rather than groups reflecting a "kinship" ideology.

At about the age of six years boys transferred residence from their peripheral household to their men's house of membership. This dislocation was individual and was not organised by the passage of age groups or 'sets' at a specific point of time. The dislocation was not mediated by third parties and was apparently viewed favourably by the individuals concerned (see p.194). By this age boys in PNK were growing increasingly dissatisfied with life in female-dominated peripheral houses and they spoke of the transfer of residence to men's houses as a positive step towards 'manhood' and adult status.

The commencement of men's house residence does not appear to have resulted in any radical modification of matrilineal ties, as the children remained directly dependent on their matrilineal kin for food, and made frequent visits to their natal houses for social contact. In this respect the term men's house 'residence' requires clarification, as it cannot be directly equated with peripheral house 'residence'; the village centre was not a domain of primary production as it depended on the village periphery for supplies of both food and 'children'. Men's house residents ate with matrilineal kin during the day, and food was taken to the men's houses by "sisters" for consumption during the evening, when men's house residents sat as a group. Small amounts of food were cooked in the village centre, although the Panara said that "food was not cooked in the men's houses". Thus the fundamental point of men's house 'residence'

was the separation of males from their natal household and the periphery during the evening and night, and it was the transfer of sleeping mats from the periphery to the centre which was the important factor in the dislocation of residence. In sum, during the initial phase of men's house residence the significant modifications were that the boys sat with their men's house co-residents during the evening, instead of with their natal kin, and slept with men's house co-residents at night instead of with "mothers" and "sisters".

#### Plaza Participation from Men's House Residence

##### Unmarried Male Status

As "children" (inpiera age grade), boys' initial period of men's house residence was not characterised by extensive involvement in plaza activity and when they did participate, they did so as members of an undifferentiated group and in a 'joking' manner. These marginal and often disruptive contributions were excluded from few activities and were treated with a high degree of tolerance by the mature male participants. From the information available, it appears that there was little organisation or control of the young men's house residents by senior men, and that the process of "education" - the learning of songs, ceremonies and male 'behaviour' - was through imitation, listening and participation, rather than through overt instruction. By day the young men 'played' in the environs of the village in hunting, fishing or collecting groups, but in PNK the economic significance of the group resulted in their following a full time economic pattern which was similar to that of mature men (see p. 53).

Men's house residence was marked by two rites de passage: a lower lip perforation which marked the transition from inpiera to piuntu:ara

age grade status; and a puberty ceremony which marked the transition from unproductive to productive biological status. The lip perforation ceremony, which has been described in Chapter V, was held in the men's house of residence and was not organised by the moiety principle. The ceremony can be interpreted as symbolising the socialisation of the vocal faculty as it was associated with the boy's inclusion in plaza activity. The puberty ceremony (see p.149) did not mark a radical change in male status within men's house society.

Male status, or the cycle of male development, was to a large extent articulated by participation in plaza activity. An outline of this cycle is presented in Table 15, and in the following discussion I will trace the "path" of male development through the description of various plaza events. This description does not form a comprehensive account of plaza activity, as my principle concern is in establishing the sequence and ideology of male development in the context of the village centre. In particular, the important cycle of food festivals is excluded from the present chapter, as it is a subject I will examine in Chapter IX in the context of the relationship between the centre and periphery domains.

Men's house residents participated in a number of activities which were organised by "young elders" or by senior men's house residents, i.e. the older members of the piuntwara age grade. These activities typically took the form of minor adult ceremonies and can be considered as an integral part of male education. Two examples illustrate this process: the use of clubs and 'minor' food festivals.

#### Clubs.

The use of clubs was closely associated with male status, as, for example, the significance of "elder" and "young elder" clubs discussed in Chapter V (see p.153). The introduction of male "children" to the formal



TABLE 1.5

## SUMMARY OF MALE DEVELOPMENT : THE 'CENTRE'

<u>age grade</u> <u>status</u>	<u>rites de passage</u> <u>in 'centre'</u>	<u>participation in plaza</u> <u>activities</u>	<u>residence</u>
"infant" ( <u>wantu:i</u> )		no participation	natal house
"children" ( <u>inpriera</u> )		undifferentiated and 'joking' group  excluded from certain "mature" male activities	
"adolescents" ( <u>piuntu:ara</u> )	lip perforation  thigh cutting - puberty ceremony	active participation in unmarried male activities  leadership of certain plaza activity  incorporation into male "paired" dancing  use of dance belt as moiety representative	men's house
MARRIAGE			
"mature" male" ( <u>sitibara</u> )	chest scarification  back scarification	regular active partici- pation in all mature male plaza activity and men's house ritual	uxorilocal
"young elder" ( <u>tobutuñ-da</u> )		organising and insti- gating plaza and men's house activities  plaza oratory in men's house debates and moiety representation	men's house if unmarried
WIFE'S MENOPAUSE			
"elder" ( <u>tobutuñ</u> )		infrequent active participation in plaza activity  joking attitude; oratory from peripheral house of residence	uxorilocal or natal house

use of clubs was through an activity called pi-ka ("little wood" "get"). This activity was organised as a men's house event and all residents, inriera and piuntwara age grade members, cut clubs in the village environs and left them on the path outside the village. The clubs were usually saplings with the bark removed. A "young elder" left the village, killed a small bird or animal and returned to the village chanting. When his approach was heard, the boys ran to collect their clubs and formed a circle in the centre of the plaza. The "young elder" threw the small bird or animal into the centre of the circle and the boys clubbed the carcass into the ground. The clubs were abandoned in the centre of the plaza and the remains of the carcass were 'cut' into the ground by "young elders". Pi-ka also took another form in which boys attacked a rubbish area at the rear of a peripheral house, when again they abandoned their clubs at the site of the attack. In these activities emphasis was placed on cooperation between participants and on the expression of bellicosity and aggression. These themes were further emphasised by the "young elders" controlling the event and in the "little speeches" which followed.

The activity of pi-ka was one aspect of a leit-motiv of mock and real aggression in men's house activity. In pi-ka boys attacked a carcass in the centre or the rubbish zone on the village periphery; both events took place in social space and against inanimate objects of low status. At the other extreme mature men, who were not men's house residents, attacked "other people" and game in the distant and 'natural' forest domain in "raiding" (ipen-su: "fight" "go") and hunting activities. An intermediary form of aggression was one in which mature men and men's house residents combined to attack a wasp nest in the 'near' forest. This activity was called ipen-su and as it is a subject of intrinsic

forest and an excellent illustration of male values, I will include an account of a wasp nest attack observed during the 1976 dry season.

Wasp Nest Attack (ipen- su: )

The event was planned by senior men in a series of men's house dances (see p.226) and involved the participation of all men's house residents and mature men present in the village. The participants left the village soon after dawn and formed into two groups, representing the parties, on a path outside. The groups were accompanied by two mature men who were carrying beads and a doll.<sup>1</sup> The men were decorated with feather head and arm bands and were carrying supplies of "cake", guns, bows and arrows and axes. The two groups walked independently and in single file to a small clearing in the forest, some 2 km from the village, where the first to arrive made a fire and sat to eat "cake". The entrance of the second group into the clearing was greeted with a chant from a young elder", which was followed by the second group circling anti-clockwise in the clearing to the accompaniment of a return chant from the leader. The two groups then formed a circle around the two leaders at the centre of the clearing. The leaders put their heads on each other's left shoulder<sup>2</sup> and sang a brief return chant whilst stamping their left feet. The song was referred to as into-asur ("eye" "formal") and was aggressive in character. Following the chant the two groups collected their possessions and left the clearing as one group in single file.

In Panara society the left-right opposition was not emphasised and names could be obtained. The relevance of other details of movement, position etc. is discussed more fully in Chapter IX.

The doll was a toy which had been obtained in Diauarum. The symbolism in this article is not clear, as there is no evidence that 'bodies' were taken back to the village after traditional "raids".

Proceeding along the path the men gradually left their possessions: clothes, feathers, "cake" and axes, in the undergrowth, although a "young elder" retained one small knife which was said to be a traditional knife retained during a raid against the Kayapo. The group halted again and a wide clearing was made by breaking down saplings. The small knife was given to an adolescent who cut sections from saplings, some 4-5 ft in length, which were handed to the men. Other adolescents took turns in cutting their "clubs", which were cleaned, and when a sufficient number had been prepared, were laid out in lines in the centre of the clearing. The participants then formed a circle around the two leaders, who sang a further chant (asur). After this an adolescent representative from each group was instructed by a "young elder" to dance anti-clockwise around the circle of men and the clubs, before the clubs were re-allocated to the boys by the two leaders.

The wasp nest (nansu:) had been previously located by a "young elder" and was positioned in a small bush one metre from the ground. Approaching the nest, the line halted and boys crept forward to remove the surrounding vegetation. The mature men formed a semi-circle round the nest whilst the boys collected bundles of leaves. The 'attack' commenced when the "young elders" and a mature man fired shotguns and a bow and arrow into the nest; this was immediately followed by the boys rushing in with their clubs to break up the nest still further. As the wasps emerged from the damaged nest the boys retreated, collected their branches, and made further 'attacks', beating the nest and hitting the wasps in the air. In these 'attacks', the boys picked up sections of comb and stunned wasps which were given to the leaders for collection on leaves. The 'attack' terminated when all the wasps, comb and grubs had been collected. These were wrapped in small bundles of leaves and were carried by the group to

to the first clearing. There the men collected their possessions and the boys prepared bark fibre for the construction of arm and waist bands by the mature men. The latter hung their feather arm and head bands on a line which had been stretched between two trees in the centre of the clearing. The 'line' was called pa:-kio (kio "smell"), and the ornaments were said to be abandoned. The wasps and combs were re-wrapped in small leaf parcels and were given to the "young elders" who had organised the event for carriage to the village. The group then left the clearing, only to halt again in a garden near the village.

In the garden, the men and adolescents decorated their bodies and faces with a complete covering of soot (pi:-pia "wood"? see p. 163). When all were decorated they assembled on the main path leading to the village and the leaders of the event organised the men into a line based on age grade classification; the line was headed by an "elder" who was followed by "children", "adolescents" and mature men, with "young elders" at the rear. With emphasis on silence the line moved nearer to the village and, just out of sight of the houses, halted and the men were instructed to move closer together in the line. Led by "young elders" the group then gave a loud shout and started dancing with small forward and backward jump steps so that the line moved slowly into the village. A "young elder" at the rear of the line was controlling the dance, running from side to side of the line, singing and urging the line forwards.

On hearing the shout, the women who had remained in the village ran to their houses, collected sticks, and ran towards the male line, hitting themselves and crying.<sup>1</sup> Two young women joined the line in front

<sup>1</sup> Women said that traditionally they used digging sticks (koba, ko "club") and that they hit themselves until they bled. In this event they used sections of arrow cane and did not bleed.

of the leading "elder" and danced with the men, whilst others surrounded the line crying and shouting. An older woman ran to the line and snatched the doll (see p.219) from one of the men and took it to the plaza centre where she threw it down. She then returned to the line and collected an axe, which she similarly threw into the village centre.<sup>1</sup> As the line passed through the village periphery the dancers raised their arms, and, still dancing in silence, moved more rapidly towards the village centre. Here the line circled twice in a clockwise direction before the dancers were individually led by women to their peripheral house of residence.

The mature men who had participated in the wasp nest attack remained in their peripheral houses until late afternoon, when they were called to the plaza centre to dance by a "young elder". The dance corresponded to the evening paired dance (into see p.296) but on this occasion it was held during daylight, each series of east-west movements terminated with more rapid jump steps, and the dance was referred to as inkie-piori ("hair"?). As one pair of men completed their dance another pair were called from the periphery. The Panara stated that all the male participants on the raid should dance, but on this occasion the dance was terminated by a storm. Informants also said that on the following day all men should hunt for armadillo (torinsi) and collect honey.

At this point my principal interest in the wasp nest attack is as an illustration of men's house organisation and ideology. During the planning, execution and conclusion of the attack emphasis was placed on

When running towards the centre the woman was told to go to one of men's house locations. This suggests that the 'gains' of the "raid" are associated with specific societies or individuals.

male aggression and on their cooperation as a group. This cooperation was obtained by moiety and age grade organisation and was regulated by the instruction of "young elders". In this respect the 'attack' can be considered as a practice for 'true' raiding, and it seems probable that the organisation of this event closely approximated to that of traditional raids on "other people". The points to be emphasised are that the wasp nest attack articulated male values, that it was organised on the principles of the village centre and that it was separated from the periphery socio-spatial domain through membership, space, dance and song.

#### 'Minor' Food Festivals

A second example of men's house activity is minor food 'festivals' in which garden or wild produce was collected for distribution to the village; food festivals proper are discussed in Chapter IX. In the case of produce which did not require cooking, the food was carried to the plaza centre by the men's house residents and distributed to female hearth heads on the periphery. Manioc or maize was collected from the plaza centre by adolescent girls for processing before it was returned to the centre for distribution. Supplies of manioc or maize flour and fire wood were obtained directly from peripheral houses by an adolescent, who was accompanied by a "young elder", collecting small amounts from each hearth group. In 'minor' fish or meat festivals the produce was cooked in the plaza centre; in PNX the game was mixed with manioc or maize flour to form a stew.<sup>1</sup> The adolescents ate first, seated as a group in the plaza centre, and the remainder was divided between female hearth heads, who were called individually from their peripheral houses.

<sup>1</sup> This method of cooking could not have been used in Peixoto, and it is not clear whether adolescent females constructed and used earth ovens during 'minor' meat or fish festivals.

Women did not eat in the centre, and adult men did not consume any of the food and were at most indirectly involved in the organisation of the event.

Minor food 'festivals' lacked the complexity and ritual significance of 'full' food festivals and can be considered as 'educational', with emphasis being placed on organisation, cooperation and proficiency in economic tasks. The status of male adolescents was particularly apparent in that during 'minor' festivals they were classified as 'male', in that they represented the centre in relation to the periphery, whereas in full food festivals they were classified as 'female' in the differentiation of roles within the festival group (see p.309). In practice the participation of adolescents in 'minor' food festivals expressed their movement towards adult status as an empirical statement of their economic prowess and ability to organise and cooperate. The economic significance of the events also expressed the changing status of male adolescents in regard to the periphery: the transition from consumer to producer and provider. In sum, minor food festivals should be considered as more than imitations of adult activity, as they articulated the changing status and social identity of the male adolescent group.

#### Incorporation Into Dance

In addition to participation in specific men's house organised events, adolescents were progressively incorporated into the cycle of plaza dance and song which characterised adult male life. The process of incorporation was particularly marked after the lip perforation ceremony and the puberty rites de passage, and by the age of approximately fourteen boys had left the 'joking' group of "children" and were joining in activities as serious participants. This transition was particularly apparent in the circular dance, as the movement from the 'joking' section, at the rear of the dance line, to the linked nature section towards the



front (see p.293). With growing physical powers adolescents were also included in log race teams, though only when the log was small; inclusion in this activity appeared to mark a significant modification in sociological and biological status.

The incorporation of male adolescents into paired dancing (into) was of particular significance as this dance was closely associated with mature (married) status and represented the transition from an identity as a member of the undifferentiated group of men's house residents to that of individuality as a moiety representative and ... the transition from a 'silent' or 'joking' participation to one of individual song and dance. In this respect the paired dance, in which two male moiety representatives strode east-west across the plaza to the accompaniment of onomatopoeic song, was one of the few occasions of individual dance and song in Panara society. For adolescents, the first performance was often traumatic and was frequently conceptualised as a significant step on the path towards manhood. The performance, which was given before the assembled households, was often a cause of extreme embarrassment and the lack of coordination in dance and the poor harmony and weak voice in song firmly identified the adolescent as 'adolescent' and drew laughter and comments from watching adults. At the time of research some pressure from "young elders" and friends was often necessary to ensure the initial participation of older adolescents.

With inclusion in paired dances, adolescents were frequently selected as 'leader' in other plaza activities. Thus in addition to leading or playing a prominent role in organising events for men's house residents, the more senior "adolescents" also joined mature men to instigate a circular dance and might wear a dance belt as a team leader in log races. In sum, the status of senior men's house residents was emphasised and in

plaza events they were often more prominent than mature men. The emphasis of male status and attributes at this age may well have been related to the youth's imminent return to the village periphery through marriage; it can be argued that 'leadership' was an explicit statement of the proficiency and maturity of the youth prior to his acceptance as a husband by 'female' households of the periphery.

Plaza Participation from Periphery (House Residence:

Mature Male Status

Residence in the men's houses was abruptly terminated by marriage with the commencement of uxori-local residence. Men generally married between the ages of eighteen and twenty years, by which time they had reached biological and social maturity; a status marked by scarification in rites de passage and the inclusion in plaza activity. In Chapter VI I referred to men's house residence as marking a significant modification of male status as regards periphery groups (see p.202). In the context of village centre society we can also note that marriage marked a significant change in male relationships with the groups of the centre. The transfer of the sleeping mat from men's house to uxori-local household resulted in the loss of nocturnal identity with the all-male residents of the centre and the economic and social orientation of men also passed, in large part, to the periphery domain. Thus, when participating in plaza activity, adult men did so as residential members of peripheral households rather than as members of the men's houses.

Dawn Debate

Although married men were residential members of peripheral households, the plaza and the men's houses continued to form an important focus of interest in both secular and ritual life. The ritual and ceremonial cycle will be considered in Part III of this thesis, and here I will concentrate on the organisation of 'secular' male routine. The day

usually commenced before dawn with a men's house 'debate' (swakre:) which lasted until sunrise.<sup>1</sup> The 'debate' was introduced by two senior moiety representatives who chanted loudly from their respective men's houses. Mature men left their uxori-local households individually and slowly walked to their men's house singing (satswori "?") to the return cries of the men already assembled in the centre. With all mature men assembled as two distinct moiety groups the entrance was terminated by a loud return chant of increasing volume (ni-kien, kien "stone" "dark"). The role of moiety representative was passed between senior men and was marked by holding a bow and arrow, shotgun or digging stick during the debate. The debate was conducted during darkness and was dominated by exchanges between the two 'leaders' who addressed each other in a highly formalised and aggressive tone. The subject matter of the debates was the organisation of ceremonial and economic activity as, for example, the planning, clearing, planting of gardens or the construction of log racing paths. To my knowledge social conflict or matters relating to periphery groups were not discussed in these debates. Women did not participate and it can be suggested that they did not 'hear' the often loud exchanges in the plaza; the decisions reached in the debates were conveyed to peripheral households by a "young elder" in a house-to-house oration (into) later in the day.

Following the debate mature men returned to their uxori-local houses before commencing their economic tasks for the day. Men were generally absent from the village for most of the day in hunting, fishing, gardening

1 In PNK the 'dawn debate' was held quite frequently but it could not be considered as happening every day. However, informants stated that it was a daily event in traditional society for at least the times of the year when most adult men were resident in the village, i.e. times other than the trekking season.

or collecting activity - the 'working' day was seen as lasting until mid-afternoon - and if they remained in the village they preferred the company of other men in the men's houses rather than the company of women in peripheral houses. The 'economic' day was closed at about sunset with a circular dance before residential groups formed on the plaza area fronting the houses to eat, observe plaza activity and 'debate' (ipen-pa?).

#### The Circular Dance

The circular dance (inkre "thigh" "egg") always took place at sunset and marked the termination of secular male and female routines (see p.291). The dance was started by two men, who did not necessarily represent moieties; they entered the plaza and danced slowly round the periphery within the ring of peripheral houses. Other men present in the village decorated themselves with bark fibre waist or leg bands, feathers, dance belts and paint - soot was often used - before joining the group in the plaza.<sup>1</sup> The group was organised in a line by age grade status; the dance 'leaders' and "young elders" were at the front and were followed by "mature" men, "adolescents", "children" and, finally, "elders".<sup>2</sup> The front section of the line, from the leaders to the "adolescents", danced with linked arms and formed a tight group which faced half inwards towards the plaza centre. The "children" and "elders" danced in loose and unlinked groups at the rear of the line and made no attempt to follow the rhythm or steps of the linked group. The dance step was complex as it involved a full step, followed by a half step and

1 Infrequently men also decorated themselves with pots and pans, tied to their waists with mats used for carrying children. Such decorations were greeted with considerable amusement and illustrate the light-hearted spirit of the dance.

2 This age grade sequence represents an inversion of the line order in the dance marking village entrance after "raiding". This point is returned to in Chapter IX (p.293).

a pause before another full step; this should be danced in unison, to the rhythm of the song and at a fair pace. Each individual dance was referred to by the name of the chant, though the step remained the same, and in each the line of dancers made two anti-clockwise revolutions of the plaza. An inkre consisted of four or five such dances with brief rests between them during which the next song was chosen. The final song culminated with an inward spiralling of the line towards the plaza centre (see fig. 33, p. 294), where the dancers pressed inwards as a tight group before giving a final chant and dispersing to bathe and return to residential groups to eat. Women might accompany the men in the dance, but they did so outside the male line, between the men and the peripheral houses; they were not linked, did not sing, and they danced in a 'crouching' position. During the finale the women left the dance, as following the men into the centre was said to result in physical 'abuse' within the tightly packed group.

The 'dawn debate' and the circular dance could be held without reference to any particular ceremony or ritual and in Chapter IX I will suggest that they structured male and female secular roles.

By the age of approximately thirty-five years, men were considered members of the "young elder" age grade (tobutuñ-pa). Members of this age grade were active participants in plaza activity and also instigated and organised most village events. "Young elders" could construct and wear dance belts (nankur) and clubs (ko) and these artifacts may be considered as insignia of their status and of their moiety representation in plaza contexts. "Young elders" were prominent orators; they spoke from peripheral houses during evening debates (iden-pa); from the men's houses during dawn debates (swakre) and they represented moiety groups in ritual exchanges in a number of ritual contexts. However, although "young

"elders" clearly dominated men's house and plaza organisation it is not valid to speak of formal men's house leadership. Thus whilst "young elders" were differentiated according to skills, knowledge and age, there was no absolute position of authority; the position of moiety representative passed between senior men so that over a series of events most "young elders" had led the groups. This point is of some importance as it illustrates the essential equality which existed between men in men's house society; emphasis was placed on equality and cooperation rather than on defined and absolute hierarchy.

The transition from "young elder" to "elder" male status marked a radical modification of the male relationship with the village centre. In exegesis, male "elder" status was associated with the 'inability' of fathering children (tu:ne:) and was, therefore, marked by the menopause of the wife. In the village centre the active and intense involvement of "young elders" was replaced by a marked absence of male "elders", who did not generally participate in dancing or song. Furthermore, we can note that whilst "young elders" had to return to men's house residence at times of single status, male "elders" returned to natal household residence. These changes illustrate the distinct socio-biological status of male "elders" who, in some respects, can be considered as akin to "children"; "children" and "elders" are the terminal products of the cycle of male development. However, whilst the biological status of male "elders" may be equated with that of "children", their social status offered a distinct contrast, as they were important and highly respected figures in Panara society and were prominent in the regulation of social and ritual life through oratory. However, this contribution was from and through peripheral groups rather than through the centre and moiety groups.

The Organisation of the Centre : Principles and Ideology

In the examples of plaza activity we can isolate a number of principles of organisation: the moieties, age grade classification and gender. In many activities all three principles were operative; men were separated in space from women, with both groups divided into moieties which were in turn organised by reference to age. The moiety principle was pervasive in the organisation of plaza space, men's houses, dance tracks and log racing paths and of plaza groups. In Chapter IV I noted that the correspondence between known moiety membership of individuals and their location in moiety groups was not always consistent. Three examples of plaza activities organised on the moiety principle are sufficient to illustrate the point (see Table 16). Most of the exceptions were among "young elders" or senior men and whilst the argument that these individuals were 'balancing' teams cannot always be supported, it is possible that the 'leaders' of the men's houses may have been present in either moiety group.

The Panara were not particularly concerned when such discrepancies were pointed out, and I think it is more useful to consider the moiety division as expressing the principle of dualism. In this respect we can also note that communication between moieties in plaza or ritual activity was typically aggressive and highly formalised; the tone of address was instinctive and frequently involved shouting or chanting. These exchanges did not express any actual hostility between groups, particularly as the moiety separation was often not continued in the following event, and they can be interpreted as expressing the complementary nature of the two groups through a 'male' language. Furthermore, the village centre had two identities: on the one hand, when considered at the level of the village, the dominant opposition was between centre and periphery -

TABLE 16

PLAZA GROUP MEMBERSHIP IN ACTIVITIES ORGANISED BY MOIETIES<sup>1</sup>1 "Dawn" debate (swakre:)InkiadamaAkur

Sumakri:di

Watu:ia

Popoa

Puti

Kieno

Kwosi

Iotu:

Krentoma

insodamaSokri:diK-u:pe:li

Se:akore

Kiekampo

Penswa

Se:ikian

2 Male paired dance (into)AkurOkara

Ku:pe:li

Kokri:di

Watu:iaPuti

Se:ikian

Se:akore

Krentoma

Sokri:di

3 Log race (inkwa)

Krentoma (leader)

Akur

Ku:pe:li

Puti

Kiekampo (leader)

Sokri:di

Se:akore

Popoa

individuals whose known moiety membership does not correspond with team membership during activities (see Appendix D for moiety membership lists).

<sup>1</sup> Not all men participated in each event for reasons of absence, illness or just not wanting to participate. The major discrepancies from moiety allocation are Akur, Watu:ia and Sumakri:di, who are "young elders". It is possible that Akur's moiety is in fact different from the other moieties.



between men's houses (inkobu) and peripheral houses (ku:kre); and on the other hand, when considered from within the centre, the opposition was between men's houses - the opposition of inaodama and inkiadama. It is important to keep the two levels of organisation distinct as in Panara society it is nonsensical to contemplate the relationship between one society and the periphery or the relationship between a SDG and the centre; this is not to say, however, that the diametric division of the centre is unrelated to the quadripartite division of the periphery, as at a structural level the two appear to represent a common theme (see p.338).

As men's house residence and participation in plaza activity were crucial to the separation of 'male' and 'female', we can suggest that the particular form of plaza activities expressed values of 'maleness' and that the distinct participation of males and females expressed the different conceptualisation of 'male' and 'female'. To continue the discussion of plaza organisation we can usefully examine a number of activities which illustrate aspects of male ideology and the differentiation of the sexes.

a) Log Racing (inkwa)

In common with many of the societies of Central Brazil the Panara cut sections of tree trunks, or logs, into the village as a ceremonial activity. Log racing (inkwa "human prefix" "rounded") was a male activity, was typically held in conjunction with food festivals<sup>1</sup> and was one of the few men's house activities to be held during daytime. The 'races' were held during mid-morning or mid-afternoon and generally took the form

<sup>1</sup> A log race was held in conjunction with female puberty ritual but the size of the log was smaller and it was referred to as inkidi.

of a series of 'races' in which the size of the log gradually increased. Log races were announced in the 'dawn debate' and the men of the village assembled at the log cutting site which was usually about 2 km from the village. At the site a tree<sup>1</sup> was felled by two moiety representatives and two sections of approximately equal size were cut off. The bark was removed by adolescents, who also wiped the log with leaves before both ends were hollowed out by men from each moiety. Whilst the logs were being prepared the other participants collected lengths of bark fibre and manufactured waist, arm and leg bands; the leaders of the two moieties organised teams and wore dance belts (nankur).

When both logs had been prepared they were lifted onto the shoulder of the first two runners, who immediately set off through the undergrowth for the path leading to the village. As one runner tired, the log was passed to the next in line; the runner halted, his replacement stood with his back to him and the log was tilted onto the new runner's shoulder. Once relieved, the runner dropped back to the end of his team, which was running behind the log. The teams were accompanied by a "young elder" who maintained a constant chant, although he did not take part in the actual race. Approximately one hundred yards from the village the path divided into two parallel tracks (pi-bia "wood"?) where the two

<sup>1</sup> It would appear that two species of tree were used for log racing, although neither could be identified. In PNK most logs were from a hard white wood; the ends were hollowed out to a depth of 5cm for use as a handhold, and the general size of the logs was 'small' as the wood was dense and heavy. On two occasions a species of palm was used, and the size of the logs was much greater as most of the central pith was removed. The latter type of log appears to have been most common in Peixoto, but in PNK the distribution of the tree was sparse. After use the palm racing logs were taken inside peripheral houses where they were used as storage containers for foods and eventually burnt as firewood.

teams separated before entering the plaza and throwing the logs down in the centre. The final 'leg' into the village was run by the team 'leaders' who also led the brief return chant between the teams assembled on the logs in the plaza, which marked the conclusion of the event.

The organisation of log racing was by the moiety principle, which was maintained from the stage of planning to the concluding chant. However, although the activity suggests a degree of competition between the moieties, this picture is not strictly accurate. As noted among other societies in Central Brazil, Panara log races were characterised by the absence of competitive 'spirit' between the participants and there was no evidence of any concept of 'winning'. Indeed, races which terminated with a large distance between the 'teams' were not considered satisfactory, as both logs should enter the plaza at about the same time. Rather, the Panara placed emphasis on cooperation of men in a 'competition' against the ideal of how log races should be run; the logs should be of maximum size and be run into the village at maximum speed as a demonstration of the strength and agility of the village male population.

In exegesis of log racing the Panara referred to the practice as "making them grow strong". Perhaps for this reason the size of the log was gradually increased as the log race progressed, which, in practice, resulted in the differentiation of weak and strong men and of adolescents from the mature. The size of traditional logs was large (see p.20) and it seems probable that only the fittest of mature men could have participated in those races. It is of interest to note that log races were commonly run in conjunction with meat and fish festivals (see p.297), which suggests that there was a synthesis of two principles: on the one hand, the consumption of foods which were associated with 'strength',

i.e. meat "cake", and, on the other hand, of male physical expression of 'strength' in the 'race'.

b) The Circular Dance (inkre)

The moiety principle was not emphasised in the circular dance; the two leaders did not need to be moiety representatives; dance belts were worn as a mark of age grade status ("young elder" owners) and not of moiety leadership; and the order of the line reflected age grade status rather than moiety membership. The question as to why the moiety principle was played down in the circular dance will be discussed in Chapter IX. The term inkre also referred to the "thigh" and this was the part of the body given emphasis in the step and posture of the dance as the dancers moved sideways with linked arms, and it was the legs which formed the prominent and complex element of the dance. Continuity and rhythm were provided by the steady pounding of the feet as the line moved round the plaza and the 'musical' accompaniment was also generated by the thighs, as it was leg movement which shook the dance belts. In sum, the circular dance expressed 'male' values of stamina, agility, coordination, cooperation and noise. We can also note that the form of female participation reflected their distinct identity in that they were silent, danced more slowly, were unlinked and danced in a 'crouched' position.

c) Chest Hitting (wari-wa-he:)

The dance and song of wari-wa-he: is of particular interest as an illustration of both group organisation in plaza contexts and of the distinctive roles of men and women. The activity was held in the plaza during the early evening. Two lines of men, representing the moieties, were formed north to south across the plaza, with moiety-organised groups

of women behind.<sup>1</sup> With the repeated chant of wari-wa-he: ("?) the two lines danced towards each other, on an east-to-west line, almost met and then retreated. This movement was repeated a number of times before the two lines of men ran at each other and took the impact of the collision on their out-thrust chests. The groups of women, who had been moving with the men and singing, then moved forward and added their weight to the charge in an attempt to break the line of the other moiety. When one of the lines had been broken the two groups reformed and the cycle was repeated.

In addition to the explicit emphasis on male strength and the chest, this activity illustrates the three principles of organisation in plaza space (see fig. 20). The dance was focussed on 'competition' between groups organised on the moiety principle which provided the framework for the expression of male physical values; the lines were further organised by age grade status, with the "young elders" in the central section and adolescents on the ends of the lines, so that when the two lines met individuals of the same age grade status 'hit' each other; finally, each moiety group was supported by women, who were at once subordinate, supportive and yet also important in the activity.<sup>2</sup>

#### A Note on Plaza Activity in PNX

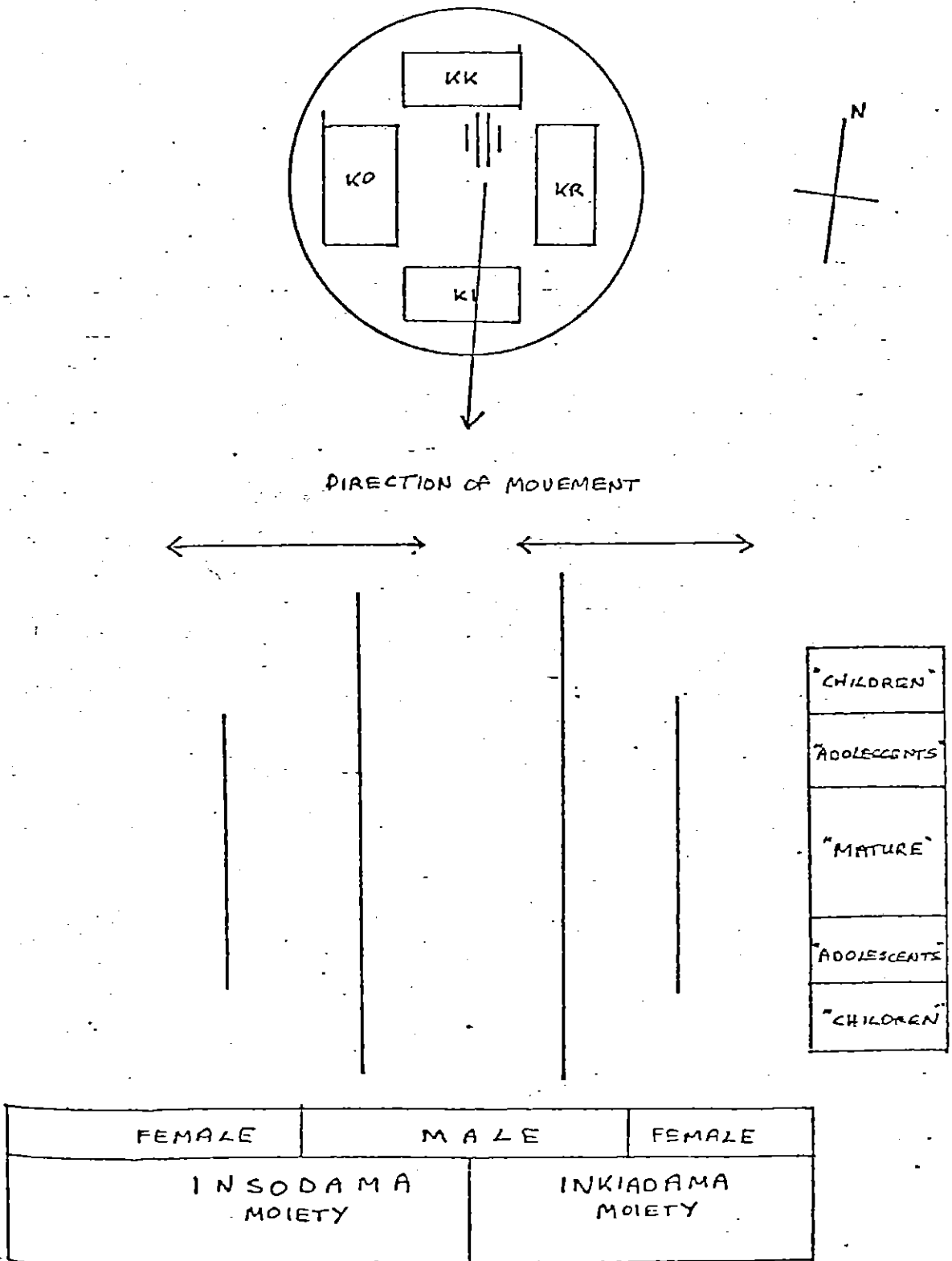
During the performance of plaza activities in PNX the Panara made comments which add to the understanding of their values of dance and song. Plaza activity highlighted the position of the Panara in PNX society;

<sup>1</sup> In the observed example of this activity, the female groups did not represent known moiety membership, though informants stated that the activity should be organised on this principle.

<sup>2</sup> It is of interest that, according to the Kayapo, Panara women were not above joining in a fight if the need arose. Given the physique and attitude of Panara women this is quite conceivable.

FIG 20.

THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION  
OF WARI-WA-HE:



they realised that many of their songs and dances were 'simplistic' and were the object of some ridicule from Xingu Indians, and that the performance of their traditional dances and songs provided an empirical expression of their own numerical weakness. In sum, dance and song illustrated a general 'cultural poverty' which reinforced an 'inferiority complex' already established after contact with PNX societies. It was also clear that traditional songs and dances did not convey their traditional 'meaning' when performed by the reduced and weakened Panara population in PNX. For example, in the circular dance the line of men seldom numbered more than fourteen, and the dance would frequently be interrupted by fits of coughing or by the loss of rhythm by the dancers. Watching Panara would comment that in Peixoto the male line would stretch around the plaza periphery, that there would be 'clouds' of dust from stamping feet and that the noise could be heard in the forest and would make children in the village cry. The Panara saw the dance as a demonstration of village strength, but in PNX the result was commonly the opposite; it illustrated the weakness of the group and of its male members. As health and strength improved so too did the performance of the circular dance and it became a satisfactory event. This was shown in one occurrence which particularly impressed the Panara: a hunting group became lost near the Suyá village, and were 'guided' back by the sound of a circular dance at sunset. This appeared to reaffirm Panara values of dance and song and perhaps was interpreted as a symbol of the imposition of Panara culture on the PNX natural environment.

During residence in PNX the circular dance was gradually replaced by football as the village activity at sunset. However, Panara notions of football closely resembled those of the circular dance as physical expression, noise and corporate male cooperation were common characteristics.

Football teams were not organised on the moiety principle<sup>1</sup> and the temporal location of the event at sunset was strictly maintained. Thus during the day football was prohibited and "young elders" would hide the ball or would get "angry" with children who played. At about the time when the circular dance would have started, the ball was produced and kicked around the plaza until all of the men had joined the group. The game would then commence and continue until sunset, when the men would bathe before returning to their residential households.

The character of the Panara version of football also closely followed that of the circular dance: the Panara could not count beyond four, had little regard for the rules of the game and had no concept of a 'result' or of winning. Indeed a goal was a goal at whichever end it was scored and was cheered, in Xingu style, by all the participants. It was clear that Panara enjoyment of football was in the activity of running, kicking and cheering rather than in any competitive spirit of the game. In many ways it was natural that Panara men should adopt the game, as it was prevalent and important in PNK, but it was unusual that Panara women also played on a few occasions, as they could not have seen other women playing in PNK. When women did play it was primarily as a 'joke' during the absence of men from the village (see p.397) or after the men had bathed. Whilst a clear separation was maintained between men and women - the teams were not mixed and the women 'played' after the men - it is interesting to note that the women felt able to participate in an essentially male activity which was located in male space.

The moiety principle was also not used by the Suyá in organising football games as observed by Seeger. Both the Suyá and the Panara played football in the plaza and the Panara adolescents erected two 'goal posts' approximately 25 feet high to the north and south.



In other plaza activities the Panara also compared their society in PNK with that of Peikoto. During 'chest hitting', informants would describe lines of men stretched across the plaza in traditional villages, and the loud noise when their chests met. During log races the Panara would comment on the small size of the present logs and the slow pace of the runners as a summary of the lack of strength of their society in the Xingu. Although the Panara were dissatisfied with their log races, they did provide an important stimulus to their culture, as this was the one activity which gained the respect of other Xingu groups. The Suya were fascinated by the log races, saying that they too held races in the 'old days', and in no small part the activity was important in the revival of Panara culture as a 'living entity' in PNK. The Panara were not slow to appreciate this point, which may well help to explain the sudden increase in log racing activity after their transfer to the Suya village.

The Ideology of the Centre : "Bravery"

To conclude the examination of the village centre I will briefly discuss the concepts of "formal anger" (asur) and "bravery" (sumpa). These attributes can be considered as parameters of male development as they refer to qualities which were principally generated in the village centre through men's house residence and participation in plaza activity. The concept of "formal anger" has been discussed in Chapter V and here it is sufficient to note that it refers to 'controlled' anger as expressed in ceremonial exchanges between moiety representatives and, through metaphor, to the sting-ray in the natural world (see p.141). The concept of sumpa approximates to that of "brave" in its widest sense of "able to face and endure danger and pain - splendid,

... (acicular and admirable" (C.O.D.). The term was seldom used as a referent but rather can be considered as a recognition of male activities by other village members. In the PMX population no man was called as "brave" although reference was made to three individuals who had died during the immediate post-contact period. These men had had a considerable impact on the FUNAI personnel, as they showed little fear of "civilisation" once the initial contact had been made. It also appears that the men were aggressive, demanding, were capable of taking independent action and to some extent dominated life in traditional villages. A more detailed examination of one of these men, Insona, provides an excellent illustration of the Panara concept of 'maleness'.

In discussion of male values and "bravery" reference was constantly made to Insona, who was still remembered with 'reverence' at the time of research. Insona was involved in the planning and implementation of the Cachimbo expedition in 1967 and was one of the few men who stood out in the fight when the Kayapo attacked the northern village later that year (see p. 10). During this attack he apparently charged at the Kayapo and was later "angry" with other Panara men who had fled from the gunfire. In 1972 Insona led the group which eventually decided to leave the northern village to return north to meet the Villas-Boas expedition. During the pre-contact period Insona was involved in the violent death of at least seven Panara (see Appendix F) and he also performed many of the rites de passage on the residents of his northern village. Descriptions of life in this village typically included details of how children were afraid to play near his house, and present survivors of the group would show, with some pride, scars on their ankles and calves from his 'punishments' (see p.184). Finally, Insona and other "brave" men were

commonly utilised as an historical point of reference to locate past events; for example "I returned to the village at the time that Insona killed a tapir."

It is difficult to determine the role that such individuals played in traditional villages, but it seems possible that the political vacuum in Panara society after 1974 was in part due to the death of the leading male figures. It has been noted by members of the Peixoto FUNAI team that had these men survived, the Panara would not have been moved from Peixoto to PNZ with such ease, as the men would have stimulated cohesion in the group and offered more resistance to the transfer. However, it is equally apparent that the concept of "bravery" does not reflect absolute political power, but rather influence due to respect through personal example; it is indicative that the Xingu terms "cheffe" and "capitão" were translated by the Panara as "male elder" (tobutuñ) and not as "brave" (sumpa).

In a more general sense the term "brave" was used to denote fearlessness and aggression. Following the Cachimbo incident the "other people with guns" (kahen-atoñ) were described by this term, and during the episode to contact the Panara described planes as "brave" as they flew over villages without regard to arrows. In these respects "brave" implies a certain element of anti-social behaviour or a potential threat to social harmony through killing, raiding and contact with natural resources.<sup>1</sup> The qualities of "bravery" were intimately linked with the

The grey squirrel was referred to as sumpasur ("brave" "pain") though specific reasons for the classification could not be determined at the time of research. The classification is possibly on behavioural characteristics: the animal is not timid and the colour grey has reference to grey hair, which was associated with "elders" status. It is also notable that the terms for "father" (voc. sumpia and ref. wusur) are both of sumpa. We can also note that among animals the male gender was referred to as sum (feminine as ralinci) and, finally, that honey with concentrations of pollen (siñ, also semen) was referred to as in-sur; this was a popular food (see p. 135) and was characterised as 'sour' (san-no).

village centre which, as I will discuss in Part III, can be considered as articulating the relationships between the domestic village domain and the natural world; in this respect the village centre can usefully be considered as a combination of 'natural' and 'domestic' elements which is central to its role as the cultural 'template' of Panara society.

### PART III.

#### THE SOCIALISATION OF NATURAL CYCLES :

#### THE DIALECTIC BETWEEN 'CENTRE' AND 'PERIPHERY'

##### Introduction

In Part II I presented a picture of Panara society as a "dual" organisation with an emphasis on the polarity and distinctive character of the 'centre' and 'periphery' domains. This distinction is fundamental to an understanding of Panara society and it is useful to summarise the main points as a table of oppositions before proceeding further:

<u>periphery</u>	<u>centre</u>
peripheral houses	men's houses
spatial descent groups	moieties
shallow descent groups	patrification
matrifiliation	
female	male
'biological'	'sociological'
blood	semen
secular	ritual
profane	sacred

Whilst it is crucial to distinguish these domains clearly, a discussion of social organisation should not be abandoned at this point as a further dimension, the relationship between the domains, should also be considered; to make a general point, both the centre and the periphery are constituent elements of the village. The relationship has been introduced in the context of the male residential cycle and in Part III I will extend my analysis through an examination of horticulture and the 'food festival cycle'. Whilst these topics form a disparate set of material they do illustrate aspects of the dialectic between 'centre' and 'periphery' in what I refer to as the 'socialisation' of 'natural' cycles; I will argue that it is the intervention of the 'centre' in productive cycles that gives 'social' significance and distinguishes 'culture' from 'nature'.

CHAPTER VIII

HORTICULTURE : PROCESSES AND SPACE

Rather than being a 'domesticated forest' where couples went for sexual intercourse or to escape the complexities of village life, Panara gardens were a dynamic, ordered and ritually important domain with symbolic referents to spatial categories and to horticultural produce. In Panara horticulture the degree of 'socialisation' was striking as the gardens had complex patterns, men were actively involved in the complete horticultural cycle and there was a significant ritualisation of the planting, growth and harvesting of crops. In these respects Panara horticulture provides an illuminating example of the variation possible within the controls of 'slash-and-burn' horticultural techniques; more specifically, I argue that the particular form of Panara horticulture can only be understood by reference to Panara concepts of 'social' space.

As a Gê society, Panara horticulture is anomalous, as the generally accepted picture is one where the occupations of hunting, collecting and fishing are accorded greater status by Indians and anthropologists alike. The Akwẽ-Shavante are a case in point:

"The Shavante are inefficient cultivators because they are bored by the drudgery of agricultural work, and because they have no pressing need for crops to supplement their abundant diet" (Maybury-Lewis 1967:47).

Whilst it is difficult to generalise on the importance of horticulture in Gê societies, and particularly when we consider traditional and present day patterns, it appears that whilst gardens often provided significant quantities of reliable food, the practice of horticulture was given a low status and was predominately a secular activity. In the following discussion of horticulture it is apparent that the Panara depart

radically from this model, although I should emphasise that the particular form of Panara horticulture reflects concepts which are common to the Gê; in other words, although Panara horticulture appears anomalous to the Gê, it does in fact express principles of organisation that are central to Gê 'ideology'.

#### HORTICULTURE : THE PRACTICE

Garden ownership and construction were limited to married men and can be considered as an important facet of married status. In traditional society men worked their "father-in-law's" gardens until they established their own at the age of approximately 25-27 years (see p204). During all stages of the horticultural cycle the garden was referred to by the name of the husband, e.g. "that is Akur's garden", though in cases of divorce the garden reverted to the owner's wife and was then referred to by her name. The ownership of gardens following the death of the wife was not clarified, though it appears that they were either abandoned or passed to female members of the deceased woman's matriline.

The horticultural cycle was organised through men's house debates (swakre: see p.227) and although gardens were worked by their individual owners emphasis was placed on village group organisation. At the Suya Village men looked for possible garden sites when hunting, fishing or collecting during the rainy season of 1975-76 and the initial dry season of 1976. The sites were discussed by both men and women with reference to natural resources in the area and the quality of the soil (ku:ba-inkin) "soil" "beautiful"). In this instance all of the potential sites were on the upstream Suya-Missu (see Map 2) and were considered unacceptable by the PNK authorities as they competed with Suya gardens, which were maintained for the more demanding crops of banana and maize, and were

near to the farms bordering the BR-080. The eventual site chosen for the Panara gardens was a compromise and lay midway between the Suya village and Diaurum Post (Fig. 21 - inset).

With a decision reached on the general site, the location of the individual gardens was discussed in a series of men's house debates. Attention was also paid to the availability of crops for planting, the correct planting locations of the crops in garden space and the manner in which the gardens should be prepared. The latter point included a graphic demonstration by a "young elder", who removed debris from the plaza as an illustration of how clear the gardens should be. The times of clearance and burning were also decided in men's house debates: clearance followed the initial fall of the river level and burning the initial rise.

Garden clearance was organised as a communal activity though men worked their own garden areas. The first day of clearance was introduced by a men's house debate which terminated with the men collecting cutting implements from their peripheral houses and returning to their society groups in the plaza. Here the groups chanted, beating the racing log seats with the cutting tools, before dispersing to their individual gardens to commence work. Clearance was predominantly by men and adolescent boys though wives and children also contributed. In 1976 the men appeared to be eager participants in what was uncomfortable work and with few exceptions the garden owners regularly worked for two periods each day (early morning and evening) until their gardens were completed. One group constructed a temporary house near their garden for the explicit reason of devoting more time to clearance.

In clearance the garden perimeter was first delineated by cutting a broad swathe of vegetation leaving a narrow band to demarcate the



FIG 21.  
PANARA GARDENS AT THE  
SUYA VILLAGE : 1976

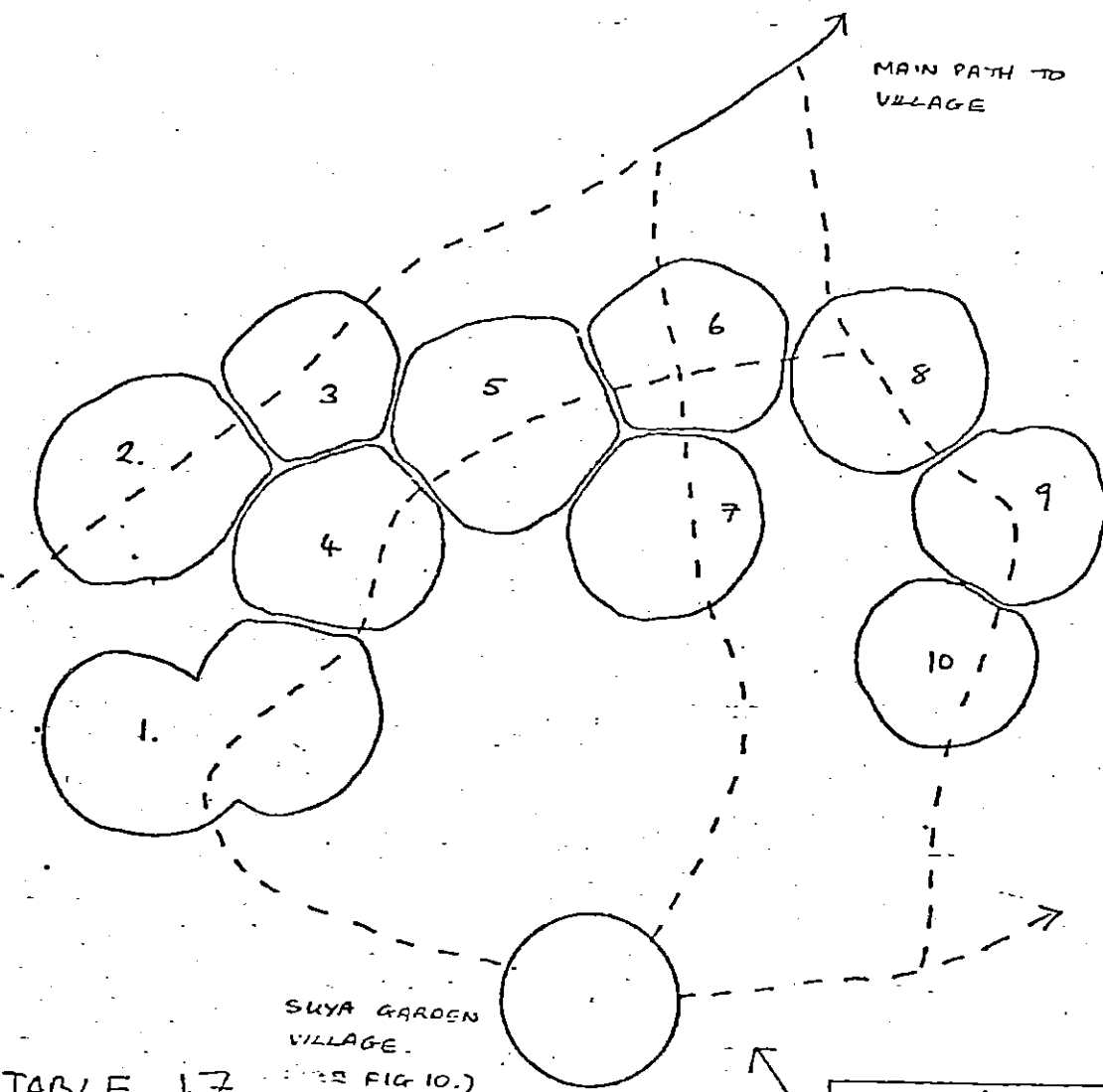
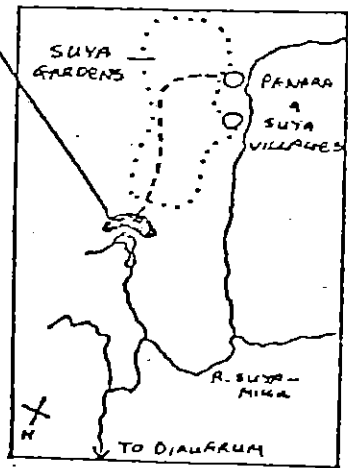


TABLE 17

KEY.

GARDEN OWNERS

1. SUMAKADI
2. KOKRADI
3. DG:AKOAE
4. SOKRADI
5. PUTI
6. KAGKON
7. WATUHA
8. AKUR
9. TESE:R
10. K. PE:LI



boundary with other gardens (see fig 21). The garden was then progressively cleared inwards with all possible vegetation felled. In 1976 one garden was worked on by the village male and female "elder" age grade members, many of whom made a specific trip from the village to participate. No reason could be obtained for this practice and it was not apparently associated with any future use of the garden in ritual (the puberty ceremony) or food festivals. The individual gardens were linked by a network of paths which led to a broad communally cleared path which ran to the village (see fig 21). Large trees bordering this path were decorated with animal, bird and human carvings, though these did not appear to mark garden ownership and can best be interpreted as an aspect of the general socialisation of the garden domain. When all vegetation had been felled the garden was left for the remainder of the dry season before burning.

The decision to burn the gardens was taken in a men's house debate and all gardens were fired later that day. Once the fires had died down all possible debris was removed from the garden area and was piled on the garden perimeter. The large stumps and trunks which had not been destroyed by burning were chopped prior to removal with a particular emphasis given to those in the centre of the garden. The Panara placed great emphasis on secondary clearance and they made common references to the gardens of other PNX societies which they considered as "ugly" (nanka). Whilst this emphasis may have in part resulted from a general 'polarisation' of Panara cultural identity, it was also noted in Panara gardens at Peixoto. Whilst some degree of secondary clearance is not unusual in Lowland Tropical Forest cultures, it is unusual among the Gê, where typically the minimum of clearance is practised.<sup>1</sup>

1. In this respect the Panara referred to garden clearance as pali-bi-piã ("forest-wood" "remove").

planting (to-kre)

Planting in 1976 was disrupted by the quantity and quality of seed stock plants which were supplied by the Post authorities. This situation did, however, clearly illustrate the interest of men in horticulture as they made determined efforts to supplement these supplies; groups made excursions to Kayabi villages to the north of Diauarum, visited an abandoned Kayabi garden to the south-west of the Suya village, exchanged seed and stock with the Suya and, in general, collected seeds from any available source. Individual men also diversified their existing stocks by, for example, exchanging the 'common' "white/yellow" maize for the scarcer "red" maize which the Suya possessed. What I wish to emphasize here is that the Panara were active and eager participants both in establishing gardens and in obtaining the maximum quantity and diversity of crops for planting.

Prior to harvesting the majority of garden work was by men, and women typically only participated under supervision. The seeds, stems or cuttings for planting were carried to the garden site by men. The circular and lineal planting patterns were planned by the man striding around the garden marking the locations with a digging stick; digging sticks (koba, or "club") reached a length of two meters and were well suited for this use - when used by women to locate roots or tubers shorter sections of broken digging sticks were generally preferred. Each crop had a specific location in garden space and as this is both a subject of intrinsic interest and one of importance to the following analysis I will discuss this subject in some detail.

### The Garden Order

The available material on traditional Panara gardens does not produce a particularly clear picture. Aerial photographs of a northern village (Tobiuroñ) taken in 1973 (Von Puttkamer 1975a, 1975t) show gardens directly bordering the village and without formal order. However, the recent reoccupation of the village at that date makes any evaluation difficult. One garden photographed from the air in 1968 (near the village of Inkioranki) shows a comprehensive pattern of circles and axes (see fig 22) although a further garden located that year (near the village of Soñse:nasañ) was:

"..... large and laid out in the patterns of circles and ellipses ..... with bananas on the perimeter, and potatoes, and corn in the centre. Unfortunately none of them [the gardens] had the clear geometric design of the plantation we discovered on our second flight from Cachimbo [i.e. the Inkioranki garden]" (Cowell 1973:176).

No gardens were cultivated by the Panara between those at Tobiuroñ village in 1973 and those at the Suya village in 1976, when ten gardens were cleared and planted with varying degrees of geometrical order. However, during the process of clearing and planting the Panara spoke extensively about traditional gardens and there are few reasons to assume that the Suya gardens were significantly different from traditional patterns. Before examining the 1976 garden order I will briefly discuss the documented examples of Peixoto gardens:

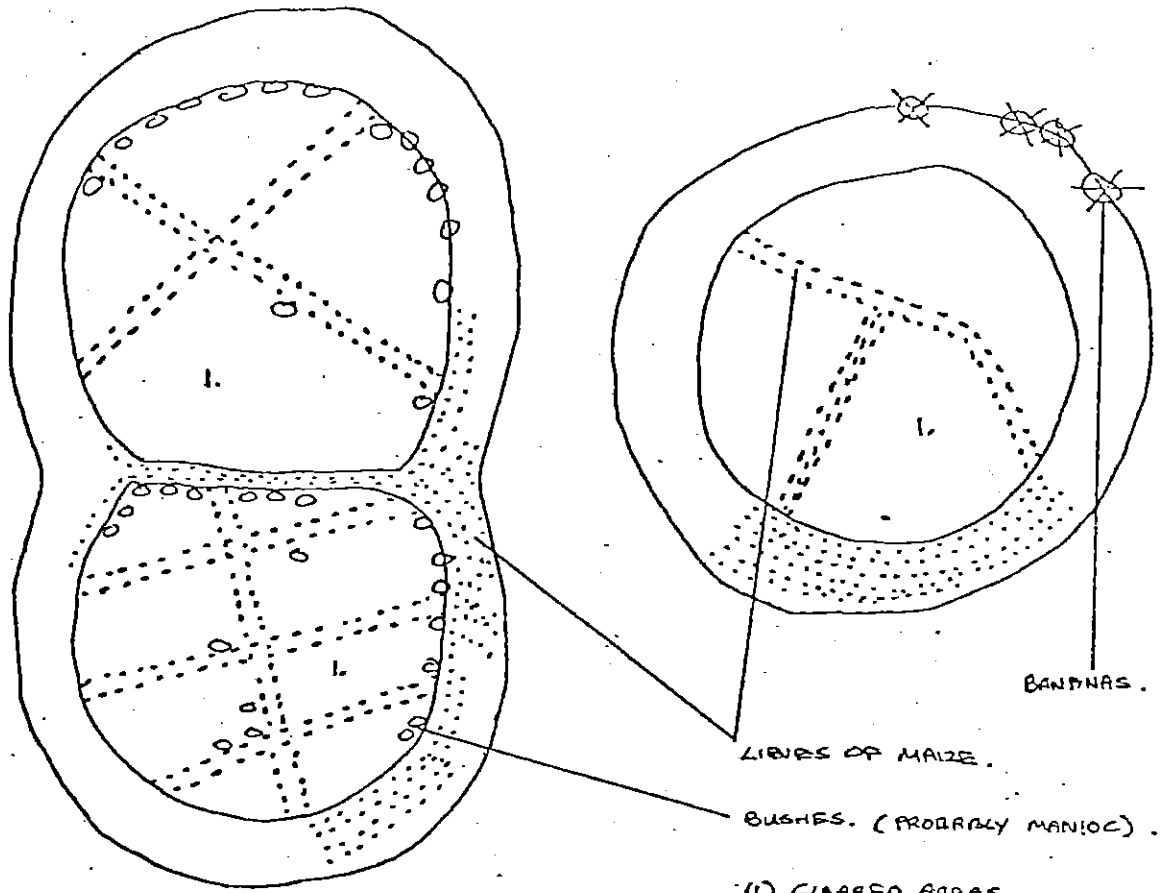
#### 1 Inkioranki Village (fig 22)

Two gardens near the village of Inkioranki were photographed in 1968 and 1969 (reproduced in Cowell 1973:102 and attached to a report to FUNAI by O. Villas-Boas, March 1972). Both gardens were located in dense virgin forest and show signs of extensive secondary clearance. The prominent crop was maize, which is clearly visible in regular lines and

TRADITIONAL GARDENS (INKIORANKI VILLAGE).

FROM COWELL 1973 (:102)

(f). FROM O. VILLAS - BOAS REPORT 1972.



BANANAS.

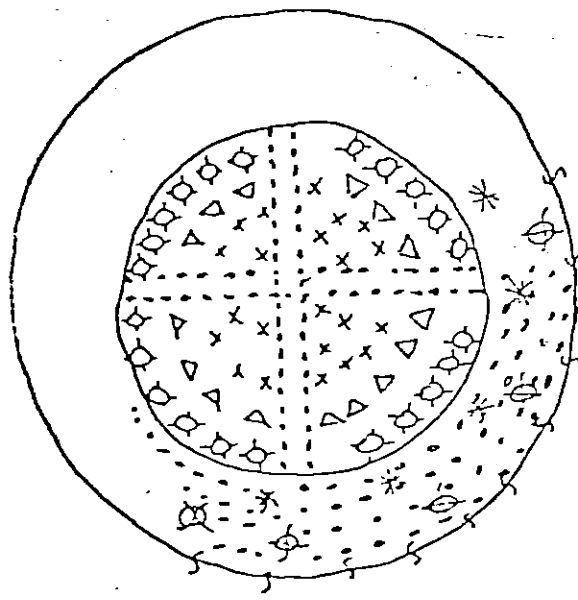
LINES OF MAIZE.

BUSHES. (PROBABLY MANIOC).

(1) CLEARED AREAS.

BOTH GARDENS ARE SURROUNDED BY  
DENSE VIRGIN FOREST.

Fig 23 PLAN OF ANARA GARDEN.  
PARISE 1975.



- S CARÁ (YAM).
- MILHO (MAIZE)
- \* BANANEIRAS (BANANA)
- ⊕ BATATA (SWEET POTATO.)
- ⊕ AMENDOIM (PEANUTS)
- △ INHAME. (YAM)
- + MANDIOCA (MANIOC)

Fig. 244

PRESENTATION OF A GARDEN  
BY AN OWNER.

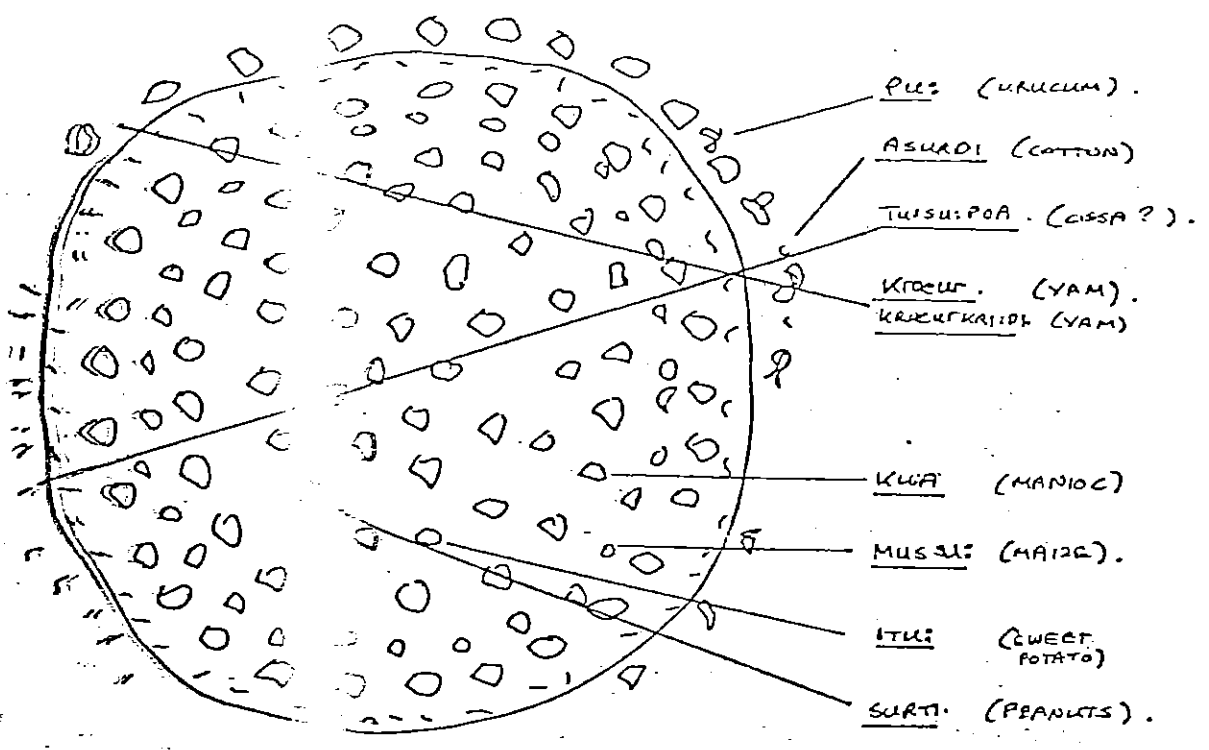
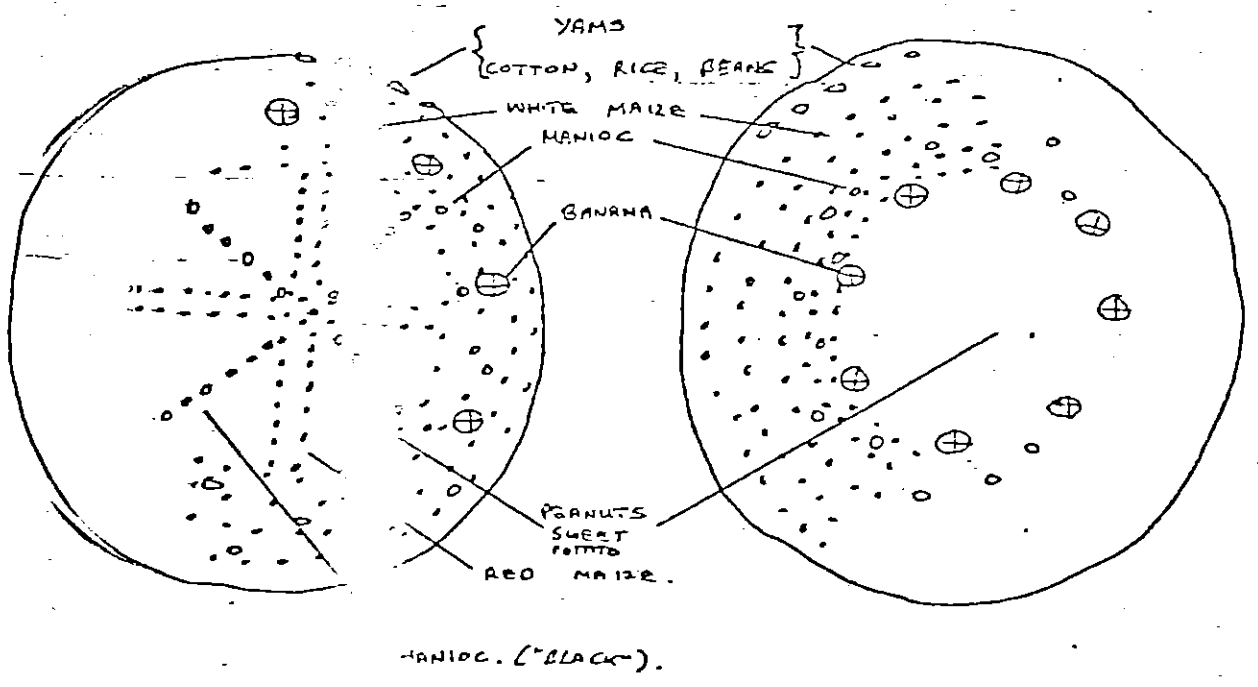


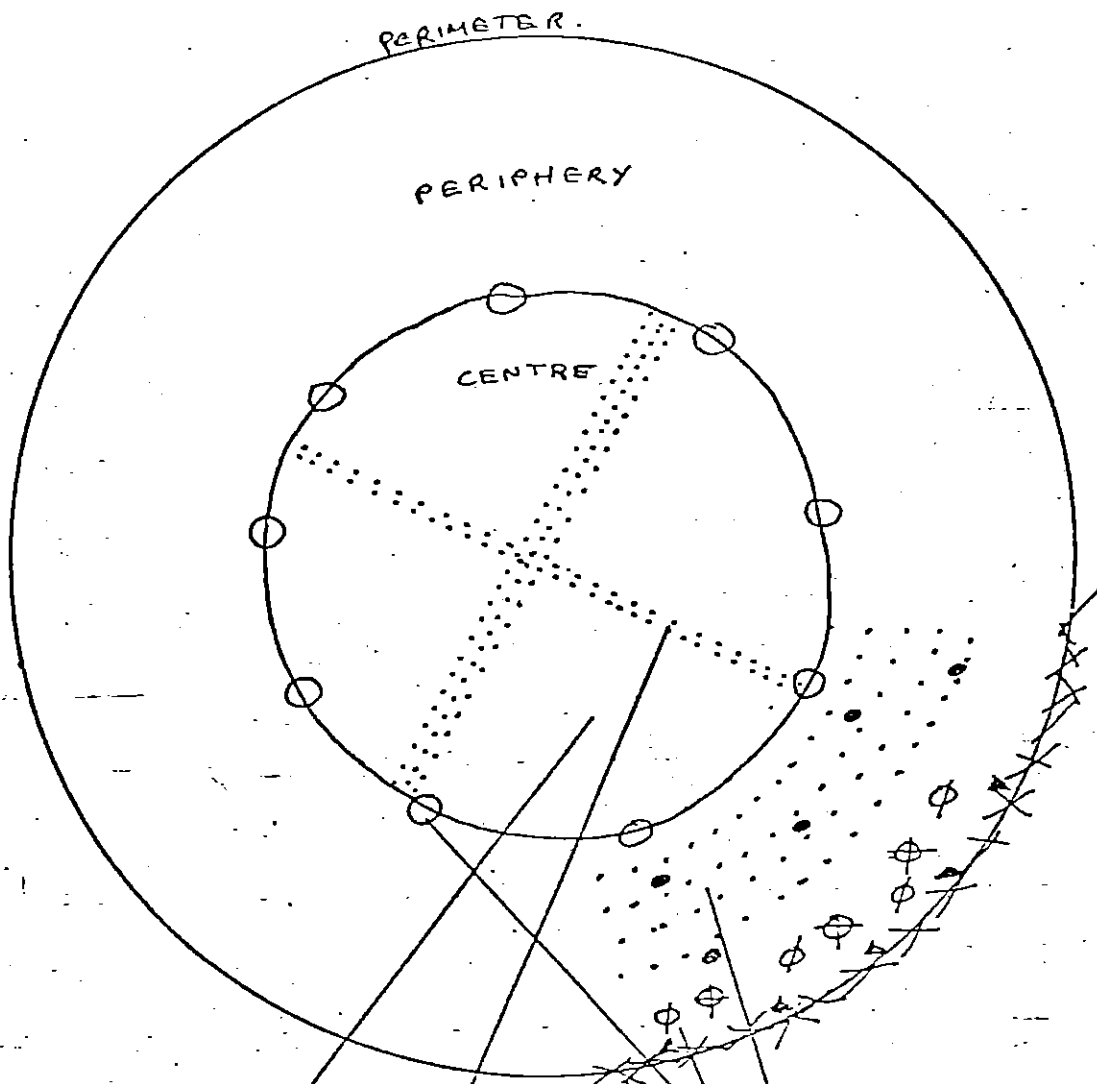
FIG 245 PRESENTATION OF TWO BAWARA GARDENS IN 1976

a) PUTI - PLU

b) TESE: A - PLU



GENERALISED GARDEN PLAN : 1976 GARDENS.



Centre

peanuts / sweet potato  
planted when available.

lines of "red" maize ( if not  
available planted with "black"  
manioc ).

perimeter

varieties of yams ( namuri and  
(kracurkridi ) planted in piled  
wood.

Periphery

ring of banana trees when  
available.

"white/yellow" maize inter-  
spersed with manioc.

cotton, urucum and calabash.  
also the introduced crops  
of beans, rice, ma-  
mao,  
pineapple etc.

circles. Manioc was apparently limited to scattered bushes and banana trees were planted on the perimeter of the garden.

2. A Garden Plan - Tobiuroñ (fig 23)

A plan attached to a report to FUNAI by Sertanista F. Parise (1975) though it is unclear as to whether the garden was observed or was drawn from informant descriptions. Whilst the geometric order corresponds with other sources, the actual locations of specific crops does not; in particular peanuts and manioc are not consistent.

3. An Informant Model - 1976 (fig 24)

This representation of a garden was drawn by a Panara "young elder" (Akur) in 1976 as part of a description of how he intended to plant his garden. The informant's main concern was in representing concentric order; the separation of what I term the perimeter, periphery and centre. Crops were distinguished by the dual device of space and symbol - the symbols used bear a resemblance to those of Parise's plan and it is possible that the same informant was used. The circular pattern of crops was referred to as sa:kur<sup>1</sup> ("lip-plug") but the lineal patterns were neither represented nor named; these only became apparent during planting when they were referred to as ipoa or ipoa-kre (kre "house").

Planting: Technique, Order and Ritual (fig 26)

a) The Garden Perimeter

The boundary zone between the cleared garden area and the forest was marked by piled wood which was utilised as a support for 'creepers'. The traditional plant of tu:su:poa, which was not present in PNK, appears to be similar to Cissus "whose starchy tendrils were baked" and which had an "autochthonous domestication" to the Gê" (Lowie HSAI Vol I:481). Other crops associated with this zone were varieties of inhane (yans):

The shaven area on the crowns of mature women was termed sa:koli.



kraur and kræurkri:di. The Panara considered the finger-like protrusions of these tubers to be the generative parts and also the best parts for consumption. Only these sections were planted and during the initial growth of the crop the garden owner was prohibited from eating the head and feet of the turtle (a:ku:di - see Table 18): in exegesis the Panara referred to the fact that these body areas were akin to the protrusions of the yams. During the initial growth of the yam variety of krakri:di (kra "child"?, -kri:di "large"?) the consumption of armadillo (Cabassous unicinctus) was prohibited and the consumption of anteater recommended. Informants again referred to physical metaphor in stating that the tuber was valued for its size; the armadillo has a small head whereas the anteater has a very large head - the positive influence will be returned to on page 263.

b) The Garden Periphery

The crops of urucum, cotton and calabash were planted adjacent to the garden perimeter and were typically grouped in a number of concentrations and did not form a circle around the garden. In traditional gardens this was also the common location for a circle of banana trees (pukwa). In PNK a number of introduced crops were planted in this area, including pineapple, ma-mao, beans (Port. feijão), rice and various other seeds that had been obtained. This group of crops was not associated with magical influences during planting or growth stages (see Table 18).

The garden periphery was dominated by "white/yellow" maize (Zea Mais - Panara musu:<sup>1</sup> which was planted in regular circles. Prior to planting maize was soaked in water for two or three days with leaves from the

<sup>1</sup> "White/yellow" and "red" do not denote distinct varieties of Zea Mais according to western classification and refer to the colour of the testa.

13

AGRICULTURE : NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE MAGICAL

INFLUENCES DURING THE PLANTING AND GROWTH OF CROPS

crop	Negative Influence		Positive Influence	Harvest Method S:Secular F:festival
	diet. restriction	'social' restriction		
manioc	manioc "cake" fish heads excess meat or fish (use of soap?)	male long hair arrow manufacture sexual intercourse	honey collection after peanut inspection	S
manioc (red)	monkey tail	-	soaking in water	F/S
manioc (white)	large armadillo	-	with ( <u>prebasur-no</u> )	
manioc (yellow)	( <u>tidi:ti</u> )		leaves prior to planting	
manioc (white)	monkey liver	-	holes lined with duck feathers before planting	F/S
manioc (varieties)	fish heads the fruit <u>nampo</u>	-	-	F/S
manioc ( <u>prebasur</u> )	turtle head and feet	-	-	F/S
manioc ( <u>prebasur</u> )	large armadillo	-	consumption of anteater ( <u>potiti</u> )	F/S
manioc ( <u>prebasur</u> )	( <u>tidi:ti</u> )			
manioc ( <u>prebasur</u> )	( <u>tidi:ti</u> )			
banana	-	-	-	S <sup>1</sup>
cotton	-	-	-	S
manioc	-	-	-	S
calabash	-	-	-	S

Some Panara stated that bananas were included in the festival cycle.

at prebasur-no<sup>1</sup> (unidentified). This plant was common in the vicinity of the village and had few striking properties apart from rather hard wood, a pungent smell, a wide distribution and a fairly rapid growth rate. The practice of soaking maize was directly associated with promoting rapid germination and growth and the prevention of the crop rotting in the ground. Furthermore, during the initial growth of the crop the garden owner should not eat monkey tail (krakri:di) or the tail of the large armadillo (kidi:ti); in both instances informants stated that consumption would result in the maize crop growing like the tails, which are long, thin and hairy.

In traditional society the Panara only cultivated 'bitter' varieties of manioc and the crop was of secondary importance in terms of popularity and quantity to that of maize. Manioc (kuia) was planted between the circles of "white/yellow" maize, or, as in the garden represented in fig. 22, it was planted on the margins of the maize area. The planting technique for manioc was unusual and differs from the general slash-and-burn technique, in which long stems are pressed into loosened mounds or furrows of soil. The Panara carried manioc stems to the gardens in lengths of 1.5 to 2.0 metres, but there they were cut into small sections of approximately 6 to 10 cm, and some 3 to 5 of these sections were planted in small excavated holes (see p.258). During the initial phase of growth the garden owner should not eat fish heads (tepi-kiad) or the fruit nanto. These restrictions refer to "smell" (kio); to test whether cooked fish were suitable for consumption the Panara broke the head from the body and smelt the flesh, and the fruit nanto was classified

<sup>1</sup> Prebasur also referred to an unidentified ant which was used in healing (see p.131).

is 'strong' smelling. 'Smell' was associated with the rotting of manioc in the ground, which is virtually the only reason for failure in what is otherwise an extremely hardy crop.

c) The Garden Centre

Lying within the maize and manioc circle was a well defined and well cleared central area. This zone was bisected by lines of "red" maize, generally two or three rows deep, which took the form of a simple cross, a T shape or in some examples a Lorraine cross. The distinction between "red" maize in the garden centre and "white/yellow" maize on the periphery was explicitly made by the Panara and the two 'varieties' were kept apart during soaking in the village and in planting. In 1976, when some garden owners had no "red" maize, the lines were planted with a variety of manioc, se:akian, which was sun-dried and accorded a higher status than the varieties planted on the periphery. The planting procedure and magical influence for "red" maize was identical to that previously described.

Sweet potatoes, itu ("belly"), were planted in the areas between the lines of "red" maize. Prior to planting the garden owners collected quantities of duck feathers, lomiti, which were used to line the holes in which the sweet potatoes were planted. The Panara said that "feathers were impu:di-kiad" ("sun"/"one" "head") and they referred to the size and heat of the sun. Reference appears to have been to the size of the sun, which is how large sweet potatoes should be, and possibly to the protection of the plant during the initial stages of growth from excess heat. During this stage the garden owner should also not eat monkey liver (kwakri:di-kwosi) where reference was to the negative qualities of the small size and irregular shape of the organ.

### Peanut Cultivation Cycle

Finally, peanuts (surti, sur "pain", "heavy") were planted between sweet potatoes and "red" maize and were a crop given ritual, dietary and spatial prominence. In addition to the unusual importance of the peanut as a ritual cutting tool, the crop was not associated with traditional Gê horticulture. Rather, the peanut was found among the tribes to the west of Peixoto, e.g. the Kayabi on the River Teles Pires. However, even among these societies the peanut, though important as a food, was not accorded ritual significance.<sup>1</sup>

The organisation of peanut cultivation was complex and I summarise the main points in fig 27:

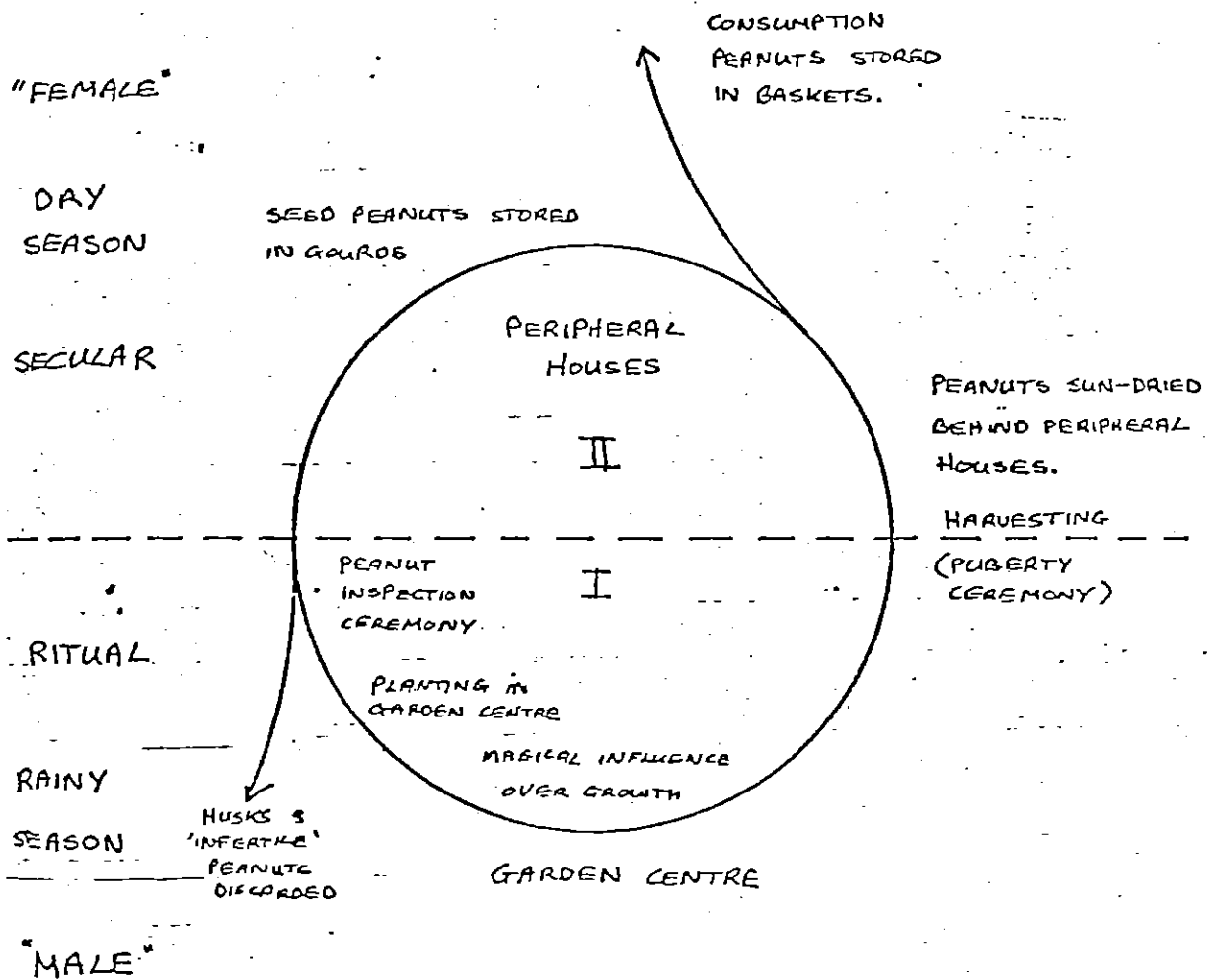
#### 1) Preparation

Unshelled peanuts from one year's harvest were sun-dried and stored in gourds (inko "water") for use as seed in the following planting season. When the new gardens were almost completed the seed peanuts were 'prepared' for planting in what was a very unusual ceremony in Panara society. The ceremony, called surti-inkuri ("peanut" "to make grow") which I refer to as the peanut inspection ceremony, was held during the day and involved the assembly of all the mature men in the village in the peanut owner's peripheral house (as garden owners must be married to this was the man's uxorilocal household). The men were allocated seats in the house, probably according to SDG membership and the respective geographical locations within the house, and the seed peanuts were divided among them by the owner's wife and children for opening and 'inspection'. The kernels with

<sup>1</sup> No account of Kayabi horticulture is available though in their PNK gardens there were a number of features that approximated to the gardens of the Panara. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the Kayabi conceptualised gardens as having a formal order it was not uncommon to find peanuts planted in the centre. In this respect the Panara were more 'at home' in Kayabi gardens than, for example, in those of the Suya or the Kayapo.

FIG 27.

SUMMARY OF THE PEANUT CULTIVATION CYCLE



developed radicles (intsu: "humanising prefix" "white body substance") were retained and returned to the garden owner for planting, whereas those with no radicle, or which were shrivelled, were either eaten or discarded. When all the peanuts had been 'inspected' they were collected by the owner's wife and divided by the owner between himself and a "brother-in-law" (Metumpia); in the three examples of peanut inspection held in PNK this individual was a "wife's brother". Following this division the group dispersed, though informants stated that on the following day all of the men should collect honey. This ceremony was held by the three men who 'owned' peanuts in 1976 and was emphasised as a popular event in traditional society.

#### Planting and Growth

Peanuts were the final crop to be planted, after the rains had broken and the soil was moist. The kernels were carried to the garden by the owner and planted individually in the garden centre. When all the peanuts had been planted the garden owner's hair was cut by his wife, which involved the virtual shaving of the head. Exegesis on this practice was that "as the hair grows so would the peanuts". This was directly associated with the peanut crop, rather than with the garden in general, as in 1976 only the men with peanuts had their hair cut.

During the initial growth stage, until the plants had sprouted and spread laterally for approximately 30 cm, the garden owner was prohibited from having sexual relations, he could not eat manioc "cake" or fish heads, he could not construct arrows and he could not eat excessive quantities of game. Explanations of these restrictions were limited to comments that "the peanuts would die", though reference was made to the vertical growth of arrow cane in contrast to the lateral growth of the peanut stems.

In addition the reference to manioc "cake" and fish heads referred to "smell" (kio) and the rotting of the peanuts in the ground.<sup>1</sup>

During the growth of the garden the peanut crop was isolated as an indicator of general progress and throughout this time regular visits were made by garden owners for weeding and maintenance. The peanut crop was harvested some four to five months after planting when the plants were uprooted and turned over to dry in the sun for collection by the owner's wife. The crop was carried to the village by women and the peanuts were stored in baskets for consumption. In harvesting the crucial point is that peanuts were not the subject of festival collection; harvesting was by women as a secular process.

In the context of general garden practice two further points should be made. Firstly, menstruating women should not visit growing gardens as this could cause "winds" (surpe:li) which would destroy the crops. Secondly, as the gardens approached maturity two 'poles' were erected in the plaza adjacent to the men's houses. The poles were decorated with manioc and maize at various stages of production; the raw tubers and ears, dried tubers and ears and sections of manioc/maize "cake". The 'poles' (iansori) appear to mark the mature status of the gardens.

#### Interpretation of Garden Order

##### a) A Functional Explanation

Many aspects of Panara horticultural practice can be shown to have a sound agronomic basis. The Panara were active horticulturalists and the success of gardens was a matter of considerable importance to them.

<sup>1</sup> The failure of one peanut crop in 1976 was attributed to soap: the garden owner stated that the smell of soap on his hands and clothes when he planted the crop had caused the peanuts to die. In this context the "smell" of soap was referred to as kio whereas in normal contexts the "smell" was referred to as sobasur which can best be translated as "perfume".



The majority of the magical influences refer to crop qualities and in this respect it is significant that we find specific influences associated with individual crops, though the whole garden was planted at approximately the same time. Furthermore the magical influences are commonly directed at recognised reasons for crop failure; for example, manioc and peanuts can rot and "smell" in the ground and if maize is planted in poor soils the ears do not develop and look like 'tails'. Equally, maize should be soaked in water before planting to induce germination and a major threat to gardens in Peixoto during the growing season was the high winds of severe rain storms.

It is also possible to argue that the Panara practised extensive secondary clearance to maximise production, as gardens were cleared in forest with only stone axes as implements; a similar argument can be used in attempting to explain the crowded nature of traditional villages. In the context of productivity there is also a sound agronomic basis for planting peanuts in combination with maize (Purseglove 1968:231). Such arguments are to a great extent truisms as all we are stating is that Panara horticulture was successful. Thus whilst many aspects of Panara horticulture may be explicable in terms of functional criteria it is also apparent that many are not - for example, the restriction on sexual intercourse or the practice of hair cutting. In the following structural interpretation I suggest that there is another dimension to Panara horticultural practice and one which is based on social, rather than agronomic, principles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I do not dismiss functional criteria as no horticulturalist can ignore the basic demands of slash-and-burn agricultural techniques. To turn to a more distant example, W.J. Smole (1976) gives a fascinating and detailed explanation of Yanomana gardens in which he argues that functional criteria can explain the particular form of gardens. For example, when faced with the problem of why the Yanomana leave a large area of the garden perimeter as waste ground, after considerable effort in clearance, his argument of

b) A Structural Interpretation

If we examine the garden as an integrated domain, i.e. in its entirety, we can draw a number of parallels with village space. The garden perimeter, a waste zone associated with creepers, is represented in the village by the rubbish zone at the rear of peripheral houses; in both cases the zone forms a boundary between 'social' space and forest and both are emphasised as dumping grounds for the waste products of processes of production. The circular order of crops in the garden periphery has an immediate parallel with the location of peripheral houses in the village, an identification that can be supported by a number of points:

- a) In 1975, soon after arrival at the Suya village, a number of Panara men planted maize in the cleared village area as there were no gardens. Indicatively the variety of maize was "white/yellow" and it was planted in arcs in the food preparation zone at the rear of the peripheral houses (see fig 31).
- b) The unusual technique of planting manioc can be interpreted as representing peripheral household structure; the sections of manioc stem can be interpreted as hearth groups or individuals, as they are planted in one pile or 'house' and develop into a unified unit of production—the bush and the tubers.
- c) The periphery crops of "white/yellow" maize and manioc were also directly associated with "cake" and thus earth oven cooking. This product

Footnote continued:

'pest control' illustrates the fact that functional arguments can be found to explain any regularity. In fact, it can be suggested that Yanocama gardens are representations of social space where order, or absence of crops, represents the differentiation of spatial domains; in this interpretation the waste area can be seen as a representation of the cleared area outside the shabono.

and process can be considered as symbols of peripheral houses and of female identity.

Finally, the female crops par excellence of cotton, urucum and calabash were located on the garden periphery. More specifically, the first two crops were intimately associated with "elder" female status and these were the individuals who articulated the structure of peripheral households.

If we identify the circular pattern of the garden periphery with the village domestic sphere, then the lineal patterns of the garden centre can possibly be seen as representing the diametric structure of the village centre. However, there was no evidence to suggest that the lines of "red" size were geographically orientated. To support the contention we can state that the well cleared character of the village plaza was maintained in the garden; the ground was well cleared prior to planting and the crops of sweet potato and peanuts formed a relatively flat "carpet" - in sum, the garden centre appeared flat even when the crops matured.

If we examine the garden in cross section it is also apparent that movement from the perimeter to the centre represents a gradation from low status to high status as reflected in food values and in the degree of magical influence. Whilst not all crops fall within this pattern I do suggest that there is an important general progression. In Table 118 the crops are ordered by approximate location and we can see that those on the periphery were not associated with magical influence, whereas those at the centre, and in particular the peanut, had a high ritual embellishment. The movement from low to high status is paralleled in the village with movement from the waste zone to the men's houses. In the garden we also find a similar reference to gender; the crops of the periphery were

identified with females and the crops of the centre with males. At its most extreme this contrast can be represented as urucum and cotton on the one hand and the peanut (a phallic symbol - see p266) on the other. Moving to food values, the progression is from low quality foods or inedible products to high status foods; a regularity which corresponds with both Panara dietary values and those of western science (see Table 20).

The order of crops in the garden also reflects Panara concepts of colour classification; as with village space we can associate "red" with the 'periphery' and "white" with the centre. Thus urucum (pu:)<sup>1</sup> was the major source of "red" paint and a symbol of 'female' status and was planted in the garden perimeter whereas peanuts were identified as "white matter" (tsu: - kernel) and were located in the garden centre. Whilst some crops do not fit easily into this classification, for example "red" and "white" maize (see p.261) it can be suggested that colour classification formed one facet of a more general identification of spatial domains in Panara gardens. In this respect we can also note that the crops of the centre: peanuts, "red" maize and sweet potatoes, form a group in that they share the common characteristic of "red" skinned "white" foods (see fig 31).

The crops of the garden periphery and centre can also be distinguished by reference to harvesting and processing techniques. The crops of the periphery were harvested when 'soft' and were generally processed in this way; "white/yellow" maize was toasted or pounded when 'green', manioc was harvested as required, river soaked and pounded, and bananas<sup>2</sup> were buried

• see footnote page 266.

• The properties of the banana set it apart from other garden produce. The fruit is soft and not woody, the fruit is sweet and does not contain seeds, and can be eaten raw or cooked, ripe or unripe. In traditional society it would appear that varieties cultivated by the Panara (see Table 3) were eaten raw or ripe; it was also an important and popular food that was largely absent from other villages.

from 'green' (taturdi "unripe") to ripen (nampura "red"). In contrast to the crops of the garden centre were explicitly associated with sun-drying; "red" maize was left in the garden until dry, peanuts were dried in both garden and village prior to storage and sweet potatoes were also dried before storage in baskets. Finally the variety of manioc associated with the centre was also sun-dried (see p. 44). The significance of sun-drying can be referred to a distinction between centre and periphery noted in the construction of houses; men's houses were open sided structures, whereas peripheral houses were closed. Whilst more research on this subject is required, it can be suggested that the Panara accorded greater status to 'sun action' than to burial or river soaking and that the process was associated with the centre and male domain. In this respect we can note that men were generally in the 'open air' or in the men's houses during the day, whereas women were inside peripheral houses and that the location and path of the sun were the major structuring principles in Panara classification of time and space.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, we can distinguish between crops and garden spatial domains by reference to harvesting techniques. The crops of the perimeter and the 'female' crops of the periphery (i.e. urucum, calabash and cotton) were not collected by male ritual groups as part of the festival food cycle (see Table 18). This can be correlated with the absence of magical influence during growth and the identity of the crops as of 'low status'. In contrast

To my knowledge the Panara did not identify the sun as male though the moon was associated with menstruation; a low "red" moon was referred to as intu:di ("blood") and the correlation between lunar and menstrual cycles is noted. This question may well be resolved in Panara mythology, though it is indicative that intu:di ("sun") was a female name in PNX.

crops of the centre were associated with magical influence, were listed as festival foods and can be identified as 'high status'; a special exception to this rule was peanuts; the main ritual crop was harvested in the festival cycle and this interesting point is returned to a later point in this chapter.

While no one classificatory theme - colour, plant properties, processing techniques or food value - can exclusively account for the order of crops in the garden, we can suggest that the themes combine to give the garden space a social significance as a metaphorical representation of village and cosmological order (see Table 19). This is not to say that the garden was a duplication, a static model, of village space, but rather that gardens were ordered by certain principles operative in Panara models of social classification; more specifically the garden appears to have represented the concentric model or the delineation of the categories of periphery, periphery and centre and the related values of boundary, 'female' and so on. In the earlier discussion it was apparent that no two Panara gardens were identical and that the range of variation can be extensive. This, I think, need not detract from the interpretation of gardens as a representation of village space. Firstly, the garden was an economic domain and was, therefore, open to irregularities of seed availability, crop success, individual differences of garden owners and to agronomic controls. Secondly, the Panara had a clear conception of how gardens 'should be' regardless of how the gardens were planted - here the informant model assumes a critical importance. To some extent the garden can be compared with myths, in that the particular form is of secondary importance to the structure; variations do not obscure the basic principles which, I suggest, are also the significant elements. Before proceeding to the question of 'why', or 'for what reason' Panara gardens had this order, I will briefly return to the question of magical influences and the restrictions of meat consumption.

table 19

Summary of Garden Spatial Order

<u>Perimeter</u>		<u>Periphery</u>		<u>Centre</u>
	bananas			
yams	<u>urucum</u>	"white/yellow" maize		"red" maize
	cotton	manioc		peanuts
	calabash			sweet potatoes ("black" manioc)
inedible/low food value				high food value
low magical influence				high magical influence
no festival harvesting				festival & secular harvesting
female		:		male
profane		:		sacred
perimeter		periphery	:	centre
peripheral houses		:		men's houses
red		:		white
soft		:		hard
burial/soaking (under)		:		sun-drying (over)

Dietary Restrictions

Informant exegesis of restrictions on the consumption of certain varieties and cuts of meat during the growth of specific crops was based on analogies with negative crop conditions. However, it can also be suggested that the restrictions refer to more general Panara concepts of diet; i.e. the control of blood-rich foods during phases of initial or 'biological' growth. The negative aspects of 'blood' have been discussed in detail in Chapter V and it is significant that the crops associated with 'meat' restrictions were those characterised as "white". However, it is also apparent that the species and cuts referred to by the Panara were not 'central' to their diet; turtle head, monkey tail and monkey liver were not the most popular of foods and the restrictions would not have presented hardship. One possible reason for this is that the animals referred to in restrictions and the associated crops were the subject of food festival collection (I exclude peanuts from this discussion at present). The animals (turtle, monkey, armadillo etc.) were those hunted during the initial phase of meat festival collection (see p. 312) and thus the initial growth of the crops can possibly be seen as associated with the initial growth of meat festival supplies. It is perhaps of significance that the one prescribed meat during crop growth was the anteater: an animal that was not hunted during meat festivals.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This question requires further research. The head of the anteater was conceptualised by the Panara as large and in general the heads of animals, fish or humans were considered to be the blood-rich area of the body. The animal was referred to in at least one myth and this may possibly offer a solution.



produce as a member of a 'biological' unit of production, whereas in festival contexts, ritual collection, the produce was harvested by a male group representing the village centre as members of a 'sociological' unit of production. Thus secular production represents the garden as a product of husband and wife and ritual production represents the garden as a product of 'male' and 'female' or of centre and periphery.

The peanut cultivation cycle can be divided into two stages (see fig 27); (I) which was located in a male domain and was under male control and (II) located in a female domain under female control. The stages were separated by two ritual events which involved corporate male participation - the peanut inspection ceremony (inkiuuri) and the puberty ritual (krasuri)<sup>1</sup>. The organisation of the cycle involves four levels of organisation within the male : female distinction:

- a) Individual men - the garden owner as a representative of the hearth unit of biological and economic production.
- b) Individual women - the garden owner's wife as the representative of the hearth group of biological and economic production.
- c) Male corporate groups - men as members of the men's houses and moieties as representatives of the village centre and of male sociological groups.
- d) Female 'corporate' groups - women as representatives of households and matrilineal or female sociological groups. Women as "sisters" or associated through the values of co-residence.

To enter the peanut cycle at the point of the peanut inspection ceremony is arbitrary though it does mark the termination of the 'female' phase.

This ceremony was unusual in Panara society as it was one of the few

<sup>1</sup> The puberty ceremony was not directly related to peanut cultivation and its inclusion here is an analytical device. The timing of the ceremony was fixed by the maturation of the peanut crop and, as I hope to show in the following discussion, the ceremony can be understood only by reference to the peanut cycle.

occasions when mature men gathered in a peripheral house (see p.72) and, furthermore, the task of shelling and inspecting peanuts did not warrant this scale of operation, as it could easily have been performed by the hearth unit of production. The inspection of peanuts was explicitly seen as separating infertile from fertile peanuts: the event was conceptualised as necessary to promote germination when the nuts were planted. In the activity the kernel - intsu: "white body substance" - was separated from the shell - inkur "humanising prefix" "nail" - and it can be argued that the peanut was seen as a symbol of the penis - inpu: "humanising prefix" "garden/urucum").<sup>1</sup>

In the peanut inspection "raw materials" for a procreative process were supplied by a biological group of production (the hearth group or nuclear family) for differentiation by a male corporate group. As the event was directly associated with the germination of the sorted peanuts we can also say that the male group gave 'fertility' to the peanuts. The procreative theme is emphasised by the peripheral, and more specifically uxorilocal, house location, when significantly the men sit on sleeping mats - the site of 'creative' sexual intercourse. Furthermore, the collection of honey by the sorting group after the event can be grouped with other references to honey which were associated with the growth of embryonic forms (see p.137).

<sup>1</sup> Previously I have argued that the penis was associated with "white" and thus by extension the vagina (itse: - also "bow") was associated with "red". This apparent reversal of colour referents was not clarified during research though in the case of the penis it can be suggested that the organ (inpu) is the source of semen (siñ: "white body substance" whereas the garden (pu) is the source of peanut kernels (intsu:). However, why the female generative organ should be associated with the male weapon par excellence, the bow, and the male generative organ with a female symbol (urucum) remains an interesting question.

Following inspection and sorting the peanuts were planted in the garden centre by the garden owner. This process can be interpreted as a representation of 'conception' in the human cycle. Firstly, the Panara emphasised that the soil should be moist prior to planting, which can be equated with their emphasis on the 'moistness' of the vagina during sexual intercourse. Secondly, the extensive magical influences practised by the garden owner to influence the growth of the peanuts directly parallel those related to pregnancy and birth:<sup>1</sup>

<u>Restrictions:</u>	<u>Human foetal development</u>	<u>Peanut growth</u>
	to influence the growth and health of the embryonic child	to influence the growth and success of the 'embryonic' crop
	sexual intercourse <sup>2</sup>	sexual intercourse
	vigorous activity including hunting, fishing and raiding	construction of arrows
	the consumption of large game and blood-rich meat	the consumption of excessive amounts of game
	the consumption of manioc "cake" (smell)	the consumption of manioc "cake" (smell)

The restrictions during peanut growth refer to three basic social processes; human reproduction (intercourse), defence and hunting (arrow construction) and diet (manioc "cake" and game). These activities can be interpreted as aspects of mature married male status and thus the restrictions can be seen as symbolising the 'biological' status of the

The question of time scales will be returned to in the following section.

During initial pregnancy sexual intercourse was recommended as it was considered to increase the size of the foetus. However, during the final phase of pregnancy and the early post natal phase intercourse was restricted as a potentially harmful activity.

the garden owner at this time: the suspension of social relationships  
times of biological status was discussed in Chapter V.

The identification of the peanut owner with his crop is also apparent  
in the positive influence of hair cutting after planting. Hair was an  
emphasised body element in Panara society; the hair of children was  
allowed to grow during the period of 'biological' establishment and mature  
men regularly shaved the crown of their heads as part of the coiffure  
associated with that age grade; hair was not cut during mourning.<sup>1</sup> In  
Panara society "hair" was consistently associated with generative qualities:

<u>inki</u>	"hair" on the scalp. This was distinguished from eye- brows and eyelashes ( <u>into-tsu:</u> ), beard or moustache ( <u>sabansi</u> ), body hair ( <u>inpa:-tsu:</u> ), pubic hair ( <u>intot- tsu:</u> ) and 'breast' hair ( <u>sunsi-tsu:</u> ).
<u>inkiarara</u>	the mature female age grade: a life cycle status characterised by biological and economic productivity.
<u>inkia</u>	the rodent <u>paca</u> ( <u>Cuniculus paca</u> ) which was apparently conceptualised by the Panara as a symbol of reproduc- tion. The animal has a dense coat of black hair and has a prodigious reproductive potential. The teeth of the animal ( <u>inkia-sua</u> ) were used as a cutting tool in the <u>rites de passage</u> which marked mature male and female life cycle status and which introduced the major phase of economic and biological production.
<u>inkiuri</u>	the peanut inspection ceremony which I have interpre- ted as representing the fertilisation of the crop. The term was also used for festival food division, which also has generative implications (see p.318).
<u>inkiordi</u>	"to sprout" - the initial germination of seeds and the appearance of shoots above the surface.
<u>inkiur</u>	"bees nest" - the source of honey, a 'generative' food.
<u>inki:di</u>	"female puberty racing log" - an element of the female <u>rites de passage</u> to mature, and reproductive, status.

To return to the two examples of head hair removal, it is of interest  
that women shaved the crown of their heads at regular intervals and have a

It can be suggested that hair cutting can be interpreted as significant  
in both areas: it can be seen as a 'destructive' or negative act in which  
emphasis is placed on hair removal and the modification of a previous  
state; or it can be seen as a positive or 'creative' act, in which hair  
is removed for the purpose of new hair growth - i.e. reference is made  
to a future state. The Panara would appear to have emphasised the latter

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cycle of menstruation, whereas men shaved their heads once a year and gardens annually. In both examples there appears to be an analogy between hair removal, its subsequent growth and generative cycle.

Restrictions were relaxed after the crop had 'spearred' and this is equated with the relaxation of post-natal restrictions after the initial establishment of the child's 'biological' identity. The interesting point with peanut 'influences' is that they were observed by men; it was men who were responsible for and controlled the garden and peanut cycle. In the following analysis I will suggest that male control is central to the metaphorical representation of the peanut cultivation cycle as the development/reproductive cycle.

#### Men as Men : The Peanut Cycle and Biological and Sociological' Reproduction'

In the analysis of human male development I distinguished two aspects: establishment, initial growth and maintenance of the individual ('biological' development) and the development of male values and status ('sociological development'). The former was articulated by female controlled periphery groups, by matrilineal kin, and the latter by groups of the village centre, more specifically by moiety membership. In the peanut cycle I suggest that both cycles are represented, though in a metaphorical form and with emphasis re-aligned to 'males'. Thus the peanut cycle can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand the male corporate

In Kayapo society the crown hair of young women was shaved after the planting of the maize crop; in this example reference was also made to the fertility of the crop and of the woman (T. Turner - personal communication).

... to a peripheral house and gives fertility to a 'biological'  
production - the hearth group - and on the other hand, we  
... that the peanuts are identified with the male group and are  
... by the hearth group. In the former the peanuts can be identified  
... "offspring" of the biological group (the garden as a product of  
... ) and in the latter they may be interpreted as "white matter",  
... symbols, which are the products of the garden (village) centre.

In the former interpretation 'fertility' is given to the productive  
... by the intervention of the men's houses and the subsequent planting  
... peanuts and the observation of restrictions by the husband can be  
... representing the man's role in marriage; though there is a  
... significant re-alignment of emphasis away from the wife to the husband.  
... this stage of the peanut cycle can be interpreted as representing  
... creative potential of the hearth group, though the "offspring" are  
... in a male domain, the garden centre, and are under male control.  
... 'biological' interpretation the division of the fertilised peanuts  
... a "wife's brother" represents an aspect of a more general series of  
... relations between matrilines linked in marriage, which were expressed  
... through the idiom of 'food'; the husband's mother gave manioc "cake"  
... the wife's mother prior to the 'marriage', the wife's matriline gave  
... husband access to residence and the sexual services of their "child",  
... the wife's mother gave the husband's mother a portion of her husband's  
... . This division would appear to emphasise the generative character  
... the relationship between matrilines and SDG linked in marriage.

In this interpretation the garden spatial order refers to 'centre'  
... 'periphery' as 'male' and 'female' roles or, more specifically,  
... husband and wife. The inversion of sex determined roles in peanut

cultivation to those of human reproduction are best represented in tabular form:

<u>human reproduction</u>	<u>peanut cultivation</u>
emphasis on female roles	emphasis on male roles
"wife" obtains "white matter" from the men's houses	"husband" obtains "white matter" from peripheral house
movement from centre to periphery (village)	movement from periphery (village) to centre (garden)
emphasis on blood (female)	emphasis on "white matter" (male)
reproduction focussed on periphery domain (hearth)	reproduction focussed on centre (garden)
female control	male control

We can also interpret this stage of the peanut cycle as representing the relationship between 'male' and 'female' as expressed in the village by centre : periphery. Thus the peanuts can be seen as products of the men's houses ( the village or garden centre) as opposed to the offspring of individual men in uxori-local residence. In this respect the inspection ceremony symbolises the 'fertilisation' of the peanuts, as 'members' of the village centre, by the village male group and the subsequent development of the peanuts in the garden centre can be interpreted as the development of male offspring in the men's houses (the village centre). In sum, in addition to the male role in biological reproduction (the biological interpretation), the peanut cycle also expresses the ideology of male social reproduction; it represents a development cycle where "white matter" is fertilised by the village group of men, is 'conceived' in a male domain, develops in a male domain under the control and influence of men and, finally, grows to maturity in the male domain. This representation is particularly apt as peanuts must leave peripheral houses to develop and reproduce in the garden centre, and, equally, males must leave peripheral houses to develop as males in the men's houses in the

village centre. Furthermore, both dislocations were articulated by mature men through marriage and from uxori-local residence.

The contention that gardens articulate 'generative' concepts helps us to understand why mature women, who had no access to a garden through a husband, could participate in the cultivation of a "father's" garden in return for produce when the garden matured. At face value this practice is anomalous in Panara society, where the daughter/father relationship was of low status in the periphery economic domain; rather it might be expected that a woman would participate in the garden of a male sibling (itoñ). It can be suggested that the potential cooperation between daughter and father, but not brother and sister, in garden practice reflects a fundamental theme; that gardens, like children, were the products of 'male' and 'female' as representatives of distinct matrilineal SDG. Whilst it is perhaps extreme to speak of 'incestuous' garden partnerships it can be argued that a woman's participation in her "father's" garden is a duplication of the relationship between her mother and father; it is a continuation of the economic/generative partnership between their SDG and matriline. But for a woman to work the gardens of her "brother" would be counter to the generative character of horticulture and a denial of the necessity of establishing ties outside the natal SDG in reproductive processes.

#### The Peanut Inspection Ceremony and the Puberty Ceremony

A description of the puberty ceremony was given in Chapter V and here will only briefly summarise the main points. The ceremony (krasuri) is identical for males and females and involved the cutting of the hair in two ceremonies held at the end of consecutive rainy seasons.

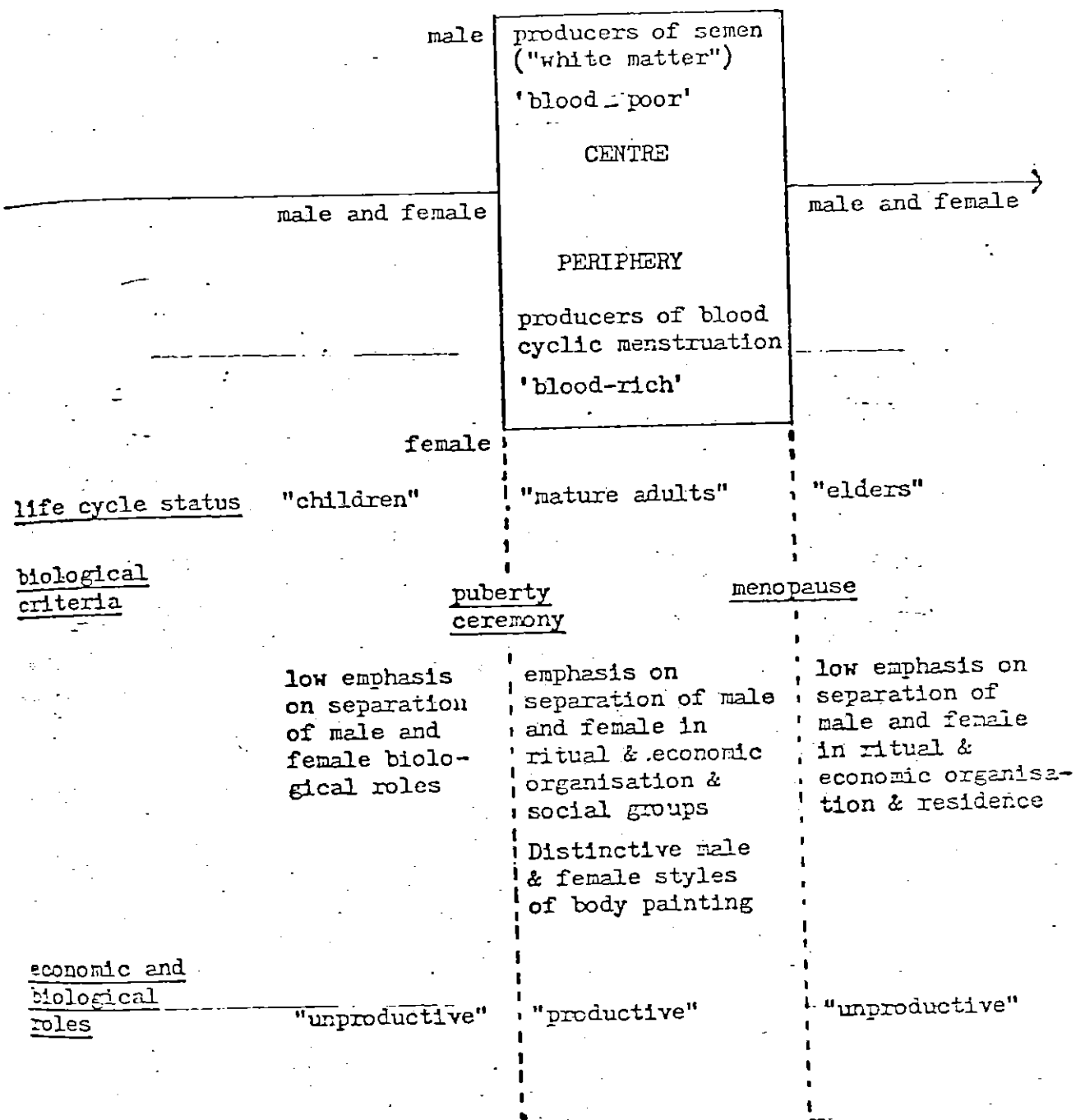


The ceremony was located in a garden centre and the cutting tool used was the shell of a dried peanut. In Chapter V I suggested that the thigh scars can be interpreted as symbols of the vagina and the peanut cutting tool as a symbol of the penis. A common puberty ceremony for males and females is not common in South American Tropical Forest societies and in Panara society it would appear to represent the emphasis of the termination of a common male-female 'biological' phase of development; I use the term 'biological' as youths had already been separated from female adolescents through men's house residence and lip perforation. Thus prior to the puberty rites de passage "children" and adolescents of both sexes showed a common lack of concern over 'the body', with low emphasis placed on body painting and, for example, with common 'back cutting' to promote carrying ability (see fig 28). The emphasis on the 'biological' separation of 'male' and 'female' came with the girls' first menses; an event that sets women irretrievably apart from men until the termination of menstruation and the beginning of "elder" status - this sequence has been discussed in Chapter V (see p. 151).

To understand the location and form of the puberty ceremony we must return to the peanut 'inspection' ceremony which has a related structure. Firstly, both ceremonies share a common concern in articulating the differentiation of 'infertile' "raw materials" through the intervention of the mature male village group in natural cycles. The regulation of the critical change in status from 'infertile' to 'fertile' by the male group can be considered as a facet of the 'centre's' status as the 'social' and 'ideological' 'core' of Panara society; in this respect the 'centre' in Gê societies can be considered as similar to the cosmological domains in Lowland Tropical Forest societies - we can suggest that the vertical dimension of 'sky'/'earth' is represented in Gê societies by the horizontal dimension of periphery/centre in the context of 'religion'.

Figure 28 Biological Cycles:

Productive Status and the Location of the Puberty Ceremony



If we compare the spatial organisation of the peanut 'inspection' and the puberty ceremonies (see fig 29) the significance of the peripheral house location of the former and the garden centre location of the latter become apparent. If at the present we do not consider time scales, the two cycles share a common structure: the process of development towards a mature status is terminated by a movement to a metaphorically opposed domain where the "raw materials" (the terminal product - which is both product and produce) are differentiated by the village male group to determine generative roles for the continuation of the cycle. Thus in the case of peanuts the differentiation precedes planting and propagation and in the case of humans it precedes marriage and parenthood. This common structure is augmented by a more curious inversion as, on the one hand, the mechanism of differentiation in the peanut cycle is that peanuts are broken in peripheral houses by the village male group, whereas in the human cycle peanuts cut humans in the garden centre (see fig 29).<sup>1</sup>

#### The 'Female' Stage of Peanut Cultivation

The 'female' stage of the peanut cycle contrasts radically with the 'male' stage as the former can be characterised as secular whereas the latter is highly ritualised. During harvesting, transportation and processing we find no ritual activity or magical influences and the process was organised by individual women working their husbands' gardens. Though drying and storage were organised as a household activity under the direction of female "elders". A number of important points should

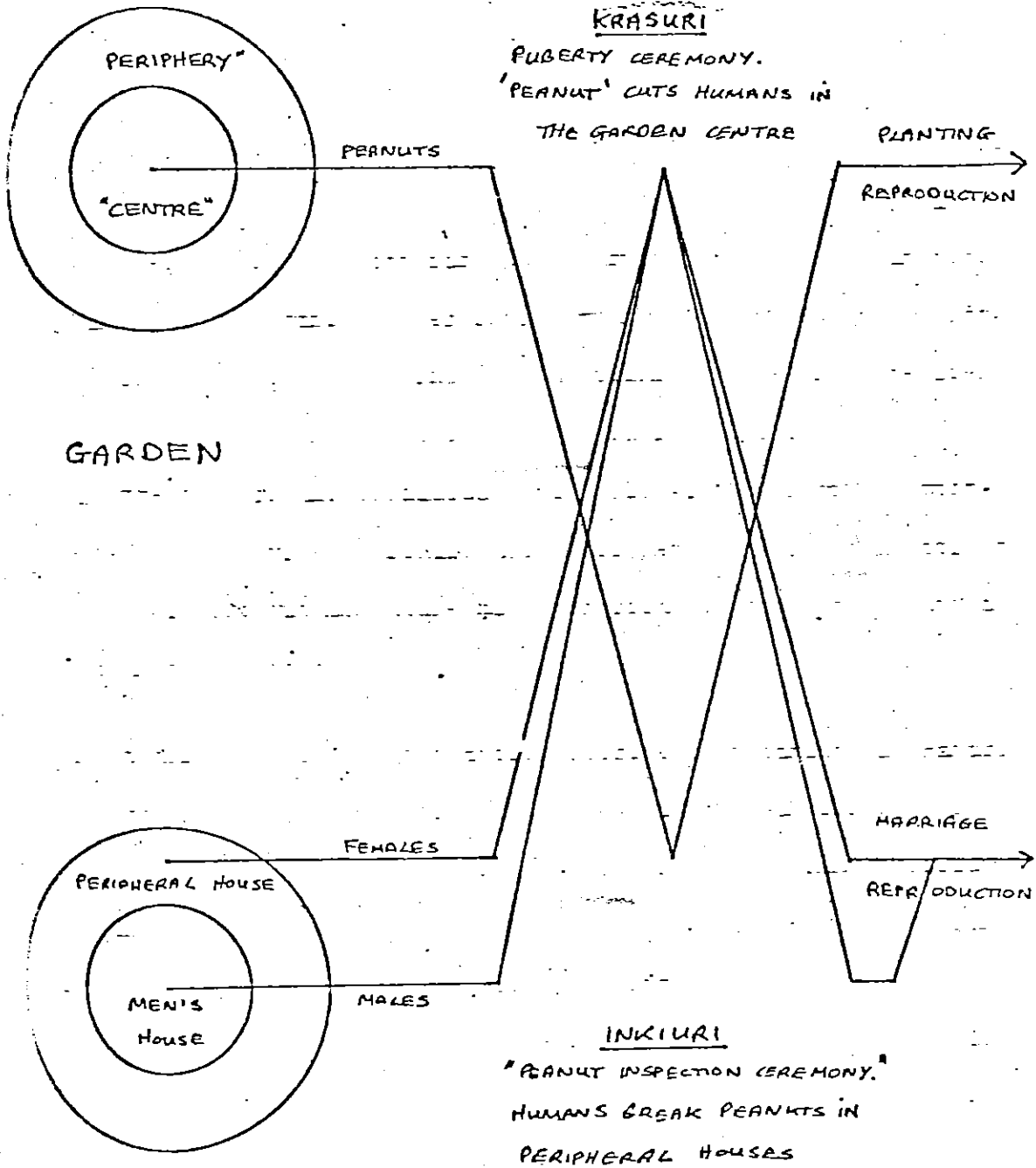
We can also note that the puberty ceremony was held at the end of the rainy season, i.e. when the peanut crop was reaching maturity. Thus biologically recognised biological productivity of humans is achieved at the same time as the peanuts reach maximum growth.

THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF THE  
INERTY AND PEANUT INSPECTION CEREMONIES

INFERTILITY

INTERVENTION OF MALE  
CORPORATE GROUP IN THE  
"NATURAL" CYCLE.

FERTILITY



KRASURI

PUBERTY CEREMONY.  
'PEANUT' CUTS HUMANS IN  
THE GARDEN CENTRE

GARDEN

INKIURI

'PEANUT INSPECTION CEREMONY.'  
HUMANS BREAK PEANUTS IN  
PERIPHERAL HOUSES

be made in this respect. Firstly, this stage of the cycle relates to the previous analysis of village space where I identified the periphery as a secular domain; this can also be extended to 'female' identity in Panara society. Secondly, the peanuts did not pass through changes of 'status' in the periphery domain; they were either destroyed by consumption or stored in their shells for the following year's garden. Thus from the time of harvesting to the following peanut inspection ceremony the peanuts remain 'static'. Finally, we can also note that it was the "elders" who organised the preparation of the crop for storage in baskets which were probably located in the centre of the peripheral house as a communal household food supply. This is particularly apt as it was female "elders" who articulated the structure of the household through the position of matriline head. Here reference can again be made to the male life cycle as the presence of men in uxori-local residence was regulated by the senior women of the household. However, why peanuts were excluded from the major ritual cycle of food festivals remains a crucial question as my discussion to this point has identified the peanut as a major ritual food; it is precisely the crop we would expect to be a focus of food festival collection.

Secular collection can be understood only if we consider the peanut cycle as a representation of the male development cycle. As has been illustrated by the cycle to this point, although peanuts were cultivated as a food<sup>1</sup> the Panara placed emphasis during planting and growth on aspects of village order. Thus the development of both male adolescents and

<sup>1</sup> I have so far said little about the peanut as a food. This is partly due to the shortage of peanuts in PNK. When obtained (principally from the Fayabi) peanuts were eaten immediately inside peripheral houses. Though undoubtedly a popular food, peanuts were not associated with diet restrictions and appeared to be a food for all life cycle stages and statuses. This subject requires further research, though it can be suggested that as a "white food" par excellence peanuts can be seen as having strength giving qualities during both social and biological status.

peanuts were in the male domain of the centre, and the termination of both stages was marked by the 'intervention' of women; peanuts were harvested and transported to the village periphery by women and mature men left the men's houses for periphery residence in the "wife's" household. These movements represent a contrast to the opening of the two cycles; that of men's house development for adolescent males was articulated by "fathers" and the process of development involved the village male population, and the peanut cycle was opened by a man as a garden owner and the intervention of the village male group. The dialectic here is between an individual mature man, the village male group and an individual mature woman, the garden owner's wife. In contrast, the termination of the peanut cycle was articulated by the garden owner's wife and was organised by the female 'group' of her household. Finally, the termination of male residence in the men's houses was articulated by an individual mature woman as "wife" and his presence in his uxori-local household was, to a great extent, organised by the "wife's" female household members. The dialectic here is between an individual mature man, a household female group and an individual mature woman.

The termination of the two cycles represents a paradox in Panara society which I have previously referred to as the 'uxori-local dilemma' in the case of the male development cycle. Thus, on the one hand, marriage with the establishment of uxori-local residence was central to mature male status whereas, on the other hand, the village centre was conceptualised as the true 'male' domain.

We can suggest a similar argument in the case of peanuts, where the crop is uprooted at the height of development for consumption. My suggestion here is that harvesting can be considered as a representation of marriage; the termination of male residence in a 'male' domain which was articulated by individual women as "wives".

In Panara society marriage was not marked by ceremony or ritual and can be conceptualised as the movement of men from centre to periphery in the context of generative or productive roles (the initial phase of marriage was essentially sexual in character - see p.203). This also accounts for the absence of the ritual harvesting of peanuts; as with 'marriage', this stage of the cycle was not marked by ritual.

However, harvesting and marriage are clearly crucial to the continuation of both cycles of production. If men were to follow their ideal and to remain in men's house residence, then they could not marry or father children, and, therefore, male "raw materials" would not be produced to enter the men's houses. In addition men who remained in men's house residence could not construct gardens and plant peanuts; the location and tool for the human puberty ceremony would be absent and, in the absence of the ceremony, reproduction would become a "natural" process. Similarly, if peanuts were to remain in the garden centre they would not be available for consumption by the Panara, and if they did not enter peripheral houses no peanuts would be available for planting in the following season. In these respects both cycles represent a fundamental principle of organisation in Panara society:

- a) Both village and garden domains were ordered by a distinction between centre and periphery, which represented 'male' and 'female'.
- b) In isolation these domains can be considered as 'sterile'; the isolated cycles can be represented by the ideology of continued men's house residence or by the natural peanut cycle where the crop is not harvested.
- c) For the continuation of 'fertile' or cultural cycles we find a dialectic between the domains based on the interaction of mature products; in sum, the centre and periphery model generates 'different' products

then synthesised to produce "raw materials" which in turn enter the  
development and differentiation.

The dialectic can be isolated at a number of levels: the interaction  
of spatial domains (centre:periphery and, in a more general sense,  
society); between colour categories in the synthesis of "white"  
and "black"; between sex determined groups in the interaction of men's  
and peripheral households; and in the relationship between 'male'  
'female' through marriage.

The human and peanut cycles also refer to the relationship between  
biological and sociological stages of development which are associated  
with distinct socio-spatial domains; in both cycles the 'biological'  
is located in the periphery sector whereas the 'sociological' is  
associated with the centre. The terminal phases of the production of  
"raw materials" and the disposal of the end product are located in  
peripheral houses, whereas the process of transformation and development  
is associated with the centre: the former is female dominated and the  
latter male.

Whilst the peanut and male development cycles share a common structure  
it is apparent that the sequence of development, the temporal scale, is  
reversed in the peanut cultivation cycle. The crucial difference is that  
peanuts, unlike humans, fully develop and reproduce in the 'centre'; the  
peanut cultivation cycle represents "white" matter producing "white" matter  
in the male domain, though the product is eventually made available to  
peripheral houses. My suggestion here is that the peanut cycle re-aligns  
the roles between centre:periphery, male:female, and husband: wife, as  
seen in the practical (biological) aspects of reproduction in repre-  
senting a process in accord with Panara ideology. This aspect is most



...ent when we compare the four cycles of natural and cultural peanut  
...ale cycles:

	<u>male roles</u>	<u>female roles</u>
Natural Peanut Cycle	continuous develop- ment in garden centre	excluded
Cultivated Peanut Cycle	male control over the generative stages of fertilisation, con- ception and develop- ment	female control over the terminal stages: the crop when harvested, disposal and seeds
Male 'Reproduction' - Ideological	male control over male development in the men's houses. Male control of the puberty ceremony	female control over the "raw materials" of the cycle: 'birth', illness and death
Male Reproduction - Biological	contribution of semen in periphery domain	contribution of blood. Female control over the process of reproduction in peripheral houses. Female "ownership" of children.

When the cycles are considered as a set, the peanut cultivation cycle  
can be seen to occupy a pivotal position between a natural model and a  
cultural reality; as, on the one hand, the socialisation of a natural  
male and, on the other, the realignment of a biological reality. Thus  
whilst the peanut cultivation cycle remains within the parameters of the  
dialectic between culture and nature, centre and periphery, and 'male' and  
'female', the specific roles are realigned towards those of Panara  
ecology where 'male' is conceptualised as the 'social' or 'generative'  
category. Thus the cycle can be interpreted as a model for men's house  
'regeneration' as the 'birth', 'growth' and development of "white matter"  
located in the centre, and it is only 'fertilisation' that is located  
in the periphery domain. In this respect the peanut cultivation cycle  
emphasises certain stages of male development whilst 'playing down'  
others; in sum, male development is seen as commencing with men's house

residence (established through "fathers") - a 'social birth'; growth and development are seen as taking place in the men's houses; and the development of 'male' values is seen as terminating with marriage and virilocal residence. To paraphrase, men's house residence is represented as the creative and the crucial stage in the development towards 'maturity' whereas peripheral house residence is represented as essentially 'sterile' and static.

Before proceeding to a conclusion of the discussion on Panara horticulture and the significance of garden symbolism, I will briefly discuss the question of motivation in peanut symbolism: the question of why the peanut should be selected for such extensive and complex ritualisation. The reproductive cycle of the plant offers some possible explanation on this point and it is also possibly significant that this is a crop that was not traditionally cultivated by the Gê.

#### The Peanut as a Symbol

The following description of peanut physiology is based on the account of Arachis hypogaea L. - groundnut, peanut, monkey nut - of the Virginia Cys<sup>1</sup> in Tropical Crops - Dicotyledons (Purseglove 1968: 24-235).

#### Ecology

The crop requires a rainfall of at least 40" per annum with at least 2" during the growing season, with dry weather for ripening and harvesting.

Unfortunately I was not able to identify the traditional Panara varieties of peanuts. Virginia Cys are true runners with spreading bush forms as opposed to erect bunch forms, and this identification is based on limited information. Panara classification of peanut varieties referred to size and colour of the testa and the range would appear to refer to one Cys.

The soil should be well drained and loose as the crop cannot tolerate waterlogging and heavy soils cause substantial losses during harvesting. It is possible that these controls may explain why the crop was relatively unimportant to the east of the Xingu, as in this area relief is generally poor and large areas are prone to waterlogging during the rainy season. In contrast the Peixoto uplands have well developed slopes which ensure good drainage throughout the year.

### Growth

The crop should be planted with the shell removed. Germination occurs soon after planting with the rapid growth of the radicle, which may reach 10-14 cm in 4-5 days. The segments (cotyledons) of the kernel are pushed to the surface by the growth of the hypocotyl and a terminal bud and two lateral buds grow from the cotyledons. The terminal bud forms the main stem which remains sterile above the first 3-5 nodes, which bear monopodial branches. On the monopodia the first two axes produce secondary monopodia and the second two produce reproductive branches; this alternate pattern of paired vegetative and paired reproductive branches is repeated until the branch terminates with a series of sterile axes.

Flowers are formed on the reproductive branches with a greater concentration on the lower nodes. The flowers are small and yellow, appear some 4-6 weeks after planting and reach a maximum level after a further 4-6 weeks. In each inflorescence only one flower opens each day with an interval of some days between flowers; in the flowering cycle the buds elongate slowly during the day, rapidly at night, with opening and pollination taking place at sunrise the following day. The flowers self pollinate within a closed keel and wither and shed within 5-6

hours of pollination. After fertilisation the fruit appears at the end of a pointed stalk like structure (the peg). The tip of the peg is composed of lignified ovary cells which act as a protective cap when, after growing laterally, the peg is pushed back into the soil. The peg penetrates some 2-7 cm into the ground, where fruit development takes place (see fig.30).

### The Fruit

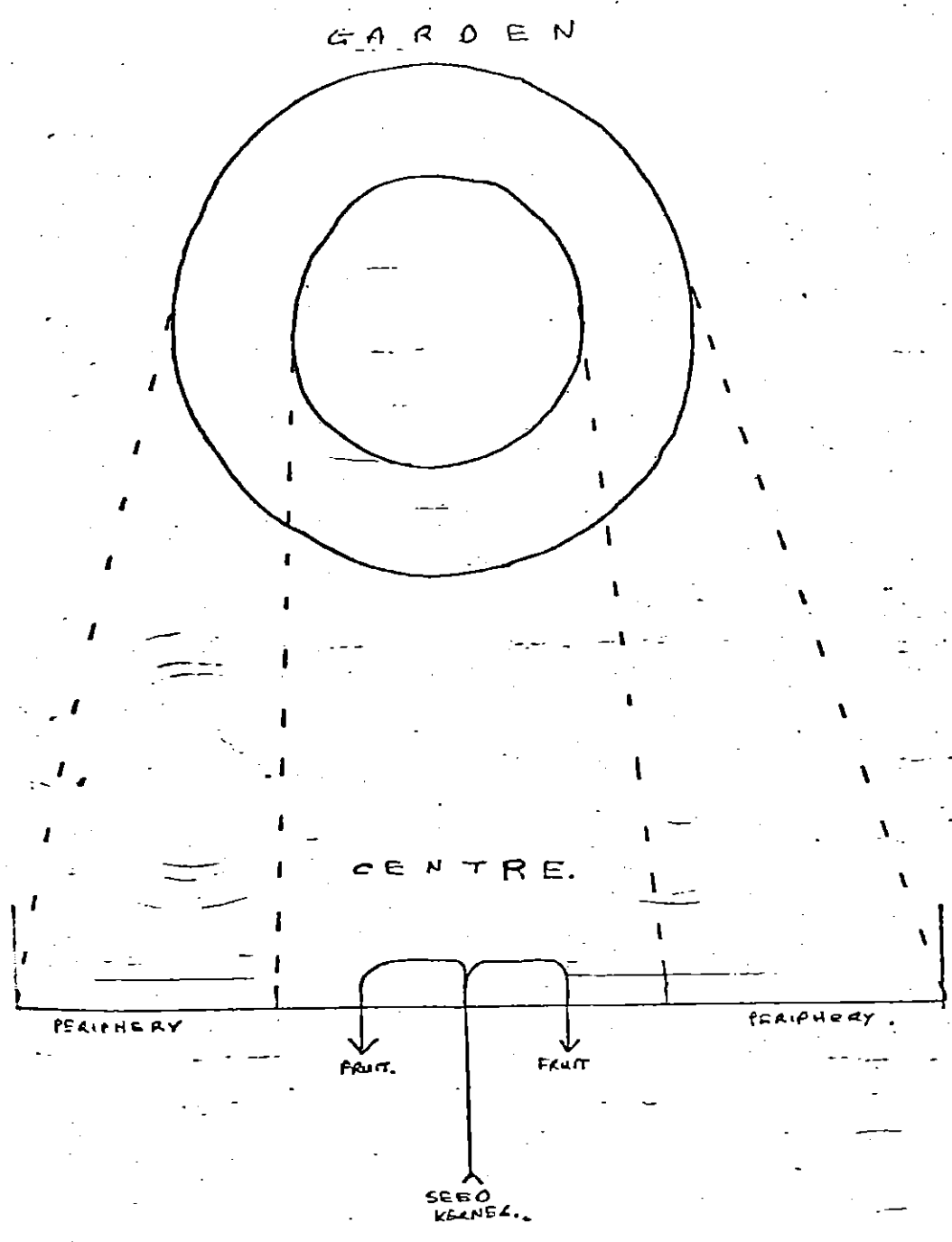
The dry pericarp (shell) is reticular with ten longitudinal ridges which develop from the mechanical tissue below the testa. The seeds have a marked dormancy, as they only germinate after a 30 -360 day rest period. Finally, the Virginia Cys typically have two seeds to a pod.

In the absence of exegesis on peanut symbolism it is only possible to suggest certain analogies with Panara concepts of human development. I suggest that the peanut cycle can be seen as representing the ideology of male development in that the cycle is 'closed'<sup>1</sup> and, when planted in the garden centre, represents how "white matter" can reproduce "white matter" in an all-male domain without the interaction of 'females' and the periphery (see fig 30). In addition to the analogy of concentric space it can also be suggested that the vertical plane, the planting, growth above the ground and finally the return of the fruit to the ground to develop, is also of relevance; as noted previously the distinction between sun - buried/ soaked and open:closed appears to have been important in Panara society.

At the present time I am uncertain as to the extent such analogies can be extended. For example, it may well be relevant that the plant self-pollinates (i.e. a true closed cycle); the Panara certainly identified pollen as 'generative material' (pollen - siñ, which was also used to refer to semen - see properties of honey, p.137).

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CONCENTRIC AND VERTICAL  
SECTIONS OF PEANUT DEVELOPMENT



The properties of the peanut itself can also be referred to Panara notions of physiology. Thus the peanut can be considered as a hard ridged exterior (the shell) enclosing a thin and dry testa (which is typically "red") which encloses a large body of "white" material (the kernel). This structure represents a Panara classificatory theme and, moreover, the elements approximate to the male ideological ideal: the 'skin' is very hard (it cuts human skin in the puberty ceremony),<sup>1</sup> the 'blood' is dry and is present in small quantities and the 'bone'/semen' is present in large quantities and is, so to speak, the main product. We can also suggest a further correlation between scarification and "strength" (see p.169) in the parallel between the ridged surfaces of the peanut and the human body after scarification (see fig 31). This structure representing perimeter, periphery and centre, or "black", "red" and "white", can also be related to the spatial organisation of the garden, the village and the cosmology (see fig 31).

Finally as a food the peanut stands apart from other horticultural produce as in Panara ideology and in "western" scientific opinion it has a food value comparable to game as a source of protein (see Table 20). In Chapter V I suggested that the Panara showed a consistent interest in foods as a source of "strength" of body, and in this respect it is not surprising that the protein-rich peanut should be associated with ritual

In addition to the apparent phallic symbolism of the peanut the use of such an unusual and probably ineffective tool for a major cutting ceremony suggests that reference is being made to, or emphasis on, the hardness of the peanut shell. This is not an unreasonable proposition. In other perforation and cutting ceremonies the tools (spinning stick, staff and paca teeth) are powerful symbols pertaining to the significance of the rites de passage.

SOCIAL AND BIOLOGICAL  
SPATIAL CATEGORIES.

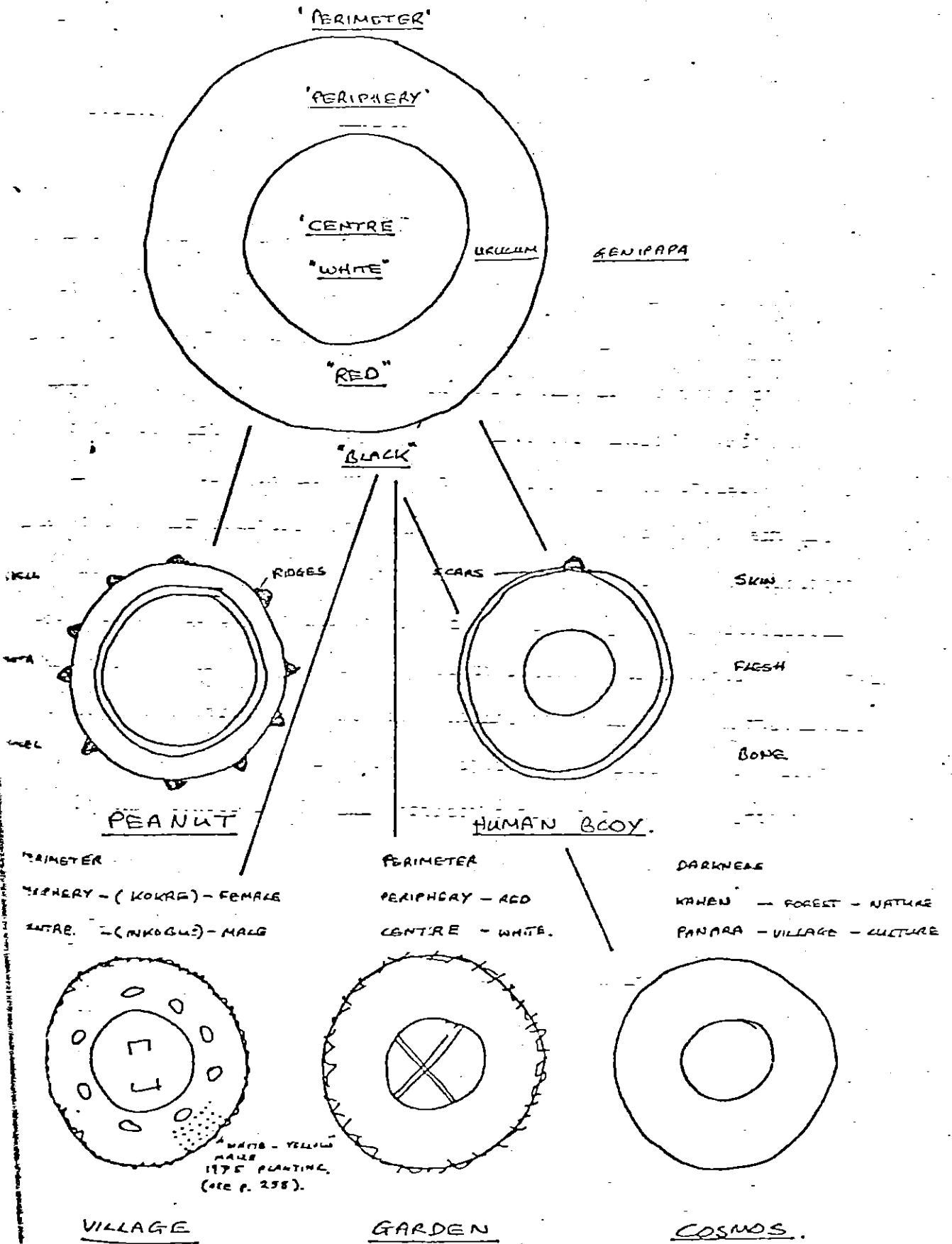


Table 20

Chemical Composition of Crops<sup>1</sup>

Crop	% chemical composition				
	protein	fat	carbohydrate	fibre/ash	water
peanut (shelled)	30.4	47.7	11.7	4.8	5.4
maize	9.0 - 15.0	5.0	79.0	7.0	dry weight
sweet potato	2.0	0.2	27.0	1.0	70.0
manioc	1.0	0.3	35.0	1.0	62.0
beans	1.0 - 2.5	.05 - .20	15 - 25	1.2 - 3.5	65 - 75
bananas	1.2	0.3	27.1	1.4	70.0

Food preference : a subjective classification:

Vegetables:

- peanuts
- sweet potatoes
- manioc-maize "cake"
  - a) "red" maize
  - b) "black" manioc
  - c) "white" maize
  - d) "white" manioc
- bananas
- beans

The data in this table are taken from Tropical Crops - Dicotyledons  
and Monocotyledons (Purseglove 1968).



and symbolic significance. This contention can be supported by the order of garden crops where movement from periphery to centre also represents a transition from low to high status or from low 'food value' to high 'food value'; at its most extreme this distinction can be summarised by the relationship between urucum and peanuts.

### Horticulture : A Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter I described Panara horticultural practice and interpreted the garden order as a metaphorical representation of village and cosmological space. Although this is a subject of intrinsic interest it did not substantially add to an understanding of Panara social structure. However, the analysis of the organisation of processes within garden space; horticultural activity and technique, permits an extension of the metaphor between garden and village to the levels of 'development' cycles, the status of spatial domains and to ideology. More specifically, the analysis of garden symbolism and order focusses our attention on certain facets of social structure which are emphasised or marked in horticultural activity but which are not immediately apparent in discussion of village life. In this conclusion I will abstract a number of these points for further discussion.

In Panara garden metaphor a consistent theme is the relationship between various levels of socio-spatial organisation: the hearth unit, the men's groups and peripheral households. This raises a number of points:

1. Garden space can be seen as representing both the hearth group ("husband and wife") and the village (centre and periphery). This dual reference was expressed in the dual significance of the peanut 'inspection'

ceremony, the organisation of the garden cycle by the men's houses, though gardens were individually owned, and harvesting by ritual and secular methods (see Chapter IX). In this respect we can suggest that the village is structured by the same principles as the hearth group; the former represents the 'biological' aspects of production and the latter the 'sociological'.

b) The garden cycle indicates that the structure of the hearth group and the village was articulated by the institution of marriage: by the union of husband:wife, centre:periphery, and the categories of male:female - this is an important point as in practice 'marriage' was not an emphasised ceremony (see p. 201). In this context the Panara emphasised that only married men could construct gardens and the peanut cycle indicates that the Panara associated garden produce with "offspring" and the process of reproduction'. Thus in both human and garden 'development' 'marriage' occupies a crucial, though unemphasised, position.

The peanut cycle represents a succinct expression of the ideological and 'practical' relationships between socio-spatial domains. Thus on the one hand the cycle clearly expresses the interdependence between 'male' and 'female', centre and periphery, in the context of on-going social relations; the categories are intimately bound in a cycle representing biological establishment and sociological development. Moreover the 'biological' or 'biological' aspects are firmly located in the periphery whereas the 'social' is associated with the men and the centre. At an ideological level the peanut, and indeed the garden, cycle also represent a realignment of roles in reproduction with emphasis passing from periphery to centre and from female to male. This can be interpreted as one facet of a more general shift in emphasis from the biological aspects of reproduction, which in the village are associated with the

'low status' periphery domain, to the process of social development, which is associated with the men's houses.

Finally, in both the human and peanut cycles the crucial point of attaining 'reproductive' status is marked by the 'ritual' intervention of the village male group; the puberty ceremony and the peanut inspection ceremony. The point requiring emphasis is that it is men who 'socialise' natural cycles through the institution of men's houses and the village centre; it is men who bestow socially recognised generative roles and who thereby promote the continuation of social productive cycles.

In this chapter I have argued that Panara horticulture can only be understood by reference to socio-spatial concepts generated within village and cosmological space. The significance of gardens is built up through the location and pattern of crops, rules of garden ownership and access, the properties of crops and the organisation of planting, growth influences and harvesting methods. If we consider this domain as a "stage", then the location of crops in, and their movement between, spatial domains in the garden and village can be interpreted as a metaphorical representation of related processes-operative in village space in the development cycles of Panara. Why the garden should be utilised to express these aspects of social organisation will be returned to in Chapter X, and here I will only suggest that it possibly represents a further facet of a general Panara interest in food and that horticulture would appear to be an excellent idiom in which to express these concepts: the symbols and metaphors can be eaten.

CHAPTER IX

FOOD FESTIVALS

Introduction

The subject of food has been a consistent theme in the examination of Panara social organisation. In Chapter IV I utilised the distinction between earth oven and open fire cooking to delineate hearth and household levels of organisation; Chapter V was in large part concerned with Panara concepts of physiology and diet and in Chapter VIII I discussed horticulture as a metaphorical representation of village space and socio-biological processes. In this chapter I am concerned with ritual economic processes in what I term the 'food festival cycle'.

Food festivals can best be described as the harvesting, portage and division of specific foods by the men of the village as an organised men's house activity. The Panara referred to these ceremonies as sokiuri (?) and during the period of research these events were the dominant village activity; food festivals formed the framework for the great majority of plaza activities including log races. The high frequency of food festivals is illustrated in Table 21 and is all the more remarkable when it is considered that for much of this period the Panara were without gardens, were unfamiliar with the PNK environment and were suffering from the effects of recent depopulation and contact. The question of attitude requires emphasis as it was apparent that food festivals represented an extremely important facet of Panara ideals of village life. Thus the first festival to be held in PNK was at a time of great distress, when the health and future of the tribe were in the balance: it was held at

Table 21

Food Festivals : December 1974 - November 1976

location and date	product	duration
<u>Piripuri</u>		
1. 12.3.1975	[ manioc manioc fish	single collection
2. 13.3.1975		single collection
3. 21.3.1975		one day fishing trip
<u>Kretire</u>		
4. 25.4.1975	[ manioc meat	single collection
5. 26.4.1975		three day trip
<u>Diauarum</u>		
6. 19.10.1975	pliqui	single collection
<u>Suya</u>		
7. 21.12.1975	[ honey manioc manioc meat fish honey maize honey fish manioc fish honey pumpkin fish maize manioc fish fish	one day collection
8. 22.12.1975		single collection
9. 23.12.1975		single collection
10. 28.12.1975		six day trip
11. 6.1.1976		one day trip
12. 8.1.1976		one day collection
13. 14.1.1976		collection from houses
14. 15.1.1976 (absent from field)		two day collection
15. 18.4.1976		one day trip (men's house residents)
16. 20.4.1976		single collection
17. 22.4.1976		four day trip
18. 15.5.1976		one day collection
19. 17.5.1976		one day collection
20. 18.5.1976		two day trip
21. 18.5.1976 (men working on garden clearance)	collection from houses	
22. 18.6.1976	collection from houses	
23. 20.6.1976 (first trek party left village)	one day (using poison)	
24. 22.6.1976	one day collection (men's house residents)	
<u>(trekking &amp; garden burning/planting)</u>		
25. 1.9.1976	fish	one day (using poison)
26. 25.10.1976	meat (tapir)	killed as secular game
27. 17.10.1976	honey	two day collection
28. 7.11.1976	meat	three day trip
(January 1977)	turtle	(not known)

[ ... Festivals where vegetable and game produce were combined.

Table 22

Food Festival Cycle

Jan				
Feb	RAINS	RESIDENCE IN VILLAGE		
March			meat	wide frequency - main concentration during rains, when game is driven onto high ground
April			yams ( <u>kræ urkri:di</u> )	
May	GARDEN CLEARANCE		maize ( <u>musu:</u> )	
June			sweet potatoes ( <u>itu:</u> )	
July	DRY	TREK GROUPS	pumpkins ( <u>kurku:di</u> )	
Aug			manioc ( <u>kusa</u> )	manioc collected from gardens throughout the year to combine with game
Sept	GARDEN BURN PLANT		fish ( <u>tepi</u> )	
Oct			honey ( <u>lambe:n</u> )	honey & fish concentrated in dry season, when honey sweeter & fish poison can be used
Nov			Brazil nut ( <u>duksu:</u> )	
Dec	RAINS		piqui ( <u>sobasur</u> )	
			turtle ( <u>arku:di</u> )	

Plauarum Post during the difficult process of separation from the Kayapo and when most of the Panara were suffering from influenza.

Food festivals can be ordered in an approximate cycle (see Table 22) and each festival was directed towards a specific food with the ceremony referred to by that product's name (e.g. a "fish festival" tapi-sokiuri). Any product from within the range of festival foods (see Table 22) could be the subject of more than one festival during the annual cycle, as the frequency and dates of the ceremonies were related to the abundance and popularity of the food; it would appear, however, that each food should ideally be the subject of festival collection at least once in the annual cycle. I should also emphasise that no food was exclusively collected by festival activity, as all festival foods were also harvested by secular and, indeed, trek group methods. Certain foods with a well defined harvesting season (for example, piqui, Brazil nut, "red" maize) were commonly the subject of one festival at a relatively fixed time of the year. In the case of other foods the distribution was less clear and festivals were typically associated with times of abundance; fish festivals were more frequent during the dry season when 'poison' could be used, honey festivals were popular during the dry season when honey was "sweeter" and meat festivals were more frequent during the rainy season when the reduced areas of land after flooding made game easier to hunt and meat was considered to be of a higher quality. Abundance and the high quality of the product appear to have been integral elements of festivals and in large part success was measured by the size of the 'heap' of festival produce available for distribution to the village.

During residence in PNK there was a noticeable change in emphasis from meat festivals to fish festivals as the major events in the ritual calendar. This in part reflected the relative abundance of fish as opposed to game in

the vicinity of the Panara villages and in 1976 meat festivals were rarely considered as sufficient quantity of game could not be guaranteed. This modification has been noted previously in the context of secular economic activity (see p. 53) and also reflects the increased dependence of the Panara on canoes. Finally, I should also note that festivals could be held as ad hoc events based on large quantities of produce obtained during secular activity; a pumpkin festival was held after large quantities had been discovered in an abandoned Kayabi garden (Table 2I no. 19), a tapir killed by a secular hunting party was carried to the village by the male group and divided as festival meat (Table 2I no. 26) and maize obtained by two families from a Kayabi village was also partially used as a festival food (Table 2I no. 21).

My classification of Panara economics into secular and ritual methods is based not on the food itself but rather on principles of organisation. In Panara society there were no foods which were exclusively utilised for ritual purposes; tobacco, pepper, beer and <sup>other</sup> intoxicants were absent. Equally, food was not consumed with reference to 'religious states' or to contact with cosmological domains. Rather than being a mechanism of separation, Panara ritual foods were both the object and the subject of ritual, which was focussed on the "earth" plane and, more specifically, on social order. Thus the difference between maize, to take one example, as a ritual and a secular food was not in the specific properties of maize but in the organisation of the process of production. However, whilst we can distinguish festival and secular economic activity by principles of organisation, this should not obscure the crucial point that both forms share a common structure. This requires initial clarification, as at a later point I suggest that food festivals articulate secular economic processes at the level of the village.



## MODELS OF ECONOMIC ORGANISATION : SECULAR AND RITUAL

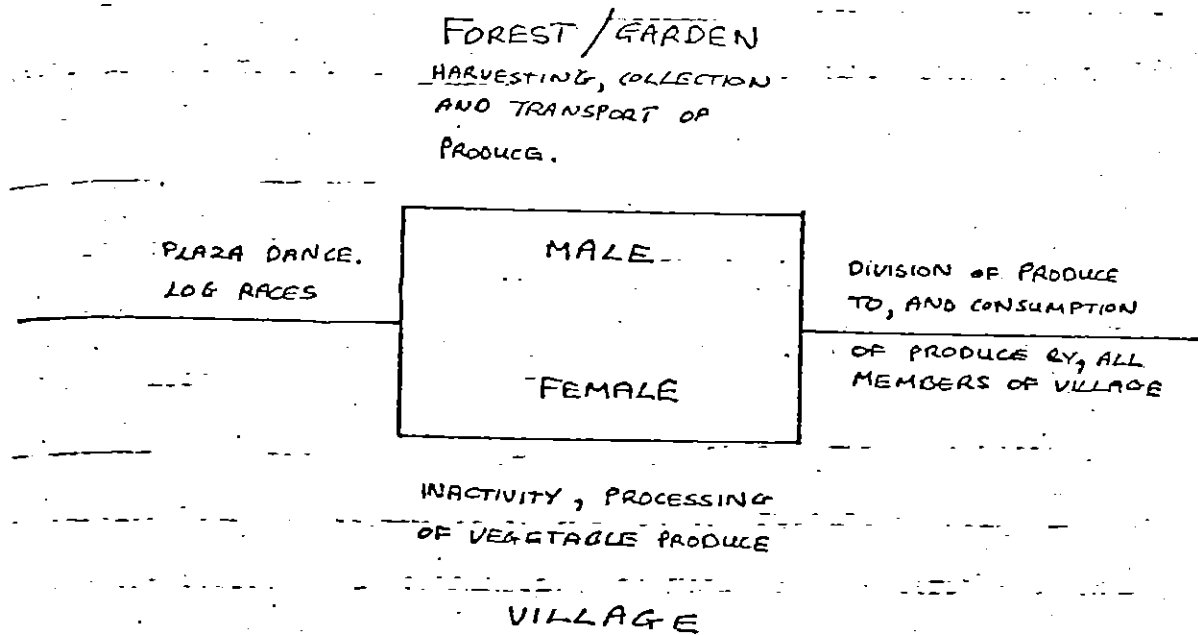
Details of secular economic activity have been included at various points in the previous chapters and here I will only gather together some of the loose strands and isolate the basic principles of organisation. In fig. 32 I represent secular and ritual economic activity as organised by time, spatial domains and sex determined roles (the secular model is based on a daily cycle and the festival model on single events which may extend for as long as seven days). The secular cycle commences with husband-wife co-residence in the wife's hearth area, which I have identified as a productive biological domain (see p.136). Separation between husband and wife was marked by a men's house debate (swakre:, see p.227) from which women were excluded. This introduced male economic activity and during the remainder of the day husband and wife were occupied with distinct tasks in distinct domains; men worked in the forest, gardens or men's houses, whereas female work was focussed on the peripheral house. The differentiation of economic tasks by sex was discussed in Chapter III and summarised in Table 1. The point requiring emphasis is that the husband and wife were not conceptualised as working in joint activity in the uxori-local house during the day and that those tasks associated with cooperation were accorded a biological status: the clearing of gardens and the collection of honey are two examples. Rather, women were associated with female co-residents and men were associated with male groups in hunting, fishing or collection.

In the late afternoon the husband returned to his wife's household and the synthesis of 'male' and 'female' economic roles was given succinct expression in earth oven cooking; the combination of 'male' game and

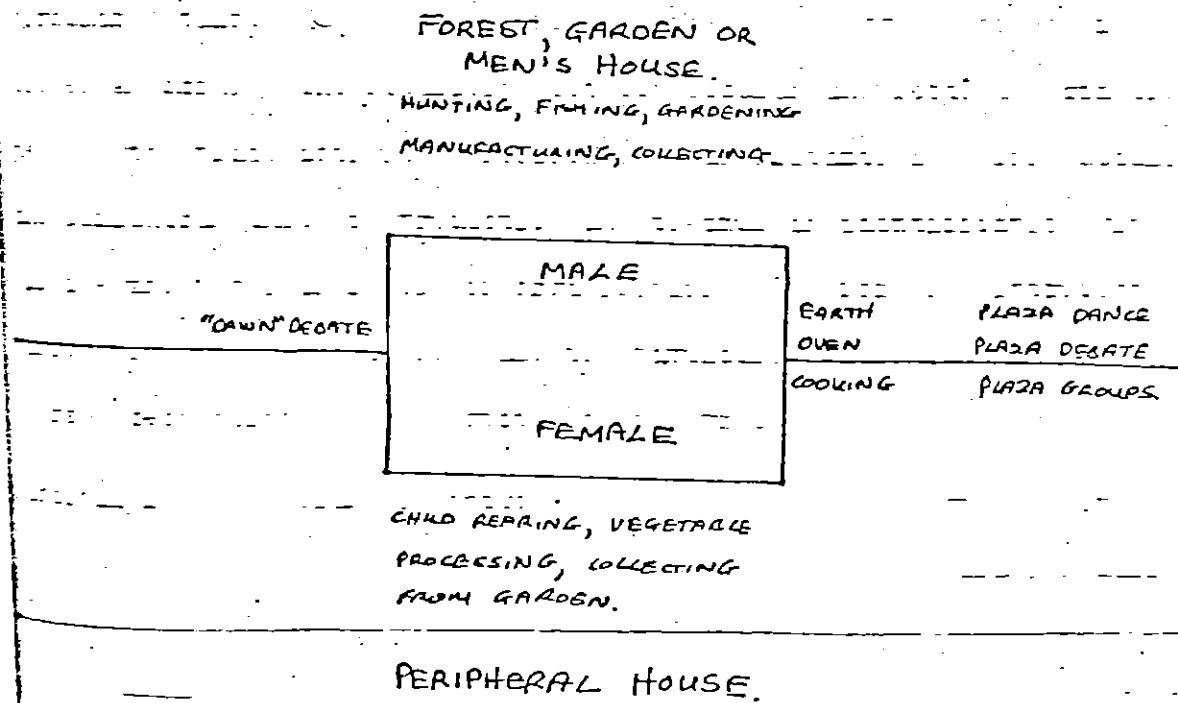
FIG 32.

MODELS OF RITUAL AND SECULAR ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

a) RITUAL ECONOMICS



b) SECULAR ECONOMICS



'female' vegetable produce, of "red" and "white", and of wild and cultivated produce in a social process. Whilst this event did not take place each day, it was marked as the highest form of secular cooking with the highest status product - meat "cake". Following earth oven activity the joint identity of the husband and wife was maintained in plaza groups during the evening for eating and oratory (see p. 95). In the consumption of the day's economic produce the Panara emphasised that men should sit with their uxori-local household, or men's house group, and not with matrilineal kin (see p. 138). Equally men participated in the plaza dances from their uxori-local houses and returned to that location when the dance was completed - the significance of dance will be discussed in the context of the ritual cycle. Finally, the day terminated with the gradual dispersal of household groups, with individual couples going to their hearth-areas and the wife's sleeping mat.

In the following account, based on three food festivals, I organise the material by reference to the three phases of secular economic activity: the differentiation of productive groups and their respective roles; the period of economic activity; and the synthesis of the two 'groups' in the closing of the cycle. Before proceeding, I should emphasise that although I suggest that secular and ritual economics shared a common structure, the structure itself was given different emphasis by the Panara. Thus in secular economics we can suggest that the activity of food production was emphasised more than dawn debates, earth ovens or evening dances, whereas in ritual economics the Panara placed considerable emphasis on the ritual aspects of the festival cycle. In practice the secular model, advanced above, was rarely followed in its entirety; in this respect it is an 'ideological' model representing Panara conceptualisations of 'daily' life, whereas the ritual model was conformed to whenever possible.

Food Festivals

The following description is based on three festivals observed in  
PNX: a piqui festival (lat. Caryocar butyrosum, Panara sobasur -  
Table 21, no. 6), a honey festival (lampe:n - ibid no.27) and a meat  
festival (referred to as sokiuri - ibid no. 10 and summarised in Table 23).

Preparations for Festival Collection

The decision to hold a food festival was generally taken in a 'dawn'  
men's house debate and it typically followed the success of a secular  
hunting, fishing or collecting group. For example, if a party reported  
an abundance of fish in a certain section of the river, a festival  
expedition would be organised to exploit the resource. Following the  
debate the decision was communicated to women in the peripheral houses by  
a "young elder" in a 'house-to house' oration.

'Planned' food festivals were introduced by plaza activity: oratory,  
circular, 'paired' dance or log races; these, I suggest, can be inter-  
preted as marking the separation between secular and festival 'conscious-  
ness'; the plaza activities reorientate participants away from secular  
and peripheral units of production and towards an identification with  
village and festival levels of organisation. The form of 'introduction'  
varied with the festival food and the particular plaza activity appears  
to have been related to the status of the produce:

festival food	plaza introduction	degree of emphasis on 'male'/'female' separation during the festival
honey / <u>piqui</u>	circular dance ( <u>inkre</u> )	weak
fish / manioc	circular dance ( <u>inkre</u> ) or male 'paired' dance ( <u>into</u> )	medium
meat	male 'paired' dance ( <u>into</u> ) and log races ( <u>inkwa</u> )	strong

Festival Cycle

nos. 8,9 and 10, Table 21.

	activity in village	activity in forest/garden
75	house-to-house oratory by "young elder" - <u>into-pa:</u>  male paired dance ( <u>into</u> )	festival manioc collection from gardens
75		festival manioc collection from gardens
75	house-to-house oratory by "young elder" - <u>into-pa:</u>  women's line dance in plaza	
75	log race ( <u>inkwa</u> )	
75	male paired dance ( <u>into</u> )	
75	departure of male collection group	
	women prepare secular "cake"	first hunting camp established
75		move to second camp
75		second camp
75		third camp
	women prepare the festival manioc	third camp
a.m.	'male' collection group returns to village division of smoked meat	
p.m.	preparation of festival "cake" log race ( <u>inkwa</u> ) division of festival "cake" circular dance ( <u>inkre</u> )	

attention that food festivals can be ordered as a continuum will  
 be returned to in the discussion of the terminal stage, when I will also  
 state that the festivals for different foods refer to distinct socio-  
 economic processes. At this point I will examine only the particular  
 of plaza activity and their significance as events introducing the  
 of festival collection.

Circular Dance (inkre)

Festivals which involved one day's collection or which were organised  
 by men's house residents were introduced by a 'circular' dance. The  
 dance has been described in Chapter V, and here I will limit my comments  
 to the location and the direction of movement. The dance can be grouped  
 with a number of other activities in which movement was around the  
 periphery of the plaza within the circle of peripheral houses. In the  
 majority of these events the direction of movement was anti-clockwise and  
 included the entrance of the festival collection group with festival pro-  
 ceedings into the village, and 'house-to-house' oratory by a "young elder".  
 The clockwise direction appears significant as the only event organised by clockwise  
 movement was the village entrance by men following the "wasp nest attack"  
 (see p.219). To illustrate the significance of this contrast we can  
 carefully compare the 'circular' dance and the "wasp nest attack" dance:

	<u>inkre</u> ("thigh" "egg")	<u>sur-kio-kio</u> ("pain" "smell")
occasion	'daily' & festival sunset; men from peripheral houses; known by village;	specific - after a "raid" on return to village; men from distant forest;
dance line	"young elders", mature men, adolescents, "elders"; led from front; fast moving; noise - all sing; anti-clockwise direction; group finale - concentra- tion of men in centre; female pride;	"elders", adolescents, mature men, "young elders"; pushed from rear; slow moving; silence - one "young elder" sings; clockwise direction; dispersal to seclusion as individuals to peripheral houses; female 'sorrow' (crying, hitting);
decoration	dance belts, feather & red decorations, baby rats, pots & pans; lineal genipapa designs & <u>urucum</u> spots	no dance belts, feathers abandoned outside village; total coverage with soot

In this comparison we can suggest that the two dances represent contrasting aspects of a similar theme; in both instances the line of men represents village unity (see p. 229) but the circular dance, expressing 'creative' or 'positive' forces (festival produce or the closing of the year) is contrasted with the 'destructive' or 'negative' forces associated with raiding through opposite direction of movement.<sup>1</sup> The contrast is also represented by line order, decoration and song.

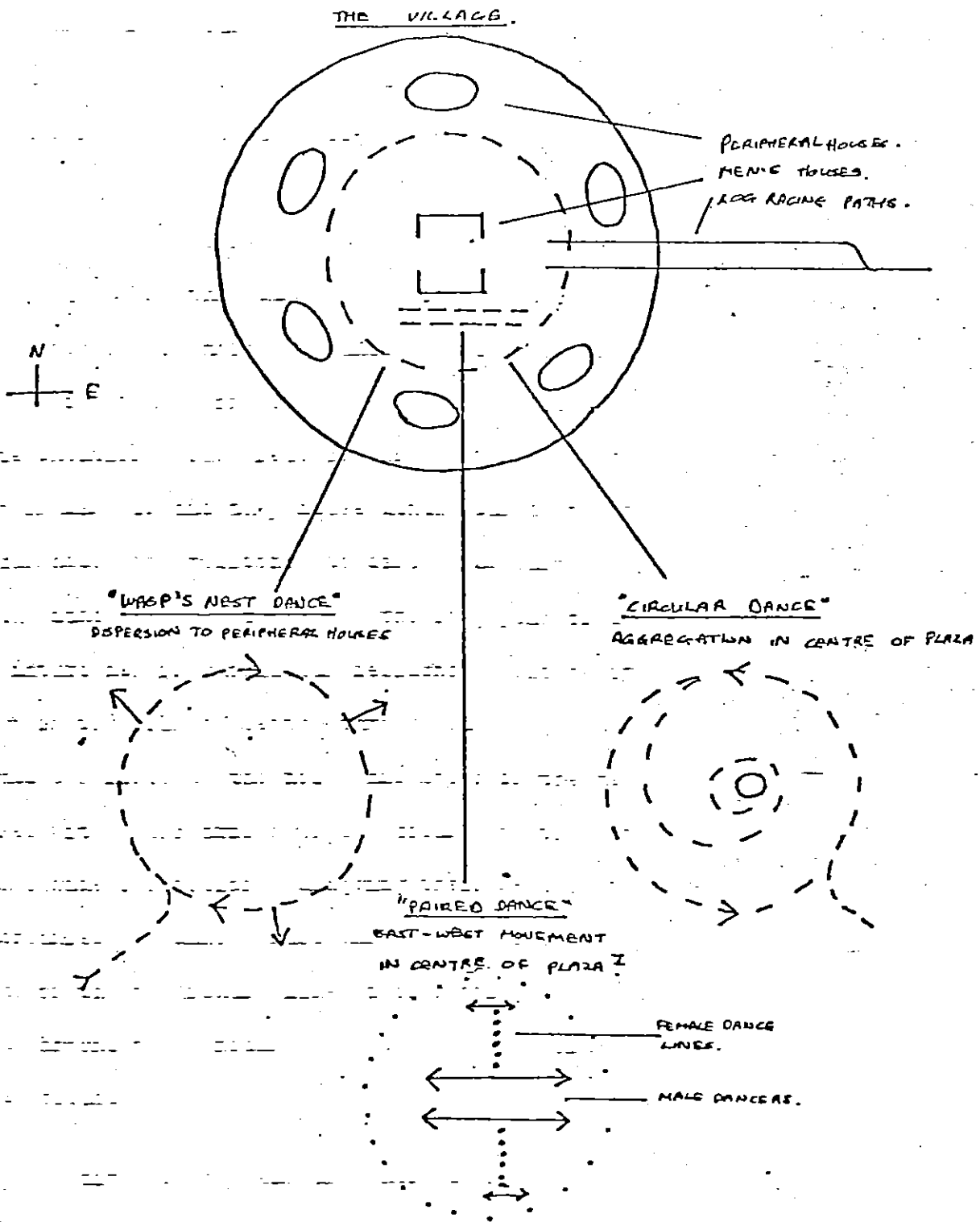
In this analysis I will suggest that dance, and indeed movement in the plaza in general, can be interpreted as representing (i.e. articulating, moving and/or symbolising) the modification of socio-spatial boundaries and form the principles of organisation in secular village life. In this respect I interpret dance as having a special function in the ordering of social groups; dances were performed in specific contexts and at specific times of the day. Thus dance can be seen as a related phenomenon to men's house residence, for example, where movement within village space articulates significant modifications of status. This function of dance can operate independently of the expression of the 'body' discussed in Chapters V and VII.

Whilst the circular dance and the "wasp's nest dance" contrast in direction of movement etc., they both involve the movement of the village group, as a line, around the plaza periphery (see fig 33). - In both

<sup>1</sup> If we accept the contention that anti-clockwise circular movement is conceptualised by the Panara as 'creative' whereas clockwise movement is associated with 'destructive forces', then we can suggest that the 'viewed' the universe from the south - i.e. it is from the south that the course of the sun is anticlockwise. For example, the log-racing entered the village from the east - i.e. the logs followed the same course as the sun. The fact that the Panara stated that the corpse was buried east-west with the head facing north in burial (see p.127) supports this contention. There was, however, no further evidence to suggest a relationship between north and south.

FIG. 33

THE LOCATION OF DANCE MOVEMENT  
IN VILLAGE SPACE.



I THE DANCE TRACKS WERE LOCATED TO ONE SIDE OF THE PLAZA



vents the line was not ordered by the male membership; rather organisation was by age grade and the location of the dances 'midway' between the men's houses and the peripheral houses can be interpreted as expressing the unification of village society. The theme of unification is central to this group of activities; the "wasp's nest dance" terminated corporate village male activity in the 'defence' of the community, the circular dance introduced corporate male activity in food festivals or the evening session of debate (a consensus between households) and, finally, the "house-to-house" activity was explicitly to ensure cooperation between households in village organised activities.

In circular dances the distinctive status of 'male' and 'female' was maintained: men danced facing inwards towards the men's houses as a linked line, whereas women danced on the outside of the male line nearer to the peripheral houses (see p.229). This distinction was emphasised in the finale, where the men spiralled inwards towards the men's houses as a village group, whereas women returned to the periphery of the plaza to households (see fig 33). A similar movement is found in the village entrance of men with festival produce (see fig 35) and I suggest that the spiral symbolises both the unity of the village male group and the distinction between male:female and centre:periphery. Thus in the context of food festivals the circular dance can be interpreted as symbolising the realignment of both men and women away from social groups of the periphery to the centre and the identification of the village as a unified group of men and women. The finale of the dance adds a further realignment with the separation of men and women and the identification of the men as one group in the village centre: the ultimate unity of the village is thus achieved through men and the village centre.

Male Paired Dances (into)

'Male paired dances' introduced the major festivals for meat and fish and participation in the dance was explicitly associated with participation in the festival collection. These festivals typically involved the absence of the village 'male' group from the village for a number of nights and the organisation of hunting or fishing by the moiety principle (see p.311). In this dance the moiety principle was emphasised: representatives of the moieties danced on east-west dance tracks in the plaza centre (see p.225) and each wore a dance belt as a symbol of moiety representation. The 'leaders' of the festival were typically the first pair of dancers and they subsequently called new pairs from their peripheral houses of residence to dance; as each new pair entered they put on the dance belts worn by the previous pair of dancers. In this manner all mature men in uxorilocal residence would be integrated into the male group in the village centre through dance. Women accompanying the dance formed two lines to the north and south of the men and danced in silence, linked with their arms over the breasts of the woman in front and moving with a sideways motion, dragging their feet on the ground. When women accompanied the dance, male dancers wore reed waist bands and the leading women of the two female lines representing the moieties wore the dance belts around their necks, with the elements clasped in both hands over their breasts.

A 'paired dance' was also held during the "wasp nest ceremony" and marked the termination of male seclusion in peripheral houses and their integration into village society. It is also of interest that when a village was under a threat of attack two senior representatives of moieties would dance in the plaza (referred to as into-waka), which can be interpreted as symbolising the 'readiness' of the moieties for the defence of the village. Finally 'paired dance' was held at the

associated with mature male status and was important in symbolising the integration of senior adolescents into the adult male group (see p.225). In this respect the dance expressed the transition of adolescents into the role of moiety representatives as mature adults, and similarly in food festival and raiding contexts, we can interpret the dance as representing the realignment of mature men from peripheral residential groups to the moieties and the village centre. The point here is that it was the moieties that regulated defence, meat and fish festival collection and "raiding". Thus we can suggest that circular dances introduce food festivals that are orientated towards village unity with an emphasis on the periphery domain, whereas the 'paired' dance introduces festivals orientated towards village unity but organised on the moiety principle.

#### Log Races (inkwa)

During the period of research all log races were held in association with meat or fish festivals; in traditional society log races were also held as a part of the female puberty rites (see p.149). As with 'paired' race, log races can be interpreted as emphasising male moiety membership and 'male' values. More specifically, log racing was a ritual activity in which women were excluded and one which symbolised male physical prowess (see p.120) and in this respect we can interpret the function of log races in game festivals as a more emphatic separation of 'male' and 'female', centre and periphery, prior to departure of the 'male' festival camp. This function is more clearly apparent during the termination of the festivals when a log race clearly marks a radical transformation in the status of the plaza (see p.322).

To turn wider afield, the female puberty log race is also of interest in that it articulated the transition in female status from that of an "unproductive" child to that of "productive" womanhood. Thus, at this crucial

point of life cycle development the girl was separated from her female household group and was partially integrated into 'male' society; she followed the log racing teams and wore 'male' body paint (see p. 164). Furthermore, the location of the puberty ritual was in a metaphorical village centre (i.e. the garden centre); in sum, we can suggest that the female puberty ritual represented a similar separation from peripheral houses as men's house residence did for male adolescents. The important point here is that the radical change in female status vis-à-vis her residential group was through an identification with 'men', in a 'male' domain, and that this was introduced by a log race. Finally, racing logs were also utilised in burial, when their function was conceptualised by the Panara as preventing the consumption of the corpse by wild animals (see p. 12); i.e. the logs 'sealed' the grave, separated the deceased from the living and thus helped to ensure the 'social' movement of the deceased to the cosmological domains.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The significance of log racing may well be related to the more general Panara classificatory theme of centre:periphery::male:female::above:below::sun:dried:buried etc. Thus log racing involves the felling of trees in the forest (vertical/sun/natural), log preparation (horizontal, cultural), the running of logs to the village (horizontal, east to west, above the ground), the depositing in the plaza (nature to culture, east to west, and periphery to centre) and their eventual destruction as firewood in peripheral houses, by rotting or by use in burial (centre to periphery, above to below or dispersal as smoke, culture to nature). On the general subject of log racing we can also suggest that the activity represents a further facet of the relationship between the ritual and secular status of 'male' and 'female'. Thus log racing can be seen as a socialisation of wood collection; this process and material is a neglected topic in ethnographies when we consider that it is a major item in house construction, the main traditional source of material for artifacts, the major source of heat for cooking and, in its natural form as trees, the dominant feature of the landscape (i.e. of nature).

### Festival Food Collection

Following the realignment of secular socio-economic groups through plaza activity, the village population divided into two groups associated with distinct economic tasks, located in distinct spatial domains, for the collection of festival produce. These groups can be characterised as 'male' and 'female': the former was associated with collection and the 'forest' and the latter with 'non-production' and the village. More specifically, the identity of the village group was mature women and of the collection group mature men; the emphasised separation was between the economically and biologically productive age grades. Thus "elder" women, those past menopause and classified as 'unproductive', were permitted to accompany the 'male' group, as were young children. Male "elders" accompanied the collection group, though some remained in the village to 'orate'; this was organised by the 'leaders' of the festival and in the case of the two male "elders" in PNK was worked out in an approximate rotation.

The separation of the two groups was emphasised by the Panara and appears to have been a central principle of food festivals. The emphasis did however vary with the festival product; in the case of honey festivals it was common for a number of mature women to accompany the group, whereas, at the other extreme, all women were explicitly prohibited from accompanying meat festival expeditions. Equally, during meat festivals all men should accompany the collecting group and in practice those who did not wish to, for example for personal reasons, left the village in secular activity for the duration of the hunt. The only exceptions to this rule were seriously ill individuals who can, in any case, be considered as 'biological' individuals. During one fish festival (Table 21 no. 17) a group of young women who were dissatisfied with the absence of game in the

village attempted to join the 'male' group at their fishing camp with the support of a group of young men. At the camp an argument developed between the young men and the festival organisers, who attempted to prevent the women from staying. The conflict eventually resulted in the abandonment of the festival and the return of the women to the village under the escort of senior men; in the longer term this resulted in tension between the two male groups and the eventual departure of the young men for an extended visit to a Kayabi village. Interestingly their return to the Panara village was mediated by supplies of seeds for planting and maize which was utilised for a fish festival (Table 21 no. 21).

During the collection of festival produce the village population was divided into two groups:

- a) a 'male' group consisting of all mature men, all male adolescents (i.e. men's house residents), a proportion of male and female "elders" and the young children of female "elders"; and
- b) a 'female' group consisting of all mature women, all female adolescents, a proportion of male and female "elders" and the majority of the children.

The two groups can be considered as at once 'complete' and 'incomplete'.

On the one hand both groups are represented by males and females and also represent the complete hierarchy of Panara social organisation according to age grade classification; "children", "adolescents", "adults" and "elders", or, in terms of roles, dependents, producers and ritual specialists. On the other hand both groups are 'infertile' or 'incomplete' as the division implies the suspension of secular economic and biological processes. Thus during festivals, although sexual intercourse was not explicitly prohibited, it was obviously impracticable; the only possible example of continued husband and wife co-habitation was between married "elders" who were inco facto 'infertile'. In economics the emphasis was

placed on the collection and storage of produce for transport to the village; with few exceptions festival produce should not be consumed at the camp; and in the village the 'female' group was either inactive or engaged in the preparation of festival manioc or maize, which again should not be consumed. In sum, the produce of both groups should not be eaten, as both were regarded as incomplete until synthesised in the festival finale. It is indicative that conversation in the village centred on the absence of game, whereas in the camp a major topic of conversation was "cake" and other vegetable produce. I will return to the question of the organisation of the two groups in the more detailed discussion of collection in the following pages.

#### Festival Honey

Festival honey collection groups left the village soon after dawn for an area of forest which had previously been selected by the 'leaders' discussed in a men's house debate as an area of particular abundance. The technique of festival collection was similar to that of secular activity; the collectors spread out in small groups of three or four individuals; bees' nests were located in trees; the trees were felled and the comb removed under the protection of smoking fires. The comb and the honey were collected in large leaf baskets which were constructed by the adolescents, though in PNK the Panara frequently took large

At the time of research a number of incidents suggested that once an area had been selected for festival exploitation it was not visited in any other activity. More generally, if a man located a bees' nest and informed other men that he would exploit it at a later date, for example during the dry season, the other men referred to the nest in the finder's name and would not generally attempt to remove the honey.

aluminium saucepans for this purpose. Large quantities of honey were consumed at the site, though care was taken that a sufficient quantity was left to take back to the village.

Honey festivals were typically limited to one day's collection and the group returned to the village in the late afternoon. The honey, in baskets, was carried by male "adolescents" who walked in single file behind the festival organisers when the group entered the village. The order of festival 'lines' will be discussed on page 315. Identical principles of organisation were followed with vegetable products which did not require processing before consumption, e.g. piqui, Brazil nuts and other fruits. The major distinctions between ritual and secular collection of these foods can be summarised in tabular form:

secular

no plaza activity  
organised by periphery groups  
household/hearth groups: women  
produce carried by mature and  
adolescent women  
produce transported to  
peripheral houses

festival

introduced by plaza activity  
organised by men's houses  
village moiety groups: men  
produce carried by adolescent  
boys  
produce transported to  
village centre

Festival Manioc and Maize Collection

Manioc and maize were harvested for use in combination with festival (see Table 23); maize and manioc festivals (musu-, kusa-sokiuri) formed an integral element of the game festival cycle (see Table 23). For festivals the two foods were collected by 'male' groups prior to the departure of the festival hunting group, and as many as three separate collections from the gardens could be made. The festival harvesting of manioc or maize was introduced by a circular dance, with collection taking place soon after dawn on the following day or in the late afternoon.



In the garden<sup>1</sup> the mature men and male adolescents uprooted manioc  
gathered maize which was collected in one 'heap' on the garden path.  
Quantity of produce was calculated by reference to the four SDG groups  
the village and, to emphasise the point, the heap was often roughly  
divided into four parts. The harvested manioc or maize was then divided  
into smaller parts which were allocated to adolescents and unmarried  
men's house residents for portage to the village. The produce was  
packed in typical Panara style, with bark fibre used to tie the tubers  
and maize ears into a bundle which was suspended from the forehead on a  
bark fibre sling. Mature men generally carried nominal loads, and young  
men, who had accompanied the group to the garden, were commonly  
equipped with small tubers which were tied round their waists or necks.  
When all the men had prepared their loads the group returned to the  
village and entered the plaza in single file (see p. 319).

The harvesting and portage of garden produce by men is unusual in  
these societies, as generally the garden domain and horticulture are  
associated with female and secular production. Male harvesting is, however,  
the initial stage of a series of modifications to the secular  
handling of manioc and maize in game festivals and, to clarify this  
point, I will continue the description of the process into the period  
of the men's absence from the village on the festival 'hunt'.

The question of which garden was utilised during festivals could not  
be established at the time of research. In these examples the gardens  
utilised were Suyá owned and access was by negotiation with the Suyá  
owners. What is apparent is that in festival collection the male group  
worked in one garden and did not exploit individual resources. There was  
no evidence to suggest that specific gardens were planted for this purpose  
and it is possible that some gardens were worked on communally for  
festival use (see p. 247). Rather it would appear that individual gardens  
were utilised in rotation and this may well be related to the size and  
number of gardens being conceptualised as a symbol of male status.

### Festival Manioc and Maize Processing

Returning from the garden the 'male' group entered the village and deposited the manioc or maize in the centre of the plaza. Manioc tubers were collected by young mature women, often on the following morning, and were taken to the river or a shallow pool for soaking (see p. 43). This technique was also used in secular manioc processing, though for festivals all manioc was soaked in the same location. In the case of maize, the ears were stored in the men's houses by men. Manioc remained in the river until after the departure of the 'male' group, and on approximately the second or third day of the 'hunt' it was collected from the river by women. Initial processing was carried out by the river before the tubers were carried to the village and stored in large baskets in the men's houses. Approximately two days before the anticipated return of the 'male' group the mature women collected their mortars and pestles from their peripheral houses and assembled in the men's houses during the late evening. The baskets of manioc, or maize, were opened by female "elders" and portions were given to each woman, who pounded the tubers to pulp or the maize to flour ready for preparation as "cake". The prepared flour or pulp was returned to "elders" and was repacked in leaf baskets which were sealed and left standing in the men's houses.<sup>1</sup>

The location of festival manioc and maize processing is a dramatic and radical modification of the socio-spatial organisation of the secular process. This modification was given added impact by the transfer from

<sup>1</sup> Men's houses were absent in PNK though at Kretire the Panara did occupy the Kayapo men's house much to the puzzlement of the Kayapo women. At the Suya village the women either worked seated on logs in the centre of the plaza or, if the weather was poor, assembled in one of the peripheral houses. Equally the produce was either stored in peripheral houses or left standing in the centre of the plaza, depending on the weather. I am uncertain as to whether the women were organised into society groups, i.e. whether they worked in two groups when they had two men's houses.

daytime pounding in secular activity to night pounding for festivals; in practice the women commonly worked through the night when pounding for festivals and completed the task by dawn the following day:

secular

process located by hearth fires  
in peripheral house

hearth group organisation

day

produce cooked immediately

a complete food - (manioc-  
maizé "cake")

ritual

process located in men's houses  
in plaza centre

village group organisation

night

produce stored

an incomplete food - was not  
eaten on its own

During the absence of the 'male' group the women also made numerous trips to collect the materials for use in the festival earth oven:

Additional stones were often collected and large quantities of firewood,

dark fibre and banana leaves. <sup>On</sup> <sup>they</sup> such trips were often accompanied by a

male "elder", particularly if they involved visiting areas outside the

mediate village vicinity. The materials were carried back to the village

and stored alongside the vegetable produce in the men's houses. The men's

use-location of the vegetable produce and the storage of the earth oven

materials raises two points. Firstly, all of the materials can be identified

with the village group, and are destined for use by the village group, and

it can be argued that the female use of the men's houses represents the

trans-cutting of socio-spatial boundaries of the periphery - i.e. the

village centre is utilised as a mechanism for the cooperation between women

at a village level. Here we can suggest that the structure of secular

food processing, where hearth groups cooperate at the level of the

household, is transcended by a related structure where households and SDG

operate at the level of the village; in the former the process is

located on the household earth oven and in the latter it is focussed on

the village earth oven located in the plaza. In sum it can be argued that

female presence in the men's houses represents the same theme as male use of the domain: for women or men to work as a corporate village group they must do so as members of the 'centre'.

This argument can, however, be taken one stage further and we can suggest that the women, at work in the centre, can be identified as 'male', and the produce, stored in the centre, can be identified as 'male' produce. In this context men harvest and transport vegetable produce from their gardens to the village centre where it is left. The men then depart and on their return from the festival hunt find processed manioc or maize and the earth oven raw materials standing in the men's houses.<sup>1</sup> Thus whilst women still do 'female' tasks of squeezing, pounding and grading, their contribution is not emphasised, in terms of the complete ritual cycle, and they do the work as 'men' identifying with 'male' space. In sum we can suggest that the significance of the modification of secular processing is in part to 'obscure' the fact that women participate and thus to retain an identification of all festival produce with the 'male' group.

In addition to the disruption of secular economics, village life during the absence of the 'male' group was characterised by a number of other significant modifications. After the departure of the 'male' group at dawn, women prepared 'secular' "cake" for their husbands, sons or brothers in the collection party. When cooked by late afternoon these supplies were taken out to the festival camp, which was generally located near the village (see p.308) by women, and was given to the men in return for small quantities of game, i.e. game of inferior quality which was not to be added to the festival 'heap'. This arrangement was curious as the timing

<sup>1</sup> A similar argument can be advanced in the meat festival finale (see p.322).

of festivals was common knowledge and the women had ample time to prepare supplies before the 'male' departure. The supplies had considerable importance as they provided the vegetable diet for men for the duration of the hunt. Furthermore, the women only remained in the camp for a short period and the atmosphere was generally constrained and without the banter common between women and adolescents. The "cake" supplies can perhaps be interpreted as one aspect of a more general economic identity of the two groups: men leave the village without vegetable food and the women in the village have no game. The latter point is again curious, as families made no effort to establish reserves of food for those who would remain in the village and, indeed, this was largely precluded by the intense ritual activity prior to game festivals. The point here is perhaps that both groups should be seen to lack the basic food combination of Panara diet: game and "cake".

With the absence of mature men the daily routine of village life was radically different. For the village group this was a period of some hardship and the women were often bored and hungry, spending most of their time collecting what food was available and even attempting to fish near the village. These were the occasions when male "elders" told myths to groups of women and children assembled in a peripheral house and these did much to relieve the boredom and monotony. In addition the male "elders" maintained a relatively continuous "oratory" (into) for the duration of the festival which gave information on what the two groups should be doing and giving details of past festivals. During the evening the women commonly assembled in the plaza to dance and sing in an imitation of male activity. Furthermore, the strict pattern of residence broke down and the village group typically slept in one or two of the peripheral houses where the male "elders" were resident. The Panara stated that this was for company and protection and in FNK some women

said that it was to avoid possible accusations of unfaithfulness (for example with Suya men) during the husbands' absence. Women fishing, dancing 'male' dances in the plaza and sleeping outside their natal house and SDG segment can be seen as further evidence of the breakdown of socio-spatial boundaries during the absence of the 'male' group. Thus within the 'village' group it was mature women and the older female adolescents who played the role of men in plaza dance and men's house occupation, and the suspension of socio-spatial boundaries was paralleled by the suspension of economic and reproductive processes.

#### Festival Game

The 'male' group left the village soon after dawn and assembled in the garden zone where the men waited for their wives, sisters or mothers who carried their possessions (hammocks, food supplies etc.) from the village. The group then formed in single file and moved into the forest to establish a camp some 2-3 km from the village at a site previously selected by the festival organisers. A camp was the base for two days of hunting; on one day an area to one side of the camp was exploited and on the second day the other side, before transferring to a new location. Similarly, on fish-festivals different stretches of water were exploited from different camps. Thus in the course of a game festival as many as four camps were utilised with each successive location being more distant from the village; in practice this generally meant that the final camp was the most productive as it lay beyond the area exploited in secular activity.

It appears that the same camps were often utilised in a number of festivals over a period of time. One result of this practice was that an extensive network of trails and shelters built up in the more important economic areas in the near and distant forest. This pattern was noted in a photo by Cowell and could be seen to be developing in PNK. The shelters were also utilised by trek groups.

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As in the case of the village group the organisation of the forest camp showed significant variations from the secular model. The 'male' group can be considered as three categories based on age grades, with distinct socio-economic roles: the "elders", the mature married men and male adolescents.

Male and female "elders" were not active participants in the collection of festival game and their contribution was through ritual. In the camp, male "elders" maintained an almost constant oratory (into) which was identical in structure and content to that delivered by their counterparts resident with the village group. If male "elders" were absent from the camp a female "elder" would take over the role which included a 'welcoming' chant as each hunter entered the camp after a day's activity. "Elders" of both sexes also orated during the evening, when emphasis was placed on accounts of past festivals, but I should stress that dances or other village plaza activities were not held in forest camps. Female "elders" also contributed to the running of the camp in an advisory capacity and cooked small amounts of game for themselves and their close matrilineal kin. However, the social and economic role of these women was limited and was peripheral to the economic organisation of the camp, which was focussed on the male adolescent group.

Male adolescents, or more specifically men's house residents as the group included unmarried mature men, did not hunt and were occupied with what, in secular village life, were essentially 'female' tasks. Thus when the group reached a camp site the adolescents cleared the area of vegetation, constructed the crude framework of the shelter<sup>1</sup> and the leaf roof

<sup>1</sup> The festival group occupied one shelter which was constructed in a similar manner to men's houses with open sides and a one plane sloping roof - the organisation of sleeping mats is discussed on p. 314.



and as the game entered the camp they collected wood, carried water, and prepared, cooked and stored the meat. Adolescents also cooked small portions of meat for mature adults and carried the festival meat between the camps. As the group carried their own supplies of "cake" and did not 'live off the land' the question of cooking vegetable produce did not arise. The role given emphasis was the cooking and storage of festival game; meat or fish were continuously 'smoked' over low fires for preservation (see p. 312). Whilst this can be considered as a functional necessity, the emphasis on adolescent male participation is unusual, as female "elders" were present as potential 'cooks'. This radical realignment of economic roles can be seen as part of wider modifications in both village and forest groups. Thus in the village mature women replaced the absent men's house residents in occupying the men's houses during the evening and night as a corporate group and in the forest male adolescents were responsible for domestic tasks which were firmly identified as mature female secular activities. In this respect we can argue that with the absence of 'men' in the village the male:female::centre:periphery relationship was replaced by that of mature female:adolescent female::centre:periphery and that in the forest, with the absence of 'women', the replacement was mature men:adolescent males::'male':'female'. Thus in the absence of men it is mature women who were identified as the 'social' element and with the absence of women it was the adolescent males who were identified as the 'natural' elements in social classification. Finally, we can also note that the allocation of 'female' roles to male adolescents has the result of achieving male 'control' over the total process of game production; the "raw material" was supplied by men, was prepared and cooked<sup>1</sup> by adolescents and was carried

Whilst festival game was in edible form when it entered the village (i.e. it had been cooked and smoked) it was not eaten as such as it was combined with vegetable produce and 'cooked' in an earth oven. This point is returned to on p. 321.

by adolescents; the end product of smoked meat had an absolute identification as 'male'.

The emphasis of mature men was towards hunting or fishing and the accumulation of festival game. These activities were organised by the festival 'leaders', with small groups of three or four men working together, though within a common area. Festival hunting and fishing were highly organised with the men active on each day of the festival expedition. The mature men were woken in the camp before dawn by "young elders" and left camp at first light, as individuals, to assemble in a small clearing near the camp. This was emphasised by breaking down small saplings and shrubs. The clearing was referred to as pu-kiek-kien ("garden" "dark"?) and marked the location of the commencement and the termination of the hunt. At dawn the festival organisers allocated hunting directions to the groups of hunters<sup>1</sup> and in the late afternoon the hunters deposited larger game in the clearing for collection by adolescents for portage into the camp.<sup>2</sup> During fish festivals only the more highly valued species were sought though other species were retained for consumption by men at the festival camp. In the observed meat festivals hunting was given a greater formality as specific species were associated with each day of the hunt. This order reflects both the increased distance of successive trips from the village and the increased value of meats according to

Prior to the allocation the 'leaders', moiety representatives, stood at the centre of the clearing surrounded by the mature men and held a chief return chant (into-asur) see also p.219.

The clearing appears to have represented the garden domain in the center of the village environs. In secular hunting or fishing, game was only left by paths in the garden for collection by adolescents of the hunter's household. In a more general sense gardens can be seen as a transitional zone between village and forest where groups formed or produce was left.

panara classification. In the example of one meat festival the progression took place as follows:

day 1	armadillo	camp 1 near the gardens
day 2	deer	from camp 2 - one side
day 3	peccary	from camp 2 - other side
day 4	tapir 1	from camp 3 - one side
day 5	honey	from camp 3

This order does not imply that all other species were ignored, but rather that those animals explicitly sought during the day's hunting, were referred to in the oratory by the camp and village "elders" and that the appropriate hunting techniques were adopted. In practice the specific animal associated with the day was typically the most common animal killed.

#### The Accumulation of Festival Game

After portage into the forest camp the better varieties of meat were cut into large sections by the festival organisers and were allocated to adolescents for rapid cooking over a large open fire (see fig 34). When partially cooked the sections were removed, cut into smaller pieces by the organisers and reallocated to members of the 'adolescent' group after consultation between the mature men. The adolescents then placed the sections on a rack over a smoking fire, a low fire under a rack of saplings with the meat covered by leaves; the fires were associated with SDG (see fig 34). In contrast to the one 'cooking' fire there were a number of 'smoking fires' arranged radially, though with no geographical order, around the camp; it would appear that each was associated with a female "elder", although it was adolescents who prepared and maintained the fires. On each successive day additional meat was allocated to the adolescents and placed on their fires and during transfer between

Honey was included in this festival as sufficient game had been accumulated. I do not know whether this practice was common in traditional festivals, but there are good reasons for assuming this was so - see p.266.

the adolescents of the respective SDG were responsible for the preparation and care of the game. In fish festivals the better varieties of fish were also preserved by smoking whole over fires and varieties that were liable to disintegrate in cooking were 'supported' by a thin sapling, pushed through the gills and lashed to the tail; otherwise the procedure was similar to that noted for meat.

On the final day of the festival hunt, as determined by time or the amount of produce, the adolescents collected bark fibre, which was used by the festival organisers to tie the small portions of smoked game into larger bundles. Each bundle comprised mixed meats and cuts of meat. The bundles were then gathered as a 'heap' in the centre of the camp, which was referred to as panki (in descriptions the Panara invariably made a gesture that indicated the size of the mound of produce). The mature men then gathered around the 'heap' and the two 'leaders' held a brief exchange concerning the size, quality and variety of the produce. The leaders then called the men's house residents individually to the centre of the group, where they were allocated a bundle, or a number of bundles, of meat, which they replaced on their smoking fires. The adolescents then collected additional quantities of bark fibre and banana leaves and constructed baskets to be used the following day to carry the meat to the village. This activity was a time of considerable amusement for mature men, as most adolescents were unskilled in the task of basket manufacture, as in the village this was associated with women.

The preparation, cooking and division of festival meat at the forest camp shows significant modifications to the secular pattern, as summarised in the following table:

secular

game divided by mature women

portions given raw to other households

meat divided between the hearth groups of the household

meat cooked in earth oven

meat combined with vegetable produce and consumed

female control articulated by household

ritual

game divided by "young elders" as festival organisers  
portions allocated raw to SDG representatives and cooked over an open fire

meat divided between SDG representatives

meat cooked on smoking fires

meat stored

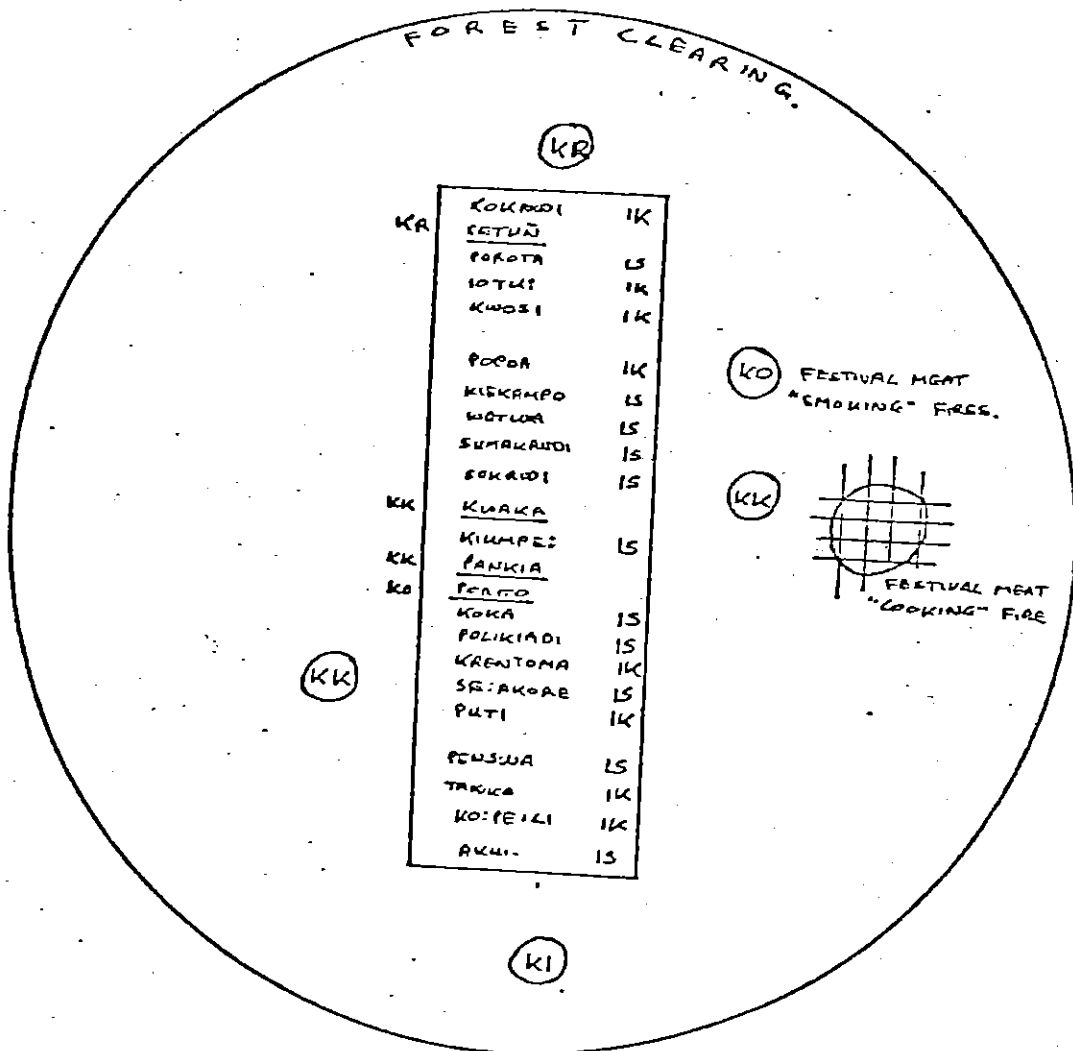
male control articulated by moieties

Secular game division reflects kinship based ties between individuals and groups of the village periphery; prestations commonly expressed affinal ties between households and the values of co-residence and matrilineal ties within the household. In contrast the division of festival game (in the forest camp) reflects SDG structure and it can be argued that the constant collection and reallocation of the game serves to identify the game, not as the produce of specific SDG, but rather as the common property of the village group; in sum, the village was represented as the sum of the SDG.

The 'playing down' of the principles of organisation of secular village economics can also be illustrated by the organisation of the forest camp. All members of the 'male' group slept in one shelter which was constructed on similar lines to men's houses (see p.74). The space within the shelter was dominated by sleeping mats, which were arranged in a continuous line (see fig 34) and the line was organised by a number of principles including groups focussed on a female "elder" (i.e. the "elder", her husband, sons, brothers and children); "brothers-in-law" (kietumpa) would usually sleep on adjacent mats and finally, friends would commonly form groups. Furthermore, the order of sleeping mats

FIG. 34

A MEAT FESTIVAL HUNTING CAMP<sup>1</sup>



KK KWAKIAOPE }  
 KR KRENOPE: } SOFT MEMBERSHIP OF FEMALE "ELDERS": \_\_\_\_\_  
 KI KWASIFE:  
 KO KWASOPE:

IK INKADAMA }  
 IS INEDAMA. } MORTY MEMBERSHIP OF MALES.

<sup>1</sup> THE FIGURE REPRESENTS THE 2ND HUNTING CAMP

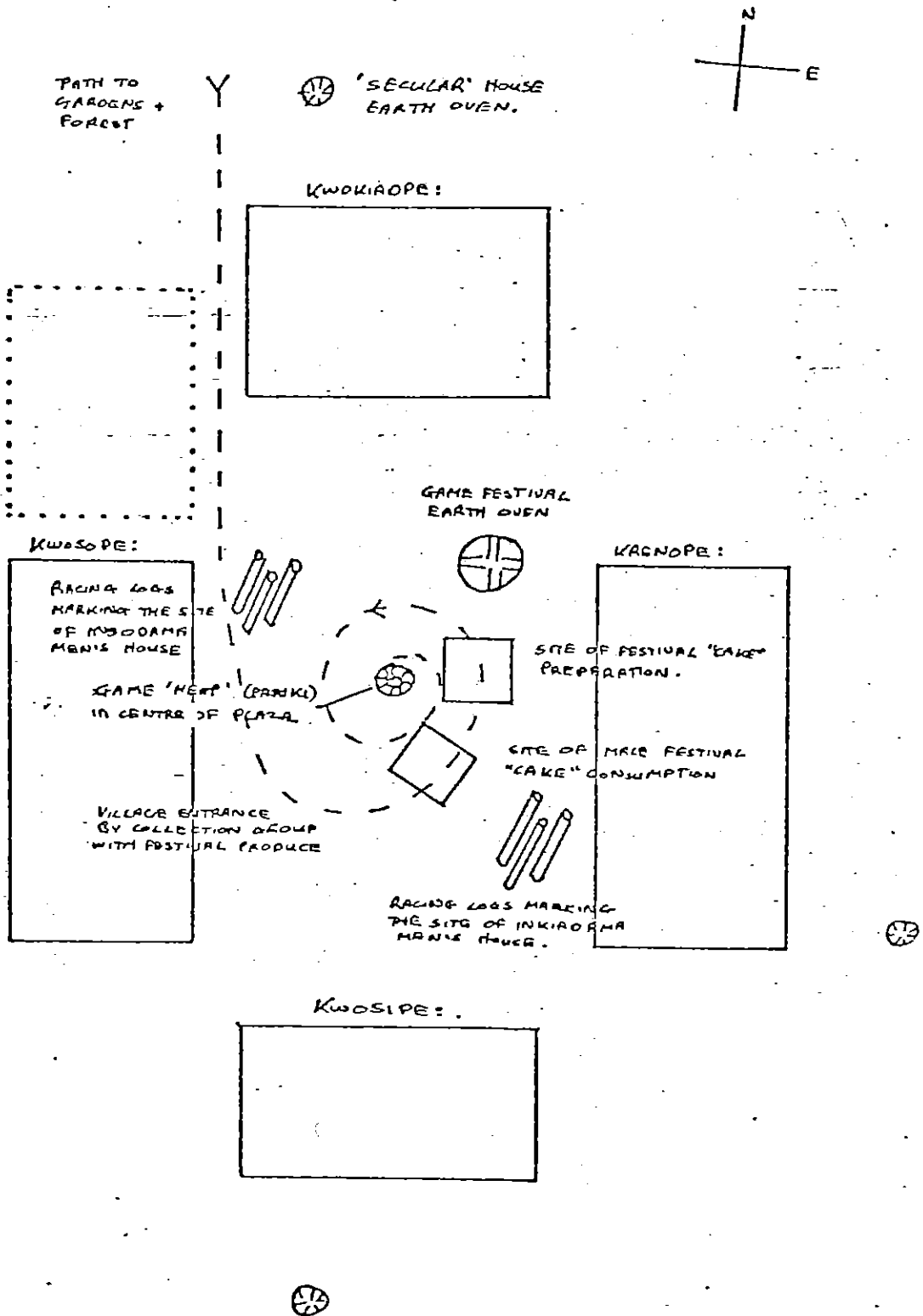
changed in different camps during the same festival. The adolescents associated with each group constructed their own section of the shelter, i.e. the shelter was not constructed as one structure, and this paralleled in peripheral house construction, as each hearth unit constructed and maintained its own section of the house. Finally, as far as could be determined, the moiety principle was not operative in the order of sleeping mats, though it was dominant in the organisation of economic activity (see fig 34).

#### Village Entrance of Festival Produce

All festival produce was carried into the village by the adolescent members of the 'male' collection group in a formal entrance. In the garden zone the group halted and was formed into a line by the festival organisers; the line was led by an organiser who was followed by the male adolescents with their loads of produce. This section of the line was organised by reference to age and, perhaps, to SDG membership. The older men and "young elders" followed the adolescents in the line and the male and female "elders" and young children formed a loose group at the rear. The latter dispersed to peripheral houses immediately they entered the plaza and did not participate in the formal entrance. As the line approached the village the men chanted in reply to the festival organiser at the head of the line, and this continued as they passed through the peripheral house sector and circled anti-clockwise in the plaza before depositing their loads in the centre (see fig 35). The process terminated with a final return chant, after which the baskets were placed for display to the village and the men dispersed to bathe.

FIG. 35

ORGANISATION OF MEAT FESTIVALS  
IN VILLAGE SPACE.





### Festival Food Cooking and Division

The formal entrance of the collection group into the village, the and the anti-clockwise movement towards the centre can be interpreted as expressing the unity of the 'male' group and the identification of the festival produce with the 'centre' and the men's houses; this interpretation is similar to that suggested for the circular dance (see p294). The theme of village unity was maintained in the division of festival foods as portions were given to all members of the village; I emphasise all, as even when individuals or families had not participated in the collection they were still included in the division. The form of division varied with festival foods and ranged from a straightforward allocation of produce to individual female hearth heads to the complex preparation and cooking of festival "meat cake".

#### 1) The Festival Division of Piqui

The division of festival piqui, Brazil nuts and probably other wild fruits<sup>1</sup> was by direct allocation to individual female hearth heads by the festival organisers. In the case of the observed piqui festival (table 21, no. 6) the fruit was stored in a men's house (in fact an empty room at Diauarum Post - see Plan X in Appendix B) and when ripe it was taken to the women in their houses by the festival organisers. The point to be emphasised here is that the division, referred to as sokiuri, represented a reversal of secular economic patterns of distribution:

<sup>1</sup> The material on festival division is not complete and I will limit my remarks to festivals observed in PNK. I do not know whether the produce of some kinds (e.g. sweet potatoes, yams and pumpkins) was given raw or cooked. In the PNK pumpkin festival (Table 21, no 20) the produce was cooked together with festival "fish cake", but I do not know whether earth ovens were constructed specifically for vegetable produce on its own.

secular

storage and ripening  
in or behind peripheral  
houses

movement from peripheral  
to men's houses

produce from "mother/sister"  
to "son/brother"  
(i.e. to males in men's house  
residence)

process articulated by  
peripheral households

female control

festival

storage and ripening  
inside the men's houses

movement from men's  
to peripheral houses

produce from male "young elder"  
to mature women

process articulated by  
men's houses

male control

The Festival Division of Honey

Festival honey, in baskets or saucepans, was deposited in the centre of the plaza and 'displayed' to the village. Male "elders" who had not participated in the collection were called from their peripheral households to eat a portion of undiluted honey in the centre. When all male "elders" had eaten, the mature women who had remained in the village were called and also ate small portions. Women were called in order of age and status: "elders" first, followed by "mature" women and finally younger adolescents. Undiluted honey was eaten with a short section of soft-bread with the fibres flattened at one end; this was dipped in the honey and sucked. Finally, the members of the collection group, who remained at the centre during the 'calling' ate further portions. During this time the festival organisers removed additional portions of comb which were wrapped in leaves and given to mature women for consumption in their peripheral houses. The remaining honey, after all women and men had eaten, was diluted with water and all members of the village drank it from gourds.

The organisation of festival honey division is unusual in that it is one of the few occasions when men and women ate in the centre of the

village. I have already suggested that in Panara society the location of consumption and the membership of the groups reflect Panara concepts of socio-spatial order and in this context the significance given to honey appears to be of particular relevance. As discussed in Chapter V, honey was associated with generative qualities and 'biological' status; more specifically it was associated with the role of hearth groups. The 'generative' and implicitly sexual significance of honey was, perhaps, illustrated by the reluctance of women to enter the plaza and consume festival honey, although in other circumstances the food was extremely popular. This was particularly noticeable when festivals were organised by young men, as on these occasions the procedure of 'calling' women from peripheral houses often required physical coercion to the extent that some women had to be dragged to the centre to eat.

secular

honey collection  
by "hearth" groups

female control and division

male/female consumption  
in peripheral houses

festival

honey collection  
by village 'male' groups and  
some mature women

male control and division

male/female consumption  
in the village centre

As a secular activity honey collection and consumption symbolise the position of men as individuals in peripheral (uxorilocal) households; emphasis is on female household identity and the male/female relationship represents a 'generative' union orientated towards reproductive roles. In contrast honey festivals represent the plaza centre as the 'source' of generative powers and the emphasis is placed on the village male group with women represented as individuals. Thus in secular distribution honey was shared between individual men linked by common co-residence with a group of women (i.e. the structure of the peripheral household) whereas in festival contexts honey was shared among individual women linked

... co-residence in the village as represented by groups of men  
 ... structure of the men's houses). To extend the 'generative'  
 ... one stage further we can argue that the reluctance of women to  
 ... the plaza can be equated with the 'reluctance' of men to leave the  
 ... centre in marriage; in both cases a mature individual must leave  
 ... socio-spatial group of development and enter a domain that is  
 ... associated with the opposite sex:

secular

"husband/wife" relations  
 individual men to village  
 periphery  
 nuclear family  
 'biological' reproduction

festival

'male'/'female' relations  
 individual women to village  
 centre  
 village society  
 'sociological' reproduction

... female as:

"husband" : "wife"

'centre' : 'periphery'

To summarise these points I suggest that the division of festival  
 ... and indeed all festival foods, can be interpreted as representing  
 ... realignment of secular economic roles from women to men and from  
 ... peripheral to men's houses. However, festival honey division also sym-  
 ... plises the realignment of roles in the 'generative' process, with emphasis  
 ... shifting from groups of women (the household matriline) to groups of men  
 ... (societies) interacting with mature individuals of the opposite sex.  
 ... This point will be returned to in the discussion of festival game division.

The Cooking and Division of Festival Game

Festival game was deposited in the plaza centre, unwrapped, and  
 ... displayed to the population assembled in the centre. The game was spread  
 ... on banana leaves and the larger sections of meat were cut into smaller  
 ... portions by mature men under the direction of the festival organisers.  
 ... Small pieces were held in the air, one at the time, by a mature man

suggestions of recipients were offered by the assembled men and women of the village. If no name was forthcoming, or if there was disagreement over the choice, the section was returned to the 'heap' and a further piece held aloft. This division continued until all mature women of the village had received a portion. Approximately half of the festival meat was distributed in this manner and the process reflected the hierarchy of the women of the village; "elders" typically received larger portions of a better quality than those given to young newly married women. The division also represents reversal of secular patterns of distribution:

secular

raw game divided by "wife"

raw game given by women to female representatives of her household's hearth groups and her affinal hearth groups

consultation by husband and wife

located in peripheral house

meat cooked in peripheral house earth oven

"meat cake" shared between hearth group members

festival

smoked game divided by "young elder"

smoked game given by mature man to mature women

consultation by village men and women

located in village plaza

meat cooked in plaza earth oven

"meat cake" shared between village inhabitants

During this division, referred to as sokiuri, the materials stored in the men's houses' were removed and the fire for the earth oven in the plaza prepared (see fig 35). Under the direction of female "elders" bark fibre was laid out in a grid pattern in the plaza and was covered with banana leaves to form a working surface measuring some 1.5 metres square (see fig 36). Mature women and older female adolescents sat around the edge of the banana leaf square and were allocated portions of the prepared festival mioc or maize paste for additional mixing; in this example, some twenty women sat and worked round the square. Portions of meat from the festival 'heap' were passed to the women by the festival organisers, these were

FIG. 36  
FESTIVAL "CAKE"  
PREPARATION.

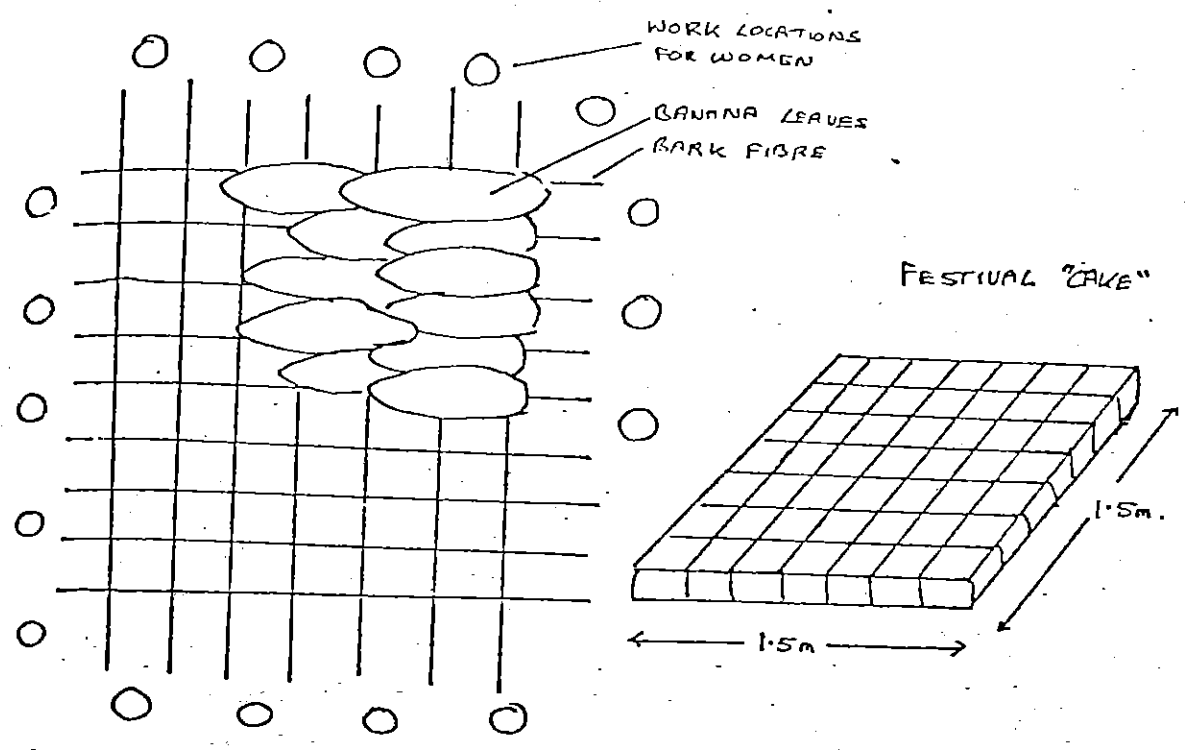
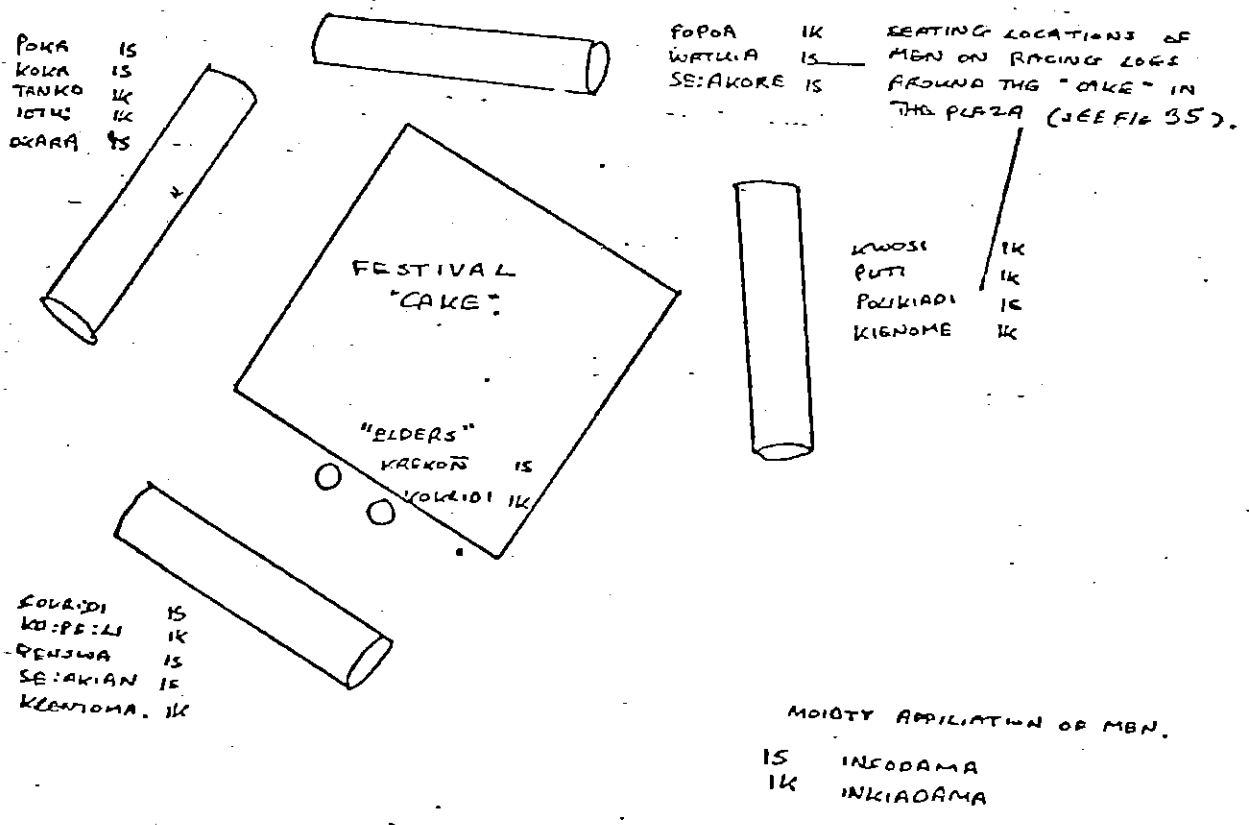


FIG. 37 FESTIVAL "CAKE"  
CONSUMPTION :: MALE.



rolled and mixed with the vegetable paste, and the mixture was then spread out before additional leaves were added to cover the "cake" (see p. 96). The bark fibre lying under the "cake" was then passed over and spread on the upper surface; the result was a large "cake" measuring approximately 1.5 metres square and 5-6 cm deep. During preparation the women raked out the heated stones on the fire and the festival "cake" was lifted by men and women, with the aid of long wooden poles, and placed over the stones. Additional heated stones were placed on top and the oven was covered with leaves and ashes to cook for approximately 3-4 hours. During the preparation of the festival "cake" both men and women were active in the plaza and the termination of this phase was marked by the dispersal of the women to peripheral houses and the departure of the men to the forest for a log race.

The location of festival "cake" preparation and the festival earth oven in the plaza vividly expresses the contrasting levels of socio-economic organisation between secular and festival activity. In the secular process one earth oven was used by each peripheral house with an emphasis on the cooperation between the hearth groups of the household (see p. 94). In the festival context emphasis was on the cooperation of the SDG of the village and in this respect we can suggest the relationship:- hearth groups: peripheral household :: SDG : village. Secular and festival "cake" processes also represent the synthesis of 'male' and 'female' sex determined economic roles, though we find a marked difference in emphasis between the two. In the secular earth oven process the combination of 'male' and 'female' products, of vegetable and game, was controlled by women and located in

'female' space; we can also add that commonly manioc or maize "cake" was prepared and cooked without meat or fish. In contrast, the festival "cake" process involved the combination of two 'male' products, festival manioc/maize and game, as both can be interpreted as products of the 'centre' (see p. 305); the festival was also located in male space and controlled by men. Thus the distinction between secular and ritual "meat cake" processes also represents the realignment of emphasis from periphery to centre and from female to male. What is of interest, however, is that the realignment did not result in the complete breakdown of sex-determined roles: women still squeezed, pounded and graded the vegetable produce and still prepared the "cake" - although they did so in 'male' space.

The synthesis of festival produce can be seen as terminating with the cooking of the festival meat "cake" when the 'male' group left the village for a log race. I have previously interpreted log races as marking points of 'separation' or, more specifically, as expressing the reorientation of men away from peripheral household identity and towards moiety membership as members of the men's houses. In meat festivals the log race marks a fundamental change in the organisation of socio-economic space; when the men leave the village for the log-cutting site they leave a plaza dominated by women and the paraphernalia of female economic activity, but when they return with the logs the women are secluded inside peripheral houses, the plaza is cleared and the festival "cake" is lying cooked in the centre of the plaza. (see fig 36). Following the log race additional logs were drawn up around the "cake" and the male "elders" were called out from their peripheral houses by the festival organiser to sit near the "cake" (see fig 37). The banana leaves were removed from the upper surface of the "cake" and the first portions cut by the organisers were handed to the "elders". The men sitting around the "cake" cut their own portions, which were consumed in the plaza, and the organisers handed them



Additional portions wrapped in leaves for consumption in their peripheral houses. Further portions were cut by the organisers and were taken to individual female hearth heads inside their houses. The division was referred to as inkhuri (see p.268) and was completed when all of the "cake" had been distributed, and the men in the plaza dispersed. The festival was terminated with a circular dance held at sunset on the day of division; only married men and women participated. It is perhaps indicative that the major meat festival held in PNX was one of the few occasions when women participated in a circular dance.

Following the emphasis of village unity during the preparation of the "cake", the stage of division and consumption represents a dramatic return to village socio-spatial order; women returned to their peripheral houses of residence and men gathered as a group in the centre; the principles of male:female :: centre:periphery were reaffirmed. The significance of this finale can, I suggest, only be understood by reference to the status of "cake" in Panara society.

In Chapter V I suggested that "cake", the major product of earth ovens, can be considered as a symbol of the household, as illustrated by the prominence of "cake" in prestations and the sociologically determined emphasis of household organisation in the process. I also compared honey and "cake", suggesting that the former was associated with biological status and the suspension of social relationships, whereas the latter was associated with 'social' status and the expansion of social relationships. The division of festival honey supports this contention as the 'calling' of individual women to the plaza centre can be seen as a reversal of the regular 'biological' relationship between husband and wife in peripheral houses. In a related reversal, the meat festival finale can be interpreted as representing the men's houses as the producers of "cake" and mature

men as individual recipients. Thus in secular life "cake" was produced by hearth groups, working as a household, and individual portions were sent to "sons" or "brothers" in men's house residence; in consumption the household ate as a group and the 'adolescents' ate in the men's houses. In contrast festival "cake" was produced by moieties, working at the village centre, and individual portions were sent to "daughters", "wives", "sisters" and "mothers" in peripheral houses; in consumption the men's houses ate as a group and the women ate in peripheral houses (see fig 38).

Thus whereas honey represents the biological relationship between men and women as co-residents, i.e. between mother and son or husband and wife, "cake" represents the sociological relationship between 'male' and 'female' in distinct socio-spatial domains, i.e. between centre and periphery. More specifically honey symbolises the biological partnership between men and women in 'reproductive' processes whereas "cake" symbolises the no less fundamental relationship between 'male' and 'female' categories in a dialectic that is the basis of Panara social structure. The suggestion here, that SDG and centre/periphery principles can be interpreted as expressing a distinction between kin and affine, will be returned to in the concluding chapter.

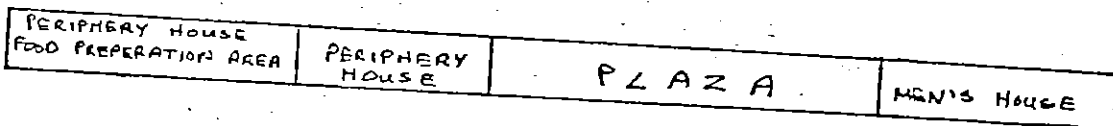
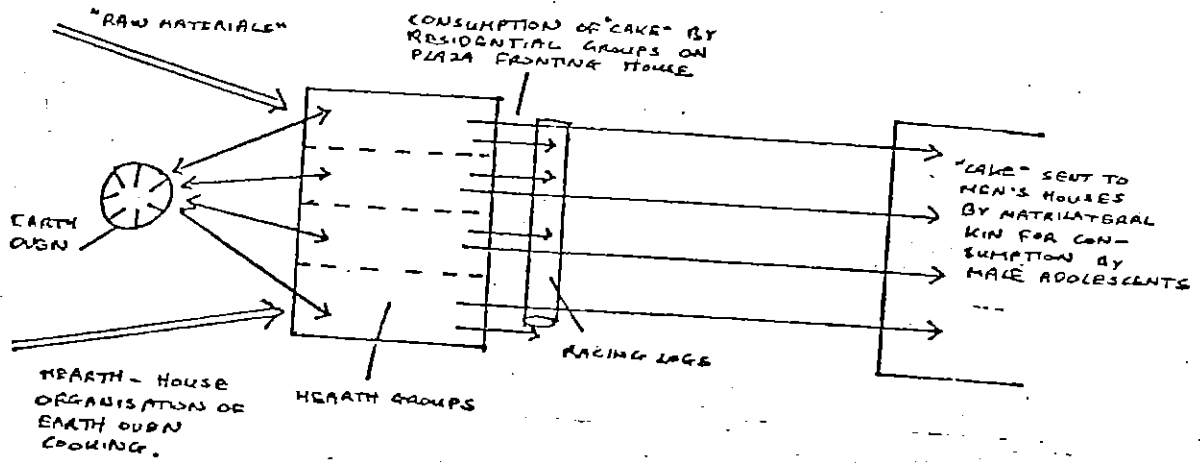
#### A Note on Fish Festivals

The organisation of fishing during festivals was identical with that of meat and the produce was also smoked if the festival was for more than one day. In one fish festival (Table 21 no.2) manioc paste was prepared by the village female group and the festival "cake" was cooked on one large earth oven located in the 'plaza' (see Plan VIII Appendix B). However, in a number of fish festivals held at the Suya village, the manioc paste was prepared by household groups of women and the "cake" was cooked in peripheral house earth ovens. In these instances the fish was not

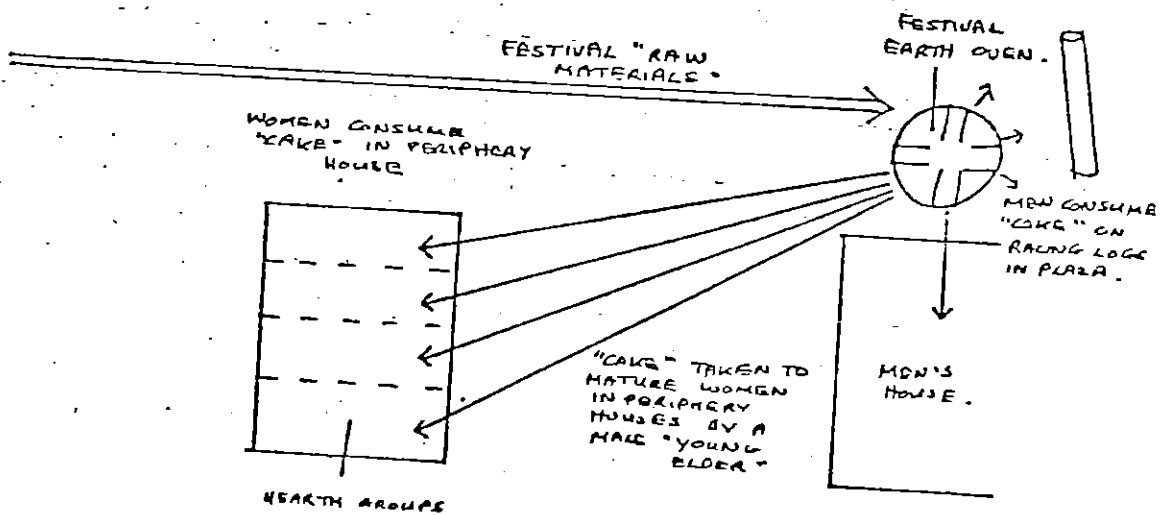
FIG 38

SECULAR AND FESTIVAL DISTRIBUTION OF "CAKE".

a) SECULAR



b) FESTIVAL



displayed to the village in the plaza but was carried directly to a peripheral house where it was divided by the festival organisers, with consultation with other men and women, among the female hearth heads. In such cases the fish "cake" was prepared in the woman's hearth area and was then cooked on her household earth oven; commonly only two households constructed earth ovens and kwosidantera women would cook in the krenope: earth oven and kwokiadantera women in that of kwosodpe:. More research is required on this aspect of festivals, though it can be suggested that whereas meat festivals express the relationship between SDG and the village, the lower status food of fish expresses the relationship between households within one SDG. As a general point fish festivals were not considered as important as meat festivals by the Panara.

Finally, I should also mention that meat festivals were held as ad hoc events if large quantities of game were killed in secular activity. Thus a tapir killed on a secular expedition would be carried into the village by the male group, cooked on a plaza fire (this could be an open fire or an earth oven) and divided as cooked meat among the female hearth heads of the village. In such instances the mode of division was identical to that described in the initial allocation of festival meat. We can also note that when a tapir was killed during a festival hunt it was run into the camp by men in a manner reminiscent of log racing.

### Conclusion

The annual cycle of food festivals can be seen as a series of ritual events which mark the progression of the seasons and express the productivity of the Panara economic universe: gardens, forest and river. Food festivals were explicitly associated with abundance and the expression of the 'creative' aspects of natural domains, and they can be interpreted as articulating the ritual control of culture over nature. In this respect

Food festivals can usefully be considered as 'harvest festivals' marking the cultural order of the Panara economic universe. The regulation of the natural world was through mature men, was organised by the moieties and the village centre, and can be seen as a further facet of a general principle in Panara society: male:female :: centre:periphery :: ritual:secular :: sacred:profane. However, the participation of men in economic activity also involves the modification of secular economic patterns which can in turn be interpreted as representing modifications of secular socio-economic order. In food festivals the fundamental modification was the transfer of control over "raw materials" and "product" from women to men and from peripheral houses to the men's houses. This realignment was achieved by a number of mechanisms including male harvesting from gardens, sale/portage of produce to the village centre and the location of 'female' processing in the men's houses. In economic terms, one level of significance in food festivals is, therefore, that produce is produced and allocated by the centre in a direct reversal of secular economic patterns.

In the discussion of Panara horticulture I suggested that the peanut cultivation cycle can be interpreted as representing the realignment of male and female, centre and periphery, roles in biological and sociological reproduction. In this respect it is apparent that horticulture and food festivals represent a common theme in that both articulate relationships between the socio-spatial domains of Panara society. Thus in reproduction and secular economics, emphasis was given to the cooperation of hearth groups within peripheral houses, i.e. groups of women, in the production of "raw materials" which 'support' the men's houses. More specifically, it is the household that was conceptualised as the unit of production in the processes of economic and biological production. However, such a model excludes the crucial relationships required for an 'on-going' system:

namely, the movement of male residence between periphery and centre and the necessity of cooperation between SDG in marriage - in isolation a peripheral household is 'sterile'. The peanut cycle and food festivals articulate these relationships at a higher level by realigning the male/female relationship from that of husband and wife to that of 'male' and 'female' in ritual activity. Thus the peanut cycle represents a modified sequence of male biological and sociological development and succinctly expresses the fundamental importance of interaction between centre and periphery and between 'male' and 'female'. Equally, festival economics articulate the relationship between SDG and the village where the village is represented as the autonomous economic unit of production; in-essence the values of the household are represented at the level of the village.

Finally, to introduce a topic I will return to in the concluding chapter, the analysis of the two major cycles of Panara ritual observed during research, i.e. gardens and food festivals, appears to focus attention on the relationship between concentric spatial domains: between 'centre and periphery' and between the categories of 'male' and 'female'.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL STRUCTURE : CONCLUSION

AND THE PANARA AS A GÊ SOCIETY

In this thesis I have attempted to describe Panara social classification through the analysis of various aspects of the society. The picture is complex and in this concluding chapter I will attempt to summarise the main points and to abstract some Panara principles of organisation in the comparative context of Gê societies. The subject of social classification is best approached through concepts of 'space' as this is a recurring principle which is both emphasised by the informant and apparent to the observer in the form of village and garden order. Within the village we can distinguish between 'periphery' and 'centre'; the former is represented by peripheral houses and the associated matrilineal lines which are ordered in four spatial descent groups (SDG), and the latter is represented by two men's houses and the associated moieties. Within peripheral households we can further distinguish hearth groups which constitute nuclear or extended families. The spatial separation of 'centre' and 'periphery' can be extended to principles of membership, socio-economic activity, technique of house construction and status of the domains. Indeed, it is possible to order most aspects of Panara life by reference to this framework (I summarise the main points in Table 24) and the periphery/centre model appears to be a fundamental principle in Panara thought. In this respect I have suggested that the concentric model is also a principle in garden and cosmological order, in human and animal 'physiology', and the classification of colours and other materials in the natural world.

Whilst we can consider the elements of concentric models in terms of dyadic or triadic structures, the elements should not necessarily be considered as mutually distinct categories of things. Thus elements are

Table 24

A Summary of the Centre/Periphery Dichotomy

<u>'periphery'</u>	<u>'centre'</u>
food preparation zone	plaza - ceremonial zone
peripheral houses	men's houses
matrilines/SDG	moieties
genealogical/space organisation	age/space organisation
biological development	social development
female development & status	male development & status
"raw materials"/terminal products	"socialisation"
female	male
profane	sacred
secular	ritual
blood	semen
"red"	"white"
garden periphery	garden centre
urucum	peanut
low status	high status
low ritual control	high ritual control
intra-family relationships	inter-family relationships
household unity	village unity



organised through the idiom of space and this commonly functions relativistically; for example, at one level we can contrast the village periphery with the village centre, but at another level the village (the periphery and the centre) can be contrasted with the forest. Furthermore, although we can usefully arrange elements in series of oppositions, this should not obscure the fact that they are ultimately linked; functioning Panara society is in fact the dialectic between the elements in opposition. In this context it is useful to suggest a general principle which pervades the centre/periphery distinction; in cycles of production "raw materials" are polarised through dyadic structures and are then synthesised to produce new "raw materials" which re-enter the cycle. In other words, the Panara appear to emphasise the synthesis of opposing elements ('male' and 'female', centre and periphery, or, in diet, manioc and meat) in generative processes. This is particularly evident in life cycle development in the case of the dialectic between men's house and peripheral house residence; the "raw materials" of society are produced on the periphery, women develop on the periphery, whereas men develop in the centre, and synthesis is through marriage and uxori-local residence, which are explicitly associated with the production of "raw materials". As we have seen, the spatial and temporal parameters of this dialectic were succinctly expressed, through metaphor, in the cycle of peanut cultivation.

The model of production - differentiation - synthesis - production can be considered as both a symmetrical and an asymmetrical structure. In the one hand the elements of the oppositions are linked in a complementary relationship as parts of an on-going cycle; peripheral houses produce children for the men's houses and the men's houses produce mature men for the peripheral houses, or, in terms of diet, manioc should be eaten with meat and meat should be eaten with manioc. Thus, as expressed succinctly in the peanut cultivation cycle, Panara ritual and secular organisation emphasise

the fact that opposing categories are inextricably linked and that in isolation social order breaks down. On the other hand, the elements are asymmetrical as they are accorded different status in Panara ideology: the asymmetry can be summarised by the relationship - 'centre': 'periphery' :: high status: low status, a classification that can be extended to all the oppositions represented in Table 24. As spatial domains are associated with different levels of status the concentric 'map' of space is not uniform but rather is imbued with social significance; thus movement between domains signifies more than an identification with the opposite category, as it also represents significant modifications in status. This point is central to Panara rites de passage where it is space, and the associated membership groups of the spatial domains, which provide the structure and, in large part, the sociological significance of the rituals.

To summarise these points we can, on the one hand, conceptualise Panara society as a 'divided world' where thought and action are consistently expressed through a dualistic structure and, on the other hand, we can consider the 'divided world' as an illusion as the crucial relationships are between the elements of the dyadic structure.

The notion of concentric spatial order is common to all Gê societies; all distinguish between 'centre' and 'periphery' in space and status. In the domestic or periphery sector we find a proliferation of forms of social classification, whereas most Gê societies share a common diametric ordering of the village centre (though this need not involve the presence of men's houses). To generalise further, we can also note that the centre is generally organised by reference to a socio-biological classification of age (age grades, age sets etc.), with a playing down of genealogical principles, whereas the peripheral sector is generally organised by genealogical principles and households are typically represented as

stratelines. If we refer to the centre/periphery model we can suggest why the principle of 'age' should be emphasised in the centre and that of genealogy on the periphery. The periphery can be identified as 'female', it is women who articulate the economic and biological processes located in the peripheral houses, and it is women, as the 'biological' elements of society, who produce "raw materials" - the natural resources of the society. Thus we can suggest that the emphasis on biological production refers to the 'static' ties between individuals generated through birth - i.e. genealogical or intra-family relationships. The classification of birth as a female, 'biological' and 'natural' process associated with the periphery appears to be common to the Gê and perhaps helps us to understand why, regardless of the principles of periphery classification (e.g. relationship terminologies), we find a significant degree of similarity in household structure. To extend this argument we can suggest that as peripheral houses are characterised as the domain of production of "raw materials", i.e. of children, it is the passing of generations, the sequence of birth and death, which constitutes the progressive time scale and it is, therefore, classification by generation that is emphasised. In contrast, in Gê societies the centre is articulated by men and is explicitly not concerned with the production of 'biological' raw materials. Here, rather than the emphasis on 'biological' or 'intra-family' relationships, identification is with the community and 'inter-family' relationships, identification progressive social development. Thus we can argue that classification by socio-biological age structures a sequence of development that is common to all members of the village and represents an 'abstract' diachrony of the population structure. In sum, the distinctive principles of organisation of the centre and periphery can be interpreted as aspects of the opposition between 'male' and 'female' and between sociological and biological status

The interpretation of periphery groups as articulating 'biological' aspects of development and of the centre as articulating the 'sociological' does not add to an understanding of why the periphery should be divided into four categories (the SDC) and the centre into two categories (the moieties). However, I suggest that both principles of organisation can be interpreted as representing dyadic structures which can be related to the oppositions generated by the concentric ordering of space. As a well documented principle common to the Gê, I will commence this discussion with the diametric order of the centre: the moieties.

Dichotomies in Panara Society

Early attempts to understand the moiety systems of the Gê, and indeed of other societies across the world, were through the concept of "dual organisation" developed by Rivers (1914). Initially limited to exogamous moiety systems, the analysis of "dual organisations" has been extended by Lévi-Strauss (1963) and, among the Gê, by Maybury-Lewis (1967), who have shown through structural analysis and comparative studies respectively, that there are no valid analytical reasons for limiting the concept to societies with exogamous moieties. Rather, the phenomenon should be considered as one facet of a more general dualistic principle which pervades other aspects to varying degrees. Thus in the context of the Gê, Maybury-Lewis envisages the concept of "dual organisation" as referring to a 'theoretical ideal' of a society where one dualism or antithesis would provide a "total explanation of that society" (1967:298). In the case of the Akwê-Shavante, the subject of Maybury-Lewis's research, the explanatory power of the antithesis of "kin" and "affine" was found to be high and thus the society could be considered as approximating to the 'ideal' type. Whilst I do not intend to compare Panara and Akwê-Shavante social organisation, this does raise two points of interest: firstly, the particular antithesis found in Akwê-Shavante society is not immediately apparent in Panara society, though I suggest that it is expressed in a

different form and through a different idiom, and secondly, that the Central Gê (to which the Akwê-Shavante belong) can perhaps be considered, in terms of social organisation, as a variation of the Gê model which incorporates the principles common to Lowland Tropical Forest cultures.

Rather than approaching moieties as an isolated institution in Panara society, we can consider the dualism as one facet of a system and suggest that the dualism may be related to other dichotomies in that system. In other words, rather than concentrating on the elements of the dualism we should examine the relationship between the elements and the relationship of this relationship with other dualisms within the same society. The first problem to be faced in such an analysis is that we are concerned with different 'types' of dualism. In this respect Lévi-Strauss has raised some interesting points:

"The important point, for us, is that the dualism is itself twofold. It seems in some cases to be conceived as the result of a balanced and symmetrical dichotomy between social groups, between aspects of the physical world, or between moral or metaphysical attributes; that is, it seems to be.....a diametric type of structure. And according to a concentric perspective it is also conceived in terms of opposition, with the one difference that the opposition is, with regard to social an/or religious prestige, necessarily unequal."  
(Lévi-Strauss 1963:139)

This distinction has an immediate application in Panara society; the 'male'/'female' dichotomy is asymmetrical, articulates 'religious' status and prestige and is expressed through the idiom of the 'centre'/'periphery' opposition in concentric space, whereas the relationship between categories within specific spatial domains is characterised by symmetry and reciprocity and is expressed through 'diametric' structures. To digress briefly, this distinction is also apparent in Panara classification of the 'body' as asymmetry, the status of body elements, is expressed through concentric order (e.g. skin - flesh - bone) and little or no emphasis is placed on lateral or diametric structure, for example "right" and "left". However, the contention that two 'types' of dualism are operative need not invalidate the proposition that both forms are related, if we argue that reference is

To return to Panara moieties, we can isolate certain characteristics: the moieties are balanced in a reciprocal relationship; they regulate residence for unmarried males; and they are only operative as principles of organisation in activity pertaining to the centre. In addition the moiety structure is cut across by age grade classification which is also a principle that cuts across periphery groups. Classification by age need not result in the formation of 'enduring' groups, as in Panara society individuals enter and leave specific grades as individuals; the formation of enduring groups is through the principle of 'space'; the moieties and men's houses are defined by geographical locations to the south and north of an east-west division of the plaza. This is of particular interest as the principle of space is also operative in the periphery domain in the 'fixing' of the exogamous categories which regulate residence. Thus in both the periphery and the centre of Panara society the 'gross' categories of social structure are defined and expressed through the idiom of 'space'; in the centre this takes the form of an emphasised opposition between the elements of a dyad and on the periphery as an unemphasised relationship between four categories:

	<u>periphery</u>	<u>centre</u>
principle of classification	genealogical relationships	age grades
enduring groups	spatial	spatial
	Spatial Descent Groups (four)	Moieties (two)

The delineation of SDG, the categories that regulate the process of reproduction on the periphery, and of moieties, the categories that regulate ceremony in the centre, by reference to space is not, perhaps, surprising as the separation of centre and periphery, of the 'biological' and 'ceremonial', is itself expressed through the same idiom.

The contention that the dichotomy within the 'centre' can be equated with the dualisms of centre:periphery and thus male:female need not contradict my earlier association of centre:periphery with male:female. Firstly, the two systems, i.e. concentric and diametric, are operative in distinct contexts, and are not brought into conflict; it is indicative that the movement of individuals from the secular to the ritual domain (e.g. from periphery to centre) is commonly marked by a ritual 'separation' as discussed in Chapter IX. It is, therefore, nonsensical to talk of a dichotomy between one moiety and a SDG; the relationship should read insodama:inkiadama (= centre), centre:periphery, (periphery =) krenope: :kwosope: :kwosipe: kwokiadpe:. Secondly, I am not suggesting that the moiety dualism necessarily articulates the same aspect of the 'male'/'female' dualism as that expressed by the centre/periphery structure; we can suggest that the former represents the complementary nature of 'male' and 'female', as for example husband and wife, in generative processes, whereas the latter articulates the 'physiological' differences between the sexes and their status according to Panara ideology (i.e. ritual:secular :: 'male':'female'). In this respect we need not even refer to gender but merely to the fact that Panara society is made up of two categories of humans and that it is the relationship between the categories that is fundamental to the society - see p. 277. 1

The contention that the 'centre' dichotomy is related to other dualisms in Panara society can be supported by reference to the role of men's house residence in male life cycle development and the structure of peripheral

1. In addition to referring to the distinction between 'male' and 'female' within Panara society we can also suggest that the two categories can be represented as Panara:kahen where the dichotomy represents the 'human' population of the whole universe. At this higher level the differentiation of 'status' is again apparent - male:female :: Panara:kahen :: social:biological :: cultural:natural :: high status:low status etc.

households. Thus the period of male 'biological' establishment is in their natal household with matrilineal kin. This domain can be conceptualised as a dualistic structure, as it comprises the mother's matriline, which we can consider as "kin", and the 'in-married' husbands of female members of the matriline, whom we can call "affines":

mother's matriline	father's matriline
"kin"	"affines"
natal SDG	other SDG
"mothers and sisters"	"fathers"
zero and descending generations of men	ascending generations of men

Residence with "kin" is abruptly terminated by transfer to the village centre where residence in the men's houses can be characterised by the opposition:

moiety membership	other moiety
men's house of residence	other men's house

Moreover, this dualism is a structuring principle of male adolescent development as the moieties are the main principle of organisation in men's house residents' ceremonial activity.

Men's house residence is terminated on marriage, with the transfer of the mature man to the peripheral house of his wife. However, this return to the periphery involves a radical modification of male identity vis-a-vis the matriline of the peripheral house of residence (see p. 202). - The main point is that the dominant matriline of the household is now classified as "affines" and not as "kin":

in-married men	"affines"
representatives of other SDG to that of the "wife"	the "wife's" matriline and SDG
husbands and fathers	"wife", "wife's sisters", "wife's mother" and "children"

This sequence is of particular interest as it combines both diametric and concentric structures in a process that, I suggest, can be considered fundamental to Panara society. Thus on the one hand we find the



progressive sequence of male development articulated by movement between spatial domains which both regulates the differentiation of 'male' and 'female' and also the diachronic sequence of male development from child to mature adult status; from "raw material" to "producer" and from a 'male' as "brother" to 'male' as "husband". Within these domains, i.e. peripheral houses and the men's houses, we find an emphasis on complementary functions and we can suggest that the dichotomy of peripheral household structure is duplicated in the men's houses; in the former the emphasis in production is on cooperation between husband and wife, "affine" and "kin", and in the latter the emphasis in ceremony is between the moieties in plaza activity.<sup>1</sup> The contention that the moieties articulate the symmetrical facet of the 'male'/'female' dichotomy can be supported by a number of points:

- a) In men's house activity an emphasis is placed on cooperation and friendship between "brothers-in-law (kietuapia)". Youths in this relationship are frequent partners in dance and hunting and fishing activity. Whilst there is no apparent association between the "brother-in-law" relationship and moiety membership, as there would be in a system of exogamous moieties, the emphasis placed on this relationship does indicate that cooperation and partnership between "kin" and "affine" is an integral aspect of men's house ideology.
- b) In the finale of "meat festivals" we find reference to both concentric and diametric dualisms. Thus 'male' and 'female' are separated by respec-

<sup>1</sup> In this respect we can suggest that the formalised ritual exchanges between moiety representatives in "dawn debates" (i.e. men's house debates) can be equated with the exchanges between peripheral houses in "evening debates" ("little speeches"). In the former the objective is to ensure 'cooperation' between the moieties in ceremony and in the latter to obtain consensus between matrilineals in social, economic and political matters.

tive locations in the centre and periphery and the festival "cake" is identified as the product of men's houses, of moiety activity. This suggests an analogy between peripheral house structure in secular activity and the village structure in ritual activity: in the former "meat cake" is produced by cooperation between "husband" and "wife" and in the latter by the cooperation between the moieties.

c) To continue the example of food festivals, we can also note that the moieties and the husband/wife unit represent two facets of the garden. Thus the men's houses organise the general garden cycle of planning, clearance, planting and harvesting, whereas the hearth group is the unit of production in clearance and planting. These roles are expressed in harvesting, as the hearth group is associated with the secular activity and the men's house groups with festival collection.

d) Finally, we can return to an earlier point that the men's houses are like a peripheral house 'split in two' (see p.74). As the Panara consistently express relationships through the idiom of space we can suggest that the close and inward looking aspect and the construction technique of the two houses can be interpreted as representing the inherent dualism within peripheral houses: the reciprocal relationship between two distinct categories.

SDG and moieties can be considered as related categories in that both articulate symmetrical relationships and both 'fix' groups through space and regulate residence in the respective domains. We can also suggest that the four SDG categories can be interpreted as a dualism of the 'centre' dichotomy though I should add that apart from spatial order there is no evidence to suggest that pairs of SDG are associated with a moiety. Rather, the dichotomy in the periphery domain is between the SDG of membership, the exogamous category, and the other three SDG, the marriageable category. To extend this argument we can suggest that the quadripartite division of

the periphery expresses a related principle to the diametric division of the centre, yet does not generate an absolute dichotomy; two SDG on the periphery would result in exogamous moieties and thus duplicate the social groups of the centre as membership is through patrification. In this respect the quadripartite division would appear to be one of a number of possible structures as the Panara system could function equally well with, for example, eight spatial categories as in Bororo society. The important points are that <sup>the</sup> periphery structure does not duplicate that of the centre and that men do not reside in their natal category after marriage.

The dialectic between concentric and diametric dualisms is represented in all Gê societies and, in addition to illustrating certain aspects of Panara social structure, the variations of the dialectic offer a useful comparative context. As space does not permit a detailed examination of this topic, I will only include brief outlines of selected societies.

#### The Eastern Timbira

The Eastern Timbira (for location see Map 1) are a well documented Northwestern Gê society (Nimuendajú 1946 and J. Lave 1967) and provide a complex though interesting illustration. In this society we find three 'community wide' systems which are operative in the plaza and which are organised in a series of relationships that articulates a complex ceremonial cycle (J. Lave 1977). As in Panara society, the plaza systems, referred to as the Rainy Season system, the Plaza system and the Age Set system, are organised by reference to space and age and are also delineated from the periphery domain through concentric order.

The Rainy Season system operates during the rainy season and the moieties are contrasted linguistically by reference to the rainy and dry seasons and by reference to the centre and periphery domains: the dry season moiety predominates during the first half of the season and the rainy season moiety during the latter half. However, at the level of the

annual cycle the Rainy Season system is contrasted with the Age Set system; the dichotomy is expressed by a contrast between family based activities (during the rainy season) and community based activity (during the dry season). Finally, Lave also isolates a further dimension focussed on the initiation cycle, which is articulated by the opposition between the Plaza system and the Age Set system. To simplify this ceremonial structure we can refer to two 'axes' isolated by Lave, where the Age Set system plays a pivotal role (ibid:319).

- a) the "positive complement axis" represents the dualism between the Rainy Season moieties and the Age Set moieties and operates in an annual cycle. Lave characterises this dualism as reciprocal (symmetrical) in that it articulates two kinds of relationships: the role of men in uxori-local residence as it functions as a link between their natal and affinal groups on the periphery; and the regulation of name transmission which is emphasised as a reciprocal relationship between periphery groups linked by marriage.
- b) the "negative complement axis", or the "initiation axis" represents a dichotomy between the Plaza groups and the Age Sets. This binary structure articulates the separation of males from their natal household and their integration into uxori-local residence (ibid:318)<sup>1</sup>. Lave interprets the axis as articulating progressive time, the sequence of male development, which is reflected in the open ended structure of the age sets. This sequence is also marked in plaza space by the movement of meeting places; young men meet in the north of the plaza, mature men to the south and senior men in the centre. In contrast the "positive complement axis" represents reciprocity between categories or the 'creative' balancing of elements of binary oppositions in a closed cycle; for example, the relationship between the rainy and dry seasons or between periphery groups linked in marriage.

<sup>1</sup> The Eastern Timbira do not have men's houses though the plaza is accorded a similar status to that in Panara society.

Although the Eastern Timbira moiety system is more complex than that of the Panara we can suggest a structure that is common to both. Lave's "negative complementary axis" would appear to function in much the same way as Panara notions of concentric space in that both dualisms articulate the transfer of males from natal to uxori-local households; i.e. both regulate the progressive aspects of male development. Moreover, both the dualisms are concerned with intra-family relationships or the modification of status within matrilineal (initiation). Thus in Panara society the centre/periphery dualism regulates the separation of boys from their natal household and, after a period of men's house residence, articulates their return to the periphery as mature men. In Eastern Timbira society the process of separation is articulated by the Plaza Groups and the process of integration by the Age Set system.

Lave's "positive complementary axis" has many parallels with the Panara moiety system as both emphasise reciprocal and symmetrical relationships. In Eastern Timbira society "reciprocity" is represented by two moiety systems which are linked in an annual cycle with reference to the organisation of community activity and the role of men in uxori-local residence; the former can be equated with Panara moieties and the latter with the dualism inherent in peripheral households. Thus, in both societies reference is made to inter-family relationships which Lave refers to as the "zero-sum" nature of relations between the two groups of adult ties; the relationship between matrilineal or opposite sex siblings on the one hand and affinal ties on the other.

To summarise these points we can compare the "positive complementary axis" in Eastern Timbira society with Panara moieties, as both systems articulate the synthesis of dyads; the elements are conceptualised as reciprocal and complementary. We can also compare the Eastern Timbira

"negative complementary axis" with Panara concepts of concentric space, as both represent the asymmetrical classification of categories in dyadic structures which are hierarchical and which articulate processes of development. A crucial difference between the two societies is that the Eastern Timbira do not have men's houses and it can be suggested that this 'absent dimension', the contrast between peripheral house and men's house residence, is represented by the "negative complementary axis". Finally we can also note that in Eastern Timbira society the two "axes" remain distinct in space and time; Lave notes that men cannot be associated with more than one plaza system at the same time, in much the same way as in Panara society, where it is impossible for men to be present in both the "centre" and the "periphery".

#### The Apinayé

The Apinayé, a Western Timbira society, present a further variation with two moiety systems organised by contrasting methods of recruitment, though both represent agamous groups in contrast to matrilineal peripheral houses. In one plaza system the moieties are referred to as kolti and kolre and are contrasted linguistically in a series of dichotomies: sun:moon, dry season:rainy season, east:west, and red:black. As noted by da Matta (1976) these oppositions are reciprocal and symmetrical as they represent complementary aspects in natural cycles. Furthermore the elements are not referred to in isolation but are always conceptualised as complementary. The moiety system articulates ceremonial village activity and is operative as the organising principle in ceremonial hunts, log races and initiation (da Matta 1976:106), when the moieties represent a complementary and symmetrical division of the village population. The second plaza system consists of the moieties ipognotxoine and krenotxoine which are contrasted linguistically by reference to the 'centre' ("people of the centre") and the 'periphery' ("people of the peripheral houses") with additional references to physiological and psychological

attributes which can be interpreted as aspects of the contrast between 'male' and 'female'.<sup>1</sup> The character of the dualism is asymmetrical and it appears to have regulated marriage in traditional Apinayé society. Moiety membership, in the latter system, is transmitted by 'formal friends', though it is indicative that formal friendship is characterised by constraint as the 'friends' will typically avoid one another; it appears that the dualism expresses inter-family relationships or the relations between "kin" and "affine" in marriage.<sup>2</sup> At present this moiety system is seldom operative, though da Matta notes that in one event the members of ipognotxoine ("people of the centre") 'attacked' peripheral houses in an expression of the relationship between the sexes during a re-enactment of the mythology. (ibid:131).<sup>1</sup>

Men's houses are absent in Apinayé society and we can suggest that the two moiety systems represent a similar structure to the two "axes" (representing three systems) in Eastern Timbira society; an asymmetrical dichotomy articulates the relationship between centre and periphery and a symmetrical dualism the relationship between complementary categories. In this respect it would seem plausible that variations in the representation of centre/periphery and 'male'/'female' relations in the three societies in question may well reflect ideological differences in the classification of 'male' and 'female'.

1 The 'male' and 'female' attributes are, in fact, associated with the opposing spatial domain, i.e. 'female' with the centre and vice versa. The inversion is explained by reference to a myth, as in the 'past' it was the women who articulated the village centre, and this emphasis may well reflect aspects of the relationship between the sexes in Apinayé society.

2 According to the rule the formal friend should be the son of the formal friend of the individual's "substitute father". The "substitute father" (pai adotivo (port.)) articulates the transition in status from membership of the mother's matriline on the periphery to membership of ceremonial groups in the centre.

Akwē-Shavante

As a final example it is useful to discuss briefly the Central Gê and these societies provide a significant contrast to the Northern Gê and Senara models. The Central Gê conceptualise village space in terms of centre and periphery with referents of male:female, sacred:profane etc. However, the periphery is organised by three patrilineal clans which are not geographically fixed in space and which are linked by rules of marriage into exogamous moieties. These moieties, although representing the dualism of "kin" and "affine" should not be confused with Northern Gê moieties which are only operative in plaza contexts. In Akwē-Shavante society the 'centre' is represented by one 'bachelors hut', as a residence for unmarried men, and which is organised by 'age sets' (see P.109). Thus in the village centre the emphasised principle of organisation is the age set system and not moieties. For example, log race teams are formed by a splitting of the age set system; if the age sets are considered as a numerical sequence from one to eight, then one team will consist of age sets one, three, five and seven and the other of age sets two, four, six and eight; the specific age sets are not split into moieties in this context. However, dualisms are represented in the centre in two major contexts. Firstly, Maybury-Lewis notes that within each age set the relationship of ĩ-arõ ("my other", "my partner") is emphasised in ceremonial partnership, friendship and mutual assistance. The relationship is an 'ideal' notion, but the important point is that each individual male enters into a special relationship with all members of his own age set whom he would classify as "affines" (i.e. all members of the other patrilineal moiety). This category is collectively called ĩ-arõ (Maybury-Lewis 1967:108). In this respect the dichotomy of "kin" and "affine" is operative and emphasised within the centre and it duplicates a crucial principle of organisation on the periphery; we can also note that the ĩ-arõ relationship is in some respects similar to the kietunpia



relationship in Panara society as both are emphasised in contexts pertaining to the centre and both represent the relationship between male adolescents linked by 'future' marriage.

Secondly, in ceremonial contexts the age set structure is replaced by ceremonial moieties, udéheri'wa and umrē-tdé'wa, which are formed by the 'arbitrary' division of males by senior men into two groups when the only frame of reference is the approximate balancing of the male population in two groups (ibid:256). The ceremonial moieties were operative during the initiation rites (wai'a) and are contrasted linguistically as "wood cutters" and "gourd people", by the respective use of red clubs and dance rattles, and by the distinctive styles of body painting. During the initiation rites the centre/periphery distinction is emphasised as women are secluded in peripheral houses (symbolic rather than actual) and the men dominate the plaza and move between the forest and village. In the ceremony, the moieties are consistently opposed to one another and the rites appear to express 'male' attributes: the dancing is aggressive, the use of arrows is prominent and the initiates have group sex with women representing the other exogamous moiety. Maybury-Lewis interprets the moieties as representing different aspects of reproductive potential; aggressive sexual power and generative or reproductive power which are represented by arrows and sexual emblems respectively. We can also suggest that this dualism can be extended to include 'male' and 'female' roles in reproduction where, as I have discussed in the context of Panara society, the relationship between 'male' and 'female' can be considered as both symmetrical and asymmetrical. My contention here is that in the Akwé-Shavante initiation cycle both aspects of 'male'/'female' relations are expressed; on the one hand, men are differentiated from women through separation in concentric space and by the 'male' behaviour of the plaza moieties, whereas, on the other hand, the essential reciprocity between 'male' and 'female' is expressed through

the ceremonial moiety structure. The emphasis on concentric space is indicative as the ceremony marks the transition of "boys" to "maturity" and can, therefore, be interpreted as socially marking the differentiation of 'male' and 'female' prior to marriage and uxori-local residence. Thus a moiety generated dualism is only emphasised in the centre in the context of radical change in male status vis-à-vis relationships with periphery and centre groups. For this reason the Akwē-Shavante ceremonial moieties can be likened to Lave's "negative complementary axis" and the bachelor house "partnerships" can be likened to Lave's "positive complementary axis"; the former articulates the asymmetrical qualities of the 'male'/'female' relationship and the latter the symmetrical.

In Akwē-Shavante society we can suggest that the ceremonial moiety system is subordinate to the "kin"/"affine" dichotomy generated on the periphery (i.e. the categories wasi're'wa and waniwihā) as the ceremonial moiety system is subordinate to the age set system; the former is only operative during specific ceremonial contexts whilst the latter regulates 'life' within the bachelors' hut. Indeed, Maybury-Lewis found that the "kin"/"affine" distinction had a pervasive explanatory power and provided a useful structure in his analysis of the society (ibid:208-209). In this respect we can suggest that a crucial difference between Central and Northern Gê societies is that 'space', as a classificatory device, is accorded a reduced significance in the former group of societies; this contention can be supported by a number of points:

- a) In Central Gê societies we find a degree of overlap between principles of organisation in the periphery and centre domains. Whilst this does not necessarily obscure the identification of the centre as 'male', it does result in an extension of male influence into the periphery domain. In this respect it is indicative that Central Gê informants will imply that residence is virilocal whereas it is in fact uxori-local; a confusion that was reflected in Nimondaiú's research.

- b) The categories of the centre and periphery in Akwẽ-Shavante society are not fixed spatially by reference to geographical models. Thus whilst the bachelors' hut and peripheral houses are defined by a concentric order, residence in the centre is regulated by age classification, and not spatial groups, and on the periphery the clans are not associated with fixed geographical locations. Indeed, we find that the clans 'move' around the village periphery as the clan 'sector' is identified by concentrations of male members in uxori-local residence.
- c) The pervasive dichotomy of the society is generated on the periphery and refers to patrilineal clans, organised as moieties, which are defined through the idiom of descent; i.e. the groups are delineated by 'known' genealogical relationship and not spatial relationships.
- d) Finally we can also suggest that Central Gê societies are not 'closed' to the extent of Northern Gê societies. In social classification this distinction is apparent in the possibility of extending the "kin"/"affine" distinction to all members of the village and beyond, whereas in Northern Gê societies kinship terminology is often not even extended to all members of the village. It can also be suggested that the "horse shoe" pattern of peripheral houses in the Central Gê societies represents an 'open' logic in comparison with the 'closed' social and village universe of the Northern Gê.

These significant differences between Northern and Central Gê systems of social classification can be considered as aspects of the reduced emphasis on space and the increased emphasis on 'genealogical' principles of organisation by the Central Gê. In this respect the Akwẽ-Shavante can be considered as representing the other extreme of a continuum of Gê social classification to that of the Panara; in both societies we find exogenous categories on the periphery, but in Akwẽ-Shavante society these are represented as moieties, are descent-based and are not fixed in

space, whereas in Panara society the exogamous categories are not linked in a system of direct exchange, are not based on the principle of descent and are fixed in space. My contention here is that the "kin"/"affine" dualism of Central Gê societies can be considered as a related classificatory device to the series of dichotomies generated by the plaza systems of Northern Gê societies. The crucial difference would appear to be that the Central Gê focus on the principle of descent to express the relationship of "kin"/"affine", 'male/'female' and husband/wife, which, in the context of the concentric ordering of space (centre:periphery :: male:female) results in a social structure where the principle dualism is generated in the 'secular', 'female' periphery domain. In Central Gê societies we can argue that this paradox is realigned by patrilineal descent as one level of periphery social organisation is articulated by men - the social element of society.

Equally, as the dualism of "kin";"affine" is articulated through men in the periphery domain we do not find the dualism emphasised in the centre as moieties, apart from the initiation ritual which, indicatively, articulates the transition from peripheral/household residence with "kin" to residence with "affines". To conclude, we can suggest that the Central Gê combine spatial and genealogical principles of social classification in a system that can be related to both the Northern Gê, where the principle of 'space' is emphasised, and to the Lowland Tropical Forest cultures, where 'two-line' terminologies and the ideology of "descent" appear to be common phenomena (Rivière 1976).

If we accept the contention that Gê societies are organised by a series, perhaps open-ended, of dichotomies which are themselves linked as dualisms, what are we referring to when we speak of "social organisation"? Are we to refer to the genealogical/space-based categories of the periphery or to the age/space-based categories of the centre, or must we constantly

refer to both in a complex balancing act? Traditionally Gê research has concentrated on the periphery domain, though it can be argued that this reflects the anthropologist rather than the society under study. The emphasis may in part stem from the fact that the periphery, concerned with primary production and secular economics, is commonly resistant to the process of acculturation and depopulation, whereas the centre, concerned with ceremonial and the 'socialisation' of production processes, appears to be particularly vulnerable, as in the Panara case, to contact and the resulting cultural upheaval. This is an important point as during the period of research it was apparent that the Panara saw Panara society, as a unique entity, in terms of plaza and not peripheral house activity.

Secondly, we can suggest that the periphery has been emphasised as it represents how the anthropologist conceptualises 'kinship'; on the periphery we find genealogies, relationship terminology, residential groups and families, although these often occur in an 'unsettling' way, particularly as the principle of 'space' is not easily reconciled with traditional anthropological theory. The emphasis is perhaps surprising, as both Indians and the anthropologists characterise the periphery as a 'low status' and female domain and therefore we find ourselves concentrating on the 'natural' aspect of the society. One complication to arise from this emphasis has been in Gê comparative research, where the proliferation of forms of periphery social classification (terminologies) have obscured fundamental similarities: household matriline, matrilocality, residence, and the dichotomy of periphery and centre. The implications here are twofold: firstly, although kinship terminologies should not be ignored, it should be recognised that they principally refer to intra-family relations and the organisation of peripheral houses, and they should not be accorded the same analytical significance as that given, for example, in Lowland Tropical Forest cultures. Secondly, it should be emphasised that the

social classification of the periphery represents only one element of a dual structure and, in isolation, cannot be considered as a social system; this is an important point as the picture of Panara society presented by the relationship terminology is one of 'extreme matriliney' whereas, in fact, men dominate in the society. Finally, we can suggest that these two points can, to some extent, be synthesised in that variations in relationship terminologies possibly articulate different conceptualisations of the diametric and concentric structures in specific Gê societies; different classifications of intra-family relationships are duplicated at the levels of inter-family and community relations.

In this thesis I have attempted to show that whilst the periphery and centre can be conceptualised as distinct domains, Panara society can only be understood when both domains are considered as elements of a system. Thus whilst we can refer to a 'divided world', the centre:periphery dichotomy should be considered as one facet of a wider pattern of dichotomies that pervades Panara society and includes concentric, diametric and quadripartite classifications. I suggest that these in turn can be related to a fundamental dichotomy of 'male' and 'female' where we are concerned with more than the distinction of gender and biological roles but also with "moral, attitudinal and emotional attributes" (Rivière 1971:64). In this respect it is misleading to conceptualise the 'centre' as a 'superstructure' added to a productive base; i.e. a ceremonial embellishment to a system of primary production, as this is alien to Panara thought and a denial of the dialectic between the two domains; a dialectic which, in effect, gives Panara society its cultural identity. In sum, an analysis of Panara society must represent the 'centre' and 'periphery' as asymmetrical domains linked in a system of reciprocity and equilibrium in the organisation of economic, biological and sociological processes; or, to reduce this to the level of

concern shown by the Panara during residence in PNX: "mature" men, as products of the 'centre', and "mature" women as products of the 'periphery', together produce children and gardens through marriage.

A P P E N D I C E S

- A 'Southern Cayapo' Vocabularies
- B Plans of Panara Villages in Peixoto and Xingu
- C Panara Relationship Terminology
- D Moiety Affiliation
- E Perception Maps
- F Deaths and Births



APPENDIX A

"Southern Cayapo" Vocabularies : Saint Hilaire and Pohl

a) Pohl

From word lists collected by Pohl (1832-1837) and given in Martius (1867:134-5).

Latin	English	Southern Cayapo (Pohl)	Panara	Remarks
aestus	heat	krenkio	nankio	
aethiops	black male	tapanio	se:akian?	
aethopissa	black female	tapanio-cua	?	ku:a- manioc
albus, a, um	white	macaca	sa:poa	
agua	water	inco	inko	
arcus	bow	itsche, itse	itse:	
aurum	gold	cupajotu	?	
bonus, a, um	good	impeimpare	?	
caput	head	icrian	intu:	intuk (Parise 1975)
caro, rnis	flesh	iobo	?	iobo - jaguar - flesh eater
caro bovina	beef	potina-schain	?	inpo - cow
charla	edible root	piankakianka	?	
clericus	pencil	kientom	?	kien - stone
coelum	intestine	putkua	itu:	ku:a- manioc
comere	eat	lepania	ku:kre:n	lampe:n-- honey
corbis	basket	piapa	piobo	pia - fibre pa: - small
culter	knife	kaascha (kyce)	kaasur	
deus	god	pujanka (puhanca)	?	
digitus	finger	lenkre	siti-anto	
domus	house	uncua	kokre	ku:a- manioc
dormire	sleep	schotine	kahonte	
sensis	sword	capite	ko	club
fabae	beans	tetaschu	?	tsu:-- "white matter" (knife)
falx	sickle	caitpopo	kaasur	
farina zae	maize flour	panata	musu:inkre	
ferrum	iron	kitesi	?	
fluvius	river	pupti	pakere:	
foedus, a, um	foul, filthy	intomarca	kurokian	intomaka - black eye decoration, glasses, camera
frigor	cold	kiuli	kiu:	
globus	round	antoaschu	kwa (?)	
ignis	fire	itschiu	itsu:	
infans	child	pintue	wantuf	
laborare	work	schampua	?	
lapis	stone	keni	kien	
lectus	bed	twchunquantu	su:tu:	(sleeping mat) cabonte - you sleep

Pohl continued:

Latin	English	Southern Cayapo	Panara	Remarks
ligo	bind	caitpoze	piakur	-wood-skin
pater	mother	unisi	wunsi	voc.
mons	mountain	sucomu	?	
mor	die	itu	itu:	sweet potato
niger, a, um	black	cotu	se:akian	
panis	bread	poli	po	inpo - flour
parvus, a, um	little	ipanre	pa:, pri, pari	
pater	father	usum	wusum	voc.
piscis	fish	tepo, topu	tepi	
pileus	felt cap	kiapio	?	
pluvia	rain	inta	inta	
pulcher	pretty	intompeipare	?	into - eye pari -thin
ruber, a, um	red	ampiampio	nampura	
sagitta	arrow	cajone, caschone	ku:a	
sicera	"brandy"	incoia	inko-itsu:	
silva	wood	inromu	pali, pi	
telum pyrium	gun	atona	atoñ	
templum	section	pujanka-unkua	?	- manioc
terra	earth	cupa (ciupa)	kuba	
uxorem ducere	"marry"	zapio	kasipia-su:	
venari	hunt	cubupapa	?	to kill -tipiñ
vestes	clothes	schapu	1-ko	(Parise 1975)
canis	dog	robu	lobu	
capreolus	roeibuck	inpo	iosu:	(deer) - inpo - cow, milk, flour (potiti - anteater)
cervus	deer	inpoti	iosu:	
gallina	chicken	schunins	tomakridi	
gallus	cock	schaninsischuma	"	
mulus	mule	kitascha	?	
ovis	sheep	inpoazo, schu, kriti	?	inpo - milk (white) tsu: - white matter
vacca	cow	potinascha	inpo	
herba nicotianae	tobacco	arena	kola:so (Parise)	
zea mays	maize	muschu	musu:	

65 terms:	apparent cognates	26
	possible misunderstandings	5
	not known	14
	not apparent cognates	20

b) Vocabulary Collected by Saint Hilaire (1830-1851),  
in Martius (1867:134-5)

Latin	English	Southern Cayapo	Panara	Remarks
auris	ear	chiccre	sikre	
avis	bird	itschune	?	
brachium	arm	ipa	inpa	
capillus	hair	iquim	inki	
collum	neck	impude	sokre:be	impu:di- one, sun, single
crus	leg (shin)	ite	inta-si	itsi - bone
dentes	teeth	chua	su:a	
femina	woman	intiera	inkiarra	
femur	thigh	icria	inkre, inkri	
folium	leaf	paracho	poksu:	(banana leaf)
fructus	fruit	patso	?	
homo	man	impuaria	inpu:era	
homo albus	white man	ditpe, cacateca	ipeñ, kahen	to fight
indianus	Indian	panaria	panara	
infans lactans	infant	nbontuara	wantu:i-	piuntu:ara - adolescent
ligni frustum	piece of wood	por(1)e	pi	pali - tree/ wood
luna	moon	putua, puturuua	sokiantida	pudera - two
manus	hand	chicria	sintodi	(tikria - "stupid")
nasus	nose	chacare	satsi	
oculus	eye	into	into	
os, oris	mouth	chape	sa:ko	
pectus	chest	chucoto	saunkodi	
pes	foot	ipaa	ipa	
pluma	feather	impantsa	numpuñ	
puella	girl	itpentie, iprontuaria	piuntu:ara inpriera	(adolescent) (child)
puer	boy	itpe-pri, inprintue		pri - small
saltare	dance	pinato, increti	inkre into	(circular dance) (paired dance)
sol	sun	itputi, impute	impu:di	also "one"
stella	star	amschiti, ansiti	nansurti	
venter	belly	itu	itu:	also "sweet potato"
equus	horse	iquitacho	?	inki - hair
pulex				
penetrans	flea	pate	kianko	
tapirus	tapir	icrite	inku:di	

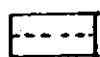
33 terms	apparent cognates	19
	possible misunderstandings	4
	not known	3
	not apparent cognates	7

APPENDIX B

Plans of Panara Villages in Peixoto and PNK

<u>Peixoto</u>	<u>Post Contact</u>
I Inkioranki	VII "Airstrip Village"
II Soñe:nasañ	VIII Pripuri
III Unidentified	IX Kretire
IV	X Diauarum Post
V	XI Suya Village
VI Totiurõn	

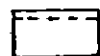
Key to Plans



house constructed with a defined ridge pole



house with rounded roof - a "beehive" shape



house with a one-plane sloping roof



racetrack log



ashes or burnt areas from earth ovens



worn dance tracks in plaza



grave



virgin forest



cultivated areas

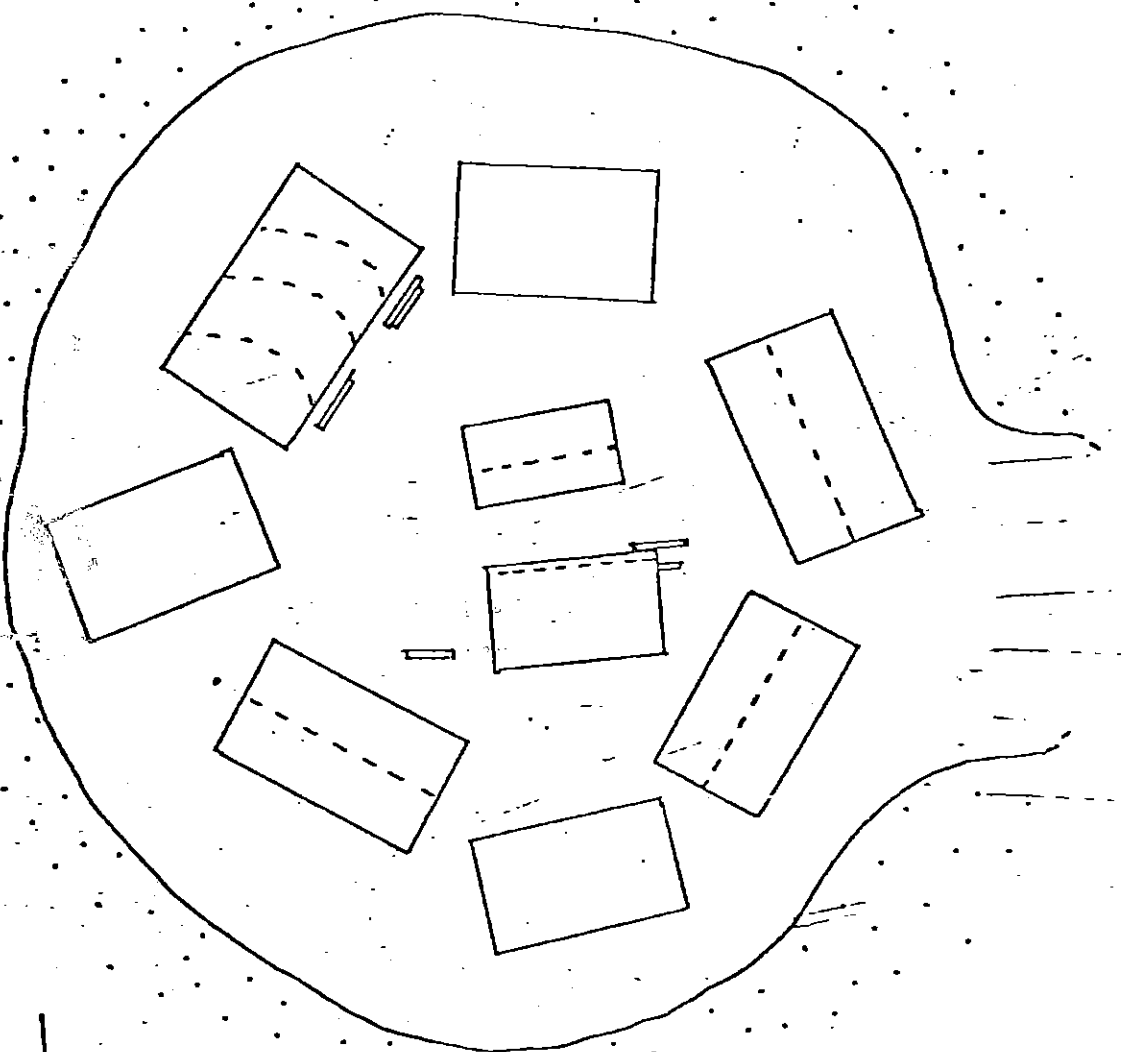


drying mats and/or stands

Plan I

Soñse:nasã (probably)

Based on Cowell 1973 : 102-103



+ E?

2 m. approx.

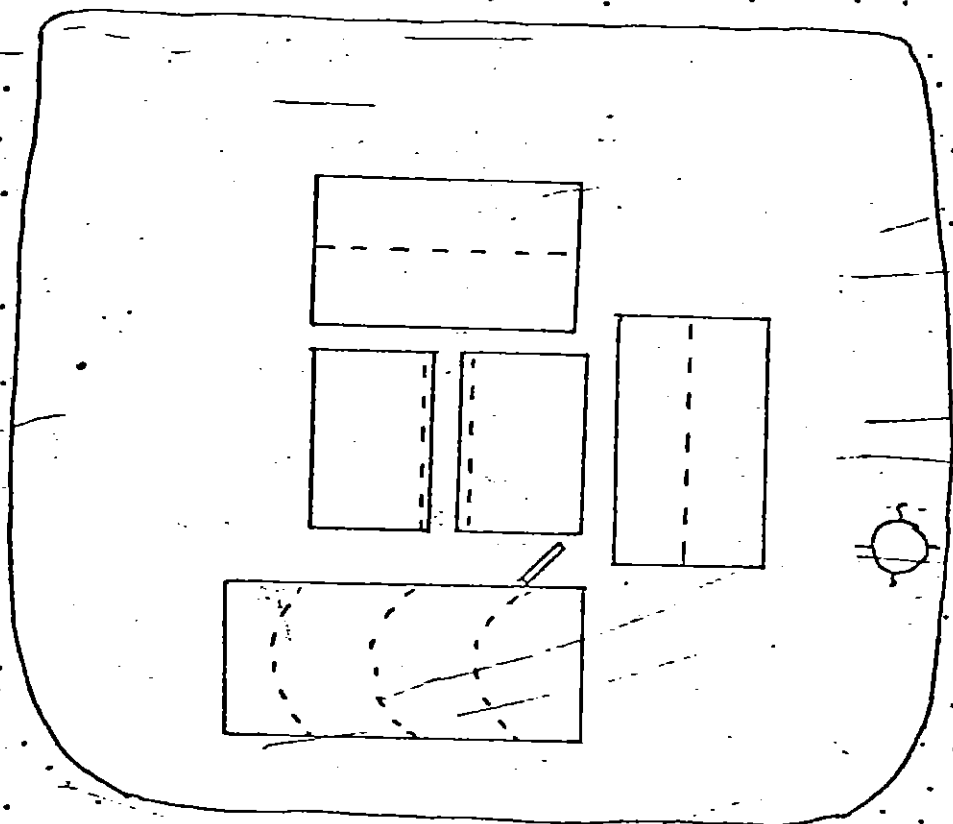
The village was established by at least 1950 and was located on a northern tributary of the upper Peixoto. The village was first located by the first Villas-Boas Expedition in 1968 and was abandoned later that year. The village and its environs are described in some detail in Cowell 1973:161-172.

Plan II

Inkioranki

Based on O. Villas-Boas's Report to FUNAI, March 1972.

Location: 4km north of River Peixoto and 6km west of BR-165.



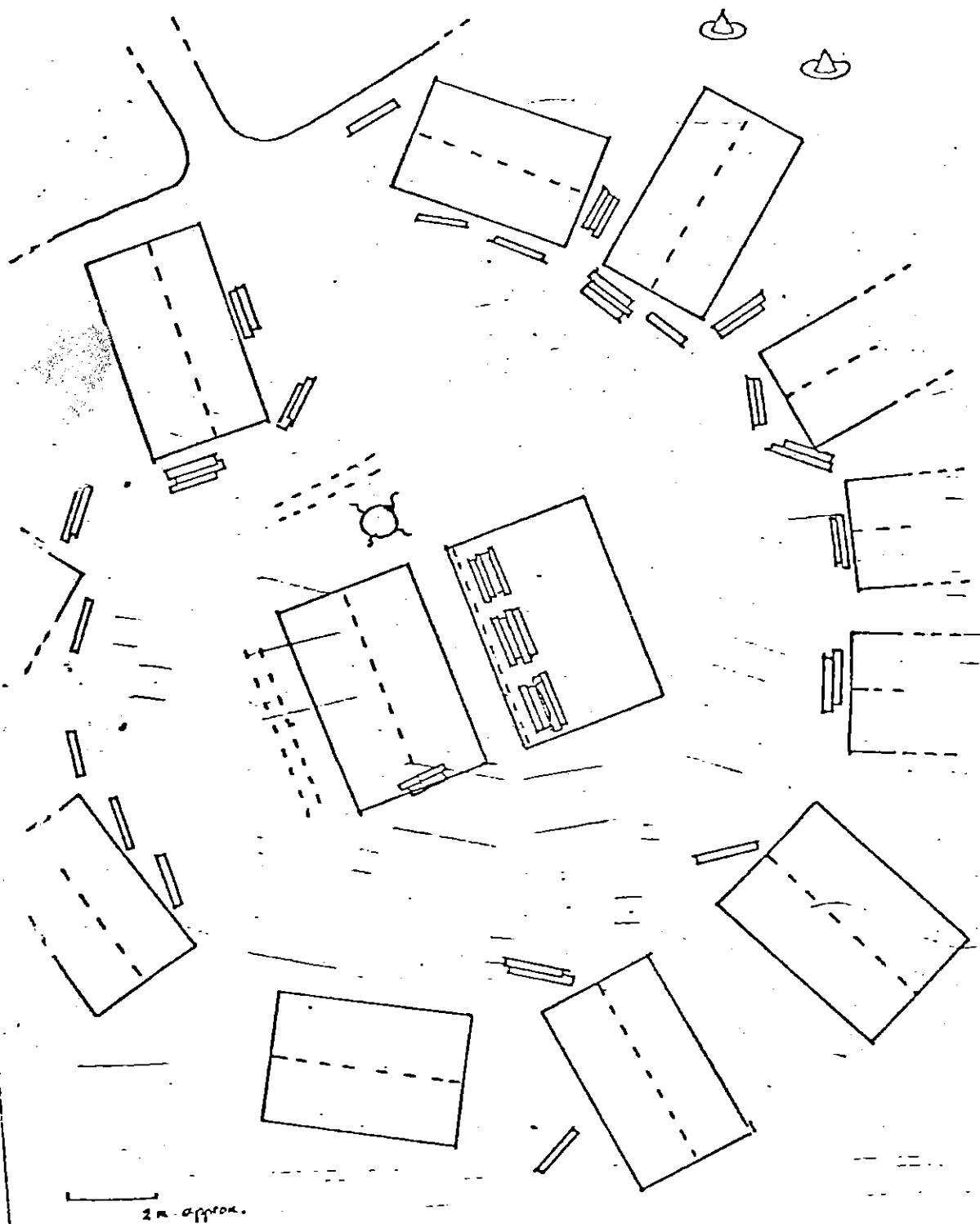
2 m. approx.

A village of unknown age with a population of 40-45 in 1968; Kwosipe: SDG was not represented in the village. A garden was located near the village in 1968, during the first Villas-Boas Expedition (reproduced in Cowell 1973:102-3). Four gardens were found near the village in 1972, by which time the village had been abandoned (O. Villas-Boas Report to FUNAI, Reference 209/74/SA March 1972).

Plan III

"An Old Village" possibly Soñkurnasañ or Puksu: rari

Based on Boletim FUNAI II no. 5:50.



No date, location or source of this photograph are given in Boletim FUNAI. The large number of logs in the village suggests that it is a traditional and well established settlement. With twelve peripheral houses the size of the village compares with that of Soñkurnasañ, as described by the Panara.

Plan IV

Unidentified Village (possibly Iobiupari)

Based on Boletim FUNAI II no. 5:50

Boletim FUNAI II no. 6:30



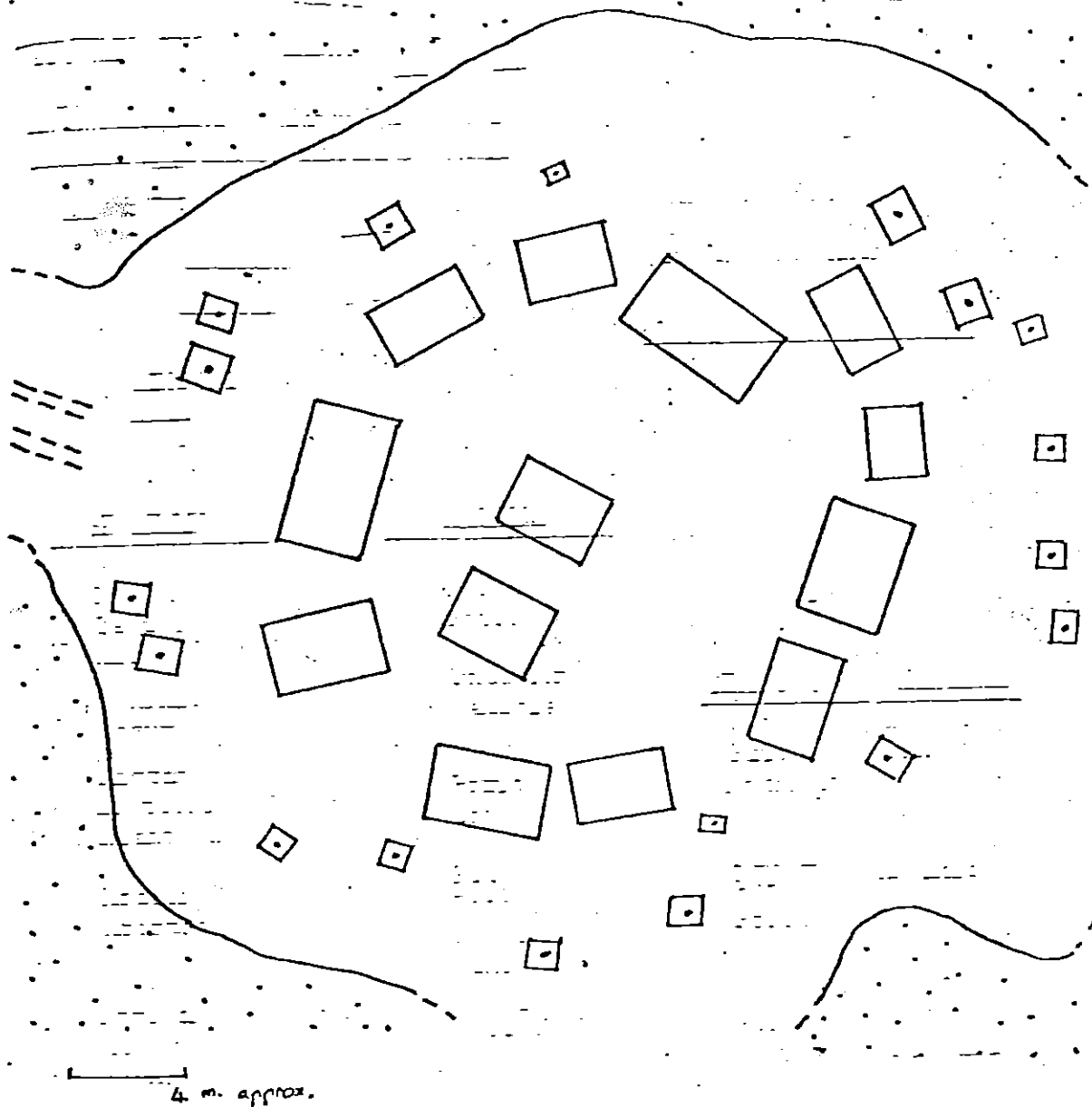
A photograph with no date, location or source. It is possibly the "southern village" of Iobiupari in the process of construction after the influx of migrants during the phase of contact; informants mention that at this time there were no men's houses and the uncleared centre area indicates that the village was under construction. The houses are also similar to those of other Panara villages, though it is possibly not Panara.



Plan V

Unidentified Village

Based on Boletim FUNAI II no.6:43

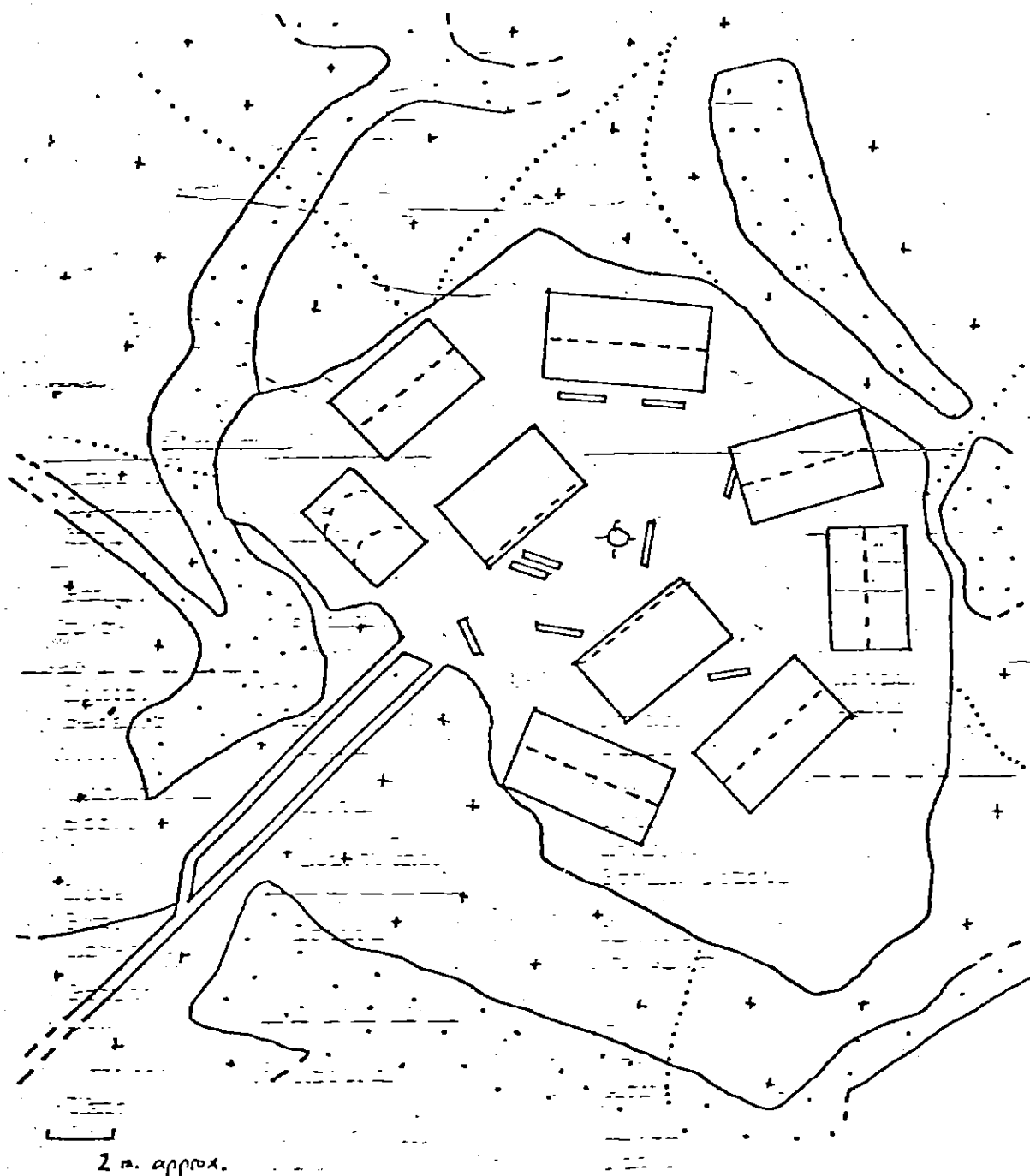


A photograph of poor quality, without date, location or source. The dual paths entering the village and the location and orientation of the two houses in the village centre suggest that the village is Panara. The size of the village clearing and of the plaza are, however, larger than that apparent in other Panara villages. The stands behind the peripheral houses are for drying vegetables.

Plan VI

Tobiuroñ (Aldeia Norte)

Based on Von Puttkamer 1975a:263 and 1975b:45  
and Boletim FUNAI II no. 8:56.

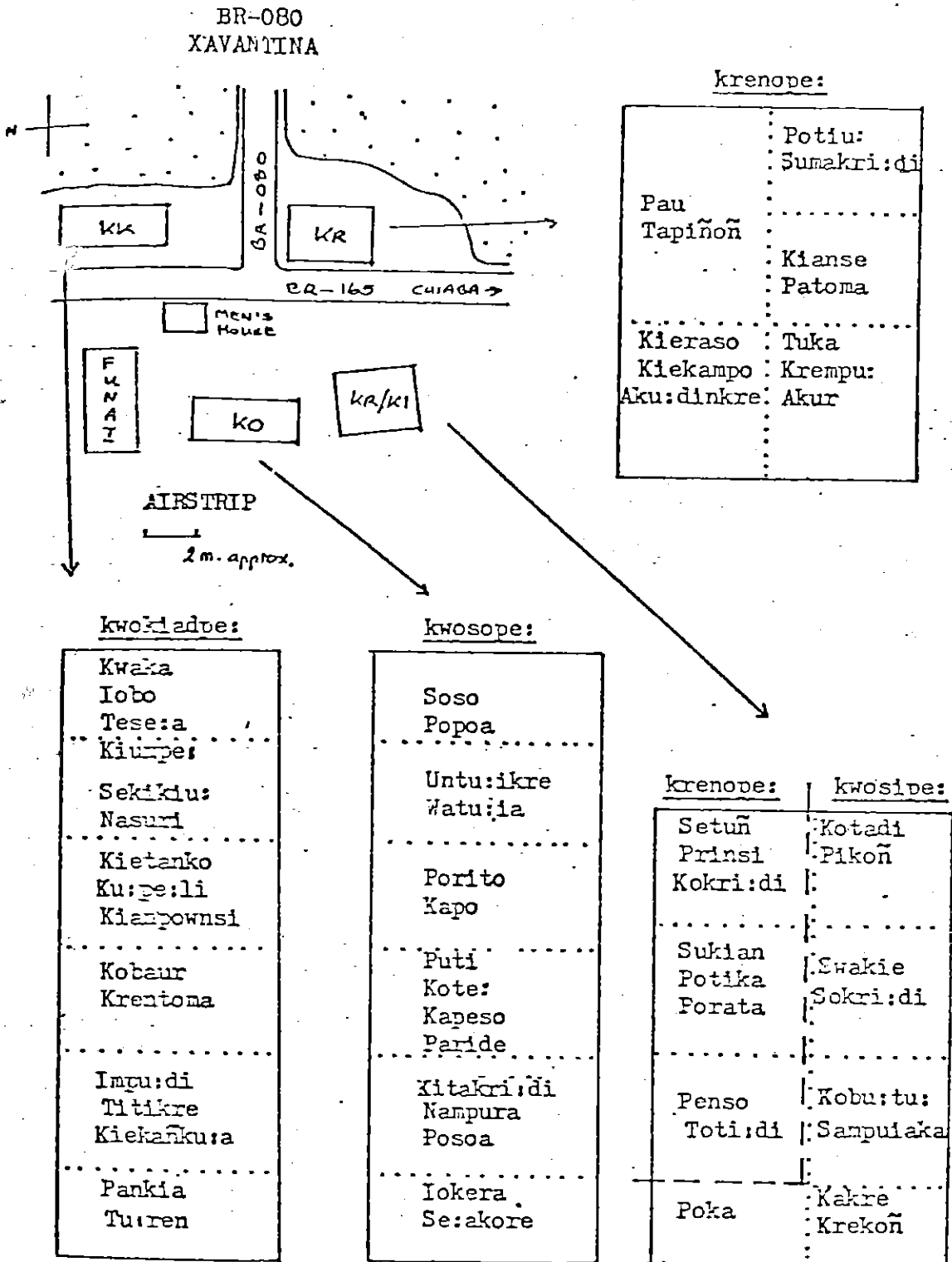


A village established in approximately 1969-1970, which was abandoned in 1972, reconstructed and abandoned again in 1973 and reconstructed and abandoned in mid 1974, prior to transfer to FUNAI. The village was first visited by Apoena Meirelles in June 1973. Before the village was abandoned in 1972, some fifty-six gardens were counted in the vicinity (O. Villas-Boas Report to FUNAI, ?/2/1972, reference 209/74/3A).

Plan VIII

The Airstrip Village

December 1974 - January 1975

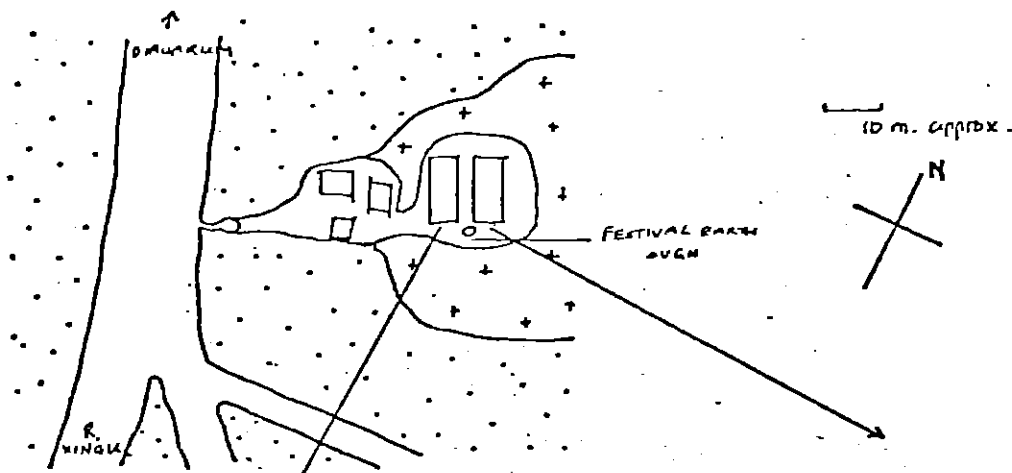


The "village" was constructed whilst waiting for transfer to PNK. Male adolescents and single men were sleeping in the men's house or in the FUNAI hut. The krenope: group living in kwosipe: house were members of the southern village which, at that time, was in dispute with the 'northern' Panara over the future of the tribe. The houses were of traditional construction with a lineal arrangement of sleeping mats on the ground.

Plan VIII

'Pripuri' Village

January - March 1975



kwokladpe:

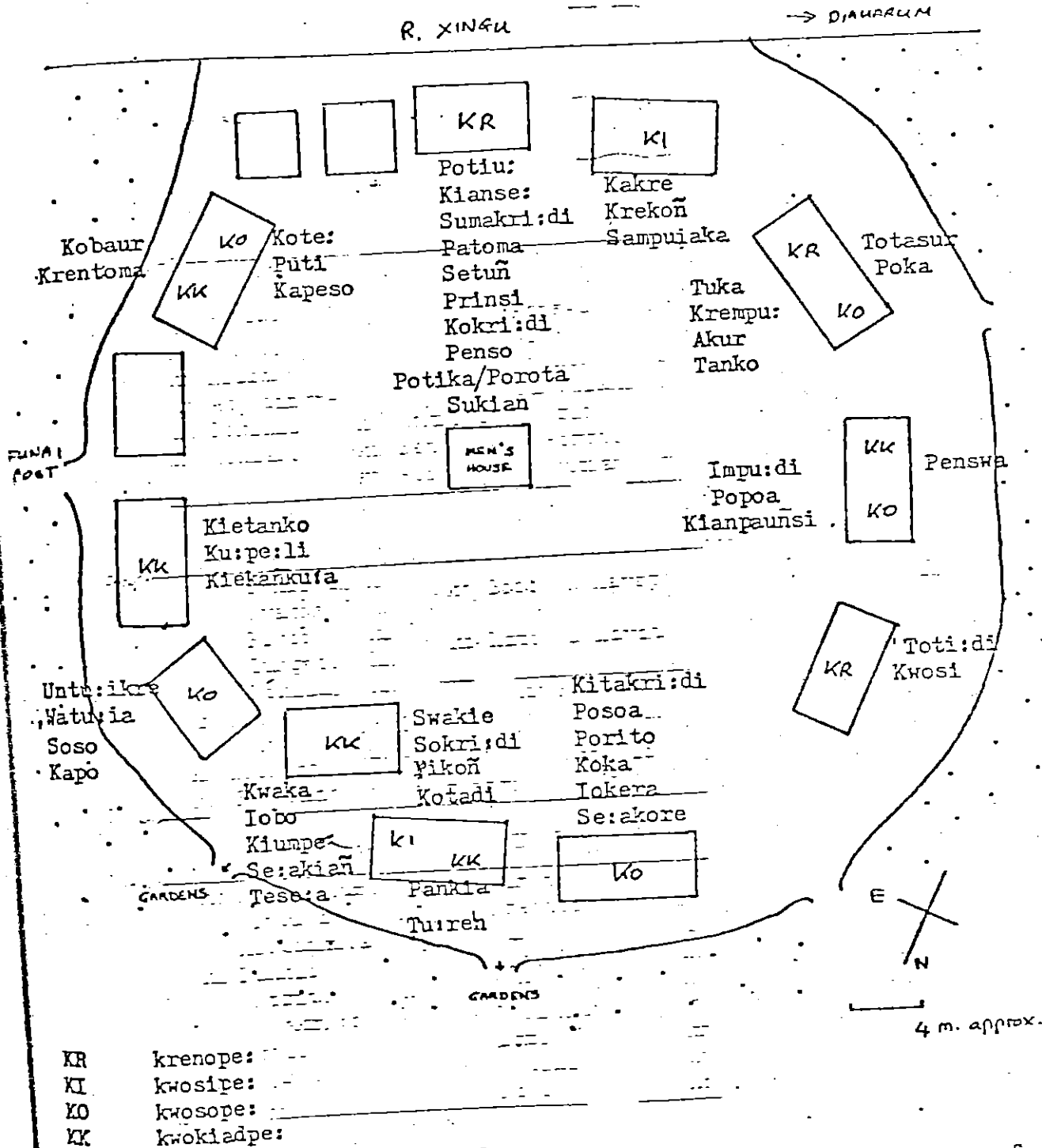
Impudi	Kwaka		Swaki:e
Kiekankusa	Kiumpes:		Sokri:di
Utikre			
Pankla	Sekikiu:		
Turra			
Iokera	Kobaur	Prinsi	
Sesakore	Kokiana	Sukian	
Kitakri:di	Kietanko	Penso	
Posoa	Ku:pe:li	Setuñ	
	Kianpaunsi	Kokri:di	
Kote:		Potika/Porota	
Puti	Totasur	Ki:eraso	
Kapeso		Aku:dinkre	
Porito		Tuka	
Koka	Kretodi	Krenpu:	
		Akur	
Kapo		Ki:anso	
Soso	Kakre	Patoma	
	Krekoñ		
Untu:ikre	Sampulaka	Potiu:	
Watu:ia		Sunakri:di	
<u>kwosipe:</u>	<u>kwosipe:</u>	<u>krenope:</u>	<u>kwosipe:</u>

At 'Pripuri' Village two houses were available for the Panara which had been constructed by the Kayabi. The kwosipe: group divided with the two senior females living adjacent to their affinal groups. No men's houses were constructed at the village and the adolescent and unmarried males slept in an empty house in the 'Kayabi Village'.

Plan IX

Krotire Village

April to October 1975

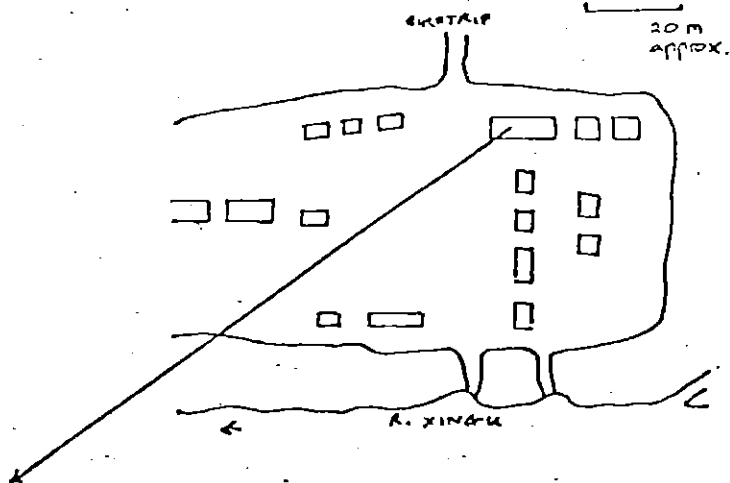
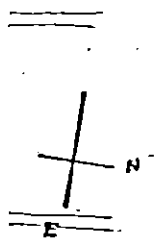


In this village the Panara were co-resident with Kayapo in the houses of Kayapo. The organisation of spatial descent groups was severely disrupted although matrilineal relationships remained important in the formation of groups; in a number of houses married men were living with their married sisters. Most of the adolescent and unmarried men were sleeping in the men's house together with Kayapo adolescents.

Plan X

Diauarum (PNX Post)

Panara resident in a Kayabi house in November 1975.



Kitakri:di ko	Puti	kk
kk Kwaka Posoa ko	*Kapeso	ko
kk Kiumpe:	Penswa	ko
kk Tese:a	Kakre	ki
kr Kieraso	Krekoñ	kk
kr Aku:dinkre	Sampuiaka	kk
kk Sekikiu:-- ki Kokri:di	Prinsi	kr
ko Kokiana:-- kr Setuñ	Porota	kr
	Sukian	kr

Sokri:di	kk	ko Soso (& Kayapo)
Swakie	ki	
Pikoñ	ki	ko Kapo (& Kayapo)
*Tuñgopo	kk	
Pokiadi	kk	kk Kietanko
kr Tuka	ko Iokera	ko Ku:pe:li
ko Akur	kk Se:akore	Watu:ia
kk Kiekampo		kk
ko Se:ikian	ko Tu:renpri	Okara
		kk

- SDG Groups:
- kr krenope:
  - ko kwosipe:
  - kk kwokiadpe:
  - ki kwosipe:

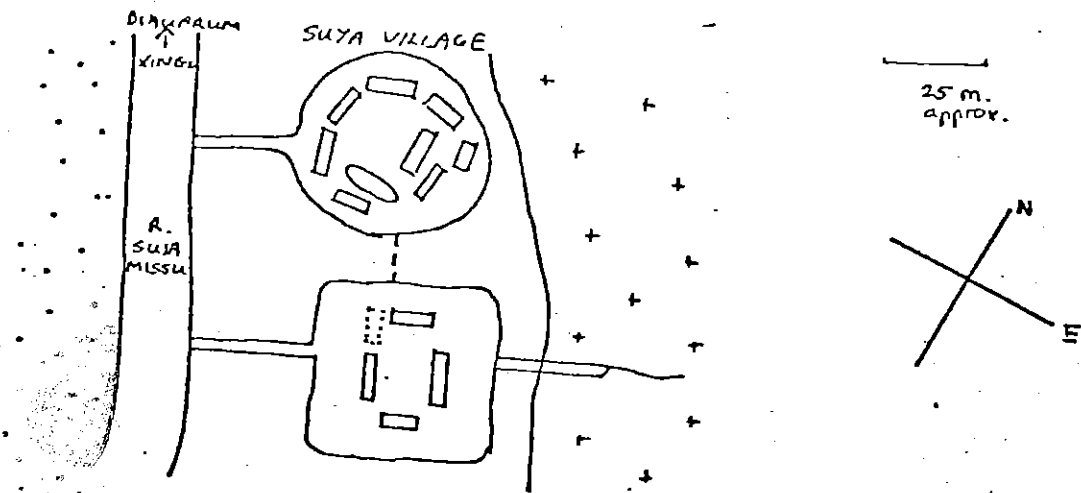
(MEN'S HOUSE)

kk Kobaur Turen	kk	Karetu:	ko
Impu:di	ko	Krentoma	kk
Kietanku:a	ko	Tanko	kk
ki Pankia		Kieno	kr
Porito	ko	Kwosi	kr
*ko Sumakri:di		Polikiadi	kr
kr Potiu:		Iotu:	kr
kr Kianse:		Potika	kr
kr Patoma		Koka	ko

For one month, during medical treatment, the Panara were resident in one 'long house' divided into various compartments. During this time they were dependent on food prepared by the Post and were generally 'inactive'. The groups marked with an asterix are those where men, and not women, were the focal figures - for example where children by a previous marriage were located with their father and his new wife. The end room was occupied by adolescent males and was referred to as a men's house (inkobu) - see p. 316 for its function during a food festival.

Plan XI

Suya Village 1976 - 1977



- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| Pankia        | Impu:di    |
| Tu:ren        | Kiekanku:a |
| Pokiadi/Tanko | Popoa      |
| Tungopa       | Kiekampo   |
| Kietanko      | Kwaka      |
| Ku:pe:li      | Sekikiu:   |
| Kobaur        | Kiumpe:    |

- |        |            |
|--------|------------|
| Fakia  | Untu:ikre  |
| Okara  | Watu:ia    |
| Porito | Kitakri:di |
| Koka   | Posoa      |

kwokiadpe:

- |                   |
|-------------------|
| Setuñ             |
| Penso Toti:di     |
| Potika Kwosi      |
| Porota Iotu:      |
| Kokri:di Kiemo    |
| Prinsi Sukian     |
| Kieraso           |
| Aku:dinkre        |
| Tuka              |
| Akur              |
| Kianse:           |
| Patoma Polikiadi  |
| Potiu: Sunakri:di |

- |            |
|------------|
| Penswa     |
| Iokera     |
| Se:ikian   |
| Se:akore   |
| Tu:ren-pri |

kwosope:

- |          |              |
|----------|--------------|
| Swakie   | Kotadi       |
| Pikoñ    | Krentoma     |
| Sokri:di | Poka         |
|          | Sanpuiaka    |
|          | Kakre/Krekoñ |

krenope:

kwosipe:

The four houses, of neo-brazilian design, were located and constructed by the Suya ( in return for payment in trade goods by PNK ). Each house was associated with a SDG and a fifth house was to have been constructed between kwokiadpe: and kwosope: ; it was abandoned after the PNK authorities refused to pay the Suya the amount demanded. Individuals are located in house of residence.

APPENDIX C

RELATIONSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The relationship terms used by the Panara at the time of research are listed below. Terms used for reference and in address are distinguished as ref. (reference) and voc. (vocative). I also include the closest genealogical specifications for each term and a brief definition of the category covered by the term. In these comments I refer to classificatory and not genealogical generations. As noted in the text (p.85) the terminologies are not complete; I have omitted some terms and referents and others are included in brackets to mark my uncertainty..

Male Ego

tobiupia

voc. and ref.<sup>1</sup>

MF, FF, FZH, FZDH, WF - all men married to second ascending generation members of mother's, father's and wife's matriline.

twapia

ref.

MM, FM, FZ, FZD, (FZDD), (FMZ), (MZ)

wutuñ

voc.

all second ascending generation women of mother's and father's matriline.

punkia

ref.

WM - "announced" wives' mothers.

rupia

ref.

M, NZ, FBW - all first ascending generation women of mother's matriline and wives of first ascending generation men of father's matriline. "Mothers".

wuñsi

voc.

rupia

ref.

F, FB, FZS, FZDS, MZH - all men of father's matriline and husbands of first ascending generation women of mother's matriline. "Fathers"

rusum

voc.

The distinction between vocative and referential was not always clear in Panara society. Children typically used the reference term in all contexts and adults the vocative term even in reference. A distinction did, exist and it is best represented in this form.



<u>itoñ</u>	voc. and ref.	B, Z, ZS, MZS, MZD, MB, (MFB), ZDD, ZDS, ZD - all female members of mother's matriline of same and descending generations, and all men of mother's matriline.
<u>piñkoñwato</u>	voc. and ref.	FBS, FBD - all children of male members of ego's father's matriline who are not related through matrilineal ties.
<u>kiatuñkwuñ</u> (kiatuñ)	voc. and ref.	BW, ZSW, MBW, MZSW, WZ - all women married to male members of mother's matriline. Women of wife's generation in wife's matriline.
<u>kasipia</u>	voc. and ref.	W - "announced" wife.
<u>kietumpia</u>	voc. and ref.	ZH, WB
<u>pa:</u>	voc. and ref.	S, D, BS, BD, MBS, MBD, MZSD, (WZD), (WZS) - all children of male members of mother's matriline.
<u>tobasur</u> <sup>1</sup>	voc. and ref.	DD, DS, BDD, BDS, MBDD, MBDS, DH, SW, - all children of female children (pa), and all spouses of children.
( <u>idia</u> ) <sup>1</sup> ( <u>impiapia</u> ) <sup>1</sup>	ref. and (voc.)	(SS), (BSS), (MBSS) - (all children of male children).

<sup>1</sup> The terms for second descending generations could not be clarified at the time of research. One problem was the fragmentary state of matriline and the difficulty of determining genealogical relationships or even generations; here the category of itoñ posed particular problems. Some informants referred to DH, BDS etc. as tumpia - a term that other informants stated was only used by women. Finally, some informants used the terms idia and impiapia which possibly refer to membership of spatial categories (see p.104). However, I should emphasise that in the peripheral domain relationships through women were emphasised and the second generation descendents of men were not members of emphasised categories.

Female Ego

<u>tobiupia</u>	voc. and ref.	MF, FF, HF, FZH, FZDH - all men married to second ascending generation members of mother's, father's and husband's matriline.
<u>twapia</u>	ref.	MM, FM, HM, FZ, FZD, (FZDD) - all second ascending generation women of mother's father's and husband's matriline.
<u>wutuñ</u>	voc.	
<u>nupia</u>	ref.	M, MZ, FBW - all women of first ascending generation of mother's matriline and wives of first ascending generation men of father's matriline.
<u>wuñsi</u>	voc.	
<u>sumpia</u>	ref.	F, FB, MZH, FZS, (FZDS) - all men of first ascending generation in ego's father's matriline and husbands of first ascending generation women of mother's matriline.
<u>wusum</u>	voc.	
<u>iton</u>	voc. and ref.	B, Z, MZD, MZS, (MMB), MB - all same and ascending generation males of mother's matriline and same generation females of mother's matriline.
<u>piñkoñkado</u>	voc. and ref.	FBD, FBS - all children of first ascending generation males of father's matriline not related through matrilineal ties.
<u>kiatunñkwan</u> ( <u>kiatun</u> )	voc. and ref.	ZH, MZDH, FB, (HZS) - all men married to same generation females of mother's matriline, all same generation men as husband in husband's matriline.
<u>impimpia</u>	voc. and ref.	H - "announced" husband.
<u>pa:</u>	voc. and ref.	S, D, ZS, ZD, MZDS, MZDD - children and all children of same generation females of mother's matriline.

tumpia<sup>1</sup>      voc. and ref.      DD, DS, ES, BD, MBS, MBD, HBS, HED -  
children of first descending generation  
females of mother's matriline, children  
of same generation males of mother's  
matriline and children of same generation  
males of husband's matriline.

tobasur<sup>1</sup>      voc. and ref.      SD, SS, ZSS, ZSD - children of first  
descending generation male members of  
mother's matriline.

punkia      ref.      DH - daughter's "announced" husbands.

surpia      voc. and ref.      HZ, BW.

APPENDIX D

Moiety Affiliation : Male

(the PNK population)

<u>insodama</u>		<u>inkiadama</u>	
A	a	B	b
Watu:ia		Kokri:di	
Sumakri:di		Tese:a	
Krekoñ		Puti	
Akur		Popoa	
Sokri:di		Ku:pe:li	
Poka		Krentoma	Poka
Kiekampo		Iotu:	Kiekampo
Se:akore		Kieno	
Penswa	Kwosi	Kwosi	
So:lkian		Tanko	
Okara		Sukian	Okara
Palisum		Pau	
Polikali		Topampa	
Koka		Karetu:	
Tuñgokian			
Potika			Potika
Porota			
<u>Kiakiena</u>			Kiakiena
<u>Kretodi</u>			
<u>Nampura</u>			Nampura
<u>Tapinnoñ</u>			
<u>Iobo</u>			
<u>Titikre</u>			

A & B lists of moiety affiliation collected in mid-1976 at the Suya village. The Panara stated that inkiadama was traditionally the 'larger' moiety. Columns a & b represent the variations from an earlier list of moiety membership (mid-1975) - for example, in 1975 Kwosi was given as insodantera, whereas in 1976 he was given as inkiadantera.

Society Affiliation : female.

In the same way I attempt to reproduce names conceptually of the world during the period of 1970-1975. The names represent various notions of the world and I have to attempt to include those of Western geographical areas. The names usually illustrate the changes in the world and the last one insodama and the new world are inkiadama which has replaced it as a society that came from the world.

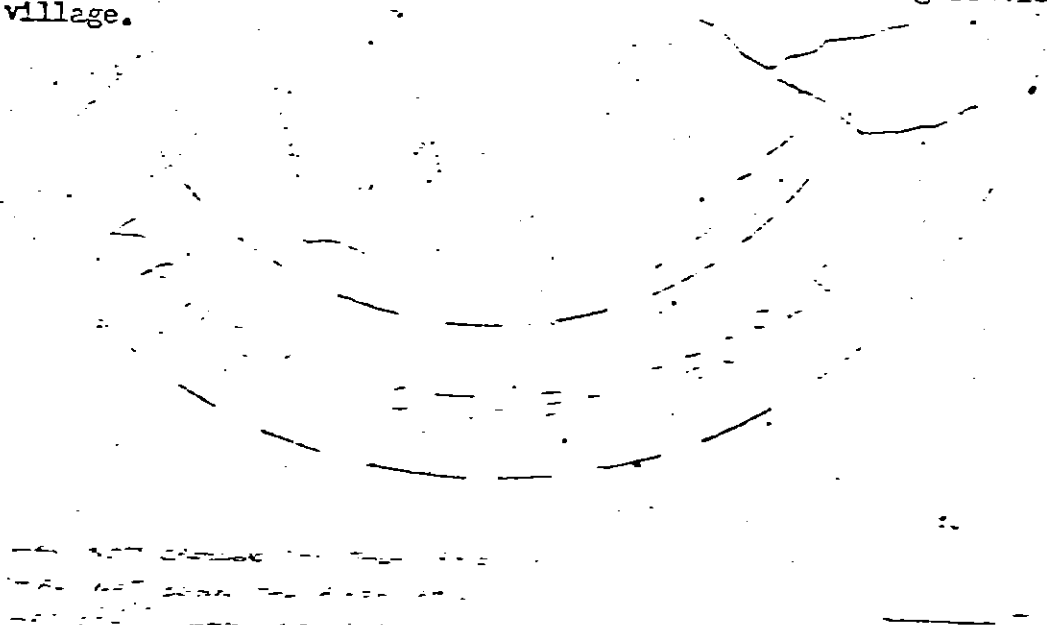
- |             |            |
|-------------|------------|
| Porito      | Setun      |
| Untu:ikre   | Kwaka      |
| Potiu:      | Kitakri:di |
| Kianse:     | Tuka       |
| Kleraso     | Prinsi     |
| Pankia      | Kakre      |
| Kietanko    | Swakie     |
| Impu:di     | Krempu:    |
| Iokera      | So-So      |
| Kapo        | Kotadi     |
| Totasur     | Kote:      |
| Kokiana     | Pakia      |
| Sekikiu:    | Kapeso     |
| Penso       | Kobaur     |
| Tu:ren      | Kiekañku:a |
| Sampuiaka   | Tu:ren-pri |
| Toti:di     |            |
| Tuñgopo     |            |
| Pokiadi     |            |
| Pikoñ       |            |
| A:ku:dinkre |            |

Lists collected in mid-1976 at Suya village.

APPENDIX E

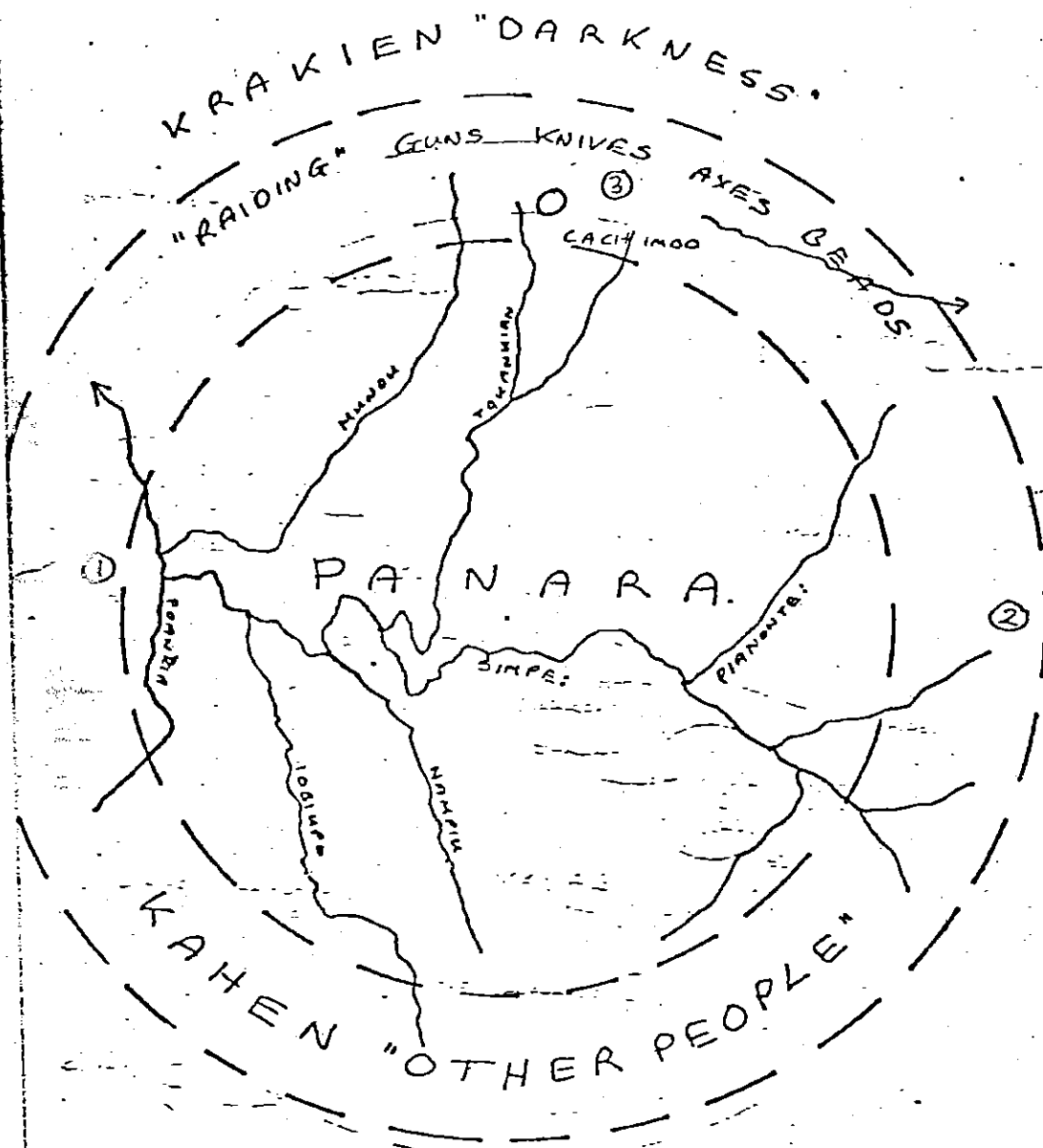
PERCEPTION MAPS

In the three 'maps' I attempt to reproduce Panara conceptualisations of the 'world' during the period of rapid changes in Panara society between 1973 and 1976. The 'maps' represent Panara notions of the outside world and I make no attempt to include scale or 'western' geographical order. The 'maps' vividly illustrate the changes in Panara society over the last ten years when the 'known' world has expanded and 'their world' has decreased; in sum a society that once formed the totality of the "known" universe (Map 1) is now but one of many societies in a complex world (Map 3). In the three maps the outer line marks the boundary of the "world" as experienced by individuals. As transport from PNK is by plane, some places are marked as points located only by their approximate direction from PNK. Beyond this domain the Panara know names and directions of various places, typically as the 'houses' of FUNAI personnel, doctors or anthropologists. I include these details as they were a subject of consistent interest to the Panara and, in many respects, were fundamental in the 'understanding' of strangers visiting the village.

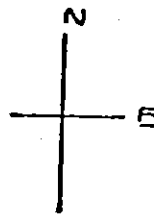


MAP I

PANARA PERCEPTION OF THE  
"WORLD" BEFORE CONTACT.

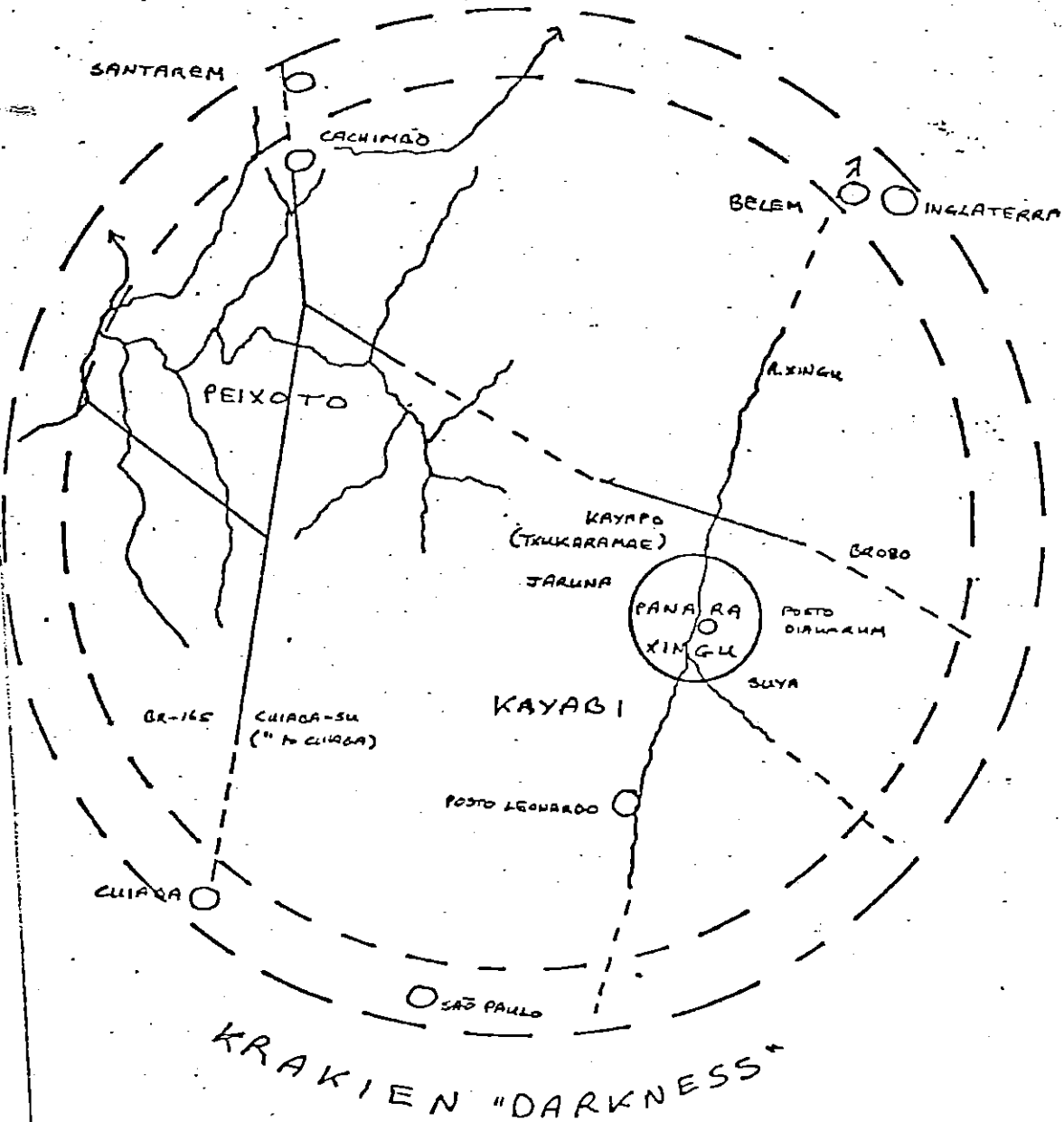


HAD NOT "CROSSED THE TELES PRES"  
 HAD NOT SEEN THE RIVER XINGOU"  
 HAD SEEN KAHEN RAROSNS"



MAP 2.

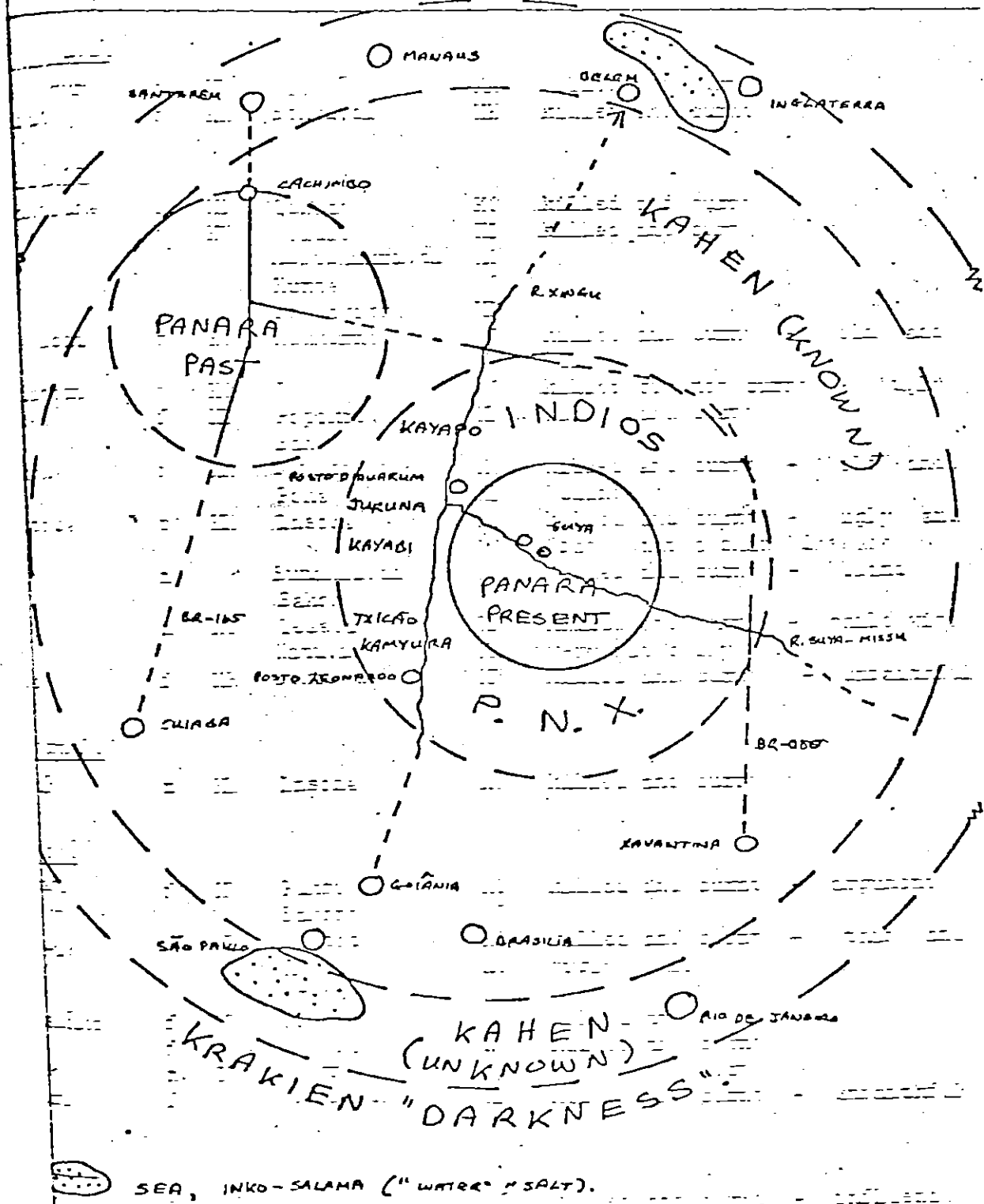
PANARA PERCEPTION OF THE  
"WORLD" IN 1975.





MAP 3.

PANARA PERCEPTION OF THE  
"WORLD" IN 1976.



APPENDIX F

a) Violent Deaths in Peixoto

b) Births and Deaths in PNK

c) Violent Deaths in Peixoto

c) Panara Resident on a Permanent Basis with other Tribes

name	gender & SDG	killer(s) & SDG	remarks
<u>loãse:nasañ</u>			
puidasur	m KK	Krekoñ	KK killed and burnt
uisaa	m KK	Sokri:di	KK killed and burnt
<u>aksu:pari</u>			
ndarpiume	f KI	Takian	KO killed and burnt
nosipo	m KK	Noiula	KI killed and burnt
		Kiatinakri:di	KO
		Kunte:	?
		Sokwakiena	KI
lanpiori	m KO	Kurkurma	? killed and burnt - "old" and "blind"
arnatori	m KO	?	? killed but not burnt - "ugly"
siçei	f KI	Popokre:a	KK killed and burnt
		Sanko	?
kurma	m KK	Sumakri:di	KO killed and burnt - "old" and "blind"
		Poka	KI
ibepida	m KK	Insona	KO killed and burnt - "ugly" and "fat", had a skin "disease"
eno	m ?	Sumakri:di	KO killed and burnt - "blind"
		Sakona	?
isa:	m KO	Tese:a	KK killed and burnt - child with "very fat belly"
		Waturia	KK
mo:	f KR	Sokri:di	KK killed and burnt - unfaithful
<u>kioranki</u>			
nsuñ	m KK	Insona	KO killed and burnt
<u>Muroñ</u>			
kraea	f KK	Puksu:	KO killed and burnt - argument
		Sakono	?
u:-ur	m KK	Kiepopo	KO killed and burnt - "thin" and "ugly" child
		Akur	KO
		Krentoma	KO
insinko	f KK	Insona	KO killed and burnt
o	f KI	Insona	KO killed and burnt
riso	m KR	Sokri:di	KK killed and burnt
duri	f KR	Sokri:di	KK killed and burnt - unfaithful
<u>dunari</u>			
entes	f KR	?	? killed and burnt - influenza
kreu	m KO	Sokri:di	KK killed and burnt
		Sesakore	KK
		Kiekampo	KK

b) Births and Deaths in PMX, 1974-1976

date	name	sex	SDG	cause	location
Jan 1974	?	m	?	killed and burnt	Peixoto
June	Sakre:	f	KI	drowned	" "
June	Musu:	m	KK	pneumonia	" "
June	?	f	?	?	"
Dec	Kaiko	m	KO	killed	"
Dec	Kunasur	m	KK	killed	Korokoko (FUNAI)
Dec	Nansuri	m	KI	pneumonia	"
Feb 1975	Tapiñoñ	m	KI	pneumonia	BR-165
3.3.	Nampura	m	KR	malaria/pneumonia	Pripuri
14.3.	Kobutu:	f	KI	malaria/pneumonia	Diauarum
25.3.	Titikre	m	KO	malaria/influenza	Pripuri
29.3.	'Paradie'	m	KO	malaria	Diauarum
June	Poripu:	f	KI	malaria/pneumonia	Pripuri
June	Kianpaunsi	f	KK	?	Kretire
20.8.	Kote:	f	KO	malaria/influenza	Kretire
11.9.	Iobo	m	KO	malaria/pneumonia/ malnutrition	Kretire on plane to São Paulo
Sept	child	?	KK	died after birth	Kretire
12.10	Kiakiena	m	KK	malaria/ food poisoning?	Kretire
22.11	Kreto di	m	KI	drowned?	Kretire
July 1975	Tuxren-pri	f	KO	born - daughter of Iokera	Kretire

c) Panara Resident on a Permanent Basis with other Tribes

date	name	sex	SDG	location	remarks
1974	Apoa	f	KK	Rio de Janeiro	abandoned after mother killed
	Surinta	f	KK		
Pr 1975	Palisum	m	KR	Kayabi	-
	Tungokian	m	KR	Kayabi (Diauarum)	-
	Topampa:	m	KO	Suya	-
iv 1975	Karetu:	m	KO	Kayapo (Kretire)	-
	Kokiana	f	KO	Kretire	-
	Totasur	f	KO	Kretire	-
arch 1976	Soso	f	KO	Kretire	married Kayapo
	Kapo	f	KO	Kretire	"

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