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VOLUME IV

THE ŠERENTE

BY

CURT NIMUENDAJÚ

TRANSLATED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

LOS ANGELES · THE SOUTHWEST MUSEUM
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FUND

1942

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EDITORIAL BOARD

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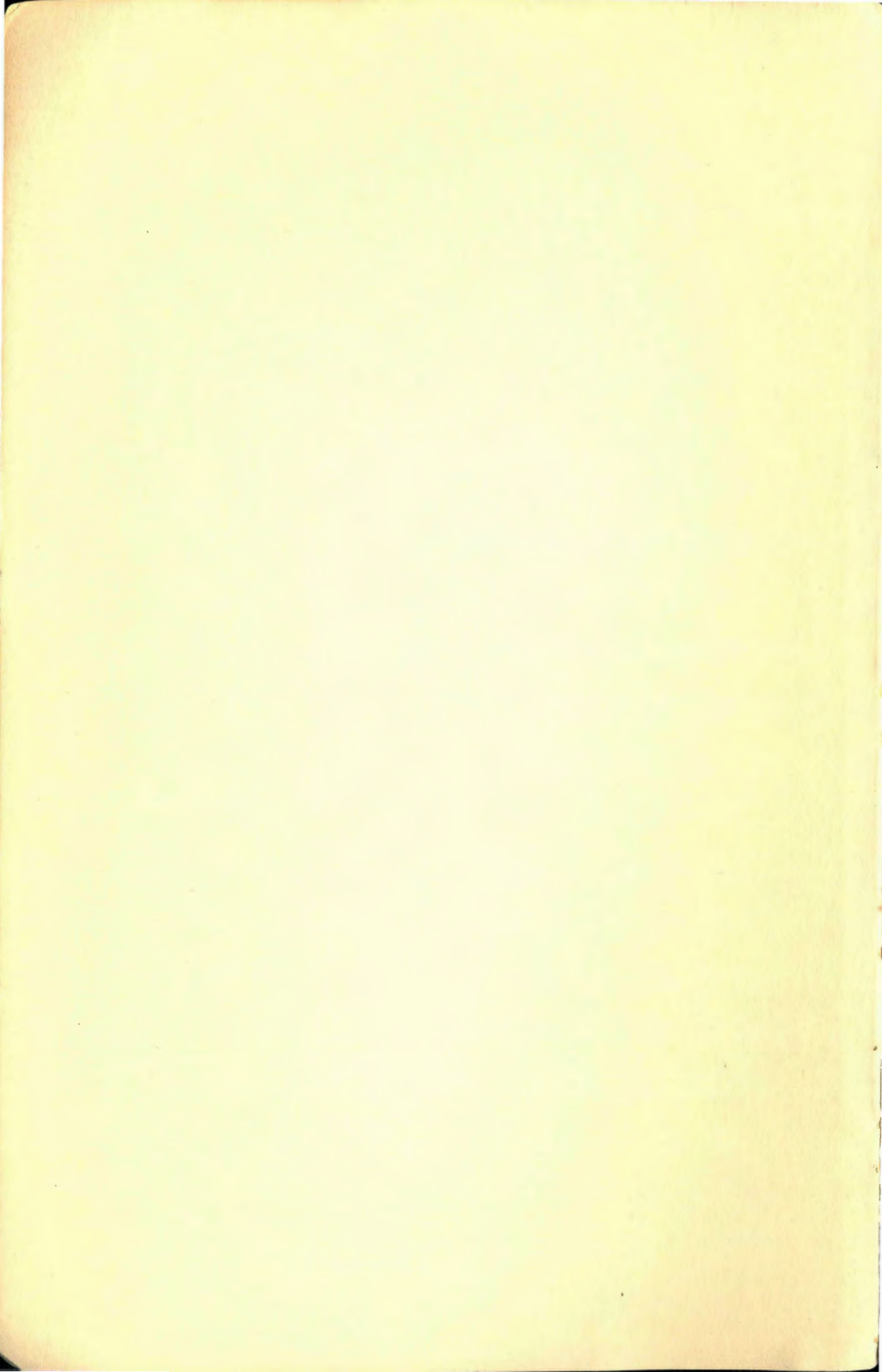
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THE ŠERENTE



THE ŠERENTE

AFFINITIES AND HISTORY

CLASSIFICATION

THE GÊ FAMILY, widely but discontinuously spread in the interior of Brazil, embraces several linguistic subdivisions, which largely, though not wholly, coincide with geographical groupings. The following main branches indicate the total range of the stock. (1) Northern Gê, represented by the Canella and other Eastern Timbira in the steppes of Maranhão and neighboring states, as well as by the Apinaye' or Western Timbira in the triangle between the Tocantins and the lower Araguaya. Linguistically within this branch in spite of their more westerly and southerly location are the Northern Kayapo', the Southern Kayapo', and the Suyu'. The Northern Kayapo' comprise politically distinct and even mutually hostile hordes west of the Araguaya and even of the Xingu. The linguistically distinct Southern Kayapo' covered an immense area in Goyaz and Matto Grosso. The Suyu' belong to the region of the upper Xingu. (2) Central Gê, including the Šere'nte, whose habitat and affiliations will be defined presently. (3) Southern Gê, including the Kaingang and Aweikoma in southeastern Brazil, the latter being Jules Henry's "Kaingang," and popularly known as "Botokudo of Santa Catharina." They are not to be confounded with Saint Hilaire's, Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied's, and Ehrenreich's Botokudo, who cannot be reckoned as Gê in the present state of our knowledge.*

The Central Gê embrace two sub-branches: the Akroa' and the Akwē, which present marked linguistic divergences from each other. The Akwē include three tribes: the Šakriaba' (from Šere'nte šakri', mountains), the Šava'nte, and the Šere'nte. The Akroa' comprise the

PHONETIC NOTE: The acute accent after a vowel denotes stress; the tilde over a vowel indicates nasalization; a short right-turned hook below a vowel designates it as postpalatal.

ē has the sound of the first *e* in German *Ehe*

ō as in German *ohne*

x as German *ch* in *ach*

š is equivalent to English *sh*

č is the Spanish *ch*

* This paragraph has been prepared by R. H. L.

Akroa' proper and the Guegue', two tribes sharing the same tongue. (See map at end of volume.)

The Šakriaba' occupied the southern part of the watershed between the Tocantins and the São Francisco. After nearly fifty years' resistance, they yielded in 1750, were settled by Jesuits in the aldea of Formiga, rebelled in 1756 after the expulsion of the order, were defeated in 1774, and submitted in the following year to settlement at Sant' Anna do Rio das Velhas (Minas Geraes). However, a hostile band existed in Martius' day (1819) between the sources of the Gurgueia and the Rio Grande—unless a Šere'nte group was mistaken for the sister tribe. The people of Sant' Anna dispersed, so that Saint Hilaire in 1819 met but a single woman familiar with her native tongue.

Šava'nte and Šere'nte history must be considered jointly. Essentially one in speech and custom, the two groups are distinct only in a local and political sense. They have often been confounded in the literature and several abortive attempts at reunion occurred, the schism becoming unbridgeable only when the Šava'nte about 1850 definitely abandoned the area east of the Araguaya and even gave up raids into that territory.

However, certain confusions in terminology require exposition. Almeida Serra's "Xavantes" (1779) of the Tapajoz region and Costa Siqueira's "Chavantes" (1800, mentioned in connection with the "Pacairy" as north of Cuyabá) are not at all related to the three tribes similarly designated in the twentieth century. These are the Šava'nte-Oti' of Campos Novos (São Paulo), the Šava'nte-Opaye' of the Rio Ivinhema (southern Matto Grosso), and the Šava'nte-Akwē, akin to the Šere'nte.

The Šava'nte-Oti', who first figure in Florence's account, are there said to embrace all the Indians of western São Paulo, between Curityba, the Tiete, and the Paraná as far as the Sete Quedas. This would suggest that they were largely Kaingang; actually they were distinct in physique, speech, and custom, and occupied a small steppe district some 120 km in length on the upper reaches of right affluents of the lower Paranapanema. (This has been entered in the map contributed by me as a "Mappa Ethnographico do Brazil Meridional" to Ihering's *A questão dos índios no Brazil*.) The tribe was annihilated by stock-breeders of the Campos Novos between 1870 and the beginning of the century. Among Neobrazilians (the modern settlers) I met three

survivors (1909), who painfully recalled thirty-six vocables for a word list; two women and a child were hiding out in the steppe. Borba and Quadros have also recorded word lists. The language seems to be wholly isolated. Some scant ethnographic data are found in Quadros and Sampaio.¹

The Šava'nte-Opaye', also entered in the "Mappa," do not figure in the literature even by name prior to 1909. I visited them in that year and again in 1913, registering some data in my Apapocu'va paper. So far as I know, I also remained the only one to record linguistic notes. Originally inclined to see resemblances to Gê speech, I now favor Loukotka's view that the language is isolated; it certainly differs wholly from Gê in grammar. Manizer, in his musicological article, refers to these people as "Faia." At present there are at most a few scattered survivors.

Some ethnologists have failed to recognize the linguistic disparity of the three "Šava'nte" groups. Rivet calls the Oti' "Šava'nte" and the Akwē "Opaye'," ignoring the true Opaye', whose country he divides among "Šava'nte," Kayapo', and Kaingua'. Schmidt also takes no cognizance of the Opaye', exaggerating Oti' territory even more than Rivet and assigning the Opaye' area to "Caingua." Loukotka was the first to draw a sharp distinction among the three languages, even on his map, though that still greatly exaggerates the extent of the Oti' area. Frič's linguistic notes from "Kukura-Chavante" (1901) I have discussed elsewhere.²

The Šava'nte-Akwē (True Šava'nte): these people have figured under four distinct appellations misinterpreted to designate so many tribes: Šava'nte, Crixá', Puxiti', Tapacua'.

The derivation of the name "Šava'nte" is unknown; it is neither Akwē nor Lingoa geral. Crixá' (Curixa') is said to be the Karaya' designation for the tribe; but Silva e Souza and Pohl, both of whom had met Šava'nte, apply the term "Crixá's" to a vanished savage tribe once living near the locality of that name (founded between 1732 and 1737)

¹ Bandeira, *A Cruz indígena*, pp. 100 ff. contains a poor translation of my article "Das Ende des Oti'-Stammes" (*Deutsche Zeitung*, São Paulo, 1910); Ihering, *A ethnographia do Brazil meridional*, p. 255; Borba, *Breve noticia*; Quadros, *Memoria*, p. 233; Sampaio, *Considerações*, 43.

² Nimuendajú, *Die Sagen von der Erschaffung*, pp. 376-79; *Idiomas indígenas*, p. 567; *A propos des Indiens Kukura*; Manizer, *Musique et instruments musicaux*; Ihering, *A ethnographia*, p. 256; Rivet, *Les langues américaines*, pp. 678, 699; Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien*, p. 238; Loukotka, *Linguas indígenas*, pp. 150, 153, 154; *Les Indiens Kukura*, p. 124.

and as far as Thezouras. In Eastern Timbira parlance (esp. Krahō': pūčē-ti, large penis sheath) the Šava'nte-Šere'nte are called by equivalents of Puxiti' (Poxeti, Poxety), a term by which Mattos, Pohl, Ribeiro, and Magalhaes denote a wild cannibalistic people on the Tocantins, Mattos also mentioning the Ouripoxeti as on the eastern bank at 7° south latitude. These authors, though well acquainted with the Šava'nte-Šere'nte, failed to recognize them under these names. Mattos even thought of identifying the bearers with the Temembo' (Macamecrans = Krahō'). In 1793 two hordes of "Tapacua'" (Tapacoa', Tapaqua') invaded the Paranaguá district in southern Piauhy, but were driven back to Goyaz by Manuel Ribeiro Soares. They are said to live east of the Tocantins and northwest (? northeast) of the Rio Somno. The word suggests an Akwē term (-kwa is a suffix denoting a person related to what is denoted by the stem) and was probably applied to the Šere'nte when they first invaded Piauhy, after the subjection of the Guegue' (1765) and Akroa' (1772).³

On the other hand, various tribes have been erroneously identified as Šava'nte-Šere'nte, more particularly the Canoeiros, the Nyurukwaye', and the Orajoumoprè.

The Canoeiros are a Tupi' people of the upper Tocantins area and in the direction of Bananal. They did not appear there before the eighties of the eighteenth century, after the Šava'nte had been ousted from the region. Alencastre calls them "Chavantes de canoa" in opposition to those "de terra" (Akwē). Martius classes them as a Šere'nte tribe in one place; elsewhere he regards them as probably not related to that people, but representing remnants of Tupi' hordes from the mouth of the Amazon. Saint' Adolphe also considers them Šava'nte, a view held probable by Ehrenreich.

The Nyurukwaye' were probably a Timbira group west of the Tocantins, living between the Apinaye' and the Šava'nte-Akwē and according to Ribeiro enslaved by the people of São Pedro d'Alcantara. Mattos declares them to be of the same origin as the Šere'nte and Castelnau (1844) lists them as Norocoajès, one of five Šava'nte sub-tribes. There is no later mention of them.

The Orajoumoprè, another of Castelnau's sub-tribes, are probably

³ Krause, *In den Wildnissen*, p. 341; Silva e Souza, *Memoria*, p. 495; Pohl, *Reise*, Vol. 2, pp. 43, 182; Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, pp. 20-21; Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §17; Magalhães, *Memoria*, p. 55; Alencastre, *Memoria*, pp. 9, 41; Berford, *Officio*, p. 148; Saint' Adolphe, *Diccionario*, art. "Tapacoás;" Martius, *Beiträge*, Vol. 1, p. 277.

Mattos' Inhajurupre'. In 1824 they, in alliance with the "Norocage's," threatened to attack the Šere'nte aldea Graciosa. Since the name is a derivative of the Šere'nte stem worazu' (alien tribe), it cannot have designated an Akwē subdivision, but the contemporary Šere'nte do not recognize the name and I was not able to determine what tribe it denoted. Another name unknown to the present Šere'nte is Castelnau's "Crainkas," a term cited without further information and otherwise not found in the literature.

I doubt Mattos' statement that the "Cherentes" were then living in the aldea do Cocal Grande on the left bank of the Tocantins, for in 1819 Pohl found there "Poracramecrans," whose identity with the Pōrekamekra may not be quite certain, but who were positively Eastern Timbira, as proved by Pohl's word list. No other source reports a Šere'nte settlement in this region, from which the Krahō'—already on the left bank—were driving the Šava'nte precisely in Mattos' day.

I cannot imagine what writers toward the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century meant by "Cherente (or Chavante) de Quaxompéo" and "de Quá." Alencastre calls the Akwē settled in Carretão after the treaty of Goyaz in 1784 "Chavantes de terra" or "Chavantes de Quá." Souza places the Šere'nte and Cherentes de Quá of 1812 on the Tocantins above the caxoeira do Lageado as far as the sertão of Duro and between Rio Preto and Maranhão, where they had seven villages. In the same year Magalhães speaks of the Akwē who formerly inhabited the region of São Pedro d'Alcantara and were invading southwestern Maranhão as "Cherentes de Guayampé." In Martius' time (1819) the Akwē of Maranhão and Piauhy were called "Cherentes de qua'." Finally Mattos in 1824 mentions besides the great tribes, the Šava'nte and Šere'nte, also the Chavantes de Quaxompéo and the Cherentes de Quá among tribes in the process of extinction.

The very application of both modifying phrases to both Šava'nte (Mattos, Alencastre) and Šere'nte (Magalhães, Souza) shows the two tribes were not at all clearly distinguished. Souza, in 1812, is the first to give a distinct localization. In 1819, Pohl calls all the Akwē he met in Carretão and between Taquaruçú and Baliza on the Tocantins "Chavantes," declaring the "Cherentes" no longer existed as a distinct tribe. Mattos (1824) ascribes to the two the same territory, but separate villages, assigning to the Šere'nte those of Graciosa, Baliza, on the

Rio Manoel Alves Grande (with Šava'nte), and Cocal Grande—the last being presumably erroneous. Castelnau makes the Tocantins divide the Šava'nte in the west from the Šere'nte to the east. In the fifties Tuggia calls the Indians of Thereza Christina (= Piabanha) Šere'nte and Šava'nte, though demonstrably only the former dwelt there. In 1859 Ferreira Gomes designates all the Akwē on the Tocantins, even those of Pedro Affonso, as Šava'nte. But thereafter the two tribes are always clearly distinguished, for the Šava'nte definitively withdrew westward across the Araguaya at this time, while the Šere'nte remained in their probably pristine home, on both sides of the Tocantins, between 8° and 10° south latitude.⁴

HISTORY

The history of the two tribes opens with their resistance to gold prospectors from the south. At the margin of their territory were founded Crixás, Trahiras, São José do Tocantins, Agua Quente, and other settlements between 1732 and 1737; while Pontal, established in 1738, lies far within the Šere'nte country. Nearby were the rich gold mines of Matanças, whose residents were four times destroyed by the Šava'nte. In 1741, following several Piauhy adventurers who had got to the Rio do Somno, J. V. Barreto do Rego's expedition traversed the area between the Manoel Alves Grande and Manoel Alves Pequeno, also the region of the headwaters of the Parnahyba, Urussuhy, and Balsas as far as the Gilboés district (Piauhy). In 1774 Šava'nte resistance thwarted Capitão Maximo's expedition from Pilar to Pontal.

The Indians' opposition and their sanguinary attacks on gold-seekers and settlers were the despair of the whites, but conditions in Goyaz were such that peaceable relations were practically impossible for the natives. Says Alencastre, illustrating his devastating judgment with a long series of instances:

The newly discovered areas are battlefields on which gangs try to exterminate each other for a few fathoms of land if they surmise a vein of ore. The new settlers commit deeds so inhuman that the cruelty of the savages cannot bear comparison with it. Never was the clerical pasture land administered by

⁴ Alencastre, *Annaes*, pp. 220, 328; Martius, *Beiträge*, Vol. 2, pp. 209, 262; Vol. 1, p. 269; Saint' Adolphe, *Diccionario*, art. "Chaventas;" Ehrenreich, *Beiträge*, p. 147; Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, pp. 21, 26, 357, 386, 118, 385; Castelnau, *Expédition*, Vol. 1, p. 352; Pohl, *Reise*, Vol. 2, pp. 185 ff., 165; Silva e Souza, *Memoria*, pp. 495-96; Magalhães, *Memoria*, p. 54; Ferreira Gomes, p. 491.

more degenerate priests nor have ever been seen missionaries of worse character in apostolic capacity.

That the Indians were not actuated by a sheer craving for murder and loot appears from the sudden change for the better in 1784, when the governor of Goyaz, Tristão da Cunha Menezes, stimulated a successful attempt to establish peaceable relations. As a result, in 1785 the Šava'nte were settled at Carretão, opposite the church and barracks there. They cultivated the land, had ample food, and soon increased from an estimated 3,500 to over 5,000. But an epidemic and grievances against the whites led to wholesale desertion; so that in 1819 Pohl found only 227 Indians there, who had dwindled to "several" by 1844 and are quite unrepresented at present. A small number of Šava'nte were transferred to Salinas in 1788 to join the Yavae'; in 1844 most of the 180 Indians at the post were Šava'nte.

The Šere'nte were probably only slightly or not at all involved in the Carretão-Salinas experiments. This may explain their difference of attitude toward Neobrazilians, with whom the Šava'nte still refuse peaceable intercourse, having killed two Salesian fathers as recently as in 1937.

After the elimination of the Guegue' and Akroa', who in the first half of the eighteenth century held the western tributaries of the São Francisco and vicinity, the Šere'nte pushed east and northeast where they were themselves harassed by the Krahō'. By about 1850 these eastward raids of the Šere'nte ceased, as did hostilities with the Šava'nte, who had definitely withdrawn across the Araguaya.

Brother Rafael Tuggia, coming in 1845, established a mission for the Krahō' and a school for the Šere'nte, whose real missionary, however, was Brother Antonio de Ganges (from 1851 to 1899), a true friend of the Indians, though unsuccessful in his efforts at conversion. He founded Piabanha in 1851, when the number of "Cherentes and Chavantes" there was 2,139.

SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of the twentieth century the Šere'nte became demoralized by Neobrazilian contacts, and in 1937 I found the aboriginal culture in a state of collapse. Economically and socially ruined, hemmed in by Neobrazilian settlers, the people were on the verge of complete subjection to these influences. Once more the leap from primitive collectivism to individualism had failed: I know not a single Indian in even fairly satisfactory circumstances under the new régime. Hence a Šere'nte prefers loafing, begging, and stealing among Neobrazilians to providing for his needs. His native village has turned into a place of scarcity; tribal influence steadily wanes as the settlers' increases; miscegenation extends, altering the tribal character. Thus, parents who are no longer pure Indians sometimes deviate from their traditional system of educating children without scolding and blows.

Reconstructing the former culture of such a population, though difficult, is still possible because a few representatives of the ancient past survive, and many others retain at least a vivid memory of conditions in their youth. On the other hand, there are two disturbing factors. First, the local Neobrazilian culture is itself extremely primitive and variously interspersed with Indian—but as a rule not Šere'nte—elements; similarly, the admixture of Neobrazilian blood is hard to estimate because some Neobrazilians are themselves part Indian, but only rarely part Šere'nte. Secondly, indigenous and alien traits are less easily separated because we lack reasonably ample descriptions of the tribe before its collapse. Only Pohl, Castelnau, and Martius offer some data on the Šere'nte-Šava'nte prior to 1850; Pohl being the only one who, while traveling on the Tocantins, several times met Šava'nte-Šere'nte in a state of freedom. What could be observed on occasions surely not totaling more than a few hours, he conscientiously noted. He eked out his report with material furnished by Clements, for three years a captive among the Šava'nte, before the first treaty of peace with them (1784).

In 1844 Castelnau saw the Šava'nte settled at Carretão and Salinas, as well as some newcomers. Neither on his trip up the Tocantins nor on his cross-country journey from Porto Nacional to Goyaz did he see a single Indian.

Martius himself never met the Šava'nte-Šere'nte. He depends on Pohl's, Castelnau's, and "an experienced mariner's" data.

Šere'nte social structure of aboriginal times, as revealed by these travelers and our own investigations, may be summarized as follows:

The Šere'nte are divided into exogamous patrilineal moieties, the *sdakrā* and *šip'tato*, localized respectively on the north and south side of the village horseshoe. Each moiety originally had three clans, to which subsequently a fourth was added. The clans are definitely localized and those directly facing each other on complementary sides of the village bear a special relationship to each other.

Besides these hereditary groups there are the four men's associations and a single women's society. Of these, only one of the former has a formal initiation.

A boy at about eight years of age is assigned to life-long membership in one of two sports teams and also to one of the four men's societies, but without being immediately recognized as a full-fledged participant. In the interim he gets a name, has his ear-lobe pierced, and on receiving a girdle he attains the status of a *šipsa'*, which implies compulsory residence in the bachelors' hut at the center of the village. Within this structure the youths are divided spatially according to both their associations and their moieties. Further, six grades are recognized among the bachelors, only the highest being considered ready for marriage.

There is no equivalent series of stages for girls, who are taken to the women's society as infants and attain membership there without any formality.

THE TRIBE

Of all the tribes I have known, the Šere'nte are the only one with some sense of racial solidarity transcending linguistic differences and tribal wars. The sun god, *Waptokwa'*, is the father of *all* Indians; and through a vision the chief *Bruē* learnt that the god was angry and wanted to destroy mankind because latterly so many Indians, viz., *Canella*, *Šava'nte*, *Canoeiros*, and *Kayapo'*, had been murdered by Christians. Yet the *Canella*—indeed, all *Timbira*—are hereditary enemies of the Šere'nte; the *Canoeiros* have always been bitterly hostile; the *Šava'nte*, despite their common ancestry, had since time immemorial waged feuds against the Šere'nte. Another vision explained the last total solar eclipse as due to the killing of alien Indians.

Never under a single chief, all the Šere'nte nevertheless consider

themselves one tribe, and not very long ago the several settlements would act jointly on special occasions, vestiges of which coöperation persist.

A herald (danohukwa'), in special paint and bearing a staff (wudē-hu-kupte'), invites all the villages to a meeting or consults the people in their several settlements. A single negative vetoes a proposal.

The following are tribal affairs:

(1) *The choice and deposition of chiefs*. In the late 1920's the five other chiefs extant met in Amaro's village and deposed him because of his debauchery, appointing Bruē instead.

(2) *War*. The war herald was painted, carried a staff, and had a double whistle suspended on his back by a cord, this instrument being an emblem of the ake'mhā society—the vanguard in battle (p. 61). The council of chiefs would choose three war chiefs for the duration of the enterprise: one to direct the campaign, another to lead the attack, the third to advise.

(3) *The Great Fast* (p. 93). Under the menace of some catastrophe this greatest of festivals was held at the instance of the village elders and the masters of the last performance, but the entire tribe participated, meeting in one village.

(4) *The Ake'mhā Initiation* (p. 47). The initiative was due to the two leaders of the last initiation. However, apparently even in times long past it was customary to unite for this purpose only neighboring settlements.

(5) *The funeral rites for dignitaries or people of prestige*. The dead man's society invited only fellow members from other villages. In 1937 an old seer died in Providencia, so the heralds of the krara', his society, invited the members from neighboring Roqueirão and Pedra Hume. Probably even in ancient times only people from nearby villages were invited.

THE VILLAGE

Apart from these circumstances each village is a wholly independent community. The closer or more remote relationship of the inhabitants of a village lacks political significance. Though every settlement has families of long standing, these enjoy no more influence than newcomers. Since the social organization is uniform, people enjoy free mobility. Anyone may live in whatever village he prefers: his status remaining identical, he easily fits into any community. If people leave or transfer their village, this does not concern the other settlements.

The land is tribally, not communally, owned; the village as such having no property at all. However, the available territory was formerly so large as to preclude encroachment. Even if single individuals or families settle by themselves or among Neobrazilians, no one is authorized to challenge their right to do so. This seems to have held anciently, too.

In 1812 Silva e Souza set the villages of the Cherente and Cherente de Quá at seven. In 1819 Pohl heard of only three settlements of the joint Chavante and Cherente, all on the west side of the Tocantins. But the existence of others at the time is indicated by the path and footprints he saw at Panella de Ferro, precisely where later the Šere'nte village of that name was situated. In 1897 Coudreau heard of seven villages; five on the "left" and the others on the "right" bank of the Tocantins. Probably the reverse held true, for most of the Šere'nte villages always lay on the east side. Urbino Vianna, evidently referring to the period of 1900 or shortly after, mentions seven major and five lesser settlements, as well as one isolated family.¹

Shortly after this there disappeared the last major aldea of the old-style horseshoe design with a central bachelors' hut; the remaining settlements consisted at most of eight more or less scattered huts.

In 1930 I found nine such house groups, in 1937 only seven. An accurate census of the Šere'nte outside these "aldeas" was impossible but the number was comparatively large and on the increase.

The government of each community was constituted as follows:

(1) *Council of elders* (iptokwa'). The title of wawē', "old one," was conferred jointly on the members of an association when about 45–50 years of age, the initiative being taken by those members already holding the title. On the occasion of a race with decorated logs (kran-krā), these title-bearers made for each candidate about four clubs, one meter in length and with little heads at the butt end. Armed with these sticks, the candidates, accompanied by the team of their society, went to the spot where the logs were lying ready for the race. The sticks were deposited in two piles on the right and left side, corresponding to the teams, and allowed to lie there. This eliminated the candidates from the ranks of active athletes and raised them to "old men's" status.

The elders' main duty was to preserve ceremonials, on which the economic life of the community depended. However, they did not personally conduct the rituals, but selected suitable incumbents. It is the elders who suggest holding the Great Fast and the tamandua' mas-

¹ Coudreau, *Voyage*, p. 210; Vianna, *Akuen ou Xerente*, p. 34.

querade, for which some of them manufacture the costumes. Further they prepare the rubber balls for the game played by the prase' clan. At the adolescents' initiation by the ake'mhā they catch the boys and finally elect the two pēkwá chiefs. They also appoint the leaders and attendants, of whom each society has a pair. The two meat-distributors (kbahinomrkwa'), wearing black forehead bands as badges, are chosen from among the elders. Further, the councilors advise and admonish newly-weds and, in fact, are consulted about practically everything, which in part holds even today. During my stay in Providencia the chief summoned three elders from neighboring villages to watch over the maintenance of ceremonial.

(2) *The leaders of the men's associations.* Each of the four societies has two leaders—one from the šiptato', the other from the sdakrā moiety—to direct the members of the *complementary* moiety. Appointed for their ability, these headmen retain office for life or until compelled to abdicate by old age. New appointees are instructed by a predecessor. Whenever the members figure as such, these two leaders direct them; and since economically and ceremonially these organizations are the most important social units, the leaders' office looms proportionally—even today when only fragments of the old order survive. A society that made a clearing for the members attacked the leader's section before the rest. When the villagers broke camp for the hunting season (October until January), the leaders of the krieri'ekmū society, preceded by two scouts, went several miles ahead to determine the site of the great hunt.

The leaders of the women's society were two elderly women, wives of the leaders of any men's organization. Their paint was that of their male counterparts.

At the funeral festival the mourners put "sbo" baskets (plate I, A) over their heads and backs, these baskets for guests from other villages being made by the wives of the mourning society's leaders, aided by several assistants.

Both the leaders and their wives belong to the prestige class honored after death by an aikmā celebration (p. 100).

(3) *The pēkwa'.* On the final day of the ake'mhā initiation, the elders select two members of the annōrowa' society (one for each moiety), who are concealed in the woods beyond the source of the water supply. There they make for each of these pēkwa' a ceremonial lance (kni-zaure') 4 m long, as thick as an arm, and decorated below the tip with

a bunch of red arara tail feathers. In the afternoon the ake'mhā and annōrowa' organizations set out to bring back the pēkwa' from their hiding-place. Brandishing their lances horizontally above their heads these officers proceed homewards in the midst of the two societies and are welcomed by the weeping villagers (p. 79). Then the lances are planted in the assembly place of the annōrowa', on the north and south margins.

The following morning a kwiudē'-uda' race is held with pointed logs, hollowed trough-fashion, such as legend derives from a giant armadillo. The pēkwa', who participate with rattle-girdles, are painted with black and somewhat curved zones on their thighs, upper arms, and abdomen.

Of the pēkwa' one remains in his original society, the annōrowa'; the other joins the ake'mhā, where he enjoys special kudos by his leadership of the šipsa' (p. 49). Otherwise the pēkwa' figure as counselors and peacemakers. Their badges are two rods (hdi) tied together and redened with urucu.

Their wives also enjoy prerogatives. At the beginning of their women's organization's wakedi' festival they dance with their husbands' rattle-girdles and in their husbands' paint. They likewise share the honor of an aikmā (p. 100).

(4) *Village chiefs*. As suggested by the chiefs' emblems and the above-mentioned form of inaugurating and deposing them, the office was in all probability aboriginal, not due to Neobrazilian influence. Pohl (1832) speaking of the free Šava'nte, already notes that

Their chief or cazike, now designated in Portuguese fashion as capitão, enjoys the highest authority over the people of the aldea. Every one owes him obedience. In important situations, e.g. on the breaking out of war or the conclusion of peace, the capitãos of all aldeas act jointly, and the eldest of the people are consulted.

Oddly enough, this important office lacks a distinctive designation, for the chiefs are called by the same term, kwatprekrda', as the leaders of the societies.²

As explained, a new chief is appointed by an assembly of old chiefs. If his conduct in office is tolerably satisfactory, he retains it as long as he lives or until old age proves a hindrance. When inducted, he receives a bow decorated with a tassel of arara tail feathers, a thick sheaf of arrows, and three krōiko', that is, staff-clubs a meter in length with

² Pohl, *Reise*, p. 169.

thickened butts. Further, at festivals and in public orations the chief carries a blunt-headed ceremonial lance (*kni-ri'e*) of Brazil wood. The elders of the village, who of course are also consulted about the election, manufacture these emblems. After the appointment the family of the chief-elect prepares meat pies, which the oldest chief receives on a long mat and distributes among his peers.

A chief who again and again grossly transgresses tribal custom, menaces communal harmony by sexual dissipation or pugnacity, or exhibits general incompetence in internal and external affairs may be deposed by the assembly that elected him. Thus Amaro was ousted for his slanders and his unrestrained pursuit of all women, including the married ones of his own moiety. The following incident was the last straw:

Amaro and a group of men went hunting, accompanied according to tribal custom by two wantons, one for the members of each moiety. Amaro, however, at once monopolized one of them and, though himself married, retained her after his return. Without a word of justification he submitted to being deposed by a council of five other village chiefs, after which he did not for weeks appear in public.

The chief's main task, according to my own observations, consists in the settling of internal and external disputes. This is no small matter, for in contrast to the Timbira, the Šerente are prone to quarrel and calumniate, while their relations with Neobrazilian compadres are mostly bad or at best only superficially friendly. The owner of a nearby fazenda whence cattle have been lifted—"of course by Indians"—will seek out the chief in a towering rage to demand compensation. Similarly, a creditor whose Indian compadre fails to pay a debt duns the chief to compel immediate payment. Naturally, the chief declines such responsibility, whereupon the Neobrazilian neighbors brand him as worthless and do everything to sap his authority.

Bruē tenaciously defended the last dwindling territory retained by his hamlet, Providencia, against the newcomers who tried to invade it from all sides. In 1937 he showed me in the immediate proximity of the village half a dozen homestead sites which he had compelled Neobrazilian would-be settlers to abandon. As a result he is the best-hated of chiefs and is more or less risking his life.

A chief welcomes and houses alien guests of distinction, but when on my first visit in 1930 I told Bruē of my intention to remain for some time, he first consulted the other village chiefs.

In dealings with the State government, the local authorities, and the bishop of Porto Nacional, the chief represents his village, trying to secure for his people the greatest benefits possible.

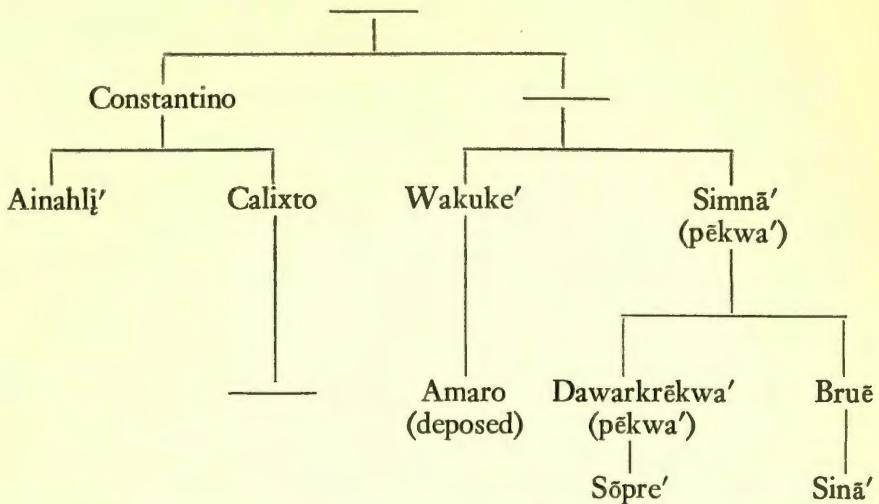
As for internal disputes, hardly a day passed during my stay in which Bruē was not engaged in settling some difficulty—cases of adultery and jealousy, quarrels over the control of children, matters of debt, slanders, threats, a host of petty bickerings. Coming from the Timbira, one almost felt like being among civilized people! Bruē acted uniformly as peace-maker, monitor, scolder, adviser. A chief who has to settle a really serious matter with a man of the opposite moiety assumes for the time being that moiety's point so as to be met with respect by his interlocutor. Eloquence and patience are obviously prerequisite for this office.

On many evenings, moreover, I saw the chief assemble the village. Stepping in front of the semicircle and resting his hands on the ceremonial lance while rocking his body back and forth, he would impressively and vividly harangue the crowd for possibly an hour. Usually he began by circumstantially explaining the half-forgotten ceremonial of some festival to be celebrated. There followed a lengthy admonition, supported by visionary experiences, to preserve ancient usage. In conclusion he would urge all to live in peace and harmony and never forget to praise me in proper fashion, exhorting the Indians to treat me well. The people would listen attentively, but only a minority acted in accordance with his speeches; and neither he nor any other chief had coercive power against recalcitrant tribesmen.

On the other hand, chiefs are expected to render harmless any persons imperiling the community—above all, evil sorcerers, but also other criminals. I heard of the following instance:

An Indian had successively married several girls and deserted them without due cause. At the time of his last marriage, his father-in-law warned him of what would happen if he left this new wife in the lurch. Nevertheless, he abandoned her immediately after the birth of her first child, going to another aldea, where he forthwith seduced another girl. The father-in-law complained to the chief, who promised satisfaction, and to the leaders of the men's societies. He ordered several men to lie in ambush by the water hole of the village, where they killed the offender with arrows as he and his paramour passed by. Then they entered the village and begged its chief to forgive them. The murdered man's kin, who had long predicted his fate, neither sought vengeance nor demanded weregild.

Barring obvious incapacity of all proper successors, the chief's office is transmitted in the male line of a single family, as illustrated below.



Chief Constantino was succeeded by his son Calixto, who in turn was followed by his parallel cousin Wakuke'. After Wakuke' came his younger brother Simnā', then Simnā''s brother's son Amaro, who was deposed, being relieved by Simnā''s son Bruē. The latter told me his probable successor would be his son Sinā' or Sōpre', the son of his (Bruē's) deceased elder brother, Dawarkrēkwa'.

MOIETIES

The old villages had the shape of a horseshoe or incomplete circle (about two-thirds of its circuit). Martius reports: "The Chavante erect, now in circular, now in semilunar arrangement, large, round huts."³ However, his informants presumably sometimes conceived the incomplete circle as complete, at other times as a semicircle. The horseshoe curve opened westward, and at the apex a road, the "path of the sun," led eastward. Thus the houses were grouped in a north and a south segment; on the north side of every village were the clans of the sdakrā moiety, on the south the clans of the šiptato' moiety (fig. 1).

The moieties are patrilinear, patrilocal, and exogamous even for intercourse with wantons, whence the custom of taking along two on a

³ Martius, *Beiträge*, p. 272.

hunting-trip, one from each moiety. Only in the most recent period have people begun to transgress moiety exogamy in extramarital relations.

The moieties differ in the designs of their black paint, the *sdakrā*

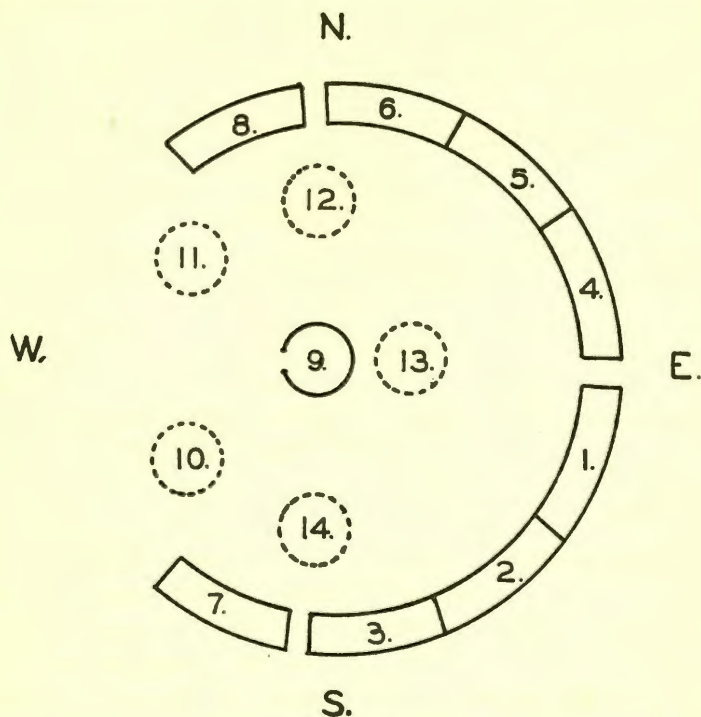


FIG. 1. Village plan.

Šiptató clans:

1. Kuzę'
2. Īšibdu'
3. Kbazipre'

Sdakrā clans:

4. Krēprehi'
5. Īsaure'
6. Īsruri'e

Incorporated tribes:

7. Prase'
8. Krozake'

9. Warā (bachelors' lodge)

Assembly places for:

- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 10. Ake'mhā society | 12. Annōrowa' society | 14. Pikō (women's) society |
| 11. Krara' society | 13. Krieri'ekmū society | |

using vertical series of short, horizontal lines down both sides of the body, while the *šiptató* have series of circles. However, the color contrast of the Timbira moieties is lacking.

Each moiety owns a distinctive set of masculine names transmitted patrilineally to grandsons and great-nephews.

The moieties, though not descended from Sun and Moon, are con-

nected with them: the šiptato' with the Sun, the sdakrā with the Moon. Accordingly, the šiptato' sing their chants during a solar eclipse while the sdakrā merely accompany them, and for a lunar eclipse the parts are reversed. To be sure, members of both moieties shoot off burning arrows during a lunar eclipse. The Sun communes with the šiptato' through the intermediation of the planets Venus and Jupiter; the Moon's revelations to the sdakrā come through the planet Mars and the Seven Stars (p. 85).

When both moieties or their representatives appear simultaneously, the šiptato' claim precedence.

The moieties as such have no further organization. On the other hand, virtually all offices are dual, i.e. held by one representative of each moiety. Whenever persons appear in pairs, one is šiptato', the other sdakrā. This applies to:

- (1) leaders of the men's organizations and the headwomen of the women's society;
- (2) the attendants of these associations;
- (3) the leaders of the ake'mhā youths during initiation;
- (4) the messengers of these leaders (3);
- (5) the pēkwa' (p. 12);
- (6) the hēsmin'kwa' virgins (p. 48) at the close of the adolescence initiation;
- (7) the advisers (p. 30) called kritāekwa';
- (8) the masters of the Great Fast;
- (9) the precentors of the Great Fast;
- (10) the manufacturers of tamandua' masks;
- (11) the mask wearers;
- (12) the prordo' actors in the masquerading festival;
- (13) the occasion of bestowing feminine names;
- (14) the occasion of bestowing the masculine name of Wakedi' by the women;
- (15) the announcers of masculine names at the name-bestowing festival;
- (16) the shooters of burning arrows during a lunar eclipse;
- (17) the meat-distributors.

In fact, a single person figures only in the office of village chief, who is selected irrespective of his moiety; and in the allotment of the name Waktidi', invariably borne by a single girl of the šiptato' moiety.

The moieties are locally segregated in (1) masculine name-confering; (2) the ake'mhā initiation; (3) the Wakedi' festival; (4) the Great Fast.

Reciprocal duties are involved in the following cases:

(1) In the men's organizations, the women's society, and among the ake'mhā youths during their initiation, the šiptato' leader commands the sdakrā, and vice versa.

(2) In the conferring of feminine names a šiptato' girl receives chains of beads and arara tail feathers from the sdakrā of the name-conferring organization, who are compensated with food, and vice versa.

(3) After the hunt following the close of the Wakedi' festival the šiptato' deposit their game on the right side, the sdakrā theirs on the left side (as viewed from the village). Thereupon the šiptato' get the game of the sdakrā, and vice versa.

(4) When, at the close of the tamandua' masquerade, the jaguars (hukú) race to the village with the two prordo', the šiptato' jaguars try to catch the sdakrā prordo', and vice versa.

CLANS

Each moiety has basically three clans: the kuzę', išibdu', and kbazipre', forming the šiptato', while the sdakrā embraces the krēprehi', isaure' and isruri'e. Each clan has its distinctive place in the arc of village houses: the kuzę', and krēprehi' to the right and left of the eastern exit, the išibdu' and isaure' in the center, and the kbazipre' and isruri'e to the west.

Two alien tribes were subsequently added as supplementary clans: the prase' to the šiptato', and the krozake' to the sdakrā. Probably this accession enlarged a primary semicircle to a three-quarter circle (see fig. 1).

The tribe from which the prase' sprang was originally called Sampe' and lived in the mountains of the Tocantins-Araguaya watershed, by the sources of the Rio Bananal (tributary of the Araguaya)—allegedly under a protruding cliff with a waterfall. They wore their hair cap-fashion, clipped horizontally all round, and shaved below the haircut. Frequently the prase' are designated as klito'-tedekwa', after their distinctive ball-game, klito'.

The original name of the ancestral tribe of the krozaké is no longer known. They inhabited a thick forest in the same region as the Sampe'.

About their origin, the Šere'nte say that of a group of playing children the lighter-colored were transformed into taitetu' pigs, while the darker ones remained human, but turned wild. The hair was dressed like that of the Šere'nte. Krozake' denotes their paint: a line of red dots below the forehead hair-line (da-kro, "temples;" i-sake', "line"). The šiptato' captured the prase', the sdakrā the krozake'; and incorporation followed into the respective moieties. Both are said to have spoken Šere'nte. But even nowadays these clans are not quite reckoned as peers, and the Šere'nte when speaking of moieties basically include only the native clans. A clan is i-šnakrda'; wa-n-nakrda denotes "my clan." Literally, this means "stem;" wudē'-n-nakrda', "tree-trunk;" and it is because the two alien units are designated as i-šnakrda' and not as i-kuiwa', "moiety," that I too so treat them.

The derogatory attitude towards the prase' and krozake' precipitated one of the gravest internal conflicts of recent years.

Even prior to 1930 the chief Krukka' of Boqueirao—a krozake'—had been murdered by the sdakrā, who suspected him of sorcery. The krozake' clandestinely plotted revenge. In 1934 at the annual church fiesta in Piabanha two eminent elders, Šiku' (sdakrā) and Prakumze' (krozake') had a violent altercation in the plaza. Šiku' championed the superiority of the sdakrā over the krozake' with such eloquence as to shame Prakumze' into silence. Soon after this incident, Prakumze''s clansmen murdered Šiku' as he was travelling to the Krahō', among whom he had been living for some time and where recently one of his sons had been killed. After Šiku''s murder his second son was also killed by Prakumze''s clan, aided by the Krahō'.

Thereupon the sdakrā of several villages jointly marched against the murderers, then in Pedra Preta. At Varjão, 16 km below Piabanha, the hostile groups met, and in the ensuing fight with firearms a certain Simari' was killed from among the avengers. He, however, was not a sdakrā, but a šiptato' persuaded to come along. Had a sdakrā also fallen, the šiptato' would have considered their loss as compensated for and would have exerted themselves on behalf of peace with the krozake'. As it was, they awaited the course of events for two years, watching whether an agreement would be reached without them through the killing of a sdakrā. Since nothing of the sort happened, they finally decided on demanding weregild from the sdakrā for Simari'. The sdakrā, however, even before any formal demand upon them, deprecated any responsibility for Simari''s death, hurriedly made peace with the krozaké, and tried to play them off against the šiptato'. Thus matters stood during my stay among the Šere'nte in 1937. The matter of weregild for Simari' was regarded as a question concerning the šiptato' of all the villages.

Of the six clans of the šiptato' and sdakrā proper, the kuzę' (-ptedekwa') and kręprehi'—localized on either side of the "path of the Sun"—occupy a preferential status. The name kuzę' (-ptedekwa') is explained by the Šerente myth of the origin of fire (kuzę'). The man who maliciously abandoned his little brother-in-law on a tree was a sdakrā, the boy a šiptato'. When the burning tree-trunk had to be snatched from the jaguar's dwelling, the mutum and the water-fowl were the first to take hold. The mutum, whose head-feathers were frizzled by the heat, belonged to the clan now called kuzę', whence the occasionally curly and reddish-brown hair of its members. The kuzę' and kręprehi' were—and in some instances remain—the makers of most ornaments peculiar to the other clans of their respective moieties. But since for a long time only a few constituents of the original decorative outfit have survived, I was no longer able to ascertain completely the ornaments distinctive of each clan nor the ancient system of bestowal and intertribal exchange of ornamental pieces. At all events I gathered the impression that preparing festive adornment was the most essential task of the clans, as indicated by the almost exclusive reference to distinctive clan decoration in the clan names and their numerous synonyms.

As regards these ornaments, the following information was procured. All šiptato' clans, including the superadded prase', wear as their characteristic decoration the tips of lagenaria fruits, which have the shape of a small, more or less strongly bent funnel. With such lagenaria tips (serving solely for painting the body) the natives stamp their skin with rings, the diameter varying with the clan. Except for the prase', who make their own very large doi', the kuzę' manufacture the tips for all the šiptato'. Originally a broad cotton girdle with pendent rattles of lagenaria tips formed the kuzę' members' decoration, who renounced it in favor of their "brothers," the řšibdu', whose clan name is derived therefrom. The third šiptato' clan's designation, kbazipre', signifies "cotton ornament." Their emblem consists of suaçuapara' deer or tapir hoofs suspended down the back from a red cotton forehead cord. Moreover, they were distinguished from all other clans by the extent of their coronal tonsure, which attained a diameter up to 12 cm.

Of the sdakrā, the kręprehi' put on all their decorative articles pendants of red arara tail feathers, whence their secondary designation, romzakru'. They used to hand the šiptato' clan facing them, viz., the kuzę', cotton girdles with such pendants consisting of three feathers at each extremity, and in return received girdles, of the width of three

fingers, from black or spotted jaguar skin. The differences in clan decoration are best seen nowadays in the dorsal pendants of black scleria seed (ake') necklaces, which girls receive with their names from the moiety of their maternal uncle:

1. Arara tail feathers mounted on an ostrich talon: kēprehi', who surrendered this decoration to the išibdu'.
2. Two small lagenaria bowls: isaure'.
3. Two small bowls of caja' (Spondias) wood: isruri'e.
4. Two elongated lagenaria tips: isibidu'.
5. Two lagenaria tips with parrot feathers: prase'. The same decoration was once indicated as proper to the isaure'.
6. Two short lagenaria tips: kbazipre'.

The identical decorations are attached to the basketry bowls put on by the members of a mourning association at a funeral ceremony.

The clans lacked significance in economic life, warfare, and religious ceremonial (except for the prase' game to be mentioned presently). They had neither corporeal nor incorporeal property. If the two supplementary clans—prase' and krozake'—own specific masculine sets of names, this is due to their never having been regarded as completely on a par with the other clans of their moiety. I know of no ceremonial in which celebrants are ranged by clans; even blood-feud and weregild are moiety, not clan, affairs. This is illustrated by the case reported above, where the krozake' figure not in opposition to the clans of the victims, which are not so much as mentioned, but to their moieties. The krozake' were held responsible by both moieties, whose members regarded them not as a mere sdakrā clan, but as an independent unit coordinate with a moiety.

The prase' clan does own a ball-game peculiar to its members. The balls (klito', also applied to a coronal tonsure) are 5 cm in diameter, somewhat flattened, and consist of a core of dry steppe grass covered by many thin layers of mangabeira rubber. The elders, who manufacture the ball, smear the sap in stripes on their abdomens, allowing it to congeal, and wrap these thin rubber skins round the core.⁴ Attached to the ball is a cluster of arara tail feathers loosely dangling from short chains of beads. The ball is brought to the assembled players on a large gourd bowl painted red. They form a circle and, undivided into teams, throw

⁴ Cf. Nimuendajú, *The Apinayé*, p. 62.

the ball at one another with the palm of the hand. The wrist is wrapped with bark.

At this amusement the other clans are at best represented by a few boys. There is no special occasion for arranging a game; it is played whenever the spirit moves the members. Other clans play ball by the same method, but invariably with balls of maize husks.

A clan localized in the northern arc calls its southern *vis-à-vis* *narkwá*, and vice versa. Thus the bond unites:

krēprehi'	and	kuzę'
isaure'	"	išibdu'
isrurie'	"	kbazipre'
krozake'	"	prase'

Invariably a corpse is decorated and buried by the *narkwa'* of the deceased person's clan. The decorators, immediately after the burial, receive a fee from the heir—formerly meat and a bundle of arrows. The grave-diggers formerly got three bundles of arrows. Nowadays it is customary specially to raise a pig for their compensation.

At the close of the Great Fast the penitents resort to a site in the woods, where they camp round a thick tree; one *šiptato'* always lying next to a *sdakrā* so that members of *narkwa'* clans are neighbors. The individuals thus paired remain comrades as long as they live, always treat each other well, and must not quarrel. During this camping period they daily paint each other's lower legs black.

THE FAMILY

The Šere'nte lack an extended family unit. The household comprises a single family, only now and then enlarged by individual kinsfolk.

Doubtless family life has been severely affected by civilization, but the Šere'nte were even previously patrilinear and patrilocal. Present conditions bear some resemblance to those of the lowest stratum of neighboring Neobrazilians; indeed, the survivors hardly seem like descendants of the older Šere'nte, the only tribe known to me that stressed the sexual purity of youths and the virginity of girls entering formal wedlock.

KINSHIP TERMS

The following kinship terms were recorded:

i-krda	matrilinal or patrilineal grandparent
--------	---------------------------------------

i-mumā'	father (3d per., i-ptokwa'); father's brother (3d per., i-manōsi'); stepfather; mother's sister's husband
i-natkī'	mother (3d per., separkwa'); mother's sister (3d per., i-nanōsi'); stepmother; father's brother's wife
i-natkī'-ri'e	mother's sister's daughter; mother's brother's daughter
nōkliekwa'	mother's brother; mother's brother's wife
nōkliekwa'-ri'e	mother's brother's son
t-tbē	father's sister
i-kumre'	elder sibling; elder child of mother's brother; elder child of father's brother
i-nō-ri'e	younger sibling; younger child of mother's sister; younger child of father's brother
i-krā-wapte'	father's sister's child; brother's child (man speaking); sister's child (woman speaking); husband's brother's child; wife's sister's child; step-child
krēmzu'	father's sister's son (man speaking); sister's child; husband's sister's child
brem'	father's sister's son (woman speaking); brother's son (man speaking); sister's son (woman speaking); husband's brother's son; wife's sister's son
baknō'	father's sister's daughter; brother's daughter (man speaking); sister's daughter (woman speaking); husband's brother's daughter; wife's sister's daughter
i-krā	child
ambadi'	brother's child (woman speaking)
i-nirdu'	grandchild
i-nōsi'	elder moiety kin
i-zimehā	younger moiety kin
aimāpli'	parent-in-law
i-mrō	spouse
snikmū'	husband's brother; sister's husband (woman speaking)
mizai'	brother's wife (man speaking)

asai'	brother's wife (woman speaking); son's wife
ai-kā-ri'e	wife's brother; wife's brother's child
asimhi'	wife's sister; brother's wife
i-zakmū'	sister's husband (man speaking); father's sister's husband; daughter's husband

PROHIBITED DEGREES

No one is allowed to marry within his moiety, a rule maintained even by the present generation except for some laxity in the accessory *prase'* and *krozake'* clans.

In addition marriage is forbidden between all kindred of the first and second degree. As to cross-cousins, those calling each other *bremi'* and *natki'* are distinguished from *bakno'* and *nōkliekwa'*; the latter are possible mates, but not the former. That is, a man may marry his father's sister's daughter, but not his maternal uncle's. To my amazement I was told that the children of forbidden cousin-marriages would be idiots.

Of sibling or parent-child incest only three instances were recalled, one of them certainly pathological.

A young woman in Santo Antonio regularly and without the slightest sense of shame invited her own brothers, cousins, and uncles to cohabit with her, several accepting her offer. Thereupon she fell ill for three months. As she lay on her bed, she is said to have grunted like a pig and whistled like a tapir; at last she died.

Old *Aināhli'*, who died in Providencia in 1937, was generally known to have mated with his own daughter and begotten two children by her, as the woman herself admitted. *Bruē* seemed to connect this behavior with *Aināhli'*'s visions of a species of vulture who would appear to him and advise him. The evil-doer was criticised behind his back, but no one dared openly hold him to account.

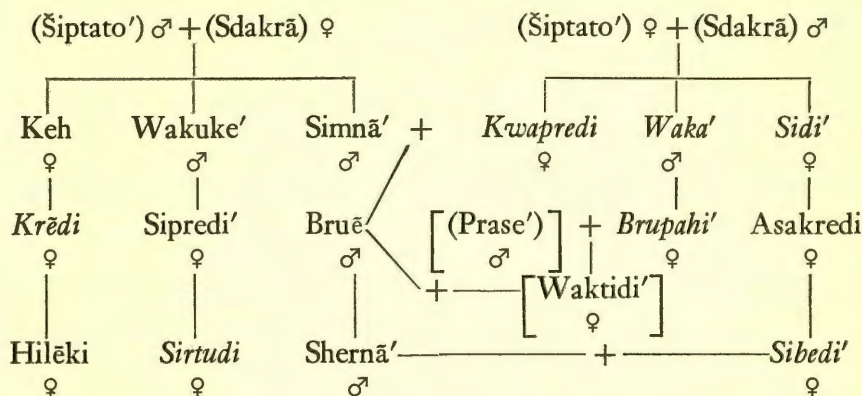
On the other hand, a lad who maintained incestuous relations with his sister was severely beaten by his father. This conforms to the treatment accorded to sons cohabiting with their mother in the *Asare'* myth.

Sodomy hardly seems to occur. I only learnt of a certain João Felix, who had been surprised while consorting with a bitch.

About masturbation I secured no data. A father beats boys who manipulate their genitalia. Homosexuality, not rare among Neobrazilian neighbors, is to the Šere'nte unintelligible.

PREFERENTIAL MARRIAGES

There seems to be a tendency to marry close matrilineal kin so long as the prohibited degrees are avoided. The following diagram of a set of specific marriages, which distinguishes *šiptato'* (Roman type) from *sdakrā* (italics), will illustrate:



Bruē was barred from marrying his cross-cousin Brupahi', who fell into the category *natkij'*. He might have wedded Krēdi', his *baknō*. But as a *šiptato'* who had just had a quarrel with the *sdakrā*, he avoided marriage with a girl of the true *sdakrā* and chose Waktidi', the daughter of his cross-cousin Brupahi' and of a *prase'* man, i.e. merely a quasi-*šiptato'*. His son Shernā' married Sibedi', the granddaughter of his matrilineal great-aunt.

A widow with little children or, failing issue, of estimable qualities is married to a single or widowed elder or younger brother or parallel cousin of the deceased. Refusal on either side was reckoned as contrary to usage. Two days after her husband's death the widow's maternal uncle took her to the bachelors' lodge at night, making her lie by the side of her sleeping brother-in-law. As soon as he woke up and noted her presence, she would rise and go home. Marriage followed forthwith—in contrast to other widow marriages, without regard to the period of mourning. Nowadays this custom is obsolete; no man would hold the levirate obligatory, though others would consider its practice a thing to his credit.

The sororate seems to have been rare at all times, but cases still occur and are regarded as proper. One Suzaure' married first Smikadi', later also her sister Kukedi'. His father-in-law approved, being himself a widower. This is the only sanctioned form of polygyny, the *Šere'nte*

insisting that apart from the rare cases of sororal polygyny only monogamy prevailed. Pohl reports of the free Šava'nte: "In this tribe monogamy is customary and strictly observed."⁵ Tuggia and Urbino Vianna, however, describe the Šere'nte as polygamous. I certainly encountered only the single instance of Suzaure'.

During my stay Wakuke' of the aldea Paneiro vainly attempted bigamy. Having married Tpedi' he subsequently obtained the consent of her brother to become engaged to his ten year old daughter Sebēdi'. While intoxicated he tried to ravish his fiancée, who escaped. Angered, Wakuke' left both his wife and her niece, and moved to Boqueirão, where he became engaged to another girl. His conduct, as well as that of Tpedi's brother, was generally condemned.

Such things, I heard, had never occurred in the old days.

PREMARITAL RELATIONS

Anciently, relations of more or less mature girls must have been reduced to a minimum. On the one hand, the older boys and marriageable youths were subject to the rules of warā, which were obviously designed to separate the boys from the other sex. Martius says of the Šava'nte:

Few nations prize the virginity of the bride, notably the Chavante, who seek to maintain it by special supervision of the youths rather than of the maidens.⁶

On the other hand, mothers and aunts watched over girls by day and night, early initiating them into the women's society. The occasions for the sexes to mingle at dances are even today extremely rare.

Finally, both sexes knew that in marriage their personal inclinations would be disregarded by parents and parents' siblings, who arranged the unions and forced them to obey. Thus, I cannot recall a single pair of young Šere'nte lovers.

The only Canella case of suicide that came to my notice was that of a girl whose mother tried to force her into marrying a man repulsive to her. Among the Šere'nte I heard of four suicides, but in none of them was compulsory marriage the reason.

Today conditions resemble those observed among other decadent tribes which attempt to preserve virginity as a prerequisite to marriage as in an earlier period of moral rigor. Since girls are generally deflowered extramaritally when between ten and twelve years old, those

⁵ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 168.

⁶ Martius, *Beiträge*, p. 112.

left intact at this age are not merely betrothed, as formerly, but married—and rather by older men than by young lads. Though even today the people laugh at a husband old enough to be his wife's father, the practice nevertheless obtains. But of married Šere'nte men I saw no one estimated at under twenty years of age.

Even nowadays there are families which, in harmony with ancient usage, do not permit virgins any clothing whatsoever. As a result these remained invisible to Neobrazilians, even when they came to visit the aldeia. But no sooner had a girl lost her maidenhead by marriage or premarital intercourse than she donned a kind of skirt of trade cotton.

As late as 1930 I saw in Porteira a thirteen year old girl who, being rated a virgin, walked about in complete nakedness like others of the same status. One day her brother-in-law grew suspicious and cross-examined her severely, whereupon she confessed having been recently deflowered by a lad from another aldeia. While her kin were still at the acme of excitement over her confession, her mother hung an old skirt about her daughter's body and forever removed her virginal decoration, viz. a neck-cord with two capybara incisors cemented together. Several days later the girl's maternal uncle, accompanied by several other men, betook himself to the seducer's village in order either to make him marry the lass or pay an indemnity. Whether his efforts were successful, my departure prevented me from ascertaining.

Formerly, the damages consisted in weapons, arara tail feathers, and scleria beads, of which the seducer and his father were obliged to pay whatever they owned, for the girl's kin would make vigorous claims, while the culprit was hardly shielded by any of his kindred. Today the seducer usually manages somehow to squirm out of the payment. Anciently the victim was considered unfit for marriage with any one but her seducer, being henceforth rated a *dba*, "wanton." Later the people grew more lenient and nowadays most wives have passed through a *dba* stage.

Civilized neighbors often maintain that the Šere'nte sell their daughters as virgins to certain Neobrazilians. I failed to learn of a single concrete case. One girl, dawdling about with her family in the harbor of Piabanha, was deflowered by a Neobrazilian who had first intoxicated the Indians, but this caused a tremendous row, for the Šere'nte are by no means prone to pardon Neobrazilians for deeds unforgivable in a fellow-tribesman. The girl's relatives assumed so menacing an attitude that the culprit vanished from the vicinity. This is the only instance that came to my attention. It argues ignorance of the Šere'nte character

to suppose they would be pacified in such a case by the proverbial "bottle of whiskey for which an Indian will do anything."

On the other hand, in former days hosts apparently did give a highly esteemed guest a virgin as a concubine without taking any compensation. (See page 92.) Even at present a daughter's virginity is not an article of trade.

I have devoted considerable space to premarital defloration because it actually looms large among the Šerente of today (as among their civilized neighbors), remaining part of the order of the day and the perennial fountainhead of endless disputes and demands.

ENGAGEMENT

Engagements are arranged by the couple's parents, the parties themselves not being consulted, for they are generally minors incapable of an independent judgment. Thus they grow up with the idea of being some time obliged to marry each other. The maternal uncle would at once make for the fiancée a girdle of cotton dyed red, a decoration now obsolete. Should some rare girl prove refractory, her parents and their siblings more or less vigorously admonish her until she becomes docile. I have myself heard such tirades for hours and seen the elders subsequently lay the girl on the bridal bed as if she were a log. The parents break the engagement without difficulty if they have subsequent misgivings, but that this should happen because the boy or girl is untractable seems improbable to me. To be sure, I know of an aunt pitying her betrothed niece, who had an aversion to her fiancé, and effecting a severance of the tie; but it was the aunt, not the girl who made this possible.

The youths formerly seem to have viewed marriage as an inevitable evil that deprived them of their careless life in the bachelors' lodge (p. 49).

WEDDING

The bride's maternal uncle led her at night to the warā, bade her lie beside the groom, allowed them to embrace for a moment, then took her back to her father's home.

The following day the youth was decorated for the first time with his clan rather than, as hitherto, with his age-class paint. Then the bride's uncle reappeared, this time with three related men, and all four dragged the weeping and resisting groom to his bride's house. This reluctance is not individual, but customary. In the bride's house her rela-

tives had made a big meat-pie. The bride put food before the groom in a painted gourd bowl and in a new one of basketry, while her mother brought the groom's parents their share in another large basketry bowl.

The newly married youth used to spend the day in his parents' house, the night in his wife's parents' home. Whenever he caught sight of his former warā comrades or heard them blowing a trumpet, he would weep.

At first the newlyweds sleep in the bride's parents' home to help her get accustomed to her spouse, for whom she often has not the slightest affection. Still another usage rests on the same idea. During the first few nights, weeks, or even months the young husband hardly ever dared attempt cohabitation, feeling certain of being repelled. When he finally did so, it never occurred indoors, but on the road, in the plantation, or preferably behind the spring. Consequently, every night a young wanton related to the wife—if possible, an older kinswoman—was made to sleep beside her, partly lest, if left alone, the young woman be afraid of her husband, partly so that he could cohabit with the wanton if so inclined. In 1937 I was an eye-witness of this custom.

The woman assumes a dorsal position, but that favored by the Timbira is also known, the woman remaining in semi-lateral position with one leg raised, while the organ is inserted posteriorly. When Šere'nte girls have conquered their initial shyness, they are far from frigid and passive.

Occasionally two youths, one from each moiety, are married with special ceremonial. They are subsequently called *kritāekwa'*. Nowadays this seems to happen but rarely, for I met only a single man who had been thus married about ten or eleven years ago, simultaneously with his comrade now deceased. The old *kritāekwa'* suddenly and without warning caught the two youths from among the dancing bachelors, led them into the woods, and there manufactured their emblems: a forehead band plaited in ribbon shape out of the finest burity bast (*dasikrē-wasize'*), a bow, and arrows with heads of Brazil wood. For a *kritāekwa'* of the *siteromkwa'* team (p. 43) the arrowheads are about 12 cm long and 2 cm wide; for a member of the *htj'mhā* team they are 3 cm in length and triangular.

In the meantime the future mothers-in-law prepare meat-pies for later distribution. Then the two youths are dragged in usual fashion by the bride's male kin to her home, where she receives her prospective husband sitting on a new mat. For a moment the *kritāekwa'* kneels be-

fore her, then immediately leaves by the rear door for the woods, where he and the members of all men's societies go hunting. With the quarry they fill two big basketry bags, which the two *kritāekwa'*—holding their bows and arrows horizontally on the crowns of their heads—carry to the houses of their mothers-in-law. At the door each turns his back toward the interior of the house, so that his mother-in-law may remove the load. This hunt is repeated on three days.

What may be the role of the *kritāekwa'* in other respects is not quite clear. They were selected from among the most serious and trustworthy of the youths, irrespective of associational affiliations. The one I knew was conspicuous among his tribesmen for these traits. When, years ago, he nevertheless seemed about to desert his wife, his relatives forbade this as conduct unworthy of a *kritāekwa'*. I was told that men of this status served as peace-makers and chiefs' coadjutors. Otherwise I merely heard that in the battues of old it was their duty to set the peripheral fire.

With respect to the newly married in general, it sometimes took a year before they had become sufficiently accustomed to each other to move to the dwelling of the groom's parents. As soon as children were born and the couple got cramped for space they erected a separate hut. Formerly this was next to that of the husband's parents', at present wherever it suits their fancy.

Parents-in-law and the newly wedded do not address each other and avoid meeting alone. This holds particularly for mother-in-law and son-in-law, as well as for father-in-law and daughter-in-law. The taboos between father-in-law and son-in-law and between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are less rigorous. Years later, after the birth of children, the relatives-in-law address each other as *aimāpli'* and *izakmū*. Between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law there is no restriction of social intercourse, nor, so far as I could observe, any special license.

WEDLOCK

Generally the couple so inauspiciously mated get adapted to each other with the lapse of time. In two or three instances I conjecture mutual esteem, but it is difficult to judge because of native undemonstrativeness.

Bruē never forgot his dead wife *Waktidi'*. I had known her in 1930, and he always spoke to me about her with affection and respect. Her work basket he had kept for six years, not for use but merely as a souvenir. At last he pre-

sented it to me, his friend, as a parting gift, asking me to take good care of it. Frequent comparisons he drew between the deceased and her possible successors always resulted to the latter's disadvantage and induced him to remain a widower. Partly from pity he lived temporarily with a Neobrazilian mulatto woman, who had fled from cruel relatives, but it never occurred to him to view her as Waktidi's successor.

Reports reached me of three suicides due to the loss of a spouse through death or desertion. These further militate against Neobrazilian tales about the all-powerful lure of the whisky bottle leading to the surrender even of married women. I have sought positive proofs for this allegation and conclude that women are not prostituted at their husband's instance. On the other hand, uncles do sometimes secure concubitants for their nieces, brothers do the same for their sisters, and these male relatives may draw profit from the arrangement. Most commonly they thus liquidate debts. However, such girls are never either virgins or married women, but single wantons.

The three suicides merit brief description.

(a) A man who was with his wife on a hunting trip swam the Tocantins in pursuit of a deer and drowned before her eyes. When the corpse had at last been found, the widow went with others to conduct it to the village. When the body was lifted and carried off, she remained behind and hanged herself in the presence of her children, who ran after the procession to tell about the occurrence. Then several men returned and cut down the suicide. The corpses of both spouses were then carried together into the village.

(b) A woman, married as a virgin, gave birth to five children. But her husband spent all his time with a wanton, to whom he would present all his kill. The affronted wife looked for the wanton and struck her. Then the husband fetched his belongings, left his own house, and went to sleep in his mistress's. His wife made herself a rope, went to the plantation, and hanged herself.

(c) A woman practiced adultery in sight of her husband and refused to listen to his admonitions. He did not beat her, but took a rope, and went into the woods. His son followed him and found him hanging from the branch of a tree.

In the last two cases suicide was probably prompted by offended vanity, but even so such instances refute current Neobrazilian ideas.

In the household the husband's wishes prevail. His sole control of the home and farm appears from the fact that a wife separating from her spouse forfeits all claims to either. I have witnessed no case of a

woman playing a dominant part in a home. Though I saw no systematic bullying of a woman by her husband, the reverse is probably still less probable. Silly young women convinced of their irresistible charms and able to wrap their husbands round their little fingers—such as occur among the Arawakan Palikur of Guiana—are hardly thinkable among the Šere'nte, who train their daughters to be submissive.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Work seems to have been rather equitably divided: formerly both spouses were occupied to an approximately equal extent, and nowadays both equally shun labor. At present it is difficult to form an accurate picture of a properly managed old-style household, which rested primarily on farming and hunting, secondarily on fishing and gathering. The Neobrazilians living around and within Šere'nte territory have eliminated the chase; the majority of the Indians no longer own any agricultural land and rather go hungry than subject themselves to the discomfort of a night on the bank of a river teeming with fish. Most Šere'nte at present find their "economic basis" as beggars, parasites, and thieves, parts played with equal skill by men and women. Their misery was made complete by a smallpox epidemic that happened to rage at the time of my last visit. Seven years before that conditions were still somewhat better, Porteira (where I then stayed) being almost economically independent.

Hunting devolved almost exclusively on men, or rather, on men's *societies*; but so far as no shooting was involved, especially in the digging out of armadilloes, women did their share, while big boys pursued guinea-pigs, little birds, etc. Fishing was more of a family affair, there being joint setting of traps and drugging. Men and big boys shot fish with bow and arrow or took them with a line, the only device—originally unknown to the Šere'nte—used by women and girls. Women almost to the exclusion of males gathered wild fruits.

An association as a body made a clearing for each individual member. Both sexes planted and weeded. If the weeding was too much for one family, the husband went hunting, had a meat-pie made from the kill, and served it to fellow-members who came to assist him. Harvesting was almost exclusively the women's task. (Compare p. 62 f.) Usually a man accompanies a bevy of women when they go to the farm to fetch fruits for daily use, but he himself rarely carries a load home. Manioc flour—formerly unknown—is at present prepared only by

women, who also bring water and firewood, though excessively heavy logs are reserved for the men.

Since boiling was formerly unknown, food was prepared on the embers on a spit, or in earth-ovens, always by women—one reason why hunting parties regularly included wantons. A Šere'nte nowadays usually explains a wish to get married by saying that he has no one to prepare his meals.

Hunting, fishing, and farming, then, were partly associational pursuits. This was always true when food had to be amassed for feasts; these, like the Timbira banquets, were wholly devoted to eating, there being no festive beverages. But *some* festival was almost always going on, so that only a part of his family's maintenance devolved on the individual. The incredible pauperization and deterioration of the contemporary Šere'nte is immediately due to the destruction of their ancient associational system, sapped by modern individualism.

If the men take no part in harvesting, this is not because they share the Timbira view that a carrying-basket is a distinctively feminine object. For on other occasions, such as moving to a hunting camp—always several miles away—they helped transport the baggage in baskets and also carried children, though never in a sling.

Speaking of the tame Šava'nte of Carretão, Pohl reports:

Now the Indian, a gun on his shoulder, hurries toward a definite bit of work [in the plantation], sometimes accompanied by his wife so that she can carry his implements in wide baskets, supported by a broad forehead band. It is amazing what loads these women are able to carry in this way. They are the only ones to whom this task is allotted, for no man will condescend to transport a load. In addition these poor creatures are often encumbered with a child or two clasping the mother's body with their feet and supported by her hands.⁷

In contradiction the Šere'nte assured me that even in the old days men would occasionally lend a hand on the march in carrying the baggage.

At a camp site the men would indicate the arc for the lodges, whereupon each wife cleared the ground of the spot appropriate to her husband's moiety, clan, and family, and then erected the hut. Martius notes large round huts of beams and laths and so thickly covered with palm leaves as to shut out even the tropical rain.⁸ Whether the far firmer and more durable huts of the permanent settlements were also put up by the

⁷ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 32.

⁸ Martius, *Beiträge*, p. 272.

women, I do not know, but am inclined to doubt it. The present dwellings of Neobrazilian form are certainly put up by the men.

Minor domestic duties were about evenly divided between the spouses, with possibly a slight excess for the husband. His weapons, requiring frequent repairs and renewal, gave him plenty to do, and only he made ceremonial objects. It by no means holds true that each sex manufactures articles for its own use. Thus, both practice basketry, but I have repeatedly seen men plaiting baskets for their wives, though never the reverse. A man always plaits the carrying-band for children, which is used only by women, while no woman is able to plait masculine shoulder-bags with lids. If an old woman is seen running about with such a bag, she has obtained it as a gift from some relative. On the other hand, the oval basketry bowls (sbo; plate I, A), which also play a part in ceremonial, are invariably made by the women. All decoration, including what little the women wear, is made by men; likewise all musical instruments, including the dance rattle, which women employ much more than men. All the gourd bottles and bowls in my collection were made by the women, all the lidded gourds for the storage of trifles by the men. Both sexes are equally adept at plaiting sandals. The women spin cotton, and at least nowadays the men get women to supply them with string. Each sex decorates its own members with body paint.

Men own the houses and farms. Apart from this each individual owns what he or she has produced for personal use, received as a gift, or purchased from others. This holds for children from approximately four years on.

The organization of the tribe into associations, four masculine and one feminine, hardly ever permits joint social appearance of husband and wife. On the other hand, it is characteristic of the Šere'nte that in a number of cases a wife shares her husband's dignity and privileges. Thus, two elderly wives of leaders in the men's societies head the feminine association, and at the Wakedi' festival the wives of the pēkwa' appear painted like their husbands and equipped with rattle-girdles. Further, the aikmā festival is in honor not only of the deceased village chiefs, associational leaders, pēkwa', and kritāekwa', but also of their wives.

DIVORCE AND ADULTERY

The dissolution of wedlock is not a simple or trifling matter. It evokes a great row, being always more or less violent. The eternally recurring cause, at least nowadays, is adultery. Sometimes a jealous

outburst precipitates divorce even before an actual transgression, but invariably some third person is at the bottom of the trouble.

According to Šere'nte standards, a wife ought to shut an eye as to her husband's adultery, and should not run away simply because of his amour with some wanton. She is warranted in dissolving the marriage only if he continuously and seriously neglects or even maltreats her because of his mistress and if there is no prospect of an end to the affair. Formerly in divorce the maternal uncle led his niece back into her father's house. A divorcée of this type was allowed to remarry, though not with a warã youth. The procedure with men who made a sport of marrying and jilting girls has already been illustrated (p. 15).

Šere'nte women are not able to behave calmly in the face of a husband's infidelity: they invariably fall foul of him or their rival, or both. In Providencia a woman about twenty years of age unexpectedly seized her faithless spouse by his testicles and maltreated him in so barbarous a fashion that the tears came gushing out of his eyes. Another, somewhat older woman lay in ambush at the water hole and beat up her rival until others arrived on the scene. Neutral spectators always greatly relish such spectacles. For hours after the fight they surrounded the field of battle and cracked silly jokes about the traces left by combatants.

Adultery on the woman's side always has a triple result: she gets a trouncing, is cast out, and loses her children. This still holds true. Urbino Vianna is unquestionably in error when he thus characterizes Šere'nte family morals:

O marido "fecha os olhos" quando as infidelidades da mulher lhe rendem qualquer coisa, e-castiga-a "por ciumes," si os favores amorosas que ella dispensa são gratuitos, ou sómente ella é que é aquinhoadá. (The husband "shuts his eyes" if the wife's infidelity is profitable and punishes her "from jealousy" if her proofs of love are gratuitous or she alone is the recipient.)⁹

From my knowledge of the Šere'nte, I do not credit them with an adaptability in such glaring contradiction to all the concrete cases cited.

Formerly the affronted husband also invariably held the adulterer responsible; a thing that happens only occasionally nowadays. He would challenge his opponent to a duel in front of his door, the weapons being clubs or two-pointed throwing sticks. In Porteira such a combat

⁹ Vianna, *Akuén ou Xerente*, p. 41.

with clubs took place only a few years ago, terminating in a general brawl with consequences that still persist. No chief, leader of a society, or pēkwa' plays the part of a peace-maker in such a case, for it is considered the victim's privilege to fight for his honor. Only after the close of the fighting the pēkwa' take pains to prevent a repetition. In these duels, firearms or iron weapons are strictly tabooed.

A woman ravished where it was impossible to save herself by crying for help reported the occurrence to her husband *entre deux*. He would choose two or three of her kinsmen as companions, lie in ambush for the miscreant's wife where she went for water, and rape her in turn; his companions doing likewise. If the evil-doer quietly submitted to this revenge, the case was held settled. But sometimes he in turn would challenge the avenger to a club duel, with consequences as described above. During my stay in Providencia there was one case of rape. The offended husband exhibited ostensibly such indifference that I am convinced he will sooner or later take vengeance.

If the adulterer belongs to the same society as the husband, the latter gives up his membership and enters the next organization in the sequence krara'-krieri'ekmū-ake'mhā-annōrowa'-krara'.

In former times an adulteress was bound to become a wanton. Some night her maternal uncle would take her to the place of assembly of some men's society—not her father's—thus introducing her to that status. At present she usually marries her lover.

CHILDREN

The Šere'nte seem to attach less weight to having offspring than the Timbira; at all events barrenness is not a cause for divorce. The husband would attempt to dispel it by donning a prepuce ring of the finest macahuba bast in place of the ordinary one from the bark of a creeper. A permanently sterile woman drinks an infusion of the root of the sape' grass after it has been exposed to a night's dew.

In order to prevent conception and menstruation the women drink either an infusion of cedar bark or the fine dust formed by grinding a tool. Unmarried women practice abortion by resting their entire weight prone on a tree stump. Such wantons, as well as mothers of misshapen infants, sometimes kill the newborn child, burying it alive immediately after the delivery in a pit which may have been previously prepared. Such behavior of wantons was considered reprehensible (see p. 86).

Twins are raised, but their birth augurs the death of both parents in the near future.

BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, AND YOUTH

PREGNANCY

As soon as pregnancy is marked, both parents are subject to certain rules. These are exclusively meant to safeguard the foetus against evil influences affecting its body and a smooth delivery as a result of the parents consuming certain animals or coming into contact with them. They must abstain from peixe sabão and piau fish, whose remarkable retrograde movements might communicate themselves to the child, obstructing the delivery. For the same reason they avoid eating tatú de rabo molle (*Lysiurus unicinctus* L.), which is very difficult to dislodge from its burrow. Surubim (*Platystoma tigrinus*) is taboo lest the child have a spotted skin. The only fish of the order of *Acanthuridæ* permitted to the parents is the barbado. Piranhas (*Serrasalmo paraya*) are forbidden because their shadow would bite the child after birth, causing it to cry incessantly. Steppe foxes, wild-cats, and jaguars are also taboo. When hunting, the father should avoid looking at a coandú (*Cercolabes* sp.), a guariba (*Mycetes seniculus* L.), or a sucurijú (*Eunectes murinus*) lest the child acquire their nasty traits.

Pregnant wantons indicate the particular sex partner whom they regard as the procreator during the period of conception so that he may share their dietary restrictions. This determination is very uncertain since they have no idea of the actual length of conception; however, the man designated unresistingly submits to the rules.

Towards the close of pregnancy a woman hardly undertakes any work, spending most of her time in the house, seated on paty palm leaves; however, she goes out to take a bath.

DELIVERY

A woman is delivered at home in the partitioned space now found in every hut. She is assisted by her mother, grandmother, or mother-in-law. I have never been able to attend a delivery at close range, for it is improper for a man to attempt this. However, in 1930 I was told that the husband is present. According to this account the woman is delivered in squatting posture, resting on a paty palm leaf mat specially plaited for her and with other mats spread over it. She clings to the

knees of her husband, who stands before her facing the door, while the midwife clasps her from the rear. If her husband is away, she clings to a post (dokrētō), 1 m high, that is specially driven into the ground for her, or to the loop of a rope hanging down from a cross-beam of the hut. In case of difficulty the woman drinks water mixed with the grated leaves of a steppe bush called sambahybinha, and her body is rubbed with the mixture.

The navel cord is ligated with a cotton string and cut through with a remarkably long and thin cambayuva reed sliver. The afterbirth (aiktenimpkra') is buried outdoors by a corner of the house. Still-born infants or those who die immediately after delivery are buried without ado behind the house. The soiled mats are stuck into the fork of a steppe tree standing east of the village, where they will be consumed by the next grass fire.

As soon as the lying-in woman has changed her resting-place, she turns on her side and her husband sits down on her hips in order to squeeze her pelvic bones back into position.

Immediately after delivery the parents partake of nothing but white manioc flat-cakes and the milky juice of the babassú palm kernels. The father must not touch an ax before the third day. After that he may add fermented manioc paste (puba) to his bill of fare, the mother only piabanha fish to hers. This remains their sustenance until the navel cord drops off, prior to which event the mother is never seen outside the partitioned space, the father rarely.

Subsequently the father may partake of yams (*Dioscorea* sp.), and the parents are now at liberty to eat camp deer (*Cervus campestris*), tatu'-ete' (*Tatusia novemcincta* L.), sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*) and gourds. But the taboo against pork, catingueiro (*Cervis simplicicornus*), tatu' peba (*Dasyopus sexcinctus*), pava (*Coelogenys paca* L.), agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti* L.), and sweet potatoes continues for a while.

This mystic bond between the bodies of parent and child is not abolished with the post-natal diet, for married Indians of both sexes refrain from sexual intercourse if their parents are seriously ill, since they are convinced of its unfavorable effect on the patients.

The navel cord that has dropped is carefully kept by the mother. When the child is four or five years of age, she directs it to put the little package containing the cord into a hole in some termite heap on the steppe.

BABIES

Unless a new birth has occurred, an infant continues to be nursed until some time during its second year. At this age he is painted sparingly; for decoration he generally wears cords only round the ankles, rarely knee or wrist cords; occasionally there is a necklace from which dangles some root or bark as an amulet against disease. While only a few months old the child is not carried about outside the village; if the mother is obliged to go out, she turns the nursling over to her grandmother or mother-in-law. Unlike the Timbira, however, the Šere'nte do not assign part of the tending to certain definite relatives, but leave the upbringing of a child essentially to the parents only.

During the daytime a nursling rests in one of those large oval basketry bowls used for many purposes (plate I, A). As soon as it is able to support itself in some measure, the mother or elder sister carries it in a broad sling (asasi') plaited in band form out of burity bast and extending over the bearer's right shoulder. The baby straddles her left hip and is clasped by her left arm. At this stage it is taken along when the woman fetches water or goes to work on the plantation, where she sets it in the sbo, which is covered with little palm fronds as a protection against insects, with the carrying-sling suspended beside it. Straddling its mother's hip, it accompanies her to the women's place of assembly and passes through the village with the dancers. As soon as it is able to sit properly and maintain its position, the mother no longer puts the sling round her shoulder, but across the front of her head so that the child is carried on her back, clasping her neck with both arms (plate I, B). This method is superior in freeing both of the mother's hands.

At this age children are never beaten. If they should cry for no ascertainable reason, the mother tries to amuse them with a rattle of deer hoofs suspended from a short handle or to quiet them by monotonous but rhythmic songs without words. In other cases they are simply allowed to go on crying till they stop. A father will often take his little child on his arm, play, laugh and dance with it, but he makes no attempt to tend it, at most calling the mother's or sister's attention to some essential want. For one little boy, his father made a tiny shoulder pouch that gave him a very droll appearance, which to his parents' gratification aroused general merriment.

Whenever a woman takes her suckling on a visit, her hostesses,



A

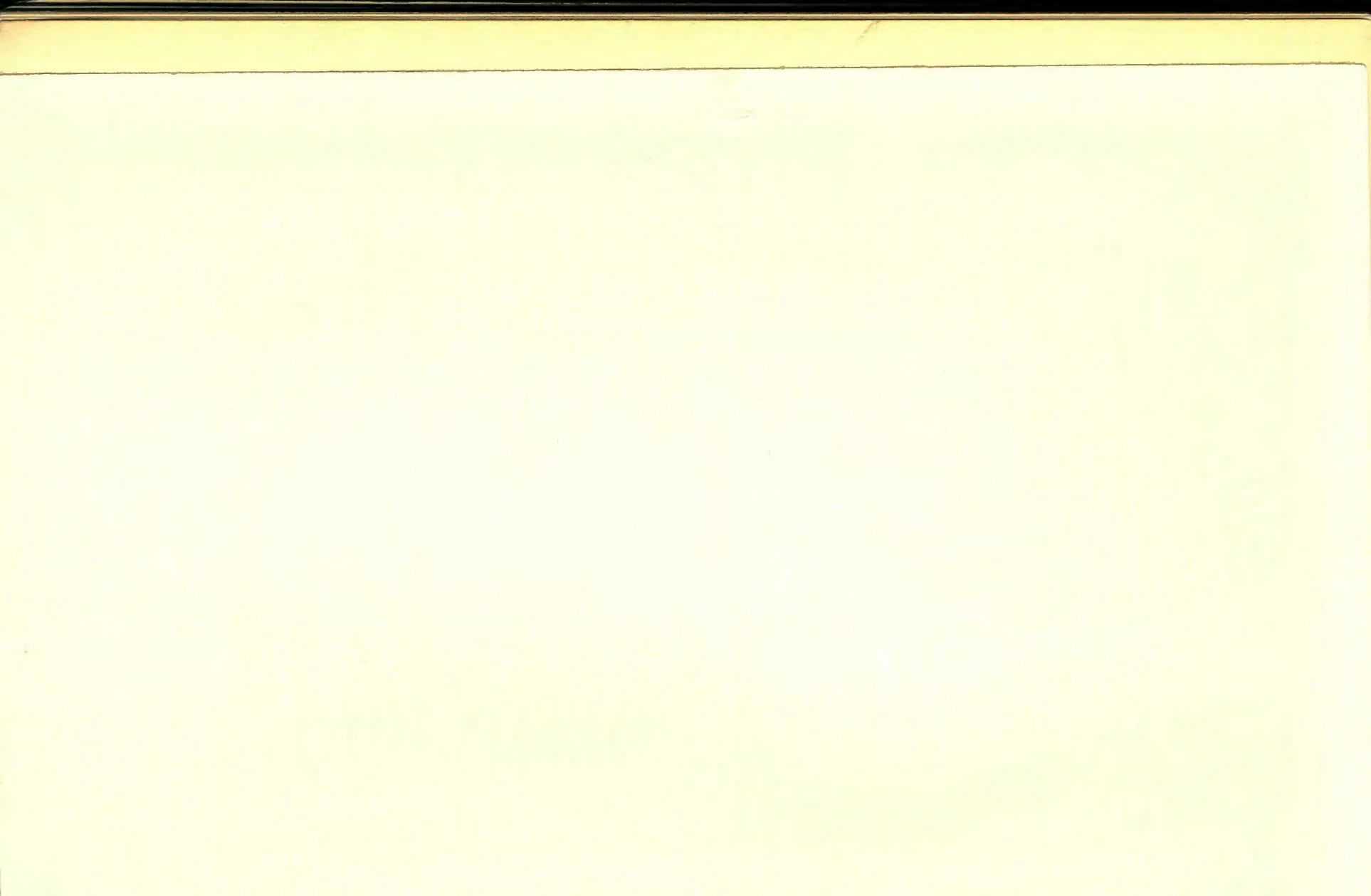


B

BASKET AND CARRYING SLING

A, Basketry bowl (sbo: about 45 cm diameter).

B, Little boy in sling on mother's back.



women and girls, invariably pet it, often begging the mother to leave the child with them for several hours.

About in their third year the children of both sexes receive a coronal tonsure, usually about 4 cm in diameter; at present it is rare. Pohl thus comments:

. . . at the crown of the head there is a shorn disc comparable to a tonsure; it is proper to both sexes, and the bald pate is painted red with *urnea* [sic; read "urucu"], *Bixa brasiliensis*, or Orlean. When the hair grows again to the height of an inch, it then forms a big knob at the top.¹⁰

PLAY

About this time the boys begin to withdraw from unconstrained relations with the girls. Soon a father gives his son his first toy weapons: a small bow with a bast string and arrows from the ribs of *anaja'* palm leaves. As yet completely under their mothers' guidance, the boys, when playing, now accompany bigger boys to the plaza. Or they join age-mates, building toy houses with bits of wood or cattle corrals with sticks in imitation of Neobrazilian fences, the enclosures being filled with palm-nuts which their fancy transforms into bellowing cattle. Other toys sometimes seen in the hands of such small boys include the buzzing boards (*dawazdi'*); buzzing disks (*wato'*); whirring bows (*kbu*); *Lagenaria* humming-tops (*kukre-hlj*), which are set in motion by a cord wrapped round the handle and passed through the perforation of a little board; small tucum-nut tops (*kmō-ti*) made to dance by a twirling movement between the palms; grass playthings; and toy guns of bamboo cane bearing in a cleft of the upper side a curved bamboo spring, the snapping end hurling maize kernels out from the cane. Moreover, one occasionally sees miniature tamandua' masks, as well as all sorts of animal figurines in wax and wood.

At the age of five or six a boy begins to take part in the activities of the boys' organization, which prepares him for membership in a men's society. The boys have no assembly place of their own, but gather in that of the *annōrowa'*, where they also receive a share of the kill. The elders select one young *annōrowa'* to be leader of the boys and a young *krara'* to act as attendant. The latter's badges are *sariema* feathers worn in the back hanging from the necklace and a vertical stripe of stuck-on falcon down on each thigh. Several hundred meters

¹⁰ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 166.

outside the village the attendant makes two little racing-logs for them, and the leader divides them provisionally into two teams, thereby enabling them to hold log-races like the adults. Jointly they go with their leader to the plantations in order to beg food; this is already prepared for them, since before dawn the leader has notified the boys' families of their arrival. Likewise they go singing from house to house to collect manioc flat-cakes for themselves. They even imitate the men's societies in conferring a girl's name, but dispose of only a single one—Tkazipti (= uiraponga, bell-bird)—instead of a whole series.

Towards evening the boys play together in the plaza. Wrestling matches, which always attract an interested circle of adult spectators, are very popular. The challenger stamps his feet, shouts, and beats his chest with his fists. The wrestlers take hold of each other, one with an upper, the other with a lower hold, each trying to throw the other by the sole strength of his arms and shoulders, as well as by his weight. Whoever touches the ground with his shoulders, loses; however, neither is the victor applauded nor the loser censured.

The boys are also fond of social games, e.g.:

(1) *Gourd theft*. Several small lads squat on the ground at the edge of the plaza, representing gourds. Two larger ones, sitting at some distance, are the owners of the plantation. Two others, leaning on sticks to impersonate old men, ask the owners for gourds, but are rebuffed. Nevertheless they go to the "gourds," test their ripeness by tapping the boys' pates, put them into an old carrying-basket, and drag them away. The owners detect the theft, go after the thieves, and demand restitution. The thieves refuse and a fight ensues. In an unguarded moment, while one owner is struggling with the two thieves, the other runs to the purloined gourds, packs them up, and carries them off. There follows another attempt at theft on the old men's part, and this continues till every one is tired.

(2) *Hunter and quarry*. Imitation of animals is so popular that at any time of day, even if there are no lads to take the part of hunters, boys can be seen running around on all-fours mimicking game animals. Even a single boy who happens to be unaccompanied by a playmate will occasionally run around on all-fours imitating some beast in utter seriousness. The "hunters" follow the tracks of the "game," shoot at it, kill it with a club, take it on their backs, cut off its genitals, drag it home, flay it, etc.

(3) *Clucking hen and falcon*. This game, now very popular, was

learnt from Neobrazilians. One of the larger boys represents the hen, the other the falcon. The rest, as chicks, stand in a line behind the hen, each putting his hands on the shoulders of the one ahead. The falcon tries to catch the last chick, but the hen turns the line so as to make an approach to the rear difficult. The captives are led aside, the game continuing until all are caught.

ASSOCIATIONS AND TEAMS

When a boy is about eight years old, he is assigned to one of the four men's societies and to one of the two athletic teams. However, it takes about six years before he is reckoned a full-fledged member of either. In this transitional period, names are conferred on him and somewhat later his ear-lobes are pierced.

(1) *Sport teams*. Men and women are permanently grouped in two teams, *htj'mnā* and *siteromkwa'*, which differ in their paint. The assignment of a boy to one team or the other is due to his father or to his own request. After once joining, he cannot change his affiliation under any circumstances. A boy is assigned without much ceremony by decorating him with the appropriate paint.

(2) *Men's societies* likewise are not entered by a fixed rule, the father deciding his son's membership at will; sometimes with consideration of the boy's own preference or the wishes of the elders, who try to prevent radical numerical differences in the membership of the several societies. Generally a boy is kept from joining his father's organization. Bruē told me that one day he had received a haircut, whereupon the clipped hair was gathered in a gourd bowl to be thrown into the creek. Next his father decorated him with the paint of the *krara'*, put *scleria* chains and *arara* tail feathers into his hands, and led him to the assembly place of the *krara'* while they were celebrating a double transfer of girls' names. There Bruē, himself a *šiptato'*, handed the decorative outfit to the maternal uncle of the *sdakrā* girl, receiving food as his fee, like any member who brings decorations. In short, Bruē was not initiated by any specific solemnity: he was merely introduced to the association in the appropriate paint on some festive occasion quite unrelated to his entrance, and gained affiliation by being allowed to act like any other member.

TRANSFER OF MASCULINE NAMES

In contrast to the feminine names, those of males are connected with the moieties, not the societies. Today a span of several years

divides successive performances, possibly because otherwise, with the decrease in population, the number of name-receivers would be too small. The name is not conferred on the son, but by the skipping of one generation, on a patrilineal grandson or great-nephew.

There are four series of masculine names: those of the šiptato' moiety proper, of its prase' annex, of the sdakrā, and of its krozake' annex. The following incomplete list merely exemplifies by the commonest names of each series:

A. Šiptato'

Sliemtōi: slie, long lidded gourd for arara tail feathers
 Wakmōpte': wakmō, backbone; ptedi, yellow
 Kumnāse: kumnā ?; se, to pain
 Simnakru': simnā, shoot; kru, leaf
 Dawarkrēkwa: arrow-shooter (?)
 Šeřarā: zehe', to cut; rā, anew
 Sinaŋ': tet-sinaŋ', he falls

B. Sdakrā

Azjwē: beautiful giant snake
 Sikmōwē: siku', falcon; wē, beautiful
 Sliemse': slie, lidded gourd
 Dbantwari': dba, wanton; wa, to beg (asking a wanton for something)
 Makrāwēkō: makrā, nightfall; mēkō, bad
 Sitmōru': da-ni-to, thumb; ru'iti, crooked

C. Prase'

Dakawaslikwa': dakawasie, accompanied by many
 Dakbęžlkwa': ze, to cut off
 Sidakrā: krā, to burn up
 Wahinne': a falcon
 Semlinthu': ?

D. Krozake'

Wazase': romzaze', angle, corner
 Komumse': i-kmū, deer's antlers
 Datopskukwa': aitopsoku', open the eyes (imperative)
 Saurepte': zaure', large
 Warō: do-rō-ze', prepuce ring

Waikazate': amkezate', giant snake
 Suzaure': su, hair; zaure', long
 Slienūkmū: slie, long lidded gourd
 Suate': yapu' (*Cassicus* sp.)

On special request a name may be conferred on the member of a division that cannot legitimately claim it. However, this is excluded for the šiptato' name Sliemtōi (-zaure'), which is reserved for kuze' clansmen. It ranks as the "greatest" of names, having according to the Šere'nte belonged to the Imperador Don Pedro II, who reigned from 1831-1889 and still lives in their memory as the incarnation of benevolence and wisdom.

For the name Prordo', transferred at the tamandua' masquerade, and the women's society's provisional conferment of the name Wakedi' on two boys, see pages 70 and 65.

On May 10, 1937 I attended a name-giving festival in Providencia. Toward noon the men of the village, irrespective of associational ties, assembled in the woods along a little creek beyond the village, where a space had been cleared. They put on black paint; also thick necklaces of pindahyba bast with huge tassels hanging down the front of the body; further, similar girdle cords, and necklaces with falcon nape feathers. In their hands they carried ordinary staff-clubs with reversely curved butt ends (kwjro'). Each moiety had a crier, whose face was painted red and whose grass forehead band had three arara tail feathers hanging down obliquely in the rear. In their hands they were carrying bows and arrows. The šiptato' crier bore the title dazalienkwa'; his sdakrā mate was called dakmahljka'.

In advance an attendant brought the assembled men's clothing, girdles, bush knives, pouches, etc. to the aldea, while the men, striking the ground with their clubs, were dancing. An old man in their midst bewailed his dead grandson who had not lived to witness the festival. Toward 3:15 P.M. the company marched toward the plaza, where they separated by moieties; then with clasped clubs, ran about mingling with one another for a while, and finally assumed positions in two semi-circles—not, as might be supposed in the usual north and south moiety alignment, but on the east (sdakrā) and west (šiptato'). Behind each moiety stood a group of old women ready to join in the shouting; a courtesy for which they afterward received food. In front of each moiety stood its crier. The sdakrā crier called out a name of his moiety,

which the old women behind repeated. His vis-à-vis cried "hehe'!" by way of ratification, and the old women on that side at once joined in the chorus. Now the father or paternal uncle of the boy, who was to receive the name called, led him by the hand in front of the crier, remained standing for a moment, and stepped back again into the circle; whereupon instantly a new name was called. When the *sdakrā* and *krozake'* were finished with their names, the *dazalienkwa'* began similarly to herald first the *šiptato'*, then the *prase'* names. The new bearer of the name *Tikwa'* on this occasion appeared with pretty little ceremonial lances, for this is the only masculine name connected with a distinctive ceremonial implement. When all the boys had received their names, the assembly dispersed. The neck and girdle cords were collected and thrown into the creek near the village.

Formerly the actual name transfer was succeeded by a three days' solemnity, of which I secured the following account:

For three nights the boys had to sleep outdoors on paty palm leaves, without fire. Before daybreak they bathed in the creek. A number of adults took them on a hunting trip. The kill was cut up and the slices tied to sticks, with which the boys ran to the plaza, where they piled up all the food on leaves on the ground. Two official distributors in their proper decorative outfit divided everything up among the boys' paternal homes, but the boys themselves had to abstain from any form of meat. On the third day manioc paste was brought to the hunting-camp for use in the preparation of meat-pies. Then the boys tied the bones to their sticks and ran to the village with them. The adults returned racing with logs.

The explanations obtained from the directors of the name festival of 1937 were contradictory, whence I infer that the ritual as then performed was not in all details correct. The account of the three days' terminal solemnity rather suggests an abbreviated puberty initiation. Possibly it is the memory of a former general boys' initiation.

PERFORATION OF EARS

Not until several years after the name-giving were the boy's earlobes perforated for the insertion of little sticks as thick as a match, subsequently replaced by others 3 mm in thickness. Professional operators (*danpokršaptukwa'*) pierce the lobes with a thick pin of Brazil wood. Their emblem is a dorsal pendant consisting of a jaguar's canine tooth and the feathers of a pampa ostrich. Sometimes, for luck on the

hunt, small balls of almecega rosin were pasted on the front ends of the ear rods.

INITIATION

Within Šere'nte memory a true initiation was confined to the ake'mhā youths, who were about fourteen years of age. It took place at intervals of about five years. The ceremony began about the end of May, toward the close of the rainy season. Since ten years have already elapsed since the last performance, the Šere'nte seem to have definitely abandoned this observance, so that I am dependent on hearsay.

At least the last initiation was decided upon by two rowobasmanikwa', leaders of the annōrowa' association who had previously conducted the ceremony. They first consulted their own elders, then those of neighboring villages. When an agreement had been reached, the families concerned assembled in the village chosen.

The two rowobasmanikwa' first choose from among the krara'(or the annōrowa') youths, two to serve as the ake'mhā youths' leaders during the ceremony. At night while the village is asleep they make these two stand each on his appropriate side of the plaza. Blowing their double whistles (zdupuzę'), they singly conduct the ake'mhā candidates to the two leaders; the šiptato' to the leader of the sdakrā, and vice versa. When all are assembled, they hang the double whistles round the leaders' necks and immediately conduct the entire troop, now called hieromkwa', to a distant spot in the steppe far from all regular routes, usually to a point of land between two confluent creeks. There no one must approach them, and up to three years they remain secluded from all contact with their tribesmen, except that two boys (kwatrbre') serve as intermediaries, being attendants and messengers of the hieromkwa', hence absolved from the rule. These wear a green forehead band of burity leaflets and a necklace with two capybara incisors cemented together, such as are otherwise worn by girls and virgins.

At their campsite the hieromkwa' first erect a large sunshade, i.e., a horizontal grate of poles resting on posts covered with palm leaves. During the dry summer they dwell under this roof, and at the beginning of the rainy season they put up a substantial round hut. There they sleep on mats, segregated by moieties. If the creek by which they camp is too small for all to bathe together, they construct a dam to increase the water supply, since bathing, for which the leaders signal with

the double whistle, plays a great part among them. This instrument from time to time rouses them at night, for hieromkwa' must sleep as little as possible. Further, under no circumstances may they quarrel, and on pain of expulsion they may neither sing, laugh, nor speak aloud.

Their decoration, as prior to seclusion, is still a girdle of the thickness of a lead-pencil, out of twisted pindahyba bast; its ends, terminating in brush-like tassels, are laid over each other and covered with white cotton wrapping also ending in little red pendent tassels. The necklace has at the nape of the neck two downy feathers of the sariema (*Cariama cristata*), which are tied one over the other. The ear rods are frequently renewed. Every day the hieromkwa' are painted anew with black rubber pigment in horizontal stripes and with red urucu. There are no special food taboos, except that, as before seclusion, they must not eat any liver or any young animals. In groups of four or five they hunt in the vicinity for their own needs, but in addition the two errand boys regularly bring them food from the village. The parents of hieromkwa' from other villages, however, only occasionally furnish their sons with victuals.

Instruction during this segregation relates exclusively to ceremonial, not to ethics.

Approximately in the last May of the triennium the old rowobasmanikwa' summon those families from other villages who have shared in the initiation. These gather in the settlement that started the festival, and a big new warā, bachelors' house, is erected. As soon as this is completed the hieromkwa' are notified and occupy it during the night amidst general blowing of trumpets by youths from other associations who are already connected with the warā. The two rowobasmanikwa' thereupon bring them the clubs already finished by the novices' fathers.

In the same night, accompanied by two girls, they begin to sing and march from house to house in order to bestow on the girls the name Krikridi' (krikribi', cricket). The following night they give two other maidens the name Wasidi', the third night to still another pair the name Brupahi'. At this last bestowal of names, however, two painted virgins (hēsminikwa), one from each moiety, interrupt the paraders as they are still singing and marching around with the little girls. The hieromkwa' at once desert the little girls and depart for the warā, while roundabout the villagers imitate all possible animal calls.

The next morning all those present, including the two feather-

adorned hēsminikwa', march about 3 km beyond the village. Thence the two race back to the village and to the warā, the winner tearing off several green leaves from the wall, with which she immediately dashes off to the creek to bathe. Thereafter only the victor retains the title hēsminikwa' for the rest of her life. On the same day there then follows the appointment of the two pēkwa' and on the next day the kwiude'-uda' log-race (p. 72), which closes the entire initiation festival.

THE ŠIPSA'

Now the paternal uncles of the hieromkwa' give them new girdles (dakusirtuze'), similar in material and mode of manufacture to those used hitherto, but much thicker (about 3 cm). The youths also get a necklace with a falcon nape feather. Henceforth they are no longer hieromkwa', but šipsa'; and the thin girdles and sariema feather necklaces worn until then are thrown into the creek.

The uncles of youths belonging to other associations, hence not subject to any initiation, give the boys their šipsa' girdles and nape feathers in the warā as soon as they are of the proper age. This happens at any one of the numerous feminine name festivals and has no connection with the ake'mhā initiation.

Among the unconfined Šava'nte Pohl saw both the girdle and the nape feather:

On the neck they wore a white cord with two knots, with a bird feather hanging down from the one in the back. . . . Further, I saw one Indian with a palm rope an inch thick tied round the body together with a thin cord with terminal tufts dyed red.¹¹

The third šipsa' emblem, the hair sheath, will be discussed presently.

Prior to the šipsa' status a boy was free to live in the warā or merely to stay there now and then. Henceforth he must reside there permanently, not only in the fixed village, but also in a hunters' camp, where the two attendants immediately set up a temporary bachelors' hut. This was a dome-shaped structure about 10 m in diameter and 3.5 m in height. The center post terminated in a fork. Peripherally planted poles were bent together toward the center, united and lashed together at the fork, and further connected by three or four horizontal rings of thinner poles. The warā stood in the center of the village, its one door facing west, toward the big opening of the horseshoe (fig. 1).

¹¹ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 166 f.

If the village was too small to accommodate the warā and the five associational meeting-places within the arc of houses, both might be located outside the western opening.

Within the warā, the šipsa' of the four organizations (see pp. 59–60), each again divided by moieties, had their definite places as indicated in the accompanying diagram (fig. 2). The lads went to the meeting-place of their associations only when called by the leaders; otherwise they shared in the social life of the village precisely as before

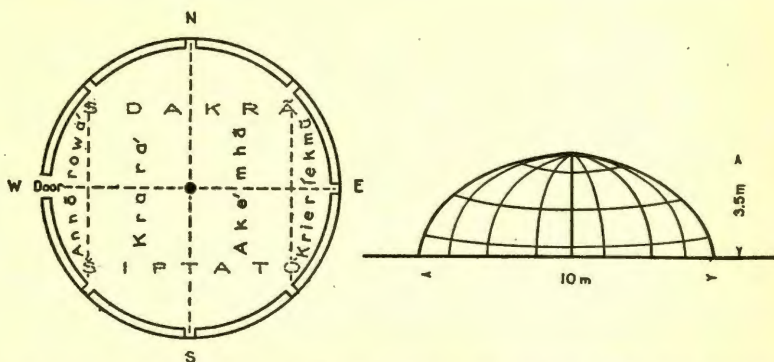


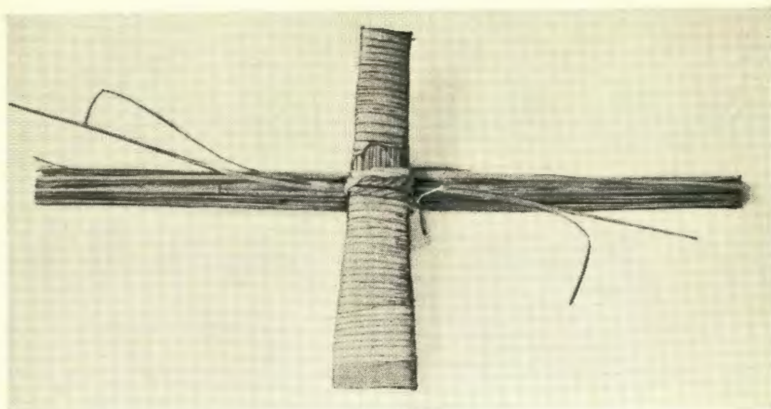
FIG. 2. Diagram of the bachelors' hut, showing the position of the four societies, divided by moiety: šiptato' and sdakrā.

the šipsa' stage. Their mothers or, in their absence, their sisters brought the lads food to the warā. Wantons, however, were forbidden to come near, since sexual purity was essential to the šipsa'.

As a general rule the youths remained šipsa' till marriage. Any one who had premarital relations with a wanton was at once expelled. The reluctance of bachelors to leave their hut has been noted. The šipsa' were the object of general attention and the pride of the village.

This period lasted about three or four years, during which a youth successively passed through the other five of the six bachelor age-grades. These were distinguished by the material and length of wing of their hair sheaths, as well as by their paint, which further differed within each grade according to sport team membership. Otherwise the grades seem to have lacked special ceremonial or other functions.

The sheath was a wrapper, about 10 cm in length, for the hair of the nape, and was especially constructed out of burity palm leaflets. Fastened to the lower surface of the sheath two wings formed of grass



A



B

INSIGNIA OF BACHELOR'S STATUS

A, Hair sheath of Sināikrā' age-grade.

B, Šipsa' girdle.

strips projected horizontally from the upper half of the device (plate II, A). The three lowest grades had green leaflets with short, medium, and long wings. The first characterized the boys (*kburōipo'*), more or less permanently in the *warā* even before being *šipsa'*—wearers of the thin girdle, who formed a preparatory class. The three upper grades used dry, bright yellow burity grass and were likewise distinguished by the length of the wings.

According to Pohl the hair sheath of the unconfined *Šava'nte* seems to have looked somewhat different:

The men wear the hair of the back turned up and wrapped with palm leaflets, or they insert this hair into a little oblong pouch made by interlacing green palm leaflets, this container being an inch long and two inches broad and resembling our old-fashioned hair bags. At the same time this little pouch serves for the storage of some trifles, e.g., the fire-making apparatus, the knife, etc.¹²

However, it is quite possible that the hair sheath made for me to illustrate the system did not conform to the original model, since for a long time the *Šere'nte* have not been wearing their hair long. Consequently recent *šipsa'*, not wishing to forgo this important emblem altogether, have had to wear empty sheaths at the nape of the neck, hanging from a forehead band.

Sipsa' Age-Classes (H = *htj'mhā*; S = *siteromkwa'*)

A. Hair sheath: green burity leaflets.

1. *kburōipo'*. Short wings. Painted design—H: stem with two symmetrically branching lines; S: vertical zigzag.

2. *panisekrdu'*. Medium size wings. Painted design—H: circle, stamped with the mouth of the trumpet; S: see Fig. 3, b. Like all the following grades, this has thick girdles, hence is a full-fledged *šipsa'* grade.

3. *sināikrā'*. Long-winged. Painted design—H: see Fig. 3, c; S: see Fig. 3, b, but with unbroken stripes.

B. Hair sheath: white burity leaflets.

4. *panisekari'ē*. Short-winged. Paint—H: solid downward pointing, two-tanged arrowhead shape; S: see Fig. 3, a.

5. *sinatka'*. Medium-long wings. Paint allegedly as in 4.

6. *kkonisduhi'*. Long wings. Paint—H: solid hourglass; S: with thin vertical strokes.

¹² Pohl, *Reise*, p. 166.

It proved difficult to determine these emblems, now completely out of use except when serving sheer decoration at will, as I was several times able to observe.

As the lads grew up, it was the *pēkwa'* who promoted them in small batches into the next higher class; this happened on the occasion of any log-race. Not until a youth entered the sixth class, when about twenty years old, was he allowed to marry.

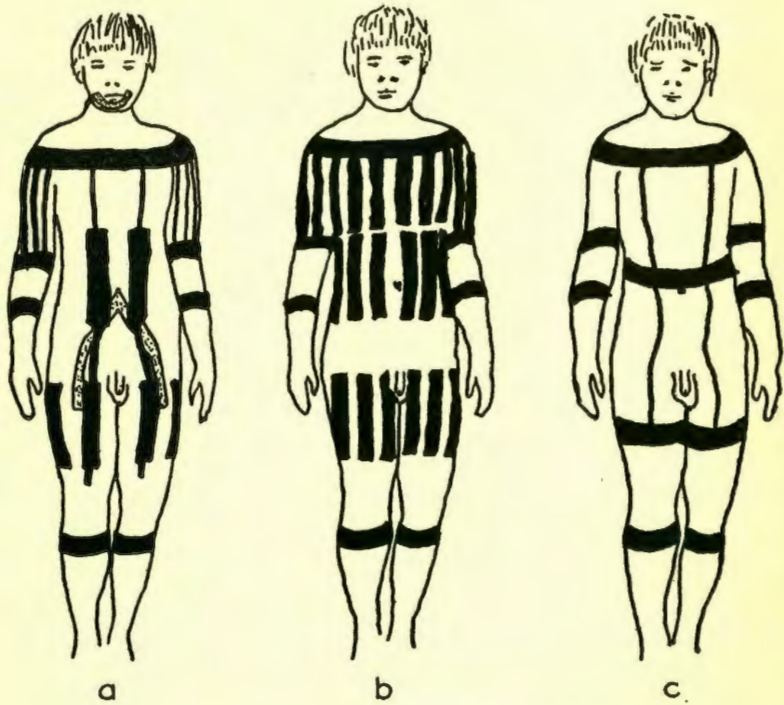


FIG. 3. Body paint decoration of the *šipsa'* age-classes. a, the *siteromkwa'* in the *panisekari'ē* class; b, the *siteromkwa'* in the *panisekrdu'* class; c, the *htj'mhā* in the *sināikrā'* class.

GIRLS' NAME-GIVING

Girls received names between their third and fifth year of age. Except for several special cases (the *Tkazi-pti'*, the *Hēsminikwa'*, the *Krikridi'*, *Wasidi'* and *Brupahi'*, and the *Wakedi'*), the names were conferred by the men's societies, each disposing of a distinctive set. The following list is not quite complete: italics indicate the appearance of *tamandua'* masks at the name-conveyance.

1. Ake'mhā society

Wasidi', star*Wakedi'*, sand-wasp*Asate'*, wasp that builds a nest of clay*Siltudi'*: siltu-ri'e, small black bird with lower part of back white*Kwapredi'*, "red teeth," synonym for agouti*Ktisi'*, grasshopper*Simenāitedi'*, xexe'u (lapwing)*Kakkmeku'*, pau doce (tree with yellow blossoms)*Hileki'*, species of marten?*Sibedi'*: sibe', arāra tail feather*Skrāzase'*, scorpion*Waiti'*: wa, parrot

2. Annōrowa'

Sikwatkadi': zemhukwata', ant living in bamboo*Pirkodi'*: piro', butterfly*Asakre'*, wasp (Braz. tatucáua)*Mortondi'*, wasp living among palm leaflets*Sipriki'*, bee (Braz. bejuhy)*Ktadi'*: krda, red arara*Tpedi'*, fish*Wareti'*: ware', burityrana palm*Waktidi'*: wakrdi', sariema*Popradi'*, stag's foot

3. Krara'

Mhondi': mhoni', bumble-bee*Wakondi'*, coati*Pizadi'*, pot*Kkodi'*, monkey*Keti'*: kee, honey*Pikumdi'*: piku' (xope', bee species)*Waikwadi'*, black piranha*Sibaka'*, heron*Kurkwanē*, rabbit*Krawadi'*, paca

4. Krieri'ekmū

Kuptādi': kupkranā, thin bamboo species

Kratdu', water-fowl
Kukedi': akka kuke', *Mutum pinima* (*Crax* sp.)
Smikidi', great owl
Sidi', bird
Smitkadi', ashes
Arbodi', bat
Zdupudi': zdupuzę', double whistle
Wikidi', partridge
Ktipredi', grasshopper with red wings
Abtudi': ad bu', big black bee
Tkadi': tka-ri'e = uirapo'nga, bell-bird

Girls' names are bestowed by some rule, the father's association being the decisive factor, but I failed to obtain details. Probably the *krara'* give their names to the daughters of *krierie'kmū*, etc., in the sequence valid for other purposes, viz., *krara'*—*krierie'kmū*—*ake'mhā*—*annōrowa'*—*krara'*, but in particular instances the *krara'* conferred names on the daughters of *annōrowa'*, and the *krierie'kmū* on those of the *krara'*. At all events it is never the society of the girl's father that confers the name on her.

As soon as a society notices two girls of opposite moieties and of proper age among those that concern them, they notify the girls' kinswomen of the prospective celebration. The next morning the name-givers, accompanied by women who as little girls had received *their* names from them, march from house to house, singing and dancing. Their songs and behavior refer to the animal or object after which the two girls are to be named. Sometimes a little girl is taken to this daily ceremony by her mother or the mother's sister.

When the *krierie'kmū* confer the name *Arbodi'* (bat), they hold thread-crosses, *arbo'-pahi'* (bats' wings), in their hands and imitate the twittering of this animal at the close of every song by inserting the forefinger into the mouth sidewise and rapidly shaking it. When the *annōrowa'* bestow the name *Popradi'* (po-pra, stag's foot), the members imitate stags' feet by holding both hands before their bodies with the forefingers and middle fingers clenched and extended downward. When at the start of the *kubuhukwa'* ceremony, the *krara'* confer the name *Waikwadi'* (*waikwa'*, piranha), they wear rod-combs whose ledges on one side end in a carved fish's head, on the other in a corresponding tail.

Then the following ceremony takes place in the houses of the girls' mothers. The mother's brother or her brothers (or parallel cousins) sit down on a mat, facing large gourd bowls filled with food prepared by the girl's mother. The name-conferrers step up to them and hand them scleria-seed (ake') chains and red arara tail feathers, receiving food as compensation. The šiptato' members of the society exchange food with the kin of the sdakrā girl (who, of course, are also šiptato') and vice versa.

The girls are decorated with three narrow stripes of cotton tufts glued on round the shoulders, waists, and thighs. Chains of black beads are hung around their necks; and for an occipital decoration, arara feathers are inserted into about nine little bamboo tubes which are spread fan-fashion and secured between two hoops. Nowadays the red arara is practically extinct in this area, so people often content themselves with a grass forehead band, inserting in the back what few feathers are available.

Singing, the paraders, with the girls thus decorated, once more march from house to house on the last day. Every stanza ends with shouting and the blowing of horns. During the singing the child, or the aunt carrying her, stands on a mat pushed under her feet at each stop by an old woman, who is afterwards compensated with food for her courtesy. Since as a rule the girls are too small to join correctly in the adults' dance movements, they are carried by a maternal aunt. The performance closes with a round dance by the men, who hold one another's hands.

According to my informants, the following procedure holds when the annōrowa' confer the name Waktidi' (wakrdi' = sariema), which is invariably given to only one girl, who must be a šiptato'. This is the only name bestowed on a single girl at a time.

A lofty pindahyba, forked at the top, is planted on a hill near the village during the night. In the fork a sort of nest is made, two small gourds representing eggs. In a hidden spot in the woods a simple masquerade outfit is prepared by tying many loosely pendent fringes of burity grass to a horizontal rope, which is then coiled up into a ring and tied together. Thus it is put on the mummer's crown so that the fringes drop on all sides, covering his figure almost down to the feet. This disguise is called nan; daily the annōrowa' meet by the nest, march to the village with the masquerader without any singing, and race back to the nest.

At the terminal celebration there is a specific decorative outfit: a forehead cord with long occipital tassel of fine burity bast (*wakti-zapre'*); a necklace with ribbon-like grass stripes, painted red and black, which hang down the chest; a girdle cord with long pendent tassel of burity grass in the back; a pair of tassels (*smizardi'*) of the same material suspended from the inside of the elbows; a thin little rod, 1 m in length, painted black and red, which is carried in the hand; and a little flat club (*sawa'*), painted red and decorated with rows of stuck-on tufts of cotton.

The masks at the name-giving festivals are not of burity silk like those of the true *padi'* masquerades, but are made without special care from green burity leaves. The *annōrowa'* manufacture them for the relevant name festivals of the *ake'mhā* and *krara'*; the *krara'*, for those of the *annōrowa'* and *krieri'ekmū*. In 1930 I saw a trio appear at a *Hilēki'* ceremony. Each holding a long pole in the right hand and a number of short wands in the left, they approached the dancing society from different directions; one of them entered the circle and silently joined in the dance. Then by waving their wands, the mummies begged for food, which the girls' kinswomen brought in large gourd bowls. After distributing it among themselves and the membership, they withdrew, and the ceremony was over. In 1937 a single mask of this type appeared at the *Popradi'* festival.

In the old days such name feasts followed one another almost uninterruptedly throughout the year. Today they are rarer, for the decrease of population and the loafing of the survivors outside the aldea have reduced the societies to hardly more than nominal existence; nevertheless these feasts remain the most frequent of ceremonial performances.

Prior to the name feast little girls bear no names, not even nicknames. They are simply called *bakrda'*, "girl."

GIRLS' PLAY AND WORK

Until her fifth or sixth year a girl may play at will. Usually her ideal is to have a "home of her own," which she puts up singly or often with several playmates in the bushes behind the house, where they mimic their mothers' domestic activities. Boys are no longer invited to this pastime. Dolls were formerly lacking; as among the *Apinaye'*, their substitutes were elongated fruits, e.g., gourds. On the other hand, the girls had little water bottles, gourd bowls, and fire fans.

Today the mothers make dolls after Neobrazilian models, from cloth remnants.

Up to this age there is little punishment; but a change occurs as soon as the mother begins to employ her daughter in the household, where she is made especially to tend younger siblings and the kitchen. Then the women frequently bawl at their daughters and beat them in a manner that would horrify any Timbira mother. I have also seen a father strike his daughter because she disobeyed her mother. Incidentally, similar treatment is meted out to boys of this age.

Of an evening I have seen girls about ten years old wrestle with each other in the plaza as eagerly as do the boys.

A girl is beside her mother not only at home and in the plantation, but also in the performances of the women's society, where in fact she has been taken as a nursling in the baby-sling, so that no formal admission of girls is required. With the approach of puberty, or even earlier, a girl is betrothed and thereafter never departs from her mother's side. Automatically her freedom at playing comes to a stop then.

MENSES

The first menses are not celebrated, but girls abstain from eating *Acanthuridæ* during the period and do not wet the top of the head when bathing. Every menstruating woman is regarded as impure. A man who touches one becomes a sleepyhead doomed to failure on the hunt. Consequently husband and wife sleep apart throughout the menstrual period. The wife must not plant anything nor cook for others. She should not scratch herself with her fingernails, for which purpose she formerly used a flat piece of wood carved into the shape of a fork, while today she will pick up any sliver of wood from the ground.

KINSHIP USAGES

A brother and sister avoid meeting alone outdoors, and if it should nevertheless happen, they walk past, giving each other a wide berth. As a rule a pronounced sense of solidarity unites siblings.

Before my eyes a twelve year old boy, whose sister had been bitten by a dog while loafing about in Piabanha, became so infuriated against the beast and its owner that the latter considered it best to indemnify the girl, because otherwise sooner or later the lad would doubtless have killed the dog.

The following occurrence on the Rio do Somno likewise sheds light on this relationship. A woman's favorite brother, who had always cared for her, died

from a snake bite. After the funeral she went to the water hole, where the deceased man's only half-completed shoulder bag, which he had been plaiting for himself before his accident, was still hanging from a branch. This recollection caused her to pick up a heavy cudgel and kill herself by a vehement blow in the back of the neck, an odd form of suicide, which, however, occurs also among other tribes.

The sense of solidarity includes parents and grandparents. Even in the present degenerate period I believe there is no family in which the aged suffer more than those capable of productive work; never have I seen them treated with negligence or harshness. An old blind woman in Providencia attended all the ceremonies, her elderly daughter patiently leading her around everywhere and getting her a spot to sit on. The men, too, would consult her in ceremonial affairs and ask her to join their circle for singing because they knew that she liked to do so.

Pohl thus describes the treatment of the aged among the unconfined Šava'nte:

Toward old persons of their tribe the Chavante express the greatest, most sincere reverence. They treat them with the utmost consideration, attention, and care, and tend them as considerately as possible. When such aged persons fall sick, their juniors carry them into the sunshine, later back into the shade, etc. In short they receive the most affectionate care.¹⁸

As soon as a woman ceases to menstruate, she is called *pikōisiwawē*, "old woman," but like membership in the women's society this status is not marked by any ceremonial.

As repeatedly indicated, uncles play an important role. They and the parents are the only relatives addressed by special vocative forms. I was told that paternal and maternal uncles were equally esteemed, but the concrete examples suggest that only a girl's maternal uncle plays a significant part. As shown, he distributes food among the members of the name-conferring society when his niece gets her name and in return obtains decorations for her. He leads his niece to her bridegroom and dissolves an untenable marriage by bringing her back from the husband's to her father's house. He allows a virgin the formal choice between wedlock and the wanton's state, and in case of pre-marital defloration calls the culprit to account. On the other hand, the father's brother, apart from some unimportant duties at the boy's name feast, merely gives him the girdle and the nape feather emblematic of

¹⁸ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 171.

the šipsa'. In all matters of inheritance the parents' siblings certainly play not the slightest part.

ASSOCIATIONS

The very fact that the preceding account involved no fewer than ninety-four references to associations attests the extraordinary importance of these units. Neither the moieties nor the clans nor the teams even remotely approach them in manifold significance, so that their complete disappearance would doubtless have been less fatal than the actual collapse of the associational system.

The Šere'nte designate the associations as *i-semi* (wapte'), "meeting-place."

ORIGIN MYTH

Sun and Moon entered a village whose residents had just collected vast numbers of edible ants (swarming females of *Atta cephalotes*). They went some distance beyond the village and painted themselves in the present *krara'* fashion. Then they returned to the settlement and asked for ants. The men failed to recognize them, looked at them and asked, "Why, who are you?" "We are *krara'*," was their answer. The people gave them a basketful of ants, and they departed with it. Outside the village they washed off the paint and put on another like that of the recent *ake'mhā*. Thus they returned to the settlement, where they were taken for new arrivals and questioned who they were. "We are *ake'mhā*," they declared. Again they were sent away with a basketful of ants, but soon they reappeared in the new disguise of the *annōrowa'* paint, asking for a third basket. At last they transformed themselves into young women, thus defrauding the villagers of a fourth share.

The villagers liked the several styles of painting. When evening came, some of them painted themselves as *krara'*, others as *ake'mhā*, still others as *annōrowa'*. Each group made for itself a dancing ground and began to sing there. A young woman, however, took a dance rattle and with it summoned her comrades to the *wake'* dance.

Thus there arose the three men's associations called *krara'*, *ake'mhā*, and *annōrowa'*, as well as the women's *ainōwapte'* or *pikō*, with their meeting-places north and south of the bachelors' hut and on both sides of the western opening of the horseshoe of houses (fig. 1). The youngest men of the village had united as *ake'mhā*, those somewhat older as *krara'*, and still older ones as *annōrowa'*. The very oldest had not yet taken any part in the affair.

According to this statement each association originally comprised approximate age-mates. This is why even today the *annōrowa'* address the *krara'* as *wa-kra*, "sons;" while the *krara'* apply the same term to

the ake'mhā. They are reciprocally called wakupsōimnōkwa by the junior group, a term I am unable to explain.

Shortly after this an old Indian was hunting on a fine open steppe where many paty palms (kri'e-ri'e) were in blossom. Suddenly he saw a stag before him. He took aim immediately but the beast addressed him in a human voice: "I am no stag! I have come only to tell you that you and the oldest men should found a fourth society." Then the stag assumed human shape and, white as a heron, ascended to the sky. The man went home and did what he had been ordered in the vision. The new society made its meeting-place behind the bachelors' hut and called itself krieri'ekmū, "paty palm spathe."

MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

The admission of a boy into a society has already been described (p. 43). So far as I know, resignation, or rather transference to another society, is possible for only one reason—an adulterous relationship of one's wife with a fellow-member. Otherwise affiliation is lifelong. Failure to belong to any association is inconceivable.

Each society has two leaders, kwatprekrda', and two attendants, dawarnikwa'. The latter pair, one from each moiety, occur in any definite Šere'nte unit, being as typical as the girl auxiliaries are in analogous cases among the Canella.¹⁴ They are appointed by the elders and as a rule remain in office for many years. If they grow too old or abdicate for some other reason, the leaders of the society go to the elders and ask for a replacement. The attendants labor for the common good of the membership; no one expects personal services from them. First of all, they provide fire wood for the nocturnal fireplaces at the meeting-place; they fetch gourd bottles with drinking water for general use and manufacture race logs; and during a log-race they carry the runners' clothing and weapons to the village in advance of their owners so that these may race unencumbered. In all communications and invitations issued by the society the attendants are the messengers. Like the chiefs' heralds they carry a ceremonial rod (wudē-hu-kupte'), which is painted with urucu and clasped round the middle, where there is a burity bast wrapping.

The attendants play an important part after the death of a prominent member for whom the aikmā festival is performed. They invite the members of all the associations from other settlements; put up wind-screens in the plaza to shelter the guests during the celebration; meet

¹⁴ They are found also in the bachelors' hut and in the tribal Great Fast; while the non-official boys' society has a single attendant.

the arriving visitors at their last camp beyond the village; and bring them genipapo fruits for their body paint, as well as basketry bowls for the mourners to clap on their heads. During the succeeding ceremonies they carry in their hands huge rod-combs with which to smooth the mourners' hair.

Apart from this, their office is linked with merriment. They have the prerogative of nicknaming the members and otherwise making them ridiculous, and no one is allowed to resent such behavior. At most those who have suffered overmuch will in turn play a practical joke (which I have myself seen carried out) by seizing the attendant, lifting him into the air, and amidst general hilarity, hurling him into a dense shrub, but so as not to inflict any serious injury.

The two errand boys (*kwatrbre'*), serving solely the secluded *ake'mhā* novices as intermediaries with the outside world, are not *dawarnikwa'*, but correspond definitely to the messenger boys in *Cannella* seclusion rituals.

The age sequence according to the origin myth formerly also held on the warpath, with the *ake'mhā* (the youngest) in the van and the *krieri'ekmū* as the rear-guard. Another sequence characterized the transfer of feminine names by one society to the daughters of another society's members: *ake'mhā-annōrowa'-krara'-krieri'ekmū-ake'mhā*. This order also extends to the transfer from one association to another; while the reverse order holds for passing on the celebration of the *Padi'* masquerade from one society to another.

Only the *ake'mhā* subject their youths to a genuine initiation (p. 47). This society has a distinctive barklike cry for summoning members to the meeting-place or for any joint enterprise.

In corresponding situations the *krara'* utter a cry sounding like "glu-glu-glu." At festivals they blow gourd trumpets with bent mouth-pieces (*saitchu'*), not the ordinary straight elongated trumpets (*ku-pawā*). From their midst are chosen the attendants of the women's and the boys' society. Whenever the holding of a *Padi'* masquerade devolves on the *annōrowa'* or *krieri'ekmū*, it is the *krara'* who manufacture the two costumes. The *krara'* or *annōrowa'* furnish both the leaders of the *ake'mhā* novices during their seclusion and the *pēkwa'* appointed at the close of this initiation. The *krara'* and *annōrowa'* also organize the great hunt at the terminal solemnity of the woman society's *Wakedi'* (p. 65).

The *annōrowa'* share the above functions with the *krara'*. In addi-

tion they make the costumes when the ake'mhā or krara' organize the Padi'. In the meeting-place of this society, further, assemble those boys whose leaders are chosen from among the annōrowa'.

About the krieri'ekmū I heard only that their two leaders, accompanied by two scouts, go ahead to choose a new campsite when the villagers set out for the great hunt in October. All other functions are shared by the four societies in equal measure.

It was an associational matter to hunt collectively. Occasionally the members of two associations would unite for the purpose; in that case the kill was heaped up and divided into two equal parts, each society distributing its share among its members. Even small groups of, say, five hunters would distribute the game among all their fellow-members at the meeting-place. On the other hand, a single hunter kept his booty for himself and his relatives.

Similarly, deforestation devolved not on the individual but on his society, which would successively perform the task for each of the members at the spot he had chosen. The first two clearings were for the leaders, next there followed the precentors', then those of other members. Planting was done by the individual family, but even in weeding, if assistance was required, there would be an appeal to the society. As a fee the couple provided the members with a meat-pie at their meeting-place. Harvesting was again in a measure an associational affair, the members doing the work on the several plantations one after another and receiving nothing but their meals in compensation. Subsequently the owner would throw his land open to all his fellows' wives for the aftermath. This refers specifically to maize, for of the tubers it is customary merely to collect for immediate use (cf. p. 33).

The two most important wild plants are the burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) and the babassú palm (*Orbignia speciosa*). The split leaflets of the burity offer so important and so widely usable a material in basketry and for tying that it is hardly possible to picture the ancient Šerente without burity. The fruits of this palm, while also important as food, are not indispensable. The reverse holds for the babassú. Most important are its extremely oily seed kernels, next in utility its leaflets employed for matting and decoration. Now, the stands of burity and babassú near the fixed villages were not free for general use, but divided up among the four societies. Trespass formerly precipitated brawls between the associations concerned.

The collapse of a system equally important in hunting, agriculture,

and gathering was bound to sap Šere'nte economics forever if, as invariably happened, they failed to adapt themselves to an individualistic régime.

In warfare the associations formed the quasi-tactical units in the order given. Religiously they loomed large in the *aikmā* (p. 100).

Each society organized its own log-races, its members being divided into two teams (p. 43). It was most exceptional for one society to play against another.

The profane Padi' festival is each time undertaken by two societies, whose functions are transferred to others in the sequence indicated above.

Ceremonially the associations play the main part in the bestowal of girls' names, series of which are their property, though moiety affiliation is also significant. Both types of unit are again jointly effective in the youths' *warā*.

From the *romšiwamnare'* legend (p. 80) one might even infer that the blood-feud was an associational concern, since the death of a *krara'* is primarily avenged by his fellow-members.

The associations further figured in extramarital intercourse, for at least some of the wantons were regarded as belonging to one definite association and encroachments would lead to fighting. In a case reported to me, an *ake'mhā* had had relations with a wanton assigned to the *krara'*. When the *krara'* heard of this, they challenged the *ake'mhā* to a log-race in order to create the opportunity for an encounter outside the village. Both sides equipped themselves with throwing-sticks, and a fight would doubtless have resulted if the *pēkwa'* of the *ake'mhā* had not succeeded in making peace at the very last minute.

By what process a society gains the right to a wanton remains in various cases obscure. Formerly, it is said, nubile virgins were sometimes allotted to the wanton's condition. A young man or, according to other informants the entire society, would bring *scleria* beads, *arara* tail-feathers, arrow bundles, etc., as the remuneration, piling them up in the meeting-place. Her maternal uncle would lead the maiden thither and in view of the gifts leave her the choice between wedlock and the wanton's state. If she chose the latter, her uncle appropriated the payment for her. Then she was decorated and the payer (or chief contributor?) deflowered her by the spring or in the plantations, which was followed by intercourse with his fellow-members. If the society had rendered payment, it naturally would not tolerate amours with outsiders. Fur-

ther, an adulteress divorced by her husband was taken by her maternal uncle to the place of assembly of some society not her father's and there surrendered for sexual intercourse. Finally, I was told that the society which had conferred a name on the wanton in her childhood *ipso facto* laid claims to her.

However, wantons allotted to a particular society by no means reside permanently with the members; if they want her, they dispatch one of their attendants to the women's meeting-place in the evening and have him bring her.

The associations do not figure in (a) the Great Fast; (b) the bestowal of masculine names; (c) the election of village chiefs; (d) anything connected with marriage, including the marriage of the *kri-tāekwa'*; (e) the *kwiudē-uda'* log-race, which closes the *ake'mhā* initiation.

CANELLA PARALLEL

The four men's societies do not correspond to the Canella ceremonial societies, but rather to their four active age-classes.¹⁵ The following data suggest a common origin of the two institutions:

(a) According to the origin myth the societies actually began as age-classes, of which fact the sequence by age—nowadays wholly meaningless—is reminiscent.

(b) The strange and in no way rationally explicable circumstance that only the *ake'mhā* initiate their youths would be accounted for if the *ake'mhā*, still designated as the "youngest," were once the age-grade that evolved directly from a youths' initiation. As soon as the ingenious Canella age-class system had petrified into the Šere'nte associations, the youths' initiation was bound either to disappear entirely or to cling to the "youngest" of the societies.

(c) The localization in four places of assembly.

(d) Like the four Canella age-classes, the Šere'nte societies are preceded by an unofficial boys' society that actually represents a true age-class.

THE WOMEN'S SOCIETY

This organization, like the boys' society, is treated separately because it is not a fifth equivalent association, but merely an incomplete imitation.

There is no formal admission, little girls being taken to the meeting-place as nurslings by their mothers so that subsequently they cannot

¹⁵ Nimuendajú, *Social Structure of the Ramkókamekra*, p. 58 sq.

recall any period when they did not belong to the unit. Apart from several specific persons on special occasions, women and girls do not share in the men's ceremonies; accordingly, the women's association offers the only chance for the exercise of feminine club activity.

As in the men's organization, there are two leaders and two attendants. The former are wives of leaders of the men's societies selected by the elders of the tribe, who take care lest the appointees be too young. At festivals they paint themselves in their husbands' style and carry long, plain staves.

The attendants are two *krara'*, whom the elders choose, i.e., designate to the women on their request without the appointees' knowledge. Immediately the women, armed with cudgels, march to the *krara'* meeting-place, seize the two men, and amidst much hullabaloo and hardly delicate pleasantries forcibly drag them to their own assembly place. In 1937 I saw this episode, with wantons pulling a new attendant's testicles, rubbing his hand over their buttocks, etc., while others pushed both appointees about and put all sorts of burdens on their backs.

These attendants remain in office only between two successive *Wakedi'* feasts. Their functions are the same as in the men's societies. They, too, receive nicknames from the members, especially from the wantons; e.g., *Sbdu*, "Old Basketry Bowl," or *Krieri'eswikre'*, "Dry Paty Palm Leaves" (referring to those on which a wanton yielded herself on the steppe).

The women's society lacks economic significance. I have never seen the members assisting one another, nor do they figure in religious or profane ceremonial except for their most important performance, the *Wakedi'* feast, which is prolonged for months during the summer.

Its object is to bestow the name *Wakedi'* on two little boys. Every morning and evening the women assemble at their meeting-place. Headed by a precentress brandishing a dance rattle, they march in a line, singing and dancing, from their place of assembly round the village and back again. An attendant walks in advance, pretending to sweep away obstacles with a stick.

For the closing solemnity, the societies of the two boys' maternal uncles hunted for about three weeks in order to collect quantities of smoked game. In a camp about 12 km outside the village the booty was piled up in two heaps on leaves: the *šiptato'* share on the right side, the *sdakrā* share on the left as seen from the village. Thereupon an attendant trotted toward the village, just outside of which he discharged a shot, and then shouting, clapped his flat hand against his

mouth. Upon this signal the women ran a race toward the game, each selecting what parts she wanted, a šiptato' from the sdakrā pile, and vice versa. The former attendants of the women's society tried to frighten the racers by shouts and shooting, but of course in vain. The hunters returned to the village racing with logs, each of which was borne by two men. On the day of the terminal ceremony the women in return decorated the Wakedi' boys with arara feathers and chains of scleria. They put on them and on themselves forehead bands of green burity leaflets and danced round about with the boys. These retain the name Wakedi' only until they receive another at the general bestowal of masculine names.

The next afternoon the women once more danced with the Wakedi' boys. For this performance both the attendants and the women were painted, the wives of the pēkwā' displaying their husbands' urucu decoration and rattle girdles.

During this festival the women frequently organize log-races. Married participants belong to their husbands' teams; single racers are assigned by the leaders according to their pleasure.

At the dance on the morning of the last Wakedi' feast day, the krara' avenge the attendants, their fellow-members, for the affronts and teasing they have suffered at the hands of the women. Their faces smeared with charcoal and ashes and disguised in caps of grass and dry leaves, they attack the dancing women, striking at them with the horribly malodorous leaves of a swamp plant, for which former attendants of the women's society may substitute bowstrings. At the same time they blow special little gourd trumpets with crooked tips (wapsā-wanē). It is a point of honor with the women either to stand their ground and continue singing unswervingly; or, as holds particularly for the wantons, to take the offensive so that finally there is a general brawl.

This inclination of the men to intimidate the women by force is encountered repeatedly. At the very beginning of a Wakedi' festival in 1937 I noticed the men, armed with sticks and long poles, barring the path of the dancing women by forming two lines in front of them. Those in front were squatting on their heels; the rear line rested one knee on the ground. Bellowing, they advanced by leaps against the women, who suspended their singing and assumed a watchful attitude, some, however, taking a defiant position and throwing sand at the men. Suddenly the men, roaring and striking the ground with their poles and

sticks, jumped at the women, though without touching them, and immediately retreated; whereupon the women resumed their dance.

Several times, when the women were united at their meeting-place at night, I saw two men—former attendants of the sorority—sneaking up to within about 25 m. Then one of them would begin to roar furiously, striking the ground with a club, while the other bawled and wailed despairingly in a shrieking falsetto. All this was to simulate the killing of a woman. Of course no one in the sorority seriously believed in such a possibility, but the frightful realism with which the two actors played their parts exercised at least part of the desired effect on most of the members.

THE PADI' MASQUERADE

Padi' designates the great anteater (*Myrmecophaga jubata*) and the disguises representing it. The following is the origin myth.

In a Šere'nte village there lived an old krieri'ekmū with his very aged wife. At the season of maturing burity fruits this couple moved to a brook, erected a hut there, and gathered basketfuls of burity fruits. After a few days their daughter came to see how they were getting along. She met her parents in the hut and with amazement noted hanging there quantities of the finest kind of burity fibre, obtained by removal of the upper layer of young leaves. She was also surprised at many fragments of termite nests lying about. The old couple gave all the fruits gathered by them to their daughter, explaining that they were no longer able to eat any hard fruit.

Several days later, when the daughter again came to visit her parents, they were no longer to be seen; instead, not far from the hut, were lying two anteaters, covered by their tails, on Padi' disguises. Round about everything was strewn with lumps of termite nests, and all the termite mounds in the vicinity were broken up. The daughter looked for traces of her parents everywhere, but found only those of the anteaters. She therefore returned to her husband, telling him that her parents had vanished without leaving a trace and that she had found two odd unknown animals near the hut.

The man immediately accompanied her to the hut by the spring in order to see what were the facts. The anteaters, scenting their approach, trotted off toward a wooded island, but the man overtook them and clubbed them to death. While his wife was roasting the flesh, he searched the entire vicinity for the old couple, but found nothing except anteater tracks. The two returned home with the meat and the two masquerade outfits.

At night the blood of the slain pair was transformed into a large number of anteaters, which came close to the village. The next morning an old villager conversant with everything went to the hut by the spring to see whether he

could explain the disappearance of the old people. When he got back, he called the daughter's husband and told him the two anteaters he had killed were his parents-in-law, who had turned into those beasts by means of their masquerade. In memory of the event the costumes were to be preserved and occasionally renewed for a Padi' festival.

I have seen the Padi' masks and other festive regalia, but was unable to attend a true Padi' festival, hence am obliged to reproduce informants' accounts.

The masks (plate III) are wholly profane and inspire no one with fear. I have seen children playing with miniature models manufactured by their fathers. There is no mummers' organization nor are other persons permanently associated with the costumes; there is no definite period or occasion for a festival, which is held according to fancy—in the old days probably once a year. For a series of years it is performed at the site of a particular men's society and by its members, then it passes to the next in sequence. In 1937 it would have been proper for the *annōrowa'* of Providencia to organize the celebration, but they never dreamt of so doing; and I doubt whether any group in any settlement will decide on such a step in the future. Thus, this ceremony, too, is definitely a thing of the past.

After the usual deliberation with the elders and a decision to hold the Padi' ceremony, the council appointed four of their own number, two from each moiety, to manufacture the disguises, of which there are always two. The work is done secretly at a suitable spot in the woods, consuming about two weeks. The very preparation of the above-mentioned fine burity bast takes over a week and requires patience and care. The outfit consists of a covering of slender conical shape that completely masks the wearer from head to below the knees. The bast fibres are secured in this form by double threads intertwined round about. At the top the mask terminates in a long tip, the anteater's "snout," from which hangs its "tongue," i.e. a red arara tail feather. Under the snout are a pair of brushlike "ears." The wearer inserts his arms through lateral slits. The lower edge of the fringe is painted red with urucu. Under one arm the masquerader holds a short stick, in the other a staff to be stamped on the ground. One of the mummers represents the male, the other the female.

In addition the elders manufacture four *wabu'*—two shorter, *wabu'-ri'e*, and two longer ones, *wabu'-zauré'*—consisting each of two



A



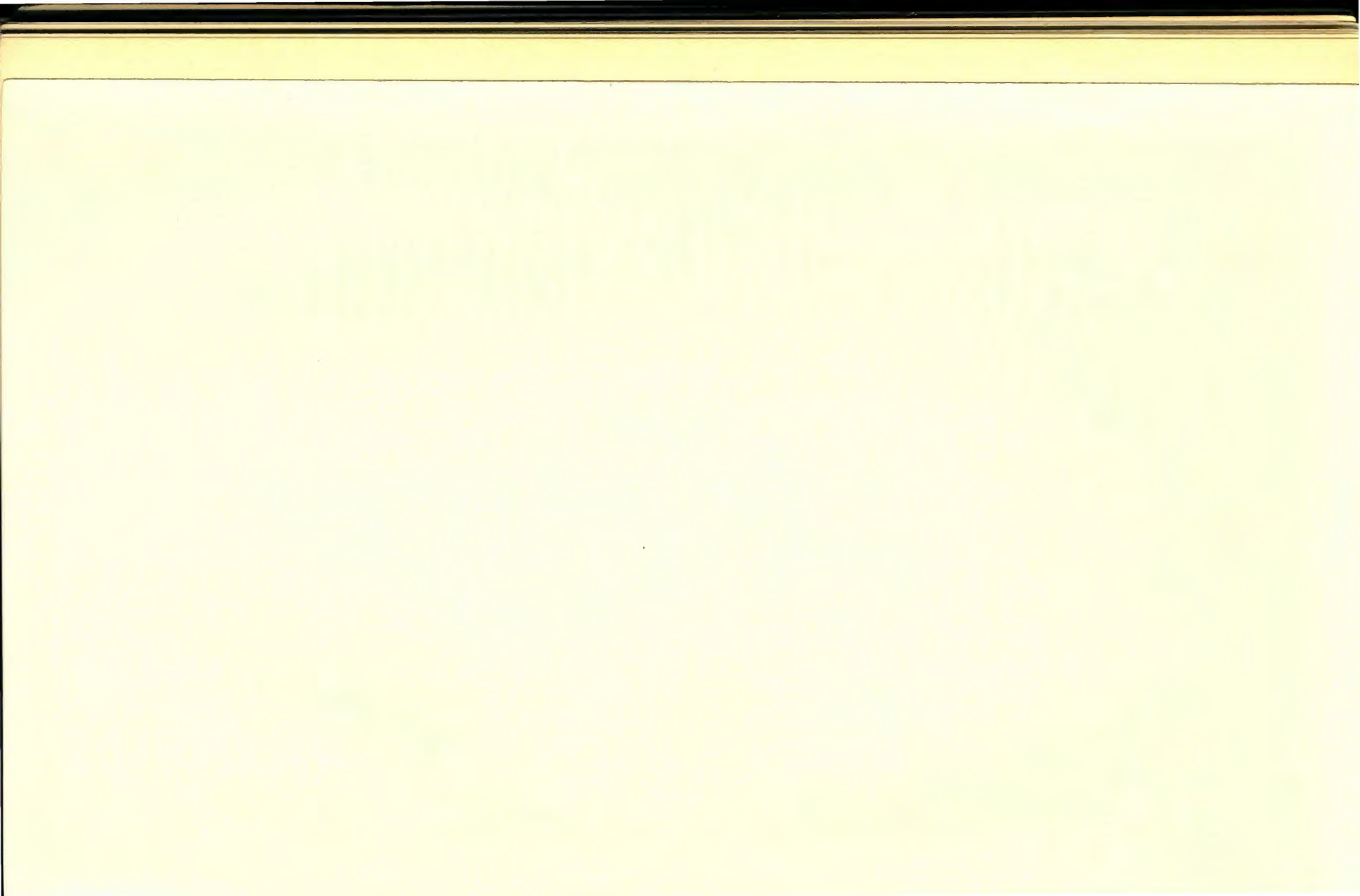
B



C

MASKING COSTUMES

A-B, Padi' (Great Anteater) masqueraders; *C*, Nan costume at Waktidi' name festival.



reddened wands of burity rachides joined by two transversely inserted plugs. Red bast fringes hang from the tips of the upper plug.

In the meantime the members of the celebrating society manufacture the *zi-ri'e*, dance rattles of little *Lagenaria* fruits attached to handles over 3 m in length. From the end of the handle projecting beyond the rattle there is also a pendant of red bast fringe.

When everything is ready, the masqueraders, accompanied by the four *wabu'*-bearers, enter the village and proceed to the site of the festival. There the society membership, armed with the long-handled rattles, stand in two lines corresponding to the moieties, and the mummers take up positions between them, while one *wabu'-ri'e* and *wabu'-zaur'e'* pair stands on the east side and the other on the west side of the place. Thus they sing all night.

In the meantime the members of the society that conducted the previous *Padi'* performance disguise themselves as "jaguars" (*huku'*). For this they use green burity leaves, old mats, and steppe grass, blacken their faces, and paint black spots on their bodies. Holding hunting clubs with enlarged and laterally curved butts, they swarm about the site and try to abduct wantons. Simultaneously appear two *prordo'*, one from each moiety, from the membership of the celebrating society. Carrying little ocarinas painted black and red and made from *Lagenaria* fruits with glued-on feathers, they go whistling out into the steppe, whence they bring the "jaguars" to the margin of the festive site, and then again depart with them.

In the morning the two mummers zigzag some distance into the steppe, where they finally lie down "to sleep," the feet of each turned towards the other's. Two old *krieri'ekmū*, armed with hunting-clubs, track them, and as soon as they find them, "kill" them by clubbing the "snouts" of their masquerade. They thereupon remove the mummers' disguises, which subsequently are thrown into the brook together with the *wabú*.

Ceremonial implements and decorations are forever thrown into the water after use in order to prolong the former wearers' life.

Now the dancers leave their long-stemmed rattles and unite with the "jaguars" about 1 km outside the village. The *prordo'* go to meet them, each with a 10 cm long, reddened bit of pith from the burity rachis in his hand. At a distance of about 15 paces from the "jaguars," who are ready to leap, they throw the pith towards them and im-

mediately flee back toward the village. The "jaguars" give chase, the šiptato' trying to catch the sdakrā prordo', and vice versa. If they succeed in catching the fugitives before they get to the village, they remove all their decoration except the ocarina. In order to run rapidly, the prordo' glue stripes of pulverized wesuzaknō leaves, which have a pleasant odor, on their thighs with almecega rosin. They retain the name Prordo' so long as they live; they also keep the ocarinas, which can accordingly be acquired only with great difficulty.

This race closes the Padi' masquerade. The temporary Padi' masks of certain name feasts are described on page 56.

SPORT AND GAMES

LOG-RACES

Like the Timbira, the Šere'nte practice log-races more than any other sport. Even nowadays men and women would indulge in this pastime were it not for their civilized instructors, who constantly din into their ears that carrying a log until one is exhausted "without thereby earning a farthing" is the acme of idiocy and the badge of savagery. In consequence the natives think they owe it to their state of enlightenment to look with scorn upon their fine old national sport.

The Neobrazilians conceived the Šere'nte no less than the Timbira log-racing as a marriage test. How this misunderstanding arose is incomprehensible, for at a first glance it is obvious that one is dealing with a game between two competing teams. Spix and Martius, Tuggia and Vianna all mention the Šere'nte log-races, but only Tuggia knew it from personal observation. He mentions festivals and games (jogos) of the Cherente and Chavente of Thereza Christina "entre os quaes é o mais celebre o da Zora [*sic*: erratum for tora, "log"] de Burity em cujo divertimento disputam as forças correndo e nesse andar ligeiro tomando uns do hombro dos outros a mesma Zora."¹⁶ In other words, he describes a sportive contest, as proved by the term "disputam," for amusement ("divertimento").

This is emphasized because Vianna alleges that the log-race had "formerly" served as a marriage test. He mistook the typographical error of "Zora" in Tuggia's statement for the aboriginal term for a racing-log and to enhance its Indian aspect placed an accent over the "a." Martius, whose relevant description likewise does not rest on his

¹⁶ Translation: "among which the most famous is that of the burity trunk, in which sport teams contend at running, taking said log from one another's shoulders while moving at a lively pace."

own observations, reports that the Chavante run with a "wooden log weighing two or three hundred-weight which they hurl away while racing. A youth unable to do this is not allowed to marry."¹⁷

Disregarding exceptional cases, the race is between the *htj'mhã* and *siteromkwa'*: the two teams into which all members of both sexes (except for little children) are grouped. This dual division holds solely for sport. The methods of gaining affiliation have already been described. The complete significance of the appellations remains obscure, but the word *te*, "shinbone," enters one, and *hti*, "calf of the leg," the other.

Each of the five societies arranges its log-races exclusively among its own members. Formerly it happened sometimes that one society would kidnap a good racer and forcibly adopt him, but this resulted in a fight with throwing-sticks between the two societies.

Otherwise the races closely resemble those of the *Timbira*: they always start from the place of log manufacture and proceed toward the village, the *Šere'nte* making the society's place of assembly the goal. The maximum distance formerly covered is set at 12 km; in 1930 and 1937, however, I witnessed no race longer than 4 km. Like the *Timbira*, the *Šeren'te* men, if returning in considerable number from any business outside the *aldeia*, like to race home with logs.

The ordinary logs are cylindrical sections of *burity* palm trunks 1 m or somewhat more in length and 30 to 40 cm thick. The terminal surfaces are cut into shallow depressions so as to provide a better grip. The weight may be estimated at close to 100 kg, but the women's are considerably lighter. The manufacturers are the society's two attendants, who do the work in the woods near the starting-place, the spot having been cleared of grass into a 3 m square. There the two logs are laid parallel to each other on leaves, the longitudinal axes being in the direction of the race. The log appearing on the right side when viewed from the village belongs to the *siteromkwa'*, the other to the *htj'mhã*.

Without further formalities two runners, one of each team, are simultaneously made to shoulder the logs and start toward the village, accompanied by the rest of the respective teams. From time to time—about every 100 m—another carrier takes over the burden. Each team does its utmost to get first to the assembly place, where the log is

¹⁷ " . . . Zwei bis drei Centner schweren Holzblock den sie im Lauf von sich schleudern. Der Jüngling der dies nicht vermag darf auch nicht heurathen" (Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, Vol. 2, p. 574). See also Tuggia, *Mappas dos indios Chavantes*, p. 124; Vianna, *Akuen ou Xerente*, p. 40.

thrown on the ground, except for certain ones that are set up pillar-fashion. Decorated logs always have the ornamental side facing the east; further, the *htj'mhā* log must stand on the south side, and the *siteromkwa'* log on the north. Neither are the victors praised nor the losers blamed.

The Šere'nte differ from the Timbira in always having a pair of carriers for three of their five types of logs. Moreover, the Šere'nte lack special race tracks, utilizing merely the ordinary trails.

Some runners wrap bast cords (*danipsirtuze'*) round their wrists to protect them from friction against the edge of the log. A racer paired to carry one of the large logs protects his shoulder with a pad (*kuzdabda'*) of twisted and wrapped green palm leaves, this cushion being fastened to the shoulder by a cord passing under the arm. Especially in the case of such double carriage, it happens at times that a member of the couple is injured internally by a push or fall. In such cases the Šere'nte apply a specific: the roots of a *kusipa'*, a steppe shrub called *genipapinho* by the Neobrazilians. The root is scraped and dried; the product being compressed into the shape and size of a billiard ball and tied up in *caheté* leaves. In this form the remedy is available in every household. If any one feels unwell after a log-race, he divides up a little of the lump in water, exposes it to the dew outdoors overnight, and drinks it the next morning.

The Šere'nte distinguish the following types of log:

For a single bearer:

(1) *kwiudē'*, the common form described above.

(2) *kwiudē'-uda'*, pointed at both ends and hollowed like a trough.

Legend has it that these were revealed to the Šere'nte by a giant armadillo (*Prionodontes gigas* Cuv.). These are manufactured at the close of the *ake'mhā* initiation, when the *pēkwa'* are appointed.

For pairs:

(3) *ihj'ire*, like (1), but longer.

(4) *krankrā*, like (3), but provided with the painting of the *htj'mhā* and *siteromkwa'*.

(5) *isitro'*, 3 m in length, two-thirds of the length tapering into slender conical form. The cylindrical part bears the decoration of the teams. These are the logs for great festivals, and I have seen them on only two occasions: once in 1930 when the name *Sliemtōi* was conferred on me; the second time in 1937 at the general name-festival of

the boys. In the second case the women raced with similar, but correspondingly lighter *isitro'* logs.

Sometimes races precipitate violent disputes between the teams, whose members then throw off their logs and engage in hand-to-hand fights, but for want of even the slightest weapon among the runners they are limited to wrestling. After a while their anger is dissipated and they resume the race.

The boys' log-races have been mentioned (p. 42). The little girls, unorganized as they are, lack special racing-logs. They merely run along with the women's society until they are strong enough to carry the adults' logs.

RACES

The Šere'nte do not practice the relay races so popular among the Timbira, nor have I ever myself seen simple races between two contestants. However, I heard that such were arranged if the same team regularly wins in log-races. In that case the *htj'mhã* and *siteromkwa'* run in pairs, holding rods of arrow-cane. They start from the society's assembly place, circle round the village, and return. Such a race is called *woratte'di*.

Pohl mentions the fact that the Šava'nte challenged one of his boatmen to a race.¹⁸

At diverse festivals there are races between participants as part of the ceremonial, e.g., the race of the two *hēsminikwa'* at the close of the *ake'mhã* initiation; the daily race from the assembly place to the "sariema nest" of the *annōrowa'* membership at the bestowal of the name *Waktidi'*; the race between the jaguars and the *prordo'* at the close of the *Padi'* masquerade; and finally the women's race for booty toward the hunters' camp at the close of the *Wakedi'* festival.

WRESTLING

I have already noted that little boys and girls amuse themselves with wrestling in the plaza almost every evening. On the other hand, I have never witnessed wrestling-bouts between adults; though at one time they are said to have been in vogue, every society having its champions.

HOOING GAME

This game falls into the category of the South German "Fingerhakeln;" however, the opponents do not hook fingers, but substitute

¹⁸ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 160.

10 cm sticks with a neatly and very firmly attached barb (*sadwda'*) at the end of each. Ordinarily players straddle a long racing-log, hook each other's sticks, and try to unseat each other. I know of no other tribe indulging in this pastime.

RING AND POLE

This game, named after the ring, is also peculiar to this tribe in South America so far as I am aware, though paralleled by the popular North American game of ring and pole. Today it is virtually obsolete. However, one day I saw an old man make a ring (*kuzdapta'-ri'e*) about 30 cm in diameter from a very elastic creeper with bast wrappings; and later he played at it with another man on the road. Each was holding a thin stick about 1.5 m in length and stood facing his opponent at a distance of 20 to 25 m. They played in two distinct ways. One was to throw the ring horizontally in a curve toward the other player, who would try to catch it with his stick. The other, which they seemed to find more enjoyable, was to hurl the hoop vigorously downward and forward so as to make it leap in a big curve toward the opponent, who attempted to spit it from the side.

WAR AND PEACE

TRIBAL RELATIONS

The last regular raids against the Šava'nte in the west and against the Neobrazilian settlers on a São Francisco tributary to the east occurred about the middle of the last century. Accordingly, my informants, knowing nothing about warfare from personal experience, were at best able to report what they had heard from their grandfathers.

The enemies of the Šere'nte in the north and west were the kindred Šava'nte, in the south the Canoeiros, from whom they were subsequently separated by the settlement of the upper Tocantins as far as Porto Nacional. Pohl reports that the Šava'nte (Šere'nte) had also defeated, subjected, and incorporated the "Coroamirinis" (*Akroa'-mirim*). But such an occurrence is not mentioned by any chronicler of Goyaz, while Cunha Mattos records that in 1823 there were still forty-nine *Akroa'* living in their aldea Duro. Even in Pohl's day the northern Šava'nte (Šere'nte) settlements suffered from the attacks of the "Tapuyos," a term presumably designating the *Krahõ'*, whose hostility ceased after the arrival of the missionary friar Rafael Tuggia (1845).¹⁹

¹⁹ Pohl, *Reise*, pp. 165, 177; Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, p. 365; Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 70.

Cunha Mattos and Castelnau refer to fights between the Šava'nte and the Apinaye', their northern neighbors. If such encounters occurred—and Apinaye' tradition ignores them—the Šere'nte probably did not take part in them.

With the Karaya', the Šava'nte clashed repeatedly, the Šere'nte only rarely. However, in 1813 all three are said to have leagued together to destroy the military post Santa Maria do Araguaya. Only a few years ago the Karaya' first robbed, then killed, two itinerant Šere'nte.

On the other hand, the Šere'nte assert that from their first encounter they have lived in amity with the Northern Kayapo'; this friendship being renewed after the missionaries of Conceição do Araguaya had drawn both tribes within their sphere of influence.

The incorporation of two alien tribes by the ancient Šere'nte has been described.

Against Neobrazilian invaders the Šere'nte put up a brave resistance. Pohl expressly states:

All the murders reported to me, from which many boatmen on the Maranhão [Tocantins] were the main victims, and the attack by these savages on the Capitania [Goyaz], at which they killed 50 persons, had without exception a single motive—retaliation for ignominy endured and revenge for deceived confidence and the kidnapping of their offspring.²⁰

In contrast to the Canoeiros, who remain implacably hostile, the Šava'nte-Šere'nte have never spurned peace on principle. That, however the Indians of the eighteenth century could not easily remain at peace with the invaders lusting for mines is clear from the contemporary evidence (p. 6).

WEAPONS AND TACTICS

The Šere'nte fought with bows, arrows, clubs, and lances. There were no bows specifically made for war; the Indians simply used heavy hunting-bows. The war arrows had unbarbed heads, 10 cm in length, from the thigh bone of the pampa ostrich. Pohl mentions barbed arrows and describes the war-clubs of the Šava'nte as three feet long.²¹ At present there are still both round and flat clubs of this length as ceremonial weapons of old men. The national weapon, which even today they rarely fail to carry when going outdoors, is the kwjro', a staff-

²⁰ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 164.

²¹ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 169.

club, 1.20 m long, with a thickened butt somewhat curved in sabre-fashion, which has an edge on both the convex and the concave side.

The lances (kni-kwazase') are over 2 m long. The shaft of Brazil wood is 3 cm in thickness and terminates in a knob that prevents sticking the weapon into the ground. The head, about 22 cm long, consists of a pointed ostrich femur. Below the tip the shaft bears a pendant of arara tail feathers mounted in deer hoofs.

Braves fond of hand-to-hand fighting carried a dagger (pko) *ca* 30 cm long, made of either bamboo or the femur of a steppe deer, with a feather-ornamented wooden handle. This weapon was suspended on the back by a neck-cord.

War and peace were decided by the council of village chiefs. The messenger summoning them bore on his back the double whistle of ake'mhā leaders to symbolize that it was a question of war.

The Šerente warred neither for conquest nor booty, but solely for revenge on more or less traditional enemies. As a threat and a symbol of hostility they impaled an arrow in a piece of burity rachis, which they put in the enemy's path. If the other side declined the challenge and sought a peaceable settlement, they shot over toward their opponents an arrow with a broken-off head.

The warriors were divided into four companies by associations, each under its two leaders; but for the entire enterprise there were three war chiefs designated *ad hoc*: the leader of the campaign, the leader in the attack, and a counselor. These officers had their occipital hair tied together with a white bast forehead band, to which a pendant of falcon and arara tail feathers was attached in the back. They were in no way responsible for failure or for losses suffered. The rank and file wore only two arara feathers in their occipital hair, which was tied together, this ornament never being worn in peace time.

Both on the march and in attacks the ake'mhā formed the vanguard. Their leaders signaled with the zdupuzē' whistles peculiar to them: two bamboo tubes 10 cm long and of the thickness of a finger, which were wrapped with a two-color bit of twilling. The ends of the vertical splints of this plaitwork hang down open; the upper part of the instrument is ornamented with pendent arara tail feathers.

The attack generally started with arrows shot from ambush, and was followed by a dashing assault with clubs and lances. On equal terms they were by no means afraid of a pitched battle. Then they staked everything on holding out and preserving their supply of arrows

until the enemy had exhausted his; thus either compelling him to break off the combat or to advance to a hand-to-hand skirmish amidst a volley of arrows, which was naturally fraught with heavy losses.

No explanation is required for their avoidance of moving in the open against Neobrazilians shooting off firearms from sheltered positions. Mattos imputes cowardice to a chief who fell to the ground from fright at his first experience with a cannon ball discharged beside him. Mattos probably would not have been more heroic in 1824 if an airplane had suddenly hurled bombs in his vicinity. The same writer describes the Šere'nte mode of attack "dando uivos como tigres, e arreganhando os dentes por maneira tal que ficavam hediondos [roaring like tigers and displaying their teeth so as to appear repulsive]." Quite correctly several of the soldiers present remarked that "the grimaces, the body paint, and the noise were more terrible than the arrows." From personal experience I regard the demoniac impression made on unseasoned troops by the unexpected sight of an Indian assault as the natives' most potent means of attack. However, Mattos underrated Indian arrows if he denies any perceptible effect beyond the distance of sixty paces.²²

According to Pohl, the Šava'nte-Šere'nte warriors carried with them wind instruments, which they blew after every arrow shot:

These consisted of little curved gourds blackened inside. At the upper extremity there is a rectangular half-inch opening into which they blow. The tone of these simple instruments is very penetrating and powerful; at an assault they resound with terrific noise in jerky, dull tones.

He is probably referring to the sattehu' trumpets of the krara'.

If the enemy barricaded himself indoors, the Šere'nte tried to set the house afire by their arrows. The incendiary arrows have at the tip a cross of little rods around which is wrapped and tied a tuft of rosinous pindahyba bast. Such arrows (tkikrāsazi') are still used at lunar eclipses.

According to tradition the Šere'nte, while returning from a raid against the Neobrazilians east of them, were pursued by a mounted troop. The Indians lured them to a path surrounded by a large stand of dry bamboo, to which they set fire all around. The horsemen succeeded in extricating themselves from the trap, but in a plight that discouraged further pursuit.

²² Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, Vol. 2, p. 24; Nimuendajú, *Os Índios Parintintin*, p. 231.

When victorious the Šere'nte killed all adult enemies without exception, but sometimes carried children off into captivity. According to Pohl, the prisoners were not tied up at night, but placed each between two Šere'nte, whose thighs clasped theirs crosswise. Castelnau says that they treated their prisoners "with the greatest severity, killing them for the slightest fault or the least attempt at flight." Quite different was the statement such a captive personally made to Pohl:

Now he had to perform a slave's labors among the Indians, working in their fields and roças [clearings], etc., although he was not really made to exert himself overmuch or treated harshly. Thus he then remained fully three years among these Indians and most solemnly assured me that he had every reason to praise their good nature and behavior toward him.²³

Castelnau further charges the Šava'nte-Šere'nte with cannibalism, but his statements too clearly bear the impress of fancy:

Some of those who participated in the expedition [of a fazendeiro from the district of Carolina against the Šava'nte-Šere'nte] had seen some evidences of cannibalism in the Chavante huts. In several huts strips of human flesh were hung indoors from the roof and in many places had been seen bones that were partly reddened and calcined. These savages likewise consume the body of their aged parents, whom they kill, according to what is stated, when they are about to breathe their last. It has been noted that the preferred parts of the body are the feet and the hands; and this, they allege, because other parts of Christians are said to be extremely bitter. . . . The Chavante inflict terrible butcheries on this nation [Apinaye'], continually feeding on them.²⁴

Cunha Mattos and Pohl, on the other hand, know nothing of cannibalism—no more than the contemporary Šere'nte and Apinaye', who would certainly not deny the fact so far as it related to the Šava'nte.

The Šere'nte neither took any trophy from the body of a fallen foeman nor did they disfigure it except by blows of the club. Nor did they practice the custom of some other Gê of leaving a club by the side of the slain enemy.

A warrior who had killed an enemy had to keep a month's diet on manioc flat-cakes, sweet potatoes, and yams (*Dioscorea* sp.). He was prohibited during this period from sexual relations and bathing; ablutions being confined to the face and hands. For every slain enemy a brave incised himself on both sides of the chest with a vertical double

²³ Pohl, *Reise*, pp. 164, 170; Castelnau, *Expédition*, Vol. 2, pp. 37, 49.

²⁴ Translated from Castelnau, *Expédition*.

stroke from the collar-bone downward. Into these wounds were rubbed the ashes of the scraped root of the danpokrne' weed, a magical prophylactic against arrow shots. (Its leaves are said to resemble a stag's ears.) The incisions were made with the lower jaw of the fish known to Neobrazilians as peixe cachorra, which has two very long and pointed teeth.

Mattos describes this practice somewhat differently:

I saw many Šere'nte with horizontal lines on the stomach. When I asked them the meaning of these, they said they were in token of the Apinaye' killed by them. I think this is a fabrication, for the Indians too lie; it seems to me that they are arbitrary decorations. I have not seen any Indian who had more than twenty lines or fewer than fifteen.²⁵

FRIENDLY VISITS

Groups of official visitors from other villages are announced by a herald one or two days in advance. I have seen such a one sent back with food for the approaching party. If the guests have no near kinsmen in the settlement, its chief lodges and entertains them. They enter his house in silence and sit down; immediately the older women of the village come to squat down beside them, each weeping for five to ten minutes over the relatives of either group who have passed away during the period of separation. I was similarly welcomed when revisiting the tribe after the lapse of seven years.

In the afternoon or evening the guests are led to the plaza, where several old men successively deliver the indispensable salutatory speeches while supporting themselves on their clubs, rocking the body from one foot to the other, and with strangely repressed voice very rapidly ejaculating brief sentences in an undertone, each being often repeated two or three times, and followed by a click and a brief intermission. The speeches refer to the possible causes of the visit and the plans of the guests, who are commended to the villagers' hospitality. The ancient usage of allowing particularly esteemed guests to sleep with a virgin has been mentioned.

As to the reception or non-reception of insufficiently known visitors, the Šere'nte seek the advice of the village chiefs. This held in 1930, when I came there for the first time (cf. p. 14 f.).

The only people with whom intercourse is maintained today are the Krahō', who attract the Šere'nte by the far more pleasant social life

²⁵ Translated from Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, p. 24.

in their villages, which is due to the independent, free, and jolly women and girls there. On the other hand, the Krahō', who abhor internal feuds, never take kindly to the intriguing and quarrelsome Šere'nte, least of all to their jealous women, and on occasion manage to rid themselves of the undesirable guests. At present there is only a single Šere'nte still living among the Krahō', and I have never heard of a Krahō' settling among the Šere'nte.

LAW

It is not clear who calls a murderer to account. From the case discussed above (p. 20), it would appear to be the moiety, to which the alien clans are reckoned equivalent. First we find in this case the krozake' revenging themselves on the sdakrā for the murder of a member. Then the sdakrā decide on a raid of vengeance in turn and persuade Sinari' of the other moiety to join. When he dies in the ensuing conflict, the šiptato' ascribe responsibility not to the krozake', who killed him, but to the sdakrā for having induced him to participate. The šiptato' first waited several years for the killing of a sdakrā in the further feud between his moiety and the krozake'; holding that Sinari''s death would thereby be wiped out. Since this did not happen, they prepared to demand wergild from the sdakrā in the form of pigs, guns, or iron pots, but the sdakrā refused to assume responsibility. Unfortunately I do not know how the case was finally settled, but, knowing the Šere'nte as I do, I doubt that the šiptato' would allow the matter to rest even if the decision were protracted for several years more. I was told the atonement for Sinari''s death concerned all šiptato' irrespective of village or kinship.

A different principle is embodied in the story of the romšiwamnari' monsters, which probably reflects ancient legal ideas:

A krara' man was hunting in the woods with his pregnant wife. They camped under a big cliff with a deep cave. When the smoke of their camp-fire penetrated into the cave, a whistling sound became audible from its depths and two monsters (romšiwamnari') appeared at the entrance. They looked rather like birds; but their large wings were flabby like those of bats, and they were unable to fly. Their beaks resembled a pair of scissors. The man ordered his wife to escape at once, while he covered the retreat with his club. For a long time he fought the monsters, wounding one in the leg. Then he grew tired and succumbed, and the monsters cut off his head.

The woman escaped and told the villagers about the calamity. Forthwith the entire krara' society sallied forth to avenge their comrade's death. There

was a violent struggle, in which three other *krara'* were slain, but at last they succeeded in destroying the two monsters. However, another pair survived.

At night the boy began singing in his mother's womb, and in the morning he was born. He asked his mother to place him in a basketry bowl and then into the brook to accelerate his growth. She did so, and only went down now and then to nurse him. After a year he was already fully grown and received the name *Saurekrékwa*. He made himself a club and marched against the *romšiwamnari'*. He found the bones of the two killed by the *krara'* and burnt them. Then he fought with the surviving monsters and killed both of them. Thus, these beasts were exterminated.

Thus, the society first revenges itself on the real slayers for the death of a member, and later his son gets retribution for his father's death from the race of monsters.

Abortion is considered not as a crime, but a sin. Bodily injury is invariably settled by an indemnity. If a child is injured by another in play, the victim's maternal uncle demands an indemnity from the culprit's father. Two cases came to my personal knowledge. One has been discussed above (p. 57). In the other case the Indians were hunting wild pigs. One of them shot off a bullet, which after piercing and killing the beast got lodged in his comrade's thigh. He was obliged to surrender his gun to the injured man, receiving his bow in return.

Theft occurred very frequently in the plantations and is settled by the thief and his victim. Caught in the act, the purloiner generally makes no fuss about restoring his loot or surrendering an equivalent. Fights do not seem to develop from this cause, but vituperation is frequent, especially among the women.

Two cases of incest have been described (p. 25); in both the fathers of the guilty sons inflicted corporal punishment. On the other hand, *Ainähli'*'s relations with his own daughter remained unpunished; he was about 50, his daughter 30 years of age. His parents-in-law had been long dead; moreover, he was evidently feared as a sorcerer.

Adultery has already been discussed at length. The affair is settled among the three persons involved. Characteristic of this tribe is the duel with throwing-stick or club between husband and adulterer, which no one tries to avert by peace-making.

The last case, which took place in *Porteira* a few years ago, developed complications. All the villagers knew that the wife had deceived her husband with a number of lovers, so that no one was surprised when one day she was caught in the act with a young Indian. The cuckold, however, made a fuss about this

particular case, challenging the young man to a club duel, in which the adulterer would probably have cut a sorry figure. However, the lover's paternal uncle vehemently took his part, denying to the husband any claim to satisfaction in view of the circumstances, and tried to make him appear ridiculous. The husband withdrew, returned with several kinsmen, and now all jointly challenged both uncle and nephew simultaneously. There followed a violent brawl, and the upshot of the affair was that uncle and nephew had to leave the settlement.

The brutal exercise of the *lex talionis* in cases of rape has been expounded (p. 37). The aid rendered by the ravished wife's kin to her husband proves that both he and they are regarded as sufferers.

So far as marriage is not feasible, defloration is expiated by the payment of an indemnity. Here, as when one child injures another, it is the maternal uncle of the victim who exacts payment from the offender's parents. As with weregild, so in this case the Šere'nte extort from the guilty party pretty well everything he has of any value.

Sorcerers, as soon as convicted, are killed for the common good on the order of the chief of the village where they have carried on their nefarious activities. The corpse's palms and soles are at once incised with stone slivers, and charcoal is rubbed into the cuts to prevent the soul from further misdeeds. On his grave the people put the twigs of a steppe tree (romhdu—Neobrazilian: sambahybinha) whose leaves, strangely enough, serve as a remedy in difficult parturition.

The Indian who deserted wife after wife without due cause (p. 15) was put into this category.

The treatment of disciplinary offenses is exemplified by the deposition of the village chief Amaro for his shameless behavior; the expulsion of youths from the hieromkwa' after repeated transgression of the rules; and the expulsion of unchaste youths from the warā.

It is characteristic of Šere'nte notions that as a rule a convicted criminal's kindred deny him protection. The adulterer and his paramour, the man whose fraudulent marriages make him a common peril, and the seducer of a virgin are all left to bear the consequences of their acts, especially if they have disregarded their relatives' advice.

To forestall disputes and crimes by instruction, admonition, and advice is the Sisyphean task of chiefs and pēkwa'.

RELIGION

ATTEMPTS AT CHRISTIANIZATION

In 1845 the Italian Capuchin friar Rafael Tuggia came to the area, soon followed by Brother Antonio de Ganges, who until his death (1899), occupied himself with the Šere'nte (p. 7). However, his forty-eight years of unremitting missionary zeal have not sufficed to Christianize these people, though sooner or later they will allow themselves to be baptized; partly because Neobrazilians put the unbaptized on the level of a beast, partly in order to acquire a godfather who may subsequently be exploited. The Piabanha church is regarded as tribal property, for under Antonio's supervision their ancestors erected it for themselves. When a Baptist missionary in Piabanha incautiously remarked that it must be superseded by a Protestant house of worship, the Šere'nte gathered together, armed themselves, and, blowing their trumpets, marched on Piabanha to thwart this plan and to call the missionary to account. However, they do not dream of ever attending a service there. To be sure, they never play truant at Neobrazilian neighbors' saint's-day feasts, but their usually undesired attendance is due solely to the prospect of sharing in the food. I doubt whether in Portuguese speech they mention God and the saints except for rhetorical ornament. In the drollest fashion they have identified some figures of Catholic and of aboriginal belief: Christ with the Sun, St Peter with the Moon, and a tailed black demon, who lies in ambush for the souls of the dead, not with the devil, but with the Pope. This suffices to show that identifications are not due to a "shrewd" missionary wishing to facilitate the acceptance of Christianity. In any case, however, we must reckon with the possibility that the contemporary residue of their ancient religion has been affected by Christianity.

On the other hand, their original religious sentiment has doubtless been attenuated and the bulk of their ancient faith has dropped out of the memory of the present generation. It is hardly worth while discussing such matters with them: they neither know nor want to know anything. True religious feeling I found only among a very few old men, the chief and seer Bruē being foremost. *Their* value as informants, however, was lessened by the fear that it was dangerous, if not fatal, to speak of one's personal religious experiences.

Unfortunately the statements about the religion of the pre-mission

Šere'nte are even sparser than those about their social conditions. Vianna's relevant remarks¹ are wholly useless, and what little is reported by Brother Rafael is either wrong or too vague.

Towards ecclesiastics the Šere'nte are polite, but at bottom they consider them, like all Christians, liars and cheats. The bishops of Porto Nacional and Conceição do Araguaya, as well as their priests, exert practically no influence. A few boys and girls educated in their boarding-schools hardly represent the best element in the tribe and by no means spread the civilizing influence expected.

SUN, MOON, AND STARS

The seven episodes concerning these beings do not constitute a unified myth. Though the heroes appear as sucklings in one tale, there is no definite statement as to their parents except that Sun's mother, Wazeparkwa' (Our Mother), is still with him in the sky and causes solar eclipses. The Šere'nte have neither a cosmogony nor an explanation of the creation of mankind. Probably they once had a relevant tradition, for Waptokwa' is called "Our Creator." He is more closely connected with the šiptato', while the other moiety is linked with Wairie. However, consistently with their reserving the title of Creator for Waptokwa', the Indians reject the idea that he might have created only the šiptato', and Wairie the sdakrā.

The earth, the heavens, the underworld, Waptokwa', and Wairie are represented as having always been in existence and always continuing to exist. Humanity, however, is subject to destruction by deluges, world-conflagrations, and "the cold night."

Waptokwa' and Wairie are the anthropomorphized sun and moon. The celestial bodies themselves are called bdu, "sun," and wa, "moon." However, one usually substitutes for the former the word sdakro', "sunlight, heat of the sun."

Sometimes Waptokwa' and Wairie appear as deities wholly separated from their substratum; yet when I asked where and who Waptokwa' is, the Šere'nte simply pointed at the disk of the sun. Sun and Moon are neither brothers nor otherwise related; they are solely companions. Compared with the Canella and especially the Apinaye' equivalents, Waptokwa' is somewhat less malicious, and Wairie less foolish and forward.

To the detriment of my researches, I failed to secure a usable author-

¹ Vianna, *Akuen ou Xerente*, p. 46.

ity from the sdakrā moiety. The only good prospect, the old Aināhli, died before my eyes, as it were. On the other hand, I suspect my šiptato' informants of tending to aggrandize whatever related to their moiety and Waptokwa', while disparaging the sdakrā and Wairie. However, Waptokwa' doubtless plays a far more brilliant part in native faith than Wairie.

Both the deities are invisible; since their departure from the earth no one has seen them. When I told the Šere'nte that the Sun had appeared to an Apinaye' friend in human guise,² they declared this must be a lie and were surprised at my credulity. On their travels across the earth from east to west Waptokwa' and Wairie see everything that happens here; while the Earth, who hears everything men say, reports to these deities what happens while they pass underground from west to east.

Notwithstanding the comic stories about Waptokwa' and Wairie, the Šere'nte regard both—especially the Sun—with great reverence, which rests on their sense of dependence on them. Only the entire people's humble submission in a week's fast can evoke Waptokwa''s pity. This means of allaying the wrath of the Sun is aboriginal, not a Christian loan, for it is already mentioned by Pohl and Tuggia.³

All communication between Waptokwa' or Wairie and mankind is through the stars. However, when these grant knowledge and power to human beings, they are by no means always the immediate agents of the two great deities. As a matter of fact, far more frequently they appear on their own responsibility, for the people appeal to Waptokwa' and Wairie only in matters of tribal concern, while personal benefits are sought from the stars.

The retinue of Waptokwa' includes, above all, Waši-topre'-zaure' (planet Venus) and Waši-topre-ri'e (planet Jupiter); further, Sdai-kwasa' (belt of Orion) and Asare' (Kappa Orion), who, strangely enough, is identified with Adam. These stars appear to šiptato'; Asare' especially to those of the supplementary prase' clan.

Wairie's most important companion is Waši-topre'-pē (planet Mars), personified in the demon Hiepāro-wawē. Bruē, a šiptato', said of him: "He belongs to the night, which torments us." Further, the Seven Stars (Sururu') and the carrion vultures, considered celestial animals, belong to Wairie. Mostly they establish relations with sdakrā people, Sururu' being specially inclined to favor those of the supplementary krozake' clan.

² Nimuendajú, *The Apinayé*, p. 136.

³ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 168; Tuggia, *Mappas*, p. 123.

VISIONS

The astral deities appear to their protégés in human shape, and only at their own pleasure. There is no ritual means to create even favorable conditions for their appearance. It is said that at least Waptokwa's retinue will never appear to a notorious evil-doer who might exploit his knowledge to the detriment of his tribesmen.

A star first appears to the man of his choice in a dream; later in visions in the steppe or forest. Waptokwa's delegates appear in the daytime, Wairie's at night.

A man will be going through the steppe all day. Suddenly his heart begins to pound and his hair stands on end. A branch is heard snapping. The wanderer looks. There He is standing in profile view; His hands resting on a bow; His face turned upward. He calls us to Him and teaches us how to become a good hunter or doctor. On the following day He reappears at the same spot.

The hunter eats as much as possible of the game he bags immediately after his first vision, but consumes nothing of subsequent kills, subsisting only on small fish (Neobrazilian piabinha) while being instructed. He must also abstain from sex relations. When Bruē entered into communication with Venus about twelve years ago, his period of instruction lasted twelve days, during which he killed a surprising quantity of game.

Some time after this experience, Venus reappeared in a dream before daybreak. Calling him behind the house, the star declared: "Round about the Christians here have recently murdered many Indians. Among the Šere'nte the practice of abortion is steadily gaining ground. 'Our Mother' is angered by this and wants to hurl herself upon the sun and thus destroy humanity by the 'cold night'." The visitant asked Bruē whether he was satisfied with this; he answered that he would prefer going on living. "Then," Venus declared, "you must vigorously admonish your people to give up abortion and to sing when an eclipse comes." Bruē obeyed, and Venus made "Our Mother" recede from the sun, so that the darkness passed away. While it lasted, a romšiwamnari' (p. 80), passed very close to the village in tapir shape. Otherwise in similar circumstances this cannibal appears in human guise, but with huge teeth.

Bruē thus described his second vision:

After midnight Venus appeared in a dream and said, "Take off all your clothing and paint with rubber latex [of the steppe tree *Castilloa* sp.]. Tomorrow

at noon we shall meet at the hill by the spring of the Agua Sumida creek!" The next morning Bruē painted; ate a little; then went to the rather distant place designated. When he got to the hill, a wind rose, driving him up the slope. At the top there was a pure steppe with only three paty palms. A soft call became audible, and turning around Bruē saw the planet in human shape seated on the ground on three broken-off paty leaves. From a cord round his neck a large falcon feather was hanging at the nape, and at first he seemed somewhat to resemble Bruē's dead brother. The star rose, and at first both wept. Then Venus said, "I am the son of Waptokwa's brother. He is angry because of the great bloodshed. Already so many Canella, Šava'nte, Canoeiros, and Kayapo' have been murdered by the Christians. He wants to destroy mankind. But if you so desire, you can prevent it by fasting and 'shutting up the water.' In each of these mountains there is water." Having brought from heaven two bits of coal wrapped up in leaves, he took them out and painted Bruē's legs as far as somewhat beyond the knees, then his hands. Then from his shoulder bag he took a little feather-case of burity leaf-stalks, from which he extracted a nape feather, which he tied round Bruē. He next bade him step to one side, and himself did likewise. Then there was a rustling underground, and the water gushed forth in a high, wide jet. "Shut it up!" ordered Venus. Bruē tried to stop the hole with his hands, but was unable to do so. "Stop it with your feet," Venus ordered. Bruē's legs sank into the hole down to the limits of his black paint; then he succeeded in closing it. The water ran off.

Venus then further taught him songs and finally extracted from another little box of burity leaf-stalk three small medicine packages—for the tempest, the world-conflagration, and the "cold night" respectively: of these Bruē was to choose one. He selected the first, not in order to injure his people, but in order to terrify his and the tribal enemies if they should some time threaten his and his kin's life.

Not long after came the great flood of 1926. The water burst forth all over the steppe, and the rivers rose menacingly so that all feared another deluge. Bruē pacified the people, telling them he would shut off the water. Three times he made them paint their legs black as far as above the knee and each time told them to wash off the paint in the creek by the village. Then he sang with them, and the flood passed away.

In the third vision Bruē received from Venus a little box a span in length, containing two little sticks hardly bigger than matches and painted black and red. Further he obtained a style of painting and a song. These magical properties can limit the duration of a solar eclipse or prevent its turning into "the cold night," which would spell the destruction of mankind.

Such articles obtained through a vision can be manipulated only by the recipient himself, though in exceptional cases he may transfer them to his brother or son. However, the belief is that before long the original owner will then die, for which reason the transfer really takes place only when the visionary feels certain of his impending death.

When I was preparing to leave the Šere'nte for good at the end of May 1937, Bruē, who even in 1930 had become extremely friendly, decided to give me, as a parting gift, the property received in his last vision.

On May 29th the villagers all painted themselves, and in the evening my hair was cut in Šere'nte style. Then the men, facing east, took positions on the plaza with their clubs. I myself came to stand between Bruē and another old šiptato'. Before us the boys were standing on mats, forming a curve open toward the east; the women formed a wing and a short line to the left in front of it. In this position we sang the wordless song revealed to Bruē in the vision indicated, for accompaniment pounding the ground with our clubs. Bruē waved his hand toward Mars, which was visible at an elevation of about 45°, east of the head stars of Scorpion. The chant was repeated until Mars was in the zenith and Jupiter above the horizon.

The next morning Bruē and I bathed before daybreak and, when Venus rose, both of us were decorated with the paint revealed in the vision, also with nape feathers and tufts of cotton in our hair. Once more the men stood in line facing east, with the women before them, and the children in front of the women. All were similarly painted and decorated with cotton tufts. Bruē and I stepped in front of the line, facing west. He then handed me the little box with the magical sticks, which I had to grasp at one end with my right hand so as to make it rest on my forearm. Bruē was similarly holding another case in his right hand—probably the one with the tempest medicine. Thus all of us twice sang the magic chant, which concluded the ceremonial transfer.

Bruē told me that, if "the cold night" should threaten, I was to hold the case in my hand and walk with outstretched arms toward the sun in eclipse. Then, though there were darkness everywhere else, I would be surrounded by light. He was rather nervous and talked about his now presumably having to die soon.

The paint of Venus and Jupiter visionaries consists in a horizontal black stripe round the shoulders; narrow, vertical lines of the same color on a red background descending from this stripe across the chest;

black elbows; and black lower legs. This decoration, peculiar to them, is put on only when they have to communicate to the people an important message from the star.

Mars visionaries paint the entire body black except the face, hands, and feet, which are red; the combination producing an uncanny effect. It is the paint of the demon Hiepāro-wawē, who appears only at night, usually to a lonely hunter at his stand. He has long, shaggy hair, and is considered the lord of will-o'-the-wisps. When his pupils, during their approximately six days' period of instruction, want to meet him in the woods, they carry with them a bull-roarer (hiepāro-wawē-wazdize', "howling of Hieparō-wawē") in an elongated lidded calabash. At the appointed spot they whirl it, and forthwith the demon appears.

According to Bruē, Mars appeared to his deceased wife in a dream during her illness and offered her dirty water to drink. She died soon after. True visions, however, are never experienced by women—for one thing, because they never roam alone over the steppe or in the woods. Except for a single instance, the feast of the dead (p. 100), they play no part in religious affairs.

Unfortunately I have only imperfect data about Aināhli's vision. One day, while hunting wild pigs, he saw a carrion vulture, which sat down close before him. He picked up a stone to throw at the bird, but it assumed human shape and said its father in the sky (Wairie?) was angry because nowadays the Šere'nte were celebrating only festivals after the Christian fashion. For that reason there would be a world-fire. Actually the entire region was then swathed in a vaporous haze. Finally, the visitant gave Aināhli' a style of painting and chants for averting the calamity. The decoration included, besides diverse details, several black rectangles, the size of a hand, on both sides of the chest and abdomen to represent the sky-holes through which the carrion vultures peer down at the earth.

When I arrived in Providencia in 1937, Aināhli' was just celebrating his carrion vulture ceremony. His sudden death before its close was interpreted as probably due to his having omitted some ceremonial feature or made some mistake.

The visions at the Great Fast are described below (p. 95).

DOCTORING

Mars' pupils are considered good doctors. They sing at night to the accompaniment of rattles, discover the cause of illness, suck it out in

the form of a maize kernel or a little piece of wood, and remove it from the patient's skin. If their skill proves inadequate, they enlist the aid of pupils of Venus and Jupiter—at least according to these latter visionaries. These doctor in the daytime; at a distance of 2 m, it is said; they use a wand, 60 cm long and painted red, to pull the cause of disease out of the patient's body so as to make it fall on the ground beside him. For the cure of a serious illness the medicine-man receives as his fee a plantation or pigs.

It is the pupils of Mars who hold communication with poisonous snakes and cure their bite.

At the approach of an epidemic the medicine-man puts across all paths leading to the village two staffs of crahyba (wude'-kwa') and paty palm (krie-ri'e) wood, respectively, which have been tied together. A good doctor is also able to gather together the disease in his hands and transport it to the west; or he may cover it with a gourd bowl, rendering it harmless by blowing on it.

Against threatening rain any individual may help himself by swishing about with a whip or by burning cotton seeds outdoors.

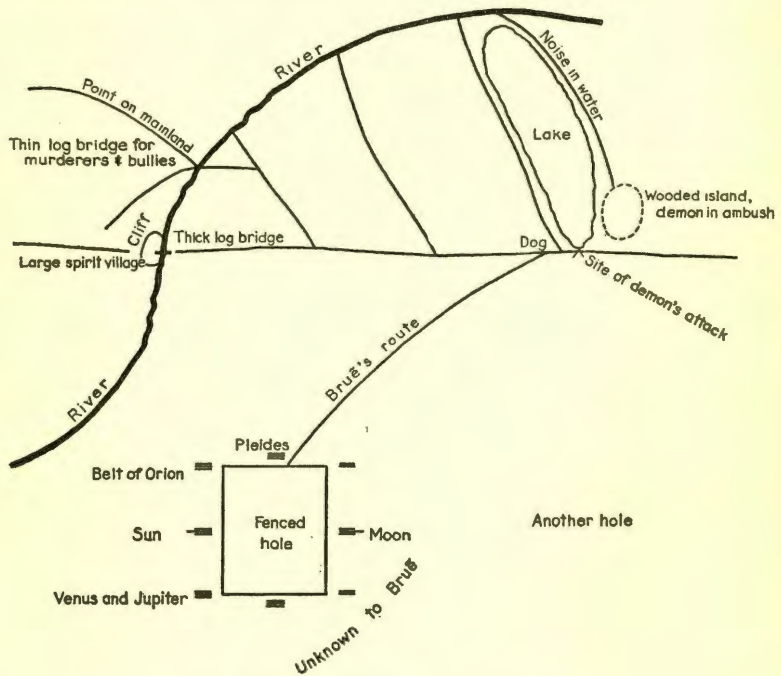


FIG. 4. Map of Bruē's dream experience.

HEAVEN AND HEREAFTER

Bruē told me he had already died twice, but each time Venus had restored his soul to its body. He described his shadow-soul's experiences during its separation and drew on the ground a chart of his adventures in the realm of the dead and in the sky (fig. 4). He spoke about all this with such assurance and conviction that I have not the slightest doubt as to his good faith. Throughout his account he refers to his soul in the first person:

I went along the path. It led through extensive steppes. Then at my right I saw a wooded island: there is the hiding-place of the romšiwamnari' monsters. At that spot one point of an elongated lake extended close to the path. From the wooded island onward a road led along the shore of the lake. I heard a noise and splashing as though a whole herd of capybaras were plunging into the water. Then I saw a little ahead of me on the path a furiously barking dog. This was to warn me, for close beside the path a romšiwamnari' was hidden in the water by the shore. As I wanted to pass, he attacked me; but I knocked him down and killed him. I looked at him closely: he had the figure of a stout Negro and the tail of a howling monkey and was carrying a long, pointed knife. He looked exactly like the Pope [sic!]. He would have devoured me if I had not killed him. I walked on. Several paths branched off from mine; they led through the steppe to the bank of the Kę-wakmōri' river. One led toward a point of the mainland on the other bank, but the foot-bridge spanning the river there consists of so thin a tree that a wayfarer inevitably falls into the water. This is the path for brawlers and murderers. I followed the straight path. It led comfortably by means of a thick trunk across the river, but on the other bank it stopped short at the foot of a cliff, where rocks towered on three sides. I climbed up and there reached a large village of the dead. However, I knew that I was not yet permitted to remain there.

I turned back in order to take the road to the sky, which I had already noted at the place where the dog's bark had warned me against the monster in ambush. In the sky I got to a big rectangular hole fenced round about with poles. On one side of the hole was Waptokwa's house; opposite, on the other side of the hole, was Wairie's dwelling. Next to Waptokwa's house was Belt of Orion's dwelling on one side, on the other that of Venus and Jupiter. On Wairie's side I saw several other houses, but I do not know those who live there. There are several other holes of this kind in the sky. Venus himself led me back to my body. He seized it by the hand and made it rise, so I was well again.

CATACLYSMS

Venus was living in human shape among men. His body was covered with malodorous ulcers and behind him was buzzing a swarm of blowflies. All the

people turned up their noses when he passed and refused to admit him when he asked for permission to rest in their houses.

At the end of the village he got to Waikaura's house, who invited Venus in, did not permit him to sit on the bare ground, but ordered the children to bring a new mat. He asked his guest whence he came and whither he was bound, and the visitor replied he had lost his way.

Waikaura' had water heated for washing the ulcers. Venus wanted to do this outdoors, but his host insisted on having it done within. He also called his virgin daughter, bade Venus sit on her thighs, and washed him in this position. Then he called for araça' leaves, grated them up in water, and again washed him. Thus the visitor recovered.

After nightfall the guest asked his host: "What would you like to have?" "I do not understand you." "Do you want to die or to live?" "I want to live! I do not know you, but Waptokwa' has given me a sign." "Yes, the other people in the village do not understand anything. I pity you as you pitied me. Waptokwa' is angry over the mutual massacring of the Indians. They have even pierced little children with arrows! So it would be better to destroy all of them at once. But tell no one and quickly pack up your belongings."

He ordered Waikaura' to kill a juruty dove (*Leptoptila rufaxilla*), and his host went away, leaving the daughter, on whose thighs the guest had sat, to entertain him. When Waikaura' had returned with the dove, Venus immediately told him that he had deflowered his daughter and asked what indemnity he was to pay. But Waikaura', despite his visitor's urging, refused any form of compensation.

Venus had the dove split open and spread apart by means of little sticks. He tied it to a cord a fathom in length, and Waikaura' had to suspend it from a tree by the spring. Before daybreak he ordered him to go down and see what had become of the dove. To Waikaura's amazement it had turned into a big boat.

In the morning Waikaura' packed his belongings into the boat, while Venus took leave and departed. Hardly had he gone fifty paces when a whirlwind lifted him up to the sky, where he vanished.

At nightfall Waikaura' put himself and his family on board. At once a distant noise became audible. A wanton mating with her lover in the bush heard it and roused the villagers. Some got up; others paid no attention and remained lying down. Then the flood came and carried them all away. Some kept above water for a while by clinging to gourd bottles; others succeeded in climbing high cliffs, but before long all drowned or died from hunger and cold. Only Waikaura' and his family escaped.

As noted, the exceptionally heavy flood of the Tocantins in 1926 led to the fear of another deluge, and the planet Venus revealed to Brué the means for averting the catastrophe.

No Šere'nte was able to narrate a genuine world-fire myth. But Aināhli's vision of the carrion vultures (p. 89) proves that the destruction of humanity by fire is conceivable for them. Like the Canella, the Šere'nte conceive Halley's comet as the means for such a conflagration, its last appearance in 1910 having caused great terror. A certain Azewē then assembled the residents of four villages and sang throughout several nights.

This is regarded as merely the beginning of "the cold night" that signifies the destruction of mankind by darkness and cold and through a raging cannibalistic demon. Fortunately it has hitherto always been possible to ward off this catastrophe from the start.

"The cold night," like the deluge and the world conflagration, is considered an expression of celestial wrath over human behavior in general. In the chants for averting the calamity the šiptato' play the main part, the sdakrā merely assisting. Bruē's relevant vision has been described. Another seer connected the last total solar eclipse with the transference of the late Brazilian ex-empress's bones to Rio de Janeiro, the news of which had got to the Šere'nte. In 1930 this man said to me:

All those in heaven were very angry and wept: "First they drove away the Imperador in order to torment the poor at will and now they even go as far as this." The solar eclipse came. Waptokwa' allowed his spittle to fall on Rio de Janeiro, and immediately the great fatal disease [the Spanish influenza of 1918] began to spread from there over the whole country.

The lunar is feared far less than the solar eclipse. The dark color is due to the blood thrown on the moon by Venus and Jupiter in the battle of celestial beings. I have vainly taken pains to learn more about this conflict. The people help the Moon so that he may help us, and the sdakrā, assisted by the šiptato', sing the pertinent chants until the darkness is past. Moreover, several men from both moieties shoot burning arrows (p. 77) against the moon in eclipse.

THE GREAT FAST

If a drought (sdakro' sauredi') is too long and too severe, endangering the crops, the Šere'nte conceive this, too, as an expression of their Sun god's anger. They then try to rouse his pity by having every one or at least the majority of the tribe undergo a great fast (dahēlwakul-kwa'), by far the most important of their ceremonies. By the multiplicity of its rituals, the number of participants, and the expenditure of

time and self-mortification, it eclipses all other ceremonies to ward off catastrophes.

Now, in their present habitat the Šere'nte enjoy such favorable climatic conditions that a dearth of rain never constitutes a serious menace. Even if a number of creeks go dry, the Tocantins and its many major affluents supply more than enough water for the needs of the Indians throughout the year. The query thus arises: "Why this extraordinary expenditure of effort to banish a difficulty of relatively negligible significance?" The simplest answer seems to be that this "Great Fast" was originally designed for a region where droughts formed a constant and terrifying menace for man. That the Šere'nte once lived in such a zone is indicated by a passage in a version of the Asare' myth:

He [Asare'] suffered from thirst. The brothers broke open tucum nuts and gave him the water they contained, but it did not quench his thirst. So they chopped down a pindahyba trunk, pointed it at the bottom, and all grasped it. They pushed it into the ground and pulled it out again, pushed again, etc., till the hole was as deep as this [4 m]; then they saw the tip of the tree was moist. Pushing further, they made water gush forth. . . .

This would not have been necessary in their present habitat. Further, the Šere'nte themselves say that they formerly dwelt farther east toward the Rio São Francisco. The tenacity with which they again and again invaded this region until the middle of the last century rests on the same tradition. Actually the watershed between the São Francisco and the Tocantins, as well as the area farther east, is much more exposed to drought, there being places where a year will pass without a single drop of rain.

On my first visit to the Šere'nte, in 1930, years had elapsed since the last Great Fast. Since none took place in the following seven years either, we may assume that it is a thing of the past. I am thus obliged to content myself with the reports of my informants on the last performance.

The decision to hold the fast emanates from those elders who have already participated in its performance (*sdakro'mhā*). These invite the residents of all villages to assemble for the purpose in one settlement. Two elders, one from each moiety, assume the place of directors (*iptokrda'*) and appoint two attendants and two precentors (*romnōk-nemrakwa'*), distinguishable by a forehead band of white bast, with falcon feathers at the nape of the neck. At the eastern exit of the village a ceremonial ground (*dasimpseze'*) is prepared.

Only the adult men present keep the fast; for which purpose they are divided into two major groups, the awakbonikwa' and the aimbati', and a supplementary minor group, the asare', comprising only a few old men. First the awakbonikwa' act as penitents, while the aimbati' take care of the provisioning of the assembly; then the two companies exchange parts; and finally the asare' fast for only five days.

At sunset the awakbonikwa' assemble for their first gathering on the ceremonial ground, where they sing all night under the leadership of the precentors. In the morning the women and children go home, the men remaining to make a large sunshade. Grouped by moieties, they sing on the site without any shelter till 11 A.M., sitting with uplifted faces turned east. Then they continue chanting under the sunshade till nearly 2 P.M., whereupon they again take up positions in the open to resume the singing with only minor intermissions. At night they hardly go to sleep. In the morning and evening the asare' bring them water in a painted gourd bottle, from which they pour out for each one a bowlful of the size of a hand. Each faster rinses his mouth and drinks the residue. Twice a day the two attendants collect manioc flat-cakes in large basketry bowls from the penitents' kin; these contributions being distributed among them by the precentors.

This routine continues uninterrupted for about three weeks. The penitents grow thin, sunburnt, and dirty, for during the entire period ablutions are forbidden.

Toward the end of their fast the performers see two black wasps (kbazipte') bearing arrows. The precentors, always the first to note them, lower their heads at once and cover their eyes with their hands; the others follow suit. The low singing of the insects—kē!-kē!-kē-kē-kē-kē!—becomes audible in the houses, where all the inmates hide from the wasps under mats, and at the sunshade. As soon as the wasps are gone, the precentors ask whether every one has seen the wasps and their arrows: otherwise the fast must continue until, after several days, the wasps reappear.

As soon as it is certain that all have seen the wasps, the precentors send the two attendants to the directors to ask for black paint. The directors have the attendants bring burityrana spathes, which the directors' wives burn up into charcoal and pulverize. The next morning the penitents paint themselves with the charcoal and the oily juice of chewed babassú kernels. They paint a line above and below each elbow; a horizontal line round the shoulders; also, descending from the latter

a triple stripe drawn with the index, middle, and ring fingers on each side of the chest and back, as well as across the flanks.

On this day they march singing round the village street and back to their festive site, where the rest of the day is spent chanting. Then three other wasps (krāzi': Neobrazilian, maribondo *surrão*) appear, flying with a low whistle over the dancers on the ceremonial ground and dropping three arrows for them to pick up. These arrows (wahi'-kummē-ri'e) are little sticks about 7 cm long, made of palm leaflet ribs with a black tip, cotton tufts on the shaft, and red butt. The wasps reappear several times on this day, dropping arrows till each penitent has received one. Otherwise the fast must continue till a few days later the wasps once more appear. Then in the evening, one of the directors collects all the arrows into one case of burity leaflet stalks and stores them, while the fasters continue singing all night.

The next morning the directors and the penitents run twice around the village and then to the spring; where they wash themselves and rub their bodies with *candeia* leaves, which the attendants provide in quantities. However, they do not dive, and wash the head only a little. Then the directors send the penitents to their homes, which they enter quite shamefacedly because of their appearance. After their hair has been cut and their brows and lashes plucked out by others, they return to the ceremonial site. Here they paint, put on the *copybara*-teeth necklace made for them by the directors, and sit down in two rows, segregated by moieties. In their hands they hold implements also made by the directors; viz., staffs of a man's height, with burnt ornaments and red *urucu* paint. All night they parade singing round the village street. Before daybreak the black *kbazipte'* wasps once more appear with arrows (*tpelda*), 30 cm long and of the thickness of a lead-pencil. The head is of *burityrana* wood; the shaft is decorated with cotton tufts; at the butt end there are feather vanes. The penitents singly run after the wasps and in their hands catch out of the air the arrows dropped by them. Thereupon a post one and a half meters in height is erected on the ceremonial site; it is furnished with several bast rings, into which all the arrows are stuck. Then the penitents go home, and eat and drink a little.

Now at a distance of some 500 m from the village, a spot in the woods round a big tree is cleared, round which the penitents camp. Here a *šiptato'* always lies next to a *sdakrā* of his *narkwa'* clan (p. 23). Two days later the directors order a hunt. Large meat-pies are made

and distributed among the penitents, who then go home to their wives. A few unmarried men sleep on the ceremonial ground by the post with the arrows.

Thus closes the self-mortification of the awakbonikwa', which is immediately followed by its exact duplicate on the part of the aimbatí'; and finally the asare' elders keep their five-day fast.

After all have subjected themselves to their penance, there is a general race with krankrā logs (p. 72). These are set up as usual: the one of the siteromkwa' team on the north, that of the htjmha' on the south of the ceremonial ground. In the middle, between them, a pindahyba pole, secretly prepared by the elders, is set up at night. It is 10 m in height and 40 cm thick and is called saikurze', "road to the sky." Everybody pushes near the pole and tries to embrace it or put his hand on it; those who fail at least place their hands on the tonsure or shoulder of the man ahead of them.

The first to climb up the pole is of the kuze' clan (šiptato'). In one hand he carries a wad of fine rosinous pindahyba bast, which may be previously examined by every one. At the top of the mast he raises it aloft, crying "Waptokwa', give us fire!" At once a spark drops from the sky into the bast, ignites it, and returns to the sky. The kuze' throws down the blazing bast, which is used to light the fires round about. After him others climb up in order to learn how long they are to live, for at the top the souls of their dead kin appear and answer questions. Every climber takes along some article—a bird's feather, a leaf, a seed, etc.—and before sliding down he announces, "I [i.e., the soul] shall turn into such and such an object." Then the object named is heard whirring down and dropping to the ground at some distance. One of the directors or precentors picks it up, shows it to the by-standers and collects all these transformed souls into a decorated gourd bowl, which is covered with another.

While the people are thus assembled near the pole, three seers (sekwa') appear and offer drinking-water. The Venus seer has clear water in a Lagenaria bowl of the size of a hand: its margin is black, as are its longitudinal stripes, bearing stuck-on ornamental tufts of cotton. Similarly, the Jupiter seer provides clear water in a little Crescentia bowl with a black stripe below the edge. On the other hand, the Mars seer in a tiny feather-stuck bowl offers roiled water (p. 89), which every one spurns.

Last of all, one of the directors climbs the pole. At the top he ex-

tends his hand eastward and receives the Sun god's message through an astral go-between—at the last Great Fast, through κ Orionis (Asare'). Slowly sliding down, the director avoids stepping on the ground immediately at the foot of the pole and silently walks aside. Not before the next morning does he communicate the message to the people, who have assembled in the shape of a semicircle: Waptokwa' was greatly pleased with the celebration; he is taking pity on the people and will send rain. However, they must not heed the talk of the Christians, nor wear their style of clothing, but should continue to wear their tonsure lest the tribe perish.

The pole is taken down before dawn and thrown into the water.

In the morning the penitents again march to their place of assembly in the woods, whither the arrow-post had already been transported. As usual, they sit down in two rows, separated by moieties; and the director or precentor who had collected the souls steps up before each one with the covered bowl. Extracting the man's transformed soul, he rubs it between his palms, exhibits the object, and, via the tonsure, rubs it back into the owner's body, which feels as though something cold were trickling through it.

Thus closes the Great Fast, and the participants disperse.

DEATH

The soul (dahiembra') is believed to leave the body by the front part of the head before the pangs of death are over. Bruë boasted that since his first Venus vision he had succeeded three times in retrieving a soul which had left its body. His magic wands, when put on the ground, would leap off, showing him the route taken by a departing soul. By reinserting it into the patient's head, he had cured him.

A dying man is surrounded by the invisible souls of his kin, which lead his soul to the village of the dead. The road thither and the adventures experienced on it have been described and charted (p. 90f.) according to Bruë's data. He pictured the settlement of the dead as far to the east or southeast, but on the earth, not in the sky or an underworld.

To decorate and bury the dead devolves on members of the clan that is narkwa' to his own. They cut his hair; put black rubber pigment and urucu on the body; and bury whatever remains of these pigments with the corpse, which is rolled up in mats in extended position. The package, tied to a pole, is carried to the cemetery by two men: in Provi-

dencia this was 1.5 km from the settlement, in a lonely corner of the steppe. The grave is a shaft over 2 m in depth. Two men standing at the bottom make the corpse squat. Four short forked branches driven into the floor of the grave support a roof of poles and mats, preventing earth from falling on the corpse when the grave is closed. Funeral deposits include a water-bottle; also a shoulder-bag for men, and for women a little basket for odds and ends. Children get a *crahyba* stick, 50 cm in length and painted red, as a "guide;" nurslings, a little ornamented gourd bottle with some of their mother's milk.

Writing of the unconfined Šere'nte-Šava'nte, Pohl says:

They inter the dead amidst great wailing and continued lamentation. The corpse is set squatting into a pit; bows, arrows, and some provisions are put beside him, transverse sticks are laid above his head. Thus he sits as though in a cave, over which earth is then heaped. His other possessions, as a rule most insignificant, are then burnt up, and while they are being consumed by the flames some one recounts the story of the deceased person's life, his exploits, hunting adventures, telling the number of enemies he had slain, the game he had brought down, etc.⁴

I have never seen a single cross on Šere'nte graves, but on several there was a post over 1.5 m in height. In one case a fence served to protect the grave from the roaming cattle of Neobrazilians.

Immediately after the funeral the mourners take a bath. They sweep the house and its road, and burn the refuse. Those *narkwa'* who decorated the corpse receive their fee as soon as possible; formerly it consisted of game or a sheaf of arrows. The grave-diggers used to get three bundles of arrows. Today it is customary, when at all possible, to compensate them with a little pig specially raised for the purpose.

In so far as there is any legacy, it goes to siblings, spouses, parents, and children. No one ever inherits from a dead uncle. The uncertainty of inheritance rules often evokes disputes. They became necessary only with the ownership of guns, iron tools, kettles, clothes, etc., for whose sake the Šere'nte abandoned their aboriginal practice of burning the residual possessions.

Mourners do not cut their hair nor paint themselves nor appear in public. This period lasts for two to three months, during which the lamentations of kinswomen are heard at first several times a day, later more rarely. Sometimes male relatives also wail, especially if an outside

⁴ Pohl, *Reise*, p. 170.

visitor should arrive whom they have not yet seen since the death. Aināhli' died while I happened to be away from Providencia for a few days. On my return his kinswomen surrounded me, wailing for probably half an hour while sitting around me. They shed quantities of tears, yet their lamentations do not approach the wild exaggerations of the Timbira. Usually they weep with their lips closed.

According to Pohl the Šava'nte-Šere'nte paint themselves black all over as a sign of mourning and wear an ostrich feather from their neckcord. The latter is presumably an error. He sets the period of mourning at only from 8 to 30 days, making it much shorter than my informants. The relatives mourned are parents, siblings, children, grandparents, grandchildren, parents' siblings, and siblings' children.⁵

If a widow becomes a wanton directly after her husband's death, the dead man's kin take away all she has inherited from him. Even if she marries before the sixth month, she is criticized, and the soul of the deceased appears in the new husband's dreams to quarrel with him, particularly if he does not treat his stepchildren well. In order to banish the shadow forever, the widow has pieces of tortoise shell, bull's horn, and pepper burnt on all roads leading to the house.

Secondary burial was certainly once practiced, but at present no one can give precise data on the subject. The last case occurred about twenty-five years ago in peculiar circumstances. A man died of snake bite beyond the Rio do Somno and was buried there. After several years his parents brought back his bones; one of the deceased man's narkwa' accompanied them, cleaned the bones, painted them with urucu, and packed them up in a basketry bowl. After they had returned to the village, he interred the bones there.

FEAST OF THE DEAD

This celebration (aikmā), held to honor certain eminent men soon after their interment, ranks next to the Great Fast in importance. The class honored comprises not only the village chiefs, the leaders of the men's societies, the pēkwa', and the kritāekwa', but also the wives of these functionaries, such extension being characteristic of Šere'nte society. Distinguished seers (sekwa') are also honored in this way.

In 1937 this otherwise obsolescent ceremony was celebrated at Providencia after the death of the seer Aināhli', i.e., as far as was still feasible. This was not by any means due to my presence, but because

⁵ Pohl, *Reise*, pp. 167, 170.

people felt the obligation to the soul of the dead man, who throughout his life had vigorously championed ancient usage, among other things always spurning clothes. Immediately after the burial, messengers were sent to the two neighboring villages Pedro Hume and Boqueirão. Five days later a painted messenger announced that the arrival of the Indians from Pedra Hume was due the next day, and went back with some provisions for them. The second day after this the ceremony began under the auspices of the *krara'*, to whose society the dead man had belonged, but on account of their small numbers they invited the *ake'mhã* to join them.

In the forenoon they cleared a spot in a wooded tract south of the village, where they painted themselves and manufactured staffs 2 m in height (*kupre'-nim-wudē-hu*). They engraved simple ornaments into the bark; then put the staffs into the fire so as to char the surface of the barked spots. Then, after complete decortication, the black designs stood out from the light background. In the center of the company a painted elderly kinswoman of the deceased was carrying a staff and wearing an occipital decorative fan of red arara tail feathers (*kwatem-nahi'*) which seems to be an exclusively feminine ornament, also worn at the transference of women's names.

At 3 P.M. an attendant carried the girdles, knives, bags, and clothes of the performers to the village, followed by the dancing owners, who were beating time on the ground with their staffs. They marched to the front of the dead man's house, where his kin were seated; while the widow, who had been delivered of a child only two days before, remained invisible. There the performers danced three times back and forth; then departed for the grave, where they wept leaning on their staffs. After this, one after another, manipulating his staff as a vaulting-pole, leaped over the burial mound; a ceremony supposed to give longevity to the vaulter. The woman with the decorative fan, however, had not come along, but sat down midway under a bush, where she waited for the men to come back. These returned to the village, where they entered the dead man's house, and renewed their lamentations. Thereupon they departed for their meeting-place in the woods, whither the relatives of the deceased sent large bowlfuls of food, which the performers distributed among themselves. After eating they returned to the village and dispersed.

My informants candidly declared that until not very long ago the *aikmã* would have been celebrated differently. The *krara'* invitation

should have been issued to all the villages. While waiting for the arrival of the guests, which occurs about a week later, the *krara'* attendants construct a camp of windbreaks for them in the plaza: two forked posts supporting a cross-beam against which *bacaba* palm rachides lean at an angle of 45° . This camp is arranged by moieties and clans like a village. In the meantime the wives of the leaders of the society, aided by extra women if necessary, manufacture a number of basketry bowls corresponding to that of the guests, these *sbo* being nearly 1 m in length. Instead of directly entering the village, the guests first camp about 1 to 2 km outside, whither the attendants bring the bowls, one for each adult, and *genipapo* fruits. The newcomers cut off a lid from these fruits, thrust powdered charcoal into the juicy interior of the fruit, and daub their bodies, but not their faces, with this black pigment. This is probably Pohl's black mourning paint. The performers decorate the bowls with the clan design, put them on their heads so that they hang down the neck and back, leaving the face uncovered, and march weeping into the village. There the attendants, carrying in one hand a *wude'-hu-pte'* staff and a huge ceremonial comb (*wakda'-kwa-zaure'*), nearly 0.5 m long, in the other, receive the guests, assign them to their respective windbreaks, and comb their hair. Under such shelter, then, the families camp during the ceremony, lying on mats brought with them. Each man longitudinally thrusts the staff with burnt ornaments through his basketry bowl, and thus plants it with its concavity toward the wind-screen in front of its entrance.

The next day the procession to the house of the dead, thence to the grave, and back again takes place as described, the performers wearing the bowls on their heads. Each society performs this ceremony singly in the approved sequence: *krieri'ekmū-annārowa'-krara'-ake'mhā*. On the same evening the bowls are collected, heaped together, and burnt. The staffs are likewise gathered and thrown into the brook. The societies, exclusive of the dead man's, organize a joint hunt and with their game-bag compensate the manufacturers of the ceremonial implements. This concludes the ceremony.

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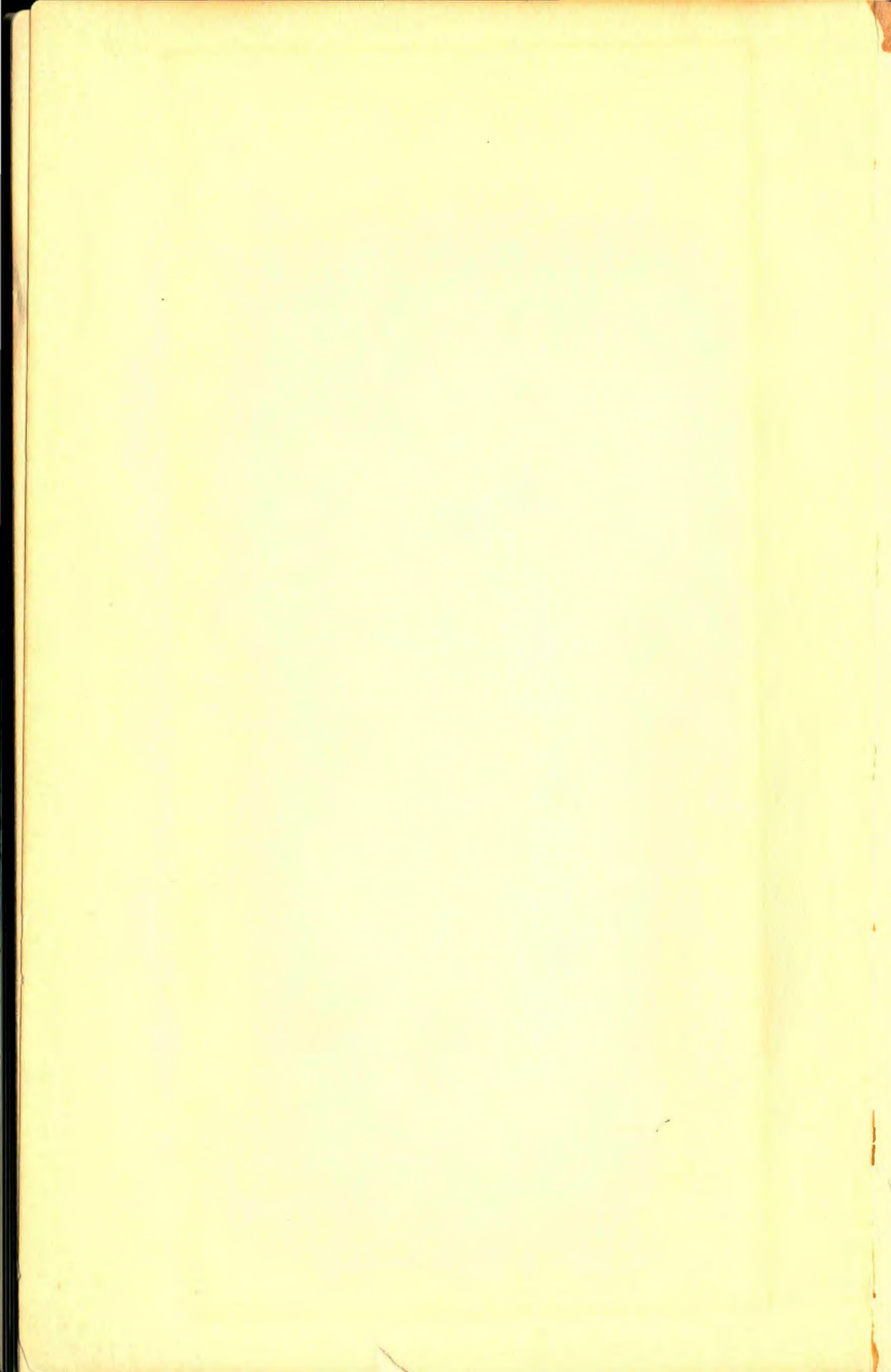
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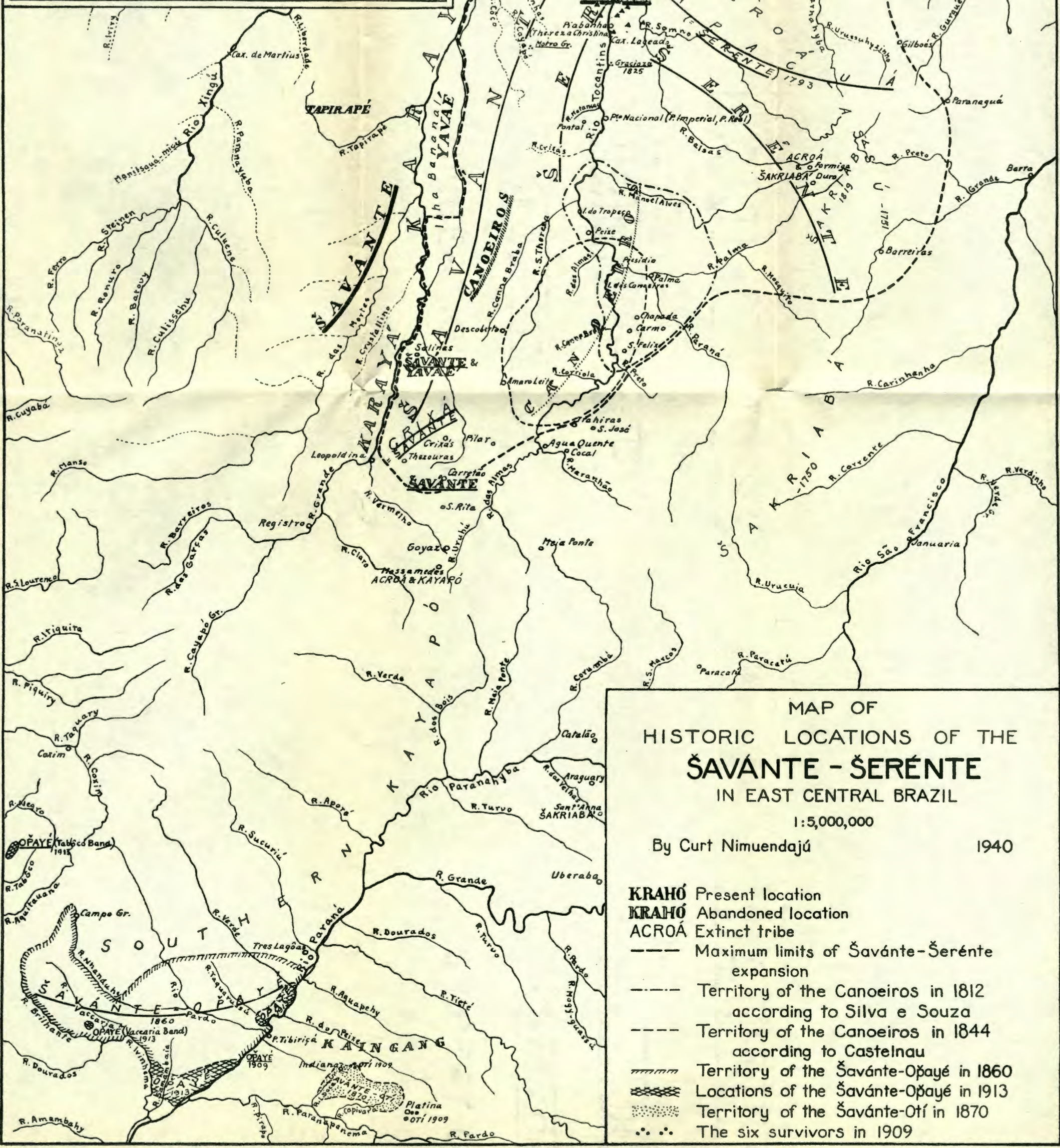
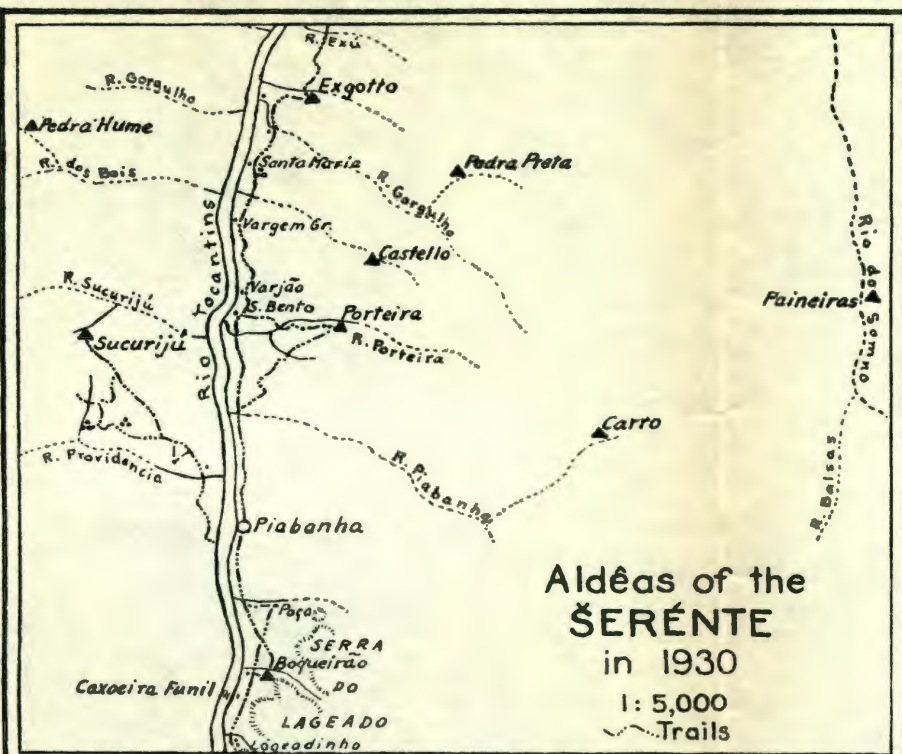
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MAP OF HISTORIC LOCATIONS OF THE ŠAVÁNTE - ŠERÉNTE IN EAST CENTRAL BRAZIL
 1: 5,000,000
 By Curt Nimuendajú 1940

- KRAHÓ** Present location
- KRAHÓ** Abandoned location
- ACROÁ** Extinct tribe
- Maximum limits of Šavante-Šerente expansion
- - - Territory of the Canoeiros in 1812 according to Silva e Souza
- - - Territory of the Canoeiros in 1844 according to Castelnau
- ||||| Territory of the Šavante-Opayé in 1860
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