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## 1. Description

**1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:** Enawene-Nawe, Saluma, EnaweneMawe; Aruak Language; Belong to the Maipure language family.

**1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):** UNK

**1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):** Brazil, NW of Mato Grosso state, Juruena river valley (close to the Ique river). Latitudes 11° 41' and 12° 40' south and Longitudes 59° 55' and 58° 24'.

**1.4 Brief history:** They inhabit a transitional area between the amazon tropical rain forest and the Cerrado in the Juruena river valley. They have historically inhabited an area between the Juruena and the Aripuana river basin. Occupation of this area was continuous until 70 years ago due to attacks by neighboring Indigenous groups. They have built their homes near the Ique River since the 1980's.

**1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:** Attacks by the Cinta Larga and the Ribktatsa people which forced them to move southward toward the Ique river. The telegraph line forced them to move to the primavera river (affluent of the Camarare river) until finally settling on the Ique River. They are presently fighting off soya bean farmers who are encroaching on their territory and the construction of hydroelectric plants near their territory.

**1.6 Ecology:** The Juruena river valley allows for cyclical use of the territory for subsistence, space for refuge. The movement of the Enawene-Nawe is dictated by agriculture, fishing and warfare. The Serra de Norte is thought to be the source of the genipap fruit used for painting.

**1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density:** The Enawene-Nawe population size is 566 people (Funansa, 2010), It consists of one village with a number of clans. They occupy an area of about 7520 km<sup>2</sup>.

## 2. Economy

**2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):** Cassava (manioc), corn

**2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:** fish and some insect supplements

**2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:** Bows and arrows used for fishing and as gifts, slingshots, hooks.

**2.4 Food storage:** Each communal group is responsible for the maintenance of storage space. The domestic groups within the residential houses cultivate on one or more crops of corn and organize wild fruit finding expeditions. The small family groups within these domestic groups maintain a manioc area about half a hectare and regularly collect edible insects and small scale fisheries.

**2.5 Sexual division of production:** Men are responsible for fishing, providing firewood and for felling, burning and planting the swidden while women are responsible for regularly weeding areas under cultivation, harvesting and food processing.

**2.6 Land tenure:** Each family group maintains a half-hectare area of manioc and corn. Every two years some members of the main clans switch roles in maintaining the large cassava plantation and playing hosts during the yakwa ceremony while the other members go on a fishing expedition.

**2.7 Ceramics:** Have clay pots, bowls and ornaments

**2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:**

**2.9 Food taboos:** Do not eat meat.

**2.10 Canoes/watercraft?** Canoes used for transportation and fishing, also using newer technology like motorized boats.

## 3. Anthropometry

**3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):**

**3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):**

## 4. Life History, mating, marriage

**4.1 Age at menarche (f):** Girls enter the Awitaroti phase when they receive their tattoos which happens between the age of 13-15.

**4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):** Women and Men enter Enetonasare/ Enetonasalo with the birth of their first child around the age 15 and the change in adornments.

**4.3 Completed family size (m and f):** Men and Women enter the Kolakalara/ Kolakalalo phase when they have their 4<sup>th</sup> child.

**4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):** Women on are on there fourth child by the age of 24 so birth intervals are short.

**4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):** Marriage occurs soon after the rites ceremonies marking sexual reproductively and occur around age 14-15.

**4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:** Divorces rarely occur within the Enawene-Nawe and those that do end in divorce, the couple had no children.

**4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:** The Enawene-Nawe family is characterized as the core of the clan system with a husband, a wife and their unmarried sons and daughters. Extramarital affairs may occur occasionally but polygynous marriages do not occur.

**4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:** A dowry of pots, ornaments fish bowels, bows and arrows are offered to future in-laws soon after the placement of the penile adornment ceremony.

**4.9 Inheritance patterns:** Follows a patrilineal line of inheritance and the uxorilocal marriages disperse male members of the clan temporarily until senility or the death of the most senior member of the clan causes change in the residential rules.

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**4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:** Sons and father avoid calling each other by their actual names and avoid interacting with each other. When in large groups the son will stop talking or walk away.

**4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:**

**4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):** Enawene-Nawe practice exogamy with marriage occurring outside of the clan group.

**4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?** The Enawene-Nawe believe that many sexual partners are needed for a woman to become pregnant. If the woman has more than one partner during her pregnancy than the baby will be a combination of those fathers.

**4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"):** They believe that a pregnancy is caused by the combination of menstrual blood and sperm in the womb.

**4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?** The Enawene Nawe believe that a woman needs to have lots of sex in order to get pregnant. A "reasonable" amount of semen is needed to achieve this.

**4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape**

**4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)**

**4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?** Both males and females have numerous partners at the beginning of their sexual phase but reduce the amount as they approach marriage. Some women will have other partners even after marriage.

**4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring** at the beginning of the sexual phase boys give gifts to girls who try to accumulate luxury items such as feathers, earrings and belts.

**4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?** Young girls start to look after young children in the Awitalotese phase around the age of 12 while their mother(s) goes to the swiddens to weed and maintain the cassava and maize fields.

**At 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females**

**4.22 Evidence for couvades**

**4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older):** If a child is born outside of marriage and the father does not marry the mother or recognize the child than the child is recognized by the mother patrilineal clan group. The fathers patrilineal clan group recognizes children born within marriage even if the child is believed to be the combination of a number of fathers.

**4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?**

**4.24 Joking relationships?** The Enawene-Nawe have joking relationships between in-laws and kin and the topic of sex is of great interest to them and they find humor in it.

**4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Patrilineal line of descent for names and clan organization** Clan groups follow a patrilineal line of descent Children born to an unmarried mother automatically belong to the mother patri-clan line of descent.

**4.26 Incest avoidance rules**

**4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?** After the rites ceremony marking their sexual reproductively, men will plant a manioc garden. Then the daughter's mother, his future-mother in law will offer him a fermented cassava based cheing tobacco made by her daughter, his future wife. The acceptance of this is seen as the engagement of the two parties. The mother-in-law and daughter now have access to the manioc garden. The daughter's father arrives at the son-in-laws house one day and formalizes the union by saying "Heta Nowa". This unites the two families and the son-in-law then goes to live with his father-in-law.

**4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?** Each clan has a collection of stored names. The names are passed down via the paternal line and causes a change to the generational succession following the death of a clan's member

**4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)** Because the Enawene Mawe are so isolated from other groups, the marriages occur within the community but the marriages occur outside of the clan group.

**4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?** Marriages are arranged between the parents usually when the children are still small.

**4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:**

#### Warfare/homicide

**4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:**

**4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:**

**4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:**

**4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):** The Enawene-Nawe are neighbours with the Menke, Nambiquara, Cinta Larga, Rikbaktsa and the Iranxe people. Numerous attacks by the Cinta Larga and the Rikbaktsa forced them to move southward near the Ique river.

**4.18 Cannibalism?** The Enawene-Nawe do not eat meat. It is seen as defective trait in their mythology.

#### 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

**5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:** The Enawene- Nawe live in one village with a population of 566 people and contains several clan groups.

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**5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):** They mainly stay near the Ique river.

**5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):** The clans are divided into two hierarchical system composed of the major clans (Aore) and the other clans or Adventitious (other) clans (Kahen).

**5.4 Post marital residence:** Uxorilocal marriage requires the husband to live with the wife's family.

**5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):**

**5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):** At around the age of 7 to 11 (Enawaretese/Enawalotese) the boys start to accompany their father on fishing expeditions and the girls remain close to their mother.

**5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:** Find humor in sex and have no problem discussing it in large groups of males.

**5.8 Village and house organization:** The village consists of rectangular communal houses organized in a circle around a court yard where ceremonies are performed and headball is played and circular house called a yakwa where the flutes are kept. The Enawene-Nawe live in communal homes with other paternal kin. The house is divided into residential sections based on areas of common use. Within the residential areas, the families divide themselves up into family group households.

**5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):** The house-of-clans at the center of the village where the flutes are kept and where ceremonies dedicated to the underground spirits are performed is the only specialized structure

**5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?** Each family has a hearth and they sleep in hammocks around the hearth in their

**5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:** The Enawene-Nawe organize themselves by patrilineal clan groups.

**5.12 Trade: :** The Enawene-Nawe are mostly self reliant and do not rely on other indigenous groups for goods.

**5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?** Social hierarchies seem to be based by clan groups with the main clan being more prestigious than the other clan The position of the flutes by the "historical" Enawene-Nawe in the house of clans dictated.

## **6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)**

**6 Time allocation to RCR:** The enawene-nawe define two seasons: the ceremonial season and the economic season when cassava and maize are planted. At the beginning of the dry season (April-Sep.) they plant cassava and maize followed by a brief ceremony. Then the men depart for the fisheries practiced in natural flow of rivers and lagoons and this is then followed by a long period of rituals and complements to the lerohi until the end of the dry season. With the beginning of the rainy season (Oct.-March) a brief ceremony of salumi is followed by another finish expedition and the collection of honey

**6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):** Shamans have high social prestige. They are believed to be able to travel to the celestial planes and communicate with the gods. They also ward away Dakotas (shadow spirits) who come near their village and usually use a bow and arrow to scare it away. There are both male and female shamans. Plant specialist provides contraception and other medicinal herbs that treat cuts and wounds. There are also wizards who specialize in revenge poisons and are socially invisible and hidden from the group.

**6.2 Stimulants:**

**6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):** At birth, the parents are placed in seclusion and follow strict dietary restrictions to prevent to passage of diseases to the newborn. Newborns have their head shaved and their ears pierced and are bathed with plant infusions. At puberty, a day before the placement of a penile adornment or sheath; a boy's mother will cut his hair. The mother and her daughters than prepare cassava bread to offer to his brother-in-laws (sister's husband or future wife's brothers) who will be present at the ritual. He is forbidden from eating fish, cassava or salt. His body is then painted with annatto dye and he is partly dressed in ceremonial clothing. His brother-in-laws than lead him to the house-of-clans, but his parents and siblings stay home. He then lies down on a mat and with his head resting on a brother-in-laws lap has his adornment placed. He receives the rest of his ceremonial clothing (yakwa) from his in-laws. He is offered bows and arrows by his in-laws and then taken back home where is family awaits him. Once received back the brother-in-laws are paid for the gifts they offered. After an "encounter" in the bush with a "sister-in-law", the boy then consumes a beverage until he throws up any food eaten. A meal is then prepared for the boy using blessed tools that were blown over by a shaman.

For women, after their first menstruation they receive a tattoo on their breasts and naval of a half moon. However, she can only have sex after her second menstration in which time the tattoos are made. She remains secluded for this month in the house. A person (rezador) is brought into the home to bless it. The next day the girl is offered a concoction, which makes her vomit all her food. The rezador than blows the other housed in the village. The girl is again placed in confinement during her second menstrual cycle and the house is again blessed and other houses also.

Death rituals include the making of a wooden urn the size of the body with moments of sobbing and forming clusters around the deceased. They are buried underneath the house along with their belongings and close kin perform ritual wails at certain times of the day that last for a number of weeks.

**6.4 Other rituals:**

**6.5 Myths (Creation):** *First Myth:* A man and woman virgins escaped death by drowning by climbing to the highest hill in the region.

When the water levels returned to normal, the couple generated many sons and daughters populating the different clans.

*Second Myth:* Believed that their ancestors initially lived inside of a rock but a woodpecker that drilled a whole into the rock and released them. They believe they are the descendants of a mythic population that inhabited the Juruena river valley and the surrounding region until a series of catastrophes almost annihilated them. The surviving members gathered around (sets of) yakaireti, the supernatural beings that inhabit the inside of the earth underneath the surface who lead them to the ancestors of the Awaresese. As they

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arrived at the village they headed to the house-of-clans where they deposited their flutes. Once the survivors united, they taught each other admirable customs while dropping customs believed to be defective. The “historical” enawene-nawe became identical to present day enawene-nawe after the uniting of the people and the clans flutes in a circular village.

**6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):** The Enawene-Nawe have the season of the ball game at the end of Salumi ceremonial period. They play headball with balls made from latex extracted from rubber trees. Their ceremonies include dancing and the blowing of gourds and chanting to create an orchestral

**6.7 Sex differences in RCR:** Every two years Enawene-Nawe women perform the Kateoko ritual that marks the beginning of the biennial economic and ceremonial cycle

**6.8 Missionary effect:**

**6.9 RCR revival:**

**6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:** They bury their dead in urns made from the bark of forest trees. After the funeral ceremonies, the deceased is buried in a deep grave underneath his hammock in the clan residence. All their belongings are buried with them and any objects capable of transmitting their memory. In the afterlife the bark casing gradually comes undone and the deceased comes face to face with a spider. Women without their half moon tattoos will be immediately consumed Men and children are exempt. Once they get past the spider they then have to cross a bridge made of tangled snakes. Once across the bridge they the dead person is greeted by his dakoti and a celebration ensues.

**6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?** After a person’s death, People also stop pronouncing the dead persons name and refer to them by their kin name. This is part of the Dakoti’s (a shadow of the dead person) journey to the village of the specters at the far end of the rainbow.

**6.12 Is there teknonymy?** Yes, they used the name of the father or the grandfather and add a suffix depending on gender to refer to children or grandchildren.

**6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.):** Enawene-Nawe religious beliefs are a mixture of animism and ancestor worship. They believe that the cosmos are split into four planes: The eno gods in the celestial planes, humans, dakotis and giant ogres (atahare-wayate) inhabit the terrestrial planes which is just an imitation of the eno, and the subterranean planes inhabited by the yakaireti(deformed, lazy) creatures who bring misery to the Enawene-Nawe. There is another plane beyond the eno that is believed to be beyond reach. The spirits that inhabit the celestial and the subterranean planes are also believed to be part of the different Enawene-Nawe clans and are seen as their ancestors that made up the original surviving members.

## 7. Adornment

**7.1 Body paint:** Enawene-Nawe paint their bodies red with annatto dye or black from genipap fruit

**7.2 Piercings:** Both men and women have black rings made from tucum piercing their ears and triangular shells threaded onto red cotton string.

**7.3 Haircut:** Men and women have long hair draped down their back and trimmed in a fringe above the ear

**7.4 Scarification:** Women have two half-moon tattoos around their naval and breasts.

**7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):** Chest adornments made from animal teeth, fruits and feathers especially those of parrots, red macaws, curassows and hawks adorn necklaces and headdresses

**7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:**

**7.7 Sex differences in adornment:** Men have chest adornments made from feathers encased in smoothly polished pieces of tucum coconut, thin cotton bands around the biceps, thighs and wider bands around the ankles. They also wear penis sheath as sign of modesty. Women also had thin bands biceps. Women had belts made from tucum dyed black and rapped numerous times around their waist and wore rubber rings around their thighs. They were cotton mini-skirts dyed red from the annatto plant.

**7.8 Missionary effect:**

**7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:**

## 8. Kinship systems

**8.1 Sibling classification system:** Daughters remain close to their parents while newly wed sons move to the other side of the house or out of the residence

**8.2 Sororate, levirate:**

**8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):** After a boy returns from the penile sheath ceremony to his home a “sister-in-law” or a second cousin (cross-cousin) invites him to meet her in the woods surrounding the village in the opposite direction taken by his brother-in-laws during the ceremony. She receives no gift for this.

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

1. One of the only indigenous groups who have learned to read and write their own language before learning Portuguese or Spanish. Aided by linguistic professors who helped them develop their language
2. The Enawene Nawe are able to identify 48 species of bees. Collecting honey is part of their daily activities and is also part of the Keteoko ritual of offering honey to the eno gods.

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