

1. Description

- 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Canela, Eastern Timbira, Je {1}
- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): ram {2}
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): 6° 03' S 45° 09' W {1}
- 1.4 Brief history: Decimated by the Cakamekra at the beginning of the 19th century, they surrendered to a regional Brazillian garrison for protection. Moved around until the late 1830s, when they settled in their present area. Have had to deal with farmers, ranchers, and political authorities, sometimes hostilely, since then. In 1963 a full messianic movement occurred. It included cult dancing to bring about a total exchange in cultural roles – the Indians to live in cities and the Brazilians to hunt in forests. They were moved to a Guajajara Indian reservation after ranchers attached because of extensive cattle theft. In 1990 they remained tribal, still speaking their language and performing their festivals. They have survived because of their remoteness from rivers and, later, from highways, and because little exists on their land to exploit. {1}
- 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:
- 1.6 Ecology: Historically only relied 25% on horticulture, now 75% {1}
- 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Historically – 1000 to 1500 people. After diseases went from 300 in 1930 to 903 in 1989 {1}

2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Historically – sweet potatoes, yams, squash, peanuts, maize, and mildly bitter manioc. Today are the backlanders' bitter manioc, dry-field rice, and beans {1}
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Most Canela raise some pigs and chickens for their families; cattle were introduced only in the mid to late 20th century {1}
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:
- 2.4 Food storage:
- 2.5 Sexual division of production: Men prepare the fenced fields, both sexes plant and weeding. Historically, women gathered fruits, nuts, and roots, whereas men hunted and fished. Today. Women harvest the crops except for rice which everyone gathers. Women fetch water and firewood; they cook, raise children and clean houses, but men construct them. Either sex will do any work when necessary.
- 2.6 Land tenure: The tribe owns all land, but fields and fruit trees planted by families are theirs until the the shrubbery has grown tall years later. {1}
- 2.7 Ceramics:
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:
- 2.9 Food taboos: It[sex] is only dangerous when it is “polluting.” They believe that such pollutants come from rich meats and other “loaded” foods. This was the only mention of food in a negative manner. {8}
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

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):
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): 15.5 years {6}
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f): 6.83 Children {5}
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): 2-4 years {5}
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): M(20-29) F(15-19) {5}
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Divorce only occurs when a man leaves his children, not his wife. Between the ages of 30-39, 7.9% of males are divorced and 3.1% of females; 40+ age group males = 2.9%, females = 4.2% v {5}
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:
- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: Minimal, Generally, daughters inherit from mothers and sons from fathers {1}
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: There were no stories or myths about earlier homosexual relationships among the Canela. However, I found three examples of this orientation during the 1950s and 1960s. Two of the three homosexuals were born during the 1910s. They wore wraparound skirts like women, except that they did not cover their knees while the women always did. They gave up racing with logs and hunting, and they worked hard in the fields and in domestic work, preparing food along with the women. I was not aware that they took care of babies. Both married. One of them had children, but his wife made him leave. Occasionally, they met with the council of elders in the plaza, but were not active there. As individuals, they were tolerated and respected, but they were not cultural models. The younger homosexual, who was born during the 1930s, sewed clothing at the Indian Protection Service's post and carried out duties more characteristic of women, but he did not wear a wraparound skirt. He married and had a baby in 1972, but others said that the

child's contributing fathers had made it. However, since then the expression of such activities has been socioculturally suppressed, in keeping with encroaching backland Brazilian attitudes. {8}

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Longhouse exogamy {1}

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? Partible paternity, and as many as a dozen fathers may be recognized.

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows"): Yes {8}

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? They believe that semen introduced into a woman's womb after she has become pregnant becomes part of the fetus. Thus, the men who have contributed in this way become ethnobiological fathers to the fetus, sharing common blood, in addition to the mother's husband. {8}

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

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

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? Formerly yes, now not as much {8}

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: Contributing fathers occasionally give their contributed-to children food, but they are not significant caretakers, and they do not assume the care of orphans related to them in this way. {8}

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? When a woman dies, her family tries to retain her widower for their children by marrying him to one of them. The sororate is their preference. {8}

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

4.22 Evidence for couvades: During the seclusion, which lasts some 40 days after birth, the woman calls her "other husbands" to take part in the ritual together with her effective husband. As she could have practiced serial, ceremonial sex with several dozen men during pregnancy, she identifies from one to four of these "other husbands" as those who contributed with a sufficient quantity of semen for the formation of the fetus. These men should observe food and sexual restrictions in such a way as to favor the growth and health of the child. If not, the life of the child is put at risk. Presently, there is no longer identification of these other husbands, but the belief persists. {7}

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships? Young children also listened to the joking relationships taking place between somewhat distant classificatory uncles and nieces, and aunts and nephews. Informal friendship relationships involve lifelong camaraderie, but include playing practical jokes on each other as well as sexual humor. Women seldom became informal friends with men, and never with other women. {8}

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Bilateral, matrilineality occurs only in the transmission of certain rights to perform rituals and only in about 1/4 of the matriline. Fully matrilineality and clans probably never existed. {1}

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? No, loss of virginity to a man without children constitutes marriage, but the union is weak and often broken. It is cemented by childbirth {1}

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Parents arranged most marriages and childhood engagements, but now couples initiate marriages. {1}

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: Formerly, the Canela contracted marriages. The mothers of the potential couple got together because they wanted a connection between the two families. These contracted marriages were between a man aged 15–20 and a girl aged 5–7. However, most of these engagements, did not result in marriages. These days, marriage is the personal choice of both parties. Love is a primary factor, but women think of the hunting abilities of men and are concerned with their money-earning abilities. {8}

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):

4.18 Cannibalism?

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: 500 {1}

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Relatively strong chieftainship for Amazonia, but a council of elders checks the chief's power. {1}

5.4 Post marital residence: uxori-local {1}

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): Boys and girls are separated around 6-7 years of age {6}

- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: The aunt–nephew and uncle–niece relationships are the great joking institutions in Canela society, but this joking occurs only when the kinship is not immediate. Individuals related in this way feel that they have to joke sexually whenever they meet. {8}
- 5.8 Village and house organization: Large circular village, with approximately 60 longhouses consisting of “hearths” which is based on two to seven closely related females, ideally a mother and two to three daughters and their husbands, children, and unmarried brothers. A row of hearths is called a “longhouse” {1}
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses): Men’s houses in preparation for initiation rituals {3}
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Platform beds {6}
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: five moiety systems, five men’s societies, six plaza groups, a high-/low ceremonial dichotomy (wetheads/dryheads), and numerous matrilineal- or personal-name-based ritual memberships. Because of this complexity, every man has at least six memberships, all of which provide different settings for male cooperation and bonding. The age-set moiety system provides the most important male membership by far, because it operates daily. {1}
- 5.12 Trade: Historically slight because they were largely self-sufficient {1}
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- 6 Time allocation to RCR: For 3 months of the year, their summer festivals, they participate in different secular and ceremonial rituals 3 times a day. They do have various rituals, again both secular and ceremonial year long. {3}
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Some cure, few also throw illnesses. They believe in modern medicine, their own herbal medicines, and in the rural backlanders’ herbal medicines {1}
- 6.2 Stimulants:
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): These three festivals parallel each other in many ways: the first (Khêêtúwayê) emphasizes prepubertal security relationships: the second (Pepyê) focuses on postpubertal life challenges; and the third (Pepkahàk) clarifies and sanctifies various adult roles. {3}
- 6.4 Other rituals: The rites of passage for adolescents consist of ear-piercing for the boys and seclusion for the girls, at the time of their first menstruation. {7}
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): An origin myth recounts that Sun and Moon walked over the land, creating the norms for social life. Sun established the norms favorable to life while Moon modified them to test its imperfections. Sun created ideal men and women while Moon created those with twisted hair, dark skin, and seen as deformed. Sun allowed machetes and axes to work by themselves in the gardens, while Moon made them stop. Consequently, men had to work hard to make their gardens - the origin of work. There are at least a dozen episodes of this myth which recount the beginning of death, floods, forest fires, and why the buriti palms are tall and the moon has its spots, besides other conditions. {7}
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Almost daily athletics include track events around the village boulevard just inside the circle of houses and team relay racing to the village from 2 to 12 kilometers outside by individual runners carrying 100-kilogram logs. Recreation also includes the formal (festival-sanctioned) and informal (personally arranged) activities of the extensive extramarital-sex system. Music (choral sing-dancing) and drama (festival-pageants), rather than painting and decorating objects or the human body, are the developed arts. Festival-pageants are frequent and varied, and their dramatizations model all social roles and traditional values for the young to learn and the old to maintain. {1}
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Women rarely become shamans {1}
- 6.8 Missionary effect: They rely more on Catholicism or folk Catholicism now. {4}
- 6.9 RCR revival:
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: Used to go to the land of the dead, but now go to heaven because most have been baptized. In the ghost’s village, souls did the things the living did but in a milder manner. After some time, ghosts became large animals, then smaller ones, and finally tiny entities such as gnats. Then they disappeared entirely. A soul was not eternal. Ghosts usually injure the living when they meet them, but they like to help the shamans who are maintaining stringent restrictions against pollutants. {1}
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?
- 6.12 Is there teknonymy?
- 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)
The Canela believe in the worlds of the great birds above the sky, of the dead to the west on the earth, and of the fish and alligators under the earth. Today, this cosmology includes the folk-Catholic heaven. They believe that all animals, plants, and materials have a soul or essence (karõ). They are convinced that if persons avoid polluting foods and most sex, they will grow strong and be able to carry out certain adult activities (e.g., running, hunting, and shamanism) well. The only culture hero active in modern times is Awkhêê, whose support was invoked in the messianic movement of 1963. Other culture heroes were Sun and Moon, who set most parameters for living, and Star-Woman, who showed the Canela maize, other staples, and certain fruits. {1}

7. Adornment

- 7.1 Body paint: "Paint" is put on the body to make a person feel better or to express a person's status or physical well-being of the moment (W. Crocker, 1986). Paints can be applied to all parts of the body except the hairy areas, genitals, and palms of hands and soles of feet. While women paint men and each other, men rarely paint each other and paint women only when they are applying charcoal and latex to their lovers. People of any age are casually painted red and black, though older persons tend to have themselves painted less often and prefer black. Individuals are painted far less frequently these days, as people tend to wear more clothing and adopt backland attitudes. This reduction in usage was well in progress by the late 1950s and was accelerated by the Canela stay in Sardinha in the mid-1960s {6}
- 7.2 Piercings: All males have their ears pierced as a initiation ritual {7}
- 7.3 Haircut:
- 7.4 Scarification:
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): headbands, necklaces, round ear spools, armlets, belts {6}
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: feathers, tassle bracelets, staffs, diagonal shoulder-arpmit sashes of cords, rod pendants, life size body masks, padded arrows and lances {6}
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Besides body paint, the men have most of the other forms of adornment, ceremonial or otherwise{6}
- 7.8 Missionary effect:
- 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: Ideally, ego calls all women in his or her across-the-circle-related longhouses "father's sister" and the men "father" (father's sister's son) or "mother's brother" (mother's father's sister's son/father's father's sister's son), with many exceptions. {1}
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: Sororate occurs when a widow's kin succeed in retaining her widower for their children – ideal but infrequent. Levirate is not practiced {1}
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Crow{1}

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

1. The canela used to believe heavily that the ghost world and the human world were essentially one dimension, where ghosts just enjoyed the pleasures of life less than their human counterparts. Now there is more of a distinction of the world-above, earth world, and world below. {4}
2. Premarital sex for girls does not exist, because her first act of intromission means that she has become married. Extramarital sex, both trysts and sequential sex, was compulsory for both sexes. Today, they hold the same belief about first marriage for a girl, but trysts and sequential sex are no longer compulsory for her. Extramarital trysts have become dangerous because they arouse the jealousy of husbands. Sequential sex has become rare, and may exist only for a group of men in a festival, when they pay for it. Thus, it has become more like prostitution. {8}
3. The parents are ashamed to face the sexual matters of their children, so they leave such education to the uncles and aunts who have little sexual shame before their nieces and nephews. Uncles talked nephews out of sexual jealousies, and aunts coaxed nieces into sequential sex situations and private trysts. {8}
4. A girl who appeared to be menstruating before she had lost her virginity was accused of hiding the name of her lover. Sex brought on menstruation, they believe, so she must have had sex, but who was the young man? To find out, they summoned an aunt to examine her genitals, forcefully if necessary. {8}

Numbered references

1. "Canela" by William Crocker 1994
2. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=ram
3. Canela Initiation Festivals: "Helping Hands through Life" by William H. Crocker
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5. SOME DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF THE CANELA INDIANS OF BRAZIL by Margaret E. Greene and William H. Crocker
6. The Canela (Eastern Timbira), I: An Ethnographic Introduction. By William H. Crocker
7. <http://pib.socioambiental.org/en/povo/canela>
8. Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender: Canela by William H Crocker