

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

Society: Xokleng (or Botocudo)

Language: Krenak

Language Family: Macro Gê, a subset of the Jê family (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

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

xok

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):

Near present day Santa Catarina

27°50'S 48°25'W

1.4 Brief history:

Before the Europeans arrived, the Xokleng were a prosperous, healthy society. They had a very strong framework of social organization with traditions going back to ancient times. They were big on agriculture where they planted a wide range of crops. Their numbers were in the thousands and on the upswing. Then like almost all the Indian societies, the Xokleng became devastated by the European expansionism. Their numbers quickly fell due to the deliberate acts of the Europeans (mainly the Portuguese) to destroy them. Some of the methods the Europeans did to destroy the Xokleng were to purposely spread small pox among the society, awarding medals to whoever killed the most Indians, and kidnapping their children for slaves. The Xokleng weren't war-like, but nevertheless they were in constant bloodshed with the Europeans. This war caused the Xokleng society to break up because the structured organization the Xokleng had, made them vulnerable to the Europeans, so they had to give up agriculture all together by adapting to a nomadic hunter/gatherer society. Today the Xokleng's population is only in the hundreds, and the people, for the most part, have been acculturated into Brazilian society. (Salomon, pg 335-442)

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

Missionaries unintentionally intensified the war between the Xokleng and the Europeans. The Missionaries tried to maintain the structure of society by keeping them all in the same place, and this allowed the Europeans to come through and massacre a whole group at a time. (Nimuendajú , pg 101)

1.6 Ecology:

The Xokleng were split between the forests and savannahs. A big part of their lifestyle was living off the forest. They hunted and ate the animals around them, while they also farmed the land. (*Countries and Their Cultures*) Early on before the Europeans arrived, the Xokleng practiced hunting and horticulture. However, once the Europeans arrived, the Indians were in constant war with the whites, which caused them to leave their native lands for a foreign area. (Salomon, pg 338)

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

Average group size: 300. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

Maize, pumpkin, beans, pine nuts, wild tubers, honey, birds' eggs, papayas, and several other fruits (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

Their main protein source came from the meat they hunted and gathered. Some important animals that hunted were the tapirs and parrots. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

Their only weapons were reed spears and bows and arrows. (*Botocudo People*)

2.4 Food storage:

2.5 Sexual division of production:

Females dealt with all the household roles, while the men go out and hunt and farm. (Keane, pg 206)

2.6 Land tenure:

2.7 Ceramics:

The pots and cups they used were fashioned out of bamboo canes. (Keane, pg 206)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos:

“Parents must observe food and other taboos when their children are born.” (*Countries and Their Cultures*) I found this fact interesting, but unfortunately, I couldn’t find any more information on these taboos.

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

No canoes or watercrafts were used within this society. Whenever the people needed to cross a large river, they would cut down a large tree and use that tree trunk to function as a bridge over the river. (Salomon, pg 335)

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

Male: 5 feet, 5 inches. Broad shoulders, muscular build. (Keane, pg 202)

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):

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

Families consist of the parents and 4-5 children. (Keane, 206)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

Male: 18-20

Female: pre-puberty – 17 (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

The chiefs almost always married polygynously, while it was also extremely frequent for the other males to marry polygynously, too. (Nimuendajú, pg 100)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

Yes to bride price. The man usually pays the father of the bride tribute in either some meat or work. (Hartt, pg 598)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

Whenever there was a thing or a title to inherit, it would go down to the first son. For example, the chief would pass down his “Chief” title down to his son. (Nimuendajú, pg 106)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

The Xokleng practiced exogamy. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”)

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

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

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

No, females are treated merciless in this society. Females can’t even express sexual jealousies. (Hartt, pg 598)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

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)

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

4.24 Joking relationships?

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

The Xokleng were traditionally patrilineal. The people had personal and family names, and those names were passed down patrilineal. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

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

The name gets passed down patrilineal. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

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)?

Traditionally marriages are arranged, though it is common for the people to pick their own spouses, and when this does happen, they have to go through the formalities of letting their parents “arrange” the marriage. (Nimuendajú, pg 100)

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:

Ingroup violence: When a man is offended by another, the two would fight with wooden clubs, though the two would make an effort to not kill each other. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

Outgroup violence: When the Xokleng attacked their enemy, they would do premeditated dawn attacks on that village. The defeated men would get their heads cut off, while the women and children were adopted into the Xokleng society. (Nimuendajú, pg 213)

- 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?

No, the Xokleng did not participate in any form of cannibalism, although the Europeans thought they did because they would keep some of their enemies' body parts as trophies. (Keane, pg 206)

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

Xokleng society was organized politically into clans and chiefs. The chief would provide the clans with gifts and feasts, and in return the clans would follow the chief's leadership. Whenever the chief couldn't provide things for the clans, the people would start following a different person who would emerge as the new chief. (*Countries and Their Cultures*) The chief not only tended to be the strongest, but was also considered to have very strong supernatural powers. (Nimuendajú, pg 219)

- 5.4 Post marital residence:
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:
- 5.8 Village and house organization:

“The Xokleng traditionally lived in arched lean-tos, which were sometimes paired to make a hut.”
“Their dwellings were rough shelters of leaf and bast, seldom 1,5 m high.” (*Botocudo People*)

- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

They didn't have hammocks. The people typically slept on the ground. (Keane, pg 207)

- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

Xokleng was organized socially into clans. Each family was grouped into a clan, and each different clan held its own distinctive name and body paint. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

- 5.12 Trade:
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- 6 Time allocation to RCR:
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Yes, shamans were extremely important in the society. The Xokleng had deep beliefs in the spirit world, so they put a lot of faith in their shamans. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

- 6.2 Stimulants:
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

In an important ritual and celebration, males ages 2-3 had their lower lip pierced. (*Countries and Their Cultures*) They celebrate this ritual at this time because they believe this is when the male acquires their first (of five) souls. (Nimuendajú, pg 106)

The dead were cremated. (*Countries and Their Cultures*) The ashes are spread out in a specific place that was designated by the family. At the places of the person's ashes, the family kept fires burning for some days to scare away evil spirits, and during storms and eclipses, arrows were shot into the sky to drive away demons. (*Botocudo People*)

- 6.4 Other rituals:

6.5 Myths (Creation):

The Xokleng had many myths.

According to one of their myths, in ancient times there was no night, and then a man came down from the sky and asked to be killed. People killed him, which brought on the night. He rose a couple hours later, bringing with him the day, and then this cycle has continued ever since. (Nimuendajú, pg 110)

Blood feuds were very common among clans, and some feuds went on for so long that the clans forgot why they hated each other. In order to rationalize their fighting they incorporated their feuds into their creation myths, which is to imply that they've been fighting since the beginning of time. (Nimuendajú, pg 101)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

Their only musical instrument was a small bamboo nose-flute. (*Botocudo People*)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

6.8 Missionary effect:

6.9 RCR revival:

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

If a man was bad and then died, then his spirit would take the form of a jaguar. (Nimuendajú, pg 105)

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 Xokleng practiced animism. "They attributed all the blessings of life to the day-fire (Sun) and all evil to night-fire (Moon)." (*Botocudo People*)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

Each family had their own distinct body paint. (Keane, pg 210)

7.2 Piercings:

It was very common for the males to have "tembeitera, a wooden plug or disk which is worn in the lower lip and the lobe of the ear. This disk, made of the specially light and carefully dried wood of the barriguda tree." (*Botocudo People*)
The plugs tended to be around 3 inches in diameter. (Keane, pg 211)

7.3 Haircut:

Their hair cut was sort of like present day "bowl-cuts," while it was completely shaved on the sides and hair on top. (Keane, pg 3)

7.4 Scarification:

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

The males would wear items (such as teeth and hair) from their enemies as jewelry. (Keane, pg 206)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

The opposite is actually occurring. The Xokleng have given up their traditions and are completely acculturated into Brazil life. They no longer wear lip and ear plugs, and they now wear Western-style clothes. (*Countries and Their Cultures*)

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

There have been instances of sororal polygyny and some cases of levirate, though sororal polygyny was more popular. (Nimuendajú, pg 100)

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

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