

Name: Abby Rehard

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Kadiwéu (also spelled: Kaduveo, Caduveo, Kadivéu, Kadiveo),² other names include: Ediu-Adia and Mbaya-Guaikuru.³ They speak the Kadiwéu from the Guaikurú language family.²

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): kbc³

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Mato Grosso do Sul, around Serra da Bodequena, 57°W, 22°S⁴

1.4 Brief history: The Kaduwéu, commonly referred to as the 'horsemen Indians,' is the last surviving group of the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá. With its warlike society, the Mbayá were ranked based on their war honors and their possession of slaves. To maintain their population, captured women and children were integrated into the tribe. The Mbayá were introduced to the horse by 1672, increasing their mobility and military power.¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, the Mbayá population was diminished from smallpox and influenza.⁴ "During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans."² The Brazilian government granted the Caduveo possession of land in southern Mato Grosso at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Kadiwéu, the survivors of the Mbayá, are "itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists" today.¹ "The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture."¹

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: "The first report available on the Guaikurú dates from the 16th century, coming from a European expedition that penetrated the Chaco region in search of precious metals deep in the continent's interior. Many Mbayá groups were under the influence of missionary reductions from the start of the 18th century. During the same century and at the beginning of the following, the contact with colonizing fronts intensified with the establishing of military forts along the course of the Paraguay river, both Portuguese and Spanish, which disputed one another over the definition of borders. The towns founded in the region made up part of their historical context, very often marked by conflicts - though sometimes by accords, such as the one celebrated in 1779 among the Mbayá and the Spanish and another agreed in 1791 with the Portuguese."² Today, the Kadiwéu have land disputes with encroaching tenant farmers and cattle ranchers.²

1.6 Ecology: Their reservation, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers and bounded by the Paraguay and Serra Bodequena Rivers, has "rich, black soil, well watered and well drained...in spite of this the Caduveo have not yet taken to agriculture as a principal occupation."¹ The land was chosen for its rich game and its natural defense barriers, namely the escarpment of the Serra da Bodequena and marshes around the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers.¹

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: Population size – 1,346², "the Kadiwéu population divides into four villages,"² therefore mean village size is approximately 336.5, no information found for home range size or density

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, squashes, bananas, mangoes, rice, and sugarcane¹

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Deer, tapir, wild pigs, capybaras, monkeys, jaguars, rhea, and fish¹

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: They use guns to hunt game in the jungle and catch fish with hook and line. They also poison pools with "timbó" to catch fish.¹

2.7 Ceramics: Pottery – "Today the Caduveo make an assortment of jugs of various shapes, jars, pitchers, cups and bowls...Besides vessels, the Caduveo today make small figures of horses, cattle, and dogs, ranging from 2 to 4 inches in length. These are given to children to play with or are sold to visitors."¹

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: No information found

2.9 Food taboos: No information found

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? No information found

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): No information found

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No information found

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No information found

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): No information found

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): "Among all I knew but four couples, who, being exceptions, had two children. All the rest had either one or none."¹

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): No information found

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): "Girls may marry after puberty, and boys whenever they can find a wife."⁴

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: "Marriages are quite unstable and short-lived, and only first marriages are celebrated."¹

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: Monogamous⁴

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry? Gifts are exchanged between parents.¹

4.9 Inheritance patterns: No information found

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Infanticide is a well-known Mbayá custom. "The Caduveo admit that they practiced infanticide in the past and claim that even today expectant mothers bring about abortion or kill the child at birth. When questioned about this custom the Caduveo explained that as a woman was prohibited from having sexual intercourse while nursing a child she would often kill the child rather than have her husband desert her. Another reason which they give is that as the Caduveo were forced

- to move rapidly from place to place, especially after they adopted the horse, infants were a burden and were not sought by married couples. To maintain their numerical strength they captured boys and girls who were able to take care of themselves.”¹
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: “Berdaches,” men who dressed and painted themselves like women and lived with men, existed in the old days. “They claim that homosexuality is common even today.”¹
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): “Among the Guaycurú [Mbayá] there exists no statute or custom which obliges the people to marry within their own nation. One meets many married to captives, either Spanish women or Niyolola.”¹ Marriages with the neighboring Têrena group are common.²
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized? No information found
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”) No information found
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No information found
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape? No information found
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) “An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins.”¹
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No, she must not have sex before she is married and is prohibited from having sex while nursing her child.¹
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring? No information found
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? No information found
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: “The relative scarcity of women means that men do not marry until quite a bit later than girls or women.”⁴
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: No information found
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)? No information found
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? Father-in-law and mother-in-law avoidance by the husband even though he lives in their home.¹
- 4.24 Joking relationships? No information found
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: No information found
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: An individual cannot marry anyone he or she calls sister or brother.¹
- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? In traditional Mbayá society, there was no marriage ceremony according to Sánchez Labrador. In Caduveo society, “On the day set for the wedding, the groom, his parents, and friends go to the bride’s home. On reaching the bride’s house the group remains outside while a messenger enters and explains that the groom has arrived. The group then enters the house and the bride’s father tells the groom to sit on the bride’s bed. The bride’s father then offers food to the groom which he refuses. After some time the group departs, leaving the groom alone. The father then fetches his daughter, who has been secluded, and tells her to sit by her husband. On the following day the bride’s father gives a feast and dance.”¹
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? Child takes the name of one of its grandparents.¹ “It is from 'stories of awe' that the Kadiwéu extract their personal names - I have also called them 'nomination myths.' Many of these myths are the property of chiefs' families, and the personal names that derive from them may be used by their descendents and captives. In many of these stories, the protagonists are mythological ancestors of chiefs' families.”²
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Marriages with the neighboring Têrena group are common.²
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Parents of the boy and girl arrange the marriage; the boy’s parents take the initiative.¹
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: No information found

Warfare/homicide

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No information found
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: No information found
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Infanticide - “The Caduveo admit that they practiced infanticide in the past and claim that even today expectant mothers bring about abortion or kill the child at birth. When questioned about this custom the Caduveo explained that as a woman was prohibited from having sexual intercourse while nursing a child she would often kill the child rather than have her husband desert her. Another reason which they give is that as the Caduveo were forced to move rapidly from place to place, especially after they adopted the horse, infants were a burden and were not sought by married couples.”¹
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): To maintain their numerical strength they captured boys and girls who were able to take care of themselves.”¹ “More recently, the demarcation of their lands, concluded in 1981, was surrounded by heightened tension with invaders and left one of the Kadiwéu villages - Xatelôdo, located in the Serra da Bodoquena uplands - outside the perimeter. The resulting conflicts, notably those occurring in 1982 and 1983, were widely reported in the media. This history has also been marked by inevitable conflicts with tenant farmers. Cattle ranchers started to penetrate Kadiwéu territory almost five decades ago, with reports of a first invasion in 1952. Since the end of the 1950s, they began to occupy this territory in another form with official authorization from the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio (SPI, the Indian Protection Service, a forerunner body to today's FUNAI). By 1961, 61 individual contracts with tenant farmers had already been signed. This occupation significantly altered the Indians' use of their own land. At the start of the 1990s, 89 tenant farms were located within the Kadiwéu Territory, extending across almost the entire territory such that the Indians are squeezed into the areas surrounding their own villages.”²
- 4.18 Cannibalism? No information found

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: “The Kadiwéu population divides into four villages,”² therefore mean village size is approximately 336.5. “In 1992, the Kadiwéu of the Bodoquena village were distributed between 110 houses.”²

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): No information found

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Chief or ‘cacique’ and his advisers make political decisions. “The right to become chief is hereditary. Today, this right is recognized to belong ‘naturally’ to the firstborn great-grandchild of the Little Chief, a venerated past leader. However, the rules determining access to the chieftom have become more flexible. The ‘captains,’ a term that refers to the chief or ‘cacique,’ are nowadays chosen from within the group and, over the course of their recent history, various chiefs have succeeded one another in short periods. These do not always belong to ‘chiefly families’ and when they do not belong to these lineages, their political positions does not alter their social status. The chief is advised by a council, made up primarily of older and more experienced men. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the political role of younger leaders is equally strong: the latter have gained prestige mostly due to their degree of formal education (some of them even possess high school diplomas) and their knowledge of Portuguese, a highly useful skill during external negotiations.”²

5.4 Post marital residence: No information found

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): “The natural limits of their territory are formed in the west by the Paraguay and Nabileque Rivers, in the east by the Serra da Bodoquena upland range, in the north by the Neutaka River and in the south by the Aquidavão River.”²

5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): No information found

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Some rituals contain “joking and games (especially those displaying the physical performance of the men, recalling the godapogengi), and by the presentation of ‘clowns’ (bobotegi)”²

5.8 Village and house organization: Households include nuclear families or a collection of sisters and their nuclear families. Caduveo villages are not laid out in any particular organization. “The houses occupied by the Caduveo at Alves de Barros are scattered around the Post headquarters joined by narrow paths. The small cultivated plots usually surround the houses. The village of Pitoco consists of a few houses located around a small lake or pond with adjoining cultivated areas. As Caduveo villages are located near permanent streams, water is always available and the surroundings scrub forest provides a ready supply of firewood and building material.”¹

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses): No information found

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? Sleep on low platforms of bamboo, resting on forked stakes and covered with cowhides or deerskins.¹

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: “In the past, the Mbayá hordes were divided into ‘tolderias.’ These communities, which comprised a collective house, was the smallest political and economic unit, which united the kindred of a ‘chief’ and his captives. The families of ‘chiefs’ comprised Mbayá from birth, who nowadays are identified as families of ‘pure’ Kadiwéu, as they refer to themselves... Today only two families claim the status of masters in the Bodoquena village. Both dispute political hegemony of the group... In terms of day-to-day activities, all families in general act in an autonomous way and as a unit.”²

5.12 Trade: Hides, skins, baskets, and pots¹

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? “A hierarchical distinction between those who consider themselves ‘pure’ Kadiwéu and descendents of captives still exists in this society.”²

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR: No information found

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): “Caduveo shamans consult the ghosts of dead shamans and other supernatural beings. In the past they assisted war parties and took part in hunts besides curing sickness and practicing witchcraft.” “The nijienigi (Kadiwéu shaman) is capable of foreseeing future events with the help of spiritual entities who guide him. As a result, his role was a fundamental aspect of war strategies in the past. The nijienigi also cure and are still summoned to intervene in cases of sickness in the villages.”¹

6.2 Stimulants: *Pinga* (cane rum) is consumed during ritual dances.¹

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Birth – “takes place in the house and in the presence of a midwife. After the umbilical cord dries and falls off the mother keeps it, for if some animal were to eat it the child would turn into that animal. The placenta is buried beneath the mother’s bed. The child takes the name of one of its grandparents. The father of a new-born child gives a dance and feast according to his means.”¹ Death – “the body is wrapped in a mat or blanket and buried in a shallow oval grave. The personal belongings of the dead are left on the grave but horses are no longer shot and left near the grave. The close relatives of the dead then cut their hair, change their names, and give a feast. All those who attend are also supposed to cut their hair. If it is not possible to bury the body in the cemetery right after death, the body can be interred temporarily. When time permits, the bones are dug up and taken to a proper burial place.”² Puberty – “When a girl reaches the age of puberty she goes through a puberty ceremony, *niga-anáke*. She paints her face white and over the white paints characteristic Caduveo designs. She paints her body red with “urucu.” She then sits on a mat in the center of the house with her head down so as not to look directly at people. She uses a special scratching stick, for if she uses her nails for scratching she will become covered with sores. The women of the village come to visit her and sing and dance around her. Men also come, but they do not go near her nor do they speak to her. The father of the girl then brings a cow, which is cut to pieces before the house. The cow is not killed, but dies in the process of being cut up. After the meat is cooked and eaten the people sing and dance.”¹ In Mbayá tradition, boys between 12 and 16 years old had their initiation rituals to become men. “The one who wants to leave boyhood behind paints himself with colors and also with white, puts on all his feathers, pearls, and metal decorations, gets his trumpet and plays and sings all night and next until next sunset. Before the planet disappears, a *nigienigi* or inhuman medicine man takes a sharp jaguar bone and armed thus, jabs the boy in various parts of the body without hiding those parts which modesty demands to be hidden. The boy bleeds and looks very earnestly at his blood. The *nigienigi* smears his body with it and thus reddened he is placed in the class of men. The whole ceremony ends with drinking at the expense of the initiated one.” There are no apparent puberty ceremonies for Caduveo boys.¹ Seasonal – No information found

6.4 Other rituals: “The Boat, or *Etogo*, is considered by the Kadiwéu to be the ritual most clearly expressive of their alterity, since, as they say, it is the clearest in displaying that they are 'really Indians.' It was last performed in 1992 after at least fifty years during which it had not been staged. It has not been repeated since. The immediate motive for its performance was the need to show the Whites, their guests, the ritual that most expressed their identity. The Boat is a long ritual. It refers to the Paraguayan War, noted, among other aspects, by the planting of stylized Brazilian and Paraguayan flags to either side of the bamboo boat built as the setting for the ritual. The Boat mimics a war boat similar to those the Kadiwéu say they saw navigating the Paraguay river in the past. The chief of the Boat is the persona called *Maxiotagi*, or the 'Macho.' *Maxiotagi* is a Xamakôko persona (although the actor is Kadiwéu), from the ethnic group that was the main source of captives in the past. His function in the ritual is to direct its scenes as they develop. *Maxiotagi*, who is blind, is accompanied by *Ligecoge*, 'the Macho's eyes', and *Lionigawanigi* (Small One), who assist him in his activities. These personae decorate themselves with comical attire. The Boat also features the Delegate, the Sergeant (*Jajentege*), the war chiefs and the convent clerks (*Nidikuna*). There is also *Ixotece Gonibedona Gonibegi*, or 'Finger-in-the-Arse,' who is in charge of the 'watch.' The maximum rule during the Boat is that one cannot laugh, under penalty of being imprisoned and/or paying 'bail,' generally charged in the form of cattle to be slaughtered there and then, supplying the collective barbecue held over the several days of the ritual. During the ritual period, the village's routine is completely altered and everyone behaves as though under a voice of command, only acting in accordance with the chief's orders. During the Boat, all the men of the village are called 'soldiers' and all the women 'Paraguayans' (*gaxianaxe*), and represent war captives. There is also a specific role for the older women, who are the ones who keep the group's sacred chants. These women - the only people who know the language of the chants, which young men do not know how to translate - sing in a sudden fashion whenever an important event happens to the group. Their chants recall historical facts and preserve the memory of the chiefs and their great feats, as well as providing commentaries on contemporary events based on their history and cosmology. The older women sing (or 'pray') during the Boat for release of the captives. Ritual moments are also accompanied by both male dances (*nabacenaganaga*, or 'stick-beating') and female dances, by music played on their typical instruments, the flute (*natena*) and the drum (*goge*), by joking and games (especially those displaying the physical performance of the men, recalling the *godapogagenigi*), and by the presentation of 'clowns' (*bobotegi*). These are personae who also appear outside of the Boat ritual. They make their appearance in masks with their body also camouflaged and unrecognisable, dancing their odd 'polkas' and scaring the children who ply them for presents. There is also a Father in the Boat, who performs baptisms imitating the Christian priests and simulates curing rites, such as those performed by the *nijienigi* (the Kadiwéu shaman).”²

6.5 Myths (Creation): *Onoé-noe*, a Caduveo Indian, pulled all of the Indians out of a hole in the ground. “He pulled out the Brazilians, Paraguayans, and all other nations. To the Terena he gave land and told them how to grow crops. He almost forgot the Caduveo and pulled them out last and told them to wait while he was giving the other people land. But the Caduveo ran off to hunt. *Onoé-noe* was angry and said, “Now you must always wander about looking for animals to hunt.” That is why the Caduveo are still poor hunters. *Onoé-noe* then evacuated and from his excrement came the Chamacoco. That is why the Chamacoco are such stupid and dirty people.”¹

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): “The fine body designs made by the Kadiwéu are one of the most notable forms of their artistic expression. Skilled painters cover faces with minute symmetric designs, drawn with a paint obtained from a mixture of genipap juice plus powdered charcoal and applied with a fine sliver of wood or bamboo. In the past, body painting marked the difference between nobles, warriors and captives. Kadiwéu women produce equally beautiful items of pottery: vases of various sizes and shapes, plates also of various sizes and depths, animals, and wall decorations, among other creative pieces. Each woman decorates these items with distinct patterns, adhering to a rich but fixed repertoire of forms completed with varying colours. The raw material for their work derives from special clay pits, which contain clay of an ideal consistency and tonality for making durable pottery. The pigments for the painting are acquired from sands of a wide variety of tones, while some of the details are varnished with holywood tree resin. Kadiwéu art is also expressed in the songs of the older women, in the music of the flute and drum players, and in the collective dances.”²

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: The *nobaké-nuano* danced by the men, while both men and women dance the *etakúlige*. 1 Males will adorn themselves with tiaras made from red and blue macaw feathers.²

6.8 Missionary effect: “There are no permanent mission stations on the reservation, the Caduveo are occasionally visited by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries who perform marriage ceremonies, baptize children, and hold mass or preach sermons. But by no means all children are baptized or all couples married by the church. Some Caduveo shamans identify themselves as Christians and cure people with holy water, prayers to the saints, and medicines made from herbs, and blessings.”¹

6.9 RCR revival: No information found

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: “Five days after burial the ghost rises and lives near the grave. In time the ghost disappears and at last is like the wind.”¹

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No information found

6.12 Is there teknonymy? No information found

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) Ancestor worship and some instances of animism. “The shamans also make small wooden figures carved in the image of people that look like dolls. These wooden figures, *yoe-hehak*, are made from the wood of the "palo santo" and are said to possess magical powers.”¹

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: Women sometimes paint traditional Caduveo pottery designs on their faces, using soot mixed with oil.¹

7.2 Piercings: No information found

7.3 Haircut: Traditionally both sexes cut their hair, “the form depending upon the social position of the individual.” Now, the men cut their hair in the European manner. The women's hair is cut across the forehead and tied at the nape with a cord.¹

7.4 Scarification: No information found

- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Women wear necklaces made from colored glass beads and old silver coins. Rings and bracelets from melted-down silver coins are also worn.¹
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: “Both men and women paint some of the characteristic Caduveo designs on their faces and bodies, using red, black, and white colors. Rhea feather skirts are used, but if these are not available, shredded banana bark or even colored cloth can be substituted.”²
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: “Tiaras made from red and blue macaw feathers are worn by the men.”²
- 7.8 Missionary effect: The Kadiwéu men typically wear pants and a shirt. They will also wear shoes and a straw hat when riding or hunting. Women wear handmade cotton dresses.¹
- 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No information found

8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: A man refers to his older brother as *eopi* and his younger brother would be *ilochochi*. The general term for brothers, *inuchau*, can also be used. Sisters would be called *iniualo*. A woman designates her brothers by the term, *inagiurat*. Her older sister is called *iludralut*, and her younger sister is referred to as *ilochochi*. The general term for sisters, *inuchua*, can also be used.¹
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: No information found
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): A man would apply the same terms for older brother, younger brother, and sister to his parallel and cross cousins. A woman designates her male parallel and cross cousins by *iruigiurat* and will use the same terms for older and younger sister for her female parallel and cross cousins.¹

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them): Some individuals were seen with filed upper incisors.¹

Numbered references

1. Oberg, Kalervo. “The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil.” Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1949. (Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication, 9).
2. Povos Indígenas no Brasil, <http://pib.socioambiental.org/en/povo/kadiweu>
3. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=kbk
4. <http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Kadiw-u.html>