

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Piaroa, Saliva, Salivan or Saliban (1) (3)

1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): pid (1)

1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): In Venezuela and Colombia, South bank of the Orinoco River inland from Paguasa River to the Manipari. 67 W 6 N (2)

1.4 Brief history: Jesuits founded Missionaries in the area in 1684 and they were first noted as Piaroa in 1756 by a boundary commission (3, 18). Piaroa were contacted and mentioned more frequently during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the area was opened up to trade (3, 18-19). The Orinoco and terrain helped contribute to relative isolation. Kaplan mentions that there is no mention of Piaroa being taken in slave raids, but it is likely that they did not completely escape that fate (3, 20). Many scientists visited the area in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including Humboldt (3, 21). More intensive anthropological fieldwork was not conducted on the group until the 1970's at the time of Kaplan's monograph (3, 21). It is difficult to trace Piaroa linguistically, according to the author (3, 22). They are associated with Saliva, Mako and Ature (3, 22). The Piaroa people are surrounded by Arawak and Carib groups (3, 22). Kaplan describes in more detail the distribution of specific Carib tribes to the East and Arawakan groups to the South (3, 24). Mako groups might be closely related to the Piaroa as they share many cultural traits and are spatially close (3, 25). The relatedness of the two and more specific history of the Piaroa is difficult to determine (3, 25). Kaplan, writing on the Mako, states, "Their origin, whether, for instance, Carib, Arawakan, or Saliban, is today unknown. On the other hand, some of the Mako groups might well represent Piaroa who were once set off by slave raiders as victims for attack." (3, 25). Based on the discussion, the history of the Piaroa is difficult to interpret.

1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Jesuit missionaries were in the area of the Piaroa in 1684 according to Kaplan's interpretation (3, 18). There is not specific mention in missionary accounts of the Piaroa, but other peaceful groups in the region were captured by slave raiders and forced into slavery (3, 20). "Although the extent to which the Piaroa were visited by missionaries and affected by this turmoil goes unrecorded, it would be unwise to assume that the Piaroa were completely successful in escaping the effects of the early centuries of conquest." (3, 20). The specific impact of missionaries on the Piaroa is not known, but they almost certainly were affected by colonists as similar groups in the region were.

1.6 Ecology: The Piaroa practice a slash and burn horticulture and also clear land for habitation (4). Kaplan primarily and Zent note many plant types that the Piaroa have domesticated (3) (4). They are also semi-sedentary, but it is noted that they do not move frequently, but typically when more fertile land is needed or new habitation structures are required (3) (4). Such structures decay after a period of ten years (3).

1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: The population in Venezuela is 12,200 (1). Villages are termed Itso'fha and average 150 persons (3, 26). The boundaries of home range size fluctuate depending on mobility and political aspects, but are mostly attributed to the ability of the political leader, Ruwang, who expands territory by attracting followers whom are separated into smaller kinship groups (3, 52-60). There are at least 12-15 villages of 100-350 people in the 200 by 350 km territory of the Piaroa (3, 14 & 26). Zent pictures the village at the It'sode, smaller, more kinship based level and is 25-30 individuals (4, 255). Kaplan's use is adopted because it provides better overall description.

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Yuca is the staple carbohydrate of the Piaroa (3, 37). However, Zent notes manioc and maize as the staples (4, 271). Behind this, fruit, both wild and cultivated, would come next in terms of carbohydrate staple (3, 37).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Meat is the main source of protein-lipid (3, 37-9). The author does not note that one type of game is more important than others, but the peccary seems to be the most mentioned in the discussion (3, 37-9). Monkey, fish and bird are also mentioned as protein-lipid sources (3, 37-9). Meat diversity is very notable (4, 271).

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The Piaroa do not use the bow and arrow, only blow guns for hunting (3, 28). Specialists make these and the reeds from which they are constructed are traded for from the Maquiritare (3, 28). Shotguns are common now, but blowguns are still used and were the traditional hunting implement (3, 38).

2.4 Food storage: There are small houses next to each garden that are used to store food (3, 29). These help the Piaroa store food to get the people through the dry season (3, 37).

2.5 Sexual division of production: "Women are responsible for practically all planting, weeding, and harvesting of crops, as well as for the preparation for eating of all garden produce. Men traditionally plant tobacco and maize; they also plant all crops that they themselves wish to sell." (3, 37). Piaroa men are primarily hunters and most hunting expeditions are conducted by an individual or in pairs (3, 38). If a herd of animals is spotted, a slightly larger group of 7 or 8 men will track and hunt the animals (3, 38).

- 2.6 Land tenure: Land tenure is noted as dependent on the Ruwang Itso'fha and his ability to maintain his political leadership (3, 45). The leaders attract people and also allow them to occupy the land (3, 12-15). Land tenure is also dependent on ability of the land to produce crops and the eventual disrepair of communal houses (3, 57-8) (4, 257).
- 2.7 Ceramics: "Territories located along the banks of larger rivers have access to a special clay needed for pottery-making that those with only smaller streams flowing through their land do not have. Thus, all Piaroa do not make pottery. According to my informants, non-potters acquire their pots from the specialist areas; or, if they live closer to Guahibo settlements than to the specialist areas, they buy from the Guahibo, a people famous for their pottery-making." (3, 27). The author mentions that pottery is frequently given as a gift (3, 64). There is no description of the pottery or, more specifically, how it is produced.
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: "While all cultivated plants are privately owned by individuals, all wild foods from the jungle, plant and animals, are divided equally among members of the Itso'de." (3, 38). "It is the responsibility of the Ruwang Itso'de to redistribute all meat brought in by the hunters. All animals, birds, and fish are presented by the hunter to the Ruwang Itso'de, who divides the meat and then distributes it to each individual family." (3, 38).
- 2.9 Food taboos: "The eating of meat is, as the eating of cultivated plants is not, a ritual act: it is tied into a highly complicated and integrated set of beliefs centring about hunting and the place of Piaroa men within society." (3, 38-9). "Meat distribution is a ritual which must be followed specifically and carefully: to do otherwise would cause the hunter to lose his ability to hunt. In distributing the meat, the Ruwang make divisions in such a way that correct portions go to the old and the young within the house and also to the men, the women, and the hunter. Certain parts of each animal, and the logic varies slightly for each, can be eaten only by certain categories of people. Such taboos are more stringent when the hunter is a young man than when he is an older one. For instance, if a man in his thirties brings in a peccary, the women may eat its liver and kidneys, which they could never do if the hunter were a man in his twenties." (3, 39).
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? Each Itso'fha or village owns no more than one canoe, which is shared by its members for the purpose of travel to other villages (3, 26).

3. Anthropometry

- 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): There is no evidence of physical description or specific aspects like Piaroa height.
- 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): There is also no description of mean adult weight.

4. Life History, mating, marriage

- 4.1 Age at menarche (f): There was no indication in any of the sources of the age of menarche.
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): I could not find information on the age at first birth.
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f): There is also no indication of completed family size.
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): The primary author on the culture, Kaplan, did not note inter-birth-interval information.
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): "Some time after the girl reaches puberty, the young man gives a portion of cooked game to his intended bride. If she accepts the food, the couple is wedded." (3, 134). Kaplan describes that females are married not long after puberty. Males are only noted as young men at first marriage (3, 134). This is non-specific, but the author seems to imply that males are slightly older than females at first marriage, but still young.
- 4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: The author does not mention a proportion, but states the following: "Divorce is rare; it is usually caused by the wandering and promiscuity of one of the partners. When divorce does occur, its process is so disruptive that the former husband and wife do not remain within the same Itso'fha." (3, 84).
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: "My informants explained that, although men might wish to take more than one wife, their first wives rarely agree to such an arrangement." (3, 144). Kaplan does not mention polygyny by name, but she is describing it in the paragraph. "Polygamy is rare among the Piaroa. Indeed, there was only one case of polygamous marriage within the two adjacent Itso'fha at the time of my visit." (3, 144). "Moreover, no man can take a second wife without his first wife's permission, and this is rarely given." (3, 145).
- 4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: Bride price is initially quite high. The author mentions that an informant asked her for \$200 to pay for a bride (3, 135). Father-in-laws are also paid small gifts throughout life as an additional form of bride price. (3, 135). Dowry is not mentioned (3). A young man must live for one-half year with the parents of his spouse, during which time he works solely for the father of the bride. (3, 83). This is mentioned as the form of bride service.

- 4.9 Inheritance patterns: “In short, there exists no principle among the Piaroa of birthright to the land, much less inheritance of land rights through descent.” (3, 55). Kaplan goes on to mention that inheritance would conflict with the rules of succession to leadership and the nature of the village as a territory-political unit (3, 55).
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Male children help fathers in some aspects, but seem to do far less than female age equivalents (3, 40-1). “They are also a source of help in all difficult or collective activities, such as house-building, clearing and burning of the fields, and large ceremonial preparations.” (3, 41). Female offspring help with regard to their mothers is described in the following way: “young girls are the hardest workers of all the members of an Itso’de. In a single day they will participate in the totality of feminine economic activities: they cut wood and bring in firewood, go on collecting parties, help in the gardens, sweep out the Itso’de, help in the preparation of food.”(3, 40). There is not much mention of their interactions, but offspring seem to be helpful toward their parents in the descriptions. One mention of conflict is with arranged marriages (3,150). The author gives extensive detail of a few instances when offspring did not want to marry someone whom the parents designated as their future spouse (3, 150-1). In two the cases mentioned, the potential father-in-law was accused of sorcery and the marriage agreement was broken. (3, 150-1).
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: There was no mention of homosexual activity in the sources found (3).
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): “It has been stated in above sections that the ideal marriage of the Piaroa is endogamous. Yet very few Piaroa marriages are between individuals of traceable genealogical connection.” (3, 140). “Endogamy among the Piaroa is accomplished in another manner: through the reiteration of previous affinal ties.” (3, 141). The Piaroa prefer endogamy, but Kaplan finds relationships that would better demonstrate endogamy difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, it seems endogamy is highly preferred.
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?: I could not find information on the role of males in conception.
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”): There did not seem to be any descriptions of the mother’s role in procreation.
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?: There was no discussion of conception.
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: There is no mention of sexual coercion or rape in the accounts.
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): “Theoretically, a marriage alliance is never contracted between two groups; rather, one ideally marries not only within one’s tuku chuwaruwang, as it is genealogically reckoned, but also within one’s own kinship and residential unit, the Itso’de. Ideally, according to the Piaroa, marriage is endogamous to both the Itso’de and the close kindred of birth.” (3, 73). Cross cousin marriage is listed later on the page as included in the ideal, endogamous marriage.
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?: No discussion on this topic was found in the sources.
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: There was no discussion of extramarital affairs or gifts.
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? There is no mention of the succession of parenting if the mother should die. However, Kaplan discusses at length the strong bond between same-sex siblings and notes that throughout life, it is a preference to remain in Itso’de with same-sex siblings (3, 84).
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: This specific information was not available in the accounts found for the culture.
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades- There is no evidence for couvades.
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): There is no discussion of multiple, potential fathers.
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? “While the conventional relationships between same-sex siblings and between husband and wife are overtly intimate in nature, those between a brother and sister, two sisters-in-law or two brothers-in-law are characterized by restraint. The Piaroa consider interaction between brothers-in-law, and between sisters-in-law to a lesser extent, to be always potentially tense.” (3, 85). “The most rigorous restraint placed on a relationship is that which holds between a brother and his sister.” “Generally, a brother and sister ignore one another’s presence.” “The relationship is not a tense one, only highly formal in nature.” (3, 86).
- 4.24 Joking relationships? “One of the most intimate of relationships is that between same-sex siblings;”, “This relationship entails much practical joking, touching, playing in the same hammock, and jesting about sex with one another. All such intimate play is highly taboo in all other relationships within the immediate kindred, except that between husband and wife, which is also an openly affectionate one.” (3, 84). Joking is also common among members of gender age groups in general (3, 40-1).

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Kaplan expounds on the reason for bilateral kinship: people live in communal villages where they share descent with practically every person. Marriage within this Itso'de is the ideal, so it is therefore necessary to trace inheritance on both sides to provide as much clarity as possible (3, 127-133). The author goes into great detail on the topic, but the above summary describes the main descent system in affine and kin relationships.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: "The only type of marriage permissible within the context of the immediate kindred as an ideal category, under all but extraordinary circumstances, is with the child of either parent's cross-sex sibling:"(3, 73). "Sex is free, but infertile, since it is theoretically with his 'sisters' who no longer menstruate that he copulates after death: a practice absolutely tabooed when he was alive."(3, 203). These mention incest avoidance except for cross cousin cases.

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? "Marriage among the Piaroa is enacted with little ceremony. Yet, it is during the proceedings of the marriage contract that suicides are committed, anger is aroused, sorcery accusations are made, and supposed victims almost die." (3, 150). The author thus describes more of a contract with little ceremony. "Some time after the girl reaches puberty, the young man gives a portion of cooked game to his intended bride. If she accepts the food, the couple is wedded." (3, 134).

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? "The Piaroa do not use their personal names after the age of five. For this reason, a Piaroa rarely knows the names of many individuals in the generation senior to him. To use a personal name is both an insult and highly embarrassing to the person addressed: the name is a personal affair of an intimate nature."(3, 47). Marriages seem to typically be endogamous, so the members of the smaller group would know a person's name from birth and it would not change with marriage until a child is born. The use of teknonymy is discussed below.

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): For both genders marriage is preferred to be within the community. It was expanded on above that marriage is strongly preferred within the community, or confines of the Itso'de (3, 127). Marriages with those from other tribes occur, but they are distinguished and not considered real Piaroa (3, 17). Endogamy is also used for alliance (3, 141-2). An entire chapter is devoted to explaining Piaroa endogamy (3, 169-198).

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? "When a young man marries, he rarely has the power to contract a marriage for himself; rather, marriage is a political event usually involving two adult 'affines' exchanging children in their teens."(3, 133). Daughters are married in a similar way, but might also be married to an older affine of the father in order to strengthen an alliance or relationship (3, 133).

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: There are sometimes conflicts of interest over whom offspring wish to marry and whom the parents have arranged for them to marry (3, 150). Potential father-in-laws are sometimes accused of sorcery in order to break the marriage pact (3, 150).

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: There are no mentions of the Piaroa being involved in fatal violence in the sources which I was able to find (1), (2), (3).

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: I can find no mention of violent death to attribute causes. Piaroa are listed under peacefulsocieties.org where they are described as non-violent (2). Kaplan also describes them in this way (3, 20 & 27). "The institution of peace is the most obvious characteristic of Piaroa society, and the Piaroa ideal of manhood, far from being the warrior, is the tranquil man of control." (3, 20).

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: "The Piaroa believe that all death is caused by sorcery, and that the sorcerers (marimu) causing death are from other tribes." (3, 27). (footnote 1) "All of my informants insisted that the only cause of death is attack by marimu. Disease, accidents, only weaken a person, making him more vulnerable than when in a normal state to marimu attack. It might be added that it is believed that a Piaroa can call the marimu to harm or kill another." (3, 27).

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): The author mentions trade with some neighboring groups, but only names the Guahibo (3, 27). There is not much discussion of interaction with other tribes in the text. Members of one Itso'fha attempt to stay mostly isolated from even members of other Piaroa villages, let alone those of other tribes (3, 27). Leaders are able to cross, but it seems most interaction is curtailed by beliefs of inter-territorial sorcery (3, 26-7). Piaroa are able to incorporate members of other tribes, including the Mako, into their group (3, 25). These are sometimes given different names in the moiety (3, 17).

4.18 Cannibalism? There is no mention of cannibalism in the traditional sense. But, after death, it is believed that the dead eat themselves in the afterlife, which the author terms 'endocannibalism' (3, 203).

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: Piaroa are separated into Itso'de and the larger, village-like Itso'fha (3, 10). As mentioned, Villages are termed Itso'fha and average 150 persons (3, 26).

- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): “The Piaroa are semi-mobile horticulturalists. This characterization does not mean they move frequently because they wear out the soil through slash-and-burn techniques of horticulture. Except in the case of a Ruwang who is active in the presentation of Sari, the Piaroa normally move for other reasons than that of the land and its fertility” (3, 57). They also move if the communal house falls into disrepair, which usually takes about ten years, or if a member of the group dies (3, 58) (4, 257).
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): The Ruwang are the leaders in Piaroa society and make up the different class of Piaroa (3, 45-60). There are Ruwang in each Itso'de, which is a smaller, more kinship-based group, and there are Ruwang Itso'fha (3, 53-4). The Ruwang Itso'fha is the leader of the larger territory which includes numerous Itso'de groupings (3, 53). This is the main status class discussed in the monograph by Kaplan.
- 5.4 Post marital residence: “The only rule of residence that the Piaroa state is that a man and his wife must live with the wife's parents for six months after their marriage: after this time, the couple is free to choose between the residences of the husband's parents and that of the wife's parents.”(3, 100). There is a slight tendency toward patrilocality according to the author's study of the topic (3, 100).
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): The boundaries of home range size fluctuate depending on mobility and political aspects, but are mostly attributed to the ability of the political leader, Ruwang, who expands territory by attracting followers whom are separated into smaller kinship groups (3, 52-60). “Rather, permission to use the land, my informant told me, must be sought by each adult man from each successive Ruwang Itso'fha.” (3, 54). The boundaries of each village are more political divisions and permission by the leader must be given to those wishing to reside on the land. (3, 52-60).
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): “Boys and young men have greater freedom than do their sisters of the same age. They, from the age of twelve to twenty-one, form more distinctly than can be said of any other age category, a peer group based on age and sex: young children of the Itso'de play together as a mixed sex group.” (3, 40). Girls are also together quite often but are almost constantly in the company of older women (3, 40). “after adolescence, men and women are rarely viewed—except in their general ritual status as men and women—as forming isolated units determined by either age or sex.” (3, 40).
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: “for it is only with their same-sex age-mates that they are by convention free to banter and joke without license,” (3, 40). The author is talking with special reference to adolescent males, but also females in the context of the rest of the paragraph (3, 40). As an additional aside of humor in general, the author writes, “The Piaroa are lovers of slapstick; all ritual and even nightly chanting are broken by the amusing story, the inevitable laughter.” (3, ix).
- 5.8 Village and house organization: The Itso'de is the communal house mentioned above, which is occupied by a kinship group (3, 40-44). Members live in groupings inside the Itso'de and the larger Itso'fha is a grouping of Itso'de structures which is constructed by political aspects, chiefly, the Ruwang Itso'fha (3, 53). In the more communal house, families occupy the outer area while the inner area is more communal (4, 256).
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): “there also stands, a short distance from the Itso'de, a Ruwo'de, the men's ceremonial house which contains the sacred musical instruments and the bark-cloth masks used during each feast.” (3, 30). I can find no further elaboration on the men's house.
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? The Piaroa sleep in hammocks inside the Itso'de communal structures (3, 31) (4, 256).
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The author, Kaplan, describes a moiety system where chuwaruwang signifies kinship and Tuha denotes membership as a Piaroa (3, 70). “The names of the sub-groups of each moiety refer to sacred lakes of Piaroa creation beneath the earth and in the sky.” (3, 70). Foreign groups can also be incorporated into the myth when someone from the group marries into Piaroa structure (3, 70).
- 5.12 Trade: Specialists make blowguns and the reeds from which they are constructed are traded for from the Maquiritare (3, 28). Ceramics are sometimes acquired from specialist areas. Piaroa also might trade for pottery from the Guahibo (3, 27). Iron and steel are also notable trade items (4, 268).
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?: I found no mention by Kaplan of social hierarchies except for the aforementioned Ruwang, Ruwang Itso'de and Ruwang Itso'fha (3, 45-60).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- 6 Time allocation to RCR: There is no mention of specific amounts of time allocated to ritual, ceremony and religion. The Ruwang practicing spiritual acts spend much more time than others, based on the text (3, 60-5).
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): Ruwang men, who are also political leaders, represent the priest or shaman class (3, 61). Such men apprentice under older Ruwang and learn healing rituals, the ability to contact spirits and the gods, which is key in Piaroa religion (3, 62). I found no mention of Piaroa medicine.

- 6.2 Stimulants: Tobacco is grown and used by the men (3, 37). They acquire niopa and other hallucinogens from the Guahibo (3, 27). “The hallucinogenic drugs not only purify his body, a necessary step in preparation for learning, but they also give him the visions through which he is able to establish a relation with certain supernatural beings who play the crucial role of giving him the chants.”(3, 62). In the previous quote, the author is writing on how someone learns to become a spiritual leader and the manner in which they learn about supernatural occurrences (3, 62).
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): There is a seasonal ‘Feast of the Gods’ during which the Ruwang acts out the creation myth as Wahari, the god who created animals, man, and the world (3, 56). This ceremony displays how to conduct ritual and teaches the myth (3, 56). The ceremony attracts the marimu, which are evil spirits and the Ruwang must defend the people from them (3, 56). Zent mentions a wet season feast and ritual (4, 257).
- 6.4 Other rituals: Rituals of household protection and protection from snakes and other animals are briefly mentioned (3, 60-5). Feasts are thrown by the Ruwang to demonstrate power and these sometimes are done at certain times of year or for ceremonial occasions (3, 56 & 60-5).
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): There seem to be two possible creation myths. Both describe how the culture hero created man and woman from a sacred lake (3, 203-5). People were then dispersed from the original man and woman.
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): The author notes sacred musical instruments and masks made of bark which are stored in the men’s ceremonial house (3, 30). There is no further mention of these items though. There is also no mention of games.
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Men as Ruwang seem to play the key role in Piaroa ritual and religious life (3, 60-5). There is little mention of the role of women in religious aspects in Kaplan’s work.
- 6.8 Missionary effect: The influence of missionaries on Piaroa is not recorded (3, 18-19).
- 6.9 RCR revival: There is no evidence of religious change due to missionaries (3, 18-19).
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: “In death a Piaroa is free from all that was polluting and dangerous during his life: the eating of animals, contact with beings different from himself. For food, a man after death eats of himself, the practice of endocannibalism in its ultimate sense. Sex is free, but infertile, since it is theoretically with his ‘sisters’ who no longer menstruate that he copulates after death: a practice absolutely tabooed when he was alive.”(3, 203).
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? There is no mention of a taboo against naming the dead specifically, but an earlier taboo against using names was already noted (3, 47).
- 6.12 Is there teknonymy?: “At the birth of their first child, a father and mother adopt teknonyms expressing their relation to other individuals vis-à-vis the child. Most importantly, teknonyms are used by the individuals placed in an affinal relationship to one another by the terminological system.”. (3, 170). “The teknonym transforms all affines but one into ‘kin’.”(3, 170).
- 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): The religion begins with creation god, Wahari, who created the world along with everything in it (3, 56). The author also mentions creation lakes as the places where Wahari first created man (3, 203-5). Sari are ritual feasts conducted for certain times of year and occasions (3, 57). Marimu are sorcerers and can be evil spirits, and Awetu are souls of the dead (3, 57). The marimu are responsible for all ill that happens to people and can be summoned by Ruwang (3, 60-5). In this way, an injury, death or accident is attributed to Ruwang from another Itso’ fha summoning marimu on the person (3, 60-5). Mountains are also important religious aspects in Piaroa mythology (4, 253).
- 7. Adornment-** The only information on adornment was found through a few photos of Piaroa in traditional attire.
- 7.1 Body paint: The woman has triangle-shaped symbol on her forehead and rectangular patterns on both cheeks (3).
- 7.2 Piercings: The woman’s ears are pierced (3).
- 7.3 Haircut: The haircut of the Piaroa in the few photos appears medium-length and straight for men (2). One woman has shorter hair in the style of the man’s (3) and the other has waist-length, but straight hair (2).
- 7.4 Scarification: No information is available.
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Beads are worn on earrings and bandolier (2) (3). The man in the photograph is wearing bracelets and knee band made of beads (2).
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: No information was found.

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: The only indication from the images is that women have pierced ears, whereas men do not (2) (3). One woman also has face paint, but this does not mean men do not also use face paint (3).

7.8 Missionary effect: In the information on missionary contact, I could not find a description of missionaries changing adornment.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: There is no indication that traditional adornment was abandoned, so there is no evidence of revival.

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system: Siblings are referred to as chihawa for brother (3, 199). These also extend to an extensive list of cousins and, Kaplan notes, all males of the third ascending generational level (3, 199). Chihawahu refers to sister (3, 199). This also extends to a long list of cousins and all females of the third ascending generational level (3, 199).

8.2 Sororate, levirate: The author mentions that the sororate and sororal polygamy both occur among the Piaroa (3, 141 & 143). There is no mention of the levirate system (3). Sororate practices are not described in detail.

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Cross-cousins play an important role in the Piaroa system, but the system is quite confusing and Kaplan does not note the use of other typologies such as the Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha system (3). One of these might be applicable, but my unfamiliarity with them and confusion on the Piaroa system prevents such a conclusion.

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Kaplan wrote at length on the Piaroa as a completely peaceful society (3). There was a citation on the Piaroa Wikipedia page citing an account by a Spanish author noting Piaroa violence against miners, I believe. I did not note this above because the citation was in Spanish, which I am not able to read and it is also included on a Wikipedia page, which certainly brings forward questions of validity. This was an interesting additional note.

Numbered references

1. http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=pid
2. www.peacefulsocieties.org
3. Kaplan, Joanna Overing. 1975. *The Piaroa: A People of the Orinoco Basin. A Study in Kinship and Marriage*. Oxford University Press.
4. Zent, Stanford. 1998. "Independent Yet Interdependent "Isode": The Historical Ecology of Traditional Piaroa Settlement Pattern" in *Advances in Historical Ecology*. Columbia University Press.