

1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Araweté, Tupi-Guarini

1.2 Location: The Araweté currently dwell “on the banks of Igarapé Ipixuna, a right bank tributary to the middle Xingu river” (3). This region is in the Brazilian state of Pará, with one sizable Araweté village near Altamira (4, p. 29). Viveiro de Castro indicates that the Araweté migrated from the headsprings of the Bacajá river due to attacks from the neighboring Kayapó and Parakanã (1, p. 48). Around the time the Transamazon Highway was constructed, running through the Altamira, the FUNAI (Fundacao Nacional do Indio) the Araweté were divided into two villages: one in the southern Bom Jardim watershed and one in the northern upper Ipixuna.

1.3 Brief history: Viveiros de Castro describes Araweté history as “one of successive conflicts with enemy tribes and constant moves” (3). Part of the tribe fled the Upper Bacaja after facing attacks from the Kayapó and Parakanã, then drove the Asurini out of their settlement in the Ipixuna.; the other bloc of the tribe settled in the northern Piranhaquara region, separated from the first group for ten years. After Kayapo attacks in the late 1960s, this second bloc separated further, with one group joining the original Ipixuna bloc, and the second and larger group moving into the southern Bom Jardim region. The 1970 construction of the Transamazon highway through Altamira led to their contact throughout the 1970s. In 1976, more Parakana attacks led the Araweté to the banks of the Xingu, where they hoped to “tame” the whites; in May 1976 FUNAI discovered the Araweté starving and sick from contact with whites, and moved them to a station in the Upper Ipixuna. The trek led to many deaths, but the surviving Araweté moved to a near the mouth of the Ipixuna in 1978 (1, pgs. 48-49).

1.4 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: According to Viveiros de Castro, the Araweté have been “much less affected by contact than have most of the other groups in the region” (1, p. 2). He does indicate that “the expanding frontier in southern Para,” which took place during the construction of the Transamazon Highway, overtook the Araweté’s region in the Xingu-Toncantins area, leading to contact from 1976 – 1980. During this time an anthropologists studying the neighboring Asurini visited Ipixuna (1, p. 7), and FUNAI established the Ipixuna Attraction Front, “which maintained off and on contacts with the Araweté until 1974, without ever visiting their villages” (3). In 1976 the Araweté actually sought out the whites, thinking they could “tame” them; sick and starving, FUNAI moved this group, which was camped on the Xingu banks, to a FUNAI station in the Upper Ipixuna, which “was a 100 km walk, which took 17 days and at least 66 persons died en route” (3). Conjunctivitis and starvation were main causes of death. Their village is now located right next to the Ipixuna Indian Post, which provides them with a variety of modern goods and services, including kerosene, matches, batteries, flashlights, rifles, ammunition, and medicines (1, p. 19). According to the Encyclopedia of World Cultures, the 1991 construction of the Altamira Hydroelectric Complex had the potential to flood “at least 15% of the Araweté territory” (2). Conflicts with enemies, especially the Kayapo and Parakana, have prompted many Araweté migrations.

1.5 Ecology: According to Viveiros de Castro, the Ipixuna “is a black water, rapid-packed river flowing over a rock bed bound Southeast / Northwest. The prevailing vegetation in the Ipixuna basin is the open forest with palms, where trees rarely exceed 75 feet. Around the village there are extensive areas of “liana forests”, where lianas and thorny plants make progress difficult. The ground is rife with granitic outcroppings covered by cacti, bromeliads and century plants” (3). The Encyclopedia of World Cultures specifies the climate of the region: “Heavy rains fall from December to late March; the rest of the year is dry, with occasional thunderstorms” (2).

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): The Araweté cultivate maize, preferring it to manioc unlike many other Tupi-Guarini (3). Meat is never consumed without the flour of maize, manioc, or “the mesocarp of the babassu coconut, the last resource in the final months of the rainy season excursions, when manioc flour is used up” (1, p. 45). According to Viveiros de Castro, “the two main products of their gardens are maize (four varieties), consumed from March to November, and bitter manioc (three varieties)...other important cultigens are sweet potatoes, tams, and sweet manioc” (1, p. 40).

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: Viveiros de Castro lists a variety of protein sources in order of nutritional importance: “land tortoises, armadillos, curassows, guans, agoutis, collared peccaries, white-lipped peccaries, howler monkeys, capuchin monkeys, pacas, deer, tinamous, macaws, toucans, trumpeter birds, and tapirs” (1, p. 42). Though “fish is a highly valued food” to the Araweté, it is not as significant as game, and men consider fishing a “secondary activity” (1, p. 44)

2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The short, broad, and more curved Araweté bow is made of ipê wood, which is worked with bone or stone tools, sanded smooth with a course leaf, warmed over fire, and rubbed with coconut oil or plam grub’s fat to induce pliability (3). Men use this bow along with “arrows with points of lanceolate bamboo, howler monkey legbone, or fire-hardened wood” (1, p. 43). Men are known to improvise weapons in the forest. The Araweté were introduced to firearms in 1982, which they feel has improved their abilities to score game, but it has led to an exhaustion of the nimal population (1, p.43). Fish are hunted using poison vines, bow and arrow, or hook and line.

2.4 Food storage: Available year-round, the tortoise is kept as a food reserve for periods of food shortage (1, p. 42)

2.5 Sexual division of production: Viveiros de Castro characterizes Araweté division of labor as rather fluid; though men are tasked with the acquisition of game and with duties involving weapons and physical strength and women with more domestic tasks such as tending the home garden, weaving, and ceramics, women can handle bows and arrows and clean and prepare the meat, while men can be found “carrying water, spinning, boiling potatoes, husking and tossing corn, etc. along with their wives” (1, p. 44-45). The Encyclopedia of World Cultures notes that “the two activities that link Araweté society to other human or mythical beings are exclusively male: shamanism and war” (2). Table 1 of Viveiros de Castro’s ethnography, detailing the sexual division of labor, is reproduced below (1, p. 46-47)

Table 1

Men	Women
Activities	
Select new garden sites, clear trees, burn brush	Plant maize, potatoes, cotton, annatto, papayas, pineapples, flatsedge, yams
Assist in harvesting (except cotton and annatto)	Harvest all plants (except tobacco and sisal), carry maize and potatoes to village
Construct platforms and containers for storing ears of maize for planting, transport seeds to new gardens	Separate and shell maize for plantings, prepare seedlings and cuttings for planting
Hunt all animals; prepare fish poison; fish with poison, arrows, hooks, and fishtraps	Assist in locating tortoises, fish with poison and hooks
Carry, skin, pluck, and clean game animals	Assist in plucking game birds, clean fish, open tortoises
Gather assai and bacaba palmfruits, gather honey by felling tree or erecting platform	Make receptacles in forest for honey, carry honey to village
Collect Brazil nuts and other fruits	Collect Brazil nuts and other fruits
Cut thatching and wood for houses	Fetch clay for ceramics
Cook game	Assist in cooking game
Assist in grinding maize and grating manioc	Shell, grind, and toast maize; cook other vegetables; grate and press manioc; and dry manioc meal
Assist in grinding and cooking maize beverages, homogenize fermenting beer	Prepare and cook maize beverage and masticate maize for fermentation
Cut and carry large firewood, make fires	Cut and carry smaller firewood, make fires, supply firewood during men’s collective hunts, fetch water
Construct and maintain houses	Weave mats to use as doors on traditional houses, prepare babassu leaves for roofs, keep houses clean
Dry and prepare tobacco and sisal	Husk, beat, and spin cotton; prepare annatto dye
Bury the dead	Paint and decorate the dead
Artifacts constructed*	
Bows (male use)	Female clothing
Arrows (male use)	Cotton headbands
Chisels and sharpeners (male use)	Cotton thread
Feather ornaments	Hammocks
Necklaces and earrings (perforate soapberry seeds)	Fire fans
Combs	Small baskets for cornmeal
Maracas	Mats for sitting and for front and back walls of traditional house
Storage boxes for feathers	Gourd bowls
Sieves	Ceramics (4 types)
Manioc grater (cut sections of paxiuba root)	Woven portion of shaman rattle (male use)
Final decoration of shaman rattle with cotton string, feathers (male use)	
Mortar and pestle	
Wooden spoons	
Spindles (female use)	
Awls	
Looms (female use)	
Digging sticks	
Bowls, vessels (gather and prepare palm spathes)	
Sisal twine	
Fishtraps	

*Except where noted, artifacts are used by both sexes

2.6 Land tenure: According to the Encyclopedia of World Cultures, in the Araweté society “every individual may live, hunt, and cultivate wherever he or she pleases. A field, while bearing crops, is the joint property of those who worked in it” (2).

2.7 Ceramics: Viveiros de Castro notes that “the Araweté have a material culture that is comparatively simple within the spectrum of Tupi-Guarani groups” (1, p. 39). According to his division of labor chart, women produce 4 types of ceramics.

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: Viveiros de Castro notes that roasting is “viewed as a selfish form of food preparation,” save in a few special cases, “since it limits the number of mouths that can be fed” (1, p. 42). He asserts that “alimentary generosity is an essential value in Araweté society,” as evidenced by the fact that most ceremonies are essentially “great community meals.” Eating alone marks one as a stingy person, or *hakatai* (1, p. 42). Community meals are thought to attract the gods and the dead (1, p. 137).

2.9 Food taboos: When food is to be consumed collectively, the Araweté believe that the gods and the dead also eat; thus, the food must be “shamanized,” a process that includes “dispersion of arrows” (1, p. 137). There are not really food taboos that apply to all members of society, but there are specific stipulations for people undergoing specific rites or liminal states. For example: pre-pubescent girls are not supposed to eat “too many eggs” or “the hearts of turtles, deer, or other game” lest their menarche be “abundant and painful” (1, p. 189). Couples attempting to conceive do not eat tapir “since its spirit would trample on the mother’s body;” they also avoid “thighs of deer or curassow, which would weaken the child’s legs,” “pregnant female animals,” and “maize carried in a basket that has split” (1, p. 180). Shaman initiates are not to consume the giant armadillo, foreign foods and condiments, and raw fruits (1, p. 220).

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?: According to Viveiros de Castro, “Until 1987, the canoes they used were made by whites or Asurini Indians contracted but the canoes” (1, p. 19). The Encyclopedia of World Cultures states that canoes were only used after contact (2).

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): Male—1.6 meters; Female—1.5 meters (1, p. 39).

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No data

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No specific data, but can infer from data on female residence/marriage that girls are around 10-12 at time of first menses, since at this age they move out of their parents’ home and are married because “parents will die if their daughter has her first menses while still living with them” (1, p. 99).

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Male—no data; Female—18-20 years old (1, p. 189)

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): no data

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): Viveiros de Castro notes that “the parents avoid a new conception until their child has reached the age of three or four years” (1, p. 184).

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Viveiros de Castro indicates that women “marry very young” (1, p. 189). No specific age data, though from the age of the first birth for females, it can be inferred that marriage must occur before age 18; the from the inferred age of the first menses, around ages 10-12, should coincide with the age of marriage (1, p. 99). Beginning at age 12, males start to have “tentative marriages” with girls their age or little older; from 15-20 years old, they have more serious marriages, which are still unstable and numerous (1, p. 186). He also indicates that the age difference between married males and females is quite significant (1, p. 164).

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: No specific numerical data, but the Encyclopedia of World Cultures indicates that divorce is common among childless couples (2); Viveiros de Castro also stated that “each adult marries at least four times during his or her lifetime,” though remarriages could also be prompted by a spouse’s death (1, p. 161).

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: No data; Viveiros de Castro indicates that polygyny is unusual

4.8 Arranged marriage, bride purchase/service, dowry: Viveiros de Castro notes that “the most typical feature of marriage” is the son-in-law’s bride service, which includes tending the garden of his wife’s parents. He states that “the good administration of a family” involves “arranging marriages that maintain the maximum number of children of both sexes in their residential and productive natal unit”—in the case of the Arawete, this means arranging marriages their daughters’ marriages (1, p. 167).

4.9 Inheritance patterns: Per the Encyclopedia of World Cultures, “there is no important property or office transmission. At death, the belongings of the deceased that are not destroyed are kept by his or her consanguines and spouse” (2).

- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: The “mother-child tie, especially the mother-daughter one, is more intense than the father-child tie,” according to Viveiros de Castro, as indicated by the Araweté’s matrifocal focus (1, p. 166).
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: No data
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): Viveiros de Castro notes that “alliances between kindreds tend to be repeated, generating highly intricate endogamous networks” (1, p. 162).
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?: Viveiros de Castro found that “it was difficult to find someone who has only one recognized genitor. Seminal collaboration is the rule” (1, p. 142).
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”): Viveiros de Castro asserts that “all the potential components of the person are contained in the paternal semen. The genitor is conceived to be the one who makes or gives the child. The mother is a *ta’I re riro*, receptacle of the semen, where its transformation (*heriwa*) is processed” (1, p. 179). The Araweté believe that “the semen becomes a child *ohi ropi*, “through the mother” (1, p. 179). She contributes no material to the formation of the child; her body is only the site of the transformation.
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?: Viveiros de Castro indicates that producing a child “is a lengthy job, requiring frequent copulation and a great expense of semen in order to heat up and develop the fetus” (1, p. 179). He suggests that 2-3 males is the ideal number of genitors; more leads to “painful childbirth or splotchy skin” (1, p. 180).
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Girls are “initiated into sexual play” by older men who “raise” them; the men are usually elders or someone physically handicapped who cannot obtain a wife otherwise (1, p. 186-7).
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin): Ambilateral cross cousins are the preferred spouses according to Viveiros de Castro (1, p. 161)
- 4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?: Spouses are exchanged in the “formal friendship” social bond, and Viveiros de Castro speaks of “the social imperative of matrimonial exchange,” in which spouses are viewed as “something to be shared” (1, p. 142). Prepubescent girls enjoy “considerable sexual liberty,” but once puberty approaches they are more controlled; potential spouses avoid them and young husbands are extremely jealous of extramarital affairs that fall “outside of the friendship system” (1, p. 189).
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring: The *apihi-piha* relationship is the only socially recognized extramarital partner; other partners are not publically acknowledged, so gifts are not offered to these partners or offspring. The *apihi-piha* exchange, however, involves “agricultural cooperation” that benefits both couples (1, p. 169).
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?: According to Viveiros de Castro, “others will assume the responsibility of nursing it (in general, a sister of the deceased)” (1, p. 185).
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females: No data
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades: Viveiros de Castro explicitly states that the males do practice couvades, referencing the custom on pages 7, 129, 181, 182, 191, 192, 347, 360, and 361. He lists foods that are forbidden to the father during the couvades, indicates that those who venture into the forest during couvades are punished, etc.
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older): No data
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?: Viveiros de Castro writes that “no avoidance rules exist between affines of adjacent generations, although a certain reserve prevails, as does an obligatory commensality. Conflicts between a father-in-law and son-in-law are rare, but they do occur...In virilocal marriages, relations towards the older couple are generally tense” (1, p. 167).
- 4.24 Joking relationships?: “Sexual joking between MB and ZD, FZ and BS, is very much enjoyed,” Viveiros de Castro notes (1, p. 163). Same-sex siblings, particularly sisters, also have close relationships and “enjoy great liberty with each other, although it never reaches the joking camaraderie of *apihi-piha*” (1, p. 164). The *apihi-piha* is characterized by the joking relationship.
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: Viveiros de Castro writes that names are not determined “according to kinship position or other criteria: The majority of name-givers are older people who have close kinship connections with one of the parents” (1, p. 145).
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Viveiros de Castro notes that “there seems to be a certain repulsion between consanguinity and affinity,” as evidenced by the existence of the term “*tiwa*.” For example, if n MB married his ZD, they would be considered “*tiwa*,” an aggressively-connotated word indicated the lack of a kinship relation. Viveiros de Castro says that “marriage is appropriate only with distant relatives, specified as *di* when it concerns consanguineal laterality or as *ami* when calculation is made through a relationship of marriage” (1, p.

161). Aside from *tiwa*, some marriages are designated as *awide*, which Viveiros de Castro says is close to our definition of incest. To the Araweté, incest is described as “eating a mother, sister, etc.” and can cause “rectal protrusion,” death, and enemy attacks on the village (1, p. 163).

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?: Viveiros de Castro clearly states “marriage is not the object of any ceremony, and the accelerated matrimonial circulation of young people makes it a mundane affair” (1, p. 167). Marriages are only made known publically when the couple moves in together, which causes a stir in the village.

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?: In childhood, each person receives one name, their *eray*, until their first child is born (1, p. 143). At this point a process of teknonymy is used to rename the parent; parents can be renamed with each subsequent birth, but “usually the name of the firstborn is the one they keep” (1, p. 143). After the parents’ new names are determined, their childhood names are abandoned and considered “painful to hear” (1, p. 144).

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): Bilateral cross-cousin marriage is ideal in the Araweté society, as found in the Encyclopedia of World Cultures; in cases where this cannot occur, “the repetition of affinal ties between kindreds is sought” (2).

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No data

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Outgroup—The Araweté go to battle “to take revenge (*pepi ka*) for attacks they have suffered, or out of the simple desire to kill enemies”—they attack using bows and arrows with “bamboo points and harpy eagle tail feathers,” though recently firearms have been used (1, p. 239); Ingroup—Usually “disputes about women” fuel ingroup feuds (2). Aggression and physical violence is common within marriages, but “outside of the conjugal relation (and the rare corporal punishments meted out to small children), there is no other possibility of violent interaction that would not involve dangerous weapons” (2).

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Historically, conflicts were usually over land, as indicated by the frequent enemy attacks that prompted the Araweté to often abandon villages and by their hostile takeover of the Asuirini’s territory (2).

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): According to the Encyclopedia of World cultures, “the relationship with foreign groups is by definition one of war, and the killing of an enemy is an event for a great celebration, having onomastic and religious effects” (2). No specific numerical data, but historically they have had issues with the Asuirini, Kayapo, and the Parakana.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: 65 people in relatively peaceful periods (1, p. 49)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): The Encyclopedia of World Cultures indicates that the economy necessitates a “bimodal pattern”—at the start of the wet season, after the maize is planted, villagers head to the forest for 3-4 months of trekking; in March the groups “reassemble for the green corn festival” and spend the dry season at the village (2). The Encyclopedia also suggests that the Araweté’s proximity to the FUNAI post is making them more sedentary, since they are provided with food and other goods from the outpost (2).

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): The Encyclopedia of World Cultures states that each village is autonomous, but the couple who founded the village was acknowledged as the leader or “owner” of the village (2). Male leaders of the village were expected to “initiate collective movements such as the rainy-season dispersion, but otherwise has little authority.” Though each residential unit is a “faction in its own right..they coalesce into larger, fluid unites along lines of potential village fission” (2).

5.4 Post marital residence: As stated in the Encyclopedia of World Cultures, “uxorilocality is the stated norm, but postmarital residence hinges on the political influence of the spouses’ kindreds.” Each couple lives in a separate home and “forms a consummation unit within an extended-family residential cluster” (2). Viveiros de Castro’s ethnography indicates that the Araweté demonstrate “a strong matrifocal tendency, which governs residential solutions” (1, p. 166). He indicates that younger men specified virilocality as the norm, but the older people cite uxorilocality and state that the man *could sometimes* persuade his wife to return to his village after the birth of their first child (1, p. 166). The “political weight of the kindreds involved” and “the number and sex-ratio of their offspring” can also affect a couple’s postmarital residence.

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): Enemy raids often prompted the Araweté to abandon their villages every four years or so, which indicates that they did not actively defend their dwellings (2).

- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex): Couples can have more than one *apihi-piha* couple, but not simultaneously given the commitment require of the relationship; aside from this relationship, friendships are rare and short-lived (1, p. 170-1). Viveiros de Castro notes that “active relations of friendships are more common among couples who are young and childless” (1, p. 171).
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: According to Viveiros de Castro’s ethnography, the formal friendship, “a system of ritualized bonds between nonrelatives, distinct from those of marriage alliance,” involves “the symbolic sharing of spouses” (1, p. 142).
- 5.8 Village and house organization: According to Viveiros de Castro’s ethnography, “a residential section revolves around the eldest woman and is normally identified by her name” (1, p. 190). According to the Encyclopedia of World Cultures, just prior to contact the village population was around 50, with “two widely separated agglomerations.” Because of enemy raids, the Araweté abandoned villages every 4 years or so; no communal center united the separate villages, as ceremonies were conducted in the individual village’s small plazas (2). Villages “were multicentric clusters of conjugal houses; each cluster sheltered an uxorilocal extended family or a group of married siblings” (2). Children live with their parents until age 12, upon which males build a small house next door to his parents’, while daughters must be married off before their first menses (1, p. 99). Now that the Araweté live in the Ipixuna and not separate villages, they retain the traditional structure, but the arrangement is larger. Traditional homes were “windowless with a single small door,” “a rectangular ground plan and no separation between roof and walls,” with sides covered by palm leaves and front and rear walls made of woven mats (2).
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses): No data
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?: Viveiros de Castro’s division of labor chart indicates that women produce hammocks that are used for sleeping (1, p. 46-7).
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: The Araweté have “an excess or a supplementary quality of cosmological discourse as compared to social organization” (1, p.2); they are “loosely structured,” with few social categories and “lack of differentiation between public and domestic spheres” (1, p.2)
- 5.12 Trade: Settled next to a FUNAI outpost, the contemporary Araweté have begun a trade with them involving the production of cocoa for cash; they also “small amount of craft products on the tourist market,” though this enterprise is not very profitable (2).
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?: The Encyclopedia of World Cultures indicates that both males and females can serve as “heads of large residential clusters”—these leaders “enjoy the greatest prestige”—though they do not have major social or political duties (2). Likewise, shamans and “men with the status of killers” are shown much respect, which is suggestive of a slight social hierarchy (2).

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- 6 Time allocation to RCR: Men spend “a major part of their time manufacturing and repairing their weapons, women dedicate many hours of the day to the process of yarning for their clothes and hammocks” (3).
- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): In Araweté society, only men are shamans; it is believed that women who dare to call the Araweté deities, the Mai, will be punished by the Mai appearing and breaking her neck (3). The shamans use a powerful, rasping rattle, the aray, to “counterpoint the Mai chants and to perform a series of mystical and therapeutic operations: to bring the gods and the souls of the dead back to earth to participate in feasts; to show the way to sick people’s lost souls and to aid in the treatment of wounds and poisonous bites” (3).
- 6.2 Stimulants: “Tobacco is a masculine plant important in shamanism, but women prepare the cigarettes for their husbands, hold the cigars of shamans in trace, and also smoke” (1, p. 45).
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): Viveiros de Castro found that the Araweté have “an absence of initiation ceremonies and little emphasis on life-cycle changes” (1, p. 11). Death rites include discreet mourning, village gathering on the patio of the deceased one’s home, preparation of the cadaver by siblings and spouse, shmanic songs, dabbing the body with annatto, coating the hair with eagle down, putting earrings on the deceased, covering the body with a hammock, and transporting the body to the burial site (1, p. 197). Graves are circular holes lined with *tipe* mats; the body is put in the grave “with the legs flexed, one arm under the head and the other crossed over the chest...the face should be turned towards the setting sun” (1, p. 198). After deaths, the villagers go into the forest for a month and the path to their grave is avoided (p. 199). There are other small rituals relating to death, including the burning of the shaman aray after the shaman’s death; this object is “a personal, non-transferable object” (3). The women’s waistband is also a personal, non-inheritable object bestowed upon the girl upon her first period; thought to help soak up menstrual blood, the band “must never be removed in the face of men other than husband or lover, and even so for sexual purposes only” (3). Also upon the girl’s first period, she “drinks an infusion of *iwirara’I* and undergoes the *imone* treatment” as well as “drinks a mixture of ashes with cold water” (1, p. 189). Birth rituals include the cutting of the umbilical cord; the infant’s bath in lukewarm water, after which the father

pierces its ears and shaves any hairs growing beyond the temples; the parents' seclusion; and the mother's *imone* operation, a shamanic ritual designed to "return the soul to the body" (1, p.181).

6.4 Other rituals: The Araweté ceremonial cycle features a series of collective feasts, including the "maize beer feast" in the middle of the dry season (2). Producing the Araweté bow is a sort of ritual; the ipê wood, is worked with bone or stone tools, sanded smooth with a course leaf, warmed over fire, and rubbed with coconut oil or plam grub's fat to induce pliability (3). The production of the shaman's aray is another ritual: "an inverted cone braided with arumã strips," the aray is first enclosed by cotton twine until only the upper part shows; next the maker stretches a cotton boll around the base, into which 4-5 red arara feathers are inserted into the base of the cone. A cotton boll is stretched around the base as a collar, into it four or five red arara feathers are added, so that the rattle resembles "a flaming torch"; finally ground up portions of snail shell are placed inside the cone (3). Production of female clothing is also semi-ritualistic; using simple looms they weave the cloth, then dye it with urucum (3).

6.5 Myths (Creation): According to Viveiros de Castro, "the initiating event in their cosmogony was the differentiation between the layers or supports which today compose the universe" (1, p. 58). In Araweté cosmology, in addition to our earth, there was a subterranean world and two "celestial tiers," with our world being surrounded by "the supports of the divinities" which were "separated from our layer during the inaugural cataclysm" (1, p. 58). Before this cataclysmic event, humankind and *Mai di*, the future gods, lived together on earth; when one god was insulted by his wife, he chose to form the upper world for the gods and left the human's home in ruins, flooding it. Only two humans, a man and a woman, survived "by climbing a bacaba palm," and they became the ancestors of humankind (1, p. 59)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): Shamanic songs are not sacred, but are "popular successes," and "war songs are often used as lullabies" (1, p. 9). The Encyclopedia of World Cultures indicates that "music of the enemies" is sung by killers (2). The Araweté produce few objects of material culture, including the bow, the shaman's aray rattle, and women's clothing. The Araweté's only dance form is the *pirhe*, performed by "a compact mass of men" who move counterclockwise, arms intertwined, with female dancers forming the outside of the bloc; women dance with their husband or *apino* (1, p. 107-8). This dance is performed to "make the beer heat up" during preparations for upcoming ceremonies.

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: During the production of the bow, men are not to have sex with their wives or the wood might crack. Women do braid the shaman's aray, but men complete the cotton covering and women are not to touch or use the completed rattle because they cannot be shamans and call the Mai (3).

6.8 Missionary effect: No data

6.9 RCR revival: No data

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: The Araweté believe that the souls of the dead are devoured by the gods, Mai, when they arrive in heaven; the Mai then revive the people from their bones and make them immortal.

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?: As Viveiros de Castro's ethnography reveals, "after death, an individual is mentioned by his or her name followed by the suffix *-reme* or *-ami* attached also to kinship terms," while in shamanic songs designed to summon the dead, they are named without the suffixes. Childhood names of deceased Araweté are mentioned openly (1, p. 145).

6.12 Is there teknonymy? Viveiros de Castro indicates that "the childhood names of various adults are embedded in the tekonyms of their parents," while after marriage, "men may be denominated teknonymically" (1, p. 143). He explains the process: "The form used is *-X-piha*," partner of X (wife's name). When the first child is born, the couple throws out their childhood names and switches to tekonyms: *Y-ro* and *Y-hi*, father and mother of Y (child's name)...In practice, only one or two tekonyms (in some cases, three) tend to be employed for the rest of their lives...the first child is considered the name-giver of the parents" (1, p. 143). Essentially, when picking their first child's name, the parents are really considering their own name. Once the name is selected and the parent's name thus determined, it is considered the proper name.

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: The Araweté paint their hair and bodies with "blood-red urucum," a dye derived from the seeds of the Urucum fruit (3). They sometimes "draw a single horizontal line across their faces at the eyebrow level; one along their noses and one line each from their ears to the corner of their mouths" (3).

7.2 Piercings: Women and men wear earrings of acara feathers (3)

7.3 Haircut: Men grow thick beards which they shape into goatees; both men and women cut their hair "straight across the forehead to the ears," but the men's hair grows only to the back of the neck while the women's grows to the shoulder blades (3).

7.4 Scarification: No data

- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Men go naked save a string tied to the foreskin; women wear “four tube-like pieces (waistband, skirt, an armsling-blouse and a headcloth) woven from native cotton and dyed with urucum” (3). Women also wear earrings of acara feathers shaped like flowers, “ciñã beadstrings” and necklaces, while men wear similar earrings that are a bit shorter (3). Their ceremonial garb includes harpy feathers, which are glued to the hair.
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: In the Araweté’s “festive decoration,” they spread “perfumed resin” covered with the “bright blue plumage of the cotinga bird” along their brows, noses, and from the ear to the mouth. They also glue the plumes of the harpy, an eagle, to their hair (3). When they reach their first menses, women start wearing their waistband, which functions “to absorb menstrual blood” (3).
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: Men go naked except for a foreskin string, while women wear “four tube-like pieces” including the symbolic waistband, skirt, armsling blouse, and headcloth. Both males and females wear acara-feather earrings, though men’s are shorter. Women are not to take their waistbands off around men, save their husbands or lovers (3).
- 7.8 Missionary effect: No data
- 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No data

8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: Viveiros de Castro explains that “when asserting effective and affective sibblingship, it is more common to stress provenience from the same matrix than a community of seed (capable of mixture and division). Uterine siblings are thought of as parts of a whole and as successive occupants of the same place” (1, p. 180).
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: Viveiros de Castro’s genealogies indicate a number of marriage forms, including the sororate and levirate, as well as sister exchange, serial marriage of sibling groups, matrimonial succession by MB and ZS (by divorce or death) (1, p. 162).
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): According to Viveiros de Castro, the Araweté feature a Dravidian-type kinship typology (1, p. 142), “but it also presents a complete series of separate affinal terms” (1, p. 155). The Encyclopedia of World Cultures characterizes Araweté society as “bilaterally recognized, egocentric kindred, with no intermediary structures between the extended family and the tribe” (2). The Encyclopedia also asserts that there are no descent constructs, nor “any patrilineal bias” present in Araweté society, as evidenced by the fact that “abstinence for sick kin includes both patrilateral and matrilateral relatives” (2).

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

1. “Very little of what really matters is visible; the essential takes place on another stage.” (1, p. 2)
2. Unlike other Tupi-Guarini, the Araweté “possess a very simple material culture,” only producing three elaborate objects—the bow, the shamanic aray rattle, and women’s clothing (3).
3. The Araweté show a certain degree of decency when removing their clothing: “decency demands that a woman does not stand without her waistband: during the women’s collective bath they usually squat on their haunches when out of the water,” while “men display equal feelings of decency when removing their foreskin strings when in the presence of others.” The definition of nudity in Araweté society is “the absence of the female waistband or the foreskin string” (3).
4. The Araweté do keep certain animals as pets, including macaws and parrots; during Veiveiros de Castro’s study in 1982, the village had 54 macaws. If captured alive, the harpy eagle, whose feathers are used in ceremonial garb, is kept in a cage (1, p. 42).
5. Social controls used by the Araweté include “gossip, scorn, and fear of divine sanctions” (2).
6. Arawete sexual organs are considered “weapons.” In their adolescence, womens’ labias are elongated; this process “is considered essential for their growth and maturation” (1, p. 187). The process can cause lacerations. The labia is equated with the penis.
7. Killers are particularly revered in society, both before and after death; it is believed that in the afterlife, they are “fused with the souls of their dead enemies,” so that even the *Mai* fear them (2).

8. Aggression and physical violence, often spurred by jealousy, is frequent in marriages; usually the females are more aggressive (2).
9. Rather than removing the couple from the sexual market, marriage actually places them more prominently there; males who previously ignored a female may suddenly show sexual interest in her (1, p. 168). In Araweté culture, the honeymoon is not for the newlywed couple, but between the *aphi* and *pino*.
10. Abstinence is frequently practiced as a form of ritual cleansing, such as when a killer recovers from battle, during the period following childbirth, and so forth (1, p. 240).

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