1. Description

1.1 Name of society, language, and language family:

The language spoken is Baniwa, specifically Baniwa do Icana. The representative name of all the people living around the Icana river in Southern Venezuela is Baniwa, but the people's name for their collective self is Walimanai, which means 'the new generation who will be born,' and is in contrast to the traditional self-given name of their ancestors, 'Waferinaipe.' (7)

- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): bwi (1)
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): There are two prominent groups that speak "Baniwa." The first group is located in southern Venezuela about 545 miles east of Bogota, Columbia. That group lives just west of the Rio Negro and south of Venezuela's Parque Nacional Yapacana in land encompassing coordinates 2.5 North, 67 West. The second and larger group sits in the settlement of Maroa in the Amazonas state bordering Brazil and Venezuela. The Amazonas group included over 1,000 Kuripako people who live alongside the Baniwa on the banks of the Icana River and its nearby tributaries the Cuiari, Aiari and Cubate, near the Cano Aquio. The river starts from its tributaries as a white water river with rapids and flows into red water and eventually the black water Rio Negro, making up hundreds of miles of the Brazilian/Columbian border. The settlement lies just south of the main Venezuelan border and just east of the Columbian border in land encompassing coordinates 1.25 North, 68 West. The group in Amazonas is located about 110 miles south of the group in Venezuela and sits about 495 miles southeast of Bogota, Columbia and about 604 miles northwest of the nearest major Brazilian city, Manaus. (1,2,3,4,6,7).

1.4 Brief history:

There is archeological evidence that the area around the Icana was settled as of 3500 B.C.Legend holds that in the 1500s, a Baniwa leader named Vetutali and a group of Baniwa warriors escaped from Portuguese slave boats on the Icana river. The legend also states Vetutali and his Baniwa escaped along with Keruaminali and a group of the Hohodene people. The group of escapees then inhabited the Icana river area and started settlements deep in the area's jungle. Before the Baniwa started societies there, the area had been abandoned and was largely uninhabited. In the mid-1700s, the Portuguese used trade and stability to lure a lot of Icana peoples away from the river and into colonial settlements. If they did not come, the Portuguese would attack the villages alongside other Arawak tribes. In the mid-1700s, the Europeans and other tribes took a large number of slaves out of the Icana area and spread diseases that killed off a large number of Baniwa. There was intense fighting between the Baniwa and surrounding tribes that centered on the slave trade. Most of the Baniwa that came into colonial settlements did not like them and left, but some stayed and were assimilated into the colonial way of life. Today, there is a population of Baniwa that live in Menaus and other major Brazilian cities. Throughout the early 19th century, the Portuguese military, government and traders exploited the Baniwa and all the Icana river area tribes and most other indigenous people for their labor. Gold panners, miners and the rubber industry was making in roads into Baniwa and other tribes' lands. There was a sustained political movement in the mid 1800s after brewing discontent through the early 1800s. The missionaries came in and changed the Baniwa way of life in the late 19th century, and a lot of people became divided between Christianity and the Baniwa traditions. (7,10)

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

The Baniwa have been affected by the rubber industry and the governments of Venezuela and Brazil, which have allowed the rubber industry to enter into Baniwa lands in the early 20^{th} century. The Baniwa lost a large amount of population in the early 20^{th} century due to modernization and have seen their culture changed. Their children attend Western schools and they buy food from markets and vendors. Missionaries, white vendors and military leaders have influenced the modernization of the Baniwa and have pushed them to move further away from the deep interiors of the jungle and onto the Icana river. There are four missions along the Icana. Still, their ancient religious belief system holds influence over the Baniwa despite modernization and industrialization. The Baniwa share a similar religion to

surrounding Arawak tribes such as the Tsase, Warekena, Wakuénai, and Bare. They believe in a single creator named Napiruli. (6,7)

1.6 Ecology:

The basic subsistence activities include fishing and agriculture. They traditionally do the bulk of their fishing – their biggest subsistence meat source – during the summer dry season on the lakes of the mid-Icana. The Baniwa traditionally grew over 50 varieties of manioc. They relied heavily on finding fruits, nuts and game from the forest. They also have small gardens to grow vegetables. The Baniwa are praised for their knowledge of their forest and the different types lands within their forests. Their language has different words for different types of soil and different types of forest. Today, they bring in money and food by making baskets. There are a lot greater divisions of labor among the Baniwa today than traditionally, with access to more markets. Seasonal labor migration is also commonplace now, as Baniwa track down resources from different parts of the forest at different times of the year and sell those resources to outside markets. (7,10)

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

There are two main groups. The main group of Baniwa speakers in Brazil includes an estimated 5460 people, while the group in Venezuela includes 610 people. The Baniwa language as a whole has an estimated 6,070 speakers, but only 4,667 of them are of the Baniwa tribe. But the speakers include the Kuripako people who are in the Amazonas. But, in 2000, there were 93 settlements along the Icana with about 15,000 people living along the river in villages or smaller settlements. Numbers are confusing because Baniwa is not a self-given title but is a Western title for a group of peoples, so population estimates vary based on which peoples are included in 'Baniwa.' (4,5,7)

2. Economy

2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

The tribe has been largely modernized and eats local market foods and industrialized products from modern vendors. They even buy manioc from food distributors. The tribe does do some gathering as a collective unit concurrent with the rainy and dry seasons to make up a small but substantial part of its diet. Wikipedia says they get most of their nutrition from manioc. (6)

2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

The tribe has been largely modernized and eats local market foods and industrialized products from modern vendors. Still, the tribe relies on fishing as a collective unit, concurrent with the seasons of rain and drought, to provide sustenance for their meat. The tribe has to coordinate hunting, fishing and gathering around the children's school schedules – they attend modern, Western schools. The Baniwa also hunt monkeys and birds such as the Toucan. (6)

2.3 Weapons:

The Baniwa traditionally hunted with bows and bone-headed arrows and blowpipes. Today, they still use those weapons, but primarily hunt with shotguns. The Baniwa fish with traps and nets, hooks and lines, machetes and spears, and *barbasco* poison in their fishing. (6,10)

2.4 Food storage:

2.5 Sexual division of production:

Men are responsible for cutting and burning new gardens; both men and women plant and weed new gardens; women harvest, replant, and process manioc and other plants. Both men and women fish with hook and line and participate in collective fishing expeditions, but men fish more often and use a greater variety of techniques, whereas women more often process the catch. Men are responsible for hunting, gathering in the forest, building and maintaining houses, manufacturing weapons, making canoes, weaving baskets, and cutting manioc graters. Women are responsible for preparing and cooking animals and forest

products, some gathering, preparing adobe for houses, making ceramics, and setting stones in manioc graters. Ritual (including making the ritual objects) and shamanism are mainly male activities. Basketry became more commercial in the 1970s, inviting women to participate more in that as well as in weaving. Men have performed almost all the activities involving interactions outside of the tribe. (10)

2.6 Land tenure:

Traditionally, phratries collectively controlled defined stretches of riverine territory and their resources. Members of other phratries could freely travel within a given phratry's territory but not systematically exploit its resources without obtaining permission from the local phratry. Failure to do so could result in warfare. Within a phratry's territory, sibs identified specific areas for use as agricultural lands and as sacred lands (sites of ancestral emergence/houses of souls of the recently deceased) where no one was permitted to hunt. Forced removal and exile, migrations, and other sociohistorical circumstances have weakened landholding principles, resulting in a mixing of different phratries within a given territory. Phratric exogamy and marital exchange practices have also, over time, produced enclaves of affinal groups within a phratry's territory. No major influx of nonindigenous colonists has forced Wakuenai off their lands. In Colombia, in 1986, the national government created five separate reserves for the Baniwa – and other peoples included in the overarching title (Wakuenai), including other indigenous peoples on the frontier. In Venezuela, ten of the thirty Wakuenai communities actually have collective landownership titles issued by the National Agrarian Institute. In Brazil, in 1989, the federal government created five separate reserves (four "indigenous colonies" and one "indigenous area"), surrounded by national forests, to be permanently owned and used by the Wakuenai. (10)

2.7 Ceramics:

Traditionally, they were skilled in pottery and crafts such as basket-making, but since the rubber companies came in, the culture has changed. Due to the corporatization of their surroundings, the Baniwa have become more modernized and most tribe members are not skilled in crafts or pottery. "The few families who still work in basketry make esteras, guapas, sebucanes, mapires, catumares, and sopladores, the ventilators used to stoke fires. These crafts are made with the tirite, mamure, moriche, and cucurito fibers." Wikipedia says they are known for their basket weaving skills. (6)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

2.9 Food taboos:

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?

The Baniwa fish often and rely on the rivers and lakes to provide their sustenance. They often use canoes to get from place to place as well as fish. (8)

3. Anthropometry

- 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):
- 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):
- 4. Life History, mating, marriage
- 4.1 Age at menarche (f):
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

The boys are between 10 and 13. The girls are given away after they have been initiated following their first menstruation. (7)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

Most marriages will last for a lifetime and are stable. But when there is infidelity or maltreatment, a spouse can leave his or her partner. (8)

4.7 Percent marriages polygamous, percent males married polygamous:

Almost every marriage is monogamous and is arranged to maintain the status of both the bride and groom families, with the bride and groom both coming from roughly the same rung in the societal ladder. (8)

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

The family of the bride does get to charge a bride service, meaning the husband will work for the bride's family for a period of time. (8)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

There is no set system of inheritance. There is not a system of private property, all members have unlimited access to lands and resources in a collective ownership. But, family gardens and houses are private spaces, with access limited to each family and are individually owned. Traditionally, houses were abandoned after the death of their owners and garden lands could later be used by other phratry members. An individual's few possessions are either buried with the deceased or divided among his or her children. (8)

- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

The Baniwa are subdivided into 'phratries' located in different settlements on the Icana river. The 'phratries' do not marry within themselves and are exogamous. (7)

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

Paternity is not partible for the Baniwa. But, for the very closely related Curripaco people, who speak a language very close to the Baniwa, there seems to be sharing of wives in about 15 percent of marriages. A certain professor Walker of the University of Missouri notes that the Curripaco – or Kuripaco – do not publicly discuss the sharing of wives, but that wives may be shared with blood brother, non-blood designated brothers or sometimes even with fathers. Walker notes the Curripaco do believe in partible paternity, though they do not openly want to discuss who is sharing wives. There is a 'weak' belief in partible paternity for the Curripaco. The Baniwa, for the most part, do not practice partible paternity, but do believe that semen from the father fills up in the mother to create the baby incrementally. (8,9)

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

 The Baniwa believe that the mother is a receptacle for baby growth and needs to be filled up with semen repeatedly to make it happen. (9)
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? Yes. (9)

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)
The Baniwa prefer paternal cross cousins. (8)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

No, the brides are given away at very young ages and usually stay married nearly their entire lives in monogamous relationships. (8)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring

This is a monogamous society for the most part. In about 15% of Curripaco marriages, – closely related to the Baniwa - there will be sharing of wives that is usually done with close relatives of the husband. There may be small, private agreements between the husband and his close family or close friends to allow mutual wife-sharing and the flow of help supplying life's necessities. (8,9)

- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) This is a monogamous society, so there is one, clear father. (8)
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?
- 4.24 Joking relationships?
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

 Descent is marked paternally and rights of tribal leadership, such as the tribe's chief, are bestowed based on the status of a brother within his system of brothers. There is a group of brothers that has the highest status within each phratry. (6)
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules

They live in systems of 'brothers,' which are like paternal clans. People do not marry within their same group of brothers. But, there are marriages that are by cross cousins. So, by an American definition, that would be incest. (6)

- 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

 Marriage is preferred to take place through patri-lateral cross cousins. It is okay to have a marriage through matri-lateral cross cousins, but it is a patriarchal society and the lineage is kept through the father. The Baniwa typically marry outside of their communities. But, there are usually longstanding marriage partnership relationships set up between a few communities, sometimes even just two communities. (8)
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

 Marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. (7)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
- 4.15 Out-group vs. in-group cause of violent death:

Oral histories indicate the existence of supreme war leaders in pre-contact times, but warfare and raiding were abandoned by most groups by the late nineteenth century. The system of leadership ranking among sibs (brother groups) probably never offered a great model of centralized political power. Leaders get their power from the people of the village and are expected to make decisions for them, but with the village's needs in mind. Great warlords did not have enough power to organize powerful war parties at will. Today, the main cause of in-group fighting is the division between Christian people and those who

prefer the traditional way of life. Most of the conflict is in-group. In the past, there was great violence and conflict with out-groups due to Portuguese slave traders. They would turn tribes against each other to collect slaves, as the tribes fought for power underneath the Portuguese. Rubber manufacturers, miners and gold panners also caused violent conflicts and death. Traditionally, there would be out-group violence when other indigenous peoples would pass through their lands and hunt or fish too much or hunt or fish on sacred grounds within a group's territory. (10)

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):

4.18 Cannibalism?

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

The Baniwa tend to live in small village settlements along the rivers. As of 1985, these small villages, were made up of 10 - 150 people, but usually around 30 - 40 people live in one village. As of 2000, there were a recorded 93 settlements with 15,000 people total. Doing the math, that would be an average of about 160 people in each settlement. (5, 10)

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

Traditionally, families would live in their own private areas of the longhouses permanently, with seasonal living locations set up for fishing. Today, the families tend to live in permanent, small houses within the villages – but in small thatch rowed houses, not longhouses. Families today still migrate around the fishing seasons for sustenance. But they also migrate for labor, as they gather items from the forest including nuts and minerals, like gold. (10)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

The Baniwa are divided into subgroups of 'phratries' on different parts of the Icana river. The groups are led paternally by a system of brothers who are related directly or as cousins. The groups of brothers within each group are divided into the most prominent and less and less prominent. In most groups, the oldest brother of the most prominent group of brothers takes the title of chief of the group. In one group though, it is the youngest brother of the most prominent group of brothers that holds that claim. (7)

5.4 Post marital residence:

The Baniwa are patrivirilocal, so the wife comes and lives with the family of the husband in large family settlements. Often, they also move from one village to another, so the women are somewhat far away from their mothers. But, since there is a bride service usually involved, the husband will work for the bride's family for a set period of time. This often leads to the couple temporarily and sometimes permanently living with the bride's family in what is called uxorilocality. Today, there is a higher occurrence of uxorilocality than in the past because missionaries have led to the demise of paternally driven cross cousin marriages and couples stay closer to the parents of the bride. (8)

5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):

The Baniwa exist as a society with communal possession. No one really owns any land outright. (8)

5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):

Past the age of 3 years old, boys and girls start learning their roles. Girls help with gardening and domestic chores, boys form 'packs' to hunt and fish. Grandparents help raise children, sternly admonishing them when they do wrong. Initiations then cement the boys and girls into their roles between the ages of 8-13 for boys and after first menstruation for girls. But missionaries have all but ended the practices of initiation for the boys and girls. The children increasingly go to Western schools and learn Western ways of life. (8)

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

5.8 Village and house organization:

The villages traditionally held longhouses, with nuclear family units being their own private and distinct spatial, social, and economic units. But even today, villages often appear as patrilocal extended families of several generations, with important interconnections among individual households. The grandparents are there to help raise children when families would like them to give assistance. (8)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

The Baniwa live in longhouses called malocas. (7)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?

The Baniwa sleep in hammocks, but they do not make the hammocks themselves. Rather, they buy hammocks made of cloth from markets and vendors. (6)

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

The Baniwa are divided into subgroups of 'phratries' on different parts of the Icana river. The groups are led paternally by a system of brothers who are related directly or as cousins. The groups of brothers within each group are divided into the most prominent and less and less prominent. In most groups, the oldest brother of the most prominent group of brothers takes the title of chief of the group. In one group though, it is the youngest brother of the most prominent group of brothers that holds that claim. In the past, sibs – or groups - were categorized according to a system of ritual roles as chiefs, shamans, warriors, dancers, and servants; today, these roles are virtually nonexistent. (7,10)

5.12 Trade:

They typically buy food and goods from modern markets and vendors today. "Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the entire upper Rio Negro Basin was connected to other areas by an immense network of riverine and overland trails used by both Arawak and non-Arawak peoples for trade and that specialization existed in the production of trade items. Wakuenai manioc graters and quartz were important trade items in both pre- and post-contact times. Trade with Europeans was limited in the eighteenth century but, by the early nineteenth century, had become an integral part of the Wakuenai economy." (6,10)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR:

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

They have specialized Shamans divided into two broad categories of chant leaders (malikai-iminali) and the pajés (maliiri). The pajés can be chant-owners and vice versa, but there are differences in the training, cures, and knowledge that each dominates. The pajés "suck out" (extract pathogenic objects by suction from their patients), while the chant-owners "blow" or "pray" (sing or recite formulas with tobacco on herbs and medicinal plants to be consumed by the patients). Only the pajés use rattles with their songs and dances and the sacred hallucinogenic powder pariká in their cures, which puts them into a state of trance. For the chant-owners, tobacco and a gourd of water are the principal instruments. Both the pajés and the chant-owners have extensive knowledge of medicinal plants used in cures. Pajes are also believed to be intermediaries between spirits, animals and divinities. The pajes are also believed to be able to turn into animals – like the powerful Jaguar – and even the divinities themselves. (7)

6.2 Stimulants:

The Baniwa drink Manioc beer and use the psychoactive caapi for dances and rituals. The Baniwa healers use hallucinogenic powder called parika to put patients into a state of trance. (7)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

The chant leaders who are tobacco blowers and are the most senior elders perform Kalidzamai songs rights of passage – birth, initiation and death. Kalidzamai represents the chant-owners' greatest knowledge and distinguish them from the rest of the tribe. Kalidzamai is the most sacred and powerful of all activities known by the chant-owners. (7)

Pudali

The Baniwa perform a variety of ritual dances that are collectively called pudali. They dance during times of the ripening of forest fruits, at the beginning of the rainy season, and also on other occasions such as the piracema, when fish migrate upriver in great numbers to spawn. These are occasions when kin get together to drink caxiri (either manioc beer or fruits such as pupunha) and dance. They dance in a variety of ritual dress, using sugarcane whistles called mawaku for one dance, adorn themselves with whips in another and in another called the Heemápana, they dance wearing rattles and drinking the psychoactive caapi. The Baniwa's most famous pudali dance celebrates the surubi fish, when surubi flutes are made in great quantities. "The flutes are made of paxiúba, with basketwork in the form of the surubí fish, painted brown and white, and ornamented with heron feathers. Even today, several communities of the upper Aiari make this kind of flute and celebrate this dance. It is the flute and dance which most distinguish the Baniwa from other peoples of the region." (7)

The Baniwa also perform an array of masked dances that represent animals and spirits. (7)

Puberty ritual:

Boys:

The passage rituals for boys takes place when they are between 10-13, usually in the early wet season. The ritual has 3 phases, the first is led by a wakapethakan, or 'owner of the ritual,' who orders men to go to the forest and collect fruit and has the women make manioc beer – called caxiri. At an appointed time the leader decides, the men go down to a port to where sacred, symbolic flutes and trumpets are hidden, paint themselves black with carbon. Then, an elder 'chant-owner' takes the blindfolded boys to the door of the ritual house and, with a ritual staff in hand, he calls out to the tribal ancestors. The ancestors are represented by the flutes and trumpets, and as the elder chants three times for the ancestors, the painted men respond by blowing the flutes. The boys stay in the ritual house for a month and eat only the previously gathered forest fruits, learn the myths of the tribe and learn how to make all kinds of basketry. Then, the owner of the ritual invites the elder chanter and two companions to perform the most important part of the initiation ritual – chanting over pepper and salt, called Kalidzamai. For one whole night, the elders chant, while the men play the instruments and drink caxiri to recreate the voyages of Amaru throughout the world with the instruments while Nhiãperikuli and the men pursued them. The elders blow protective smoke over the pepper and salt, which is later served to the boys on a piece of manioc bread. After the chants, as the sun is rising, the elders present the sacralized pepper to the owner of the ritual, who calls the initiates to stand in front of him and tell them how to live after leaving the initiation house. After giving the counsel, the elder takes his ritual whip and strikes the initiates three times on their chests. Finally, the boys walk out and are painted red by their mothers, then go back in and out of the ritual house three times as commanded by the ritual leader. On the third time, each boy brings out a manioc sifter that he has made and presents it to a girl who has been selected as his Kamarara - something close to a wife. (7,10)

Girls:

The girls are initiated as women right after first menstruation. Usually, they are initiated as women alone or in relatively small groups compared to the boys. The process is similar to the boys' initiation. The girls' hair is cut short, they are then put into seclusion. They are not shown the sacred instruments and are taught to make manioc scrapers, woven manioc bread-making materials and various ceramics, especially painted plates. They are taught about gardening, cooking and home keeping as well. At the end of the ritual the pepper is prepared, the girl – ornamented and painted like the boys – is instructed to stand inside a manioc bread basket, while another basket, ornamented with heron feathers, is placed upside down over her head, symbolizing her status as the maker of manioc bread, the daily sustenance of the community. She receives the sacralized pepper and then her aunt or grandmother and the elder chanter instruct her on girls live in the world. Lastly, she, like the boys, is whipped three times on the chest. (7)

6.4 Other rituals:

6.5 Myths (Creation):

They believe in one creator, Napiruli (Iñápirrikúli), who created first his younger brother, Dzuuli. Then Napirul created man and woman, then the world with animals and plants. Baniwa attribute the humid and cold climate changes in the southwest state of Amazonas to magic and religious. They believe 'Áparo', short men/evil spirits who carry thunder and lightning over their backs, create the climate changes. The Baniwa believe they spirits are on the rivers Guainia and Negro and are invisibly bringing wind, rain and fog, but when seen, the spirits knock over the Baniwa curiaras (canoes) and fishing tools. Still, the Baniwa get their sustenance from the rivers. (6)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

The Baniwa have traditionally made a wide variety of intricate ceramics and baskets. They take great pride in making flutes and trumpets, which are the Baniwa's sacred symbols. The Baniwa also had extensive oral traditions of myth telling and have great ornamentation and body painting. In prehistoric times, petroglyphs were among their important art forms. (7,10)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

Girls are not allowed to see the boys when they are going through their initiation on punishment of poisoning for the girls. Women make manioc beer – called caxiri - for the passage ritual, men gather fruits and carry out the ritual. (7)

6.8 Missionary effect:

In the 1950s and 60s, Baniwa communities had religious conflicts because of evangelization by Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Protestant communities, especially, lost all of their pajés, along with the flute cults and the Kalidzamai chanters. Only the chant-owners of lesser importance continued with their knowledge and practice without persecution. The intolerance of the protestant missionaries provoked a spiritual crisis among the chant-owners, many of whom claimed that a "sickness" made them forget their art. Several more radical pastors, moreover, waged campaigns against the pajés of the Aiari river, the only place in Baniwa territory where shamanism is still practiced. Today, the institution is in decline, with only a half-dozen pajés in all Baniwa territory in Brazil.

all pudali were prohibited by the missionaries and their followers, so many people alive today have never participated in a pudali. The loss of these rituals has sparked conflicts between Christians and traditionalists over the way that the sacred instruments and traditions were "thrown away." Tobacco and caxiri, are prohibited today, causing more division between Christians and traditionalists. Christians introduced evangelical readings and monthly ceremonies of Holy Supper and the Conferences (every two or three months) to replace the pudali. (7)

"Mission-introduced festivals have largely replaced the traditional cycle, but, in certain areas, their revitalization is a powerful force in affirming ethnic identity and protesting domination by outsiders, as were the millenarian dances of the past century." (10)

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

"Serious illness and death are believed to be the result of sorcery, malevolent spirits, or the failure to observe ritual restrictions. At death, the two parts of a person's soul separate, the collective animal-shaped soul becoming integrated to sib ancestral houses of animal souls, whereas the individual, human-body-shaped soul, after passage through a dark netherworld of shades, is purified by fire and then journeys to the celestial paradise of the Creator, where it is reunited with its collective ancestral soul. A similar process of polarization of souls is believed to occur with animal and bird species. Traditionally, funeral rites and secondary burial were important practices." (10)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? 6.12 Is there teknonymy?

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

They believe in one creator, Napiruli (Iñápirrikúli), who created first his younger brother, Dzuuli. Then Napirul created man and woman, then the world with animals and plants. In Baniwa cosmology, the universe is formed by multiple layers.

In one legend, there are four layers, two in the earthly world, two in the heavenly world. There are 25 layers in another legend, with 12 of them being earthly. There is a myth that the initial, primordial world was tiny and full of animals and hapless people who were attacked by animals and the chief of the animals. The primary protagonist is Nhiãperikuli, the name of the first man. The first woman is called Amaru. The Baniwa worship their ancestors, especially Amaru and Nhiãperikuli. A myth holds that in the miniature world, before Amaru and Nhiãperikuli, three shrimp were put inside a bone and were fed and developed and evolved into other animals until they became men. They then took revenge on the chief of the animals, who had been attacking the small people of the world before begetting Nhiaperikuli and Amaru. Baniwa believe spirits control the weather and climate. They perform a lot of seasonal dance rituals using chant leaders with Shaman leaders. The Baniwa believe in the power of their ancestors and call to them for guidance.

The myth of Kuwai, the son of Nhiãperikuli and Amaru, explains four major questions on the nature of existence in the world: how ancestors' order and ways of life are reproduced for future generations; how children should be taught about the nature of the world; how sicknesses and misfortune entered the world; and the relationship between humans, spirits, and animals – the legacy of the primordial world.

The myth tells Kuwai's tale, portraying him as imperfect, with a body full of holes and consisting of all the elements of the world, and whose humming and songs produce all animal species. His birth sets in motion a rapid process of growth in which the miniature and chaotic world of Nhiãperikuli opens up to its real-life size.

Kuwai teaches humanity the first rites of initiation and portrays him with extraordinary powers. The tale shows complete destruction of the world when the people deviate from the rituals. The world is destroyed and restored. In the process though, Kuwai's father was upset with him and pushed him into a fire. From his ashes came a massive paxiuba tree and other plants. The Baniwa made from those plants their sacred flutes and trumpets. Amaru and the women, however, stole these flutes from Nhiãperikuli, which set off a long chase in which the world opened up a second time, as the women, fleeing from Nhiãperikuli, play the flutes throughout the entire world. Nhiãperikuli and the men, disguised as animals, finally catch up to the women, make war against them, and regain the instruments. With them, Nhiãperikuli later looks for the first ancestors of humanity who emerged from the holes of the sacred rapids of Hipana on the Aiari River.

The myth of Kuwai marks a transition between the primordial world of Nhiãperikuli and a more recent human past, which is brought directly into the experience of living people in the rituals. Pajés say Kuwai is as much a part of the present world as of the ancient world, and that he lives "in the center of the world," that he is the "Lord of Sicknesses," so the pajes seek cures from him. Kuwai's body is made up of all the world's sicknesses – including poison used in witchcraft and which still is the most frequently cited 'cause' of death of people today. Kuwai holds the souls of the sick, and people have to bargain with him to get their souls back.

Baniwa cosmogony holds that the world of humans is inherently flawed by evil, wicked people who cause harm and put sickness on others by the misfortune of death. The pajés call this world maatchíkwe, place of evil; kaiwikwe, place of pain; ekúkwe, place of rot, due to there being so many dead rotting beneath the earth. The Baniwa see the cosmic worlds – mainly that of Nhiãperikuli – to be eternally young, full of beautiful places, and without sickness or evil. Like a sick person, this world of humans needs to be constantly freed of evil, of witchcraft and sorcery that bring on suffering and death. The pajés is a "guardians of the Cosmos", and the chanters in initiations make the world safe for future generations. (6,7)

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

The Baniwa use black and red body paint in traditional activities. (7)

7.2 Piercings:

7.3 Haircut:

The Baniwa would traditionally wear feather headdresses for different occasions – especially the initiation rituals. (7)

7.4 Scarification:

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

The Baniwa adorn themselves with feathers and anklets in a variety of rituals. (7)

7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

For initiation into manhood, the boys are painted red and adorned in feather crowns and heron feathers. During ritual dances, they wear ankle rattles and bracelets and carry whips. Men are painted black during these ceremonies. (7)

7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

7.8 Missionary effect:

Missionaries are against the dances and rituals of the Baniwa, so in many villages, there is less of an occurrence of body painting, feather adornment and other types of traditional dress. (7,8,10)

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

The Baniwa are divided into subgroups of 'phratries' on different parts of the Icana river. The groups are led paternally by a system of 'brothers' who are related directly or as cousins. The groups of brothers within each group are divided into the most prominent and less and less prominent. In most groups, the

oldest brother of the most prominent group of brothers takes the title of chief of the tribe. In one tribe though, it is the youngest brother of the most prominent group of brothers that holds that claim. (7)

8.2 Sororate, levirate:

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

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

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