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ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MAUÉ INDIANS

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PREFACE

The fieldwork upon which this study is based was undertaken between July 1956 and August 1957. It was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council and by a grant from the University of California at Berkeley. During our stay in Brazil, my wife and I were treated with courtesy and consideration by a great many people, to all of whon we owe a debt of gratitude. We owe the greatest debt to Dr. Eduardo Galvão, of the Museu Goeldi, and to his wife, D. Clara Galvão, who gave us a friendly as well as thorough introduction to the world of Amazonia, and who provided invaluable aid in solving many of the practical problems peculiar to research in the tropical forest. Several other members of the staff of the Museu Goeldi were also very helpful, and Sr. Egler, the director, was unfailingly cooperative. Mr. George T. Colman, then American consul in Belém, extended to us the kindness for which he was famous throughout Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro, the obtaining of necessary credentials was greatly facilitated by the efforts of D. Berta Ribeiro and Dr. Berta Lutz, and we benefited from several conversations with Dr. Darcy Ribeiro. Sr. Nunes Pereira, who had previously studied the Maué, freely shared his knowledge of Maué culture and was also helpful in suggesting new lines of inquiry. While with the Maué, Sr. Manoel Pereira Lima, the encarregado do Posto Lobo d'Almada do SPI, provided us with a number of vital services, such as transportation and mail delivery, and went out of his way to helpful in other ways. And finally, to our friends among the Maué, who patiently answered our questions, shared their food with us, and showed us always the friendliest hospitality our sincere appreciation.

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Introduction

When the Europeans arrived in the Amazon Basin they found a large number of Indian tribes occupying the areas adjoining the lower and middle Amazon River. Today most of these tribes no longer exist as distinct societies, having long since been assimilated into the rural Brazilian population. The present study deals with one of the few tribes which still remains in this area, the Maué, a Tupi-speaking people who live on two souther tributaries of the Amazon between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. Although there have been a great many changes in their culture, the Maué still constitute a distinct linguistic, social, and cultural group.

The ethnographic sketch which follows is intended to give a general picture of Maué economic life and to trace some of the ways in which economic behavior is related to social structure. Although the major emphasis will be descriptive rather than theoretical, it will be apparent that the Maué data have bearing on several ethnological problems. One of these problems is the general question of the relationship between economic change and social change. In the setting of the Amazon Basin, this problem becomes the more limited one of the effect on Indian social structure of economic activities related to the acquisition of trade goods. In many cases, especially when trade goods can be obtained only through participation in wage labor or certain kinds of collecting, the breakdown of the aboriginal social structure seems quite directly related to the new economic activities. This is most obvious, perhaps, in rubber collecting, and the processes involved have been analyzed in considerable detail in several recent studies. (1) However, as the Maué data indicate, it is sometimes possible for Amazonian Indians to obtain trade goods in exchange for produce other than forest products, and, when collecting is necessary, to collect products other than rubber. Is such cases the effects on the social structure are much more difficult to trace, but the total result seems to be much less disruption. A further consideration of this and related problems will be reserved for a concluding section, after the situation among the Maué has been described in detail.

(1) Murphy, 1954, 1960; Galvão, 1959.

The Maué are not unknown ethnographically, although the data so far published are based on relatively short periods of field research. The first fairly comprehensive account is the literature is that of Martius, who visited a mission on the Maués Açu River in 1820. (2) It seems certain, however, that most of the material which Martius presents was derived from conversations with the resident missionary rather than from his own observations, since a careful check of Martius' itinerary shows that he spent only one day at the mission. In 1823 Nimuendajú collected a vocabulary from some Maué on the Mariaguã River, but he apparently spent only a few days in the area. (3) The most extensive investigation prior to my own was made by Nunes Pereira, who spent several months traveling on the Andirá and Maués Açú Rivers in 1939. Considering the short period of time which Nunes Pereira spent among the Maué, his book *Os Indios Maués* is remarkably complete and extremely accurate. (4) It also contains a valuable collection of myths and songs and a good vocabulary of the Maué language. I spent eight months among the Maué in 1956-57.

Today there are two groups of Maué; one group lives along the upper Andirá River, the other along several of the tributaries of the Maués Açu River, especially the Marau and the Urupadi. (See Map I). These rivers drain the area south of the Amazon between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. There are approximately 600 Maué living on the Andirá River, and perhaps 800 on the Marau and Urupadi Rivers. Since it is only a day's journey overland between the rio Andirá and the rio Marau, there is considerable visiting back and forth, but in most respects the two groups are quite independent of one another. For example, the "tuxaua geral" of the tribe, who lives in Ponta Alegre on the rio Andirá, has no influence over the Maué living on the other rivers. Unless otherwise indicated, the material presented in this study pertains only to those Maué who live on the rio Andirá. Although all reports indicate that the Maué living on the rios Marau and Urupadi have an identical culture, I did not visit the latter rivers.

(2) Martius, 1867.
(3) Nimuendajú, 1948.
(4) Nunes Pereira, 1954.

According to Nunes Pereira, who has traveled widely in the Amazon Basin, "a área geográfica compreendida entre os rios Tapajós, Amazonas e Madeira... é das mais pitorescas e opulentas da Amazônia Brasileira". (5) This is an area of true tropical rain forest, with very tall trees and relatively little undergrowth. The rivers are all "blackwater" rivers, and are all large and slow moving near the mouth but narrow, winding and swift near the source. There are no cachoeiras. The rio Andirá has very few insect pests, and along most of the river there are no pium and very few mosquitoes. There is a definite rainy season, which begins is late December and lasts until April or May.

In 1956 there were ten Maué villages on the rio Andirá above the Indian Post in Ponta Alegre. (See Map II). Although Ponta Alegre is within the boundaries of the area designated by the SPI as indigenous territory, about half the population of 200 was civilizado. The indios who had houses in Ponta Alegre usually spent only the rainy season there, and during most of the year lived near their roças, which were often some distance away.

The villages above Ponta Alegre were all small, none having over 80 inhabitants and most less than 50. Most of them were rather aprawling affairs, with houses set far apart in no particular order. The whole village area is ideally kept completely clear of all low vegetation, including grass, but this ideal is not often attained. Two buildings dominate most villages, the house of the chief and the chapel. The chief's house, located near the center of the village, has rather small living quarters and a large room which is used as a social center and dance hall. Both the chief's house and the chapel have mud walls and are completely enclosed, whereas ordinary dwellings usually have walls of thatch on one, two or three sides. Next to most dwellings is a shed without walls which is used as a kitchen; sometimes this shed also contains the forno and other equipment used in making farinha. Frequently, however, the shed where farinha is made is a separate structure. In

(5) Nunes Pereira, 1954, p. 11.

villages which have been settled for some time, there are often a variety of fruit trees planted near the dwellings.

Many Maué do not live in villages but in more or less isolated homesteads. These homesteads may be situated fairly close to those of relatives or friends, or may be as much as a half-day's travel from the nearest neighbor. Whereas villages are located along the main rivers and are always accessible by canoe, some of the homesteads are back from the river on such small igarapés that they can be reached only by traveling overland, sometimes for considerable distances.

A casual visitor to a Maué village might not immediately recognize the inhabitants as Indias. The clothing of the indios is similar to that of the neighboring civilizados, and the indios no longer paint or tatoo themselves. They do sometimes chip their upper incisor teeth to sharp points, but they seem to have learned this practice from the civilisados. Besides clothing, there are many other indications that the Maué acquire large quantities of manufactured goods from the outside world. Most families are well supplied with steel tools, and facas, machados and terçados are much in evidence. Cooking is done in aluminum kettles, and although the most common dish is the cuia, on special occasions a variety of metal plates and spoons make their appearance. Most hammocks are woven by the women of native cotton, but a few are purchased. The Maué are most obviously indio in their short stature (the men average 152 cm. in height) and is their speech. Many men speak some Portuguese, but only to communicate with outsiders, and very few women know any Portuguese at all.

If external appearances are ignored, however, it soon becomes apparent that in many basic respects the Maué are still indio. This is true, for example, as far as their formal social organization is concerned. The society is divided into about eighteen clans, membership in which is reckoned patrilineally. The rule of clan exogamy is still observed very strictly by the upriver indios, althrough there have been a few intra-clan marriages among some of the more acculturated indios living in Ponta Alegre. Besides restricting the choice of marriage partners, however, clan membership does not have a

great deal of significance. Clan members do extend hospitality to one another, but ordinarily clan bonds are very weak unless reinforced by common residence and common interests.

Post-marital residence is patrilocal, and it is uncommon for a young man to fail to bring his wife to live in his father's house. The resulting extended family is rarely very large, however, because it usually lasts only as long as the father lives. When the father dies, his sons almost always separate and set up households of their own. The extent to which the extended family is an economic unit varies considerably, as will be discussed in detail in a later section.

There is no evidence that the Maué ever had phratries or moieties, institutions which occur among the Mundurucú, their neighbors to the south. (6)

The religion of the Maué has probably changed more drastically than any other aspect of their culture. Today the religion is a combination of aboriginal beliefs about forest spirits and curing and Catholic beliefs about saints and life after death. Every village has a chapel, and prayers are held on a variety of festive occasions. An impressive part of most services is the singing of the Ladainha de Nossa Senhora in Latin. On the other hand, daily concern is with the malevolent forest spirits rather than with the saints, since it is the forest spirits which are thought to cause disease. The most common ceremony is the curing ceremony, during which the pagé smokes long cigarettes and attempts to cure the patient by reciting spells and sucking out an object which he exhibits as the cause of the illness.

Observances connected with the life cycle seem to be essentially aboriginal. At the birth of a child both parents observe very severe diet restrictions and remain isolated for a month. A girl at her first menstruation is also placed on a strict diet and is shut up in a corner of the house until she has completed a second menstrual period. When she comes out of isolation, her body in scarified with a paca tooth, but there is no elaborate ceremony. The most spectacular feature of Maué culture is the Festa de Tocandeira, which is a rather unusual

(6) Murphy, 1954, p. 6.

type of boy's puberty ceremony. During this ceremony, boys put their hand in a kind of luva which contains several hundred large tocandeira ants (probably *Cryptocerus atratus)* and are stung repeatedly during the ten minutes or so that they dance with their hand in the luva. The ordeal is extremely painful and the effects last for about twenty-four hours. An unusual aspect of this ceremony in that it must be repeated at least twenty times before the boy can be expected to derive the ultimate benefit from it — in fact it is considered dangerous to wear the luva only a few times. Beginning at the age of nine or ten, most boys are in their twenties before they have worn the luva the required number of times.

History of Contact

The history of contact with the Europeans is not well known, but the record does go back almost three hundred years. The Jesuits established a mission among the Maué in the 1660's, and for a hundred years thereafter there were at least one and often several missions in Maué territory. (7) After the expulsion of the Jesuits, missionary work among the Maué was abandoned for a time, but was later taken up by members of other orders, and both Benedictines and Capuchins had missions among the Maué in the nineteenth century. (8) The presence of missionaries for such a long period has had a variety of effects, many of which must be assumed for lack of data. One effect of the missions which is often overlooked is the extent to which they served as a buffer between the indios and the colonists, and especially the bandeirantes. In fact, it may well be that one of the reasons that the Maué have survived as a people is because of the protection provided them during this early period by the various missionaries who lived among them. (9)

At about the same time as the arrival of the Jesuits, or perhaps even earlier, the Maué became involved in trade. (10)

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(7) Betendorf, 1910; Leite, 1938-50.
(8) Bernardino, 1873; Nimuendajú, 1948.
(9) Kieman, 1954.
(10) Nunes Pereira, 1954, p. 32.

Betendorf, writing in the 1690's, noted that the colonists were already familiar with the famous drink of the Maué, guaraná, and were using it in the treatment of fevers. (11) A hundred years later guaraná was being used in Europe as a treatment for a variety of diseases, and the Maué seem to have been one of the major sources of supply. (12) In the nineteenth century guaraná was used widely in the Amazon Basin as a treatment for malaria, and traders from as far away as Mato Grosso and Bolivia descended the rio Madeira every year to obtain guaraná in the village of Maués. (13)

There is no information as to what the Maué received in exchange for guaraná during this early period, but there is little doubt that the major items were the same as today : steel tools and cloth. That trade was of more than incidental significance even at this time is indicated by a decree issued by the Governor of Pará in 1769 which prohibited trade with the Maué. This decree, which was prompted by the death of several traders at the hands of the indios, was designed to reduce them to a state of necessity and make them more tractable to civil control. (14) That the prohibition of trade could be expected to achieve this end suggests that the indios must already have come to regard trade goods as being of great importance.

By 1820, when Martius visited the Maué, the kinds of items produced by the indios and the trade goods acquired in exchange were quite similar no those of today. (15) Besides guaraná, farinha, cotton thread, featherwork, cacao, and sarsaparilla were offered to the traders in return for steel tools, salt, and cloth. Although the exact items produced today are somewhat different, the same three types of produce - agricultural, manufactured, and collected — are still used in trade.

It is not clear to what extent the Maué engaged in rubber collecting during the boom years around the turn of the century. Since rubber trees are relatively scarce in the Andirá region, and since the latex is of poor quality, it is doubtful

(11) Betendorf, 1910, p. 37.
(12) Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1825, p. 6.
(13) Bernardino, 1873, pp. 121-23.
(14) Nunes Pereira, 1954, p. 34.
(15) Martius, 1867, p. 401.

that the Maué became involved in rubber collecting to the same extent as the Mundurucú and many other tribes. (16) According to my informants, rubber collecting was simply another supplementary activity which served to augment their income, but which did not interfere with their agricultural work. Coudreau's statement that in 1895 the Maué had given up the production of guaraná to engage in rubber collecting is probably an overstatement, at least for the rio Andirá area. (17) In any case, there seems to have been some sharing of the economic well-being of the whole Amazonian region, since the Maué speak nostalgically of the time when traders brought them a much greater variety of goods than are now available, including items like sewing machines which today are prohibitively expensive. When the demand for rubber declined, the Maué began to collect a variety of other forest products and today have given up rubber collecting entirely.

Not only have the Maué been subjected to religious and economic pressures, but they have also been involved in some of the political turmoil which from time to time has swept the Amazon Basin. A few Maué were conspicuous in the insurrections of the 1830's, although it is not clear to what extent large sections of the population took part. The Cabanagem seems to have ended in the town of Maués, where the last cabanos surrendered their arms in 1840. (18) Since that time there have been no major disturbances in the area, although there was a minor altercation over the election of a tuxaua geral as late as the 1940's. There have been two consequences of this involvement in local politics : a general suspicion of all outsiders, and a fairly high degree of tribal unity. Since 1947, when a Posto do Serviço de Proteção aos Indios was established in Ponta Alegre, the Maué have been fairly well isolated from local political activities.

Agriculture

Although a number of major changes have occurred in Maué agriculture, many aboriginal features remain. The two

(16) Murphy, 1954.
(17) Coudreau, 1941, p. 121.
(18) Ferreira Reis, 1931, pp. 157-58; Bernardino, 1873, p. 221.

most important changes have been in the implements used, and in the ends which agriculture serves. Stone and bone tools have long been replaced by terçado, machado, and enxada. Formerly a means of subsistence only, agriculture now provides both subsistence and additional foodstuffs which are used in trade. Moreover, for the modern Maué agriculture and trade are inextricably bound together, since he must grow crops beyond his subsistence needs in order to acquire the tools which make his agricultural activities possible. Agriculture as it is now practiced would be impossible without steel tools.

This emphasis on production for the market, however, has had remarkably little effect on aboriginal patterns of agricultural work. Even though the desire for trade goods is very strong, and men often adopt an individualistic attitude in trading activities, much of the agricultural produce which is used in trade is the result of cooperative labor. Ordinarily all the men of a village work together in clearing and planting fields, even though each field prepared belongs to an individual and the produce from the field is his exclusive property. As might be expected, this cooperative labor is a major factor in village solidarity.

Agriculture is based on typical slash and burn techniques. The yearly cycle begins in May or June with the cutting of the forest. The undergrowth is cut first, with terçados, then the trees are felled with machados. In capoeira all the trees are cut, but is virgin forest the largest and hardest trees are often left standing after being girdled - they are largely destroyed when the field is burned. Burning takes place in September or October, and after the burning the fields are considered to be ready for plasting without further preparation. Only if the initial burning fails to consume a substantial part of the felled material is there a re-burning (coivara).

The size of the fields varies considerably, and each man more or less decides for himself how large a field he would like to have cleared by the work party. There is not complete freedom in this respect, however, since a man's fellow villagers will only help him prepare a field which seems of a reasonable size in terms of his particular needs. As might be expected, the important men with large families have the largest fields (up to 35,000 square meters), and young married men have

much smaller ones (8,000 to 12,000 square meters). Final decisions about the size of fields and the order in which fields will be prepared are made by the village chief, who is in charge of all joint work. As in most other things, however, the chief usually confers with the older adult men in the village before making any important decisions.

Although women take no part in the cutting and burning, they do participate in the planting, of manioc which is done by work parties made up of all adult members of the village. The men climb in and out among the charred logs and loosen the soil with hoes, while the women follow and thrust two 15 cm. lengths of manioc stalk into each area of loosened soil. Planting is usually completed by the end of December, when the rainy season begins.

Only manioc is planted by joint work parties. Other crops, such as milho, cará, batata doce, macaxeira, gerimum, arroz, melancia, and timbó are planted by the owner of the field, assisted by the other members of his family. Algodão, tabaco, café, and pimenta are planted near the dwellings. Once planting is completed, no further work is done in the fields until some of the early crops ripen. There is no weeding, and no attempt is made to protect the crops from animals or birds.

It is difficult to generalize about the amount of time which an individual devotes to agriculture. Between May and December, joint work parties are in the fields almost every day. Ordinarily the work day begins about nine in the morning and lasts until about three in the afternoon, without a break, but at times, particularly when fish or game is plantiful, work may begin much earlier and go on until five or six o'clock. If food other than chibé is available, it is eaten after the men return from the fields. However, even though some men will be in the fields almost every day, only rarely do all of the men of the village work at the same time. Nearly every day one or more men go hunting or fishing. If a man has dreams which he interprets as indicating approaching misfortune, he does not go into the mato but spends the day in his hammock or works around the house. Fathers of new born children observe a month-long couvade and during this period they leave the house only for short hunting trips. In several of the villages communal work is suspended on Sundays (explicitly

because it is the Cristian day of rest), although men often use the opportunity to work alone in their own fields. However, there are no other important religious obligations or ceremonies which interfere with the agricultural cycle, and most festas are held during the rainy season. Afternoon showers or occasional all day rains may interrupt the work schedule, especially as the rainy season approaches. All in all, although the dry season is a period of relatively sustained labor, individuais rarely work all day every day for very long periods.

Ideally, fields are prepared in virgin forest, since such fields are much more productive than those cut in capoeira, with the manioc tubers being both larger and more plentiful. These advantages are often offset, however, by the greater ease with which capoeira is cleared, and by the desire to maintain residence in a particular village after all the nearby forest has been cut at least once. Consequently many fields are cut in capoeira, and although in most cases the second growth forest is twenty or thirty years old, at times land is cleared which has been fallow only a few years and is covered with relatively small saplings. In Vila Nova, which has been occupied continuously for about forty years, and which was previously occupied for an unknown period, there is no longer any virgin forest available closer than an hour's walk from the village, and most of the villagers prefer to clear capoeira rather than walk so far to their roças.

Fields are rarely if ever cleared more than once, but some replanting does take place. When a woman digs up manioc tubers, she usually thrusts the stalk of the manioc plant back into the ground, where it readily takes root and will in time produce new tubers. This replanting is not done systematically, however, and the field is never planted as extensively the second time as it was the first. Moreover, by the time second crop of tubers is mature, the roça is choked with grass and weeds, the fertility of the soil has been reduced, and the tubers are much smaller than those from the first planting. Sometimes a field is partially replanted a third time, but unless there is an unusual need for manioc, the fields is often abondoned before all of the tubers from the third planting are harvested. In any case, a new field is cleared and planted each year for each family in the community. Each family thus always has one new

field and one or more old ones, in each of which there are tubers in various stages of maturity. Manioc is the only crop which is ever replanted. None of the other crops grown can compete with the grass and weeds which quickly invade the field, and weeding the roça is not considered to be worth the effort.

The conversion of manioc into farinha was formerly exclusively women's work, but the aboriginal division of labor has been somewhat disrupted by the increasing importance of farinha in trade, and men now frequently assist in farinha production. The extent of a man's participation depends on at least three factors : the number of women in the household, the need for farinha, and the degree to which aboriginal ideals are maintained. Ideally a man still occupies himself with other things while his wife, unmarried daughters, and daughters-in-law make farinha. However, a young married man with no family usually helps his wife carry in manioc from the fields. may help her peel the tubers, and often helps her carry the firewood necessary for heating the forno. Washing, grating, and stirring the manioc pulp while it is toasting (torar) are still tasks which no self-respecting man would consider doing.

Trade goods play a significant if not vital role in manioc processing. Knives or old machete blades are used no peel the manioc tubers, and the grater is made of a piece of kerosene or chumbo can punched full of holes and attached to a block of wood with the rough side outermost. The other necessary paraphenalia — cestas, peneiras, and tipitis — are woven by the men. Unlike their civilisado neighbors, the Maué do not use a copper pan as the top of the forno, but make the griddle of clay. Often of a respectable size, sometimes well over a meter in diameter, the griddle is made of the ashes of a plant called *caripé* mixed with clay, and when well-fired is extremely hard, smooth, and durable. These griddles are the only ceramics which the Maué still make, and only a few men know how to make them.

The techniques used to make farinha are relatively complicated. When the tubers are harvested, the larger ones are separated and put to one side. The smaller tubers are put in the river or an igarapé for four or five days until they are soft, then the casca is torn off with the hands and the coarse fiber which runs down the center of the tuber is removed. The

soaked manioc is then left in a trough for several days while the larger tubers are prepared. These are peeled and grated, and the pulp is then rinsed to remove the tapioca. Finally the grated manioc is mixed with the soaked manioc, in a proportion of about half and half, and the mixture is left overnight. The usual procedures are then followed : the pulp is squeezed in a tipiti passed through a peneira, and roasted (torar) on the forno. To stir the manioc pulp the woman uses a small, leaf-shaped paddle called a *tarú*.

The fact that farinha de mandioca is the major item used in trade has undoubtedly influenced the native diet, and today farinha is eaten far more commonly than beijú. Tapioca also plays an important part in the diet, being eaten regularly in the morning as mingau (usually tacacá) and also as farinha de tapioca.

Hunting and Fishing

The Maué derive their subsistence primarily from agriculture and only secondarily from hunting and fishing, but like most Amozonian indians they are never satisfied with a vegetable diet. When meat is available, meals consist of meat and farinha. If meat is not available, large quantities of batata doce, cará, or macaxeira may be eaten, but everyone complains of being hungry. Farinha is often eaten during the day in the form of chibé, and both wild and domesticated fruits are eaten with great relish, but all of these foods are eaten more or less as substitutes for the only real "bóia", caça and peixe. It is because of this attitude that so much time is spent in hunting, even though today game is not very plentiful and a hunter sometimes spends all day in the mata without killing anything. Hunting is done largely with breech-loading shotguns, but a few muzzle loaders are still in use. Not every man owns a shotgun, but there are usually several in every village and they are freely loaned. Although the understanding is that any game killed belongs to the owner of the shotgun rather than to the hunter, the latter is of course always given a share. A few men still hunt with the bow and arrow, but only when there is no shotgun to be borrowed. The bow and arrow is used more commonly in fishing.

Hunting is an individual activity, the hunter leaving in the morning after dew has dried and staying out all day, or until he kills a large animal. In most villages at least one hunter goes out every day and usually brings in some kind of game. The most common animals killed are macaco, cutia, and a variety of birds. The veadinho is fairly common, but the veado vermelho is killed only occasionally, as is the caititu. Only a few anta and quexada are taken. Paca are plentiful, and can be killed fairly easily by those few men who possess flashlights.

If the hunter brings in only a small animal, such as a bird or a cutia, it is eaten by the family of the hunter. Any larger game, however, is shared with all other families in the village. Often the meat is boiled, and all the inhabitants of the village are invited to a meal. Or the animal may be cut up and the meat distributed to the various households. It is noteworthy that in the case of the division of an animal, the best and largest pieces go to the most productive hunters in the village, and if anyone is left out it is the man who rarely hunts or who rarely gets anything.

Men are very much interested in hunting and spend a great deal of time telling one another of their hunting experiences. Hunters know a great many charms or "remedios" (made of a variety of plants) which they believe ensure that they will encounter a particular type of game, and there is a complex set of beliefs centering around these charms and their proper use. Special attention is paid to dreams on the night before a planned hunting trip for clues as to what kind of animal is likely to be killed, or for warnings that the trip should be cancelled. As might be expected, the successful hunter has considerable prestige. The principal effect which the Tocandeira Ceremony is supposed to have on boys is to make them good hunters.

Although some fish are taken throughout the year, fishing is most productive during the latter part of the dry season (September - December), when fish constitute the major source of protein. Today the Maué are eager for hooks and line, but most fish are still taken through the use of aboriginal methods, shooting with bow and arrow and poisoning with timbó. Regardless of how fish are caught, they are shared with other

members of the village. There os both less folklore and less prestige associated with fishing than with hunting.

Domesticated Animals

The Maué raise only a few pigs at the present time, although pigs may have been more common in the recent past. Chickens are plentiful, but do not contribute significantly to the diet. Chicken meat is considered to be a mild and safe food and is usually reserved for people who must observe certain diet restriction, either because they are ill, or, in the case of women, when they are menstruating. A few turkeys are raised, but are also rarely eaten. The only other domesticated animal is the dog, which is sometimes used in hunting burrowing animals, but otherwise has little utility. A variety of wild birds and occasionally an animal are tamed when the opportunity arises to capture them when young, but these pets are ordinarily not eaten.

Trade

As was noted in the introduction, the Maué have been engaged in trade for almost 300 years, and it is therefore not surprising, that they become dependent on a variety of manufactured goods. The most important of these are steel tools, without which current agricultural practices would be impossible. There are also other items which, although perhaps less vital, are still considered by the Maué to be absolute necessities. These include cloth, metal cooking pots, salt, soap, and kerosene. Shotguns and ammunition are thought to be necessities, at least for some of the men of each village, if not for all. Then there are a variety of objects which are not owned by everyone and which are not thought of as being absolutely necessary for a satisfactory standard of living, but which are common and certainly desirable : knives, spoons, plates, fish hooks, line, combs, mirrors, and suitcases. And finally, there are a variety of recognized luxuries owned by only a few and attainable for most only by sacrificing some of the necessities : shoes, perfume, hair oil, flashlights, and patent medicines.

Although most Maué are eager to acquire many of the foregoing items, there is a great deal of variation is the extent to which the desire for trade goods leads to an expansion of productive activities. For many men the possession of more than then basic necessities does not seem to be worth the extra effort involved, and they get along with a minimun of goods. This is feasible if a man lives in a village, since the custom of sharing game and fish insures that a man and his family will get some protein even if he does not own a shotgun. Most men want more than the basic necessities, however, and they make reasonably rational calculations as to how best to increase production in order to acquire a modest amount of nonessential goods. These men plan roças of a given size, or engage in collecting, in order to produce enough of a surplus to acquire a shotgun, perhaps, or additional clothing for their wives and children. On the other hand, rarely is the economic behavior of any Maué entirely rational in the sense of being directed solely toward the maximization of income. Many collecting activities, for example, such as the collection of various resins, bring in very little return, but seem to be continued simply because the resins are easily acquired and processed. The weaving of hats and baskets is an even more extreme example. Many hours are spent collecting the necessary materials from the mata, preparing the elements of which the articles are made, and doing the actual weaving — all for a very small return. However, men seem to enjoy making basketry, and it is an activity which in done at odd hours, or when it is raining.

It could be argued that in several respects the attitude toward trade itself is "irrational". The activity of trading is not seen merely as a means of attaining necessary or even desirable merchandise, but is also treated as an exciting kind of game. Given an opportunity to acquire trade goods, a man seldom hesitates. He will accept almost anything a trader offers, even though he may already be deeply in debt and have no immediate prospect of paying what he owes. Men also often go into debt for merchandise which they do not clearly need, with the expectation of later trading the merchandise to someone else. The motivation in these cases often seems to be not so

much a desire to turn a profit as simply to engage in the pleasurable activity of trading.

Today farinha is the most common item produced for the market on the rio Andirá, although guaraná may have been more important in the past and is probably still more lucrative on the rio Maués Açu. Forest products, which provide about half of the total Maué income, are collected only by some men, but averyone pays at least part of his debts with farinha. Since the price of farinha is well known, it is often used in lieu of money as a standard of exchange and is used to pay small debts and as payment for services such as curing or making clothing.

The amount of farinha produced annually to be used in trade depends on a number of variables : the size of the family's field, the number of women in the household, and the extent to which the family is oriented toward trade. The largest amount of farinha produced by one family for the market in the village of Vila Nova in 1956 was about 30 alqueires (*), the least amount about 3 alqueires, and the average amount probably around 10 alqueires.

Guaraná is the sext most important agricultural product used in trade, but it is produced on a much smaller scale than farinha. On the rio Andirá avery household has at least a few guaraná bushes planted near the house or on the outskirts of the village, but only a few men own large plantations. Most of the guaraná is consumed locally, even though there is a ready market for it. Most commercial guaraná is grown by the indios and civilisados living in the rio Maués Açu region.

The guaraná plant is a large shrub which produces fruit each year near the end of the dry season. The fruit is collected, opened, and the nut-like pods are roasted (torar) on the forno. The inner kernals are then crushed in a mortar, and the resulting brown powder is mixed with water and formed into bars about 20-25 cm. long and 4-5 cm. in diameter. After these bars have been smoked for a month they are ready to be used in trade or they can be stored indefinitely. The Maué prepare a drink called "çapó" by grating guaraná in water. Today a pirarucú tongue in the most common grater used, although the

(*) An alqueire should weigh 30 kilos, but the Maué alqueire, measured as the contents of two five gallon cans, is usually lighter than this.

stones noted by Nunes Pereira are sometimes still employed. As Nunes Pereira points out, çapó is drunk frequently during the day, especially on all social occasions, and is believed to have a variety of special effects, both physiological and magical. (19)

Coffee is grown fairly widely, but always on a small scale. Individual production rarely exceeds 10 kilos a year. Practically all of the coffee is grown to be used in trade; it is made into a beverage only on rare occasions (usually at festas) when sugar is available.

Basides the agricultural products which have just been listed, the Maué also produce a few manufactured products which are used in trade. These products include several types of baskets, the utensils necessary for making farinha (which find a ready market among the neighboring civilisados), brooms, and men's hats. As was noted above, these items bring in relatively little income, but they are produced in some quantity.

The final type of produce which the Maué use in trade comes from the mata. As was pointed out in the introduction, collecting natural products has been an important source of income at least since the time of Martius' visit in 1820. It should be emphasized, however, that today only some Maué devote time and effort to collecting forest products, whereas every family derives some income from foodstuffs. Moreover, participation in collecting has not disrupted the agricultural cycle, since collecting is done primarily during the wet season when agricultural work is suspended. Even though some collected products are more lucrative than agricultural products, no one attempts to support himself by collecting alone. Collecting, then, is still a supplementary source of income. Women take no part in any collecting activity.

The most important natural product collected today is pau rosa *(Aniba rosaeodora)*, a wood from which an oil used in the manufacture of perfume is derived. Pau rosa has been collected by the Maué for at least twenty years, and for a time there was a processing plant in Ponta Alegre. Today the wood is bought by several companies in Parintins. Collecting pau rosa requires a great deal of labor, since the trees are large,

(19) Nunes Pereira, 1954, p. 67.

widely scattered, and often a considerable distance from a stream. In order to facilitate moving the logs, trails 1 to 2 m. wide must be cleared through the mata, often for long distances. Once the pau rosa tree is felled, the trunk and larger branches are cut into sections about 1 m. long, which are then dragged down the trails to the river and eventually transported in canoes to a point downstream where the merchants can navigate with motor launches.

Because the work is heavy and because the Maué dislike working alone, collecting pau rosa is always a group activity. However, all the men of the village do not work together, as is the case in agriculture. Ordinarily a man who wants to collect pau rosa goes into the mata and locates and marks as many trees as he thinks he can get out during the season. Since the Maué have no concept of land ownership, these trees may be anywhere, but usually they are as near as possible to existing trails. Arrangements are then made with relatives or friends for aid in cutting the trees and transporting the wood. The profits derived from the sale of the wood go to the owner of the trees, and he repays his helpers for their assistance by working for them on a later occasion, or by sharing with them the merchandise which he receives.

The number of men who cut pau rosa varies from year to year, but in 1957 seemed to be on the increase. At that time the prices of manufactured goods were rising steadily, and more and more men were finding that the income from farinha would cover only the basic necessities, and that to obtain an especially expensive item, such as a canoe or shotgun, it was necessary to collect pau rosa. If the present inflationary trend continues, it seems clear that more Maué will be forced to devote more time to collecting.

Besides pau rosa, a variety of other forest products are collected. The most important of these is castanha do Pará *(Bertolletia excelsia),* although the wide spacing of groves of castanha trees along the rio Andirá means that only the inhabitants of a few favorably located villages can collect castanha in any quantity. Other forest products, such as breu and sorva, are gathered to some extent but are worth very little.

Since 1947, when a Posto do SPI was established in Ponta Alegre, trade with the Maué has been largely

monopolized by the encarregado do Posto. The encarregado brings manufactured products from Manaos or Parintins, distributes them to the indios, and accepts in return farinha, pau rosa, and the other items which the indios produce. The merchandise is given on credit, and the indios periodically bring their produce to the encarregado in payment. Although merchandise is always exchanged for produce, and money never changes hands, the prices of all commodities are well known to the indios. Written records are kept of all transactions, and although only a few Maué can read words, many men can recognize numbers and have a fairly clear idea of what the bills and receipts given them by the agent mean. In most cases, however, they eagerly accept all the goods they can get, and are perpetually in debt.

Before the establishment of the Posto, the Maué were visited regularly by traders from Parintins and Maués, and each family head had a patrão with whom he dealt more or less exclusively. The method of exchange was same found today. The patrão advanced his customer merchandise on credit, and at some later date collected the produce which was owed him. These trade relationships often led to more intimate ties, and it was not uncommon for the patrão to serve as padrinho for his customer's children.

In 1957, not only was the encarregado the only available patrão, but he would deal with only a few Maué. Due to various experiences with indios who failed to pay their debts, the encarregado limited his dealings to six men whon he felt he could trust. These men then became traders in their own right, accepting large quantities of merchandise from the encarregado and trading it to their neighbors. The policy of the encarregado was of course greatly resented by the with whom he would not deal, and there was considerable hostility toward the Posto for this reason.

The six Maué with whom the encarregado would deal handled relatively large amounts of goods and managed to retain a fairly large proportion for themselves. In the aldeia of Vila Nova the only man with whom the encarregado would deal was Manoel, who acted as trader for a number of his neighbors. From August 1956 to August 1957 Manoel received from the encarregado goods worth about Cr$ 40.000,00. Of these goods,

Manoel and his family consumed some Cr$ 15.000,00 worth, and the remaining Cr$ 25.00,00 worth were traded. During the year Manoel carried downriver to the encarregado produce worth Cr$ 34.000,00. This produce included 19 tonelados of pau rosa, 71 alqueires of farinha, 31 kilos of guaraná, and a variety of small items such as castanha do Pará, animal skins, baskets, and breu. Part of the pau rosa and farinha were produced by Manoel and his family, but most of this produce was received by Manoel from his customers in exchange for trade goods. Although Manoel ended the year Cr$ 6.000,00 in debt, he was owed at least this much by his customers, which he will ultimately collect. By the time he does collect what is owed him, however, he will undoubtedly have acquired new obligations, and it is unlikely that he will ever be completely out of debt. When I questioned him on the subject, he was unable to remember a time when he had not owed a substantial amount to the encarregado or to some other trader.

For a family the size of Manoel's — wife, just-married son, adolescent daughter, and three younger children — an expenditure of Cr$ 15.000,00 was relatively large. Of this amount, Cr$ 5.500,00 was spent for a canoe, and the remainder for a combination of necessities and luxury goods. It is unlikely that Manoel's consumption is as great every year, but he was clearly the richest man in the aldeia. Besides the necessities, he owned a shotgun, a canoe, and a flashlight; all the members of the family owned several sets of clothing; and he and his son both owned a pair of shoes (worn only at festas).

In contrast, several of the families of the aldeia spent as little as Cr$ 2.000,00 during the year, and this largely on necessities — tools, cloth, soap, salt, and kerosene. Those families whose expenditures reached the Cr$ 3.000,00 — 5.000,00 range had purchased some especially expensive item, usually a shotgun. As was noted earlier, in these cases it was usually necessary for the family to cut pau rosa in order to meet their obligations. With the exception of Manoel's family, only one other family spent more than Cr$ 5.000,00, and its expenditures amounted to about Cr$ 8.000,00.

Social Structure

The relationships between economic behavior and social groupings which have already been made explicit in the foregoing description suggest the generalization that much of the structure of Maué society is based on economic cooperation. The village, as was noted, derives much of its solidarity from the fact that all the men work together in clearing and planting roças. It might be noted in addition that capinaring the village area and roofing houses are also joint activities which contribute to village integration. Moreover, families which do not live in villages form their strongest ties with neighbors through agreements to exchange labor. Economic factors are also of considerable significance in structuring the most important kinshipbased group in Maué society, the extended family. The influences of economic factors on family organization are seen most clearly when the developmental cycle of the extended family is considered in some detail.

Ideally a man has several sons, who, when they marry, bring their wives to live in their father's house. This rule of patrilocal residence is adhered to except in very unusual circumstances. At first the married son not only lives in his father's house, but he also continues to help his father in all economic activities, while his wife helps the other women of the household in the production of farinha. After a year or two, usually after the birth of a child, the son builds a house of his own near the dwelling of his father, and the men of the village clear a separate field for him. Developments from this point onward may vary somewhat, but what is involved is an effort on the part of the son to control the farinha which his wife produces. With maturity and with the growth of daughters to help in farinha processing, a man may come to be largely independent of his father, and may use his farinha to trade with as he sees fit. He continues to cooperate closely with his father, however, and the father usually continues to have some control over trading activities and to organize any large scale enterprises such as the cutting of pau rosa. When the father becomes to old to support himself, he is maintained by his sons.

Regardless of how economically independent the sons may become, as long as the father lives the extended family is a

recognizable unit. With the death of the father, the sons begin to drift apart. If two of them remain in the same village, they continue to cooperate with one another, and their families may show a certain solidarity as against the other villagers, but they usually completely independent of one another economically. In about half the cases noted, brothers did not remain in their natal village, but one or both moved away, often to found settlements of their own. In such cases, ties between the families involved were very loose.

As the foregoing summary indicates, the extended family among the Maué has little continuity. The crucial aspect of the situation, the splitting up of brothers after the death of the father, seems to be due primarily to two motives. In the first place, there is considerable value placed on being head of one's own family group, and ideally the founder of one's own settlement. But of probably greater importance today is the desire to be economically independent and to engage in trade on one's own.

Because of the weak bonds which hold brothers together, the relationship between a man and his paternal uncles is rarely very close. Consequently, when a boy's father dies while the boy is still immature, the boy does not necessarily stay with his patrilineal kinsmen, but may settle wherever his fancy takes him. If, when he marries, his wife's father is a man of prestige and has good trade connections, the boy may take up residence with his in-laws, and cases of matrilocal residence are not uncommon. In most cases, however, matrilocal residence occurs only when a man's father is dead. In those few instances in which a man deserts his father to live with his in-laws, it is almost always the case that his father in law has better trade connections or is more enterprising than his father.

As was noted in the introduction, the patrilineal clans of the Maué do not have a great deal of significance today. In fact, about the only function which the clans still serve is the regulation of marriage. The members of the clans are widely scattered, and they have no special prerogatives or religious duties by virtue of clan membership. Clan members do extend hospitality to one another, and do recognize kinship bonds

throught the use of kinship terms (*), but ordinarily economic cooperation is based much more on contiguity than on clan affiliation.

Marriage is overwhelmingly monogamous on the Andirá river, and only four cases of polygyny were encountered. In spite of the fact that a plurality of wives would be a decided advantage, since they would form a very convenient productive unit in the preparation of farinha, most Maué have adopted the Christian attitude toward plural spouses.

Marriage is entered into very casually and there is no ceremony of any kind. Ordinarily, after the boy reaches an agreement with the girl and her family, she moves into his household and begins to help his mother and unmarried sisters prepare farinha. If the girl is pleased with her husband and his family, she stays; if she is discontented, she returns to her home. It is not unusual for young people to live for varying periods with several spouses before a union occurs which is mutually satisfying. After the birth of a child, however, marriages tend to be very stable and divorce is rare. There is no exchange of goods at marriage, but the boy is expected to worth for his father-in-law upon request during the following year. Usually the boy helps the father-in-law prepare his roça, but he may also be asked to assist in housebuilding or any other large undertaking. The boy lives with his father-in-law while working for him, but returns to his fatehr's house as soon as any particular task is completed.

There is considerable cooperation between affinal kinsmen, and for young men with no family these often prove to be the most significant relationships which are formed. The assistance which a young man renders his father-in-law during the first year of marriage often sets a pattern of cooperation between a man and his brothers-in-law, who of course also take part in the same work, which may last throughout life. However, these relationships are largely informal.

The position of the village tuxaua is remarkably well defined, considering that the Maué have been subject to outside domination for so long a time. The tuxaua is treated with res-

(*) Maué kinship terminology is of the Omaha type.

pect and some deference, although there are few outward signs of his status. He is the host of the village, and in this role he welcomes and entertains visitors, and plans and directs festas. His most important function is the supervision of joint work, whether this be clearing fields, cleaning the village area of grass, or building a new chapel. He decides the order in which fields will be cleared, or when work will be suspended for some special occasion. However, the actual authority of the tuxaua in these matters is quite nominal, and all of his decisions are made after consultation with the heads of the extended families. A tuxaua who is tyrannical is soon deserted.

Much of the chief's prestige and authority is derived from the idea that he is the "dono" of the village. His "ownership" of the aldeia stems from the fact that he is usually the founder. In the normal process of village formation and dissolution, when a village breaks up many families go to live other established villages. But the more enterprising men often move into an uninhabited area and build an isolated homestead. If they can attract other families to join them, in time a village develops, and the founder is almost always chosen to be the tuxaua.

Today the Maué insist on electing their own chiefs and strongly resent any outside interference. Although there can be no doubt that is the past chiefs were selected and confirmed by outside agencies — missionaries, traders, or civil authorities — the tenacity with the Maué in the recent past have resisted appointment of chiefs by outsiders (including the encarregado) indicates a long tradition of relative political autonomy. There is no evidence as to what the aboriginal method of selecting chiefs may have been. Nunes Pereira was told that only the members of a certain clan might be chief, but my informants denied that this was the case. (20)

Conclusions

It was suggested in the introduction that data on Maué economic life have bearing on several problems concerning the relationship between economic change and social change

(20) Nunes Pereira, 1954, p. 159.

in the Amazon Basin. The Maué data are significant primarily because they indicate that changes in economic activities which follow involvement in trade may have a variety of effects on the social structure and need not be as disruptive as some of the changes described for other tribes. As has been indicated, the Maué obtain trade goods in exchange for surplus agricultural produce and products collected from the tropical forest, but neither producing for the market nor collecting seem to have drastically altered the basic organization of the society. The situation among the Maué is of course in striking contrast to the situation among other tribes where certain kinds of collecting, especially the collecting of rubber, have been the major or only source of income.

Whenever tribes become deeply involved in rubber collecting, as in the case of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River or the tribes of the upper rio Negro, the results are always essentially the same. Rubber collecting is particularly disruptive because it is done most efficiently by individuals working separately in widely scattered "avenues" of rubber trees. The dispersal of population which is necessary for efficient collecting leads to the abandonment of village life, the disruption of all social units larger than the nuclear family, and the rapid assimilation of the Indian population. A factor of importance in most cases is the refusal of the traders to accept anything except rubber in exchange for manufactured goods, so that no alternative ways of obtaining trade goods are possible. (21)

Not only have the Maué escaped the disruptive effects of rubber collecting, but they have never been entirely dependent on any kind of collecting as their only source of income. For as long as there are records there has always been a demand for their agricultural produce, since the civilisados in the region have gained a livelihood from collecting forest products, growing cash crops, or raising livestock, and have devoted very little effort to producing their own food. Consequently, there has been a steady demand for Maué farinha. Guaraná, once used as a medicine and now an ingredient in a carbonated beverage,

(21) Murphy, 1954, 1960; Galvão, 1959.

has also regularly been sought by traders. Moreover, the demand for these products has been so great that traders have come in search of them, which has allowed the Maué to live in relatively isolated up-river villages, far from civilisado settleements, and still obtain trade goods. It seems likely that this relative economic independence, and isolation, have contributed to the remarkable degree of political autonomy which the Maué have retained.

Since there is a demand for Maué foodstuffs, it has been possible to obtain a large proportion of the necessary trade goods in exchange for agricultural products, and the Maué have not had to abandon agricultural work, either to engage intensively in collecting, or to become involved in wage labor. The continuation of agriculture has been significant because, as was indicated, joint work is of considerable importance is terms of village solidarity and the role of the chief. The extended family, as a unit in the social structure, is not directly supported by the continuation of joint work parties, but it would clearly be affected if agricultural practices were curtailed, since it now functions at the unit in farinha production.

Although the Maué have been forced to engage in some collecting, the type of collecting done does not necessarily interfere with agricultural work. Pau rosa is collected only during the rainy season, when no worth goes on in the fields, and colecting is treated by all as being supplementary to agriculture. Moreover, this kind of collecting can be efficiently carried out by groups of men and does not tend to disperse the population as rubber collecting does.

There are other tribes besides the Maué which have engaged in trade for long periods without drastic disturbances in the social structure. The Tenetehara have also been able to acquire trade goods in exchange for a combination of agricultural and collected products. Moreover, the major items collected, babassú nuts and copaíba oil, are types of natural products which are efficiently collected by groups (22). As a consequence, collecting among the Tenetehara is no more disruptive than is collecting among the Maué, and for the same reasons. In both cases

(22) Wagley and Galvão, 1949.

collecting is a cooperative activity which can be undertaken conveniently by an extended family or a group of neighbors or friends, and in neither case does collecting interfere with agricultural work, which in both societies is an integrating activity.

In conclusion, it is clear that neither "trade" nor "collecting" have regular effects on social structure. What matters is not whether a tribe becomes involved in trade, but what its members have to do to obtain trade goods. If agricultural produce is not enough, and it rarely is, then the crucial question is, what kind of collecting activities must be engaged in to make up the difference ? If the collecting is a type which is done most efficiently by individuals, as in rubber collecting, there may be a rapid breakdown of the social structure. But if the collecting is such that extended families or other groups can operate as units, then the effects may be minimal. This is especially true where the collecting activities do not interfere with the agricultural cycle, since the social structure is always based to some extent on patterns of agricultural work.

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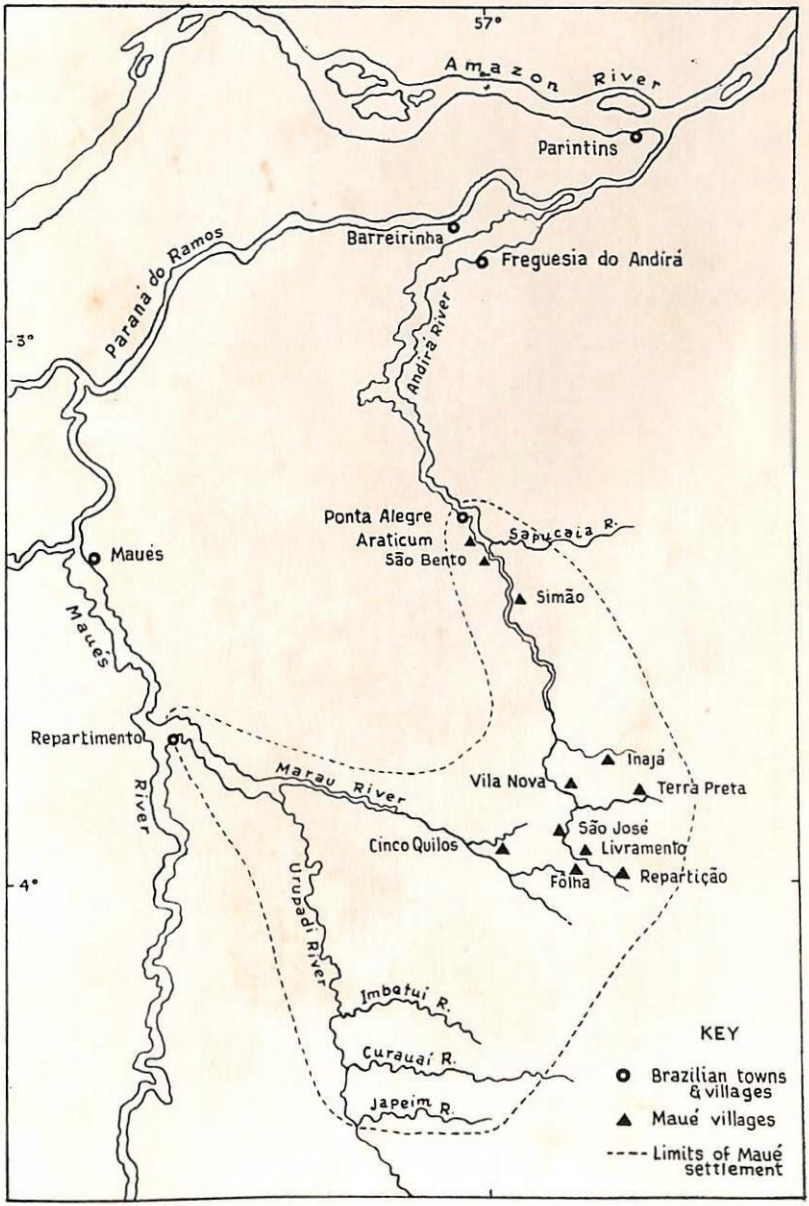
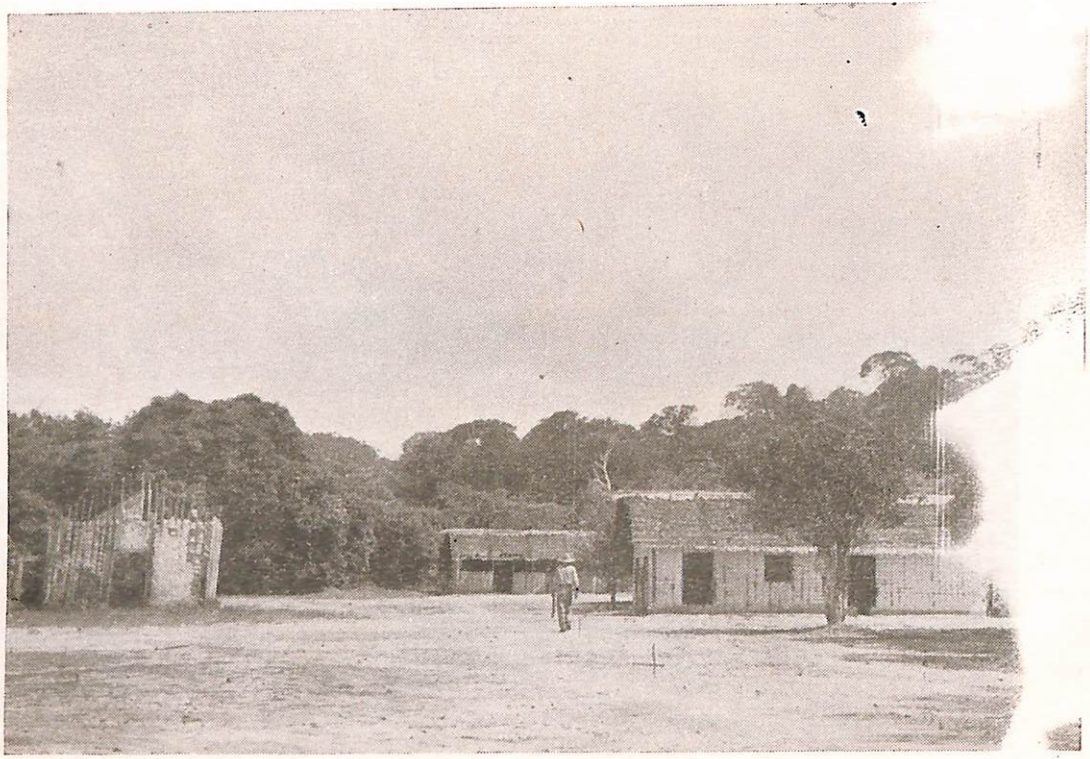


Mapa 1. Aldeias dos Maué



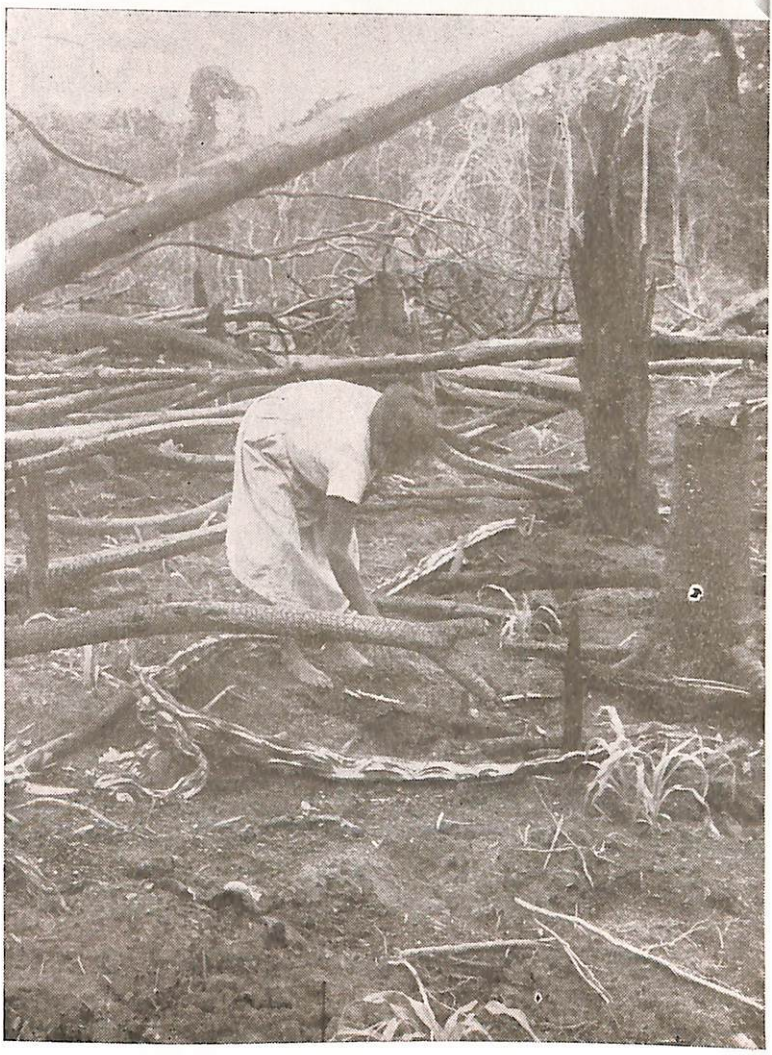
1. Entering the aldeia de Vila Nova, Rio Andirá. The ruined structure on the left is the former chapel.

2. One type of Maué house.

3. Capitão França, the spokesman of the tribe in relations with civilisados.

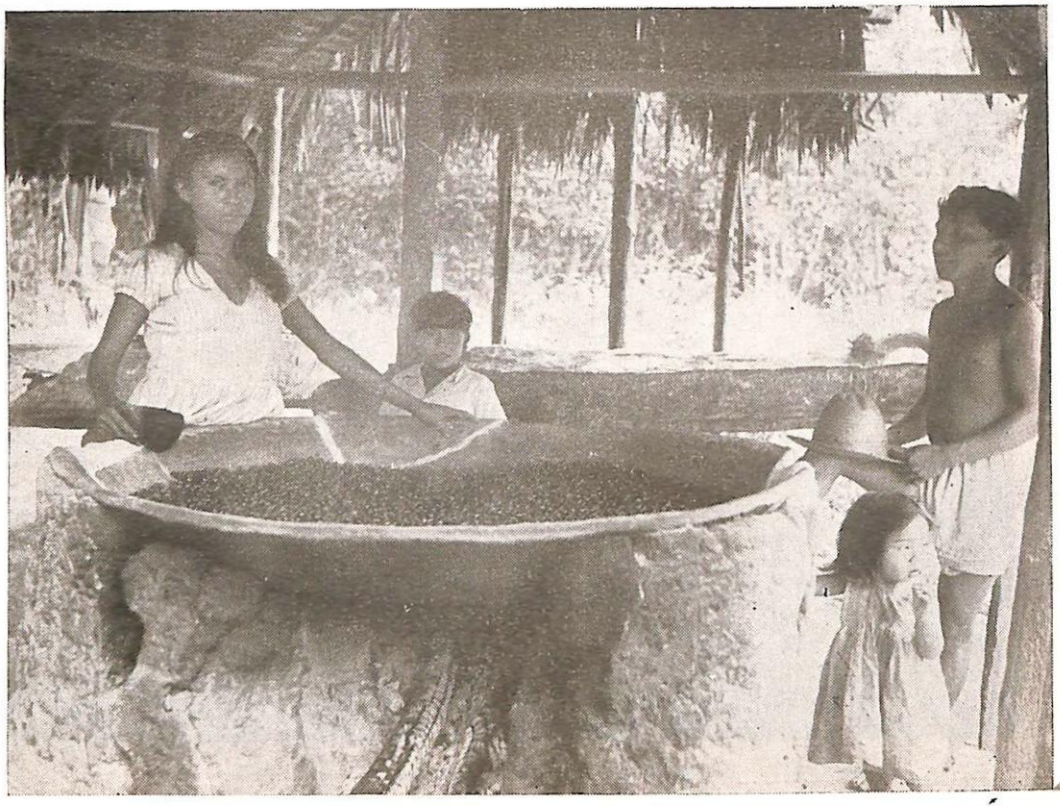
4. A roça ready for planting.

5. Cutting manioc stalks into pieces suitable for planting.



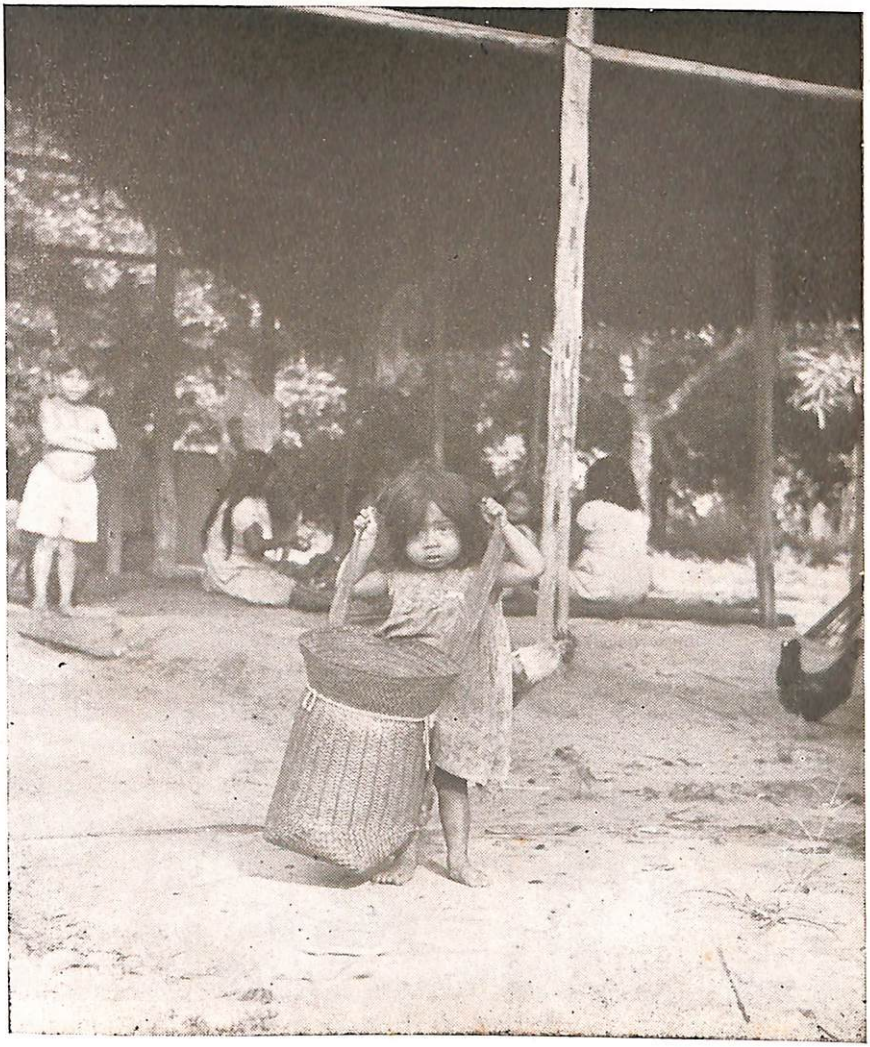
6. Planting manioc.

7. The women of a single family peeling manioc tubers.



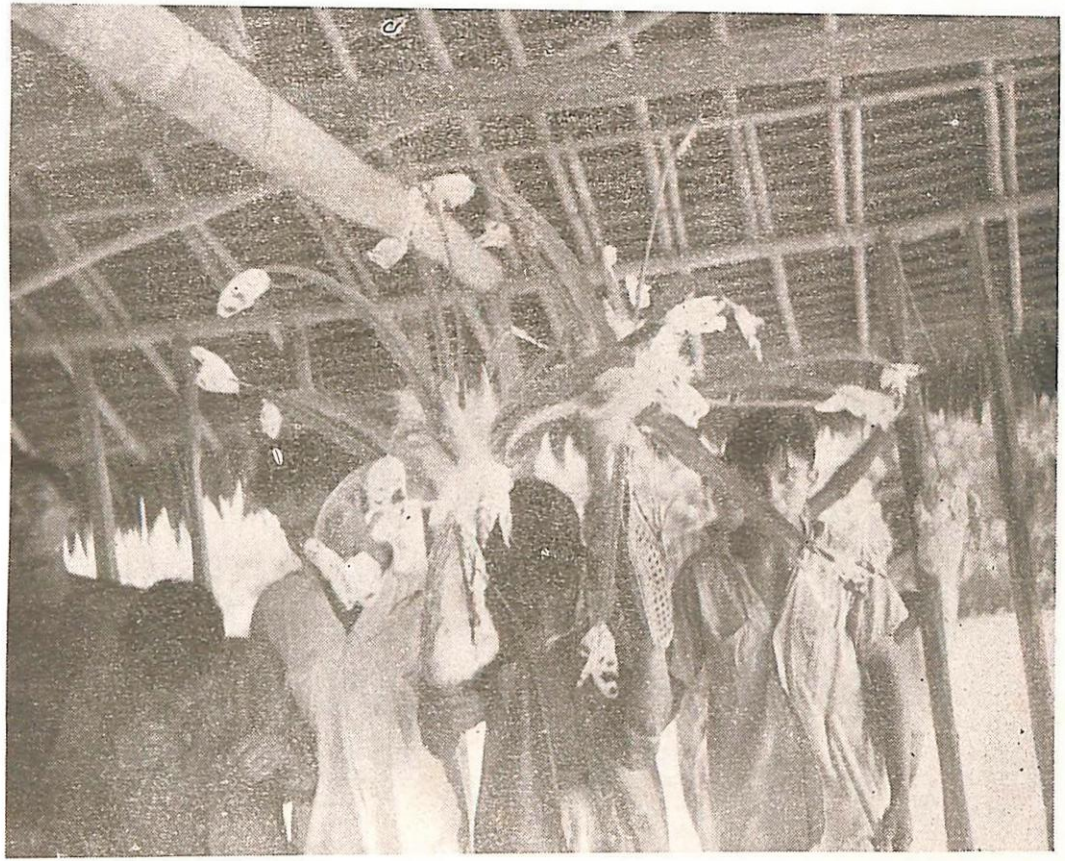
8. A woman roasting (torar) guaraná. The top of the forno is made

9. A woman removing cotton thread from two spindles. The thread was used to weave a hammock.



10. A small girl holding the type of basket used by women to carry farinha.

11. Musicians at a festa with the instruments used in playing gambā.



12. Boys dancing during the Festa de Tocandeira. The boy in the center is wearing two 'luvas" wich are filled with stinging ants.