



Introduction

The fish had not come. By the end of April 2009 the five teams of Enawenê-nawê fishermen had tended their fishing dams for nine weeks as opposed to the usual six. They had waited in vain for shoals of migrating fish to rush noisily into them. The dearth was due to the advancing construction of a string of hydroelectric dams on the upper reaches of the Juruena River, located in Mato Grosso state, an economic frontier region of Brazil. The Juruena flows north to feed the Tapajós and then the Amazon itself. It is one of many Amazonian rivers where the Brazilian government has incentivised the generation of hydropower. Living at this new resource frontier, in 2009 the Enawenê found themselves lacking sufficient fish for the ritual season's climactic feasts. In response, pioneering fishermen left their fishing dam to travel to the fast-growing town of Juína, the centre of the agribusiness and cattle industries that dominate the region, in order to buy fish from an aqua-farm. They persuaded agents from the government agency that assists the country's indigenous population to advance 12,000 reals for the purchase. The advance was taken from the 1.5 million real compensation agreement that Enawenê representatives had just signed, after fraught negotiations, in exchange for the building of eight hydroelectric dams.

At the bridge that carries the region's main road over the River Juruena, the fishermen took delivery of three tons of an artificially cross-bred fish from a refrigerated lorry. Located approximately 100 miles upstream of the Enawenê's single village on the small, winding, Iquê River, this bridge was a significant place on the Enawenê landscape. It was here

that they mounted road blocks to make demands of government, and from here that they travelled by road to meetings in the local, regional and national capitals of Juína, Cuiabá and Brasília. While the bridge was thus routinely a place for the negotiation of resources and recognition, this was the first time it had staged a handover of fish.

In a forest clearing near the bridge the fishermen arranged the fish in flattened baskets made from palm materials and smoked it on wooden racks, just as they would have done if the fish had been caught in their dams' traps. However, given the fishermen's already prolonged absence that year, they were in haste to return to the village. Instead of leaving the fish to smoke and cure gradually over weeks, they roasted it for just 24 hours before loading it into their outboard-powered aluminium boats for the seven hour journey home. By the time the fishermen greeted their wives, the strange-looking 'foreign fish' (*iñoti kohase*) – as women immediately took to calling it – already smelled pungent. Women spat on the floor and exclaimed with disgust that it was rotting. They urgently erected smoking racks and lit fires to prevent the fish from spoiling completely. When they tentatively tasted the foreign fish they commented on its oily texture. There were many complaints of aching stomachs in the following days. I had never received so many meals of fish coupled with manioc bread, since this foreign fish was said to be good for a 'foreign woman' (*iñoti-nero*) to eat. In the days of intense commerce that always followed the fishermen's return from their dams, women kept the slowly smoked fish that had been caught in the dams' traps separate from this oily foreign fish. They chose the former for the payments they busily distributed to their affines, to secure their children's betrothals and fix their patrilineal clan names.

That year I had accompanied a team of twelve fishermen to the most distant of the five dams constructed by the men of *Yankwa*, as the fishermen are known. As they tended empty traps and were denied the fortifying meals that should have followed the hard work of building a dam out of wood and vines in a rushing river, the team had struggled to keep up the light-hearted ribaldry that is supposed to characterise encampment sociality. Before I left them to return to the women in the village – I was dispirited, hungry and eager to escape the tense and frustrated atmosphere at the failing dam – I counted just forty-four flattened baskets of fish in the two watertight smokehouses the men had constructed in preparation for smoking a prodigious haul.

After the same period in 1981 there had been nearly a thousand such baskets at one dam, not including all that the men had unrestrainedly feasted upon. We know this because Vincent Cañas, the Jesuit missionary who lived with the Enawenê for a decade after contact in 1974, kept

a careful record of the catch. In 1985 he gave up counting the fish by day ten when 'all along the dam there are shoals of fish who want to descend the river'. A decade later, in 1994, a biologist working with the mission's laicised successor NGO, Operação Amazônia Nativa (OPAN), weighed the returned fishermen's dry catch. He estimated a total production of 18 tons of fresh fish from three dams (Costa Júnior 1995b). This puts the three tons of farmed fish purchased in 2009 into perspective, and demonstrates that 2009 was a new and drastic low in what, by all accounts, had been a gradual reduction in fishing yields.

On a brief visit to the River Arimena's fishing dam in 2008 I had witnessed the riot of fecundity as the fish shoaled into the traps, and the elation and bodily vigour of men and their growing sons. As I took my leave from another dam in 2009 the dam's leader, who had been my host, confided to me his anxiety. He was faced with the prospect of returning to the ritual hosts in the village with a pitiful catch. He worried over the pairs of fish that he would have to hand to each one of the men of three hosting clans on the evening of the return, and then of the same number of the larger, flattened baskets he needed to distribute the following morning. However, the lack of fish was more than a lack of exchange currency. The success of dam fishing is at once a barometer for the quality of relations among the team of fishermen, their ability to realise the will of powerful ancestors, and to forge an alliance with the spirit masters of the fish. The dam's leader asked me a series of rhetorical questions that expressed this frustrated efficacy: had I noticed that all the men had finished weaving a second round of sieves for their wives? But had I heard him calling out for the men to 'fetch firewood!' 'Fetch palm leaves to make the smoking baskets!?' And had I seen him running into the encampment to motivate everyone to get to work gutting and smoking the fish? Crafting tools like manioc sieves and graters, and ornaments like bead-chains for their wives, was supposed to take up men's spare time, in between smoking the catch, but in the absence of fish it had become men's central occupation. The fishermen were in no doubt that the advancing construction of the concrete dams upstream of their wooden ones had disrupted the fish's migrations. Nonetheless the traps' emptiness implied their failure to channel ancestral power as they built the dam; to secure the alliance of the masters of the fish, the *Yakairiti*; and to animate their humanoid traps through mental and bodily discipline.

It was two weeks after I had returned to the village, as I was ensconced with the women of my household in preparations for the feasts that would welcome the returning fishermen, that I heard about the solution for the crisis. A man called Dalyamase, who consistently took up

the task of 'solving problems' related to the foreign world on behalf of his community, called the new village payphone to inform the anxious hosts of the fleets' imminent return. The women of my household spoke excitedly about how a 'document had finally emerged' to liberate the compensation. The document had come down from Brasilia and onto the state capital of Cuiabá, before reaching the local office of the national agency for indigenous affairs, or 'FUNAI'. The success of this bureaucratic travail was an assurance of men's mastery of relations with powerful and resource-rich outsiders.

Mobilising such relations to buy farmed fish was an innovation upon an established pattern. The Enawenê had already sought gasoline and nautical oil to power the fleets' departure to the distant dam sites from the same hydroelectricity consortium whose developments threatened their fishing livelihood. Outboard-powered boats had gradually replaced canoe travel over the previous decade and the fleet had now become too large to be fuelled by maternity and pension benefits. In the context of this constant deficit of fuel and with the consortium's interest in securing the Enawenê's agreement to hydroelectricity developments, the enemy also became the readiest source of 'help for the ritual'. With the radical lack of fish in 2009 foreigners had become, for the first time, both the cause of a new insufficiency in the ritual economy and the source of goods with the potential to supplement and even expand it.

Alongside these resource-mediated frontier relations, cultural politics was in full swing. The delivery of farmed fish to the bridge was filmed by a Brazilian NGO called *Video nas Aldeias*, who were working on behalf of the government heritage agency to document the Enawenê's cultural resilience in the face of the damming threat. OPAN had initiated the documentation project hoping that high-level government recognition of the Enawenê's cultural vitality would bolster their resistance to the dams. Together with the London-based organisation Survival International, OPAN had also arranged for a journalist from *The Sunday Times* to visit the Enawenê in 2008 in order to write a feature about their assertive opposition. The Enawenê's spectacular ritual life has also attracted a steady stream of film crews. For example, in 2012 the community allowed the Brazilian media giant Globo to make a documentary about their dam-fishing ritual, Yankwa, for national prime time viewing – again in the hope that this would strengthen their position.

One of the reasons the Enawenê were successful in seeking help for their rituals was that they fitted pervasive ideals of Amerindian identity by virtue of being largely monolingual in their Arawakan dialect, having an active and spectacular ritual life, and taking a warrior stand to protect their territory. In October 2008 they had invaded and burned

the construction site of one of the hydroelectric dams, causing significant financial loss to the consortium. The Enawenê's readiness to go to war to protect their own existential prerogatives posed an ongoing investment risk, both to the consortium and the Brazilian National Development Bank, which was financing the dams. The consortium and the government's joint commitment to assisting the Enawenê with the resources they needed for their ritual life was an attempt to mitigate that investment risk. Indirectly, it was also connected to the attention the Enawenê received as 'authentic Indians' from NGOs, government agencies, and the media, which was conditioned upon their seeking gasoline and fish 'for their rituals' – to build monumental wooden dams and feed threatening spirits. Of course as soon as they incorporated these resources, refuelling at the gas station and feasting on farmed fish, they were subject to accusations of culture loss, dependence and avarice – caught in a familiar trap in which the only 'real Indian' is a pure other with whom there is no relationship.

It was from online clips of the Globo Reporter documentary that I first discovered that farmed fish had either supplemented or entirely replaced the dams' catch over the three years subsequent to my leaving the village in July 2009. In 2010 the Enawenê had spent 80,000 reals from their completed 1.5 million compensation payout on fish; in 2011 fish was purchased with new funds provided by the hydroelectricity company; and in 2012 the government heritage agency provided funds for seven tons of fish in order to fulfil its responsibility to safeguard the Enawenê's ritual life after their dam-fishing ritual, Yankwa, had been inscribed as 'intangible cultural heritage in need of urgent safeguarding' both by the Brazilian heritage agency and by UNESCO.¹ The government was offering cultural recognition of the Enawenê's ritual life and compensating their lost fishing livelihood while denying them meaningful participation in riverine resource developments.

This ethnography of the major ritual in the Enawenê's annual cycle of festivities, Yankwa, is situated in this fraught context. Nonetheless, its descriptive and analytical scope is not circumscribed by these global phenomena of resource-capture, environmental despoliation, and the transformation of life into heritage. These conditions frame the book just as they conditioned what I could learn about the Enawenê and their ritual life, but they do not define its contents, just as they do not define the totality of Enawenê life.

The construction of wooden dams and the fishermen's subsequent return to the village, disguised as dangerous spirits and laden with fish and gifts of basketry and beadwork, is the climactic moment of Yankwa's calendrical ritual process. Throughout the months of Yankwa

the Enawenê share their harvests of corn, manioc and fish with one another and with invisible spirit masters, called Yakairiti, in order to assure the continued health and prosperity of their fast-growing population, which was 500 strong in 2009.² Abundant gardens are planted and harvested, wooden dams are constructed to entrap migrating fish; and a predictable, daily sequence of dance, flute music and ancestral song fills the village's central arena every day, punctuated by periodic events of clowning, feasting and exchanging. This everyday ritual activity is organised on the basis of patrilineal clanship, with two of the nine clans playing a major hosting role during each biennial.

Fishing expeditions organise the temporality of the ritual process, with music and feasting leading up to, and then on from, them. In order to succeed, the dams' construction must be timed to coincide with the downstream journey of shoal-living fish. The fish go upstream to spawn and feast in the flooded forest when the river level rises during the rains. As the rains slow and the river levels drop, they return to the major rivers. In 2008 and 2009 it was in mid February that the men of seven clans took their leave of the hosts and women in order to journey to five different rivers in the hope of catching and smoking whole shoals of fish. During their absence, the men of the two host clans and all the women of the village are allied in a busy and festive vigil for the fishermen. Men clean the village's sandy central arena, clear a special port of arrival and ceremonial pathway, and make adornments; while women clean gardens, stock up on manioc flour, distil ash salt, and gather firewood for the dramatic feasts and the months of routine ritualism that follow. Through such preparations the villagers orchestrate the peaceful return of both the fishermen and the predatory spirits with whom they are closely allied.

When the fleets finally dock, the incomers' fish is exchanged for hosts' garden foods, drinks and civilised body ornaments over a day and night of spectacular performance. This culminates when the flutes and their animating spirits are restored to their dedicated house at the centre of the village. Over the next two months, the fishermen play the flutes belonging to the two host clans, one after the other, and drink until the harvest from their collective manioc gardens has been exhausted. In order that hosting privileges may circulate among the nine clans, the final phase of the ritual process in June or July involves the preparation of new collective manioc gardens for a new pair of hosts. The harvest from these gardens, which are sited and felled in year one and then further cleared, burned and planted in year two, serve the fishermen and flute players of a subsequent biennial.

Yankwa is not simply the name of a ritual, although it can be used by Enawenê people as such (e.g. ‘soon it will be Yankwa and we will leave for the fishing dams’). It is also a collective noun used in a contextual and relational way to designate ‘the dancers’, ‘the men’, ‘the women’, ‘those who plant manioc’, ‘the flute players’, or ‘the fishermen’. More abstractly ‘Yankwa’ refers to the unity of the separate clans, whose members always play the flutes that belong to others and never their own. Throughout the book I will use ‘Yankwa’ in both the reified sense (‘the ritual’, ‘the season’) and as a collective noun that can mean the flutes, the men, the dancers or the fishermen depending on the context. Although this may be confusing at points for the reader, I do so in order to maintain something of the complex polysemy of this noun, whose every usage implies a linkage between flute, man and spirit on the one hand and, on the other hand, the interdependence between the single clan and the whole community that works, sings and fishes for it.

The word ‘Yankwa’ also evokes a whole series of resonances based on contrasts within an annual cycle of rituals. In relation to these other ritual seasons, Yankwa is thus a particular structure of experience and a collective persona. It generally prevails from at least December through to June, although in 2008 it began in October and extended into July of the following year. *Lerohi*, another clan-based flute ceremony, follows Yankwa each year, occupying the driest months of July and August. Yankwa and *Lerohi* are paired, both occupying the season of agriculture, with Yankwa planting manioc and *Lerohi* planting corn. As such, both are devoted to the *Yakairiti*, the dangerous subterranean spirits who are masters of riverine and agricultural resources. Whereas both Yankwa and *Lerohi* play flutes, oppose clans, and are devoted to agriculture, the other pair of rituals, *Saluma* and *Kateoko*, oppose men and women, and are devoted to a more mobile economy based on poison fishing, the gathering of honey and other forest foods. Men, as the warrior collective ‘*Saluma*’, and women, as perfected versions of ancestral womanhood known as ‘*Kateoko*’, relate not only to each other but also, via their gendered exchanges, to celestial ancestors called *Enole-nawe*. These are perfect, powerful and mainly – though not unambiguously – benevolent spirits, in sharp contrast to the perverse and predatory *Yakairiti*.

Each of these seasons and collective personae thus evokes contrasting mythic events and relationships; the sound and melody of a certain kind of vocal or instrumental music; specific economic prerogatives; a particular ceremonial and work routine; certain patterns of dance steps that condition the experience of village space; and a distinctive ceremonial relationship system that determines the circuits through which food and other wealth is distributed. There is also a less tangible mood or ethos

that characterises each season. Yankwa is priestly in its gravitas though it has many carnival moments, while during Lerohi, when women dance arm in arm with men to circuit between the village's houses, the atmosphere is less formal and even a little flirtatious. Similarly, the women of Kateoko are always conscientious about their singing and dance steps and they are punctiliously decorated, whereas in the role of Saluma men are extravagantly flirtatious and disorderly. They charge Kateoko, breaking women's solemn dance line in order to cover their skirts with honey. On the other hand, in preparation for potentially dangerous political missions, when they have arrows and war clubs rather than honey in hand, Saluma becomes tensely focused on voicing songs evoking ancestral potency.

Further elaborating upon Yankwa's place in this annual cycle is beyond the scope of this book. Its aim is to seek a holistic understanding of Yankwa as a process that is at once economic, social, cosmological and political: a way of structuring a fisher-agricultural economy, of reconciling antagonistic spirits, of organising social divides of gender and clanship, and seeking recognition from powerful outsiders. This entails moving through activity sequences of monumental dam-building, carefully orchestrated performances, and festive gendered work, and between the different perspectives within Yankwa's relationship system: that of Yankwa's fishermen, diplomatic emissaries and flute players; that of women, who provision community feasts and are the audience of men's performances; and that of the humble, servile hosts, who are the ritual's owners. I focus less on the esoteric and musical dimensions of performance (the content and form of chants, flute music, ceremonial dialogues, and poetic incantations) than on the *work* involved in sustaining a life of perpetual ritual. This work is always both mundane and extraordinary, practical and cosmogonic, productive and performative.

In the second half of the book, this processual analysis of Yankwa gives way to a series of ethnographically grounded arguments that develop the understanding of Yankwa as a project of vital diplomacy. By this I mean that Yankwa structures relations between different kinds of others – affines, spirits and foreigners – as the condition for political unity, health and material prosperity. Although the Enawenê's village, manioc gardens, extended family houses and fishing dams are the primary settings for this ethnography, it was in thinking about road blocks mounted at the bridge, and meetings about dam compensation held in urban conference centres, that I began to find a use for this concept of diplomacy. In these contexts Enawenê men encountered people whose interests were fundamentally opposed to their own, with whom they had

to engage through the medium of unfamiliar bureaucratic structures, like meetings and document exchange, and with whom they had to communicate in a national language in which no Enawenê person had yet gained fluency in 2009. In other words, like many people living at resource frontiers or ‘zones of friction’ in Tsing’s terms (2005), the Enawenê rapidly had to become sophisticated boundary-crossers. It appeared to me that this was a challenge for which their ritualised social relations and cosmological entanglements prepared them peculiarly well.

The rest of this Introduction is divided into four parts. I begin by making the connection between this book’s two key concepts, ritual and diplomacy, in order to detail how the Enawenê’s intensely ritualised life implies a diplomatic orientation in the cosmos, in social interaction and in political agency. Secondly, I situate the diplomatic orientation of the Enawenê within an Amazonian comparative horizon, presaging some of the lines of contrast among Amazonian peoples that I will return to throughout the book. I then present an account of Yankwa’s endurance and transformation through a violent colonial history in order to demonstrate Yankwa’s capacity to reconstitute prosperity, health and peace through the vicissitudes of history. Finally I reflect on the fieldwork on which this book is based. It was undertaken at a historical juncture when the Enawenê were beginning to think of anthropological research as necessarily exploitative and disempowering – very much like research conducted for hydropower viability studies. This gave my ethnographic research a politicised and highly gendered character in ways that condition the kind of ethnography I have written.

Ritual and Diplomacy

It may be jarring to hear the concept of diplomacy applied to an Amerindian population of just a few hundred, not least because in dominant popular and anthropological constructions of Amazonian societies they are represented as non-centralised or anti-state, hostile to the cementation of sovereignty, dominated by a factional politics, and cosmologically oriented to warfare and the capture of alterity.³ But it was an essay by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1949), based on his fieldwork with the Enawenê’s neighbours, the Nambikwara, during the Second World War, that prompted me to consider the Enawenê’s practical diplomatic skills, honed through ritual practice, together with their interactions with those they call *iñoti* – a term I translate as ‘foreigners’ after Lévi-Strauss.⁴ The Nambikwara reserved aggression of an artful and highly controlled

kind for people with whom they sought alliance, whereas they avoided and fled from those considered beyond the ken of common humanity. There was a useful tension between aggression and cooperation in Nambikwara political life, which exercised and dissolved antagonisms. Lévi-Strauss contrasted this to the European morality in which there was a stark disjuncture between an impossible ideal of total peace, and a peril of total war (*ibid.*: 152).

In particular he was thinking of the marked, organised and stylised expression of aggression in gift exchange, marriage alliance, ceremonial dialogue and chiefly oratory, all of which were in evidence when Nambikwara bands met in the savannah (Lévi-Strauss 1949: 150). He argued that these ritual forms should be understood as the equivalents of European foreign affairs, because they were elaborate technologies for negotiating relative status and brokering peace. This points to collective, institutionalised and conventional ways for dealing with shifting and contested boundaries between a society and its outside, in a space that falls between common citizenship and total enmity.⁵

I suggest that anthropological theorisations of ritual may help us to approach diplomacy more rigorously as a dialogic, and more often collective, enterprise that occurs within a frame that is co-constructed by its participants. This allows us to get beyond the polarised definition of diplomacy as either an individualised social skill akin to tact or discretion; or a set of practices, laws and customs located in privileged institutions – archetypically in the embassies of sovereign nation states. It allows us to see diplomatic encounters as moments of incorporation, in which boundaries are crossed and affirmed at the same time, rather than as encounters that mediate a pre-existing condition of otherness. What most interests me here is that reading diplomacy into ritual allows me to highlight the commonalities and interpenetration between cosmological, social and foreign relations in Enawenê life.

I begin with the proposition that ritual and diplomacy are kindred orientations in the world. In both, action becomes artful and reflexive, is oriented to wider goals beyond the immediate interactive context, and is accommodating of psychological and social ambiguity. Unresolvable questions such as: what is our relationship? Is this aggression real or performed? Will my actions be effective? are posed through boundary-testing interactions. In making this argument I depend on Seligman et al.'s (2008) theorisation of ritual as a way of negotiating existence in a world whose order is never transparently accessible. A ritual orientation is based on the acceptance that living with social and cosmological others is an inherently uncertain and ambiguous enterprise, one not conducive to transparent knowledge, but which calls for the kinds of

rhythmic, conventional, reiterative actions of ritual that allow life to be lived on the basis of the creation of temporary order (*ibid.*: 12).⁶

This view of ritual appeals to me because within it Yankwa's capacity to accommodate mercurial, unknowable spirits, as well as new forms of life-death ambiguity, appears not as something exceptional and separate – a world-ending crisis – but as ritual's business as usual. Whether or not farmed fish would prove to be an acceptable substitute for dam-caught fish was still unresolved when I last visited Halataikwa in 2013. The Yakairiti's dissatisfaction with the foreign fish had been blamed for several untimely deaths in the preceding years. Nonetheless farmed fish continued to be purchased for Yankwa's feasts and some men had even dug ponds and become fish farmers themselves. Yankwa accommodated such ambiguities without resolving them. In fact, as a sequence of activities devoted to regenerating the conditions for human life by coordinating several kinds of difficult relationships at once: between the living and their ancestors, between opposed individuals and clans, between humans and the species on which they depend for their livelihood, and between living people and more distant others – spirit masters and foreigners – Yankwa's vitalising project was always inevitably imperfect and unfinished. This was implied by the very fact that community members continued to be struck down by the Yakairiti and to sicken and die.

If the world were predictable, its order given, then it would not be necessary to assert and test it annually by such acts as the burning of the old flute house and the building of a new one, or by watching flowering grasses grow in order to follow the progress of the hydrological cycle and decide when best to depart for fishing dams. Every act in Yankwa's course tests the status of the human community, and of individuals within it, *vis-à-vis* others who escape transparent knowledge. It does this based on an 'as if' order (Seligman et al. (2008: 8), an understanding of how the world came to be that serves as the basis upon which to recreate it through cosmogonic chanting, sequences of work days that reproduce archetypal order, and the annual performance of originary acts such as the 'burial' of a mother of manioc, who will fecundate the rest of the garden. In Enawenê conceptions the knowledge that directs all of these activities is fragmented, hard to access, to hold onto, and to perform effectively. The relentless regularity of ritual is perhaps a means to mitigate this basic condition of deficit through restless rehearsal, reiteration and repetition.

The most obvious goal of Yankwa is to generate continuity between the past and future. Led by elders who master ancestral knowledge, men sing about the origin of the universe – the alternation between day and night, the origin of the sun and celestial bodies, the river

system, the peopling of the earth, the reason for the fish's migrations, or for the clonal propagation of manioc. As they do so they regenerate a connection between past and future. Song masters who use their serialised knowledge to lead ceremonial life, and incantation specialists whose poetry is protective and propitiatory, are those who most fully incarnate this ancestral power-knowledge. They are the most highly valued members of Enawenê society because they alone can assure the connection between past and future. Their access to the past is a matter of lineage – of ancestral connection. They submitted themselves to the teaching of song masters who are now dead and who were trained, in turn, by an ascending line of predeceased song masters, each with specific competencies in a genre of chants. Lineal continuity is also reproduced in the performance of these chants by men who perform in birth order lines, echoing the elder song master, who walks at their head.

If Yankwa is a project of collecting and concentrating human vitality in order to stabilise an ancestrally grounded Enawenê identity, this is nonetheless a process that requires interpenetration between the living, as the Enawenê define themselves, and the Yakairiti, who are their Janus face. Through every phase of Yankwa these chants and the ordered musical ceremonial routines of rhythmic dance, gestural conventions and melodic flute-play accompany economic activities that take people out of the centre of their village and into a world that is owned by invisible others. Economic matters of transforming the landscape through the work of building villages, clearing gardens and constructing fishing dams thus not only realise ancestral knowledge and archetypal order, but entail cooperation and negotiation with predatory spirit owners of resources. As in other animist systems of thought, the idea that reflexive consciousness is a facet shared by humans and other beings in the cosmos implies that the taking of other lives always risks their vengeance. Thus life is a positional quality and a sliding scale, perennially threatened by predatory agencies who would appropriate human vitality and thus cause sickness and death.

The constraint that vitality or life force is shared with other beings and must be appropriated from them implies that economic activities entail care, negotiation and reciprocity. Ideally, they must promote the regeneration of not only Enawenê people but also the species from which they draw their energising substance – principally manioc and fish. During Yankwa the Enawenê domesticate their landscape to promote the growth and flourishing of their staple crop, manioc, and build fishing dams to harvest great quantities of fish at the time of their peak fertility just after spawning. The temporality of manioc, fish and human cycles of growth

and regeneration are coordinated. This agricultural emphasis on regenerative cycles, through which vitality is accrued and channelled on the basis of care and control, contrasts with the predatory emphasis in many Amazonian 'symbolic economies of alterity' (Viveiros de Castro 1996).

Santos-Granero's argument in *Vital Enemies* (2009) allows me to draw this contrast most clearly. He argues that where vitality is conceived as a finite currency in the 'political economy of life' it must be accrued by means of capture. The taking of slaves by historical Arawakan populations was a means, he suggests, to augment a stock of finite vital resources. Of course, there is no reason why regenerative and predatory accrual of vitality could not coexist, but the concept of vital diplomacy allows me to highlight the specificity of the Enawenê's animist cosmology, which is a consensual, collaborative political economy of life; one based on the organisation of work to promote the fertility of humans together with the species on which they rely. These are the species endowed with blood and therefore life force, but only those the Enawenê have the knowledge and capacity to control. Their economy of life thus excludes the bloody meat of terrestrial game mammals, whose consumption is associated with loss of control and the dissolution of human identity.

For the Enawenê then, vitality is accrued through production, growth and regeneration as part of an effort to turn a potentially agonistic relationship with spirit masters (whose relationship with Enawenê people is always potentially one of vengeance) into a synergetic one. Thus Yakairiti are entreated to direct their shoals of fish into the dams' traps so that they may later share in the resultant smoked catch during village feasts. Manioc is fed with the dams' smoked catch, and the plant is nurtured and secluded in order to promote her robust good health. The success of the cultivators' nurture is later evidenced in the growth of large, fleshy tubers. In turn, expansive clean gardens and the harvest of manioc's milky tubers are the assurance of the community's health and prosperity.

Material plenty, which is brought in from fishing dams and gardens to be displayed in the open arena of the Enawenê's village, provides tangible evidence of the accrual of vitality. So too does the gathering of people in musical performance. In both cases, work itself – be it dancing or digging – creates strong, corpulent bodies and an energetic, wakeful village that hums with purposeful sounds and movements at predictable times of the day and night. In fact, Enawenê people often speak of activity and wakefulness as the first assurance of the interconnected values of productivity, health and plenty. Laziness is a backsliding into illness, listlessness and frailty. Additionally, in their most energised work, people consider themselves to be imbued with the spirit of Yakairiti. This

implies that their actions both affirm a civilized identity and a position of mastery in the universe insofar as they are based on the performance of ancestral knowledge, the affirmation of a correct, invariant sequencing of time, and the regulation of human relationships with threatening enemies, and, at the same time, transcend stability and control to embrace disorderly, unpredictable forces.

The oscillation, in both economic work and musical performance, between action based on stability and control and that based on boundary-transcendence, is explored throughout the book. Men and women alternate between behavioural modes in which they imitate ambivalently super- and anti-human Yakairiti, and modes in which they serve these others as denizens of a separate underground dominion. There are men richly adorned and donning sun-diadem feather headdresses, playing harmonious flute music, dancing in birth order lines, and chanting correct sequences of verse; and there are men tooting and screeching on trumpets and whistles, running chaotically, ululating excitedly. In the latter guise they threaten to cross out of the frame of performance and sow disorder and violence. When the fishermen return to the village disguised as wild, voracious spirits one can never be certain to what degree man and mask are one – how dangerous these kinsmen may have become in their transformed state. The hosts ply them with heavy, warm drinks to mollify, satiate and calm them, and both hosts and incomers collaborate to unravel their wild disguise and to reveal the men beneath. When roles are based precisely on the partial relinquishing of self-control, what is reflexively performed is the boundary between role and self, ‘the players may let the role run away with them’ as Seligman et al. (2008: 83) put it. Unruly clowning may be a mask for ecstatic possession and this is a blurring of which captivated but circumspect spectators are mindful. It is also what makes performances memorable, exciting and enlivening. This ambiguity between role and self, present in all the performances in the central arena, is a crucial technology of ritual action in general, because through it people seek to control forces that they recognise to be partially intransigent and unknowable.

Such a play with boundaries, a dance with ambiguity, is an ineluctable part not only of dealing with ancestors, other species and spirits, but also of social relations. During Yankwa the dominant role oppositions, between hosts and Yankwa, women and men, are continually crossed, and then reaffirmed, and then reversed again in a reflexive play on positional identity. Because Yankwa takes place in a single village that is densely interconnected by ties of intermarriage, it is not a conventional ‘ritual of diplomacy’ in the manner of more common Amazonian visiting rites, in which ritualised acts help to accommodate the strangeness of

parties who come together for the event. However, Enawenê people do relate to one another for much of the time as if they were others.

They routinely step out of their ego-centred kinship relations to engage in stylised and formulaic relations defined by conventionalised role oppositions. These oppositions stand for archetypal self-other relations. For example, when hosts face the returning fishermen they do so as representatives of the society of living; they have fashioned themselves with ornaments, body paint, accessories, offerings and postures so that they become emblems of civilized humanity, and they face not brothers-in-law but men disguised as Yakairiti.

Webb Keane (1995: 107) has eloquently described the ways that the aesthetic power and ancestral quality of performance rests on formality and abstraction, such that ritualised speech and behaviours help to create the social divides they project. Thus, even among co-residents, who have lived their whole lives together, opaque, esoteric forms of dialogue open up a space within face-to-face interactions, effecting temporary estrangement. This is the case every day when hosts distribute drinks to the decorated flute players, who personify ‘Yankwa’ – the merging of hosts’ clan identity, spirits and flutes. Their transactions are marked by predictable gestures, distanced body language and formal dialogues, which suggest that the primary agents of the act of giving and receiving stand somewhere beyond, or between, the co-present men. What I am pointing to is the extent to which, in both mundane and climactic performances, Enawenê people are other to one another and to themselves. As such they are diplomats: representatives of abstract wider communities and lofty goals, consciously negotiating encompassing forces via their dyadic relationships, and aware of the world-making stakes of their gestures and words. In their double estrangement – from their interlocutors and from themselves – they are akin to the ideal-typical figure of the diplomat who is a pure representative, and for whom social distance is the positive foundation for dialogue.⁷

Stasch’s (2011: 160) definition of ritual as action that brings wider world-making into an ‘interactional here-now’ to generate efficacious connection between microcosm and macrocosm crystallises the analogy I am drawing between ritual and diplomacy, both as forms of action that negotiate encompassing forces. I now want to suggest that the space in which the Enawenê live, which is precisely designed to connect micro- and macrocosm, village and universe, gives action a particularly powerful diplomatic quality in this sense.

Their circular village is both a model of the universe and of people’s place within it, and a panoptic space for public sociality. Looking out from the cleared hilltop village surrounded by low-lying manioc gardens

you can see far into the distance on all sides and have the impression of dominating the landscape. The roofs of the dwelling circle enclose the open sandy arena, which also seems to contain the sky, positioning those who live in the circle of dwellings as the guardians of the cosmos. As the sun arcs its way overhead it follows the cardinal architecture of the village, connecting the flute house at the western edge of the arena to the ceremonial pathway at its eastern edge. In this cosmically aligned space people's movements are coerced into participating in wider cosmic patterns. This is a potential that is mobilised at every phase during Yankwa when cardinal orientation is used to indicate progress through the world-making sequence. Thus when men leave to go dam fishing, their flutes and spirits move outwards from their central temple in an easterly direction to the waterways, and when they return they do so in a westerly movement back to the centre of the village.

Social experience in this space is defined by its panoptic quality. The arena draws the attention of every member of the community inwards, and every house's front door provides a clear view of the unfolding spectacles. No one can be unaware of their audience when they occupy this space. As other anthropologists who have worked in the circular villages of Central Brazil have noted, action in such a space has a thoroughly reflexive quality; speech and movement are aestheticized. The arena is designed to host respectful conduct, controlled sporting contests and the performance of generosity through public exchanges. In it, demonstrations of aggression or hostility should be suppressed.⁸

While sociality in a plaza village has a diplomatic quality particular to it, the ritualisation of social interaction is a theme that transcends these specificities. For sociologist Erving Goffman, in even the most apparently informal social encounters every move a person made was ritualised. He saw the subtle workings of discretion, deception and circumlocution that go into sustaining the position and identity of the self in relation to others as matters of diplomacy and social skill. Drawing on Goffman's *Interaction Ritual* (1967), Enfield (2009: 77) summarises what is at stake when he says that ritual may be 'both weapon and shield for handling the political and moral delicacy of social co-presence'. However, the effect of Goffman's microanalysis was to fuse everyday life and ritual and to render all interaction disconcertingly hyper-analytical. The Africanist Max Gluckman (1962), by contrast, saw ritual as a relational technology whose value lay in cutting through this Goffmanesque nightmare of social co-presence. Gluckman's analysis is pertinent, because it demonstrates ritual's capacity to effect a virtuous simplification in potentially complicated and fraught social relations.

Gluckman had in mind so-called 'segmentary' African societies in which two individuals always had various overlapping relationships that implied contradictory obligations and behaviours. In such settings rituals were a necessity. Within a ritual's frame these contradictory relationships were substituted by a single, well-defined dialogic one. This is what occurs at Yankwa when the whole male population is divided into two unequal halves – the single host clan and all the rest, who oppose them as Yankwa – and they interact on the basis of predictable exchanges of goods and services and archetypal behavioural codes. The multitude (up to 80 men) who share the identity of Yankwa are inevitably romantic adversaries, respected in-laws and awkward new allies. The structured nature of their collective activity and its orientation to hyperbolic affines (the hosts) allows them nonetheless to coexist in public space. Indeed, Enawenê men say that Yankwa is pleasurable because it motivates them to leave the enclosure of their separate houses to drink, laugh and talk together. So while the panoptic plaza gives a potentially painfully reflexive quality to action (and this is why men stride purposefully through it and into their front doors when they return from fishing expeditions with their catch, and why women use perimeter paths to bathe, access gardens, and visit kin) it also provides the setting and structure for successful diplomacy based on unconstrained co-presence, mixing and circulation. Rituals create social situations in which diplomacy becomes possible.

This at once social and cosmological opposition between Yankwa and host is totalising at any one point in time, but the oppositions are reversed when hosts who formerly served drinks and lit fires become the dancers, flutes players, drinkers, and fishermen of 'Yankwa'. There is thus a constitutive tension between the contingency and solidity of the current order, whose basic forms – the relationship between fish and manioc, men and women, Yankwa and hosts, human and Yakairiti – are eternal, and whose configuration is ever-changing. That this overriding social boundary is made in order to be 'crossed, violated, blurred, and then, in an oscillating way, reaffirmed, re-established, and strengthened' returns us to Seligman et al.'s characterisation of ritual as a subjunctive universe that allows us to live by creating temporary order (2008: 12). Each year the Yakairiti are fed and satisfied, the flutes are put to rest, and then new gardens are planted so that the whole process may begin again about five months later. The ritual's repetition and its restless intensity implicitly show that the world-making task is ever incomplete.

This opening reflection on the interpenetrating temporal, cosmological and social dimensions of Yankwa's ritualised diplomacy will be fleshed out ethnographically in the chapters of this book. In the final

chapter I consider how these ritual dynamics played into the Enawenê negotiations with the hydroelectricity consortium and the government in 2008–2009, at a time when Yankwa's values of growth, plenty and productivity implied the accelerating incorporation of foreign resources. These resources were consistently sought to enable and expand Yankwa's economic work and, in line with this goal, their distribution was egalitarian and collectivist. Demands made of the government and consortium were therefore persistently made in the name of the Enawenê people as a whole, and they were justified by ritual prerogatives – in particular the need to fish and feast for the Yakairiti. Satisfying the Yakairiti now implies an ambivalently antagonistic and cooperative relationship with those who exploit the Yakairiti's riverine dominion without care or reciprocity. In turn, this incorporation of resources, which has become necessary for Yankwa's successful orchestration every year, depends on an equal and opposite move: defiant opposition and political warfare. The Enawenê have to force their opponents to treat them as significant, powerful and necessary interlocutors, because the latter assume that they are powerless subjects. It is this alternating dynamic and the tension it generates between aggression and cooperation – a tension whose diplomatic efficacy Lévi-Strauss also noticed – that is the focus of my analysis in the final chapter of this book.

Amazonian Comparative Horizons

Meditations on otherness have been a central focus of Amazonian anthropology. In this section I want to clarify how ritualised ways of generating and reconciling difference fit within the theoretical landscape of Amazonian anthropology. The most influential anthropologists of the region, Philippe Descola and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, have both argued that Amerindian social philosophies are 'cannibalistic' (Descola 1992; Viveiros de Castro 2014). They mean that Amazonians are oriented to the capture and incorporation of alterity, both literally by means of hunting and warfare, and symbolically through shamanic and other ritual modes of drawing in foreign potencies, such as names, songs and capacities, for the purposes of social reproduction and regeneration. The argument has even gone so far as stating that, since human identity is intrinsically positional or perspectival, predatory agency defines the human subject position (Viveiros de Castro 1998a; 2010: 47). Over the last decade debate in Amazonian anthropology has been organised around the expansion and contestation of this model of Amazonian personhood and cosmology, on ethnographic, theoretical and political

grounds.⁹ This effort to arrive at an understanding of what distinguishes the ontologies of the indigenous people of Amazonia has gone hand in hand with a countervailing tendency to extend theorisations derived from Amazonian ethnographic cases to other parts of the world as part of a renewed interest in animism. This latter move has demonstrated that themes of predation, vengeance and the reversibility of the opposition between the living and the dead are prominent in many animist contexts worldwide, just as they are in Enawenê cosmology and mythology.¹⁰ However, as I have already argued by drawing a distinction between the Enawenê's consensual and regenerative political economy of life, and the regime of capture explored by Santos-Granero, there is room to explore and expand upon alternatives to the predatory model of Amazonian ontology.

In this book I draw attention to productive contrasts among Amazonian societies. Some of the intersecting contrasts I consider are between people who hunt and eat terrestrial game, and others who base their livelihoods on fishing and agricultural production; people who drink fermented beer, and those who reject it; people who actively wage war, and those who stage rituals; people who live in small, undifferentiated settlements, and those who live in large, heterogeneous villages. These contrasts do not map onto one another or correspond in a stable way to societies on the ground, and they can even coexist within single societies during different seasons of the year, or historical epochs. We do not need, therefore, to espouse a view of peoples as bounded populations with a common culture in order to observe patterns that are the outcome of histories of interaction, hybridity and oppositional identity formation.¹¹ Thus the Arawak-speaking Enawenê no doubt forged their pescatarian, teetotal identity in opposition to the cannibal, bacchanalian habits of their most deadly recent enemies, the Tupi-mondé-speaking Cinta-Larga. Although the Enawenê are today reduced to a single village polity, their ancestors would have been part of far-reaching exchange networks that connected them to other hierarchical, settled, riverine agricultural polities across the Southern Amazon fringe (Heckenberger 2005). This history of connection is suggested by the many commonalities that endure between the Enawenê and the Arawak-speaking or Arawak-influenced peoples of the upper Xingu River. These commonalities include a manioc and fish oriented economy, an ambivalence towards terrestrial predation, gift-like exchange systems, ideologies of descent, primogeniture and hierarchy; and ritual systems based on unequally distributed esoteric knowledge, conventional codes of speech and the structured use of space (Andrello, Guerreiro and Hugh-Jones 2015). These values and institutions still underpin open-ended social

systems, both in the Xingu and in Northwest Amazonia, and they are also the basis on which people within those systems contrast themselves to predatory others who live at their periphery.

I am by no means the first to draw attention to divergences in orientation between Amazonian peoples; there has been a long tradition of exploiting salient lines of contrast for the purposes of theorisation.¹² Particularly useful, I find, is Stephen Hugh-Jones' (1996: 15) adoption of Mary Helms' contrast between 'superordinate societies', who seek to expand outwards from an ordered centre by defensively controlling external powers that threaten their integrity, and 'acquisitional polities', which seek to dominate the outside in order to strengthen their political centre. Together with the better-studied peoples of the Xingu and Northwest Amazonia, the Enawenê are an example of the first. For them, manifestations of ancestral power like ornaments, songs, dances and ritual are located within the politico-ideological centre, rather than imported from outside the social realm. In turn, relations within the community are characterised by the positive valuation of affinal sociality. Archetypal social relations are those civil and civic-minded ones between affines; relationships conducted across lines of difference that people strive to maintain through the exchange of careful speech, reciprocal services and vital wealth – precisely the kind of social relations that I characterise as diplomatic. This contrasts with the model of 'typical Amazonian social organisation in which, internal differences are effaced by an overriding opposition between inside and outside such that affinity is suppressed within the local group'.¹³

Without reducing Amazonian societies to a play of simplistic counterpositions between warlike and peaceful, hunting and fishing, small and complex, hierarchical and egalitarian, settled and mobile, it therefore seems timely to develop alternative coherences in the ethnographic record. My theoretical focus on ritualisation and diplomacy, and my effort to reflect more widely on what this ethnography may reveal about other fisher-agricultural societies of Amazonia, are an attempt to do this. Successive theorisations in this book around themes such as the symbolic and practical linkage between fishing and agricultural harvests; the structuring of space and sound in ritual performance; the celebration of productivity and abundance; the civilising and curative potentials of cuisine and teetotalism; and indigenous responses to hydropower developments, each seek to combine insights on the basis of both coherences and contrasts across Amazonia.

In addition to taking inspiration from regional debates, this book also draws upon previous research with the Enawenê. This research has generally been undertaken by Brazilian scholars associated with the NGO

OPAN, which prided itself on providing anthropologically informed and culturally sensitive assistance. For example, researchers associated with OPAN produced the only existing descriptions of the Enawenê language (Rezende 2003); studied the process of introducing writing as a new technology for expression in the indigenous language in the 1990s (Zorthêa 2006); profiled the population's health status (Vieira Weiss 1998); and outlined the basics of Enawenê social organisation, cosmology and subsistence strategies (Busatto et al. 1995).

The research that has been most useful to me was conducted by anthropologists Marcio Silva and Gilton Mendes dos Santos, and was mainly undertaken in the 1990s. Silva (1995) provided an initial sketch of the Enawenê's patrilineal clan system, their Iroquois kinship terminology, uxorilocal residence norm and clan exogamous marriage patterns. He subsequently undertook a rigorous analysis of genealogical and demographic data, focusing on processes of marriage alliance (Silva 2012). In terms of my focus in this book on the social and cosmological organisation of Yankwa, the most relevant works are those by Silva on Enawenê ceremonial organisation and gender dynamics (Silva 1998, 2001). Silva's work is concerned with characterising the structure of the Enawenê cosmos, and the structural contrasts between rituals in the annual cycle. As such it is abstracted from everyday material and relational processes, which are my focus. Silva's former student Gilton Mendes dos Santos (2001, 2006; Mendes dos Santos and Mendes dos Santos 2008) expanded upon Silva's descriptions of the annual calendar of agricultural and fishing activities, concentrating on the intersection between Enawenê ecological knowledge and animist cosmology. His work on the mythic and cosmological dimensions of economic life covers some of the same ground as this book. Again, my account differs from his by following Yankwa's unfolding at the micro level of day-to-day activity, and insofar as I connect material and relational work to wider symbolic processes. For example Santos and Santos (2008) showed that building fishing dams was not only a means to capture a huge amount of protein food but also a crucial technology for mediating the Enawenê's relationship with the spirit masters of the fish. Mendes dos Santos (2001) also saw commonalities between dam fishing and agriculture at the level of myth (2001). However he did not bring together the mythic, technical social and cosmological levels of analysis in the way that I have sought to do.

Other OPAN-affiliated scholars, Jakubaszko (2003) and Almeida (2011), have focused on contact and inter-ethnic relations. In Chapter 6 I draw on Almeida's perceptive and detailed account of Enawenê negotiations with the hydroelectric dam consortium, as well as making use of

a fine sociological investigation of the corporate and government structures behind the Juruena Complex (Galvão 2016). However, in line with the Brazilian division between ‘indigenism’ and ‘ethnology’ (Viveiros de Castro 1999); ritual and cosmology on the one hand, and on the other hand, interethnic relations and contact, have tended to be treated separately by researchers among the Enawenê. It became obvious to me during my first stay with the Enawenê in 2006 that my research would have to connect them and, furthermore, that what I would be able to learn about ritual would be conditioned by political tensions surrounding hydroelectricity developments. Before I characterise how my research was shaped by the broader political context in which it took place, I want to look back in time to the Enawenê’s mixed ancestry and to the transformations of Yankwa over the course of a turbulent history. I want to suggest that this is a history of efforts to reconstitute a prosperous, healthy and peaceful polity in response to colonial violence. As such, the challenge of responding to the vicissitudes of history probably characterised Yankwa well before the era of hydroelectricity.

Yankwa and the Tumults of Enawenê History

In 1973 a pilot flying from Mato Grosso’s capital Cuiabá to the new frontier town of Juína reported sighting a large indigenous village to Jesuit missionaries, whose priority it was to establish peaceful contact with indigenous groups before conflicts erupted with rubber gatherers, gold miners and land picketers. Because of the village’s proximity to areas inhabited by the Nambikwara, the Jesuit-led contact party thought it likely that the Indians would be speakers of a Nambikwara dialect. As soon as they entered the village in June 1974 the presence of hammocks told them that this was not the case (the Nambikwara sleep on the ground). The large and elongated houses, the quantity of clay pots, the flute house and then the accent of the men who came out to greet them, all suggested that these people were instead related to the Paresi, speakers of an Arawak dialect.¹⁴ The missionaries thus returned with a Paresi family on their second visit. As they had hoped, their dialect was roughly comprehensible to the Enawenê. The Paresi even identified the isolated group as the Salumã, a lost subgroup of their own people (Lisbõa 2010: 24).¹⁵

The presence of two Paresi groups on the left margin of the River Juruena had been noted before, in 1909, by General Rondon. He had emancipated the Paresi from rubber gathering and enlisted their labour in the glorious national project of building a long-distance telegraph

line. The two groups were described as having contrasting habits; the Salomá were said to hunt and eat game like other Paresi, while the Oazané restricted their diet to fish and a few species of fowl and were also marked out by their Jatobá bark canoes. Both of these latter distinctions matched the newly contacted group. Nonetheless, it is likely that the Enawenê's ancestry is more complex and mixed than their identification with one pescatarian, canoe-building Paresi subgroup suggests. This complexity is indicated by the Paresi's error when they named the Enawenê, 'Salumã'. As we know, Saluma is the name of a ritual season and the warrior persona of the men who perform in it. It is also the name of the ancestors of one of the nine Enawenê clans, Kaholase, who are said to have been eaters of terrestrial game. This ancestral people only adopted the pescatarian eating habits of the dominant clans when they joined a mixed village. It is likely that the ancestors of today's Enawenê include both the lost Salomá and Oazané, as well as other groups with their own dietary, territorial and linguistic distinctions, but it is also likely that all were once enmeshed in a more complex regional polity in the past.

The descriptions of the German explorer and ethnographer Max Schmidt, from his time among two Paresi subgroups in 1910, reveal the degree of shared culture between the Enawenê and Paresi. There are many commonalities in settlement choice, architecture, body ornamentation, religion and material culture. Just like the Enawenê's current village of Halataikwa, Paresi villages were 'without exception, immediately adjacent to a stream, never in the shadow of a hill but always in an open area with clear views all around' (Schmidt 1943: 15) and they contained a conical flute house in addition to the long, narrow dwelling houses that encircled an open arena. Enawenê and Paresi men used woven cotton garters at their ankles and below the knees, and tied their foreskins with buruti palm fibre (ibid.: 23); women used the same tight cotton miniskirts, dyed red with annatto, and wore moulded and dyed bands of rubber wedged between their calf muscles and knees (Schmidt 1943: 24). The Paresi also invoked celestial deities called *enole* to cure illness (ibid.: 28), and had an ensemble of bamboo flutes and gourd trumpets that matched those of the Enawenê. In both cases the most ubiquitous of these was a bamboo recorder with four stops. This is the instrument that produces Yankwa's melodic baseline. In contrast to the instruments of Yankwa, which were kept in the central flute house, the panpipes (called *Lerohi* by the Enawenê) were kept in dwellings (Schmidt 1943: 41–42).

In addition to this inventory of material culture, Schmidt made some telling observations about aspects of what we might call habitus and ethos that struck him as significant. He noticed that the Paresi never

sat directly on the ground but always on stools; he was also impressed that ‘there was never a lack of big square structures on which to bake in Paresi houses’ (ibid.: 17), and that provisions of meat and discs of compacted manioc flour were dried for preservation (Schmidt 1943: 40). Indeed, large, thriving manioc gardens are the prime focus of collective and individual pride for both peoples (Mendes dos Santos 1994: 74; 2006: 188), a preference that is characteristic of Arawakan speakers more generally (Lathrap 1970). These are the same diacritical features to which both Enawenê and Paresi draw attention when they judge their mutual neighbours, the Nambikwara, to be of lowly status, because they lack enthusiasm for agriculture (and surplus production) and sit and sleep on the floor rather than raised up in hammocks.

When Schmidt made these observations in 1910 the Paresi population had declined to just 340 Paresi individuals (Schmidt 1943:13–14). However, from the reports of a Portuguese-Brazilian slaver called Antonio Pires dos Campos, who passed through the Paresi Plateau in 1728, we get some impression of a formerly large scale, regional civilisation – what Campos called the ‘Kingdom of the Paresi’ or ‘Great Paresi Nation’ (Pires de Campos 1862). Campos was from São Paulo, one of the many men known as *bandeirantes*, who penetrated unmapped regions of Brazil to enslave native inhabitants, find gold and extend Portuguese influence westwards against the claims of the Spanish. He wrote lyrically of passing ten or twelve large villages in a day’s march through the Paresi Plateau,¹⁶ each composed of up to thirty large communal long-houses, and he celebrated the peaceful and industrious nature of their inhabitants.¹⁷ His report matches the emerging archaeological picture of the Amazon’s major southern tributaries, which were densely populated by Arawakan-speaking fisher-agriculturalist folk, whose circular plaza communities were interlinked by road systems, organised into regional polities and integrated through public ritual (Heckenberger 2013). Even by the time Campos discovered this complex Paresi polity, its population would have been reduced by disease. And by advertising the Paresi’s civility and their settled life, Campos opened the way for slavers to follow a decade later, when a gold rush brought hordes of men up from Mato Grosso state’s capital Cuiabá (Price 1983: 131). The massive depopulation that followed was a version of what occurred all over Lowland South America after the New World’s colonisation in 1492. One effect of demographic collapse was to reduce ethnically and linguistically complex regional polities to territorially discrete ‘tribes’ (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992).¹⁸ It seems likely that the divergences between Enawenê and Paresi identity, dialect and ritual life began to be

forged in the wake of gold mining, slave raiding, massacres and disease from the eighteenth century onwards.

The Enawenê emphasise the heterogeneity of their ancestry, which they say is composed of peoples with contrasting territorial origins and languages, diets and habits of dress, who came together in response to a violent history to form a common polity by adopting a shared language and culture. In Chapter 4 I connect Enawenê narratives about this unification of heterogeneous peoples with an analysis of Yankwa's ceremonial organisation in which cross-cutting dualisms based on divisions of clanship and gender are mobilised to sustain egalitarian political unity. This dynamic, which conjoins separate people in a compressed, singular polity, contrasts with the visiting festivities of other Amazonians, including the Paresi, in which rituals bring together separate but allied settlements. Visitors with whom relations are initially of exaggerated hostility are invited in, gradually familiarised and temporarily incorporated.¹⁹ Thus, among the Paresi in the 1980s the flutes of Yankwa were played when allied settlements cooperated to make manioc beer and hunt, in order to invite those from more distant settlements. They tamed these incomers with insistent offers of beer. At nightfall the guests played first the aggressive flutes of *Iohoho* (loho) then those of *Yamaka* (Yankwa), which women feared, and finally other flutes, which came inside dwelling houses and danced along with women.²⁰ The strangers departed after two nights, having been familiarised through shared feminine work, and sporting contests in which male guests and villagers were mixed.

Among the Enawenê, it is co-resident affines who are reincorporated after a period of deliberate exile and estrangement. It is kinsmen who receive insistent offerings of drinks from hosts. The members of exogamous clans act as host and guests, servers and drinkers, for one another in turn. We cannot know in what form Yankwa existed in the more populous and interconnected past landscape glimpsed by Campos, but the endurance of Yankwa, Ioho and Lerohi through the turbulent history that separates the Paresi and Enawenê indicates these rituals' capacity to create conditions for peaceful alliance, in forms transfigured to fit the circumstances.

We know that Enawenê ritual life has been fairly stable at least since the Jesuit contact mission arrived in their village in 1974, because Vincent Cañas carefully diarised the ceremonial rhythms of the village's arena during the decade in which he lived among the Enawenê (1977–1987). He noted the time each night when the ritual commenced; the number of fires lit by hosts; the names of the hosts and of the dancers; dance formations; the quantity and types of foods and drinks

distributed; and the subsistence activities and movements through territory that intercalated with the life of the arena (Cañas 1977–1987).²¹ Another Jesuit priest, with some training in anthropology and linguistics, was so struck by the constancy of their ritual life when he visited that he dubbed the Enawenê the ‘Benedictine order of the forest’ (Lisbôa 2010: 50).

However, we also know that the orderly sequence of reciprocal hosting obligations that Cañas diarised, and the demographic recovery he helped to ensure after 1974, had been recently restored after a period of repeated ruptures. When elder community members talked about the time immediately preceding Cañas and Lisbôa’s arrival, they narrated an effort to sustain Yankwa that was persistently thwarted by deadly village ambushes by the Cinta-Larga. These enemy attacks claimed eighteen lives between about 1940 and 1960, out of a population that was certainly less than 100 strong. These attacks occurred in the region Iquê and Joaquim Rios rivers to where the Enawenê were able to return in the 1980s once they could be convinced by the mission of their former enemies’ pacification.²²

The penultimate Cinta-Larga attack is said to have occurred during Lerohi, after the return of dam-fishing expeditions for Aweresese and Kairoli clans. In its wake, the population had fled, but because Kairoli clansmen were loath to leave behind their manioc garden (whose harvest was destined to provision Yankwa and Lerohi in the second year of their biennial as hosts) they had not fled very far. From this new but nearby village the fishermen again departed to build fishing dams the following year, and upon return they played the flutes of Yankwa and drank the second year’s harvest from Kairoli clan’s manioc garden. But when the dry season returned and as the village danced Lerohi, the Cinta-Larga attacked again, killing seven people. Elder men who narrated these events timed them according to Yankwa’s calendar in this way, recognising that it was their attachment to Yankwa – to their fishing dams, manioc gardens and centralised village life – that had rendered them easy prey.

After this devastating last attack the remainder of the community abandoned these ties, leaving behind village life, agriculture and even navigation in a desperate flight for safety. They migrated southwards on foot, constructing bridges to cross the rivers Doze de Outubro and Mutum and then destroying them to conceal their location. This exodus is remembered as the lowest ebb in Enawenê history, a time when they thought they would be annihilated as a people. Two elderly women died of thirst on the journey and everyone was reduced to nakedness – men without penis ties and women without their red cotton skirts.

A civilised village life and Yankwa being impossible without manioc to drink, the survivors lived dispersed in encampments. Eventually, they raided manioc stems from Nambikwara gardens and founded a new village on the River Camararé. From this time on, elder people could once again recall the sequence of gardens planted and fishing dams constructed for Yankwa's successive hosts. It was soon after this that the mission encountered this apparently 'isolated' and 'monastic' group in the middle course of the River Camararé.

With Vincent Cañas on site, the mission protected the group from outsiders' incursions, arranged peace-making encounters with their former enemies, provided medical assistance, and developed a proposal for territorial demarcation (Busatto et al. 1995).²³ In this new era of peace and with an abundance of metal tools, larger gardens have been cleared and planted and, since 1998, access to boats with outboard engines has sped the progress of fishing, honey gathering, and corn-harvest expeditions, allowing for an even greater centralisation and intensification of life within the arena.

In these conditions of relative peace and plenty, with predatory enemies pacified, relations with *iñoti* and with predatory spirits have become paramount. By 2008, when I began my fieldwork, the protective role of the mission's successor NGO, OPAN, together with the isolation they had deliberately fostered for the Enawenê since 1974, was no longer tenable. The fleet of motor boats at the village port had multiplied rapidly since the first boats were introduced as bribes from unscrupulous farmers in 1998. Adult men in particular travelled frequently to and from urban centres to attend meetings about hydroelectric dam compensation, as well as events related to health care provision and land use reform. But although they lived at a fast-encroaching energy and agro-industrial frontier, surrounded by new towns, soya fields, cattle farms and hydroelectricity plants, and although they were avidly engaging with many different Brazilian institutions, they were still largely monolingual in their Arawak dialect.

Politicised and Gendered Fieldwork

In August 2006 I spent three weeks in the Enawenê's village on the Iquê River. I had met some twenty Enawenê men in the town of Brasnorte in a house maintained by OPAN, the NGO that had succeeded the Jesuit mission in providing assistance to the community after the assassination of Vincent Cañas in 1987. I arrived at a picket fence and explained my wish to make a short visit to the village, with a view to returning to

conduct proper research in the future. My three week stay coincided with Lerohi and also with a visit by the OPAN team. During Lerohi two lines of men and women zigzag across the arena with their arms inter-linked, entering the houses of the dwelling circle to dance around their hearths and be served refreshments by their occupants. In one line the men play a shrill-sounding trumpet called *yalinya*, while in the other line panpipes called Lerohi are played. After a couple of days' stay in the village and surely frustrated by the lack of pause in the ritual in which he might host a meeting, OPAN's director dramatised his organisation's long relationship with the Enawenê to a rather small audience of men. Most of the village was too occupied with dancing to listen. He drew a boat in the sand to illustrate the thrust of his speech: the Enawenê would have to navigate their future and determine what role OPAN would have in it, given their increasing involvement with other outsiders. He asked one of the audience to fetch a very worn axe head – the first the Enawenê had received from Cañas and Lisbôa in 1974. Next to it he laid out gifts of new axes and fish hooks to symbolise the longevity of the community's relationship with his organisation. From this meeting I understood that there was a judicial process to reclaim the land around the River Preto, which was rapidly being deforested and settled, as part of Enawenê territory, and that there were several hydroelectric dams planned for the upper reaches of the Juruena River. From the way that Lerohi was allowed to drown out the Director's speech, I also understood that OPAN's importance had declined with the Enawenê's frequent trips to town and the multiplication of their relationships with outsiders.

To give some idea of the landscape, after my preliminary 2006 visit, as I was applying for my research permissions from the Brazilian Ministry of Science and Technology and the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI), I received a steady stream of 'Google alerts' about Enawenê foreign affairs. In May 2007 the Enawenê were blocking the main road through the region to protest the onset of construction of five hydroelectric dams on the Juruena River that had begun without their consent. A few months later, Greenpeace posted a short film of their visit to Juína to meet a group of Enawenê men. Their intention was to visit the River Preto in order to document the loss and deforestation of this portion of the Enawenê's ancestral territory. The clip showed a motorcade of trucks besieging the hotel in which Greenpeace and OPAN representatives had taken refuge, as well as footage of a subsequent meeting of mayoral authorities, called to resolve the crisis. The mayor tells the visitors that 'the land and the Indians are ours' and that foreigners and NGOs are not welcome.²⁴ A few months later it was reported that the newly constructed village of Halataikwa had been reduced to ashes

following a cooking accident and that the military police would make a helicopter drop of hammocks, pans, machetes, axes and food relief.²⁵ Two months on the Enawenê again blocked the road to protest the lack of information about the hydroelectric dams. This time they forced a high-level meeting, took five hostages and entered negotiations with the President of FUNAI to receive a greater share of the compensation promised for the dams.²⁶ Having followed these events, I was acutely aware of the politicised setting into which I was stepping when I began my doctoral research. Fittingly, arriving in Juína in January 2008, I met twenty Enawenê men who had come to secure funds for the gasoline and engine oil they needed for Yankwa's dam-fishing expeditions, which required up to 10,000 litres of fuel.

I would live in Halataikwa for sixteen months between January 2008 and July 2009 and return for short visits in the summers of 2010 and 2013. During this time, the community's well-founded distrust of the *iñoti* world from which I came often overrode the familiarity and friendship that grew based on cohabitation, shared work and linguistic apprenticeship. Most of the time there was an uneasy balance between familiarisation and mistrust. The Portuguese word for 'research', *pesquisa*, had entered the Enawenê lexicon to evoke betrayal, dishonesty and the delegation of powers to foreigners bent on exploitation. This made sense in a context in which appeals to *pesquisa* were recurrently made by Consortium representatives to support their claim that the Juruena Complex of dams would have a negligible environmental impact while the Enawenê saw the river polluted and fishing yields decline. If they had any doubt that research went hand in hand with exploitation this was confirmed in 2009 when community representatives were urged to admit researchers inside their territory to conduct viability studies for further hydropower installations. By this point they knew such research was a formality – a first step to inevitable licensing. In the context of both hydroelectricity developments and an ongoing territorial claim, anthropological research was considered risky as well. The Enawenê expressed their fears that my work could be misappropriated to justify hydroelectricity developments, or used by farmers to contest their claim to the River Preto region.²⁷ Because Brazilian Indians remain officially wards of the state, and Brazilian bureaucracy depends on expert mediators to speak on their behalf (Ramos 1998; 2009), this understanding of research, as something that allows outsiders to bypass them in decisions of direct concern, is well-founded.

My presence in Halataikwa was accepted, but always provisionally, as long as I responded well to Enawenê requests for assistance, left off researching valuable and sensitive esoteric knowledge, avoided

politicised subjects such as territory and history, stayed out of foreign affairs (which did not concern me as a foreigner), and concentrated my research on uncontentious matters. In practice this meant that I spent most of my time with women engaged in everyday subsistence tasks such as harvesting, processing and cooking manioc; and taking trips to more distant gardens to gather medicinal plants, edible insects and whatever occasional food crops were in season – yams, sweet potatoes, araruta, corn, taro, arrowroot, lima beans, common beans and tropical green peas. I also spent a good deal of time working with women to craft items of material culture, such as drinking gourds, clay pots and the rubber bands that women wear under their knees.

At the time, it was a source of agonising frustration to me that the specialist knowledge held by male song masters was largely off-limits to me. I was sure that the deepest truths about Enawenê cosmology were contained within the chants that men voiced every night in the arena, whose form and content I could only glimpse without systematic recording and transcription. Song masters, who were senior and venerable men, were not prepared to commit to an enduring relationship of apprenticeship with me, since this would have required great commitment on their part, and would have constituted an impossible admission of alliance with the anthropologist. However, the gendered and politicised nature of my fieldwork had positive as well as limiting implications.

Although the arena's musical performance is exclusively male at Yankwa, I quickly learned that the chants were addressed to the audience of women, who listen and watch from the houses around it, and that men considered manioc work to be of equal importance to their immaterial labours of chanting and dancing in the arena. In a sense they sang and danced for women and for manioc. Enawenê people were also quite explicit that Yankwa was not only about cosmogonic chanting but about getting work done, assuring the community's health and unity by planting and harvesting manioc gardens, dam fishing, cooking large quantities of food and drinks to serve in the arena, and making beautiful things. Musical performances were just one among these different kinds of work. It is these connections between gendered labour and public performance, and the relationship system that organises it, that were accessible to me, best fitted my interests, and also suited the level of linguistic fluency I was able to attain without doing systematic transcription work.

The gendered nature of this fieldwork also gave it a particular epistemological character. I learned 'on the job' with women, acquiring contextual and embodied knowledge, whereas with men there was a

split between distanced observation (e.g. watching performances) and discourse-focused engagement (e.g. interviews).²⁸ Men tended to emphasise my outsider status while women experimented with integrating me into their daily rounds; schooling me only when and if they fancied in some mythic snippet related to our shared task, some historical legend, or a piece of recent gossip about a betrothal alliance. They rarely tolerating my note-taking for long. In retrospect this oscillation between the contextual, embodied knowledge I gained with women and the abstract theory I gained by stepping back and interviewing men – often approaching them with a question that had emerged in the course of my feminine activities – was a productive one. It has allowed me to connect work and performance, ritual and economy, practice and knowledge.

From the perspective of my hosts, however, it also made me an inconstant character. One man struck a chord when he said my research was ‘like fish soup, all mixed together’. Made from fish caught by men and manioc harvested by women, fish soup was a good metaphor for this alternation between male and female activities and perspectives in my research. Some men expressed the same view more critically: if I was really a researcher I should stop working manioc and start paying song masters for long informant sessions in which I would transcribe recordings of chants. But later, in order to defer impossible negotiations about what kind of ritual knowledge I could be taught and how much I should pay to learn it, the same man might tell me to go back to working manioc.²⁹ Since I was always potentially three people: a woman like other Enawenê women (*Enawenê-nêro*), a markedly female outsider (*ĩno-ti-nero*) and a researcher (*pesquisador*), my behaviour could always be found lacking according to one or the other identification. For example, as a researcher I was encouraged to enter the flute house because men considered it an excellent place to discuss Yankwa (although it was normally a space women only approached with food or drinks to offer). I would also be called out to exclusively male dawn and dusk political meetings in the central arena; and I was invited to go to the usually all-male dam-fishing encampments because they were considered the place for Yankwa-research par excellence.

Of course I was also subject to mild censorship from women for all these deviations from my female role. Although women accepted that as a researcher I should go to the dam, once I returned to the village my female status was foregrounded and I discovered that women and hosts were certain that I must have had sexual relations with some of the fishermen. Since Enawenê women travel to their husbands’ dams ‘seeking fish and penis’ it was logical that this, and not research, should have been my prime motive for accompanying the men to the dam as

well. It took some effort of persuasion from me and from the fishermen from Maxikyawina's dam to dispel these suspicions. In the meantime, one of the men with whom I shared a house in the village had formalised this accusation at the FUNAI office in Juína so that my research permit was in threat. Again, people judged his rash accusation to be motivated more by sexual jealousy than by a condemnation of my professional ethics. They said that it was because I had chosen to sleep with men other than my sisters' husbands (who were 'my husbands' by extension). This experiment with the efficacy of documents to make things happen had to be overturned by another document in which the community stated its support for my research and gave assurances about my professionalism.

At other times my ambiguous Enawenê-nêro/iñoti-nero status was problematic in the opposite direction. When the community's opposition to hydroelectric damming was at its height in September 2008, it was the feminine, participatory aspect of my fieldwork that was considered potentially exploitative. My effort to weave a cotton skirt, my daily fetching of water from the stream, and even my habit of sleeping by a fire (iñoti should use sleeping bags) were decried as an appropriation of Enawenê culture. During this period, when my very presence and participation was contested in this way, I retreated to my household and visited, circulated and occupied public space less often, counting on the continued support and companionship of my co-residents.

Of the fifteen longhouses in Halataikwa, the one in which I lived was average in size and unremarkable. The senior man of the house was a quiet, kind and dutiful man, one of the eldest in the village but neither an important member of his large clan, Kairoli, nor a specialist of any kind. His wife, who had taken me under her wing, was a woman of about fifty years of age called Kawalinerero-asero by one of the various teknonyms that connected her to her many grandchildren. She was the mother of nine children, all but two of whom were already married with children of their own at the time of my fieldwork. She was a wry, witty, intelligent and affectionate woman, who oversaw my sisters' gardening schedules, swung and sang to her youngest grandchildren in her hammock when their mothers were busy working, and kept a beady eye on food stores in the eaves of the house. I joined in the gardening and cooking work of this couple's four married daughters, who filled the other sleeping compartments in the house. It was from their vantage point that I learnt about the mesh of alliances that knitted and knotted the village together.

Other women soon discovered that I liked to work, especially to go on long walks to the distant gardens, so, early in the mornings, a child

would often come to my hammock to invite me to join another household's excursion. It was through such feminine harvesting and gathering trips that I gradually came to know the whole community, and it was generally from women that I learned about myth, shamanism and the spirit world, as well as gardens, cooking and kinship. In particular, my proximity to three women who dealt intensely with the unseen world exposed me to Enawenê care of the body, medicine and eschatology on a daily basis. Kawalinerero-asero suffered from what I translate as a manioc 'allergy', a chronic condition requiring constant care that I consider in Chapter 5. This required her to avoid manioc gardens, processing work and food. This is no mean feat when manioc is the staple food and working it is a daily feminine duty. During my stay, she sought treatment from shamans who work by sucking pathogens from the body or channelling spirit auxiliaries to discover the cause of malady. One of these was her eldest daughter, a widow who lived next door and was one of two female shamans practising in the village at the time. She also sought help from her elderly widowed mother, who lived in the abutting sleeping compartment and who was a respected blessing shaman. By the end of my fieldwork Kawalinerero-asero was also beginning to practise blessing shamanism, having learned from her mother in the course of her own treatment.

As a result of my immersion in feminine work inside the house and in the gardens, this ethnography approaches cosmology via its embedding in economy: the content and form of Enawenê ancestral knowledge – its musicality, its serialised, formalised conventions of knowledge and its ceremonial discourses – are in the background while the material, sensory and performative aspects of Yankwa's work, both male and female, are in the foreground. This emphasis on the symbolic entailments of agriculture and fishing is important for theoretical reasons as well. In Amazonia it has been male hunting practices that have received the most attention. Given that the Enawenê are not hunters, but rather masters of aquaculture and agriculture, it is fitting that the predominant perspective in this book is a female one – that of the harvest.

Chapter Outline

This book is divided into two parts. Part 1 follows Yankwa's process through dam-fishing expeditions, the fishermen's dramatic return, and then the ample feasts and intensive collective labour with which Yankwa culminates each year. Each chapter takes a detailed description of a particular activity sequence as the basis for theorisation. Thus Chapter

I outlines the construction of a fishing weir and its humanoid traps, followed by men's anticipation of the descent of shoals of fish. Drawing upon comparative research in kindred fisher-agricultural societies of Amazonia, it demonstrates that dam fishing supports a life based on agricultural values of plenty and fertility. Beyond its economic importance, this technology shapes several kinds of relationships at once: that among the team of fishermen; that between men, fish and spirit masters; and that between men and absent hosts and women. All of these relationships entail forms of bodily and mental discipline akin to those observed by men and women during menstrual and post-partum seclusions. The result of this annual collective seclusion and monumental predatory endeavour is that men return to the village vitalised and changed.

Chapter 2 follows the practical and performative preparations made by hosts and women to stage the fishermen's return, and then analyses the structured performances by which the fishermen are reincorporated over twenty-four sleepless hours. The theoretical emphasis is on the payoff between visibility and invisibility, concealment and revelation, mask and man. This dynamic is revealing of the content of that mysterious word 'Yankwa', which refers at once to flutes, men and spirits, and to the whole season in which they are conjoined. The return of men who are said to be like enemy spirits – although they are also husbands, brothers-in-law and friends – invites this emphasis on the constitutively ambiguous relationship between persons and the roles they play as decorated and masked performers.

Chapter 3 begins after this dramatic return is complete, at the point when the fishermen take up the flutes of the first of two host clans, to play them night, afternoon and evening in an exacting musical routine. It would seem that the roles of performer and producer are straightforwardly divided between men and women in this gendered division of labour: men playing flutes, and women engaged in laborious gardening and cookery work to provision them. In fact, I show that women's daily manioc processing round is musical and dance like, the female equivalent of men's flute playing. I develop this argument through an analysis of the culmination of the returning sequence, during which there is a reflexive play upon the parallels between performance and production, and a switching of their gendered referents. Both kinds of work are revealed to be simultaneously arduous and pleasurable. This leads into a theorisation of the role of sexual desire in Yankwa's economy.

In Part 2 I take a thematic rather than a processual approach in order to further the proposition that Yankwa is a project of vital diplomacy that structures relations between affines, spirits and foreigners. These

are aspects I approach in turn in three chapters on social, cosmological and foreign diplomacy. In Chapter 4 I analyse the complex ceremonial relationship system that structures the activity in the village arena, and its inscription in the dualistic space of the circular village. The village arena stages acts of social diplomacy such as exchanges of food, speeches and performances between clans and individuals, men and women, who are alternately opposed and allied in Yankwa's dualistic organisation. I present this dynamic through a description of the relational organisation of Yankwa's fundamental acts: the planting of clan manioc gardens for hosts, the public service of drinks made from their harvest, and the playing of the hosting clan's flutes that accompanies the drinking of their garden's harvest. I seek to understand this dynamic in the light of oral history accounts of the foundation of the Enawenê's society. This allows me to show that by uniting heterogeneous peoples as intermarrying clans in a single village, and rendering them dependent on one another for the expression of their identity, Yankwa is both the expression of, and condition for, the continued existence of a united, egalitarian polity.

In Chapter 5 I move from relations with social others to relations with invisible spirits, in particular the spirit masters of riverine and agricultural resources, the Yakairiti, and the animate manioc plant. The Yakairiti feature throughout Part 1 as the invisible motivators of Enawenê activity throughout Yankwa. It is for them that the Enawenê cook and feast on a daily basis. In this chapter I concentrate on the subsistence strategies, food processing methods and preferred recipes for this public communal diplomacy. I place the analysis of cookery in the broader context of the material mediation of Enawenê relations with spirits, which includes not only cuisine but also craftwork, bodily care, shamanic treatments and food restrictions that protect and fortify vulnerable bodies. I argue that all of these processes of constituting the body and the material world are 'curative' in an expansive sense, as the means to turn relationships of predatory antagonism into consensual, enlivening ones. This is a mundane, materially mediated micro-diplomacy, which takes place in the gardens and houses of Enawenê people.

In Chapter 6 I come to the Enawenê's negotiations with the hydroelectric dam consortium and the government for a stake in riverine resources, bringing some of what we have learnt about Yankwa's internal dynamics to bear on these foreign relations of ambivalent enmity and alliance. I argue that Enawenê representatives' relative success in negotiations held in distant meeting rooms and in a foreign language rely on the maintenance of an adversarial positioning, which is sustained through an alternating dynamic of confrontation and approximation. By emphasising the temporality of Enawenê foreign diplomacy, which is

grounded in the contrasting ritual seasons of Yankwa and Saluma, this analysis complements that which I pursued in two previous publications about the Enawenê's incorporation of foreign resources (Nahum-Claudel 2012), and their use of document exchange in negotiations (Nahum-Claudel 2016a). Through this dynamic the Enawenê succeed in transforming a depoliticised, pecuniary matter of compensation into a diplomatic affair between rival sovereignties.

Notes

1. 'Yaokwa, the Enawene Nawe people's ritual for the maintenance of social and cosmic order' was registered by IPHAN in 2010 and then by UNESCO in 2011.
2. Silva (2012: 65) provides accurate data on Enawenê population growth. As an indication of the speed of recent population growth, in 2009 three fifths of the population were under 14 years old.
3. I am referring to Clastres' famous argument in *Society Against the State* (1977) and to the characterisation of Amazonian societies in terms of a 'symbolic economy of alterity' (Viveiros de Castro 1996).
4. The choice of translation, which I prefer to the Amazonianist convention of 'white men' because it clarifies the political and positional significance of the term, is not meant to imply that the Enawenê consider themselves to be non-citizens, that their demarcated indigenous territory is uncomplicatedly sovereign, or that they consider non-indigenous Brazilians to be radically alien. Rather, I intend it to suggest a relationship of relative externality and committed engagement.
5. This argument speaks to contemporary scholarship in international relations that seeks to break out of a definition of diplomacy as the official practice of international relations conducted by the delegates of sovereign nation states. This narrow definition is out of step with the contemporary reality in which NGOs, social movements, corporations and indigenous peoples (to name but a few) may all be engaged in diplomacy. In this context, more open definitions of diplomacy are being embraced and explored; for example, as 'a way of knowing and dealing with otherness' (Cornago 2013: 1). See also Constantinou (1996). This is a move to which anthropologists have sought to respond, see Marsden, Ibañez-Tirado and David (2016).
6. Seligman et al.'s definition of ritual is a conventional one associated with a Durkheimian legacy in which 'ritual creates and recreates a world of social convention and authority beyond the inner will of any individual' (2008: 12), but they invest this understanding with new and particular force through a contrast with sincerity, which they pose as an alternative frame for action with which ritual always exists in tension. Sincerity characterises an abiding concern with a feeling, thinking self who is motivated by an effort to relate authentically to a world as it really is, and to relate to others on the basis of a search for truth and coherence – both in the self and in the world. While sincere orientations seek to reduce and overcome social and psychological ambiguity, ritual accommodates it (ibid.: 8–10).
7. This idea of the positive value of estrangement, both from the self and from others, is taken from Sofer (1997), who draws on Georg Simmel.

8. Based on work in the Upper Xingu, Gregor (1970, 1977, 1994) has demonstrated that the arena promotes civic values of peace, harmony and generosity, and Basso has analysed the extensive use of special linguistic registers for civility in the arena in addition to predictable gestural and postural codes that signal respectful interpersonal alignment (2007, 2009).
9. Works by Vilaça (1992), Stolze-Lima (2005) and Fausto (2012) were instrumental in the development of the theory of perspectivism, which was nonetheless given a particular critical force by Viveiros de Castro, on the basis of a sustained contrast between Amazonian people's forms of knowledge, and those of the discipline of anthropology (e.g. Viveiros de Castro 2004). Outside of regional scholarship and thematic interest in animism, it has been this aspect of perspectivism – that most distanced from Amazonian myth and shamanism – that has gained most fame in wider anthropology, by virtue of its association with the 'ontological turn' (see Holbraad and Pedersen 2017). Elaborations and critiques of perspectivism from within Amazonian anthropology are too diverse to chart in full. I will mention but a few trends: Santos-Granero (2002) and Heckenberger (2005) explore Arawak-speakers' divergence from the perspectival model. Bonilla (2016) and Walker (2012, 2013) are among the authors who demonstrate Amazonian people's association of humanity with the position of prey, rather than predator, in the context of histories of subjection to powerful masters. In addition to these interventions, which push us to variegated and nuance our understandings of Amazonia, several authors attack perspectivism on political grounds for representing Amazonian people as ontologically alter in ways that, they claim, do concrete harm (Ramos 2012; Bond and Bessire 2014; Bessire 2014a, 2014b).
10. On animism see Bird David (1999), and on the limits and possibilities of perspectivism's extension to other regions see Descola (2001); Fausto (2007); Brightman, Grotti and Ulurgasheva (2012); and Praet (2013).
11. See Hornborg (2005) and Hill and Hornborg (2011) on the relational construction of ethnicity in Amazonia.
12. I include only the most important precedents for my thinking here. Viveiros de Castro (1992) grounds his ethnography of the Araweté in a contrast between Gê sociological dialecticism and Tupi cosmological dualism. Viveiros de Castro and Fausto (1993) compare the semi-complex alliance systems of Central Brazil to the Dravidian terminologies and restricted exchange systems of Amazonia. Fausto's (2012) study of two estranged parts of a single ethnic group, the Parakana, shows that apparently radical contrasts in cultural orientation and social structure can be developed in the course of a few generations, in response to divergent historical conditions and political choices.
13. This model of 'typical' Amazonian social organisation was developed by Rivière (1984) and Overing (1975) for Guiana, and later generalised by Viveiros de Castro (1998b, 2001, 2009).
14. Details of this expedition were recorded by Thomas de Aquino Lisbõa in his published diary (Lisbõa 2010: 13–17).
15. Paresi and Enawenê dialects are both part of the southern branch of the Arawakan language diaspora (Aikhenvald 1999), which is the most widely distributed of the Amazon's four major language families: Arawak, Tupi-Guarani, Gê and Carib (see Epps 2009). Various Paresi grammars exist (e.g. Brandão 2014), although for the Enawenê language only a phonological study has so far been made (Rezende 2003),

- and, as yet, there has been no analysis of the degree of divergence between the two dialects.
16. The Paresi Plateau refers to the rolling plateau that rises from the Amazon rain-forest near the Bolivian border. From its northern and western slopes spring the Juruena and Guaporé rivers, tributaries of the Amazon; and from its southern side come the headwaters of the Paraguay River, which flows south to Argentina. In other words, this plateau divides the drainages of the two great rivers of South America, the Amazon and the Rio de la Plata.
 17. Campos contrasted the Paresi to the cannibalistic 'Cavihis', who he encountered when he reached the western limit of 'the kingdom of the Parecis' at the Juruena River. According to Dal Poz (1991: 53), these were probably the ancestors of the Enawenê's former enemies, who are known in the region today as the Cinta-Larga. Such a division between 'tame' and 'wild' Indians is found in many other colonial reports (see Price 1983).
 18. The Paresi are exemplary of the drastic depopulation of Amazonia as a whole. It has been estimated that a population of five million in 1492 was reduced to just hundreds of thousands by the middle of the last century (Denevan 1992). For the Paresi, from the uncountable population found by Pires dos Campos in 1728, the population was estimated at 1,150 by 1848, and by Rondon's count in 1907 there remained just 340 individuals (Schmidt 1943: 13–14).
 19. On Amazonian drinking festivities see Erikson (2004a); Goldman (1963); Sztutman (2008); Vilaça (1992, 2010).
 20. This review of Paresi social organisation and ritual is taken from Ramos Costa's (1985) ethnography, based on research she undertook in the early 1980s. See pages 52–62 on history; 116–124 on social organisation and 177–192 on inter-village visiting rites and the flute cult. From Ramos Costa's description it is clear that the flutes that dance with the women are the panpipes Schmidt transcribed as *Zero*, and which correspond to the Enawenê's *Lerohi*.
 21. His aim was not to convert the Enawenê but to follow an ethic of 'incarnation' himself and, through shared living and the study of language and culture, to build an anthropological foundation for the mission's future assistance to the Enawenê.
 22. Mendes dos Santos (2001) provides a fuller story of the Enawenê's migrations in response to enemy attack over the course of the twentieth century. The Cinta-Larga were being pushed southwards towards the Juruena's headwaters because of an invasion of rubber gatherers and gold panners in their territory on the River Aripuanã (Arruda 1984).
 23. The Enawenê indigenous territory was formally established in 1996 and covers 742,000 hectares. However the delay in demarcating this land left it vulnerable to settlers and loggers throughout the 1980s. Determined to protect its integrity from incursion, the Enawenê followed trails forged inside their territory, raided camps for tools and ambushed settlers. Enawenê warriors killed two men in 1984, and in 1986 a whole family (Arruda et al. 1987). In reprisal, Cañas was murdered in 1987 by landowners hostile to the demarcation of Enawenê territory.
 24. Greenpeace Brasil. 'Amazônia, uma região de poucos'. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=q9esNX7bzHY (accessed 14 March, 2017).
 25. Rodrigo Vargas. 'Índios Enawenê vão receber mantimentos'. *Diário de Cuiabá* 20/10/2007. <http://www.diariodecuiaba.com.br/detalhe.php?cod=300939> (accessed 14 March, 2017)

26. Keity Roma. 'Índios mantêm rodovia bloqueada'. *Diario de Cuiabá* 07/12/2007. <https://pib.socioambiental.org/es/noticias?id=51312> (accessed 14 March, 2017).
27. In July 2009, the community was convinced that Plácido Costa Júnior had intentionally betrayed them because his research on the Enawenê's fishing practices (e.g. 1995) had been cynically misapplied by the hydroelectricity consortium.
28. See Ardener (1975) and Golde (1986) for classic discussions of gendered fieldwork.
29. This concern with payment struck me in my very first week of fieldwork, when I was given a fish to cook and eat by a man in the house next door. I was immediately informed of the size and quantity of fish hooks he expected in return. I had anticipated generalised sharing with my hosts, but payment (*etoli*) and calculation had a prominent place in Enawenê life. The challenge of establishing acceptable standards of value equivalence, especially for the gathering of sacred, esoteric knowledge, is a fairly common one in anthropological experience. Fausto (2016: 133) opens an article entitled 'how much for a song' with Gertrude Dole's observation that the Kuikuro of the Xingu were constantly concerned with balancing accounts so that 'virtually every gift or service requires a return. Sharing and pure gift-giving are almost non-existent'. In the case of teaching songs, among the Kuikuro as among the Enawenê, payment is usually made in luxury items and is the means by which an apprenticeship is established, even if the student is a kin member. This is based on the idea that payment is necessary in order for songs to become lodged in the apprentice's mind (see also Allard and De Vienne 2005: 133). The Enawenê are quite clear that without payment the apprentice forgets, the blessing shaman errs in his rendition of the incantations, and the curer is lazy in his pursuit of his patient's missing pulse. Efficacious payment is thus strongly positively valued by the Enawenê in ways that contradicted my expectation that it implied a commodification of relationships that was best avoided.