

# Cantos da Floresta (Forest Songs) : exchanging and sharing indigenous music in Brazil

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### Cover Page



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## **Cantos da Floresta (Forest Songs)**

**Exchanging and Sharing Indigenous Music in Brazil** 

#### **Proefschrift**

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de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
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te verdedigen op dinsdag 19 maart 2019
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door Magda Dourado Pucci geboren te Franca, São Paulo in 1964

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#### Glossary

**Anhangá** – name that the Tupi indigenous people of pre-Colombian America gave to the spirits who wandered in the earth after death, tormenting the living persons. It could take any shape, but its most famous form was that of a deer with fire-eyes and a cross on his forehead.

Ayahuasca – entheogenic beverage produced from the combination of the vine *Banisteriopsis caapi* with various plants, *Psychotria viridis* and *Diplopterys cabrerana*. The production and consumption of the beverage are widespread worldwide, especially in Western countries. Ayahuasca is often associated with rituals from different social groups and religions, as well as being part of the traditional medicine of the peoples of the Amazon.

**Aruá** – indigenous people that live in Rondônia and speak a language that belongs to the Tupian language family, with only 20 native speakers. They are in the region where the Jesuits held the largest missionary complex in South America for nearly 100 years – the *Mojos* Province. More information about them on ISA website https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/arua

Ashaninka – indigenous people whose language belongs to the Aruak (or Arawak) linguistic family. They are the main component of the ensemble of the sub-Andean Aruak peoples. They are better known by the term 'Campa' or 'Kampa', a name often used by anthropologists and missionaries to designate the Ashaninka exclusively or the sub-Andean Aruak in a generic way – except for Piro and Amuesha. More at ISA on https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/ashaninka/144.

**Berimbau** – string instrument of Angolan origin also known as *berimbau de toro* in Portugal or as *hungu* in Angola and in various parts of the African continent. It consists of an arched rod, made of wood or wick, with an approximate length of 1.50 meters at 1.70 meters a wire attached to the ends of the rod. At its base is tied a gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*) that works as a resonator. This instrument was taken by the Angolan slaves to Brazil, where it is used to accompany a dance / acrobatic fight called capoeira.

**Buzinas** – types of natural horns, instruments made of various materials such as palm trunk, braided *taquara*, wood, gourd and even palm flowers and played using the pressure of the lips. Used in several cases in a pejorative way to illustrate unpleasant or strident sound, the horns are abundant in Brazilian indigenous music.

Caiçara – Tupian term used generically to designate populations that were born and live in coastal regions, especially in southeastern Brazil. The *caiçaras* communities emerged from the sixteenth century onwards, with the mixture of white people and Indigenous groups. They have a special way to live. More about their music at the website and sound archive recorded by ethnomusicologist Kilza Setti available on

http://www.memoriacaicara.com.br/projeto.html.

Cantos de Miração – kind of chant performed during a ceremony of drinking ayahuasca that promotes visions. More about it in PELEGRINO, 2017.

Carahiba (or caraíba) – name of an indigenous people of Small Antilles. From Tupi "Kara 'ib" (wise, clever) is the name of two small trees: Cordia calocephala and C. insignis from the family Boraginaceae tuberous, that produces small yellow flowers. Its origin would be in the south of the West Indies and in the North coast of South America.

**Caracaxá** – percussion instrument used by Villa-Lobos. It is an enormous seedpod from a kind of giant pea plant, dried and full of hard seeds.

**Cavalo Marinho** – popular theater party realized at Zona da Mata in Pernambuco (a northeastern state) during the cycle of Christmas celebrations paying homage to the Magi. The presentations are made to the sound of an instrumental group formed by *rabeca*, *ganzá*, *pandeiro* and *zabumbas*, a kind of drums.

**Cerrado** – very arid Brazilian biome located in the center of the country. It is the second largest Brazilian vegetable formation. It originally extended over an area of 2 million km², covering ten states of Central Brazil. Today, only 20% of this total remains. Typical of tropical regions, the *cerrado* presents two well-marked seasons: dry winter and rainy summer.

**Ciranda** – Brazilian folk dance and song similar to ring-around-the-rosy, probably of Portuguese origin, danced mostly in northeast of Brazil. Its children's version is called *cirandinha*. It is also one of the very popular numerous dances that integrate the suites of dances on the Brazilian southeast hinterland and coast, from Rio de Janeiro to Paranaguá (Paraná), called Fandango Caiçara. The Fandango unify the caiçara fishermen people.

**Chicha** – fermented beverage made of manioc and fruits used by different indigenous groups. For each one there is a different name for it.

**Coco** – the expression can mean the syncopated rhythm played with Brazilian tambourine or an Afro-Brazilian circle dance accompanied by chant and performed in pairs, rows or circles during popular festivals of the coast and the northeastern backlands. It receives several different nomenclatures, such as *pagode*, *zambê*, *coco de roda*, *coco de embolada*, *coco da praia*, *coco do sertão*, *coco de umbigada*.

**Curupira** – mythological being of the woods, described predominantly as a dwarf with red hair and feet in reverse, to leave deceptive footprints and confuse the hunters, thus protecting the trees and the bugs.

**Choro** – popularly called *chorinho*, *choro* is an instrumental genre of Brazilian popular music whose origin dates back to the end of the nineteenth century in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The ensembles that execute it are called *Regionais* and the musicians, composers or instrumentalists are called *chorões*. Villa-Lobos used to play in these regionals.

FUNAI – National Foundation of the Indian. Formerly known as SPI, Indian Protection Service during the Marechal Rondon times. FUNAI is the official indigenist organ of Brazil created in 1967. It is the coordinator and main executor of the federal government's indigenist policies. FUNAI is responsible for promoting identification and delimitation studies, demarcation, land regularization and registration of lands traditionally occupied by indigenous peoples. FUNAI also coordinates and implements policies to protect newly contacted More about the institution available isolated and people. on http://www.funai.gov.br/index.php/quem-somos.

"Giant Flutes" or taquara – name of big wind instruments used by Xingu peoples. Villas-Bôas brothers named it after their arrival for the first time at Yudjá (Juruna) village, where they saw these big instruments being played in a ritual. But organologically speaking they are like clarinets. They can be played in pairs, trio or quartet. The first recording of this instrument is in the LP Xingu Cantos e Ritmos.

**Gojánéhj** (or *goianei*) – musical instruments used by Ikolen-Gavião that represents the water spirits, owner of the fishes, raining, thunders and lightning. For the Ikolen-Gavião, any radical change in the rivers or even rampant fishing can provoke the wrath of the Gojánéhj, who, when feeling disrespected, have the power to make strong winds and flood entire regions. They are invisible, and the shaman is the only one who can see them.

**Guarani** – the Guarani people are one of the most scattered indigenous populations in South America. They are, in a discontinuous way, the Atlantic coast at the foot of the Andean mountain, from the heart of South America to the great rivers of Brazil and Argentina that break into the Paraguay and Paraná. In Brazil, they are divided into three subgroups: Mbyá, Kaiowá and Ñandeva, also known as Xiripá.

Huni Kuin – largest indigenous population of the state of Acre, with approximately 7,535 persons. They are also called Kaxinawá and belongs to the Pano linguistic family. They inhabit the regions of tropical forest in the Peruvian east (from the foot of the Andes to the border with Brazil) encompassing the Alto Juruá and Purus area and the Javari Valley, being more numerous in the Brazilian region than in the Peruvian. Huni Kuin means "true men" or "people with known customs").

**Huni Meka** – The *Huni Meka* are the *Nixi Pãe* songs realized during the *ayahuasca* ceremonies. They are sung with the intent of "controling the force". Force is what the drink's psychodelic effect is called. There

are, basically, three types of chants, as Ibã explains: chants to summon the force – the pãe txanima; chants for miração – dautibuya; and chants to weaken the force – kayatibu. They are shamanic chants that serve, among other purposes, to heal. More in KEIFENHEIM 2002; MATTOS, 2015. See cantos de miração.

**lamurikuma** (or **lamuricumã**) – ritual done by Upper Xingu women that involves humans and the 'spirits' *apapaatai*. They sing the tunes played by the man in the kawoká flutes, who cannot be seen by the women but only heard.

**Ikolen-Gavião** – the Ikolen, also known as Gavião, are speakers of a Tupi-Mondé linguistic family. They inhabit the basin of the Lourdes stream and other tributaries of the river Machado (or Ji-Paraná), in the state of Rondônia, near the border with Mato Grosso. Its population consists of around 840 persons, who live in six villages, all located inside the Igarapé Lourdes Indigenous Land.

Iridinam – mouth bow used by Ikolen-Gavião women for dating. Julien Meyer and Denny Moore (Goeldi Museum) have done studies about this near extinct instrument. Priscila Ermel shot the documentary *O arco e a lira* showing construction process and its symbolism. Available on https://vimeo.com/60457692.

**Jakuí** (or *jacui*) – flute played by Xingu peoples. It is considered one of the "sacred flutes" of the Xingu. It is made of wood and not of bamboo like the others. The *taquaras* flutes sound the real and everyday universe, the personal world. *Jacui* represents the spirit, a world that is neither palpable nor manifest. It is considered the instrument for the voice of the forest spirits. The *jakui* flute is considered sacred for the Xingu peoples and under no circumstance can be viewed by a woman. If on some occasion a woman views the flute, all the man of the tribe may violate her.

**Jawari** – ritual done by Upper Xingu peoples in July. It is a competition between men from different peoples using darts.

**Jurema** – sacred beverage used in rituals (see *toré*) of indigenous peoples from the northeastern region in Brazil. It is also the name of the rite itself, which has influences of different backgrounds such as European witchcraft, indigenous shamanism, mixed with African practices, popular Catholicism, and even modern esotericism, psychedelic psychotherapy, and esoteric Christianity. The practices are a subject still little studied.

**Kagutu** – sacred flutes named by the Kuikuro. They have different names in the Upper Xingu where they are frequent. These flutes cannot be seen by women.

**Kalimba** – instrument of African origin whose original name is mbira. In the West, it is known as 'thumb-piano' and dates to the age when the metal arrived in Africa, more precisely in southern Zimbabwe.

In Brazil, there are some eighteenth century paintings showing Black men playing this instrument, but it disappeared for a long time.

**Kambeba** – indigenous group with a population of 780 people that live in Amazonas State. In Peru there are 3,500 persons. They speak the Kambeba language of the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family and live in five indigenous lands distributed in four villages in the region of the Upper and Medium Solimões and one in the Lower Rio Negro.

**Kampa** – indigenous people from Acre that speaks an Aruak linguist family language also known as Ashaninka. During the 1940s the latex extractors enslaved them because they had knowledge of extraction techniques. See *Ashaninka*.

**Kayapó** – indigenous group that lives in Mato Grosso and Pará states. The term kayapó is an exonym that dates back to the early nineteenth century, having been created by indigenous groups neighboring this ethnic group. It means 'men akin to apes' and is probably connected to certain rituals of a group in which men dance wearing monkey masks. The endonym of the so-called Kayapó is *Mebengokre*, which literally means 'men of the hole' or 'men of the water'.

Karitiana – one of the many groups of the state of Rondônia still little studied by anthropology. With 350 persons, their principal battle is the claim of their land. They are trying to recover the Karitiana language – the only remnant of Arikém linguistic family. More about them on https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/karitiana.

**Katxanawá** – Huni Kuin ritual related to the fertility performed several times a year. Visually the ritual is characterized by the Yuxi dance of the forest (covered from head to toe with straw and painted) around the hollow trunk of the paxiúba (tau pustu, katxa). The trunk was cut, peeled and emptied into the woods. Before the missionaries' campaign against the use of the native beverages, the cacique (leader) usually stored it for six days in the trunk of the paxiúba (capped with banana leaves) to ferment. The village danced for five days around the katxa, and on the sixth day the guests from the other villages came together to drink the fermented drink (muxetan).

**Kuarup** (or Kwaryp) – ritual honoring the illustrious dead man, celebrated by the indigenous peoples of the Xingu area. The rite is centered on the figure of Mavutsinin, the demiurge and the first man in the world of Xingu's mythology. Kuarup is also the name of a wood. In its origin, the *Kuarup* would have been a rite that aimed to bring the dead back to life. Trunks made of *kuarup* wood are the concrete representation of the spirit of the dead. It would correspond to the ceremony of the deceased.

**Maracá** – type of rattle made from gourds of different fruits, coconuts, stuffed with various types of seeds. It is an integral part of the rituals of shamanism among the natives of Brazil. The term *maraca* has its origin in the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family.

Maracatu – Afro-Brazilian musical performance genre practiced in the state of Pernambuco. Its origins laid in the investiture ceremonies of the Kings of Congo, who were slaves and granted leadership roles within the slave community by the Portuguese administration in Brazil. When slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888, the institution of the Kings of Congo ceased to exist. Nonetheless, the group, called *nações* (nations), continued to choose symbolic leaders and evoke coronation ceremonies for those leaders. The parade has a big group of 80-100 drummers, a solo lead-singer, many dancers that sing too, including the "king" and the "queen". Dancers dress and behave to imitate the Portuguese royal court of the Baroque period. During the Carnival *maracatu* is one of the groups that participate in the parade.

**Marubo** – indigenous group that speaks a language that belongs to the Pano linguistic family. They live in the Vale do Javari indigenous area in Southwest Amazon.

Mato Grosso do Sul – One of the 27 states of Brazil, located in the center-west region. It is limited to five Brazilian states: Mato Grosso (north), Goiás and Minas Gerais (northeast), São Paulo (east) and Paraná (southwest); and two South American countries: Paraguay (south and southwest) and Bolivia (west). Its area is larger than Germany, with a population of 2,619,657 inhabitants (2014). It is considered the state where there is the most violence against indigenous populations.

**Mato Grosso** – one of the 27 states of Brazil where is located Xingu Park in the Center-West region. Its boundaries are: Amazonas, Pará (north); Tocantins, Goiás (east); Mato Grosso do Sul (south); Rondônia and neighboring Bolivia (west).

**Matraca** – musical instrument consisting generally of two pieces of wood attached to each other with a curvilinear iron that, when shaken, produces very high sound. It is used in Brazil, in small towns by sellers to announce their products or used in catholic parades.

**Marcha-rancho** – one of the oldest Brazilian urban genres created around the end of the nineteenth century. Performed mainly during the Carnival time, the *rancho* musical groups used wind instruments to accompany painful European origin melodies with a slow rhythm. Noel Rosa and João de Barro composed 'As Pastorinhas', the most known *marcha-rancho* in 1938.

**Mborahéi** (or *porahéi*, *purahéi*) – important Guarani (Kaiowá, Mbyá and Xiripá) ritual-musical genre based on speech. It is a kind of prayer-song to get strong and receive protection from their gods.

**Modinha** – type of sentimental love song, generally considered one of the roots of the Brazilian popular music. *Modinhas* appeared during the eighteenth century and were performed in social meeting in the salons. Domingos Caldas Barbosa wrote a series of *modinhas* that were extremely popular all over Brazil. In the late nineteenth century *modinhas* were sung in the streets or as an outdoor serenade, usually accompanied by flute, guitar, and *cavaquinho*.

**Moringa** – ceramic vessel like the udv, a percussion instrument of African origin created by the Igbo and Hausa peoples of Nigeria. In its native language udv means "peace" or "vessel. In Brazil, it is used in different styles of music.

MPB – a Brazilian musical genre which emerged in 1966, with the second generation of *Bossa-Nova*. Practically the acronym MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*) announced a fusion of two musical movements which were until then diverging: Bossa-Nova and the folkloric engagements of the CPC – Popular Culture Centers and UNE – National Student Union, the first defending musical sophistication and the latter musical fidelity to the music from Brazilian roots. Their goals were blended after the 1964 coup, both movements became a cultural forefront against the military regime, adopting the acronym MPB in its flag. Like *Bossa-Nova*, MPB was an attempt to produce "national" Brazilian music founded on traditional styles. It had considerable impact during the 1960s, largely thanks to the various televised music festivals.

**Nheengatu** – (also known as *nhengatu*, *ñe'ngatú*, *nhangatu*, *inhangatu*) – Amazonian language that belongs to the Tupi-Guarani language family. It emerged in the nineteenth century, as the language used for the catechesis of indigenous and as a *lingua franca* for the Portuguese-Brazilian settlers in the Amazon, being more widely spoken than the Portuguese in Amazonas and Pará until 1877. Currently, it continues to be spoken by approximately 19.000 people in the Rio Negro region.

**Oca** – Tupi-Guarani term for an indigenous hut, a house without internal divisions or windows, only one or two entrances, serving as collective housing for several families. *Ocas*, generally, are large constructions that can reach 30 meters in length. They are built collectively for about a week, with a structure of wood and *taquara* and cover of straw or palm leaves.

**Orixá** – generic designation for the divinities worshiped by the southwest Yoruba of present-day Nigeria, Benin and northern Togo. It was brought to Brazil by Blacks enslaved from these areas and was incorporated here by the *candomblé*, *umbanda* and other religious groups. They can be considered as divine ancestors that became rivers, trees, stones, who act as intermediaries between men and natural and supernatural forces.

Oxum – an orisha from the Yoruba pantheon. Oxum Ipondá is a warrior linked to Ibuálàmò. She is

queen of the city that takes its name Ipondá, takes a sword and dresses of yellow gold and white when it accompanies *Oxaquiã*.

Paiter Suruí – Brazilian indigenous group of Rondônia, that speaks a language which belongs to the Tupi-Mondé linguistic family. They live in the *Sete de Setembro* Indigenous reserve, which is in the municipalities of Cacoal, Rondônia and Aripuanã, in Mato Grosso. The Suruí remained isolated until 1969, when they had their first peaceful contact in a FUNAI expedition. Soon diseases, alcoholism and other problems arrived in Surui's life that reduced the population of the tribe of almost 5.000 to little more than 250 people. Betty Mindlin has researched about Surui for long time. (See MINDLIN, 1985 and 2007).

**Purupuru** – an instrument made with *tracajá* (turtle) shell used by Palikur, Wayana, Apalai, Tiriyó and Katxuyana peoples that live in Amapá.

Rabeca (or rave, rawé) – a kind of fiddle used by the Guarani Mbya people. Ravé would be a wrong way to pronounce the word rabel (rabé, rabab), the Arabian fiddle. Some indigenous people still make their own rave, but if they do not do it, they usually use the orchestral violin. With the contact with Jesuits, the Guarani began to play the rabeca and adopted as their own instrument that became their 'trademark' in their presentations. But there are several historical and ethnological records proving that these instruments were used in earlier times by the Kaiowá, Ñandeva and the Guarayó and Chiriguano, the latter two, the peoples of Bolivia.

**Reco-reco** – a generic term that indicates the idiophones whose sound is produced by scraping. There are two basic types of reco-reco. The Brazilian, which is made of steel, and the wood of Angolan origin, very common in Latin American music styles such as cumbia and salsa. The latter consists of a bamboo slab or a small wooden slat with cross-cut butchers. Scraping a drumstick over the butchers produces the sound.

**Samba de roda** – traditional Afro-Brazilian dance performed originally as informal fun after a *Candomblé* ceremony. The typical drum is the atabaque; drummers improvise variations and elaborations on common patterns, accompanied typically by singing and clapping as well as dancing.

**Sertanista** – person who was in the backlands hunting minerals and precious stones. In its present sense, the word designates someone who is a great connoisseur of the *sertão* (kind of desert) and of the *sertanejos* and indigenous habits. There are many important *sertanistas* in Brazil that took care of this delicate relation between indigenous and non- indigenous. For more info see the book *Memórias Sertanistas* by Felipe Milanez.

Sistrum – a kind of percussion instrument made of small gourds, with different uses for the Timbira

people.

**Taquara** – a generic way to mention different kinds of indigenous flutes. It can refer to the giant flutes, or the  $uru\acute{a}$  clarinets, or small flutes. Taquara is a kind of bamboo with which the indigenous build many flutes.

**Taratararu** – long clarinet used by the Yudjá people in cleaning ceremonies. Also known as 'taquara' (c.f. taquara) it is played in alternate mode by three or four musicians, each one playing just one note and performing a whole melody.

**Timbó** – a way of fishing of many indigenous populations using a natural poison.

**Toré** – ritual of the northeast indigenous peoples Fulni-ô, Kariri-Xocó, Pankararu, among others that counts with the presence of the "enchanted spirits". Also, torés (or *tule*) are woodwind instruments used by different indigenous peoples in Amapá. Its music has been widely studied by ethnomusicologist Jean-Michel Beaudet in his 1997 thesis 'Souffles d'Amazonie: Les Orchestres Tule" des Wayãpi.

**Totoráv** (or totoráp) – clarinet trio used by the Ikolen-Gavião divided as  $\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{d}\acute{u}\acute{h}r$  (high pitch),  $\acute{a}v$   $\acute{h}\acute{i}r$  (medium-pitch) and  $\acute{a}v$   $ti'\grave{a}$  (low pitch). The trio is part of the category of Ikolen instruments "that sings". Each instrument has a single sound and the three together make up a melody, pre-established and known through singing, using the alternating technique of playing (PUCCI, ALMEIDA, 2017).

**Tucupi** – juice of the manioc, fresh, seasoned with fire, until it takes on the consistency and color of the sugarcane honey. The mass is then strongly compressed (in the *tipiti*) and the juice is at first poisonous, but, after being fermented, it becomes harmless and able to serve as a beverage (CASCUDO, 2010).

**Tupã** – from the Tupi-Guarani *tu'pan* or *tu'pana*, is a name of indigenous mythological being, which means "thunder" in Guarani language. Many people confuse the name Tupã as being the superior deity, the creator, within the Tupi-Guarani culture, but in fact, this idea was incorporated by the Jesuits during the Portuguese colonization and catechesis, when the Guarani feared the noise of thunder, since the phenomenon was unknown to them, associated with the divine or mystic. The supreme god of the Tupi-Guarani, however, is *Nhanderuvuçú* (old soul in the Guaraní language), also known as *Nhamandú*.

**Tupari** – small indigenous group from Rondônia, that live close to Makurap, Arikapu, Kanoê, Aikanã, Aruá e Djeoromitxí lands. more about them in ISA website available on https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/tupari.

Tupi -- extinct language, spoken by the Tupinambá people, which was one of the main ethnic groups

of Brazilian indigenous people. Scholars believe they first settled in the Amazon rainforest, but 2,900 years ago they started to spread southward and gradually occupied the Atlantic coast.

**Tupinambá** – group of Brazilian indigenous people who, around the sixteenth century, inhabited two regions of the Brazilian coast: one that went by near São Francisco River to the *Recôncavo Baiano* and the other one that went from Cabo de São Tomé, in the present state of Rio de Janeiro to São Sebastião, nowadays an area of the state of São Paulo. This second group was also known as *tamoios*. In total, both groups consisted of 100.000 people and they were the most well-known by the European navigators of the sixteenth century, among all the indigenous people of the Brazilian coast. Currently, the main *Tupinambá* group resides in south Bahia: they are the *Tupinambá* of Olivença.

**Txucarramãe** (or Kaiapó Metutyre) – part of a larger indigenous group, the Kaiapó. They live in the indigenous lands located in the south of Pará, and in the north of Mato Grosso. They belong to the linguistic group Jê. The meaning of the name *txucarramãe* is "warrior without arms" or "the men without bow". The name *txucarramãe* was given by the Yudjá (Juruna), their traditional enemies. Txucarramãe leader Raoni and his nephew Paulinho Payakã became known for their struggle for the rights of indigenous peoples. Supported internationally by the English singer Sting, Raoni made trips abroad in the last decades to promote the defense of these rights.

**Uruá** – big double and long flutes used in Upper Xingu by different peoples from this area.

**Wapté Mnhõno** – Xavante ritual for the boys who are being initiated to the adult life. The ritual has many challenging activities, accompanied by chants and dances. More about it in Laura Graham 'Performing dreams's' book.

Xingu – name of an important river in the core of Brazil, rising on Mato Grosso plateau and flowing north to the Amazon delta, with over 400 miles and 1200 miles length. Also used to refer to the most important indigenous park (Parque Indígena do Xingu), a reserved area where eighteen indigenous peoples live. It was first created in 1961 by the Villas-Bôas Brothers with the purpose to protect the environment and the several groups that live in this area. In the Upper Xingu, Aweti, Kalapalo, Kamayurá, Kuikuro, Matipu, Mehinako, Nahukuá, Trumai, Wauja and Yawalapiti share some rituals and cosmogonies and have cultural features, such as the *Kuarup* funeral ceremony, the *Jawari* fight and the *Iamuricumã* women's festival. In the Middle Xingu, live Trumai, Ikpeng and the Kaiabi peoples. In the north, in the Low Xingu, live Suyá and Yudjá.

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