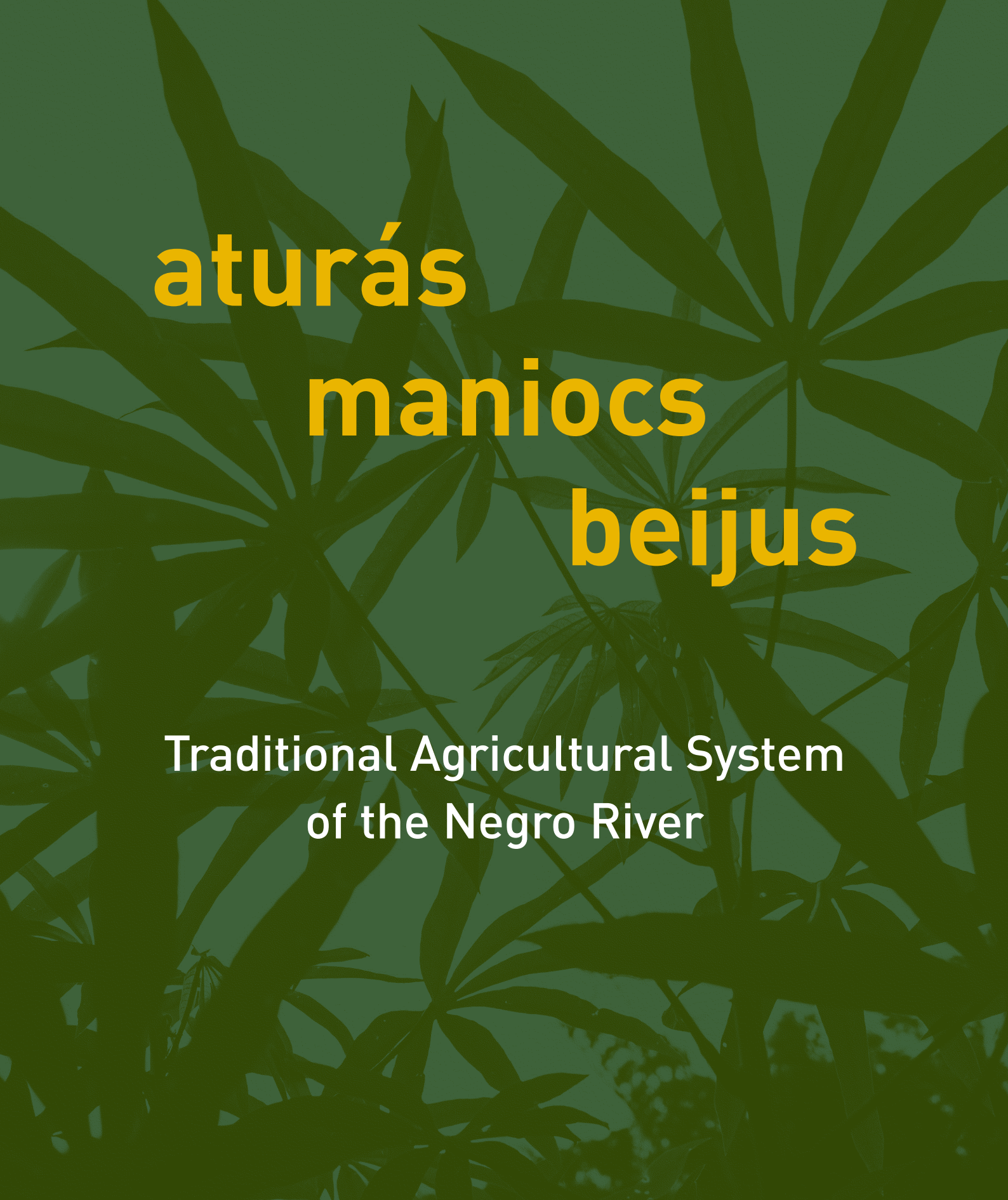

aturás maniocs beijus

Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River

aturás
maniocs
beijus

Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River

Manaus

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MUSEU DA AMAZÔNIA

2020

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Presentation

For thousands of years, the way of life of the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River has perpetuated itself and resisting constant changes.

When we refer to the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River, we are not only talking about field-planting methods; it goes far beyond that. We are talking about a system based on the plentiful knowledge of the several people groups in the Negro River region, an age-old knowledge that is just as valuable as scientific knowledge. Their knowledge, their practices, their beliefs, their myths, their cultures, and the methods they use to preserve dozens of plants – whether they are cultivated as medicinal, edible, fruit-bearing, domesticated, cosmetic, or toxic plants –, specifically *manivas*, which have fed and maintained several generations for thousands of years.

There are several varieties of *manivas*, with yellow, white, cream-colored, wild, and sweet roots. When, who and how did someone discover how to process these plants and turn them into food? We have never found the answer. All we know is that, from the manioc, its tuberous root, we extract everything: the pulp, which becomes flour and several types of *beijus*, and the starch, used to prepare a variety of foods as well as *tucupi*. To foods originating from manioc, our cuisine adds other products such as pepper, a faithful companion on our tables.

In order to process these foods, we depend on the Indigenous cleverness to manufacture artifacts for the oven house, giving us gorgeous *pinimas* and *teçumes*, which have always been passed down from parents to children; in the last few years, we have noticed that this generation of young people no longer shows an interest in learning. Therefore, if these skills are not passed down, we will be burying the knowledge of many generations.

Our fields are our businesses, since we begin planning from the moment we choose the land to be a field to the selection of *manivas* and other plants, and only then we start to do the work. Clearing, felling, burning, planting, and maintaining the field clean and productive with the protection of the mother of the field ensure the sustenance of the Indigenous families. Whites cannot live without money, and we cannot live without the field.

Therefore, we still need to promote a lot of awareness from now own. Our agricultural methods have changed, no doubt – from the stone grater to the motorized one, from the ceramic oven to the metal one, from the *tipiti* to the parallel use of the manioc press –, but no plant will ever replace the *maniva* because it is the joy of the owners of the fields. My mother

used to say that the *manivas* cry when their owners die or abandon the fields, since the MANIVA was a person one day. It was born on account of its boss, Yurupari, who, being evil, ended up killing MANI, and thus the MANIWA was born.

Regarding the resilience of the agricultural system, it endures because it is not a plan, but a culture, our lives, and that is why we are going to nurture this system even more, as this responsibility belongs to all of us.

Sandra Gomes Castro Baré
President of the ACIMRN, member of the Indigenous Participatory Curatorship

Practices, along with the transmission of the traditional knowledge of the fields, are what we call the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River, which, in its essence, presents the diversity and the cultural identity of the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River. The traditional agriculture that has been practiced by the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River for centuries is based on the field cycle, with several plants being cultivated, domesticated, and selected by the Indians, all of which combined with a preserved forest. The exchange of plants and the preservation of diversity on a regional scale are the trademarks of this system, combined with knowledge, practices, innovations, experiences, and discoveries. All of this interwoven with Indigenous narratives and myths.

The Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River comprises a variety of *manivas*, peppers, pineapples, yams, and several fruit trees, in addition to over 200 plants cultivated in the fields and backyards of Indigenous families. *Aturás*, sifters, *tipitis*, straw fans, pottery, and other objects made at home, in the community or somewhere further away and brought, sold, exchanged, transmitted – they all have a story. Stories that take place around food products like *beijus*, *caxiris*, flours, fish, *jiquitaias*, several types of wine, and others... all of them with their own tale and a particular method of consumption.

The importance of this exhibition entitled **Aturás Maniocs Beijus** is to give visitors an idea of the diversity, knowledge, and identity of the Indigenous people of the Negro River, while at the same time calling our attention, so we will ask ourselves: "How can we ponder the future of the agriculture developed at the Negro River, ensuring food security for the Indigenous peoples as well as the transmission of this biological and cultural heritage to future generations? How can we promote awareness and create a space for the products coming from this area at local or regional markets? How can we recognize the role and the importance of the agricultural knowledge of the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River?

This exhibition represented a step towards this awareness within the safeguarding plan for this traditional agricultural system, which was registered as a Brazilian Cultural Heritage in 2010, bringing the culture of the Negro River before the eyes of the world. This will help us be recognized and appreciated for our contribution towards the preservation of the Amazon, benefiting Brazil and the entire world.

Thank you, warmest regards... and greetings from the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River.

Carlos Nery Waí'ken Pira-tapuya
Member of the Indigenous Participatory Curatorship

Former (small photo) e current ACIMRN headquarters in Santa Isabel do Rio Negro

Associação das Comunidades Indígenas do Médio Rio Negro – ACIMRN

The ACIMRN was created in 1994 in order to defend and represent the interests of both its associates and the Indigenous communities before public and private organs that operate direct or indirectly in the municipality of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro or in the middle Negro River region. Its purpose is to ensure the defense of the environment, cultural heritage, and interests of the Indigenous communities. The ACIMRN promotes and fosters actions that enforce compliance with the constitutional rights guaranteed to the Indigenous peoples.

Currently, the ACIMRN serves 17 communities and is part of a wider system of Indigenous organizations in Brazil, which includes the Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro (FOIRN), which operates regionally, the Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira (COIAB), and the Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (APIB), which covers the entire national territory.

A history of achievements

Ever since its foundation, the ACIMRN has attained important victories, as Sandra Gomes Castro from Santa Isabel do Rio Negro mentioned in 2017:

> I see that, today, the ACIMRN defends everyone's interests, not only those of its affiliates. The association is on the frontlines of the struggle for education, healthcare, and the preservation of the agricultural system. We have had to persevere, as our struggle has been great.

The history of these victories could be chronologically listed as follows:

In the 1990s – Participation in a pilot-project called Balcão da Cidadania in partnership with FOIRN, with the purpose of expediting the Indigenous peoples' access to basic documentation such as ID and birth certificate.

1999 – Provisions made for the Indigenous population of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro to receive medical care through the Distrito Sanitário Especial Indígena (DSEI), usually restricted to

Indigenous lands. The result of this successful initiative was that the DSEI began to provide medical care in 2000.

2003-2004 – A seat at the Conselho Municipal de Saúde was obtained for an official representative of the Indigenous movement, a privilege extended to the Conselho Municipal de Educação.

2010 – Participation in the drafting of a dossier that enabled the registration of the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River in the Book of Knowledges as a Brazilian cultural heritage by the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN).

2011 – The ACIMRN began to operate as one of the institutions responsible for issuing affidavits for students who wished to apply for college admissions through Indigenous quotas, which increased the demand for higher education among residents living in the municipality of Santa Isabel. This initiative resulted in an increased number of Indigenous people who self-identified as such, a fact that can be verified through the numbers obtained by the IBGE census, which recorded almost 11 thousand Indigenous people living in the middle Negro River region in 2010, as compared to only three thousand in 2000.

2010-2017 – Active participation in every phase of the process of territorial demarcation and consolidation of the Relatório Circunstanciado (RECID-FUNAI) in 2014. This process culminated in a governmental decree granting permanent possession of the Jurubaxi-Téa Indigenous territory, comprising the municipalities of Barcelos and Santa Isabel do Rio Negro.

Bitter sweet manioc!

Ennio Candotti
General director of Musa

Bitter manioc (*Manihot esculenta*) is toxic. Through an ingenious succession of manipulations – grating the roots, squeezing the pulp, and toasting the flour –, its toxicity can be significantly reduced, and a product that is naturally toxic is transformed into a healthy, nutritious, and tasty food.

Not all cultivated manioc is bitter. There is also the sweet, edible manioc, a species thought to be older than the bitter variety.

Some studies suggest that the *Manihot* was not originally bitter, and that its cyanate content used to be low. Its toxicity was then gradually incremented by the action of the Indigenous farmers who were interested in protecting their crops, habitually devastated by the agoutis that would gnaw and eat – and still do – the tubers buried in the fields.

Both processes reveal ingenious manipulations, arousing the observer's curiosity: how was it possible to imagine that a tuber could be subjected to manipulations that would render it proper or improper for consumption by human beings or agoutis?

Can you imagine transforming the curare (*Strychnos toxifera*) – used in academic medicine and on arrowheads as a powerful muscle contraction inhibitor – into a tasty food seasoning? Imagine a plate of "curare rice," prepared in like fashion as rice with *jambu* (*Acmella oleracea*), which has a slight numbing effect on the lips.

"Tamed" manioc, originating in the Amazon, has always played and continues to play a very important dietary role for the peoples of Central and South America, like that of wheat in Europe.

The **Aturás Maniocs Beijus** exhibition celebrates the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River, a region that has in the manioc its queen, and where the cultivation of manioc in fields shared with other edible plants has prospered and diversified through successive manipulations.

In the Santa Isabel do Rio Negro fields, this crossbreeding originated over 200 manioc varieties with different maturation and cooking times, textures, toxicity, and flavors – a significant number if we take into account that there are about two thousand known manioc varieties all over the world today.

In addition to South and Central America, where studies show that the manioc was originated, it is cultivated in large scale in India, Africa, Thailand, and Vietnam.

To what do we owe this great diversity in the Negro River region, particularly in Santa Isabel? A plausible answer was given by research conducted by anthropologist Janet Chernela in the area in the 1980s. These studies were resumed at the end of the 1990s by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Lucia van Velthem, and Laure Emperaire, who inspired this exhibition.

Chernela and Emperaire attributed the astounding number of varieties to the intense circulation of manioc cuttings and seeds among different fields in the region, a process enabled in large part by the norms that rule or used to rule marriages. According to tradition, they must take place between young people from different ethnicities and languages, which likely intensified the exchange and transportation of manioc cuttings and seeds, "dowries" that always come along with the brides.

This norm has prevailed in the cultural traditions of numerous ethnicities in the Negro River, a region that, to this day, is home to over 20 ethnicities speaking about 15 Indigenous languages.

Crossbreeding maniocs and producing new varieties is important because it not only allows farmers to harvest manioc at different times of the year, but also assures that, if a variety is devastated by a plague, other resistant ones will preserve the plant's genetic features.

The Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River – registered by IPHAN as intangible cultural heritage and celebrated by the exhibition **Aturás Maniocs Beijus** – deals with the cultivation of manioc and other edible crops planted alongside it, revealing the secrets behind the preparation of the soil, the production of flour, and its use to prepare flavorful *beijus* and *beijus cicas*. It also suggests how to separate a variety from another by flavor, texture, and smell – sensitive qualities that might be absent from the botanical taxonomy, but that are always present in day to day life in the fields.

There are other surprises for the visitors who attends the exhibition: they also discover that burning trees to prepare the field – the "coivara" ritual – is done because the ashes improve the fertility of the soil, while the fallen branches and trunks provide shade that protects the germinating seeds and cuttings from the hot sun. Visitors can see and touch the midribs of palms and vines that are rigorously braided with rhythm and symmetry to make aturás, cargo baskets, sieves, tipitis, and straw fans, artifacts that have an age-old history.

In the flour house, set up at the Musa exhibition, we find the oven, the grater, the press, sieves, straw fans, and the ingenious tipiti: a cylinder made of arumã strips interwoven into a large circular mesh. When stretched, the tipiti squeezes the still wet manioc pulp, recently grated on a grater that only the Baniwa from the Santa Isabel region can "make well."

There are also political reasons that justify the exhibition. When the ACIMRN (Associação das Comunidades Indígenas do Médio Rio Negro) and the FOIRN (Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro) requested in 2011 that the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River be registered as intangible cultural heritage, the Indigenous farmers thought that they should record their techniques, their knowledge, and the manifestation of their traditional culture, preserved for hundreds or thousands of years.

This concrete knowledge has allowed the peoples in the region to provide their own food and to live and grow successfully, while telling through myths and legends the story of their origin and life in the forest – their own and that of the manioc, as described in the exquisite watercolors by Desana artist Feliciano Lana.

This knowledge of the land as well as of the traditional planting and "taming" techniques and tools contains secrets that must be passed onto the younger generation and exhibited in culture houses and living museums, where collected items may mobilize all the five senses, recounting the knowledge and the feelings of the peoples who live there – peoples who, having occupied these lands since ancient times, have defined the territories where they put down their roots. It was there that they learned how to plant, harvest, and transform bitter and sweet maniocs.

Today, the demarcation of Indigenous lands is a constitutional right expressed in the Constitution of 1988, but which, after 30 years, has not yet been concluded. There are still lots of lands to be demarcated.

By recovering the memory, gathering knowledge testimonies, and telling everyone the history of the manioc, Musa intends to contribute towards the acknowledgment and the respect of the Indigenous peoples' right to the demarcation of their lands.

The **Aturás Maniocs Beijus** exhibit was planned and set up with these goals. Many minds and arms have participated in its conception: Carlos Nery, Sandra Gomes Castro, Cecilia Braga da Silva, Adilson da Silva Joanico, and Ilma Fernandes Nery sign the participative curatorship along with Lucia van Velthem. Regina Ferraz designed it, and Juan Gabriel Soler Alarcón recorded the interviews, images, and movement.

We would also like to thank Bemol and Fogás for largely financing this exhibition through the Rouanet-MinC Law, and the Universidade do Estado do Amazonas (UEA) for its support.

The exhibition

Acariquara community, where the Baniwa and Baré live

Sítio na Ilhinha, em frente à cidade de Santa Isabel do Rio Negro

The Indigenous peoples of the Negro River

The Negro River region comprises a vast cultural area in northeast Amazon inhabited by 23 Indigenous peoples from three linguistic families: Tukano, Aruak, and Maku. These peoples live in cities, *comunidades* (communities), and *sítios* (ranches) established on the banks of the upper and middle Negro River and its tributaries, such as the Xié, the Içana, the Uaupés, the Jurubaxi, and the Enuixi. In this wide territory, the profile of the Indigenous population is characterized by a great sociocultural diversity, a reflection of its settlement history, ancient and recent migratory dynamics, social mobility – intensified by national colonization projects and initiatives aiming at exploring forest products –, and cultural transformations of various types.

The Aruak-speaking peoples in the region include the Baniwa, Baré, Kuripako, Tariana, and Warekena. The designation Baniwa has been used since colonial times to identify peoples who live in the upper Negro River, along the Içana River and its tributaries. Presently, it represents a generic name employed in multiethnic contexts or urban areas. Within the Indigenous communities, this self-designation refers to the names of the phratries to which these individuals are connected, such as *Hohodene*, *Walipere-dakenai*, or *Dzauinai*.

The Baré share innumerable cultural traits that characterize other Aruak peoples, but in Brazil they speak *Nheengatu*, or general language, a defining characteristic of their cultural identity. Imposed in the region since the 18th century by Jesuit and Carmelite priests as these funded their first missions, the *Nheengatu* language has taken on an important role throughout Amazonian history, having been widely spoken in the entire region.

Speakers of the Tukanoan language family are represented by the Arapaso, Bará, Desana, Karapanã, Kubeo, Makuna, Miriti-tapuya, Pira-tapuya, Siriono, Tukano, Tuyuka, and Wanana. Those living along the course of the upper Negro River take part in wide interchange networks that include the exchange of raw materials and artifacts, visitations, marriages ruled by linguistic exogamy, and intercommunity rituals, composing a flexible sociocultural and political system. Tukano speakers settled at the middle Negro River are characterized by their forced migrations and strenuous work in the extraction of sorb and rubber.

The Dow, Hupda, Kakwa, Nadöb, and Yuhupdeh are Indigenous peoples identified as Maku, since they speak related languages. Most of them live in interfluves and *igarapés* at the upper Negro River. In the middle course, they are concentrated at the Enuixi and Téa rivers, having been known to inhabit this region since the beginning of the 18th century. In spite of this ancient contact, the Maku have never abandoned their own language. They usually intermarry and are renowned for their knowledge of the forest and hunting techniques.

The Indigenous peoples of the middle and upper Negro River live in urban centers, *comunidades* (communities), and *sítios* (ranches) in or around the municipalities of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro and São Gabriel da Cachoeira. In the middle Negro River, a community is generally inhabited by a multi-ethnic population composed of different families who live in residences and their respective kitchens built along the riverbanks. These communities also have a school, a chapel, a community center, visitor accommodations, and places where the bitter manioc is processed, represented by the *casas de forno* (oven houses). *Sítios* are indwelt by a reduced number of nuclear families and differ from communities, as they only have residential centers and *casas de forno*. Their association with a nearby community allows residents to integrate into the different activities and festivities developed within that community.

(Velthem, Emperaire, 2016; Velthem, 2012.)

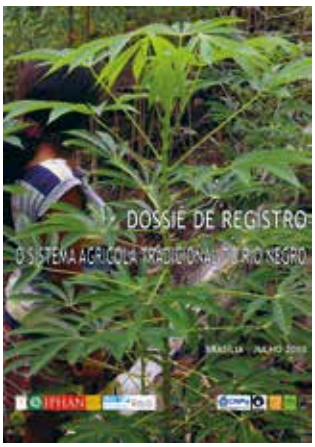
The Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River as cultural heritage

Cultivated plants, spaces, artifacts, and foods are distinctive cultural expressions, permanently recreated, that integrate the heritage of the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River, translated by the *traditional agricultural system*. This heritage expresses belonging associations – considered experienced means of production of the collective life – and represents a vast legacy of modes of sociability, experiences, techniques, and knowledges yet relatively unknown and unrecognized.

In our days, traditional agricultural systems are faced with homogenization and globalization processes. Even though every agricultural practice entails innovations, loans, and the interchange of practices, plants, and knowledges from several sources, this uniformization phenomenon leads to a reduction of the cultural and biological bases of less visible agricultural practices against conventional models. However, both the agro-biological diversity and the multiplicity of knowledges and practices produced and preserved by the traditional agricultural systems bear solutions for the challenges of our current world. Nonetheless, the agricultural system of the Negro River cannot be seen as a mere reservoir of solutions for outside problems: it needs to meet local demands and be understood as an expression of this region's cultural diversity recognized by its registration as intangible heritage.

The Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN) defines cultural heritage as being "formed by the set of knowledges, actions, expressions, practices, and their products that refer to the history, memory, and identity of a people." The several ways to understand and use cultural heritage refer not only to things, but also to people, thus having consequences for the individual, the community, and the state. Within this framework, this heritage increasingly represents a political theme, as recognizing the importance of Indigenous cultural heritages is essential to the requalification of the relations between the state and these peoples, forming bases that respect their singularities and ensure an equitable distribution of the benefits ensured by these new policies.

Currently, this occurs mostly through the significant construction and refinement of the national legislative instruments implemented by IPHAN, aiming at protecting particular



knowledges and ways of expression (decree 3,551/2000). This evaluative provision allowed the registration of the *Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River* as intangible heritage in 2010, as it comprises important knowledges, practices, representations, objects, spaces, and means of appropriation and circulation.

The registration of the agricultural system resulted in the recognition of the intrinsic value of the traditional knowledges associated with biodiversity and cultural diversity. The recognition of this complex rightly considered that the heritage in question does not represent a *thing* per se, consisting instead of goods of a processual and consequently dynamic nature. This registration process highlights an experienced form of collective production that ensures the continuity, transmission, circulation, and innovation of the *Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River*.

(Velthem, Emperaire, 2016.)

The curatorial proposal

Lucia Hussak van Velthem
COCHS – MPEG/MCTIC

Laure Emperaire
UMR PALOC – IRD/MNHN-SU

The Sistema Agrícola Tradicional do Rio Negro – SAT-RN (Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River) – was registered by IPHAN-MinC as an intangible cultural heritage in 2010 (Emperaire et al., 2010). This fact provided an opportunity to establish a plan to safeguard this intangible good and the integrated action strategies that would be discussed in the city of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro three years later. At the time, the need to divulge the SAT-RN on a local, regional, and national scale became clear, and a proposal to produce an exhibition at the Museu da Amazônia (Musa), in the city of Manaus, was embraced.

Musa's interest in an exhibition about the agricultural system of the Negro River is connected to the fact that one of the missions of this institution is the establishment of a continual dialogue with the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River. This was accomplished through the Fish and People exhibition, which focused on the knowledge about fish and fishing management among the Tuyuka people in the upper Negro River.

The welcoming of another exhibition by Musa enabled an extraordinary widening of the path that leads the Indigenous peoples of the Negro River to new connections with museal institutions, their collections, and exhibitions. It also allowed the establishment of a broad partnership between the Negro River Indigenous associations – particularly the Associação das Comunidades Indígenas do Médio Rio Negro (ACIMRN), the Associação Indígena de Barcelos (ASIBA), and the Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro (FOIRN) – and the Museu da Amazônia, the PACTA (Populações, Agrobiodiversidade e Conhecimentos Tradicionais Associados) CNPq-Unicamp/IRD bilateral cooperation program, and the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN).

The first steps in the exhibitory choreography about the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River were taken in 2014, when an Indigenous participatory curatorship was established with the purpose of directing the works. In order to make this possible, a group

of Indigenous curators – consisting of Pira-tapuya, Baré, Tukano, and Baniwa activists and specialists living in the city of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro and the Acariquara and Cartuxo communities – was created.

Other actors from the city of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro and the communities of Espírito Santo and Acariquara were added to those. During the workshops held in these locations in October 2015, participants wrote texts, made drawings, and recorded statements about the theme of the exhibition. That same year, images and statements were recorded in the aforementioned locations and in Cartuxo, communities that were chosen by the Indigenous curatorship. Many of those written, graphic, photographic, and video-graphic records were included in the exhibition.

The name of the exhibition – **Aturás Maniocs Beijus** – was determined by the Indigenous curatorship. According to Cecilia Braga da Silva, this sequence can be explained as follows: "A farmer is in her community and decides to make *beijus*. She gets her *aturá* – a cargo basket –, goes to the field, pulls the maniocs, puts them in the *aturá*, goes back to the community, and makes *beijus* in the *casa do forno* (oven house)."

The exhibition and the Indigenous curatorship

The theme of the exhibition that will be set up at Musa is the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River. This system should be understood as a set of differentiated and shared knowledges, practices, products, and techniques that deal with the management of the land, the cultivated plants, the associated material culture, the food production means, and the resultant food provisions (Velthem and Emperaire, 2016).

The choice of an *Indigenous participatory curatorship* advocates the participation and full involvement of the Indigenous subjects in every phase of the organization and setup of the exhibition. This way, the conceptualization of the **Aturás Maniocs Beijus** exhibit was connected to the resolutions established by this curatorship during previous discussions held in Santa Isabel and later developed in a joint seminary in Manaus.

The several meetings defined that the main concept would consider the foundations and characteristics of the agricultural system and the projections envisioned for the future regarding political activism and safeguarding policies. It was also established that the

diffusion of the agricultural system of the Negro River through an exhibition effectively contributes toward the management of this heritage, opening paths to improve its safeguard.

An important resolution by the Indigenous curatorship concluded that the term "diversity" would be the best translation of the concept the exhibition was meant to explore, since the word expresses both a quality or condition of that which is diverse and a multiplicity of assorted things, as well as, in a more specific sense, the biological diversity or biodiversity (Carneiro da Cunha, 2017).

During the definition of the exhibitive conceptualization, which aspects were connected to the term diversity? Initially, the people and the Indigenous peoples – men and women –, their spoken languages – Baniwa, Nheengatu, Tukano –, their knowledge and transmission means, the memories, discourses, and narratives, spaces and paths, social relations networks, and also the *manivas* and other cultivated plants, their management and cultivation techniques and processes, the produced and utilized artifacts, techniques and graphisms, foods and drinks, recipes, and other culinary preparations.

The Indigenous participatory curatorship pointed out a few markers that set the boundaries of the vast diversity field. These are *places* (communities, stopovers, rivers, fields, oven houses, etc.); *cultivated plants* (manioc, yam, peppers, fruits, etc.); *utensils* (cargo basket, *tipiti*, oven, straw fans, sieves, etc.); and *foods and drinks* (*curadá, beiju,* flour, *chibé, caxiri*, etc.).

In the exhibitive design, these markers were divided into three wider themes, the first of which comprising the fields, the different stages of the agricultural practice, and the diversity of the cultivated plants, with special attention given to the bitter manioc as the structuring plant. The second theme comprises the utensils displayed both individually and in the *casa do forno* (oven house), a place of transformation and the crisscrossing of sociabilities, especially reproduced in the exhibitive space. The focus of the third theme is the rich culinary of the Negro River, with a particular emphasis on the processing of the bitter manioc, which transforms it into various foods and drinks.

During the structuring of the exhibition, it was considered that a sensitive object could be presented as an exhibitive metaphor. In the specific case of the agricultural system of the

Negro River, a basketry item was selected, since the weaving techniques form intersection zones created by the continuous overlapping of the vine and *arumã* strips – the main local raw materials –, sometimes on top, sometimes at the bottom, when an object is being woven. In addition to that, the production of a basket presumes convergent and specialized skills, since the technique itself and the plasticity of the material prompt artisans to check their work constantly, encouraging them to master the dynamics of their hands and plot other intersection possibilities (Velthem and Candotti, 2019). The purpose of the Musa exhibition is to absorb a little of this dynamics in order to give visitors an opportunity to capture and access different intersection zones that would sometimes be reflexive, sometimes sensitive, sometimes objective, and that would reveal the interweaving of the diversified knowledges and practices that structure the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River.

The discussions held during the meetings considered that the elements that enable the production of an exhibition include ideas and several other components, such as material objects, artifacts, and utensils. Since Musa does not have its own collection and is not entitled to borrow from other museums, the acquisition of the objects needed to illustrate and explain the themes covered was imperative. This task – accomplished by two members of the Indigenous curatorship – and the collection that was gathered reveal a particular conception of museological collection, motivated in part by the social networks activated for its implementation and subsequent acquisition. The objects sent to Musa allow the identification of the repertoire employed in the middle Negro River *comunidades* (communities) and *sítios* (ranches). However, other aspects considered equally relevant by the collectors were also taken into consideration. Therefore, a significant number of samples of each type of artifact was collected with the purpose of identifying their specific uses, various manufacturing techniques, different sizes and shapes, and other aspects.

Together, the Indigenous curatorship defined that their artisanal heritage would be displayed in a contextualized and multifaceted fashion, which goes well beyond the exhibition of artifacts employed in day-to-day life. Thus, special emphasis was given to aspects such as raw materials, graphisms, and the maker of each piece. This way, the curatorship sought both to contextualize – by reproducing an oven house, dully garnished with its collection of utensils disposed where they usually go – and to highlight each object itself through its intrinsic tangible and intangible features.

An exhibition: effects and intents

Exhibits embody an essential element in the relationship between museums and society. There are several ways of defining an exhibition, and one of them specifies that it represents an object produced through a technique, being therefore an artifact, and thus corresponding to an intent, a purpose, or a desire to produce an effect (Davallon, 1999).

The statement above guided the curatorial proposal, which, as aforementioned, assimilated the resolutions of the Indigenous curatorship. This proposal highlights that the foundations of the suggested "exhibitive artifact" are its intents, associated and expressed through concepts, interpretations, and purposes, as well as tangible objects, texts, graphic, photographic and audiovisual records, and scenographic resources. Nevertheless, since an intention implies an effect, one may ask which *effects* the Musa exhibition wishes to produce on its visitors. Evidently, these effects fall into several categories: scientific, aesthetical, political, and institutional, including the variable related to effects to be avoided.

In spite of its introductory character, however, some considerations about the intents/effects dichotomy are relevant to the understanding of the design of exhibitions that display aspects of the Indigenous cultures. The first considerations highlight a few museal processes that should be avoided and could be labeled as *undesired effects*. But why would they be undesired? One should note that Musa's visitors might take an interest in the Indigenous objects displayed, enjoy them, or be limited to an almost distracted contemplation. However, they accept – most of the times, without questioning – the rule that classifies them, the device that expresses them, the discourse that substantiates them (Velthem, 2012), which also happens in other museums. The institutional responsibility, therefore, is significant, since it is directly related to the mediation established in the expositive space between visitors and the collection they are contemplating.

Among the main *effects* to be avoided are generalizations, which represent a great danger in exhibitions displaying Indigenous artifacts. This, in fact, entails a multiple risk. Therefore, such exhibits could end up communicating a generic notion of Indian, as they fail to consider the specificities of the Indigenous identities expressed through their productions. On the other hand, by only showing artifacts usually described as "traditional," an exhibit would fail to reflect the historical continuity of the Indigenous societies. This aspect does not occur at the Musa exhibition, which displays contemporary artifacts of everyday use that embody ancient knowledges passed on from generation to generation.

Another issue to be considered is that Indigenous artifacts displayed in museums are usually accompanied by information on their technical and economic uses as well as their raw materials, which leads visitors to apprehend them mostly through these indications. This interpretative intention is restrictive and has the power to weaken the notion that these objects also possess aesthetic qualities worthy of being appreciated (Price, 1993), along with significant social attributes such as the exchange networks – restricted or wide – in which the objects are inserted.

It should be highlighted that an exhibit about Amerindian cultures usually involves references that are both Indigenous and museal. This aspect might prompt what was dubbed "syncretism of values" (cf. Sansi-Roca, 2005). This dynamics, albeit positive in its essence, is closely linked to the successive reinterpretations and reevaluations carried out within the museal sphere. Therefore, mindfulness is essential to prevent the exhibitive curatorship and scenography from occasioning the deletion of the particular stories of the artifacts, their makers, and their users. The idea is that these procedures should enhance the interpretation given by the ethnographic data or by the owners of the goods themselves, since visitors hardly ever recognize what they see directly, as it is so distant from their cultural universe.

By considering the aforementioned concerns, the Musa exhibition focuses on and highlights the multiple identities, both individual and collective, of the middle Negro River – Arapaso, Baniwa, Baré, Nadöb, Pira-tapuya, Tukano – in different ways, one of which is linguistic. Thus, the languages used in the explanatory panels include the baniwa, the nheengatu, and the tukano, in addition to Portuguese and English. This exhibition seeks to patent the contemporaneity of these Indigenous peoples in many planes: material, political, social, and cultural.

As mentioned before, an exhibitive museography should pay attention to the tangible and intangible aesthetic aspects of the Indigenous artifacts. Some of these aspects can be easily evidenced – like the techniques used to produce the graphisms in the objects displayed –, but others need to be emphasized, like those related to the treatment given the raw materials and weaving techniques, which ensure the aesthetic quality of the items.

It is also important to highlight a peculiar aesthetics related to certain artifacts, which usually goes unnoticed, as it exists mostly in the field of social relations and intangibility. Thus, the expography – the action or design that materializes the exhibition – should not separate Indigenous objects that only acquire meaning when strictly associated, since the

important aspect, the aesthetic aspect, is precisely the relationship established through this association. The Musa exhibition highlights the Indigenous understanding of the functional complementarity established not only between artifacts of the same nature, but also between those having different aspects – as can be observed in the complementarity between the straining basket and the tripod stand, displayed together in the context of the oven house.

Regarding the *desired effects* an exhibition can produce in the visiting public, less practical and more conceptual issues should be mentioned. Initially, it is important to remember that, in Indigenous societies, cultural transmissions take place fundamentally through words and the observation of technical gestures, just like in music and dance. Therefore, their main "artifacts" would not be measurable, which is the museum's main challenge. In the case of the Musa exhibition, this challenge arises from problems regarding the intangible nature of the different components of the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River. In an exhibition, the emergence of this element – intangibility – is complicated by the strong empiricism that surrounds the museal institution and its stated proposals. Within this sphere, everything that is not tangible, material, visible, or classifiable is uncomfortable (Ferreira Santos, 2004), and exhibitions that seek to accurately interpret and convey these cultural aspects must consider the possibilities that allow the invisible to become visible.

In the exhibition, visitors find different elements in Musa's space and time that are packed with material existence, but have been transformed in their museal aspect. In display are a few cargo baskets, the oven, spatulas and other utensils, the field implantation scheme, pictures, a detailed recipe, and other elements. However, the questions that should be asked are: how will visitors learn the symbolic meanings of these processes, how can they access the intangible universe, the gestures, the smell of the seasonings, the narratives and classifications, the knowledges without which there is neither agriculture nor food?

To circumvent this problem, the organization of an exhibition usually adopts an interpretative stance – anchored to the empirical data, but not only that – which considers both the tangible and intangible expressions. Thus, this exhibitive approach considers that its elements have a double aspect: a visible form or aspect and a sensitive perspective, which entail and lead in certain directions.

Under a different perspective, a museal narrative always presupposes that something is being revealed and communicated, and that, regardless of the type, an exhibition should

provide both pleasure and knowledge (Chelene and Lopes, 2008). It is objected, however, that there are many other goals to be pursued, and that, in order to achieve the effects that emphasize intangibility, it is tantamount that other paths be treaded, which are not free of challenges. In order to overcome these challenges, it might be interesting to seek inspiration in the writings of French thinker Paul Ricoeur (Ferreira Santos, 2004), thus considering other premises related to "the geographer's eye, the traveler's spirit, the novelist's creation."

As an experimental exercise regarding Musa's exhibition, the aforementioned points indicate that, in order to deal with the tangible/intangible characteristic of the agricultural system of the Negro River, the "geographer's eye" would help us pay attention to that which surrounds and shapes the matter – fields, plants, objects, foods, shapes, colors, and colorfulness –, without forgetting the scenography that shelters it. This exercise, however, is not complete, since the attention given to the different aspects of tangibility must side with the "traveler's spirit," which consists in abandoning the comfort of the commonplace to be transported to other spaces, investigate other possibilities, dive into other worlds. Finally, one needs the "novelist's creativity" to overcome the necessary, but sometimes impoverishing ethnographic descriptions and contextualizations, and, by using the writer's creative experience – associated with the accuracy of words and images –, reorganize and reinterpret the exhibitive discourse, so that the Other – in this case, the Indigenous curators – will have the opportunity to introduce themselves and be understood by the visitors.

The effort to organize the aforementioned effects and intents brings to mind that the structuring of the exhibition about the Traditional Agricultural System of the Negro River emerged from an *interpretative intention* that led Musa and the curatorship to choose to abandon the known, the comfortable, in favor of contemplating other landscapes and establishing other dialogues. The success of this endeavor made it essential to consider and apply the decisions, indications, and choices of the *Indigenous curatorship*. This way, the conceptualization and the expography pursued not only the presupposed aspects of an exhibitive foundation, but also the intertwining of the diversified knowledges, practices, and decisions that structure the agricultural system of the Negro River.

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The field

The path leading to the field tells the story of the families. It runs across *capoeiras*, old fields, ripe fields, new fields, *igaparés*, and oven houses. A place of memories and knowledge, of future *dabukuris*, of the daily food and the conversations held between forest, fire, and work.

Peé osuwa kupixá kiti umbeu beyane iyara taresewara. Usasá kukuera, kupixá tinharua, kupixá kuchimawará, kupixá pissasowá, garapé, yapona ruka. Tenda yakuassa y yakuassaita. Yamunyam arán yane dabukuri yakuntaí aram yanerimbiu rese káa, rese yanemuráki, tata rese. [nheengatu]

Wesé maã nikĩpora nisetisé kití weré'e. Wesé maã yiriwakã wiaké, biki weseri, bikia tuaheasé weseri, mama weseri, manãkã thonikã atâro wiseri. Tioñasé nirô, masisê nirô, po'oro iasá nisé, imikorinikĩ basé nirô, yuki merã ukũse nirô oaripekame merã dararo. [tukano]

Lhiehe inipo yakada kinikiriko likaite koame naanikawa nhaaha newikinai nenipe nheette naino yapidza tsakha. Nadzena awakadanai, heñhaminai, nheraniaphipenai nheette napanhiokonai, ñawaponai nheette napole ipanana. Nemakaroda nhaaha yapinhetakhetti nheette yanhekhettinai tsakha, yakottinai linako lhiehe podaali nheette naiñhanipe hekoapikoami, nanakhitte nhaaha awakada, ttíidze nheette nadenhikale rikhitte tsakha. [baniwa]

From the forest to the field, from the field to the forest

The agricultural practice in the Negro River is very complex. It involves several stages: slashing the brush, burning it, planting, and letting the forest regenerate. Planting a field is a big endeavor that requires knowledge and hard work, as it involves felling trees and waiting for the right time to burn and to plant.

The key element for the sustainability of the continuous forest-field-forest cycle is in the fallow period: letting the land rest allows for the restauration of the biomass that assures the fertility of the soil.

A new field will cause only a temporary clearing in the forest that will be quickly erased.

The agricultural activity at the Negro River is a result of the knowledge and action of men and women working in different stages. The field emerges from the couple's work.

Father, brother, husband, father-in-law, son... It is a man's job to clear the forest for planting

In the beginning of the dry season, the space that will be used for the new field is outlined. Then comes the clearing of the thinner brushwood with a machete.

The felling of bigger trees is the most difficult stage, requiring specialized knowledge. When the trees are drier, burning is used.

Finally, the blessing – essential to the health and fulfilment of an individual, object, or field. Blessing means imparting health, name, and strength, preventing loss, making safe and productive, and also obeying rules.

> "The size of the field is expressed in days since it was axed: *a field that is 18 days from axing*."
>
> Moises Gervásio, Tapereira community, 1990

Burning is fast: in one hour the future field emerges, a universe of ashes, embers, and black trunks that are still smoldering

The *owner of the field*

The burned and blessed land makes the plants grow and belongs to the woman, the *dona da roça* (owner of the field). One day after the burning, she confirms her ownership by planting a dozen *manivas* in the nerve center of the field, its focal point, the *eye of the field*.

These *manivas* have the symbolic role of repelling the vultures, which would spread grass seeds on the field. When they plant them, the owners of the field say that they are going to make *vulture*.

In the center, the women also plant the *mães da roça* (mothers of the field), crops that lend strength, vitality, and productivity to the *manivas*.

A field that is well-maintained and has a variety of plants is a source of pride for the owner of the field and food security for the family.

The *eye of the field*

Every field has a center, the *eye*, and an edge. The center is where the beginning of the production process takes place, evoking the time period described in the mythic narratives. The conceptual model of the circular object with a center appears in other areas of material life, in the form of baskets and sieves, or even in the *beijus*, which also have a center and a border.

The circular shape connects the field to the creation of humanity

Planting the new field is a task shared by men and women

Moving or *transplanting* is the name given to the process of transferring cuttings from older fields to a new field. During this time, the *owner of the field* includes new plants obtained from relatives or neighbors and discards others.

The *manivas* are *transplanted* first. Planting is generally done by the couple: the man tills the ground with a stick or a hoe, creating a whole where the woman places two cuttings from the plant stem. This phase lasts several weeks.

Children learn by following their mother, as they play while observing the planting activities.

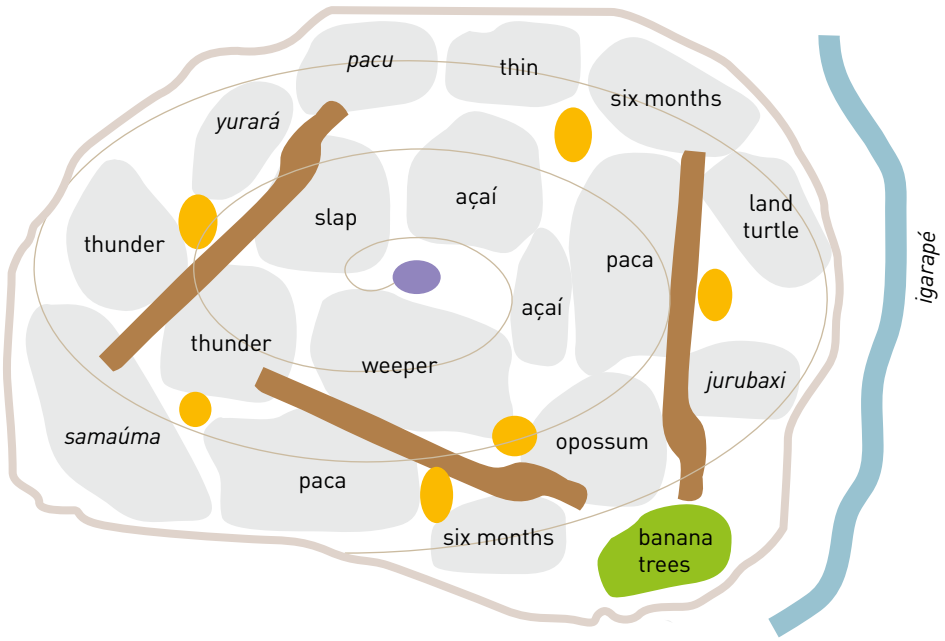
The field is carefully organized

Planting respects the characteristics of each variety, such as its maturation time, capitalizing on the particularities of each plot of land, such as humidity and type of soil.

Maniva varieties such as the paca *maniva* and the thunder *maniva* (*tapá maniva* in nheengatu), which last up to three years, need more fertilizer, "like" the tree trunks and are planted next to them; the more precocious ones, which are harvested first, must be planted far from the trunks, as the roots hinder the growth of other *manivas*.

Due to foliage diversity and the care given to the plants, a field has a strong aesthetic dimension.

The location for planting the *manivas* is chosen according to their preferences



A field with several *manivas*, burned trunks, the center of the field, banana trees, and other crops. (Emperaire et al., 2010)

The *maniva* society

Pineapples and cashews keep the *manivas* from being thirsty – the pineapple is the *kamu'ti*, the *manivas*' clay pot. Caladiums are the guardians of the site: if an intruder enters the field, the caladium-jaguar "roars and throws sticks".

In the center, the *mother of the field* – and sometimes the *grandmother of the field* – represents the generations of transplanted *manivas*. The medicinal plants in a field can also be called *mother of the field*.

Maintaining the diversity of cultivated plants, especially *manivas*, is achieved within a context of relationships with the idea of wellbeing being strongly present.

A collection of *manivas*

There is a strong connection between the cultivated plants and the owner of the field, since the plants *grow or do not grow under her care*.

> "*Arraia maniva* doesn't grow for me... For Mrs. Zulmira, they grow beautifully. *Paca maniva*, this one grows for me, and also *nambu maniva*. But *arraia maniva* doesn't grow for me."
>
> Mrs. Nilza, Espírito Santo community, 2007

The female farmer cares for the well-being of the plants, the *manivas* are willful beings that have the ability to act.

> "... they should not be thirsty, they must be happy, well combed [weeded], they like to celebrate, they are grown and cannot be abandoned."
>
> Hilda Nery, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2007

Sweet manioc, bitter manioc

There are two main categories of manioc: bitter and sweet.

In the Amazon, the sweet manioc is called *macaxeira*. The few varieties cultivated at the Negro River were likely introduced by missionaries or traders.

Bitter maniocs, or just maniocs, are predominant at the Negro River, having a hundred varieties. Because they are highly toxic, their preparation is extremely complex, an art that demands specialized knowledge and intricate technics to eliminate the cyanide.

Bitter maniocs are predominant at the Negro River

The species: *Manihot esculenta*

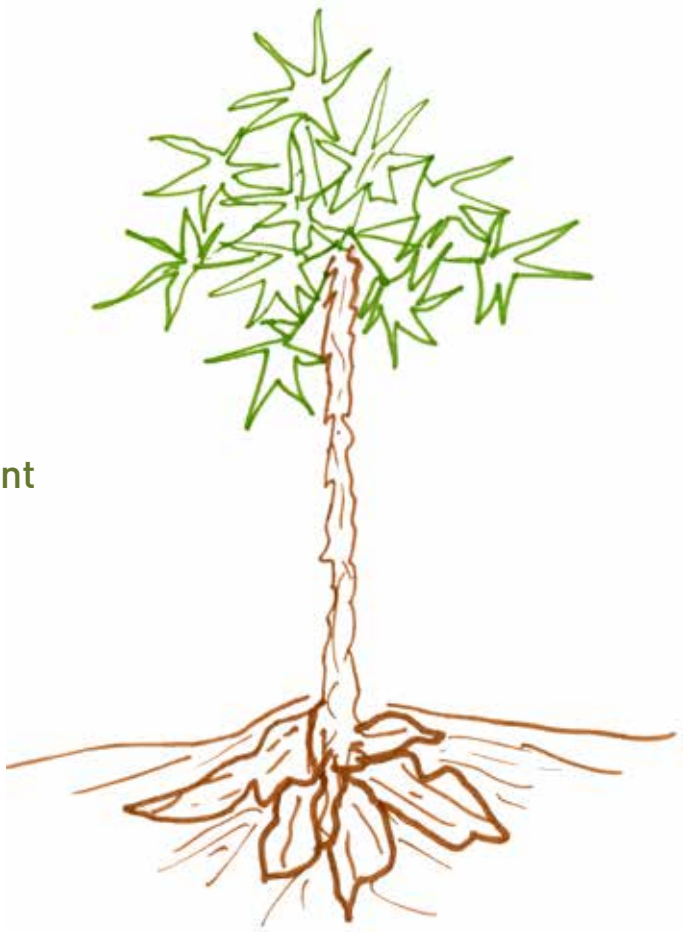
There are many types of maniocs and *manivas*, which the natives group into varieties, each named according to different criteria. All of them belong to the species *Manihot esculenta* Crantz.

The word *maniva* designates the aerial part of the plant and the stem cuttings used for planting. The different types of *maniva* are recognized by the structure – branched or not –, the color of the stem, and the shape of the leaves.

The term *manioc*, classified as white or yellow depending on the color of the flesh, designates the root hidden in the soil. It is the manioc that, when processed, becomes food.

In Nheengatu, the two parts of the plant are called *maniwa* and *maniaka*; in Tukano, they are called *dikî* and *kii*, and, in Baniwa, *kenikhee* and *káini*.

Manioc and *maniva* are names that designate different parts of the same plant



Drawing by Vanilsa Alves, Espírito Santo community
(made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

âhã dikî (tinamou) **ãhû dikî** (*beiju*) **ãhû-põ'ra dikî** (little *beiju*) **akê dikî** (monkey) **a'musû dikî** (*mucuim*) **basoti dikî** (shorty) **ba'ti dikî** (*piaba*) **betá dikî** (*tucum*) **bi'î dikî** (rat) **bo'te dikî** (*aracu*) **branco dikî** (white) **buhâ dikî** (pigeon) **bu'sá dikî** (*samaúma*) **bu'u dikî** (*tucunaré*) **castanha dikî** (cashew nut) **da Colômbia dikî** (from Colombia) **dari dikî** (looks like *iwa-pixuna*) **de Barcelos dikî** (from Barcelos) **de Benedito dikî** (from Benedito) **doê dikî** (tiger fish) **duhî dikî** (sitting, who bent down, who sat down) **ehû dikî** (*timbó*) **etoâ dikî** (cocona) **ikî dikî** (maripa palm) **ikî peheri dikî** (maripa palm pits) **irapuka dikî** (*irapuca*) **iroyã dikî** (*carajuru*) **i'sê dikî** (Amazon grape) **i'tâ-yimi dikî** (sorb tree) **kabucuena dikî** (*kabucuena*) **kape-biá dikî** (little bee) **kã'rê dikî** (*abiu*) **macaxeira dikî** (*macaxeira*) **meká di'arã dikî** (*maniuara* ant queen) **miô-wa'i dikî** (*matrichã*) **mipî dikî** (açaí) **mipi-á dikî** (nasua) **ne'ê dikî** (moriche palm) **ohô butî dikî** (white banana) **ohô dikî** (banana) **o'ôri dikî** (flowers) **pakî mariró dikî** (without a father) **pamô dikî** (armadillo) **pamô pïkoro dikî** (armadillo tail) **patî dikî** (a type of small rubber tree) **pekâsãa dikî** (white) **pirô dikî** (snake) **pisána dikî** (cat) **pupiâ dikî** (*ucuqui*) **seis muhi-püuri dikî** (six months) **semê dikî** (*paca*) **sërá dikî** (pineapple) **simió dikî** (*uacu*) **sõ'â dikî** (red) **to'â dikî** (true frog) **ua dieri dikî** (turtle eggs) **uhú dikî** (*pacu*) **ûhuri dikî** (land turtle) **wahâtoo dikî** (bottle gourd) **wamî dikî** (*umari*) **wamî pe'toro dikî** (*umari* pit) **wapî dikî** (*cunuri*) **wãri-á dikî** (angelfish) **wasô dikî** (type of rubber tree) **wetá dikî** (tapioca) **wïrî dikî** (sloth) **xurimã dikî** (*xurimã*) **yã'iró dikî** (*uariá*) **yamâ dikî** (deer) **ya'mû dikî** (yam) **yã'pá dikî** (southern frog) **yiîru dikî** (cricket) **yoasõ dikî** (*calango*) **yukî dipîri dikî** (tree branches) **yumû dikî** (*patauá*) **yurará dikî** (animal with big hide)

Names of manivas in Tukano mentioned by the owners of fields in Uaupés, 1998 (CNPq / ISA-IRD)

Each *maniva* variety has its own name

Some names make reference to plants: *samaúma maniva*, Amazon grape *maniva*, pineapple *maniva*, yam *maniva*. Others are named in reference to animals: *tucunaré maniva*, paca *maniva*, pigeon *maniva*.

Some *manivas* grow from seeds that germinate after the burning. As the origin of these seeds is unknown, they are called *sem pai* (fatherless).

The names of the imported *manivas* refer to descriptive criteria or to their geographical or social origin – *maniva* from Colombia, *maniva* from Barcelos, *maniva* from Benedito – or to descriptive criteria such as giant *maniva*, purple *maniva*...

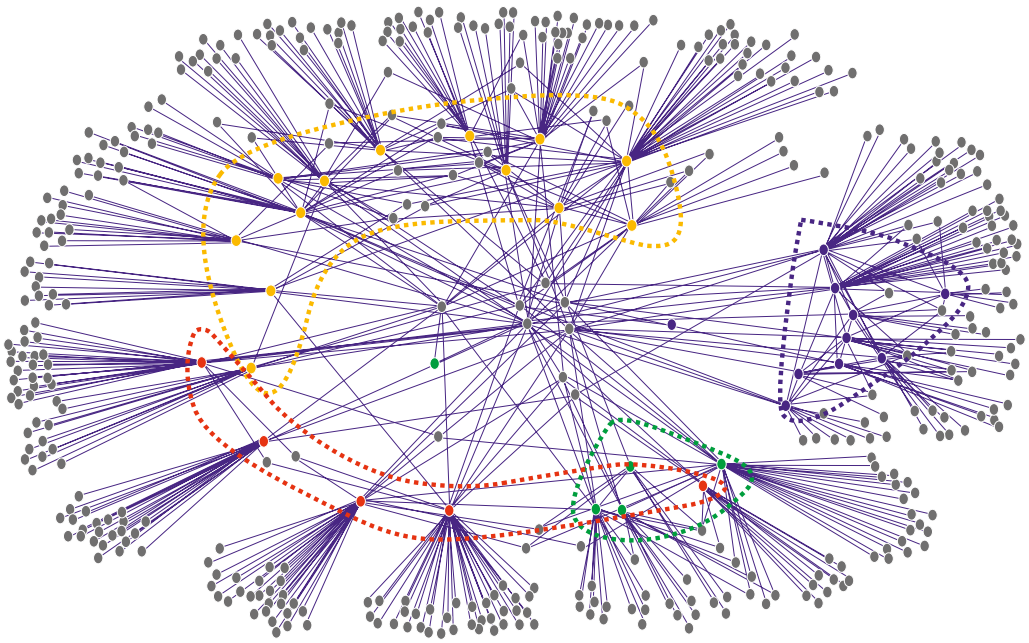
> "Açaí *maniva*, *pacu maniva*, *tucunaré maniva*... my mother, she had them all. She pulled them, she made flour, she extracted their starch, she mixed, she toasted them. This went on all year long."
>
> Conceição Dias, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2007

Seeds, a source of diversity

Usually multiplied by cuttings, the *manivas* do not lose their ability to reproduce through seeds, sometimes sprouting spontaneously in the fields after the burning. The *owner of the field* evaluates the quality of these new plants, which, if she chooses to maintain them, receive a name and begin to enrich the array of existing varieties.

Plants, cuttings, buds, *filhos* (children), and seeds are exchanged among the owners of the field and brought to work, outings and trips to visit relatives, which guarantees a continuous flow of plants on a regional scale.

The farmers form a complex trade network of cultivated plants



Circulation network of cultivated plants organized by farmers in the city of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro. The colored dots represent the farmers who were interviewed during the process of gathering information; the blue ones represent the farmers from the Espírito Santo community; the green ones, the farmers from Tapereira; and the yellow and red dots, the farmers from two of the city's neighborhoods. The gray dots represent plant donors, whether they donate cuttings, seedlings, seeds, or other forms. The line that connects the dots represents the transfer of one or more plants from the donor to the farmer. This network works all the way from Colombia to Manaus, covering over a thousand kilometers.

EMPERAIRE, Laure. *Diversidad agrícola y redes sociales*. In: POCCHETINO, María Lelia; LADIO, Ana H.; ARENAS, Patrícia M. (Eds.). ICEB2009 – Tradiciones & transformaciones en Etnobotánica, Bariloche – Argentina. Cyted-Risapred, 2010.

Pekwera, an animal track

Maniocs from new, mature, or old fields are pulled from small areas, according to the family's flour production needs.

The space that has been vacated is called *pekwera*, or *animal track*. The maniocs are pulled by circling the whole field until coming back to the first *pekwera*, which has already been replanted.

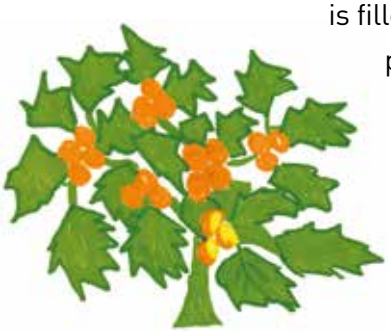
The field may be replanted two or three times, until the farmers decide that the work *is no longer worth it*.

The maniocs are harvested and replanted according to the family's need

shimbillo

As time goes by, the field is packed with diversity

After the *manivas* have been planted, sugar cane, banana, and pineapple are *transplanted* to the new field. The peppers are planted next to the burned trunks. Little by little, the space is filled: yam, sweet potato, Guinea arrowroot, cocona, cackrey, watermelon, pumpkin, and passion fruit are spread out between the trunks.



cocona

In the second year, fruit trees are planted: *abiu*, cashew, shimbillos, Amazon grape, *cupuaçu*, açaí, *bacabinha*. The collection looks like a tangle of plants and burned branches, but each space is used according to the ecological demands of the plants. Thus, the horizon of the field is outlined for the next ten years.

Drawings: [1] shimbillo, Josélia Silva Serrão; [2] cocona, Alberta da Silva Serrão (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

banana tree

"It's good to have all kinds of bananas. I have apple bananas, Cavendish bananas, thief-cheater (because they seem to be ripe, but are not), lady fingers, *cunuri*, and plantains."

Mrs. Luzia, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2007

"When we got to our field, we would take a look at it, and everything was beautiful and clean! We had *manivas*, fruits, *abiu*, cocona, Amazon grape, sugar cane, banana, pineapple, we had everything!"

Hilda Nery, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2007

"We must plant pineapples and *manivas*. When we finish weeding, the pineapple is the pot, the *manivas* go to the *igarapé*, where they bathe and get water in their pot."

Lucrécia Maximiano Avelino, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2007

sugar cane

Guinea arrowroot

Amazon grape

Drawings: [1] banana tree, Luis Fernando Jacinto Almeida; [2] Guinea arrowroot, Alberta da Silva Serrão; [3] sugar cane, Daiane de Oliveira Deno, comunidade Acariquara; [4] Amazon grape, Cleiton Pancracio Barreto (realizados em oficina, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

The food field


açaí

Having several fields guarantees food self-sufficiency. Each couple or family manages two, three, or more fields, each at a different stage – burned, new, ripe, or old.

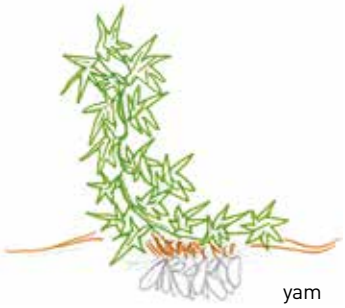
There is a tremendous diversity in the fields: surveys done in three places in the middle Negro River indicated the existence of about 200 cultivated plants, like the manioc varieties and different types of peppers, yams, and bananas. In most cases, this high diversity results from an ancient presence at the location in question.

Preserving the diversity of cultivated plants implies transplanting seedlings and seeds to the new fields. Without the transplantation, the plants get lost in the old fields, being quickly overtaken by the brush.

A family may have several fields and cultivate up to one hundred different plants


moriche palm


banana

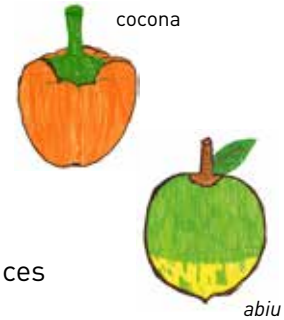

yam

Drawings: [1] açaí, Josélia Silva Serrão; [2] moriche palm, Adailson Pereira, Acariquara community; [3] banana and [4] yam, Vanilsa Alves, Espírito Santo community (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

Capoeira is the forest taking back the cultivated space

When the field gets old, after all the maniocs have been pulled, it becomes a *capoeira*. Little by little, wild species intermingle with the cultivated plants, preparing a new forest-field cycle.

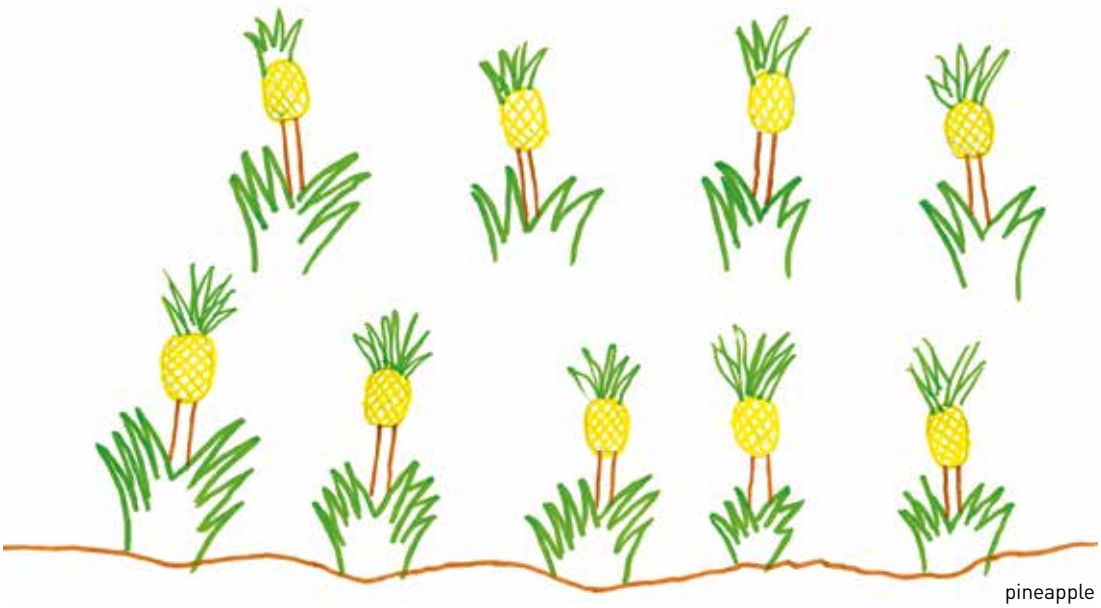
The *capoeira*, however, is not an abandoned or unproductive space. It maintains fruit production and is a reservoir of seedlings and seeds. Some species, such as the peach palm, the *abiu*, the pineapple, and the yam, are able to survive over ten years of forest regeneration.



abiu

Capoeiras can also work as *petecás*, small emergency fields planted in spaces that have been recently abandoned.

A field may go through two, three, and sometimes four cultivation cycles before it is left to become a *capoeira*


pineapple

Drawings: [1] cocona and [2] *abiu*, Luis Fernando Jacinto Almeida; [3] pineapple, Tiago Luciano, Acariquara community (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

The foods

Ways to prepare beijus, caxiris, flours, fish, juquitaias, wine... Ways to consume these products.

Manhê yamumhã yané rymbiú manhê yamumhã meyú, caxiri uwí, pirá, yukitaya iwa yúkisse. Manhê yambaú kuaitá meyú, yambaú pirá, kurara irum ya pisika pirá, yukitaya, yanbaú arám timbiú yrum, wakawa yukisse yaú arám. [nheengatu]

Baarãtirã pehe daresamã ãhû, peêru, po'ká, wa'î, biâ do'keke thonikã yakidika merã sirisẽ daresamo. Diporópi darebake nipã. [tukano]

Koame padenhika pethenai, padzawaro, matsokanai, kophenai, ttíimapanai, lhianayanai ... koame mitha pamatsiataka lipedzalhewa nhaaha wakapali. [baniwa]

Yapunaruka, the oven house

In Nheengatu, *yapunaruka* means "the oven house". Ideally, each family has their own, but, as construction requires time and resources, the space may also be shared by several family units that take turns using it, each occupying it for a day's work.

In the oven house they prepare flour and *beiju* that meet the family's quality standards. Working methods are important, and the artifacts used must be in good condition, otherwise they might break and invalidate all the work.

From a toxic root to a staple food

The manioc is also social integration: sharing it, along with other foods, is a central element in communal relations.

The complex transformation of the toxic manioc roots into food demands knowledge, complex techniques, and special artifacts.

The roots that are pulled out of the soil have different purposes: the white ones, richer in starch, are ground up the same day to make flour; the yellow ones must undergo a process called *pubar* (become softer), remaining immersed in the *igarapé* for two to four days. The next steps can vary, transforming the manioc into flours, starch, *manicuera*, tapioca, *beiju*, and many other foods.

Transforming manioc into food is an art that demands specialized knowledge

Communal oven house shared by several families.

Peeling, washing, grating, and learning

The several steps involved in manioc flour production occur in and around the oven house. The production congregates the family, and the various generations get together to scrape, grate, press, toast, and... talk.

The oven house is a privileged place where knowledge is imparted from mothers to their daughters and sons. The children observe and mimic their actions – they peel the tubers and strain the pulp. Grating the manioc, putting the pulp in the *tipiti*, and roasting it are tasks performed by teenagers and adults.

In the oven house, knowledge is passed on to the newer generations

Even though manioc processing can be done individually, the family usually does it together.

Starch and *manikwera*

Scraping, washing, grating. Taking the resulting pulp to the *kumatá* (a straining basket) and squeezing it. This produces a starchy juice that is decanted after standing for a few hours – the starch at the bottom, the liquid on top.

The starch, which is bright white, is strained to make tapioca, *beiju*, and porridge.

The liquid – called *manikwera* or *manicuera* – is toxic, and can only be ingested after being boiled for several hours, becoming the sweet *manicuera* customarily drunk in the morning. After a day, it sours, becoming *tucupi*, used to season fish or meat soup. When cooked for a longer period, it becomes a dark concentrate that is easier to store.

Manioc flour

The water flour results from a mixture of triturated yellow manioc and grated white or yellow manioc. This mixture is squeezed in the *tipiti*, and the resulting chunks of pulp are strained in the *urupema*, a medium-meshed strainer.

With the help of a large calabash, the strained pulp – *umuã* – is gradually placed in a metal oven plate, which must have been heated and cleaned with a small piassava brush. Still moist, the flour is continuously stirred with a spatula called *tarubá*. After being lightly toasted, the flour is strained again, this time in a finer-meshed strainer, then placed back in the toaster until it becomes very dry.

The work is exhausting, not to mention the heat, the steam, and the smoke. Careful attention is required to ensure the right degree of roast.

Well-prepared manioc flour is golden yellow, and can be stored for several months

Drawing by Feliciano Lana, a Desana artist

Tapioca

Tapioca flour is produced by sifting starch in a fine-meshed strain and rapidly roasting it in a hot oven plate, a work that requires experience.

In the Desana myths, the primordial being who gave origin to the world and to all human beings created itself from six mysterious things, among which is a calabash containing tapioca flour and its braided stand.

Massoca

The *massoca*, or *maçuka* in Nheengatu, is a fine flour prepared with different varieties of white manioc. The roots are steeped in water for three days, and the starch is not removed. After being peeled, grated, and squeezed twice in the *tipiti*, they become a very dry pulp that is sifted in a fine-meshed strainer and slowly roasted at low temperatures before being sifted again.

Massoca, a fine flour that is toilsome to make, is a delicacy

Beijus

Starch *beiju*, *cica beiju*, *pé de moleque*, *kuradá*, thin *beiju*, roasted *beiju* for the *caxiri*...
The types of *beiju* vary according to their ingredients, size, and thickness.

Beijus are prepared by the women, who use their hands to spread the white or yellow manioc pulp over the oven plate, forming a circle that is roasted on one side, then turned with a straw fan.

Beiju molds, known as *wheels*, come in different sizes and are made out of the inner bark of the *turi* tree.

[1] *kuradá beiju*; [2] starch *beiju*; [3] deer hide *beiju*; [4] *cica beiju*

Drawings by Feliciano Lana, a Desana artist

Baniwa *beiju*

In order to make this type of *beiju*, the sifted pulp is scalded and sifted again. After that, it is placed on the circular oven plate, where the woman shapes the borders and lets it cook, using a straw fan to turn the *beiju*, which is sliced in the end. Roasted for a longer period and sundried, the *beijus* may be stored for several weeks or even months.

Cica beiju

Small and thin, *cica beijus* are very popular. This delicacy is indispensable during the religious festivities called *Festas de Santo*, celebrated in the Negro River communities and towns.

Kuradá beiju

The *kuradá* type *beijus*, made with a mixture of manioc pulp and starch, must be eaten quickly, as they have a short shelf life.

Pé de moleque

Made with soft manioc pulp mixed with sugar and nuts, the *pé de moleque* is roasted in a banana leaf.

A rich cuisine

The foods commonly eaten in the Negro River combine fresh produce from the fields and a great variety of fish and peppers. Cooking is an essential part of everyday life, also playing an important role during festivities and rituals. It is a vital element of social and cultural life.

We can also find manioc in myths, fish in braided patterns, and peppers in ritual blessings.

Other foods include fruits, potatoes, yams and palm trees, like the peach palm, the *tucumã*, the moriche palm. The *bacaba* and *açaí* "wines". Game – birds and mammals. Raised hens. Insects, such as leafcutter and *maniuára* ants, as well as the larva of the *muxiwa* beetle, found on the palm trees. Finally, numerous resources, utensils, and preparation techniques retain Indigenous features in their cuisine.

Peppers

peppers

Peppers are an important ingredient that is commonly used in everyday life, both in the material and symbolic planes.

Essential during blessings, they provide protection for the body. A vital cooking ingredient, they can be used in soups or eaten fresh, squeezed with salt as a garnish.

The main form of consumption is the *jiquitaia*, made with dry and ocasionally smoked peppers, which are then mashed and often mixed with salt.

Another preparation process is a liquid seasoning called *arubé*, made with a mixture of water, lightly fermented puba pulp (steeped or macerated manioc), and pepper chunks.

Murupi, de urubu, uiramiri ceçá.... there's a huge variety of peppers in the Negro River fields

pepper plant

Drawings: [1] peppers, Cleiton Pancracio Barreto; [2] pepper plant, Vanilsa Alves, Espírito Santo community (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

Fish

The types of fish eaten vary according to location, season, and fishing technic, the most common ones being the redtail catfish, the *surubim*, the peacock bass, the *aracu*, and the *pacu*.

Consumed almost every day, the fish can be prepared in several ways. The most common preparation technique is to boil the fish with seasonings. A spicy soup called *kiyapirá* or *quinhampira*, eaten with *beiju*, is the most typical Indigenous food in the Negro River. If it's shredded with pepper and mixed with a manioc flour base, it's called *muyéka*; if the base is starch, it's *kudiari*. If it's wrapped in leaves and roasted, it's called *pupeka*.

The fish may be salted, sundried, or grilled over smoke, when it is laid on a wooden grate over the fire. If after this it is mashed and seasoned with pepper, it becomes *piracuí*, a fish flour.

Roasting and grilling are done by men and women. Cooking in pots is done by women.

pot with *quinhampira*

pupeka

moquém

Drawings: [1] pot with *quinhampira*, Josélia Silva Serrão; [2] *pupeka* and [3] *moquém*, Alberta da Silva Serrão (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

Tucupi

Tucupi is a very popular seasoning obtained from *manicuera*. It is used in fish or meat soups, but it is highly toxic if not properly cooked.

Meals

On weekdays, the members of the family gather in their home kitchens. Hot porridge is the traditional breakfast food. At noon or in the afternoon, they usually eat fish with *beiju* or flour. In the evening, a light meal.

On Sundays, the meal takes on a festive atmosphere. In the communal center, the families share the foods, each married woman taking whatever dish she has prepared. The long table is filled with big pots containing fish soup; in the smaller pots, other fish based foods. There are calabashes and other vessels with flours, *beijus*, fresh fruits, and drinks like the indispensable *chibé*.

Family and collectivity: the food consumption methods reflect society

The artifacts

Aturás, sifters, *tipitis*, and other objects speak the language of the hands. Made at home, in the community, or further away; inherited, brought, taken, exchanged, or bought, they all have a history.

Watura, urupema, tipiti itá, amunongara itá, yamunyawa itá, yane ipú irum, yaneruka upé, yanerendawa upé. Apecatú kiti umusasáwa, ururiwá, tarasuwá, yayumewá, yapiripanawá, panhé taricú umbeu sá. [nheengatu]

Darebarã kiose niĩ. Wípi dareke nisa. Apeyere makarĩpi daresama. Masĩgi wereosanii, darekepa duusama apêye maa. Kiti kiosediakĩ nisa. [tukano]

Tsheeto, dopittí, tirolipi nheette phiome phaa nhaaha padeenhinipe pakapi iyo. Padenhinana panttiriko, dzakaleriko oo yakatsakha, padzenetakanhaa, padekanhaa, petakanhaa koayo katsa oo paventakatsa, phiome nhaa nalhio nanakoapaninaa. [baniwa]

The artifacts in the oven house

The objects in the oven house can be handcrafted, such as *tipitis*, baskets, and straw fans, or have industrial origin, such as knives, bowls, and the metal roasting plate that is the main oven component.

The most treasured objects are the handcrafted ones, of individual ownership. With the exception of cargo baskets, most objects are used and stored in the oven house itself, and must not be taken from there. The objects belong to their makers' wives, who lend them to their daughters-in-law who work in the same oven house.

Drawing by Alberta da Silva Serrão (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

Container baskets, *urutu*.

The objects also work

The same way humans are integrated in a collective work, artifacts also act, partner, and "work" inside the oven house. An object's particular ability to act gives it a value that distinguishes it from the others.

Some objects work alone – the knife that peals the manioc, the grater that shreds it. Others work together with other objects: a straining basket that is associated with a stand and the bowl that collects the liquid from the grated and squeezed manioc pulp is among its "companions," working with them in a joint effort, the *ajuri*.

Drawing by Cecília Braga da Silva (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

Plait-work

Most plaited objects belong in the oven house, where they play both a utilitarian and a symbolic role. Cargo baskets, *tipitis*, straining baskets, and straw fans reveal complex environmental, technical, and aesthetic knowledge.

The straining basket made by the Tukano and the Baniwa as well as the Maku's cargo basket are these peoples' specialties, being sold and exchanged during the *dabukuri* rituals.

Plaited objects have a prominent position among male knowledge and activities

The natural fibers used to make plaited objects come from plants such as the *arumã*, vines, and palm trees harvested from the dry land, *igapós*, and old *capoeiras*.

Pinima, the paintings on the plait-work

Plait-work techniques are patterns imbued with meaning and identified from elements of the local fauna and flora. Some patterns are found in several artifacts, while others are exclusive to the cargo basket.

The patterns of the cargo baskets represent their "paintings" – *pinima* – because they embellish them, like the *tamuatá pirêra* (armored catfish skin) or the *jandiá acanga* (three-barbeled catfish head). The finishes on the edges are also *pinimas*, like the *buia kãwera* (snake bone).

In order to attain a beautiful pattern for the basketry – *pinima poranga* –, one must employ vine bands that have the same width.

Different types of *pinimas*: [1] *tamuatá pirêra*; [2 and 3] *jandiá acanga*; [4] *buya kãwera.*

Kumatá, the straining basket

The straining basket can be round or square. It is called *kumatá* in Nheengatu, *thompa* in Tukano, and *tirolí* in Baniwa.

Made out of thin strips of unpeeled *arumã* and the edges of vines, the straining basket's mesh is very tight. The patterns in these baskets are specific: *çaiwaarapé* (path of the leafcutter ant), *uruábunda* (snail tracks), and *waçaira'a* (*açaí* leaf).

This type of sifter is used to extract juice from palm tree fruits and to dry several kinds of peppers. Its main use, however, is to extract starch and *manikwera* (the main ingredient in *tucupi*) from the grated manioc pulp.

Its use requires a tripod made out of *envira* sticks and called *çuaçu* in Nheengatu, *ñamá* in Tukano, and *diutu* in Baniwa, words that mean "deer" in all the three languages.

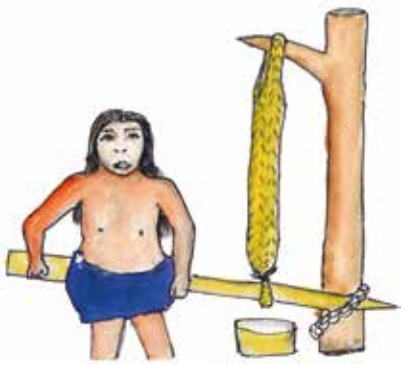
Squeezing the wild manioc pulp in the *kumatá* is a skill that children learn from a very early age

Drawing by Feliciano Lana, a Desana artist

The *tipiti*

The *tipiti* is a device that can be stretched, squeezing the grated manioc pulp and gradually extruding the toxic liquid, which drips down through the interstices of its plaited mesh.

The equipment used to stretch the *tipiti* is set up in the back of the oven house. It consists of a beam that's been driven into the ground, which has a protuberance where the upper loop of the *tipiti* hangs from; a pole is inserted through the bottom loop of the *tipiti* and forced down by a heavy weight; and a beveled post is used to hold the pole in place and regulate the system.



Drawings by Feliciano Lana, a Desana artist

The *tipiti*'s plait-work

Special plait-work techniques transform strips of unpeeled *arumã* into a *tipiti*. Because of its shrinking and stretching movements, the Indigenous people in the Negro River associate the *tipiti* with the anaconda.

The tipiti's plait work form patterns that have names and meaning: *akutiraya* (teeth of the agouti), *pirarukupirêra* (*pirarucu* scales), and *iaráiwa* (trunk of the piassava palm).

> "In the old days, if you didn't make a *tipiti* you could not get married, but now they don't even know how to make a *waturá* and they are already getting married."
>
> Francisco Alemão, Tabocal dos Pereira, 1999

Waturá, the cargo basket

Aturá or *waturá,* in Nheengatu, is the cargo basket made and used especially by the Baré. Another type of cargo basket, the *mãi*, is manufactured by the Maku speaking people groups, being also used by the Tukano, who call it *pii misin*, and by the Baniwa, who call it *tsetu*.

A cargo basket tells a story. Made by the hands of men, it is transfered, exchanged, taken, and brought, sold or bought at nearby or distant places.

Even though the *waturá* is made by men, it is mainly used by women. Its chief use is to transport produce from the field. It is related to the condition of the woman and her productive activity, the field and the food.

What makes the *waturá* unique are its dimensions: the medium-sized one is the most common, used to transport manioc, potatoes, fruits, or lumber; the smaller ones are used for domestic chores and to store odds and ends.

The cargo basket shares some attributes with human beings, having a *body*, as do sifters, *tipitis*, and straw fans. In a cargo basket, the external part is the *chest*, designated as *big* and *robust*; the interior corresponds to the *entrails*, and the edge, to the *lips*.

"It's good to carry the *waturá* when it is new because it is firm and does not hurt the back. When it is old, it bulges and becomes soft, then the manioc pokes the back."

Zulmira Serafim, Espírito Santo community, 2007

Drawing by Alberta da Silva Serrão (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

The life of a *waturá*

A *waturá* begins to be woven from the base out of the long strips of the *uambé* vine. Before it has a handle, it can be used to store clothes and hammocks. When the *envira* handle is added, the basket is completed, being now appreciated and valued.

Hung from a beam inside the home or the oven house, it is never placed on the ground, as the humidity would cause it to rot. When it becomes worn out by use, the basket no longer accompanies its owner to the fields – it remains in a kitchen corner, being used as a storage place for seeds, nuts, and charcoal.

> **"It must be kept inside the house, otherwise it falls quickly to pieces. Its butt cannot get wet, and that is why it must be hung or placed upside down on the raised indoor platform."**
>
> Maria das Dores Oliveira, Espírito Santo community, 2007

The straw fans

Straw fans can be made by men and women using the closed leaves of several palms: *tucum*, *caroá*, *tucumã*, *buçu*.

The most popular straw fans are shaped like a heart, an art of the Tukanoan-speaking peoples. They are called *weninó* when used to fan the fire, and *weninó sumuatiró* when used to turn *beiju*.

The Baré make a roundish straw fan called *tapekwa*.

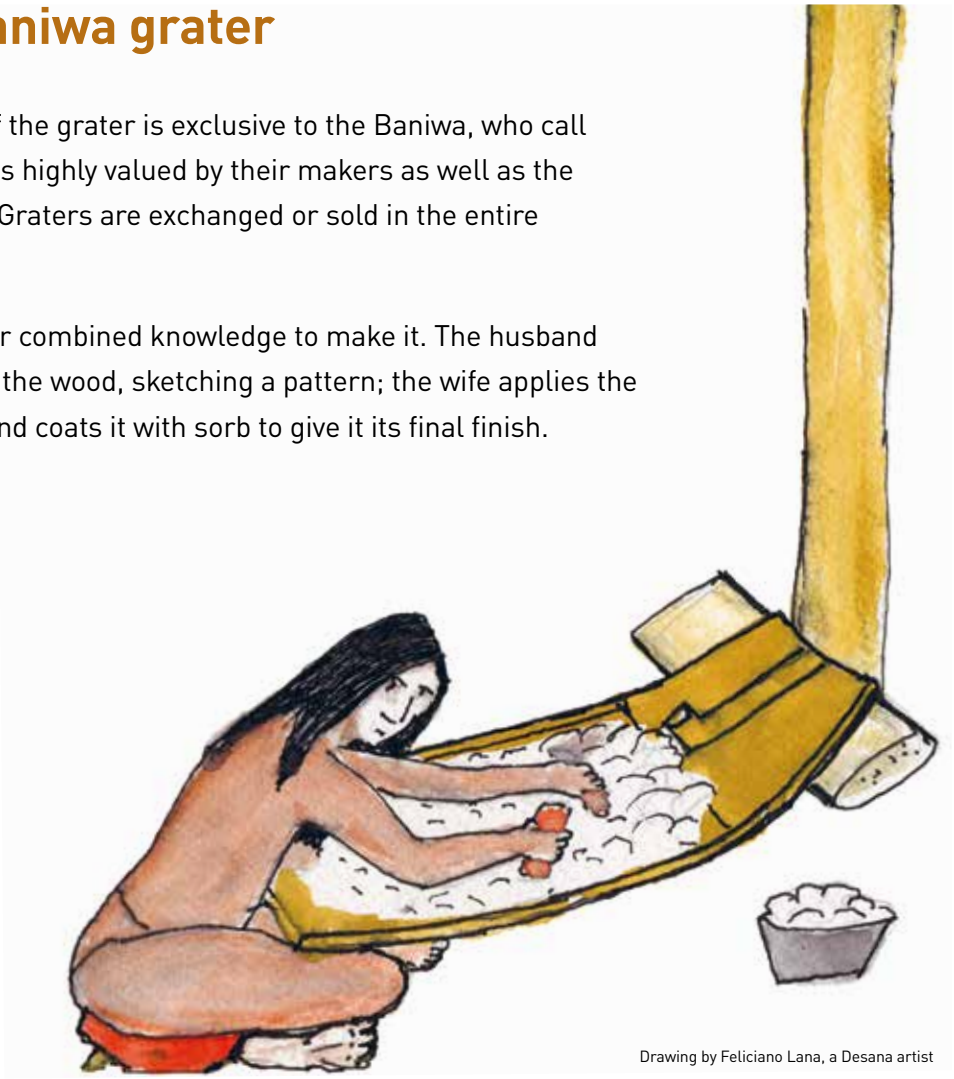
The fan is used individually by women to prepare food, but men can also use it to fan the fire.

Drawing by Alberta da Silva Serrão (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

Ada, the Baniwa grater

The manufacture of the grater is exclusive to the Baniwa, who call it *ada*. This artifact is highly valued by their makers as well as the women who use it. Graters are exchanged or sold in the entire Negro River region.

The couple use their combined knowledge to make it. The husband gathers and carves the wood, sketching a pattern; the wife applies the quartz fragments and coats it with sorb to give it its final finish.



Drawing by Feliciano Lana, a Desana artist

The quartz fragments form patterns such as the *kuhiapu* (path of the leafcutter ant), but the grater also has patterns that are painted with natural inks, the most common ones representing butterflies.

The diversity of raw materials and artifacts

Manioc processing employs other utensils such as wooden troughs, graters, spatulas, and basket stands, made mainly out of wood, which is also used to produce canoes, boats, and paddles.

tarubás (the big one, used to stir flour; the small one, to make *beiju*)

mortar and pestle

The women make whisks for the porridge, little brooms, and *beiju* molds. They cut the sticks used to dig trenches in the fields. They work with fibers and leaves, rods and bowls. Some of them are potters, making portable stoves out of clay taken from riverbanks.

The men make spatulas, sugarcane mills, and the raised indoor platform They build the base for the big ovens out of clay.

Drawings: [1] *tarubás*, Alberta da Silva Serrão; [2] mortar and pestle, Cecilia Braga da Silva (made during a workshop, Santa Isabel do Rio Negro, 2015)

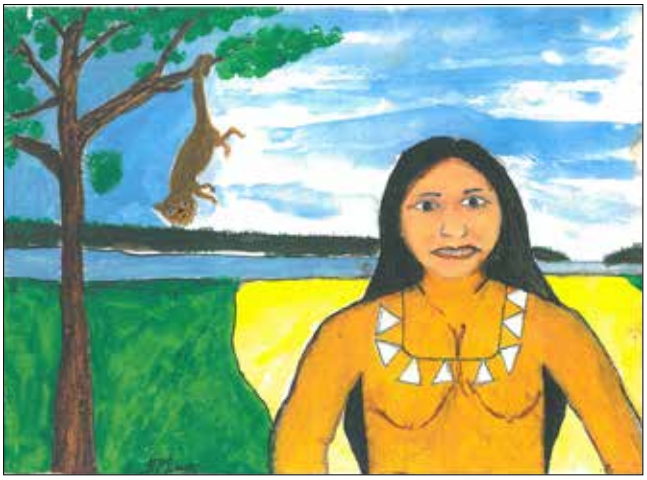
Baribó

A manioc story

Drawings and text by Feliciano Lana

1

The food god is Baribó.
Baribó is among the fruits and plants in the field.



2

Baribó's wife.
She is related to the potbellied monkey.

3 e 4

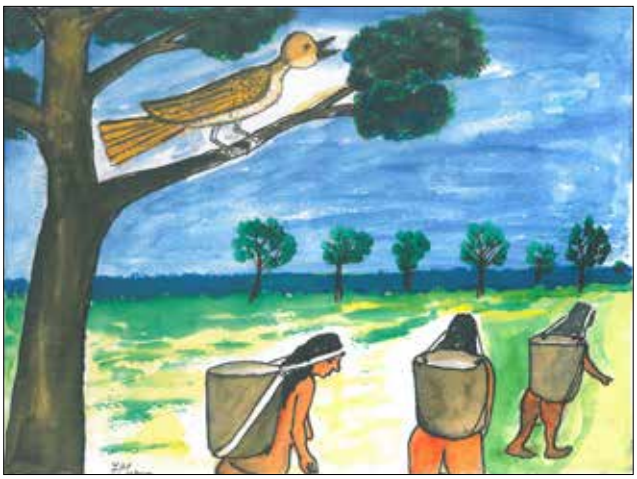
Baribó had two sons. Presently, they are both in the constellations. One of them is the star Yamí yoãriru, or Arctic polar star. Every night it appears in the West. The other one is the star Doé, or Antarctic polar star. Every night it appears in the East at about 3 o'clock in the morning. The masculine and feminine images are Doé and his wife.

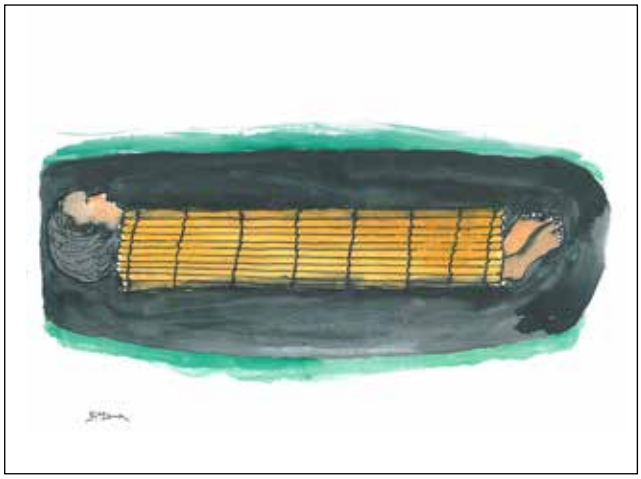
5

Very concerned after finding out that his son had died, Baribó became a Japú bird and ended up in the field at the neighboring village. The two women are people of the field. The Japú bird is Baribó. The women said that the Japú bird is looking for the owner; they have heard that one of Baribó's sons has vanished and has not turned up yet. Regarding the news of the death, there are no complete details.

6

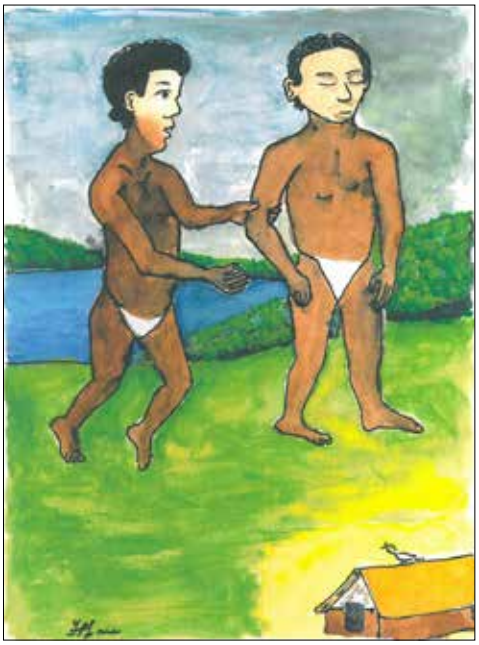
Baribó covered himself with the skin of another type of birdie called Kayaró. When it sings, "Kayá, kayá, kayá, kayá," it announces someone's death. That is what it did. In this picture, it began singing on the path womenfolk take to go to the field. When they heard the kayaró's song, the women began to talk about the news that Baribó's son killed himself out of jealousy, after cutting off his penis. He wrapped the penis in a mat, took it under the harbor, and buried it in a lagoon.





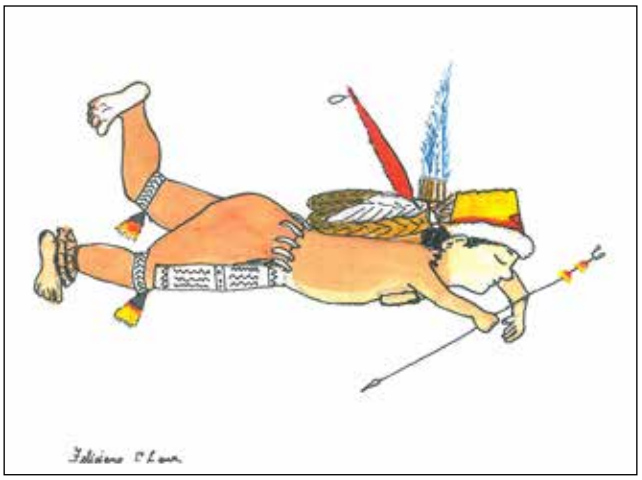
7

After hearing the women's comments, Baribó went back home quickly. He looked and found his son dead. Baribó began to bless him, and the son came back to life. Only he did not have a penis, it had been cut off. But Baribó did everything he could. He looked for a mushroom called moon's penis and put this penis in place of the amputated one.



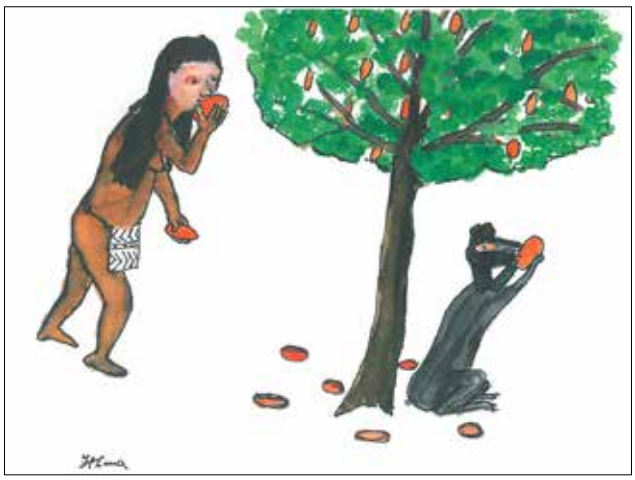
8

In this picture, we see a man holding the other with his left hand. It is Baribó taking his live son home. Suddenly, the other son notices that his dead brother was risen and is coming back. In this picture, we see a birdie on the roof ridge of the house. It sings, saying, "The ghost of the resurrected son is coming." When he heard that, Baribó passed out and could no longer resist.



9

All decked out, Baribó is lying down after fainting from sorrow for the death of his son. Seeing this, his wife touched him to see if he was alive, thank God he woke up. She knew that, if he died, there would be no manioc in the world.

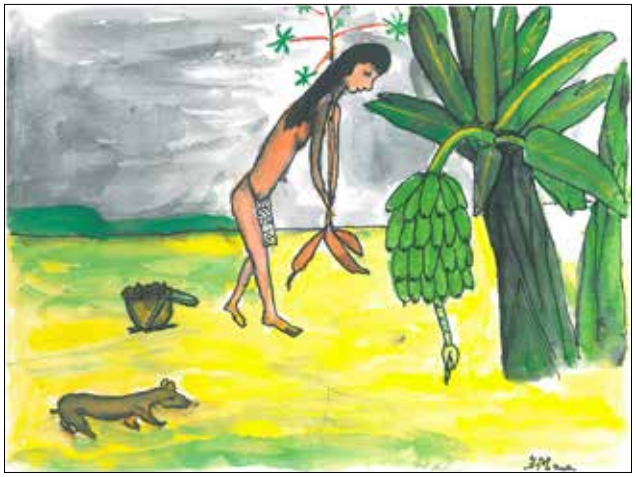


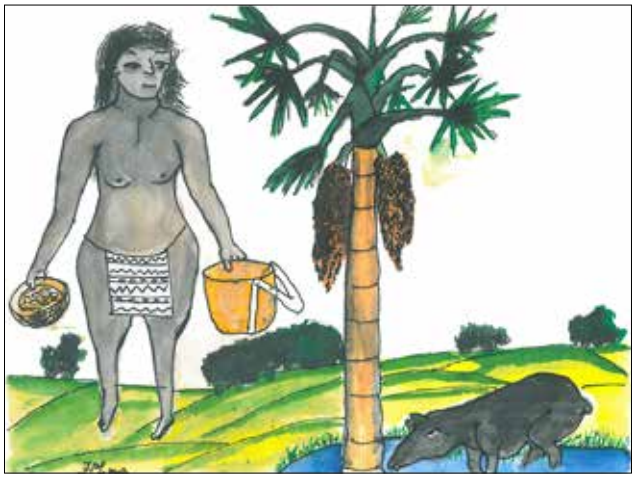
10

People agouti woman.
Her eye contour is reddish.

11

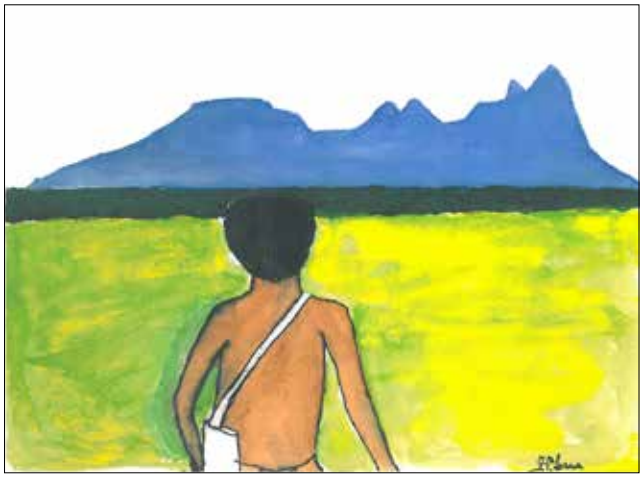
People *acutivaia* woman,
her body is very skinny.





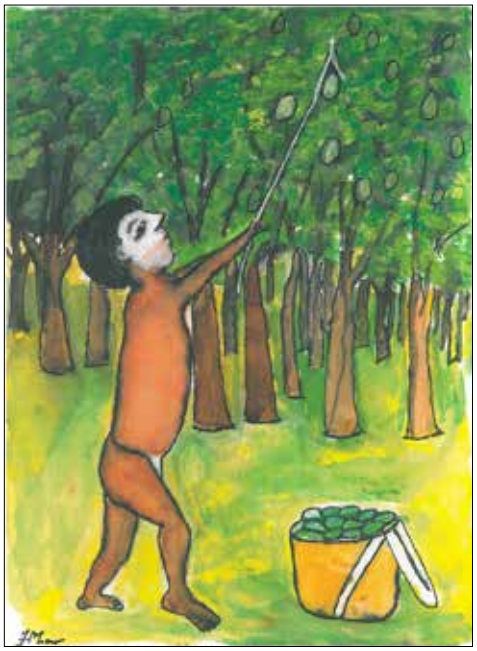
12

People tapir woman, a voluptuous,
beautiful dark-skinned woman,
but with skinny legs.



13

In this picture, Baribó is almost arriving at Wariró's house.

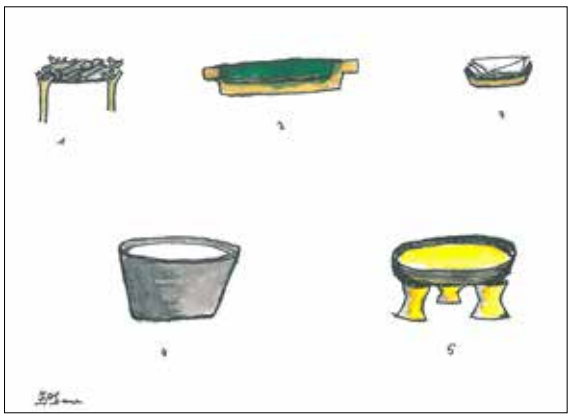


14

Before Baribó arrived, Wariró only ate wild fruits, as shown in this picture: Wariró gathering fruits.

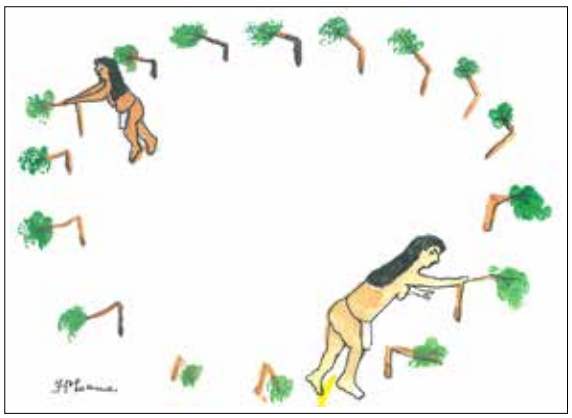
15

Baribó eats *beiju* made with wild fruits. It has no taste.



16

[1] *Moquém*; [2] Wooden trough for *caxiri*;
[3] Basket with *beiju*; [4] Big pot with starch;
[5] Pot with *manicuera*



17

Baribó had the size of the field measured.

18

Baribó sets fire to himself in the field.

19

Baribó makes an *aturá* basket to carry manioc.

20

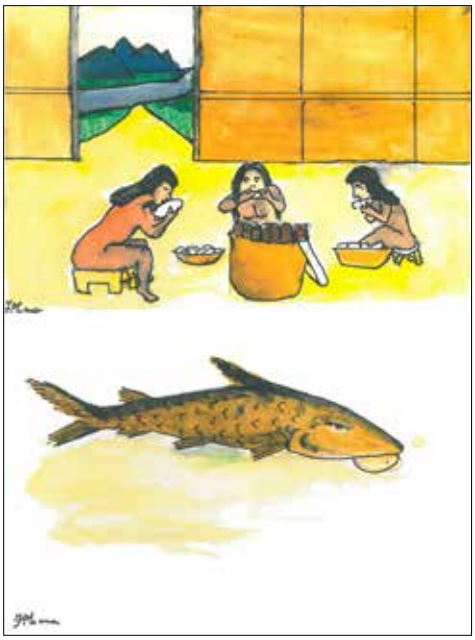
That day, when they pulled the manioc, it came out very clean, without the peel, as seen in this picture.

21

Baribó always told the women, "When you get home, do not eat right away, first grate the maniocs. This way, the maniocs will always stay peeled."

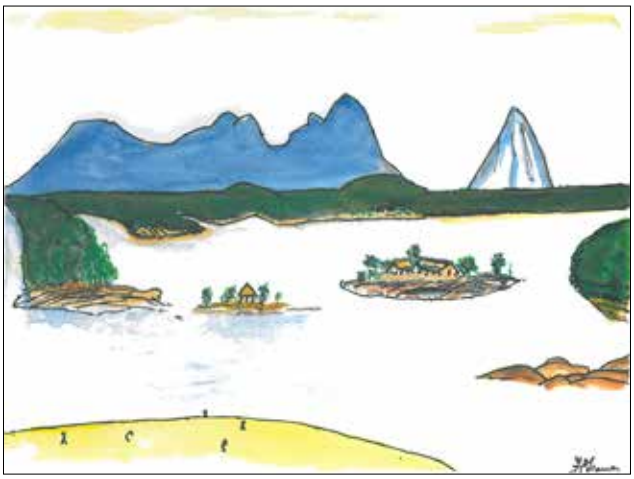
22

One day, the women were very hungry when they came home from the field, and began to eat, disobeying Baribó. While they were eating, all the maniocs that were very clean in the *aturás* became covered with peels again.



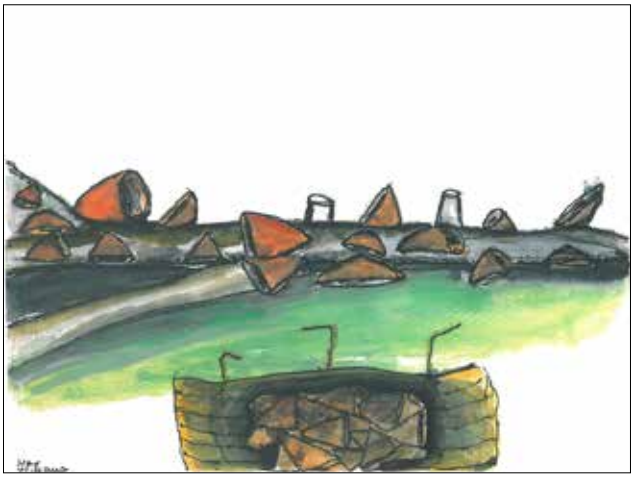
23

In order to scrape the maniocs, they invited women-people *bodó* fish. After using their teeth or their mouths to scrape all that manioc, they damaged their mouths, and their lips became engorged. The *bodó* fish are like this to this day.



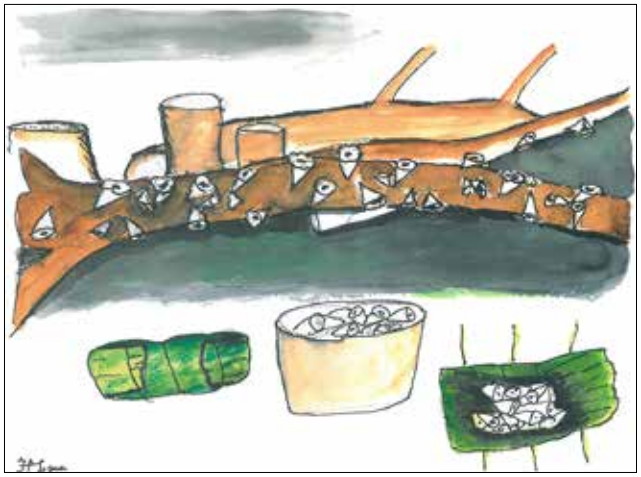
24

After he arrived at Wariró's house, Baribó never went back to his land. He stayed here in the region of São Gabriel da Cachoeira. Bela Adormecida is Wariró's house. The peak next to it is Baribó's house = Tipiaca.



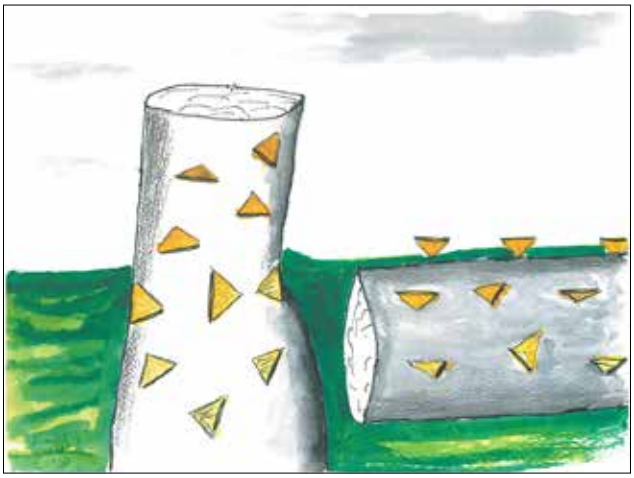
25

Baribó is powerful to produce food. He made several types of foods appear in the field, without anyone ever planting them. In the picture, we see a mushroom called ëyrí. In order to eat it, we make *popeca*, roast it in the fire, and eat it.



26

A white mushroom called *heká*.
It is eaten the same way.



27

Taiká mushroom, to make *quinhapira*.

28

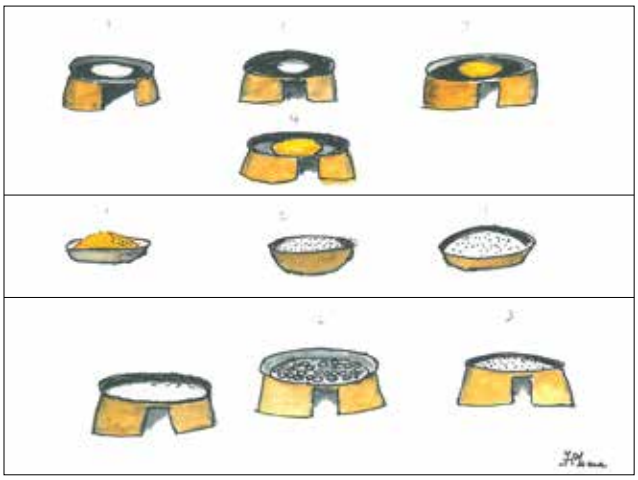
Green amaranth = yamá-pũ
The leaves are cooked. They are used to make *quinhapira* [a spicy soup] with fish.

29

[top] 1. *curadá beiju*; 2. starch *beiju* with the sludge; 3. *molho beiju*; 4. deer hide *beiju*

[middle] 1. yellow flour; 2. tapioca flour; 3. *preguiça* flour

[bottom] 1. *maçorca* [fine flour]; 2. *cica beiju*; 3. dry flour

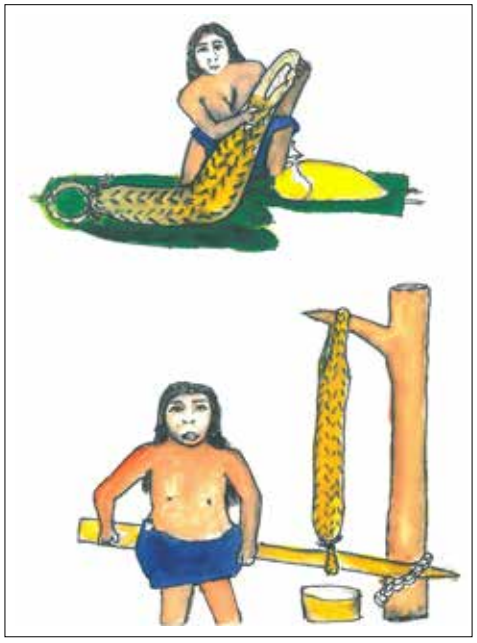


30

Quinhapira with *maniva* leaves
1. *Quinhapira*
2. *Quinhapira kipũ*
3. *Warubé* [pepper sauce]
4. *Tucupi*

31

Flour factory

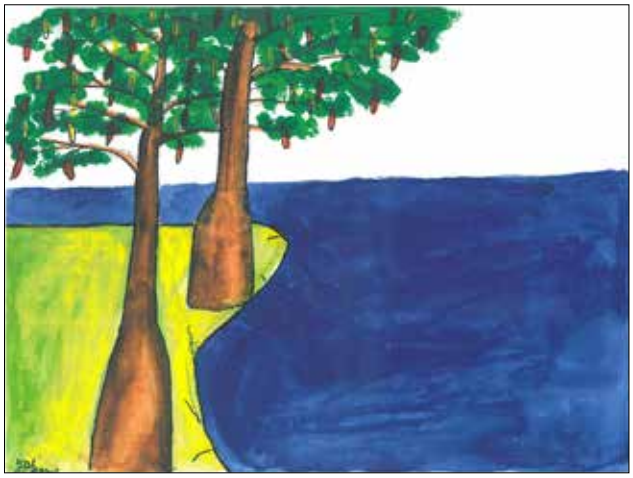


32

Flour factory

(a) Put the pulp in the *tipiti*

(b) *Tipicando* [squeezing in the *tipiti*]

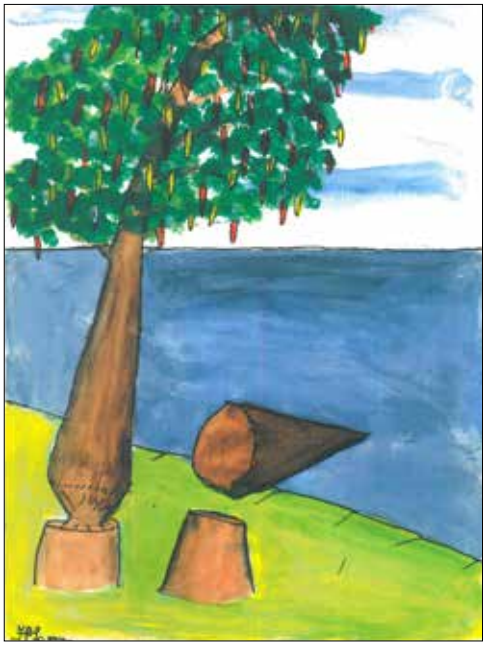


33

Two hernia trees: a male and a female. There were two trees in the world called *wayúku*: instead of fruits, they bore regional dance adornments, or bird feathers. The humans in the world knew that all those feathers were meant to be future maniocs for humans to eat. Because there was no manioc in the world. In order to get that, all the humans gathered to fell the trees.

34

To fell them, they used a stone axe at the time; that is why it took such a long time for them to fall. At each stroke of the axe, the trunk would get thicker, as this picture shows. The first tree that fell was a male tree and it went down to the bottom of the water. They did not get any feathers.



35

Female tree fallen atop the raft made of *ambaúba*, *mologó*, and others, all made with light trees. This way, humans got feathers so they could have *maniva* or manioc.

PRODUCTION

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