

Notes for Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's *The Inconstancy of the Indian Soul*

page number

1. "You who have traveled"... Vieira 2001 [1657]: 424-425.
3. "A.-C. Taylor has observed"... Taylor 1984: 233 n 8.
4. "...the contrast drawn by Gilberto Freyre"... Freyre 1954 [1933]: 214-5.
4. "the people of these lands"... Vieira 2001 [1657]: 422.
4. "Other peoples are unbelieving"... Vieira 2001 [1657]: 423.
5. "Serafim Leite, the historian of the Society of Jesus... the amorphous nature of the savage soul"... Leite 1938: 7-11.
5. "They are very inconstant and changeable"... Gandavo 1980 [1576]: 122, cf. also page 142, where inconstancy appears in the context of catechism.
5. "Behold the inconstancy of this poor people"... Léry 1980 [1578]: 193-4.
5. "Others say that they are inconstant"... Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 244.
6. "They are great lovers of wine"... Évreux 1975 [1614]: 85.
6. "They are inconstant, and variable"... Vasconcelos 1977 [1663]: I, 103.
6. "They were false and unfaithful..." Varnhagen 1959 [1854]: 51.
6. "...the importation of African labor was frequently justified"... Freyre 1954 [1933]: 316-8.
6. "[The earlier inhabitants of the land] accommodated themselves"... Buarque de Holanda 1956 [1936]: 43.
7. "A man who has no arguments of his own about anything"... Aristotle 1939/1989 [4<sup>th</sup> century BC]: 1006a1-15.
7. "forms no judgment, but 'thinks'"... Aristotle 1939/1989 [4<sup>th</sup> century BC]: 1008b5-10.
7. "Do you know what is the greatest difficulty"... Nóbrega 1556-7 in Leite 1956-8: II, 322.
8. "It is a people of very weak memory"... Pires 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 323.
8. "the barbarous actions and habits"... Vieira 2001 [1657]: 425.
8. "These heathens are not like the heathens surrounding the early church"... Nóbrega 1553 in Leite 1956 8: I, 452.
8. "The impediments that keep the Indians"... Anchieta 1933 [1584]: 333.
9. "Conversion depended on an anthropology capable"... Pagden 1982: 100-2.
10. "vomit of old habits" ... Anchieta 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 194.
11. "As Menget notes"... Menget 1985: 192.
12. "Religion as a cultural system"... Geertz 1966.
13. "The Jesuits... disastrously separated the sacred and the profane"... Pagden 1982: 78.
13. "Ever since Métraux"... Métraux 1979 [1928].
13. "the theme of the 'Land without Evil'"... H. Clastres 1975.
13. "Acosta's third category of barbarians"... Pagden 1982: 64-72.
13. "Serafim Leite ventures a delicious sophism"... Leite 1938: 12-13.
15. "they say that they want to be like us...;" "they wish to be Christians like us"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 111-139.
15. "in the veneration of temples"... Vieira 1957 [no date]: 231.
16. "Hans Staden had already confronted indigenous sarcasm"... Staden 1974 [1557]: 100.
16. "Léry's *tyvire*"... Léry 1980 [1578]: 200.
16. "As if these alien constructs"... Lévi-Strauss 1991: 292.
16. "It was as if the unheard-of belonged to tradition"... Hugh-Jones 1988: 149.

16. "An 'opening to the Other' characteristic of Amerindian thought"... Lévi-Strauss 1991: 16.
17. "Stories of cultural contact and change"... Clifford 1988: 344.
19. "All those who talk to us say that they want to be like us, only that they have no way of covering themselves like us"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 111.
20. "Also a king of this country, named Pinda-Houssoub"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 85-6.
21. "after an exposition of Tupinambá personal eschatology"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 84-5.
21. "They do not have certainty of any god"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 136.
21. "Here a few letters is enough"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 142.
21. "Pero Correia tells of the leaders' desire to learn the faith"... Correia 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 220.
21. "And in regards to the heathens of this land"... Nunes 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 234-5.
22. "The news of the Final Judgment caused great marveling"... Rodrigues 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 410.
22. "Their plan is for us to give them much life"... Pires 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 325.
22. "Because they think that we can give them health"... Lourenço 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 44.
22. "might give them an abundance of provisions"... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 199.
22. "If we ourselves fear our sorcerers"... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 204-5.
22. "pray to him that he give me long life"... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 210.
23. "See Thevet on the appeals to Villegagnon: 'make it so that we do not die at all'"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 20.
23. "Baptismal water, a powerful pathogenic vector"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 143; Pires 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 395-7; Grã 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 133-4; Sá 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 18-20.
23. "Furthermore, it was believed that baptismal water ruined the meat of prisoners"... Lourenço 1553 in Leite 1956-8: I, 517-8; Correia 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 67-8.
23. "[Since] I saw them together"... Lourenço 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 44.
23. "[T]he fact of speaking about death close by them"... Grã 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 137.
25. "All of this nonsense is called by a general word"... Anchieta 1933 [1584]: 332.
25. "I will spend no other time"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 82; see also Léry 1980 [1578]: 193-4.
26. "...to the 'origin of short life' theme analyzed by Lévi-Strauss"... Lévi-Strauss 1964.
26. "foundation of the human condition, that is, the social and mortal condition"... H. Clastres 1975.
26. "successeurs et vrais enfans"... Thevet 2006 [1585-88]: 152.
26. "For Thevet, the French were taken as children of Maire Monan"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 41.
27. "Anchieta believed that the use of the term *Mair* for the French"... Anchieta 1933 [1584]: 332.
27. "Montoya argued that the Guarani form *caraíba*"... 1876 [1640]: 90v.
28. "Not Thevet, but rather Abbeville, directly present us"... Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 60-1.
28. "For example, in the Upper Xingu"... Agostinho 1974: M2.
28. "...the Barasana"... Hugh-Jones 1988.
28. "...Abbeville also detects in Tupinambá myth"... Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 251-2.
28. "the Maku account concerns the Maku/ Tukano difference"... Ramos et al. 1980: 168.
28. "R. DaMatta, in pioneering works"... DaMatta 1970, DaMatta 1973.
28. "More recently, Lévi-Strauss"... Lévi-Strauss 1991.
28. "*The Raw and the Cooked*"... Lévi-Strauss 1964.
29. "among the Araweté it is associated with the *Mai*"... Viveiros de Castro 1986.

29. "The Piro studied by Gow"... Gow 1991a: 245.
30. "the 'vision of paradise'"... Buarque de Holanda 1969.
31. "the difference between gods and humans"... Viveiros de Castro 1986.
31. "the various commentaries on the 'great honor'"... Anchieta 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 77; Anchieta 1563 in Leite 1956-8: III, 549; Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 201-2; Abbeville 1965 [1614]: 63.
31. "It was in terms of this same idea of honor"... Correia 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 227; Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 411; Cardim 1978 [c.1584]: 114.
32. "A key question of the indigenous religion"... Clastres 1975, Viveiros de Castro 1986, Combrès 1992.
33. "the Apapocuva of Nimuendaju"... Nimuendaju 1987 [1914].
33. "See also the Wayãpi"... Gallois 1988.
33. "...and the Araweté"... Viveiros de Castro 1986.
33. "Hélène Clastres argues"... Clastres 1975: 35.
33. "Anchieta tells an anecdote"... Anchieta 1563 in Leite 1956-8: III, 560.
33. "P. Gow tells how the Piro"... Gow 1991b, Gow 1991c.
33. "H. Clastres' hypothesis"... Clastres 1975: 63.
34. "They also came to adopt morning preaching"... Correia 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 220.
34. "...the same immunity that protected"... Cardim 1978 [1583]: 186.
35. "They even met, with appropriate mental reservations"... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 199.
35. "To requests for cures and long life"... Azpicuelta 1550 in Leite 1956-8: I, 180.
35. "And they accepted, slightly concerned"... Sá 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 40.
35. "I took pains to meet"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 144.
35. "...seeing the trust that the Fathers enjoyed"... Rodrigues 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 320.
37. "whichever one among them wants to make himself their god"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 137-8.
37. "there are among them some whom they fear"... Correia 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 231.
37. "shamans and prophets benefited from 'immense prestige'"... Clastres 1975: 42.
38. "The heathen, who seem to take as their beatitudes"... Nóbrega 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 267-8.
38. "[T]aking away from them the killings and the eating"... Blázquez 1558 in Leite 1956-8: II, 430.
38. "because since they do not have anyone"... Pires 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 324.
38. "Concerning some of those who make themselves into holy ones"... Correia 1553 in Leite 1956-8: I, 447.
39. "And it is worth little to go preach to them and then return home"... Nóbrega in Leite 1956-8: II, 452.
39. "Prophets who fell into disgrace among their followers were frequently killed"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 81; Cardim 1978 [c.1584]: 103.
39. "it was the priests themselves who were responsible for this disbelief"... See also Abbeville 1975 [1614] ch. XII.
39. "although there is no idolatry in this land"... Grã 1556 in c II, 292.
40. "according to what our *karaiba* tells us," "the place that our *pajé* say they have seen"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 85, 99; Léry 1980 [1578]: 220-1.
41. "[I]t seems to me that one must devote much work to them"... Correia 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 231.

41. "They are not subject to any king"... Anchieta 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 114.
42. "If they had a king, they could be converted"... Nóbrega 1556-7 in Leite 1956-8: II, 320.
42. "As Paul Veyne reminds us"... Veyne 1983: 44.
43. "and that which it seemed would help them to be Christians"... Grã 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 147.
43. "What I take as the greatest obstacle"... Grã in Leite 1956-8: II, 294.
43. "Furthermore, our Toüpinambaoults"... Léry 1980 [1578]: 192.
44. "the savages believe in a thing that grows like a gourd"... Staden 1974 [1557]: 173.
44. "Their refusal of the State, to recall a famous theme"... Clastres 1975.
45. "In the sense of Sahlins"... Sahlins 1976.
45. "*génie du paganisme* [spirit of paganism]"... Augé 1982.
46. "it is necessary to proceed prudently"... Clastres 1975: 22.
46. "lower limit of predation"... Lévi-Strauss 1984: 144.
47. "This people, Father [Loyola]"... Grã 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 137.
47. "And if they have given us some signs of goodness"... Nóbrega 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 171.
48. "It is true [...] that our catechumens"... Anchieta 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 208.
48. "In one regard these are worse than all"... Nóbrega 1556-7 in Leite 1956-8: II, 320.
48. "Great is the envy that the heathens have"... Pires 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 254.
48. "I have told some of the Indian leaders"... Correia 1553 in Leite 1956-8: I, 444-5.
50. "*calcul sauvage*"... Sahlins 1985.
53. "since the Tupinambá are very bellicose"... Soares de Souza 1972 [1587]: 320. On Tupian war and cannibalism, cf. Métraux 1967 ; Fernandes 1949, 1952; H. Clastres 1972; Viveiros de Castro 1986; Combès 1992; Carneiro da Cunha and Viveiros de Castro 1985; Saignes 1985; Combès and Saignes 1991; Fausto 1992.
54. "They have wars with each other"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 136-7.
54. "[C]alling all of their relatives"... Rodrigues 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 307-8.
54. "And what most blinds them"... Grã 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 132-3.
54. "[T]heir wars, in which they have placed"... Anchieta 1560 in Leite 1956-8: III, 258-9.
54. "obligation they have to go"... Soares de Souza 1972 [1587]: 320.
55. "'Pagez and Caraibes,' Thevet said"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 77.
24. "the greatest thing that the aforementioned Pagez"... Thevet 1953 [1575]. 82.
55. "[S]o that he might be virtuous"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 50.
56. "so that [...] their teeth might be stronger"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 207.
56. "Without having killed a captive"... Anchieta 1933 [1585]: 434, Cardim 1978 [c.1584]: 103, Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 409.
56. "No mother would give"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 134.
57. "they had gone to war to avenge themselves"... Rodrigues 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 307.
57. "Their happiness is to kill and to have names"... Nóbrega 1556-7 in Leite 1956-8: II, 344.
57. "A man considers it his greatest honor"... Staden 1974 [1557]: 172.
57. "Of all of the honors and enjoyments"... Cardim 1978 [c.1584]: 113.
58. "One of the greatest appetites"... Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 409.
58. "and thus he who has many daughters"... Anchieta 1933 [1584]: 329.
58. "only the brave had access to Paradise"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 84-5; Léry 1980 [1578]: 185; Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 252; Métraux 1979 [1928]: 111-2; Fernandes 1963 [1949]: 285.
59. "This evil of eating each other has suffered"... Azpiculeta 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 279.

59. "They have persuaded their adversaries"... Blázquez 1557 in Leite 1956-8: II, 386.
60. "Even the captives"... Anchieta 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 113.
60. "[And] some go around so happy"... Cardim 1978 [c.1584]: 114.
60. "[I]f the meat after having been cooked"... Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 413.
61. "the pan-Tupi problematic of immortalization"... Clastres 1975, Viveiros de Castro 1986.
62. "[And] after they thus manage"... Gandalvo 1980 [1576]: 139.
62. "One must first of all know"... Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 229.
62. "And do not think that the prisoner is shocked"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 196.
63. "And from this come these wars with no just cause"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 207.
63. "and some are even so brutish"... Gandavo 1980 [c.1570]: 55.
63. "even if it may be possible for them to flee"... Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 230-1.
65. "Montaigne interprets it as an Hegelian-style combat"... Lestringant 1982.
65. "leaving behind a memory"... Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 411.
66. "And one day before they kill him"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 152.
66. "These ceremonies having been completed"... Gandavo 1980 [1576]: 137.
67. "Next he who will kill the prisoner takes up"... Staden 1974 [1557]: 182.
67. "'Are you not of the nation...'"... Léry apud Métraux 1967: 62-3.
67. "[B]ut I had little success, because he did not want to be"... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 223-4.
68. "[And] their brutality is such"... Cardim 1978 [1583]: 118.
68. "[A]nd since these captives see the hour"... Soares de Souza 1972 [1587]: 326.
68. "[In that sacred language] the one who speaks"... Clastres 1975: 143-4.
70. "Frank Lestringant, in a beautiful analysis"... Lestringant 1982.
70. "the flesh of the prisoner"... Lestringant 1982: 38-40.
71. "the killer was the only one not to eat"... Correia 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 228; Gandavo 1980 [1576]: 139.
71. "the theory of Florestan Fernandes"... Fernandes 1970 [1952].
73. "the unthinkability of a world without Others"... Deleuze 1969.
74. "Vengeance was thus the base of the 'old law'"... Pires 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 110-1.
74. "In this way the pretend nature of his faith"... Anchieta 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 207.
75. "They are so many"... Brás 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 275.
75. "[In Bahia] they now all go about"... Nóbrega 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 16-7.
75. "[T]his war was the cause of much good"... Anchieta 1563 in Leite 1956-8: III, 553-4.
75. "[A]nd since there are so many of them"... Gandavo 1980 [c.1570]: 52.
75. "With the newly-converted Christians"... Rodrigues 1552 in Leite 1956-8: I, 318.
76. "The obstacles that blocked things"... Pires 1558 in Leite 1956-8: II, 463-4.
76. "To those Indians who will stay here"... Blázquez 1556 in Leite 1956-8: II, 267.
76. "On all the coast it is generally believed"... Nóbrega 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 90.
77. "For this reason a great murmuring"... Nóbrega 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 90.
77. "[T]hat they might not kill their adversaries"... Blázquez 1557 in Leite 1956-8: II, 382.
77. "The law, which must be given to them"... Nóbrega 1558 in Leite 1956-8: II, 450.
78. "which led the Jesuits to endorse the doctrine of just war on the heathen"... Nóbrega 1558 in Leite 1956-8: II, 449.
78. "The condemnation was motivated"... Nóbrega 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 93-4.
78. "[M]em de Saa [the third Governor-General of Brazil]"... Nóbrega in Leite 1956-8: III, 329.
79. "this is the general position that Ferguson"... Ferguson 1990.
80. "[A]ll of this sea coast"... Anchieta 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 113.

80. "Chagnon on Yanomami"... Chagnon 1988, Chagnon 1990.
80. "my position is one of unrestricted agreement with Albert and Lizot"... Albert 1989, Albert 1990, Lizot 1989.
81. "the category of 'brideservice societies' proposed by Collier and Rosaldo"... Collier and Rosaldo 1981.
81. "the observation that in this type of society"... Collier and Rosaldo 1981: 294, 312.
83. "their wines, which they drink very regularly"... Anchieta 1933 [1584]: 333.
83. "Their pleasures are how they must go to war"... Jácome 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 242.
84. "[B]ecause this people is so untamed and bestial"... Anchieta 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 120-1.
84. "And what has them most blind"... Grã 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 132-3.
84. "From here I went full of sadness"... Azpicuelta 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 248.
84. "I return to our people"... Anchieta 1557 in Leite 1956-8: II, 368.
85. "These catechumens of ours"... Anchieta 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 194.
86. "[T]aking new names, in accordance with the opponents"... Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 409-10.
86. "It was the habit, among the Tupinambá"... Soares de Souza 1972 [1587]: 323.
87. "Just as the second blessing among them is to be singers"... Soares de Souza 1972 [1587]: 415.
87. "The indigenous custom of boasting"... Thevet 1953 [1575]: 92; Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 206, 219, 222-3; Blázquez 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 133.
87. "those who drank were killers and women"... Monteiro 1949 [1610]: 409; Cardim 1978 [c.1584]: 103-4.
87. "For the children we have much hope"... Grã 1556 in Leite 1956-8: II, 132-3. T.N.: This passage is difficult to translate, and admits of several possible interpretations. After consultation with Prof. Viveiros de Castro, I have settled on the version presented above. The original is as follows: "De los niños tenemos mucha esperança, porque tienen habilidad y ingenio, y tomados ante que vaian a la guerra, ado van y aún las mujeres, y antes que bevan y entendian en desonnestidades."
87. "[T]he men up to 18 and 20 years"... Grã 1556 in Leite 1956-8: II, 294.
88. "[A]nd there are some of these youngsters"... Correia 1554 in Leite 1956-8: II, 70.
89. "[They are] very deeply rooted"... Azpicuelta 1550 in Leite 1956-8: I, 182.
90. "[I admonished them]... especially that they should loathe"... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 201.
91. "[J]ust as some place their joy or money"... Blázquez 1557 in Leite 1956-8: II, 383.
91. "All of those on the coast"... Anchieta 1933 [1584]: 329.
92. "It is not exactly pleasure"... Abbeville 1975 [1614]: 233.
92. "During this Cunhambebe"... Staden 1974 [1557]: 132.
93. "'Making the body lighter,' an important theme"... Clastres 1975, Viveiros de Castro 1986, Combès 1987, Combès 1992.
93. "placing themselves inside the field of 'compulsory revenge'"... Fernandes 1963 [1949]: 123.
94. "And promise them long life"... Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 151. See also Nóbrega 1549 in Leite 1956-8: I, 151; also see Jácome 1551 in Leite 1956-8: I, 242; Azpicuelta 1555 in Leite 1956-8: II, 246.
94. "as Bucher thinks"... Bucher 1977.
94. "through shamanic asceticism, dance"... Combès 1987, Saignes no date.
94. "when absorbing the enemy, the body social became"... Viveiros de Castro 1986.
94. "[E]ven if this heathen in the field"... Brandão 1977 [1618]: 259-60.

95. “[S]ince they are not content”... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 237.
95. “[I]f they find some old grave”... Soares de Souza 1972 [1587]: 301.
95. “Women could kill a prisoner”... Anchieta 1933 [1565]: 203.
96. “[The leader Tubarão (Shark) goes to war]: He asked the Governor”... Blázquez 1556 in Leite 1956-8: II, 267-8.
96. “This contract became hard for the Indians”... Blázquez 1557 in Leite 1956-8: II, 382-3.
97. “All of these are losing the practice”... Pires 1558 in Leite 1956-8: II, 471.
97. “The human flesh that all ate – and very close to the city—“... Nóbrega 1559 in Leite 1956-8: III, 57.
97. “[A]nd that they must neither kill nor eat”... Pires 1560 in Leite 1956-8: III, 313.
97. “All tell me that it is very easy”... Pereira 1561 in Leite 1956-8: III, 334.
98. “It is also a great thing to marvel”... Anchieta 1933 [1560]: 259-60.
98. “the preaching of the sword”... Anchieta 1563 in Leite 1956-8: III, 554.
98. “[They are] totally immersed in their old”... Anchieta 1561 in Leite 1956-8: III, 370.
98. “[B]ecause although many young ones go backwards to follow”... Nóbrega 1561 in Leite 1956-8: III, 361.
100. “there where the practice seems to be the norm”... Lévi-Strauss 1984: 143.
101. “Lévi-Strauss takes cannibalism as an unstable figure”... Lévi-Strauss 1984: 143-4.

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