THE TUPARI INDIANS (WESTERN BRAZIL)

by

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INTRODUCTION

The Tupari Indians, to whom this study refers, live on the headwaters of the Rio Branco, a tributary of the Guaporé River, about 12° S., 62° W. Gr. They are a tropical forest tribe of agriculturalists and hunters. Their culture is principally related to that of some neighbouring tribes of the rivers Branco, Colorado and Mequens (tributaries of the Guaporé) and the Pimenta Bueno (tributary of the Machado or Gy-Paraná), with whom they form what may be called a culture area.
In 1927 the Tupari met white people for the first time, when an employee of a rubber company visited them in their dwelling place. The second visitor was the German ethnographer Dr. E. Heinrich Snethlage, who in 1934 made a brief call on the tribe and established for the first time relations which persisted, though intermittently, between the Tupari and the small rubber establishment “São Luis” on the above mentioned Rio Branco. (*)

The present author lived with the Tupari about six months, mostly in their own dwelling-place. At that time, in 1948, the only two surviving groups, one of thirty and the other of ten families, were occupying two big common huts. Certainly a few months is a very brief period for a study of the intimate customs of a tribe, and to produce anything approaching an exhaustive work would require a stay of several years and a thorough knowledge of the native tongue. But in spite of these shortcomings it is thought that through the rather close association with the Indians detailed observations are enough to allow a fairly accurate account of some aspects of this people’s way of life.

Reports on the sexual and family life of South American aborigines are rare, especially as far as tropical forest tribes are concerned. Even where able observers, like Karl von den Steinen and his companions, have worked, the short duration of their contact with the Indians has hampered their investigations. Furthermore, psychology of that time was of little use to the ethnographers. The consequent lack of reliable material may have been the reason why in the cross cultural surveys of the “Handbook of South American Indians” (*) no attempt has been made to treat the sexual behaviour and clothing practices of the tropical tribes.


——: Indianerkulturen aus dem Grenzgebiet Bolivien-Brasilien. — Veroff. 10 pages (Berlin, probably 1937).


Concerning psychological knowledge, at the time of his stay with the Tupari, the author probably had little advantage over the above mentioned explorers of the last century. Meanwhile he has had the opportunity to become acquainted with modern points of view, and it is thought that the best contribution that can be made at this time is the presentation of observations as accurately as possible and without further theoretical explanations. Comparisons with other tribes have also been omitted almost completely. They will be the subject of a later study.
GENERAL BEHAVIOUR: MALE

Any visitor not acquainted with "savages" will be impressed by the naturalness with which the Tupari without distinction of sex or age live together almost completely naked. But first of all the strange procedure adopted by the men for the purpose of concealing their penis will attract his attention. Since the beginning of puberty the penis has been pushed back inside to the sub-cutaneous tissue of the pubis or towards the scrotum, so that with the passing of time and the continuous growth of the penis thus concealed the surrounding tissues have been adapted to hold it inside the body and not let it fall out even if the man walks or dances (on rare occasions) without wearing the folded palm-leaf. This tiny folded palmleaf called "tâmaram" is fixed at a fold of the skin above the orifice behind which the penis is concealed and does not actually tie up this orifice but covers it and perhaps helps to a certain extent to prevent the penis from slipping out. As an exception the folded palm-leaf may be replaced by some kind of bast or twine which ties up the orifice. Of course the penis pushed inside in this way makes the pubis appear swollen, and in some men it looks a third testicle put in the upper part of the scrotum.

At first I thought that the only purpose of this palm-leaf and the other steps taken to hide the membrum virile was to prevent its being injured by thorns or insects in the jungle. And this is an opinion adopted by many ethnologists. But soon I learnt that it was considered absolutely "bad" for any man or boy above the age of about twelve years to show his penis to anybody except, as the author supposes, his own wife. Whenever the "tâmaram" falls off or gets lost in hunting or playing, the male will hide his parts with the hand, confused owing to the derision of his companions, until finding and putting on the lost "tâmaram" or some substitute which will once more cover the orifice where the penis is concealed.

Of course for urinating and sexual intercourse the male has to take off the "tâmaram" and push out the penis. He urinates turning away and squatting so that nobody may see his penis, and he turns again toward his companions only after duly pushing back the penis and putting on the palm-leaf.
It is interesting that only the penis but not the scrotum is considered pudendum, and therefore the male, unlike the woman, sits and lies with his legs wide open, because with the penis concealed there is no more need for any care.

Mothers and other female relatives observe with great interest the first signs of infantile erection in their male babies, and any observation of the kind occasions a lot of curious looks and gay chatting among the women.

When the boy is more or less twelve years old, the author was told, the tribe prepares a feast to celebrate the first official hiding of his penis and the solemn fixing of the “támaram”. The men go hunting for several days and the women prepare a quantity of alcoholic manioc-beer. In the evening of the long expected day all the inhabitants of the dwelling meet before the common hut, exchanging the hunters’ catch and all kind of food. When everybody is satisfied, the chief, or the chief sorcerer, proceeds to the performance of the important ceremony. (*)

First of all he drips the caustic sap of a certain root into the boy’s eyes, so that the boy unwillingly starts shedding floods of tears. Then the master of ceremonies goes on rubbing the boy’s arms with the same sap. And before the boy is capable of using his smarting eyes again, he is flogged hard with a rod. Having finished these tortures the master of ceremonies puts the previously folded palm-leaf on the boy, after duly pushing back his penis. From now on the boy will not go about without wearing the “támaram” and if the fixing strip hurts him too much, he will, instead, tie up the orifice with a piece of bast until the irritation of the skin-fold passes.

The exceptions do not disprove the rule. There are a few men in the tribe who occasionally during a drinking-bout take especial pleasure in showing their penis to their fellow-tipplers, exceptionally even in presence of harassed women and girls. Many of the Indians when drunk find such a joke very funny, but few would practise it themselves. Only once did I see the most uncouth of the Indians, Tabiá, doing the same thing in sober state when he was bathing in the brooklet. But the only other spectator, a boy of twelve, said after a half curious half shy look at the man’s membrum: “It is very bad to show one’s penis”.

The same man during a drinking-bout pulled out his penis in the presence of some boys, women and girls. Only a few of the spectators looked with interest at the well developed

(*) As the principal headman Waitó happened to be also the chief shaman at the same time, it has not been established if he was actually acting as the group’s chieftain or in pursuit of his duties as magician.
membrum, while the others gazed at the man and at me in unconcealed consternation.

On one feast-night Tárima, a neurotic aged about 40, rose at midnight from his hammock where he had been sleeping off the effects of the manioc-beer, urinated at a post and called the women who were dancing in the middle of the big common hut, to look at his penis. Some of the more or less intoxicated women seemed delighted by this unusual feat of exhibitionism and first of all Kamatsuka, the high-spirited wife of the chief, approached hastily with the burning piece of resin, the only illumination in the festive hovel, not wishing to miss the rare occasion of seeing a man’s membrum. Other women however kept away evidently embarrassed.

Tupari men are aware that there are other tribes — none of which they know personally — where the men do not care about hiding their genitals. They consider this behaviour below a man’s dignity and censure downright those naked Indians (and also the civilized rubber workers who bathe undressed without caring about the presence of other people) comparing them with the tapirs and the monkeys. But they consider our pants a passable or even superior equivalent of their palm-leaf and call them by the same name “támaran”. The reason why they think our pants are better than small strips of palm-leaf is not that they cover the scrotum and pubis as well as the penis, but only because they do the job of concealing the penis without hurting the skin as the sharp-edged strip of the “támaran” sometimes does.

As to the effects that the Tupari Indians’ procedure of penis concealment may have upon the normal growth of the membrum on the one hand, and on the sexual education and the attitude of the youngsters on the other, it would be premature to hazard any guesses, for this would require a comparative study of a sufficient number of other tribes in similar physical and cultural conditions. Unfortunately studies of this kind are too rare as far as South American peoples are concerned.

As far as I know the geographic area of the “támaran”-form of penis-cover is restricted to the Branco-Colorado region (tribes: Arikapu, Aruá, Jabuti, Makuráp, Tuparí and Wayoró) and one tribe on the Rio Pimenta Bueno whose proper name is probably Mundé. The reports on the neighbouring tribes mention the “circular penis sheath made of the two halves of a leaf plaited and sewed” (among the Tupi-Cawahib); the aprons consisting of loose palm-fibers, alone (among the Amniapá and several Corumbiara tribes not studied up to present) or combined with different kinds of penis-covers made of palm-leaf (Guaratágaja and Huari); and
bark-cloth (among the Abitana-Huanyam on the S. Miguel river).

The "tármaran"-form of penis-cover has not been described before. The penis-cover of the Bororo and other tribes, principally of Central Brazil, at first sight resembles the "tármaran", but both its form and application are different. (*)

In contrast to the extraordinary interest they take in hiding the penis, the Tupari men demonstrate a remarkable frankness in their conversation and mimic representation of sexual life. Chatting closely they even told me about the intimate physiological peculiarities of some women in the tribe as reported by the different husbands. They converse about real or supposed cases of adultery in days past and present and discuss the erotic inclinations of men and women. With unmistakable realism they occasionally imitate the act of coition in different circumstances and positions, or the difficulties at a girl's defloration and her reactions from beginning to end. On those occasions the author even heard of odd beliefs, e.g. that the vaginal odour of an old woman causes a male to get a head-ache, while the same smell from a young female would do no harm.

Sometimes sex talk turns into practical jokes. The Tupari men's favorite joke, rarely practised but enthusiastically applauded, is for a young man to seize a boy by surprise, lay him down on the floor and despite the victim's desperate resistance hold him fast to perform with him a mock act of coition, encouraged by roars of laughter from the delighted fellow tribesmen. Another observation was of the same kind. During some drinking-feasts certain young and old men liked to hold a V-shaped fork of branches suggesting the sprawled legs of a woman. The gay laughter of the tribesmen accompanied the performer's slow movements imitating the sexual act. But on all those occasions neither the actors nor the spectators showed any sign of sexual excitement: it was just fun.

Still another instance may illustrate both the efficiency of the Tupari's penis-concealment and their sex discipline. Once during a drinking-bout several single and married men began to sing and dance in the common hut. Taking off the "tármaran" they approached a group of young women, among

(*) Among the easily available sources on this kind of penis-cover see:

them two pretty girls, and danced around them. This was the only time the author observed a man dancing without wearing the "támaram". The looks of the slightly intoxicated men clearly showed that they were not only well aware of the presence of the pretty females but that they tried to impress them somehow by their performance. Nevertheless there was not the slightest sign of erection and in none of the men did the penis protrude from its concealment, although the "támaram" had been removed and the orifice was not tied up.

GENERAL BEHAVIOUR: FEMALE

Whilst the men always wear the tiny palm-leaf "támaram", the women do not use any kind of clothing. But their behaviour seems to be similar to their husbands'. Of course they do not consider pudenda the outer parts of their genitals, to say nothing of their breasts. For if they did they certainly would have invented some clothing of bast or cotton, as weaving of cotton thread for armlets, anklets, carrying slings and the like is not unknown to them. Among the Tupari women the feminine pudenda begin at the mucous parts of the genitals. Therefore the girls and women take scrupulous care not to stand, sit or lie with their legs apart in the presence of men. To prevent any man from seeing more than the inoffensive parts of their genitals the women have developed almost mechanically practised manners of sitting down on the ground, standing up, lying down and turning out of the hammock, as well as of picking up their babies or any object from the ground. All these actions they perform without sprawling their legs, bringing back to one's mind the odd behaviour of our civilized women during the years when extremely short and narrow skirts obliged them to take similar precautionary measures.

As a rule the women sit on the ground with outstretched and sometimes even crossed legs, or with one leg outstretched and the other bent so that either the foot or the lower thigh or the baby lying on the upper thighs covers the vulva. This is their normal position while eating, spinning and the like. For brief moments they may sit on one foot with the other leg bent and the foot standing on the floor. In all these positions the legs, seen from the front, are kept parallel or at least approximately parallel to one another and it is conspicuous that a woman does this on purpose to prevent the men from seeing more than the neutral parts of her genitals. On very rare occasions, e.g. during a drinking-bout, a woman may be seen sitting on a low stool, but the position of her
legs is the same as when sitting on the floor, i.e. with the upper thighs fairly close together.

When a woman has to pick up something from the ground and she thinks that there is a male behind her, she often crosses her legs before bowing down, and the girls will not climb a papaya-tree or up to the store-shelf unless they are sure there is no tribesman near who could see them in an indecent attitude. From a very early age the little girls imitate the behaviour of their mothers. Even during the drinking-bouts the women do not change in this respect.

The following observation may prove the consciousness of this attitude. One day while a magic ceremony was being performed outside the collective hut, I was the only male present in the half dark hut. One woman who was not aware of my presence stood up without taking care about holding her legs together. When my presence was pointed out to her by another woman she seemed quite disconcerted and her peace of mind was not restored until I assured her again and again that "I had not seen anything".

I was not able to discover the measures the females take to hide their menses, and actually I saw the flowing blood only once when a woman came out of the bath probably without being aware of her condition. Nor did I come to know anything about the Indians' explanation of the menses nor about the tabcos possibly related with it.

As far as frankness in speaking about sex goes, the author thinks there is little difference between men and women. But the sex talk seems to be practised mostly between people of one sex, except on the occasions of the drinking-bouts, when for instance you may even hear an insolent youngster making extremely personal remarks to an old dignified woman about her sexual characteristics.

When women are alone sex talk seems to be one of their favorite pastimes. The author often sat among them writing the diary, and when he was able to understand something of their conversation he noted their frequent use of words concerned with sexual life. On one occasion a group of women while picking out the grains of maize to prepare chicha were talking very seriously a long time. When I asked them what they were talking about so earnestly, they made me understand the interesting topic of their gossip: Pakudjá, a man of the other hut, had made an indecent proposal to Maárioka, the chief's pretty elder daughter, when meeting her alone one day at the brooklet.

In contrast to their bashful behaviour in public even in an intoxicated state many of the women are not so modest when they have an occasion for secret illegitimate intercour-
se, and when the circumstances are exceptionally favorable their openhearted invitations to a favorite boy friend may range from a verbal insinuation to simply joining him in his hammock. But all these stratagems a woman can use only if by some rare circumstance there is nobody around who could possibly suspect her adulterous intentions. Only a few women seemed to lose their self-control whenever they drank their share of the fermented chicha. Of course the youngsters being both curious and at the same time vigilantly zealous for the maintenance of order in the festive hovel kept their eyes most especially upon those women and males known to be most prone to adultery. But without any doubt their watchfulness was sometimes frustrated by their own drunkenness. (See also the chapter "Adultery"). The loose behaviour of his sisters-in-law e.g. caused the chief Waitô to compare them with "bitches", and his anger was the more understandable as he could not profit himself by their easily offered favours without offending his own beloved brother Iad.

But these "bitches" were the exception, and there are many reasons for supposing that the Tupari women are capable of many feelings other than the specifically sexual. But the Tupari usually designate the feeling of a woman and even of an immature girl for a male simply by the words: "ta-an-gân-koroa", i.e. "she is longing for his penis". This is the expression the author heard on several occasions, even when positively no sexual intercourse had taken place between the people in question.

Speaking about the sexual behaviour of the women it may be of interest to insert a story told by the Tupari and said to have been learned from the neighbouring Jabutí Indians. The people referred to in this tale are the "arrow-bearing women", a legendary tribe of Amazons allegedly situated three to five days north from the Tupari dwelling-place. Those Amazons, the Indians believe, dwell in an exclusively feminine community, separated from their husbands who live at a long distance and visit their wives only on rare occasions for the purpose of drinking chicha and having intercourse. A long time ago, when those men and women still lived together in the same common hut, one morning in summertime the men as usual left to slash a square of jungle for a new plantation. Only an old sick he-sorcerer remained sleeping in his hammock. When all the other men had gone, the women left too. The old sorcerer awoke and wondered where the women were going and he sneaked after them. The women stopped at a clean place in the jungle, and the old sorcerer hid in the underwood. He saw one woman climbing up a high tree and
heard her shouting an enticing cry. Immediately a big male tapir approached in a hurry. The women had brought a pot with cooked peanuts and another with chicha. The tapir ate the peanuts and drank the chicha and broke the pots into pieces. Then the women bent down one by one to couple with the tapir (“just as monkeys do”). The tapir’s membrum was very big. When he had served all the women he left and disappeared in the jungle. The old sorcerer went back home and was lying in his hammock when the women arrived. In the afternoon the men returned from their work and he told them what he had seen. The men grew very angry because their wives had coupled with the tapir. Next morning the men left the hut with their stone-axes and bows and arrows as usual. But they did not go felling trees. They went with the sorcerer to the place where the women used to feed the tapir and to couple with him. A chieftain’s son climbed up a big tree and shouted the same words the old sorcerer had taught him. Quickly the big tapir approached. He thought the women were calling him. The men hidden in the bush killed him with countless arrow-shots. Soon the women arrived with the boiled peanuts and a pot of chicha, and they saw that the tapir was dead. They grew very angry and wept very much. And they scolded the men: “You killed our mate. Our leman does not live any more.” From that day the women separated from their husbands and went to live on their own. The men settled down at another place, and so men and women live there in distant villages and visit each other only a few times.

SEXUAL EDUCATION AND PRENUPTIAL HABITS

In view of the frank conversation of the adults there is little need of special sexual instruction either for the boys or for the girls. Presumably by simple imitation of the behaviour of the adults the prevailing moral principles are willingly accepted and even eagerly defended by the youngsters, although the rules are not always strictly observed.

Sex seems to be one of the main topics of the youngsters’ talk both public and secret. One night thanks to my flashlight I happened to see a single youth (the only young tribesman who had never been married) and a boy sitting together in one hammock. The young man seemed to be giving the boy a lesson on some sexual theme, to which the boy listened with extreme interest and even with excited curiosity. Some nights later on I caught the same boy uncovering the penis of his older friend who was in a deep sleep and examining it with the utmost interest. The boy’s attitude showed undoub-
tedly that even youngsters who indulge in secret sex talk and teaching would not show each other their penes once they have been endowed with the pubic palm-leaf “tâmaram”. Consequently in order to have a good look at an adult’s penis the boy had to take advantage of his friend’s weariness.

This proves to be true even when the boys just for fun sometimes imitate the act of copulation (but as far as I know not together with the girls). On those occasions one of the boys lies down and the other one adopts the position described below (chapter “The Deed of Kind”). But they do not show any sign of excitation in practising this mock act of sex nor do those who wear the “tâmaram” uncover their penes.

On the other hand the little girls like to sing a dancing-chant that would be calculated to horrify a white educator and make his hair stand on end when the happy maidens in-terminably repeat the words: “á-angán-áauá-um, á-angán-áauá-um...”, i.e. “I do not like yours penis”, or “your penis is not to my taste.” —

I never could detect any sign of masturbation practices among either males or females, despite the frankness shown in the Indians’ frequent and undisguised pantomimic sex-talk. Back in the rubber settlement I asked a young half civilized Tupari Indian if the boys of the tribe practise any masturbation like “civilized” people. The young man, with whom I was on very friendly terms and who gave me much information with great frankness, seemed almost horrified at my idea of suspecting such a thing and said: “The foreigners may do so, because they are devils.” (The Tupari before becoming personally acquainted with the people of the rubber camp thought the foreigners were not human beings but some kind of evil spirits, and they actually call them so (táriu-pe”), and even nowadays they sometimes seem to wonder whether their primitive instinct had not hit the nail on the head.)

However the above evidence cannot be taken for an absolute proof of the absence of (masculine) masturbation. But if it exists, it certainly is considered very bad, and even its mimic imitation and any reference to it was completely lacking in the Indians’ conversation.

Without any doubt a youngster who has attained manhood but has not been provided with a wife because of a momentary lack of available young women, or one who is married to an immature girl, has certain opportunities for sexual intercourse. The first occasions of such illicit relations are doubtless the drinking-bouts, when the alcohol-containing chicha is consumed in enormous quantities by the youngsters as well as by the adults. Several women are said to have of-
ferred their favours to certain boys, and the tribe’s gossip continually comments on these irregularities. The author observed one courtship of this kind during a feast-night, when the handsome Moam, mentioned below, was lying down in the darkness with a love-starved divorced woman, thinking that nobody would observe his cautious sneaking up and lying down in the divorcee’s hammock. Another young bachelor was reportedly threatened with shooting by an old ex-chief and semi-magician because of rumors that he had consorted with the latter’s young wife.

Sexual relations on the part of unmarried girls are considered very bad. Only when she is given to a man as his wife may she allow her deflation and submit to the traditional ceremonies. In accordance with this principle, the presence of a pair of legitimate married parents is indispensable for the performance of a baby’s rather complicated “baptismal ceremonies”. And the reason for marrying many girls several years before puberty is presumably to protect them in the best possible way from undesired seducers, apart from possible “political” considerations on the part of the parents.

The author did not attend or hear of any puberty ceremonies or initiation practices, except the ceremonious first fixing of the boy’s penis-cover and matrimonial or deflation usages, both described in other chapters of this study.

FAMILY LIFE AND MARRIAGE

The Tupari man as a rule has one wife, but several men have two or three and some reportedly had even four wives. The husband lives with his wife or wives and their children at a fixed place in the common hut. His hammock is suspended side by side with his wife’s, and if he has two or more wives he will sleep between them, surrounded by the smaller hammocks of their children and other single relatives. Never do two persons sleep together in one hammock, not even husband and wife. The only exceptions noted were the sucklings sleeping in the arms of their mothers, or drunkards who had fallen asleep while resting together in one hammock.

The father of the family procures the main part of the food both animal and vegetable. The wife apart from helping the male in the garden and occasionally gathering insects and grubs does the cooking, spinning and weaving, and the frequently hard and exclusively feminine work of carrying the crop and the firewood in addition to the bringing up of the children. Though the man is the undisputed head of the family, his wife is by no means an abject slave. As a rule the
male treats her with esteem and sometimes even with visible affection. In some families she commands to no lesser extent than the male and there are highly respected women in the tribe. This does not exclude an occasional and sometimes bloody thrashing by certain men when they drink too much chicha during the feasts and for some reason think they have to even scores with their wives.

The Indians demand conjugal fidelity of their partners. Men and women are very jealous, and knowing that the drinking-bouts are the special opportunities for adultery many of them watch their partners on those occasions with un concealed distrust and for as long as their own condition permits. Jealous elderly husbands may not even allow their young wives to take part in the feasts — especially at night — and force them to stay in their hammocks instead of drinking, singing and dancing like the other people.

Women may be no less jealous. Once the author observed a half drunk man talking a good while and with visible intimacy to the young divorcee Tonga. But soon one of his wives discovered him and determinedly took him away from what she evidently considered an incipient love-affair. There seemed to be no jealousy between the different wives in the case of polygyny. The women seemingly take the dignitaries' polygamy as a matter of course and as a rule they mutually nurse and watch their babies if there is any need for doing so. But it is highly probable that the male looking for a second or third wife would consult his first wife or wives and respect her or their feelings in order not to endanger the peace of their household. This may be the reason why Iad, the chief Waitó's younger brother, had married three sisters. (Sisters, and brothers, are always good friends.) A second household with sororal polygyny was that of young pretentious Päkirik who had taken two sisters despite the objections of the tribesmen ("He is no chief!").

The Tupari are decidedly affectionate parents, and the ties between them and their children like those between brothers and sisters could hardly be any stronger. The education is the kindest imaginable. The babies are carried by their mothers either in their arms or by means of a carrying sling. Whenever the suckling cries he is given the breast. Even children up to three or four years are permitted to suckle. No hard words are used, and thrashing of children has not been observed by the author. Although the Tupari are fairly particular about cleanliness, toilet training is postponed until the baby is able to understand its meaning. Thus one may see a suckling of more than one year soiling his mother without being spanked or scolded.
The children live with their parents at least until marriage. When a youngster is married to a little girl still unfit for marital life, the young couple may live either at the young man's or with the girl's parents. But it seems that temporary matrilocal marriage is prevalent and the rule when the bride's father is still alive. Whilst a girl may be betrothed to a young or old man long before she is mature, there was no evidence of a marriage arranged for a male who had not attained manhood.

A person not well acquainted with the life of the so-called savages may take it for granted that young single Indians would seize the first opportunity and marry any girl or woman that happens to be free and marriageable. But in fact many Indians are extremely delicate in choosing a mate. They prefer to live several years without regular sexual intercourse and the other advantages of marriage and wait until a really desirable female becomes mature or free, rather than to enjoy early sexual pleasure to be paid for afterwards by the possibly lifelong aggravation of having an idle, ugly, capricious, exacting or loose wife. Of course the simplicity of their life and their close intercourse in the common huts enable men and women to realize at a very early age which boys and girls will eventually become industrious, kind-hearted and good-mannered husbands and wives.

Even the young tribesman Topto, now a rubber tapper in the camp of a white man, when thinking of his distant people, did not dream of some mature female. On the contrary, if he returned to his tribe, he would aim at securing pretty little Pawa, by then a girl of about nine and surely not older than six when Topto left the tribe. None of the older girls seemed to be good enough for him for this reason or another. His eager argument that Pawa was a "good, pretty girl" seems to exclude the possibility of his being bound to her by some marriage prescription.

The writer had little opportunity of observing wooing customs. Near the end of his stay, Woyatsiri, a young, strong man, but at the same time shy, courted the chief's little daughter Kabatoa who presumably would not be mature before two or three years, but whom everybody considered the finest girl of the tribe. As a demonstration of his serious intentions, during a drinking-feast he dedicated to her his big jug of chicha and urged everybody to fill their gourds with his beverage and to offer it to his beloved girl.

According to the information I received from the Indians, the initiative at wooing is not restricted to the male. On the contrary a woman may equally well suggest the convenience of a marriage to a male whom she like to live with.
THE DEFLORATION CEREMONIES AND OTHER MARRIAGE USAGES

During the first three months of my stay with the tribe no marriage took place nor was there any evidence that a young couple had joined during this time. Then a messenger from the rubber camp São Luis arrived, and I gained hope to be able to observe the matrimonial usages. The messenger, called Idum by his fellow tribesmen, and João Tupari by the white men of the rubber camp, was one of the Tupari boys who some years ago had been kept in São Luís and had become accustomed to living with the white and black foreigners and the half civilized rubber tappers who were mostly descended from other tribes of the same region. One problem of these Tupari boys the manager of the camp was unable to solve: he could not find a wife in the environs of São Luís, where the foreigners (Brazilians, Bolivians and even Peruvians) and the more "civilized" Indians absorbed all the marriageable women of Makuráp, Jabutí and Aruá stock. But now, that the manager had sent him to his own tribe to bring me my repaired camera and some correspondence he would make use of the opportunity and look for a wife.

When the smartly dressed Idum arrived among his naked paternal tribe he behaved like a stupid ill-bred nouveau riche who by some strange circumstance happens to return to his poor boorish parents' hut. But very soon he showed a noticeable sympathy for Nyänklaab, the pretty eldest daughter of the chief Kuarumá, a girl of perhaps fifteen. Just then there began a drinking bout of three days and nights, and evidently the girl returned the interest shown by her fellow tribesman who never showed up without clean shirt and trousers, except while bathing, when he took no trouble to conceal his penis, ostentatiously disregarding the tribal custom and imitating the behaviour of his new masters, the Brazilian rubber tappers. During the whole feast the two young people seemed to be inseparable, and even at night they sat together by the big beer jugs. Idum was well on the way to finding what he had long been yearning for.

But the girl's father, Kuarumá, still seemed to oppose the young lovers' union, at least outwardly, though almost the whole tribe showed a deep reverence for the fashionable dandy tribesman. Kuarumá said he would not give his daughter to Idum because he had not brought him an ax and a bushknife which he expected the wooer should have got for him in São Luís. Moreover he insisted that he would by no
means allow his daughter to leave for the rubber camp. If Idum married her, she would anyhow stay with the tribe.

However, when the feast was over the wooer's hammock was noted at his future or actual father-in-law's place, although not immediately side by side with the bride, but some paces away, while before he had slept at his mother's and sister's place. He often sat in his bride's hammock, whispering in her ears and caressing her (This was a habit learned among the foreigners!). Without any doubt Idum and Nyänkiab were going to be husband and wife. The act of "hanging the hammocks side by side" signified the very act of matrimony, at least in the case of the second and following marriages of a woman. The author tried in vain to remember if in those days there had been any sign of a matrimonial ceremony, but there was nothing that could be interpreted in this sense.

During the following days the bridegroom worked hard in his father-in-laws plantation and was no more the fashionable and admired visitor to the tribe. One night his father-in-law told me that he was going hunting and fishing with a group of men for several days. When I asked him if the newly wed couple were going too, he answered: "Idum is going, but my daughter will stay here."

I was surprised. How was it possible for the newly wed to be separated for several days without apparent necessity? But soon afterwards, seven days after I had noted for the first time that Idum had fixed his hammock at the place of his parents-in-law, I received the beginning of an answer. The chief shaman Waitó told me, that "blood was coming out of Nyänkiab's vagina" and that she would be obliged to fast for five days. The following day one of the bride's female relatives talked a good while with Waitó, who to my inquiries explained that the woman had told him Nyänkiab was wanting desperately to drink chicha, because she was by then fasting two days. And he added that the "blood" was still coming out of her genitals.

The following day I had a look at the neighbour's house together with Waitó little daughter Kabatóa. What I actually found at the father-in-law's place was a small separate compartment (about 4 square yards in area) that had not existed before and whose narrow door was so situated that nobody could see the young woman sitting inside unless he approached intentionally as I indiscreetly dared to do. The partition made of mats and palm-leaves was called "ápa-pokab", id. e. "a lid, or cover, for the eye". Nyänkiab, the bride, was sitting inside on the ground spinning cotton. She did not raise her eyes, but she answered my questions with a frail
voice. She was very hungry indeed, she told me, because for four days she had not eaten anything. Presently she was spinning cotton thread to make a hammock for her husband. Kabátoa, the chief’s little daughter, was evidently surprised at the interest I showed, as she doubtless thought that all over the world matrimonial ceremonies were the same as in her own tribe. I asked her why people forced the young woman to stay in this narrow room. “People might see her blood,” she answered.

On the fifth day of the girl’s fast the shaman Waitó blessed a jug of chicha, presumably with the usual ceremonious gesticulations and magic spells. I was not present at this ceremony but I heard the shaman’s voice over the plaza, and then it was too late to approach the sorcerer, as it is forbidden to go abroad when he is performing a solemn ceremony. From now on the girl was permitted to drink the non-fermented chicha, but she was not allowed to leave the partition. Waitó and the girl’s father repeated to me, that Nyänkiab would still be kept in her compartment for a good while. In about two months her male relatives would go hunting and then the girl would be given normal food for the first time. Thereupon the women would pluck all her hair.

Once when I visited her I noted beside her a jug of fresh chicha but no other food, and fixed on the wall a gourd full of fresh leaves whose significance I did not understand. But I was told again that she was not allowed to leave her confinement for several weeks. She did not go to work in the gardens nor to the brooklet to wash or have a bath.

The day I left the tribe, about one month after the girl’s seclusion began, the shaman Waitó told me that her father had asked him to wash her because she was “very dirty and stinking”. She was not allowed to wash herself; washing her was the shaman’s privilege.

Despite all the explanations I heard, I could not find out if the seclusion of the girl took place immediately after her husband has carried out the (real or token) defloration, or if the young couple was allowed to live together until her next menses. The “flowing blood” which would oblige them to separate could be interpreted in both senses, the more so as Nyänkiab began to fast only about six days after I had seen her groom’s hammock suspended at her family’s place.

Unfortunately the writer could not stay with the tribe long enough to wait for the girl to go through the whole cycle of ceremonies. But with unanimity the different tribesmen explained to me their traditional matrimonial usages as follows:
When a man wants to marry, his prospective father-in-law is asked for his daughter. Until a few years ago the wooer was obliged to offer payment: bows, arrows, clubs or other coveted artifacts such as necklaces, ear-pendants and the like. Nowadays the pretensions of the bride's father have changed somewhat. Now he thinks a steel ax or a bushknife or both together ample payment for his daughter, and the wooer should try to get these utensils from the white men before asking for a wife. But the traditionalists lament the laziness of the present generation, as the lads did not like to work to obtain a wife, but would just ask for a girl without paying her father anything.

Often a girl is betrothed to a man when she is still a child, and especially when she is an orphan it seems to be the custom to bring her up at her future husband's place. But no sexual relations take place until the girl reaches the right age, i.e. after her first menses, as the chieftain Waító once told me. My last informant, a young rubber-tapper of Tupari stock, insisted upon the fact that the defloration itself is no public affair and that nobody even knows the day when a young couple will begin marital relations.

After the defloration has taken place the young woman informs her mother of the occurrence, and the mother has to inform the chief shaman. She would reportedly tell him: "U-mányom u-mämtsiräd aká; i-pä pora; t-äü pätsa; ts-arub aüä!"—My son-in-law coupled with my daughter; he pierced her skin; her blood is coming out; bless her food!"

As mentioned above I am not sure if this information is given after the actual defloration or when the first menses after the defloration begin. In any case on hearing of the defloration the shaman orders the separation of the couple, confining the girl to the small compartment which is quickly improvised by means of mats of plaited palm-leaves and separates the bride from the rest of the inhabitants. Whilst the husband continues his customary life the wife has to fast for five days without even being allowed to drink a drop of water. On the fifth day the shaman blesses a jar of non-fermented chicha. From now on the young woman's sustenance is reduced mainly to the chicha made of maize and other vegetables. Meat, fish and most vegetables are taboo. All the girl does is to sit the whole day on the ground and spin cotton for making hammocks.

After about two or three months the husband and the male relatives go hunting for ten days. Four days before the hunting party is expected back the young woman undergoes a second fast being deprived again of all sorts of food and drink. For some days she has wet loam put all over her head to soften the roots of her hair. The day after the hunting par-
ty comes back with the catch, the shamans together with their disciples, the bridegroom and the male relatives perform a solemn session of magic with abundant tobacco and Piptadenia powder snuffing. Meanwhile the women pluck all the bride's hair and leave her head completely naked. The Indians say this seemingly cruel depilation is no torture at all, as wet loam has previously softened the capillary roots. The chief shaman paints her head and part of her body with genipa juice, and after various incantations he gives the young woman chicha and food, thus bringing to an end her five days' fast. From now on she may eat anything she likes.

On this occasion the husband has an opportunity to have his first look at his young wife after a long separation. During her seclusion sexual intercourse was forbidden to them, and the groom did not even look at his bride nor speak to her. Now that the food taboos are over and the girl returns to the community we would expect the young couple to be happily united and make up for what they suffered during their long separation. But in actuality the newly-wed are still forbidden sexual relations till the bride's hair has grown again to a certain length. —

This ritual is performed but once in a woman's life, i.e. after her (real or supposed) defloration by her legal husband. When the woman is married a second or third time because of divorce or the death of her spouse, no more ritual takes place. According to the suggestions of the tribesmen the very act of placing their hammocks side by side, yet at the man's or at the woman's place, signifies that a man and a woman are husband and wife.

The Indians did not tell me the reason for their matrimonial or defloration ceremonies, nor what consequences a woman was expected to suffer if she refused to submit to the ritual, or if she broke the fast or the food taboos connected with it. Of about fifty married women three young squaws were reportedly unwilling to submit to the customary rites. They said they would not be able to stand the repeated five days' fast. They would excuse themselves: "O-tiapa koroaná-on!" — "I would have too great a desire to drink chicha!"

As to the corresponding usages among the neighbouring tribes, the chief Waitó told me they were almost identical with the Tupari rituals. The only detail he found worth mentioning to me was that the Makuráp cut the bride's hair instead of plucking it.
PREFERENTIAL AND PROHIBITED UNIONS

Regarding the matrimonial rules the present writer feels obliged to confess that several reasons hampered a complete investigation: the lack of a reliable interpreter in addition to the imperfection of his own knowledge of the tribal language; the scarcity of observable material, as at that moment there existed only forty families, who were the remnants of perhaps four or five hundred families which the allogeneous epidemics had decimated during the last two or three decades, i.e. since the Tupari got in touch with the white man; and finally the fact that the author at the time of his stay with the tribe was not a trained ethnologist.

However, interpreting the gathered evidence it may be stated with certainty that at least as a rule cross-cousin marriage, levirate and sororate are not practised nowadays. As to sororal polygyny the two cases (Iad and Pâkirik) — out of a total of eleven polygamous households — may prove that marrying sisters does occur, but it is not a rule, as there were other sisters married to different men. Polygyny is practised mostly by chiefs and shamans. No case of simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughters by a former husband has been stated.

A man is at liberty to marry a woman belonging to his own hut or to a neighbouring group. Intertribal marriage is not unknown. At the time of my stay no Tupari man was married to a woman of a foreign tribe, but they are accustomed to permit their daughters to be courted from suitors from neighbouring tribes. Only the chief Waitó in his youth had lived with a foreign woman, namely of Makurápur stock. But apparently she would not follow him to his tribe which at that time was held in great awe. Nevertheless after twenty years he still called her brother, nowadays a civilized worker in São Luis, "w-aïtáid", i.e. "my brother-in-law".

Marriage between close relatives, including cousins, aunts and uncles, is strictly taboo. Extramarital relations between those relatives are especially frowned on by the Tupari.

It has already been pointed out that matrilocal residence prevails, coupled with bride-service, and that the bridegroom is obliged to offer presents to his father-in-law. Descent is patrilineal.
DIVORCE PRACTICE

The following data were partly obtained from the young tribesman and rubber tapper Topto which has been quoted in previous chapters. During his stay the writer could not find out the Tupari word for "divorce" or "get divorced", but finally the inquiry was made by asking about a female: "With whom did X live first and who deflowered her?" — and comparing the answer with the actual status of the woman concerned.

In the two surviving groups of the tribe there were about 56 married women and women of marriageable age. Discounting 12 old women about whose matrimonial past my informant was not quite sure there remain 44 cases for our inquiry. Exactly half of these women had been formerly married to other men and then divorced. This seems to be a rather high divorce rate, but on close examination this change of mates appears to be not at all anarchical. First of all it must be pointed out that in all the reported cases of divorce and remarriage the women had no children by their divorcing husbands. To understand the frequency of divorce it is furthermore important to know that in many instances the girls were betrothed in early childhood, before being able to form a proper opinion of their mate's qualities or to realize the importance of the bargain being made over them. The Tupari apparently agree that a girl or a boy may have the right to get rid of a mate not considered fit for her or him even after having begun marital relations.

Although the custom of the tribe permits divorce and remarriage at least to the women without children, the carrying out of the separation may be difficult for a girl whose husband will not set her free. There were two girls whose husbands tried to keep them by force. One of them was Aid-aid. Her case is described below. In contrast to her more fortunate friend Aid-aid, young and pretty Wayaköb, daughter of Miekoo and his unprincipled wife Kan-kan, was not able to get rid of her husband, the elderly one-time-chief and semi-magician Tokürürü, who was her senior at least by forty years. This case may show to what extent freedom to divorce is limited among the Tupari:

Tokürürü was still an able hunter and industrious agriculturist and moreover a good-natured fellow highly respected by the tribesmen. He had two elderly wives, others had died Wayaköb had been given to him against her will. But she did not develop a liking for him even in marriage and the tribe's gossip spoke about her occasional secret relations with Pamäng, whilst the old man reportedly threatened to
shoot his young rival if he did not stop wooing his young wife.

I became aware of Wayaköb’s unhappy situation at a time when I still knew fairly little about the intimate relations among the tribe. Many times I had asked Tokürüriu how many wives he had and who they were (this was not easy to find out because he lived at a very dark place in the common hut and the Indians like to delude their visitors when they ask what they consider silly questions). Tokürüriu had invariably told me that he had no real wife but only two old ones who were good for nothing. One day I visited him at his place and detected young Wayaköb in a hammock at Tokürüriu’s side. I asked who the young girl was.

“This is my wife”, he answered. Supposing that he was joking I replied: “You are lying, you told me you had only two old wives and no young one.” At this the girl started sobbing and crying and ran away. Thus I knew Wayaköb had been hurt by my words and I suspected that she was not happy with the old man. I observed her more closely and noted that she would neither drink nor sing nor dance during the drinking-feast, and as such behaviour is considered very bad. Tokürüriu repeatedly asked me to urge her to drink and be happy and sing and dance. When I succeeded in doing so he seemed very satisfied, but at nightfall he would not fail to oblige her to leave the festive crowd and to go to bed, i.e. to the hammock, where his elder wives could have an eye upon her. Despite Tokürüriu’s jealousy she reportedly took advantage of occasional favourable circumstances to make an assignation with her boy friend Pamiing. In her desperation she even dreamed of going so far as to leave with me for my “tribe”, as the old man himself told me in order to make sure that I had no such intentions.

All this indicates that in this community there exists a gap between a theoretical right and its exercise in practice. It was almost certain that unless some strong man who would not fear old Tokürüriu came along to free the young woman, there was only one hope for her: the quick death of the old man.

The arguments for divorce are of many different kinds. In most cases the discontented party accused the other of laziness. They reportedly use to tell their mate: "Tigü-um, än, äruba än." — You do not work, you are no good.” In fact it is the constant lamentation of disillusioned husbands: “My wife is no good. She does not work in the plantation, and she will not brew chicha.” The corresponding complaint of a discontent wife is: “My husband is a lazy man. He does not like to work. He is no good.” Or: “My husband is no good. He does not know how to kill monkeys.”
In several instances the causes of complaint were corporeal defects or what the Indians considered such defects. One young man (Corumî) had abandoned his rather pretty wife because he found her of very low and tiny stature, and he married another girl whose proportions were more in accordance with his ideal. Reportedly for the same reason a much coveted young woman (Panno) abandoned her husband (Tárima), who left the tribe jealous and angry, and went to live with another tribe and even with the white men in São Luís. When he had got over his disillusionment he returned to his tribe and married another good-looking woman (Tsañ’á) who in her turn had been divorced because of her bad temper. — One young man, Tsito, said he had chosen to live no more with his pretty young wife Tsoreya, because she had a big belly (the author did not himself find that she had and suspects it was the young woman who had decided to leave Tsito). A certain skin disease covering the body or part of it with perpetually peeling scales which afflicted the good-natured Kôbab was the reported reason for his young second wife’s disliking and abandoning him. In another instance a young woman whom an able tribesman had taken as his second wife left him when he fell ill and did not recover soon enough to stop her love-making with the above mentioned tribesman Tsito who married her. One husband found after a certain time that his wife Adjero was very darkskinned and passed her on to Iad who was already married to one or two of her sisters and did not mind the pigmentation of her skin which was indeed slightly darker than other people’s. Tsongnim on her part left her first husband, an Arikapú Indian, reportedly because his buttocks were thick, and so were his lips.

But there were some reasons for divorce that might be considered more serious. Atoaro, for instance, was abandoned by two husbands in succession, because both found after a certain time that she was barren, according to the Tupari a very serious defect in a woman. Aärom was abandoned because of her bad temper. The Indians do not like irascible or sulk women.

Adulterous relations of the wife were the allegations by which Pakudjá tried to get rid of unfaithful Tãã. Unfaithfulness and bad behaviour too were the main reason for the only divorce whose course the present writer could actually observe. This is the story:

Young Aid-aid, the youngest of the three wives (three sisters) of Iad, had been betrothed to him in early childhood and perhaps because her father was dead (by the hand of her later husband’s brother Waitó), or because her sisters
talked her into accepting her fate, she had not managed to avoid the consummation of the matrimony, which was not at all to her taste. Whenever Iad, eager to win the heart of his rebellious wife, brought her the kill of his hunting-parties she simply refused to accept delicacies like monkeys or wild fowl. But worst of all the young woman took advantage of the drinking-bouts to go after other young men, and Iad’s thrashing her did not help much. No wonder that the girl desiring separation from her unbeloved husband but lacking some strong male relative to protect her, began to woo me. Presumably she thought I was sufficiently respected to procure her freedom if I cared to do so. Of course I did not want to arouse the jealousy and hatred of an important young tribesman but I could not prevent the young woman’s demonstration of affection which she asserted mainly by dancing exclusively with me, persuing me all the time during the drinking-feasts and telling the whole tribe that I would marry her and take her to my “tribe”. She even took advantage of a dancing-party in the dark hut to produce a public scandal by embracing me and clinging to my neck in a rather indecent position when the tiny resin light had gone out for a moment. Her improper behaviour was noted and caused the dancers to glance at us in consternation, stopping the whole festive activity. With some anxiety I awaited the thunderous reaction from the high-spirited husband of the unhappy and headless young woman.

But nothing happened until next morning the chief Wai-tó and many other tribesmen discussed the case in an angry and even passionate tone. Finally the chief’s wife and the offended husband himself brought me some chicha which I had to drink with them. So I knew they were not angry with me, but only with Aid-aid. Some days later on I was told that Iad had returned her to her mother. She was not his wife any more.

Gross maltreatment of the woman by her husband is another main reason of divorce. The case was reported to me as follows:

Several years ago the irascible chief Kuarumá took as his third or fourth wife a young orphan called Tonga, an ugly lass owing to her squinting eyes, but very good-natured and stupendously industrious. During a drinking-feast Kuarumá shot his young wife in the hip with an arrow, but she was not injured seriously and forgave her husband. During another bout he shot again at her without any apparent reason, and it was only thanks to a quick movement that the frightened woman escaped death: the arrow did not penetrate her breast from the front, but pierced her right upper arm, went through her right breast, appeared between the mammae
and stuck deep in her left breast. Tonga fell to the ground petrified and on recovering she fled from her husband. She sought protection in the group headed by the chief Waitó who spoke of her as of his "sister". The repentant Kuarumú made many efforts to get her back, but for her the separation was definite, especially as there was no child of the marriage. After a brief attempt at living with young Woyatsiri and his father Tonno (for neither of whom she developed a liking, or they for her), she decided to live without a husband at her "brother" Waitó's place, until she could find a good mate, who must be at the same time an able hunter, an industrious husbandman and an affectionate partner who would neither beat her nor shoot at her even at the drinking-bouts. —

Elderly women also are known to desert their bad-tempered husband on account of gross abuse, the most frequent of these being physical violence during a feast, i. e. when the husband is drunk. But if the woman has children by her husband she does not marry again but lives with her nearest relatives bringing up the children who prefer not to live with their irascible father. The husband may take another wife.

Most characteristic was the matrimonial past of Kamaatsu, the chief Waitó's high-spirited wife. In her early days she had married Waitó but left him because of gross maltreatment and lived with another chieftain, Tokūriiri, and even on her own. But afterwards she thought the matter over and went back to her former husband despite Tokūriiri's threats and despite the indelible sword-club and arrow scars on her body and head caused by her irascible husband Waitó.

Apart from divorce between spouses de facto there is to be found the separation of young people who have been betrothed in early childhood and who before having marital relations realize that they would not get on well together. These separations of non-consummated matrimony are not included in the 50% divorce rate mentioned above.

There is no evidence that a divorced woman is considered a less desirable match than a virgin, or vice versa. What a man looks for in a woman is good temper, industry and fertility, beside conjugal fidelity, so that there may be no reason for matrimonial quarrel or divorce. The most serious drawback for a woman needing a husband seems to be the reputation as a loose liver. Pakudjá told me for example that Tsuwaika, formerly a wife of Tabiá but long since divorced because of gross maltreatment, had asked him to take her as his wife. But he would not marry her because she still bestowed her favours on her former husband and on other men, and
Pakudjá evidently felt that a woman accustomed to that way of life would hardly become a faithful wife.

**THE DEED OF KIND**

Considering the caution with which the Tupari conceal their penis and in view of the no less bashful behaviour of their women the author wondered during several weeks when and where the couples would practise sexual intercourse. In the collective hut where up to thirty families live together any coition would be noted by the neighbours and first by the couple's own children, even at night. Nor was I able to discover the couples leaving the hut at night to search for some hidden place in the surrounding jungle.

Only after several weeks it could be ascertained that no sexual intercourse took place in the hut or in its immediate surroundings, in normal circumstances. Co-pulation is considered an action to be concealed from any possible witnesses. Only creatures like fowls and ducks and dogs may pair publicly, the Tupari say. They censured severely, for instance, the "doglike" behaviour of a couple of recent white visitors who did not know the tribal customs and enjoyed their connubial pleasures at night in the surroundings of the hut, not thinking of those ubiquitous moral police: the curious and inquisitive youngsters of the tribe.

The Tupari copulate when they are alone in the forest on the way to their plantations or when going to gather firewood on the way to their plantations and the like. The wife takes with her only the little baby who will not be able to notice anything. The older children stay at home or go in advance to the plantations or return ahead, knowing surely at a very early age what their parents are doing when they are alone in the forest, even without witnessing the act.

For the purpose of copulation the woman lies down on her back, with her bent legs apart. The man does not lie down but crouches between the woman's legs, with his own bent legs wide open and with his hands resting on the ground. Then the wife's legs are put on his upper thighs, she holds the male by the shoulders or clings to his neck, and he approaches bringing the genitals into an appropriate position. Bending forward over the female he effects the insertion.

It would be difficult to find out if as a rule the Indians practise any caressing or love-play to increase the zeal and consequent pleasure of cohabitation. In several months of daily observation I never saw the Indians, sober or drunk, caressing or kissing a woman or viceversa. Only a tribesman
acquainted with the customs of the rubber tappers, like the young wooer Idum, would lie with his bride in one hammock in an attitude that suggested love-making.

May I add an observation made by an intimate observer of the Moré or Itene Indians who live now in a Bolivian Government colony on the lower Guaporé. He told me that those Indians' sex life was extremely prosaic: "The couple goes out to the forest. Without any caresses the male inserts the membrum. In a few seconds the whole thing is over and the couple returns to the hut." The generally measured and restrained manners of the Tupari make the present author suppose that they do not behave much differently. Furthermore neither among the Tupari nor at any other Indian tribe could I observe any masculine interest in secondary erogenous areas of the feminine body, e.g. the breasts. Nevertheless the girls' nipples are evidently in close connection with their sexual sensorial system.

Unquestionably both male and female attach great value to the pleasure of sexual intercourse although in this as in many other respects individual differences may be considerable. Repeatedly comments have been heard about the most convenient conformation of the opposite sex' genitals and so on. The general opinion was: the bigger the male's membrum the better. As to the most convenient shape of the feminine parts, Tokürürü, husband of three wives, explained me things were not so simple. A young girl's vagina for instances is often no good, he told the writer, because it is too small to give full sexual pleasure, while old women's cunnus are no good any more because they have grown too wide. In the same sense young Iad told me about his recently divorced third wife, that he did not like her anyhow because her cunnus was too small to give full pleasure. "A great vagina is good," he taught me with almost scholarly gravity.

Whether they are sober or drunken, the sexual desire of the Indians is practically imperceptible and its demonstration would be considered very indecent. A young man in whom his companions once discovered slight signs of incipient erection was soon the object of general derision. Although during the drinking-bouts the typical Tupari moderation and reserve decrease notably, no public scandals occur, except when some rare drunk shows his penis (see above). But the author did not observe any erotic dances or satyrnalia, except the occasional dancing of some men around a group of women. The only gesture which on that occasion may be interpreted as sexual mimicry was the taking off by the men of their penis-cover, but without pulling out the penis.
During the feast-nights however many a man may take advantage of the drunkenness of the inhabitants and induce some willing woman to commit adultery or he may at least copulate with his own wife. On those occasions the couple may perform the act standing face to face, and according to the evidence of one tribesman the woman may facilitate copulation by lifting one leg. The author even observed a young woman clinging to her boy friend’s neck and “embracing” his loins with her lifted and sprawled legs, presumably trying to get into position for intercourse without lying down on the damp soil. When all the neighbours are drunk, asleep or dancing at a safe distance there may be a rare opportunity to copulate in the hammock, but far away from any burning fire. The position is then the regular one described above, with the exception that the man instead of crouching down sits astride the hammock between the sprawled legs of the recumbent woman. The Tupari seem also to know copulation a posteriori in the hammock. But this uncomfortable position may be restricted to occasions of emergency when bad weather prevents an adulterous couple from going outside, and the “straddling position” would draw the attention of the tribesmen.

To learn all these details it is not at all necessary to have practical experience. On the contrary men and boys gaily tell the friendly visitor all they consider interesting and worth knowing. Maybe they tell him even more when knowing he has no intercourse, trying to teach him something important he may not yet know or, in view of his compulsory or self-imposed abstinence, perhaps trying to comfort him by means of sex talk illustrated by eloquent mimics. The rest an alert observer learns during the feasts, at least when he takes part in them with a certain male awareness.

The Tupari know the relationship between copulation and pregnancy. In view of the consequence of coition the men sometimes call penis in a joking manner: “w-aöb apā” or “ürük apā”, i.e. “my sons’ path” or “the little ones’ path”. Moreover their language has only one word (“köd”) for both “kid” and “semen”. But being ignorant of the physiological details of conception the Tupari have the idea that a child may be the offspring of more than one father. One man, Pakuđjá, told me about a boy who was the very image of his ugly legitimate father, Tabiá, saying that he too was “a little” that boy’s father, because he too had had — secret — intercourse with the mother. This statement implies the supposition that the semen of the several men two copulate with a woman all contributes to the procreation of the child, who therefore may have several “fathers”, but of course on-
ly one "daddy", or no "daddy" at all if its mother is unwed. We find a similar idea held by other tribes. —

Though the Tupari know the natural origin of pregnancy, its irregularity apparently astonished them and induced them to suppose that intercourse alone is not sufficient for impregnating a woman. They think it needs to be supplemented by some supernatural aid. Presumably for this reason they invented or dreamed of the following explanation which they do not tell as a fairytale but believe as a matter of fact:

Up in the air live two he-sorcerers whose names are Antabá and Kolúbá. All over their body they are covered with little babies, not bigger than a human hand. Those little babies have come out of the flesh of the old sorcerers and cling to their bodies and weep. During the night Antabá and Kolúbá come down to earth. Where they know a woman who has had sexual intercourse they take one of the small children who are clinging to their bodies and by means of incantations they put it into the woman's womb. In this way she becomes pregnant, whilst the intervention of one of those old he-sorcerers she could not possibly have a child. Actually the Indians are accustomed to ascribe the fatherhood of their babies, apart from their human father, to one of those legendary heavenly magicians. —

The tribe's own terrestrial shamans too are believed to have an influence upon the fertility of the female. Trying to convince the author that the chief and head shaman Waitó was by no means the benign father of the tribe, Kuarumá, the chieftain of the second group, told him that he (Waitó) had caused the sterility of some tribeswomen. But as far as I know they did not dare to accuse him publicly. "Waitó has broken her matrix", the men would complain, imitating the magician's gestures of black magic. But they seem to forgive him these occasional evil practices, presumably in view of his otherwise great care for the tribe's welfare, and apart from that they may fear his revenge. —

The Tupari call the genitals and the act of copulation by their proper names without circumlocutions. The male's part in the act of sex is called: "kūmù ka", i.e. "to eat the vagina", or simply "aká", a transitive verb grammatically akin to "ka" ("to eat, drink") and not to be used for the feminine part in intercourse. There is another expression with the same significance, namely "aiia ka". "aiia" means otherwise the magic influence of the heavenly spirits upon the human and also the blessing practised by the shaman. It is difficult to say whether we are simply confronted by homophones or if the Indians actually compare the beneficial effects of copulation with a magic blessing or even attribute them to some magic cause.
Men and women indiscriminately may use the onomatopoetic "kab... kab... kab..." to designate intercourse (perhaps only when speaking with foreigners), whilst the proper word for the feminine part in it is: "ang ka", i.e. "to eat the penis". (By the way, there is no evidence of either cunnilingus or fellatio).

In accordance with this equation of "eating" and "copulation" both male and female are accustomed to express sexual pleasure with an emphatic "auá!", as they do to describe their pleasure when eating something very good. Speaking of the opposite feeling old Kamatsuka confided to the writer that she did not like coition with her husband Waitó any more because "his penis does hurt me", "he is so ill tempered and he beat me so much". This complaint of Kamatsuka's seems to indicate that sexual pleasure was intimately related to her general feeling about her mate. "No attachment — no pleasure!"

While each sex uses different words to designate the act of copulation as explained above, the act of marrying is expressed by the same active verb "para" by both male and female.

SEX RESTRICTION AND TABOOS

The preceding explanations would be incomplete and even misleading if we did not add the statement that even sexual intercourse between legal spouses is by no means untrained. It is difficult to estimate with fair accuracy its frequency, because nobody actually seems to know if the couples leaving the hut are simply going to gather firewood or to work in their plantations, or if they will actually take advantage of the solitude to copulate. Moreover after living with the tribe for several months and knowing that tribal custom did not allow them to make up at night what they missed during the day, it was surprising how seldom they left together for the wood. "To go for firewood" with one's wife is almost a synonym of going to have intercourse with her; but in reality the women almost always went to fetch the wood alone, whilst their husbands remained in the hut or were hunting or fishing somewhere else.

In this as in many other respects the writer distrusted his own observations and thought the Indians eluded his vigilance by some stratagems. But finally he discovered his observations on their daily life corroborated by many statements of the Tupari themselves. Often the chief and other men expressed the opinion, that frequent intercourse was very bad and unworthy of human beings. The chieftain Waitó, himself a strong man who until a few years previously had three
wives who bore him many children, repeated this same statement again and again.

One observation of this kind the author made after being six weeks with the tribe, and he understood its significance only much later. One morning during a feast, which as usual lasted three days and nights, I noted a group of men and young people accompanying the chieftain Waitó to a place about fifty steps from the hut. The men like a committee of inquiry inspected the spot a good while speaking to each other very seriously. Finally they returned to the hut with a solemn air and I asked somebody what was the matter. “A man and a woman copulated there last night”, was the shy answer. I went on asking, but nobody would tell me more than that it was “a man and a woman” who committed what evidently was considered an offense. In response to my repeated enquiries a boy told me at last in all secrecy the names of the two sinners. I hastily went to fetch my “roll of inhabitants” as at time I did not yet know by heart the names of the members of the tribe. To my utter surprise I found that the supposed adulterers, the old shaman Kuayó and pretty young Habism, were a lawfully married couple. Only later on I understood the meaning of the incident. Late in the night when almost all the Indians were drunk and dancing or asleep, Kuayó had taken his wife into the open air, convinced that nobody would see him make use of what we would consider his marital rights. But he was evidently infringing a strict rule of the tribe and without any doubt some vigilant fellow tribesman had watched them and told the chieftain of the scandalous misconduct of the old magician, who was able to dominate his sexual desire and behaved “like a dog”.

To deprecate this rival shaman, Waitó repeatedly told me that he was like a dog or a cock, not being able to live without copulating every day. Evidently he took it for granted that I was of the same opinion and that I considered frequent intercourse something censurable. When I told him that I found nothing bad in it, he looked at me with surprise and repeated very seriously that it was very bad indeed. Strange enough, he was charged himself with relatively frequent illegal intercourse during the feast, but he repeatedly criticized the wives of the “Corumbiara” Indians whose tribes his grandfather still used to visit. Those women were no good, he said, because they liked to copulate too frequently and even with foreign visitors.

The Tupari men also believe that a man who has copulated recently may not be able to hunt monkeys and other animals and advance this explanation for a hunter’s bad luck or lack of skill. “He shoots and shoots, but the monkey will not fall down”, they say. Even my occasional bad luck at
hunting aroused suspicion in my Indian fellow hunters and they asked me if I had had dealings with a tribeswoman. —

Sex repression is to be found also in the Tupari’s projective system. They think the spirits of their dead, called “pa-bid’”, do not practise any more sexual intercourse after their solemn introduction into the realm of the dead. During this introduction however the spirit of the male copulates just once with an old giant she-sorcerer called “Waug’á, whilst a female spirit is subjected to one act of copulation with an old giant sorcerer Mpokaléro”, the former’s husband, to whose enormous penis the Tupari never omitted to allude when talking to me about their Hereafter. With this supposed ceremonial coition, in which the other spirits assist, the sex life of the dead is over, and the male spirit impregnates his mate by throwing a bunch of previously enchanted leaves at her back instead of copulating. As for the second spirit called “ki-apo-ga-pod” (the Tupari believe their dead live on not only in one but in two new beings), I was not able to learn with certainty if this is supposed to have any sexual intercourse, because of the Indians’ conflicting evidence. —

In the matter of express sex taboos the Tupari informants were not very communicative. There have been already mentioned: the prohibition of intercourse during the first months after the defloration, and the matrimonial and sexual prohibitions respecting immature girls and close relatives. The writer learned that as soon as a woman is aware of her pregnancy, her mate (and herself?) is subjected to severe food prohibitions and similar taboos. But the Indians did not tell me anything about sex abstention before or after the delivery or during menstruation. The Tupari’s belief that sexual intercourse before a hunting-party has a bad influence on the hunter’s markmanship has already been mentioned.

ADULTERY

Whilst on ordinary days the Tupari dwelling-place and its surroundings are a scene of order and its inhabitants submit to the rigid behaviour rules in force, during the drinking-feasts on the other hand more or less frequent cases of adultery occur despite the jealousy of husband and wives. But as a rule adulterers have no easy task trying to escape the attention of the public. Above all the ubiquitous vigilance of the boys acts as a check on adulterous relations. Knowing the inclinations of every man and woman and foreseeing the stimulating effects of the alcohol-containing chicha and all the gay festive activity going on in the half-dark hut, the boys hide behind some post or pile of firewood or lie in some strategically placed hammock pretending to be drunk or asleep, without taking their eyes off the persons whose be-
haviour arouses their suspicion, and sneaking after them in the darkness when they feel there is something in the wind. And the next morning the whole tribe will know what happened last night or what the boys thought had happened.

The offended husband takes suitable measures, which consist principally in beating his unfaithful wife, preferably when he gets drunk the next time. In two cases the author established repudiation because of the wife's bad behaviour. In one case (Aid-aid) the procedure led to complete divorce (see above). In the other case the woman (Tāā) had one little daughter which people thought was her husband's child. But her husband himself, Pakudjá, told the writer that Tāā had had intercourse with Curumi, the chieftain Kuarami's eldest son. The baby was not his own, he said, but the adulterer's, and he would not consider its mother his wife any more. As she was the sister of Pakudjá's next neighbour and their hammocks were still rather close together it was difficult to state if there a real divorce actually took place, or if it was only a temporary disagreement. But in four months Pakudjá never went with her to work or hunt, nor did she sit with him on the plaza to eat and drink in the evenings. And during the feasts he watched his other wife Keya with the greatest care, instead of getting intoxicated like the other men.

Before the tribe came into contact with civilization many an offended husband might have killed his rival. The last manslaughter for reasons of jealousy that I heard of occurred about ten or twelve years ago when the chief Waitó killed a well known coureur de femmes, cherished and helped by other offended husbands, but scolded by the adulterous women who reportedly complained: "They have killed our mate, now we have no husband any more." — Nowadays a man will not lightheartedly shoot the offender. He would not only fear the revenge of the dead man's kinsmen, but he knows also that the distant but highly respected white men in the rubber camp would not like to be considered by them a "savage Indian". Above all, public opinion in the tribe holds that killing more tribesmen is no longer expedient for the tribe, which has diminished with alarming rapidity to perhaps one tenth of its original number mostly on account of the repeated epidemics of the common cold or influenza introduced by the white visitors. "I won't kill any man — we are now very few anyhow", a tribesman told the author. But an angry husband will at least threaten the offender with shooting, and everybody knows that in spite of everything the threat might become a fact sooner or later.

A concrete case may illustrate some of the statements made above. One day the writer asked a tribesman why the
old sorcerer Kuayó had left the hut with his family several weeks ago without even returning to share the continual drinking feasts held during the weeks past. The man's answer was that Kuayó had gone to hunt and fish with his wife for a long time and was not likely to return soon, as he was very angry because Waitó, the chief, had adulterous relations with his wife. He had reportedly scolded the offender: “You are a bad man, you copulated with my wife”. And he had left the hut ostentatiously renouncing the pleasures of the continuous drinking-parties organized between the tree-felling period and seed-time. Moreover he threatened to abandon the hut of the chief and fellow shaman Waitó and to join the group headed by the rival chief Kuarumá. But that was not all. One day in the author's presence Waitó discovered that somebody had most disrespectfully stolen a large quantity of tobacco leaves he had bound on a long stick so that they might dry conveniently in the high cupola of his group's enormous beehive hut. The theft happened when the offended Kuayó was back again, and the angry Waitó pointed to his enemy's place saying: "Kuayó is a bad man. He has stolen my tobacco". The writer thinks that Waitó was not mistaken regarding the identity of the tobacco-thief, but actually Kuayó did not really steal his offenders tobacco, but simply "took" it as a just reprisal for Waitó's abusing his pretty young wife. —

As a living proof of the existence of illegal intercourse there are two or three people born out of wedlock. At a time when the author was already well acquainted with chief Waitó he told him one night that there were two men in the tribe who "have no father". Their mothers had no husbands, he told me, and they had sought gratification of their sexual desires during the drinking-bouts. One of those children "without father", the above mentioned neurotic Tárima, might have been forty years old and the other, Tokürürü, was now an old man. But even the boys knew their irregular birth which they consider "bad". The child without a father does not eat well, they say. And if it is a boy nobody will make bows and arrows for him to shoot lizards and little birds. But it was precisely in this connection that the writer learnt with how much caution one must consider statements made by the Indians, for later on a trustworthy young man told that only one of those irregular births had been really an illegitimate one; in the other case the father happened to die during the pregnancy of his wife.

Among the younger generation there seemed to be two illegitimate children. When the author asked about the father of a divorced woman's young baby people told him
that the procreator was not her former husband but the headman Waitô. The chief according to tribal custom denied his paternity, but the unmarried mother herself confirmed the story: "My little boy has no daddy, but the chieftain Waitô is his father." The Tupari language probably in common with most languages has two different words for saying either "daddy" (= abtsi) or "father" (=ob), the latter being used when they want to designate more expressly the descent of people and when speaking of animals.

The baby of the daughter of chief Waitô seemed to be another illegitimate child. At least gossip among the tribe unanimously ascribed the nice little boy's fatherhood to the young mother's handsome cousin Moam, who of course denied the story. But the legal "daddy's" rather cool and inaffectionate behaviour towards his "son" was in striking opposition to the general customs of the tribe and seemed to confirm that calm young Kabâ was well aware of his wife's past sins.

Either due to real observation of adultery or simple surmise, gossip among the tribe attributes the paternity of yet more children not to their mothers' husbands but to some other men. Of course a man will never admit his adulterous relations with a woman while by doing so he may offend a living fellow tribesman, and he will answer any suggestion to that effect with the standing reply that it is a lie and that he did not have any intercourse with her. But the Tupari evidently feel that a man who knows he is in some woman's favour and does not dislike her himself will hardly be able to withstand her seduction when they manage to evade the attention of the tribe during a feast-night or on some other exceptional occasion.

Some elderly women even seem to look with benevolence upon the youngsters' adulterous relations and favour them actively. The author was able to observe this phenomenon when Moam sneakèd up to the divorcee Tonga in the dark hut, with the chief Waitô's wife Kamatsuka serving as kind of a lookout. Another affectionate elderly woman effusively caressed a neighbour's little baby and proudly called it her "grandchild", because the tribe's gossip attributed its fatherhood or part of it to her absent son's illegal relations with that baby's mother Tsañ'a. On the other hand I heard of women who turned down adulterous proposals and several women have never been accused of having or seeking illicit intercourse. The Tupari thought those were especially "good" women and spoke about them with visible sympathy and reverence.
PROSTITUTION

There seems to be no prostitution in the tribe nor do its principal causes exist. Every youngster of the tribe obtains a wife, usually as soon as he attains manhood. Thanks to the surplus of women many an old man has the opportunity of obtaining a young wife even if his old wife is still alive. Especially good hunters and industrious labourers may have two or even three or four wives, particularly the chieftains. Men and women as a rule choose their mate by mutual affection, and people married as children have a chance of divorce before or after beginning marital life.

Moreover the simple way of life of the tribe does not demand long separations of the couple, and men and women have everything they need with no great difference between rich and poor. There is now always plenty to eat and space enough in the big collective hut, and though in the old days food was shorter than now I do not think that sexual behaviour has essentially changed for this reason. In this connection it is important to note that the women need no clothing and wear only a little home-made "jewelry" of shell and seeds. Moreover the Tupari use no money and most of them have no idea of its existence.

Nevertheless there seemed to be an attitude somehow comparable with the custom observed by Nimuendaju among the Apinayé (1) and by Othon Machado among the Karajá (2). With these tribes a woman dismissed by her husband because of adultery is considered a "wanton", or (in Brazilian) a "rapariga", i.e. a kind of prostitute who according to observers does not receive individual payment for her favours publicly bestowed on the tribesmen. — After Iad had dismissed unfaithful Aid-aid (see above), the chief Waitó asked me the day after a drinking-party if I had now copulated with her. When I denied it he asked: "Why not? Are you afraid?" It was however difficult to guess whether this was one of the chief's frequent jokes or if he was really giving me a benevolent hint as to a chance for intercourse without interfering with the moral laws of the tribe and without raising anybody's protest. It even seemed that he was courting that woman himself, certainly not for a matrimonial purpose. —

Although there is no evidence of prostitution proper existing among the Tupari, there seemed to be some notion that at least the abuse of sexual intercourse is somehow measurable in economic values. In the chapter "Adultery" we have

(2) Machado, Othon Xavier de Brito: "Os Carajás" (Rio de Janeiro 1947).
seen the case of Kuayó taking the tobacco of the offender Waitó as a sort of indemnity for copulating with his wife. Another story told with but little variation by the Tupari induces to draw the same conclusion:

Chief Waitó's eldest daughter, the pretty and high-spirited Maäroka, was married first to a young Arikapú Indian who lived for some time with the neighbouring Tupari probably he could find no wife in his own tribe. But the girl was still a child when Waitó expelled the foreigner, his son-in-law, because he was lazy. When young Maäroka grew up, she soon began to have secret sexual relations with several boy friends. One day her father learnt of the skillfully concealed adulterous relations and he grew very angry. When the next season for felling trees for the new plantation arrived, he made every one of his daughter's seducers (or the young men seduced by her) fell a particularly big and hard tree, as he reportedly said: "w-ag akab äbotsinna", i.e. "as a payment for copulating with my daughter".

PERVERSION — APHRODISIACS — LOVE MAGIC — BIRTH CONTROL — INFANTICIDE

In the chapter "Sexual Education" it was noted that masturbation was probably non-existent. The same may be said about homosexual practices. The Indians' behaviour pattern is heterosexual and the lack of any suggestion of deviant practices in their usually frank conversation serves to confirm the above statement. —

A few instances of male exhibitionism have been reported in the chapter "General Behaviour — Male". —

As for aphrodisiacs and love philtres the only time I thought I might have discovered an odd and astonishingly simple kind of love potion was when a young divorcee who made many efforts to obtain me as her husband stubbornly tried to put in my mouth some food she had carefully chewed before. —

In the matter of contraceptive and abortive practices the investigations are especially difficult because the tribesmen may speak with surprising frankness about many details of their sex life, but they do not like to answer questions concerning their wives. After returning to civilization I heard a trustworthy story which may illustrate those difficulties:

Among the Moré or Itene Indians whose remnants have since about 1935 lived in a Bolivian government colony on the Guaporé river, the director who was very well acquainted with his Indians' intimate life wondered for several years
about their extraordinarily low birth-rate. Only after many years and by accident did his astonished wife finally detect the women's preventative measures which consisted not only of tampons of fibers, cotton and the like but real earthenware pessaries which shut off the uterus with evident success and which were shown to me at the Moré colony.

As to the Tupari it appears that contraceptives are not employed. Their rather stable life may not induce them to the measures of birth control that more warlike and nomadic tribes felt obliged to take. The more children a Tupari family has the happier and prouder both father and mother are. Moreover the men say that a barren woman is of no use (among about 45 women of fertile age there were 3 sterile ones), and sterility is indeed reported as a serious reason for divorce. Finally the illegitimate children borne by single women despite public disapproval may prove to some extent the lack or at least the inefficiency of both contraceptive and abortive practices. — For instance Kamatsuka, the often mentioned wife of chief Waitó and surely the most intelligent and high-spirited woman of the tribe, lived separated from her husband for some time and became pregnant as a consequence of illicit intercourse. She would not have the child "because it had no daddy", but she did not seem to know how to get rid of it until after birth when she killed her baby. This is the only case of infanticide the author heard of, and the tribesmen spoke about it with visible disapproval.

OUTLOOK

Thus far the usages among the tribe of the Tupari Indians are still well conserved, and the promiscuity and venereal diseases of the white and black rubber tappers have not spread up to their dwelling-place. But it is to be feared that with the increase of contact with foreigners the traffic in Indian girls which is in vogue in the neighbourhood of the rubber camp may be extended to the Tupari tribe where women are relatively numerous.

The influence of the white and black men so far is notable principally in the remainders of the neighbouring Makuráp, Jabuti and Aruá tribes, whose original dwelling places were not so far away from the navigable part of the Rio Branco and consequently were the first to be haunted by the women-needing rubber tappers about thirty years ago. When the foreigners had taken some women from the nearer Indian dwellings, before long the tribesmen themselves had to look for wives in the more distant huts of their own tribes or
among the Arikapú and Wayoró. This catenary intertribal supply of women caused at first by the rubber workers' demand finally obliged some Arikapú, Wayoró and even Makuráp men to look for a wife among the Tupari. As early as in 1934 the ethnographer E. H. Snethlage found two Tupari women who had been married to Arikapú husbands and followed them to the dwelling of that tribe.

At the time of my stay, in consequence of this odd catenary women supply system three young Tupari women had emigrated to the only surviving group of the Arikapú. Two of them seemed to enjoy the life with the Arikapú whilst the third one had returned to the paternal hut to marry a young fellow tribesman. So had another woman who had lived some time with the Makuráp chief Bipey, but had no child by him and returned to her own tribe, where she married hot-tempered Amárawa. Another marriage is quite typical of the state of affairs. An old Makuráp Indian, called Biapetjapéy, who could not find a wife in his own half-civilized dying-out tribe, now lived with his Tupari friends where he procured a rather young widow.

On the one hand the Tupari Indians find it very bad that the tribeswomen prefer to leave them for a foreign suitor, doubtless concluding that matters may turn out bad for themselves and for their sons if the emigration of young women should increase. But on the other hand intermarriage between friendly tribes seems to be an old usage, and nowadays there is hardly any tribesman who would not like to have a foreigner, especially a good-tempered, industrious white man, as a son-in-law or brother-in-law. But there are some circumstances which till now have impeded the direct emigration of Tupari women to the rubber camp and have thus prevented the accelerated disintegration of the tribe's normal life. First of all the Tupari are still rare guests in the rubber camp, where they go only once a year or every two or three years in more or less numerous groups to work for a few weeks. Most men know only a few words of Portuguese or none at all, so that friendly intercourse with the rubber tappers is severely hampered. To go personally to the tribe to fetch a woman is still beyond the courage of most civilized men, because the journey from “São Luís” to the tribe’s dwelling-place takes about seven days on foot through the jungle mostly on narrow hunting-paths, and there is no other means of getting there. Moreover the Tupari men still enjoy the undeserved but advantageous reputation of being bloodthirsty bowmen and even cannibals.

But most of all, the women themselves are afraid of possible contagion with deadly cold or influenza which killed two
women who once accompanied their husbands to the rubber camp, in addition to annihilating nine tenths of the tribe during the past twenty years. Thus a woman accepting a white man or civilized Indian or given to him by pressure of her male relatives would rather try to persuade her suitor to stay with the tribe than to go with him to the foreigners’ residence which, the Tupari believe, is full of bad spirits who cause illness and early death.

Time will show whether the conservative or the disintegrating forces are stronger in the long run.

RESUMO

Em 1948, o autor passou quase meio ano entre os Tupari do alto rio Branco, afluente direito do Guaporé. Vinte e um anos depois do primeiro contato direto com os seringueiros, a tribo contava ainda cerca de quarenta famílias que, relativamente isoladas da nossa civilização, moravam em duas grandes malocas.

No presente trabalho, o autor coordena suas observações sobre a vida familiar e sexual daqueles índios, nos seguintes capítulos: Comportamento geral do homem e da mulher; educação sexual e hábitos pré-nupciais; vida familiar e casamento; cerimônias de defloramento e outros usos do casamento; uniões preferenciais e proibidas; divórcio; o ato sexual; restrição sexual e tabus; adultério; prostituição; perversão; afrodisíacos, controle de natalidade, infanticídio.

Por último, o autor encara a influência da cultura neo-brasileira da Amazônia sobre os Tupari e as tribos vizinhas que estão, na maior parte, mais aculturadas do que aqueles. Chega à conclusão de que, mais dia, menos dia, a vida tribal dos Tupari, até agora intata, será destruída, pois esses índios representam para os brancos da região a última reserva de trabalhadores e suas mulheres são cobiçadas pelas tribos vizinhas, que foram privadas das suas pelos seringueiros.
Fig. 1 – Penis-cover ("támaram") of the ordinary kind, reverse side and seen from the front.
(Courtesy Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg)

Fig. 2 – The penis is pushed back and completely disappears. Above the orifice thus formed a skin-fold is lifted with two fingers and squeezed between the solid part of the "támaram" and the fixing strip. Unlike other penis-covers, the "támaram" does not tie up the prepuce.
Fig. 3 – Tupari man and boy wearing the obligatory penis-cover.
Fig. 4 – Mother and son, showing the typical sitting-position of either sex.
Fig. 5 – Male and female planting manioc.
  a – The woman when bowing down sometimes carefully crosses her legs.

b – The male with his penis concealed by the "tâmaram" has no need for any care and may sprawl his legs.