SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

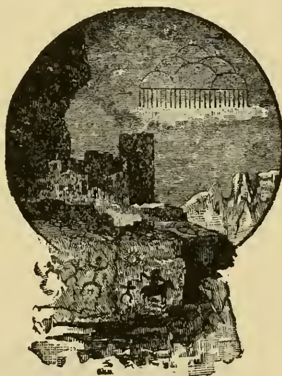
HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation



Biblioteca Digital Curt Nimuendajú
http://www.etnolinguistica.org/hsai

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

THE TENETEHARA[1]

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

The *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people of northeastern Brazil, commonly called *Guajajara* and *Tembé,* are generally mentioned in the literature as two independent tribes but are really a single group calling themselves *Tenetehara.* By this name they distinguish themselves from the *Urubú* (also *Tupí-Guaraní*), the *Timbira* (*Ge*), and the Neo-Brazilians of the same region.

The *Guajajara-Tenetehara* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) inhabit the region drained by the Mearim, Grajaú, and Pindaré Rivers in the state of Maranhão (lat. 3°–5° S., long. 4°–6° W.); the *Tembé-Tenetehara* (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7) live along the Gurupí, Guamá, and Capim Rivers in the State of Pará (lat. 2°–3° S., long. 7°–9° W.). The *Guajajara-Tenetehara* now number more than 2,000, but the *Tembé-Tenetehara* are estimated at only 350 to 400. For convenience, we shall refer to these people by the name they give themselves, *Tenetehara,* rather than by the tribal names, *Guajajara* and *Tembé,* by which they are best known in the literature. No important differences of culture or language are known to exist between the *Tembé-Tenetehara* of the State of Pará and the *Guajajara-Tenetehara* of the State of Maranhão.

The region inhabited by the *Tenetehara* is dense tropical rain forest rich in hardwoods, rubber, copaiba (*Copaifera* sp.), and various palms, especially the babassú palm (*Orbignya* sp.), whose leaves and nuts are so important in *Tenetehara* economic life. There is little seasonal variation in temperature in the region, yet there are two definite seasons: the rainy season lasting from December through June, and a dry season from July through November.

The present summary is based on field work done by the authors for 5 months during 1941–42.

[1] The field research on which this article is based was made possible by the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

HISTORY

The *Tenetehara* seem to have inhabited this general region since pre-Columbian times, and they have been in contact with western culture in one form or another for more than 300 years. As early as 1615, an expedition led by La Ravardière on the upper Pindaré River encountered Indians whom he called *Pinariens* and who were probably *Tenetehara* (*Guajajara*) (Métraux, 1928 a). One year later, Bento Maciel Parente speaks of killing many *Tenetehara* (*Guajajara*) when he traveled up the Pindaré River with 45 Portuguese soldiers and 90 Indian followers (probably *Tupinamba*) in search of gold.

In the middle 17th century, the Jesuits made three separate expeditions up the Pindaré River for the purpose of bringing *Tenetehara* down the river and placing them in mission villages on the Island of Maranhão. Two expeditions, one led by Father Francisco Velloso and Father José Soares, and the second led by the Jesuit Superior, Manoel Nunes, in the middle of the 17th century, were partially successful and founded several mission villages on the lower Pindaré, among them Itaquy. The third expedition, led by the Jesuit José Maria Garconi, returned with a large number of *Tenetehara* and placed them in the mission village called Cajupé on the lower Pindaré. Later, however, when the Jesuits moved their mission village farther down river to Maracú (the present town of Vianna), the majority of these missionized *Tenetehara* returned to the upper Pindaré in fear of their enemies, the *Gamela*. In consequence, the Jesuits established a new mission on the upper Pindaré at the mouth of the Carú River. Besides these religious missions, however, it is probable that the *Tenetehara* were in contact with Portuguese adventurers who wandered in this general region hunting Indians as slaves.

By the middle 18th century, the *Tenetehara* are mentioned as inhabiting also the Grajaú and Mearim Rivers, west of the Pindaré. At the same time Gustavo Dodt mentions them (*Tembé*) along the banks of the Gurupí River. In 1840 the provincial government of Maranhão established the Colony of São Pedro do Pindaré for the Indians of the region, with but little success. The Colony of Januario, established higher up the Pindaré in 1854, was more successful, having a population of 120 *Tenetehara* almost 20 years later. From the last half of the 19th century until the present, there has been a steady advance of Neo-Brazilians into *Tenetehara* territory, especially along the courses of the Mearim and Grajaú Rivers. Except for several sporadic uprisings, the *Tenetehara* have always lived at peace with Neo-Brazilians, and there has been a mutual interchange of culture within the region. Today iron tools, clothes, myths of Iberian and African origin, and many other elements of frontier Neo-Brazilian culture are integrated elements in *Tenetehara* life.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Like the extinct coastal *Tupí* groups, the *Tenetehara* are extensive agriculturists. They cultivate principally maize, both bitter and sweet manioc, cará, (*Dioscorea* sp.), squash, peanuts, beans, and bananas. At present, they also have large plantations of rice, which they raise primarily to sell to their Neo-Brazilian neighbors.

Annually from July to November, great areas of forest are cleared for gardens, and the dry vegetation is burned toward the end of November. The gardens are planted throughout December. All *Tenetehara* use steel axes, hoes, and bush knives obtained by trade from Neo-Brazilians.

Plate 13.—**Tenetehara boys.** *Top:* Boys dressed for puberty ceremony. *Bottom, left:* Boy decorated for puberty ceremony. His father led the song and his mother danced. *Bottom, right:* Portrait of young man. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

PLATE 14.—**Tenetehara women and shaman.** *Top, left:* Girl just before puberty ceremony. *Top, right:* Woman and child. *Bottom, left:* Shaman possessed by familiar spirit. *Bottom, right:* Shaman smoking long tobacco cigar and holding in his hand an object drawn from a sick patient. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

Formerly, only women planted and harvested cotton and peanuts, while the cultivation of manioc, maize, and other plants was the exclusive occupation of the men. Today, however, men plant the entire garden, including cotton and peanuts, and women help now and again in light garden tasks. Similarly, the preparation of manioc flour and the carrying of drinking water were exclusively female tasks which a man would have been ashamed to perform; at present both sexes perform them equally.

Gardens are said to be individually owned, yet most commonly an older man makes a garden aided by his real and adopted sons, his nephews, and his sons-in-law. The garden, while used by all in common, is said to be the individual property of the head of the family.

Wild foods.—Hunting is practiced not only to add meat to a basically vegetarian diet, but also to collect animal skins for sale to Neo-Brazilian traders. Tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*), deer, both the white-lipped and collared peccary, monkeys, agouti (*Dasyprocta,* gen.), and various forest fowls are the principal animals hunted. Peccary hides bring especially good prices at Neo-Brazilian villages, and the *Tenetehara* use the money to buy trade goods, such as clothes, salt, and gunpowder.

Today the favorite means of hunting is with muzzle-loading shotguns. Yet, lacking money with which to buy guns, many men of each village still hunt with the bow and arrow.

Fishing is done by ordinary hook and line acquired from Neo-Brazilians. Fishing by poisoning drying pools with timbó (*Serjania* sp.) is known but seldom practiced.

Collecting babassú palm nuts and copaíba oil has acquired extreme importance in modern *Tenetehara* economic life, especially on the Mearim, Grajaú, and Pindaré Rivers. These products, like rice and furs, can be sold in order to buy manufactured articles, such as clothes, guns, fishhooks, and salt.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

At present, the *Tenetehara* houses in the Pindaré and Grajaú River regions have a rectangular floor plan with hip-roofs. Both walls and roofs are covered with babassú palm leaves. This house form is perhaps Neo-Brazilian, yet people do not remember any other type. In 1924 E. H. Snethlage (1931) found the *Tenetehara* houses on the middle Mearim River of the same type as those of the Neo-Brazilians of the region, and even in the last century, Gustavo Dodt described *Tenetehara* (*Tembé*) houses on the Gurupí River as straw-roofed with clay adobe walls (Dodt, 1873, p. 194), definitely of Neo-Brazilian type. Snethlage speaks of houses covered with bark, but considered this type of roof temporary, explaining its use by the lack of palm leaves in certain districts.

A village generally has two rows of houses with a wide street between them. Larger villages may have three, four, or more rows. The size of

653333—47—12

Tenetehara villages varies greatly. According to a recent census made by the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios, the villages of the Pindaré and Grajaú ranged from 35 to more than 800 persons each. Houses are generally occupied by a matrilineal extended family, although many hold only a simple family (man, wife, and young children). Extended family residences are not subdivided by inner walls, but each simple family uses a portion of the house space, having its separate cooking fire around which it hangs its sleeping hammocks. Gourds filled with drinking water, baskets with manioc flour, metal utensils, and other belongings are hung on the upright supports against the walls. Sometimes high platforms are made near the roof for the storage of maize, manioc, hides, farming instruments, etc.

Snethlage (1931) saw a large ceremonial house, which was much larger than the dwellings in the village of Colonía on the Mearim River. It was situated at the end of the village street. On the Pindaré River, the ceremonial house is no longer erected, but formerly it was built for the Honey Feast (see p. 146) and destroyed afterward. It seems to have been but a larger shelter without walls, in which both men and women danced.

CLOTHING

Formerly, the *Tenetehara* were nude. Men tied the prepuce over the glans penis with a piece of palm fiber (Lago, 1822, p. 85). Today they have adopted clothes from the Neo-Brazilians; women always wear skirts and men wear shirts and pants, only occasionally stripping down to a loincloth for heavy work in the gardens. It is now a matter of prestige to have new or better clothes than other people.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Basketry is still woven by the *Tenetehara,* especially in the villages of the upper Pindaré River. A split flexible creeper is used principally. Round sieves for straining manioc flour, square baskets with woven geometric designs, and the flexible tipití for squeezing the poisonous juice from bitter manioc are the most common objects of this class.

Weaving.—Native cotton is used almost entirely for string hammocks. The string is wound horizontally around two vertical posts driven into the ground; double vertical strands are twined at a distance of about 2½ inches (7.5 cm.) apart.

Gourds.—Eating utensils are made from round gourds. The gourds are first boiled, then allowed to dry thoroughly, cut in half, and the interior mass scraped out. The interior is stained black with genipa and frequently the outside is decorated geometrically with incisions or lines of black genipa dye. Frequently, only a hole is cut in a gourd, and it is used as a jug for drinking water or wild honey.

Ceramics.—The pottery which Snethlage noted in 1924 (Snethlage, 1931) was simple and generally undecorated, but some vessels had incised designs.

Today pottery making has been completely abandoned, at least on the Pindaré and Grajaú Rivers. The *Tenetehara* use metal utensils purchased from Neo-Brazilians.

Weapons.—Bows average 3 feet (1 m.) in length; the belly is convex, the inside flat. Bows are generally made of pau d'arco wood (*Tecoma conspicua*), and the bowstring of twined tucum (*Bactris* sp.) fibers. Arrows are comparatively short, averaging only about 3 feet (1 m.) in length. Nowadays they have steel points made from old bush knives and bits of metal purchased from Neo-Brazilians and worked cold. Arrow shafts are of reed (*Gynerium sagittatum,* a grass).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Each *Tenetehara* village is politically autonomous. Inter-village relations are maintained by means of visits for ceremonials and for trade, and by intermarriages.

Since the time of the Jesuits, each village has had a secular chief (capitão in Portuguese) appointed by some authority outside the tribe (e.g., Jesuit missionaries, the Colonial, Imperial, and Republican Governments, and at present the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios). In general, this chief is only an intermediary between the Indians and the Neo-Brazilians. He is generally but one of several leaders or heads of the extended families which make up a village. However, the respect that he is accorded by outsiders frequently increases his prestige in the eyes of the villagers.

Each family leader unites about him a large number of kin, either in his own house or in contiguous houses. He may have several young men living with him whom he calls "son" and as many young women whom he calls "daughter" (own daughters, real or classificatory brother's daughter, or wife's real or classificatory sister's daughter) as possible. Because marriage is matrilocal and sons-in-law must work in the gardens of their fathers-in-law at least for a year or two, these "daughters" attract followers for the family leader. According to his individual capacity, the family leader attracts large extended families more or less permanently around him.

Extended family groups cooperatively plant large gardens. Frequently, the leader sells all marketable products, such as skins, rice, and babassú, produced by the entire group, and proportions the results of the sales among the individual families. A village generally has four, five, or more extended families and their leaders, who while not constituting a formal village council, ultimately decide public questions.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—During his wife's pregnancy, a *Tenetehara* man must observe elaborate restrictions in his diet and in his hunting activities. He may not kill or eat jaguars, falcons (*Falconoidea*), ant eaters (*Tamandua tetradactyla*), wildcats, parrots, or various other animals and forest fowls. The purpose of these taboos is to protect the fetus from the "spirit" of the animal killed or eaten. This "spirit" (piwara) enters the unborn child, either causing physical abnormalities or giving it some undesirable attribute of the animal. For example, the spirit of the enormous beaked toucan (*Ramphastos toco*) may cause the child to be born with a large nose; the father who kills a jaguar during his wife's pregnancy may expect to have an insane child.

A new series of taboos begins for both parents at childbirth. Sexual relations are prohibited for parents until the "child is hard," that is, until it begins to have some control over its muscles, 5 or 6 months after the birth. For a week to 10 days, both parents may eat only manioc flour, small fish, and roast maize, and must drink only warmed water. Until the child is weaned, certain meats, such as macaw, white-lipped peccary, and tapir are forbidden to both parents. Breaking any of these taboos arrests the development of the infant and may cause its death.

Puberty.—Formerly, adolescents of both sexes were isolated for 10 days or more in separate huts built especially for the occasion. On the 10th morning, entrails of the agouti were stretched across the door of the hut, and the adolescent had to break these in order to leave. Today boys are seldom isolated at all before their puberty ceremony, and girls may be isolated only by a palm-leaf screen within the family dwelling or they may simply lie in their hammocks in one corner of the room. Even today the girl ends her isolation by breaking the entrails of the agouti stretched across the door, and is chased by the young men of the village when she runs to the stream or pool for a bath.

Formerly, a father examined his son's penis after the isolation period, and, if there were signs of masturbation, the boy was whipped with a vine rope.

The puberty ceremony is for both sexes (see pls. 13, 14). Boys are painted red with genipa, and falcon breast feathers are glued on their breasts and arms (pl. 13). Frequently, the boys carry a wand consisting of about 30 to 40 tail feathers from the red macaw stuck into a wooden handle. Girls are simply painted black over their entire bodies and sometimes white falcon breast feathers are glued to their hair.

The puberty ceremony begins at dawn and lasts 24 hours. It consists mainly of general singing and dancing led by the grandfather of one of the adolescents. Shamans play an important role, calling their familiar spirits and falling into trances under the influence of the spirits (see p. 147). At dawn, after the night of group singing everyone feasts on

large quantities of meat, the result of hunting during previous days by all men of the village. At this time the young people are formally given permission to eat of such meats as peccary, guariba monkey, wild goose, and various forest fowls, all of which until now were prohibited to them. Because of this feast, the Neo-Brazilians of the region call the *Tenetehara* puberty ceremony the Festival of Roasted Meat (Festa de Moqueado).

Marriage.—Marriage takes two general forms: Frequently, a young man marries a preadolescent girl, moving to her parents' house and waiting until after her puberty ceremony to consummate the marriage; or a girl's father finds her a husband after her puberty ceremony. In either case, residence for the couple is matrilocal for at least a year after sexual relations begin and generally until the birth of a child. There seem not to be any special marriage ceremonies. After becoming a parent, a young man of initiative may break away from his father-in-law and set up his own household.

Monogamy is the general rule, yet there are cases of family leaders with two and even three wives. In such cases, the wives are usually close relatives; in several instances, they were a widow and her daughter by a previous marriage.

Death.—Antonio Pereira do Lago, writing in the 19th century, reports that the *Tenetehara* buried their dead in the family dwelling, and that the house was destroyed when a second death occurred. At present, burial is in a cemetery, always just outside the village; the body is wrapped in a mat made of babassú palm (*Orbignya* sp.) leaves, or it may be placed in a wooden box similar to that used by local Neo-Brazilians. A low roofed shelter is frequently built over the grave; such grave shelters were noted by Dodt on the Gurupí in the last century.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Native art forms are represented today only by a few items, such as decorated basketwork, incised and painted gourd receptacles, and feather head bands. Wands are made by sticking innumerable tail feathers of the red macaw into a wooden handle.

Music.—The *Tenetehara* are very fond of music. They have not only retained their native music, but have borrowed the Neo-Brazilian music of the region. Singing native songs, however, is still the most popular pastime and the outstanding esthetic of the *Tenetehara*. There are frequent informal reunions called žingareté (to sing much) in the evenings throughout the year, when people sing secular songs for recreation. Such songs last for the greater part of the night, people leaving and joining the group from time to time. Ceremonies are basically singing festivals and each has its particular set of songs. To sing such ceremonial songs out of season would bring supernatural reprisal. The songs of the Honey

Festival are considered the most beautiful by the *Tenetehara*. They are believed to have been learned in mythological times by a young *Tenetehara* shaman when he visited a festival of the animals at the Village of the Jaguar; the songs are those sung by individual animals on that occasion.

Shamans are obliged to have a large repertoire of songs; a group of songs is attributed to each supernatural being, and the shaman must know those of his familiar spirits. A good voice is a prerequisite for shamanism. At shamanistic sessions (p. 147), the shaman sings as he "calls" the spirit, and the spirit sings through him after he is possessed (pl. 14, *bottom, left*) ; the audience joins the shaman in the refrain of the songs. Shamanistic sessions are well attended, because they give people a chance to come together to sing.

In all group singing both men and women sing, the latter in a higher key, much as among the *Tapirapé* and as described for the *Tupinamba*.

Musical instruments.—Gourd rattles always accompany singing, but they are not sacred, as among the coastal *Tupí*. A trumpet with a bamboo stem and a cow's horn resonator is used during the Honey Festival; during aboriginal times, a gourd resonator was used in place of the cow's horn.

Dancing.—Frequently, during informal singing, the *Tenetehara* keep time to the music by stamping with one foot on the ground. During lively shamanistic sessions and during ceremonies, both sexes dance. Commonly, they simply stamp in one spot, with a heavy beat on one foot. During the Maize Festival, they move in a large circle with a skipping step; on other occasions, a line of men faces a line of women and the two lines advance and retreat from each other. A possessed shaman dances in a manner indicative of the supernatural possessing him; for example, when possessed by the guariba monkey spirit, he postures in imitation of the monkey, and when possessed by the toad spirit, he hops about like a toad.

The *Tenetehara* also frequently hold Neo-Brazilian dances, when men and women dance in couples to waltzes, "sambas," and local folk tunes. For these dances, many young *Tenetehara* have learned to play bamboo flutes and skin drums. Sometimes a Neo-Brazilian is hired to play the accordion for dancing.

Games.—No aboriginal games were noted among the *Tenetehara*. Boys play tops and marbles in the same manner as the Neo-Brazilian children of the region.

Narcotics.—Hashish (*Cannabis indica*), or diamba, as it is called locally, is in widespread use in the region of the Pindaré, Mearim, and Grajaú Rivers, both by the *Tenetehara* and Neo-Brazilians. On the Pindaré River, it is used in long cigarettes made from leaves of the plant rolled in a thin sheet of bark of tawari tree (*Couratari* sp.).

Native tobacco plays an important role in *Tenetehara* religious life, being used by the shamans in the treatment of illness and in all their

other activities (pl. 14, *bottom, right*). It is smoked in long funnellike cigars, about 12 inches (30 cm.) long, wrapped in cane bark. Smoking of tobacco or hashish is also a general pastime.

There are no indications that the *Tenetehara* have known any alcoholic beverages other than those which they now purchase from the Neo-Brazilians.

RELIGION

Tenetehara supernatural beings (karowara, their generic name) may be conveniently divided into three groups: culture heroes, forest spirits, and ghosts, the last being spirits of the dead and spirits of animals. All except the culture heroes are malignant and make the world so generally dangerous that the Indians must constantly have recourse to their shamans for protection.

Culture heroes.—*Tenetehara* culture heroes are not active supernatural beings in their modern relations to mankind, but in myths they are culture bringers and creators. (See Mythology, p. 147.) Among them, Maíra and Tupan are the principal creators of culture. It is quite possible, however, that the importance of Tupan has been overemphasized by missionaries who identified him throughout Brazil with the Christian God. Tupan was simply the "demon of Thunder" among the coastal *Tupí* (Métraux, 1928 b).

Forest spirits.—Maranaüwa is the owner of the forest and of the animals inhabiting it, especially of white-lipped peccaries, and he punishes *Tenetehara* men who needlessly and wantonly kill this species. Maranaüwa may be identified as Corropira or Kuri-pira of other *Tupí* groups and of Neo-Brazilian folklore.

Ŭwan, the spirit which controls the rivers and water life, is given two other descriptive names: Ŭpóre (ü, water; póre, inhabitant) and Ŭžáre (ü, water; žare, owner). This supernatural being is identified by local Neo-Brazilians as the "Mother of Water," a character of Brazilian folklore. Ŭwan is described by the *Tenetehara* as a spirit who is always malignant, and who causes illness.

Zuruparí is a forest demon which attracts hunters and leads them astray until they are lost and then kills them. This spirit corresponds to Yuruparí, or Zuruparí, of Neo-Brazilian folklore.

Ghosts.—Wandering ghosts (ažang) are the souls of people who died from sorcery, who broke incest taboos during their life, or who died by slowly wasting away. The modern *Tenetehara* explain that the souls of people who die by other means go to the "home of Tupan," a Christian explanation.

The ažang wander through the forests or near the cemeteries and abandoned houses. They can transform themselves into animals which appear to hunters, frightening them and causing them to lose arrows shot

at them by mistake. The *Tenetehara* are very frightened of ažang, especially at night; they always avoid passing near a cemetery or an abandoned house.

The spirits of dead animals (piwara) mainly enforce restrictions on diet and on hunting, such as those imposed upon a man during his wife's pregnancy and his child's early infancy and upon preadolescent children. If a father of a young child, for example, kills a macaw, the spirit of the macaw may make the child ill if he is not treated by a shaman sufficiently strong to control this spirit. Deer, monkeys, forest fowls, toads, tapirs, and many other animals have such spirits.

CEREMONIALS

Besides the puberty rites, two ceremonies are still held by the *Tenetehara* of the Pindaré and Grajaú River region: The Honey Festival (žemučihawo and the Maize Festival (awačiwähuhawo). The first takes place during the dry season, and the second accompanies the growth of maize during the rains from January through March. The Maize Festival is basically a song feast and dance, which provides a background for shamanistic performances. Shamans invoke their familiar spirits in order to protect the growing maize.

The Honey Festival takes place during the last days of the dry season and lasts but a few days. Preparations for it, however, require months, because the *Tenetehara* must collect wild honey for it throughout the dry season. Generally, 20 to 30 gourd containers, each holding one to two liters of honey, must be filled. Each night or so during these months, the people of the village gather and sing "to bless the honey." Formerly, the containers of honey were hung to the rafters of a special ceremonial house built for the occasion; nowadays, they are stored in any available empty house. When sufficient honey has been collected, the leader of the ceremony sends out invitations to nearby villages. During the ceremony, the *Tenetehara* dance in a large circle. The songs refer to the original honey feast held by animals in mythical times (Nimuendajú, 1915). The honey is mixed with water and consumed by the dancers; when the honey is gone, the ceremony terminates.

SHAMANISM

In spite of more than 300 years of sporadic contact with missionaries, shamanism continues to be a very active element of *Tenetehara* religious life. In fact, with the decline of native ceremonial life under Neo-Brazilian influence, the activities of the shamans (pažé) absorb most of modern *Tenetehara* religious activity. Like the *Tupinamba* shaman, pay, the *Tenetehara* pažé is a man of great prestige in his community. At present, each village has no less than two or three shamans and some large villages

have six or seven; in addition, numerous young men are learning the art. There are few *Tenetehara* who do not attempt during their youth to become shamans.

Tenetehara shamans cure illness by removing the disease-causing objects through sucking or massaging (pl. 14, *bottom, right*). During the cure, the shaman dances and sings, beating time with a rattle and calling his familiar spirits. Men and women of the village join him in the chorus. Now and again, he gulps and swallows smoke from his large tubular cigar, eventually becoming definitely intoxicated. Suddenly, he staggers backward, grasping his chest to show that his spirit has possessed him. A shaman must be able "to call" (be possessed by) the same piwara, or spirit, that has caused the illness in order to be able to extract the object. He approaches the patient and sucks or massages out the extraneous object (ümae), i. e., a piece of stone, bone, or wood.

A shaman shows by his actions which spirit has possessed him (pl. 14, *bottom, left*). If it is a deer spirit (aropohá piwara), he may eat manioc leaves; if ghosts (ažang), he drinks uncooked tapioca flour mixed with water; and if any familiar spirit, he frequently rubs the lighted end of his cigar over his bare chest and arms without being burned. Several informants told of *Tenetehara* shamans who swallow burning coals from a fire while possessed by the spirit of the kururu toad (*Bufo* sp.). Snethlage (1927, p. 132) also observed this. On occasions, the familiar spirit is "too strong" for a shaman, and he falls unconscious, remaining extended upon the ground for an hour or more until the spirit leaves him.

The power of a *Tenetehara* shaman depends upon the number of familiar spirits he can "call." Commonly, shamans have five or six such familiar spirits. Because üwan, the owner of water, frequently causes illness, this spirit is most frequently called in cures. At present, on the Pindaré River, there are no shamans who count among their familiar spirits the toad spirit (kurura piwara), the forest demon, Maranaüwa, or the jaguar spirit (žawara piwara). So powerful are these three spirits that no modern shamans dare "call" them. A shaman spends many years learning "to call" his various familiar spirits by singing and acquiring the power to withstand them when possessed. He sometimes visits many villages to learn from other shamans and to acquire a larger number of familiar spirits.

MYTHOLOGY

In *Tenetehara* mythology, two culture heroes stand out, Tupan and Maíra. The figure of Tupan has probably been emphasized by missionary influence; he appears as a creator and protector. Maíra, however, is clearly a native culture creator. He is the donor of fire, which he stole from the vultures, hiding it in a stick of urucú wood so that the *Tenetehara* might use this soft wood to make fire. Maíra also brought manioc

and maize to the *Tenetehara*. Maíra was the father of the Maíra-üra, who was born after his father had abandoned his mother. While wandering in search of Maíra, her husband, this woman conceived a second time when she stayed one night in the house of Mukwüra. From these two unions were born the twins Maíra-üra (üra, son) and Mukwüra-üra. A detailed myth is told of the adventures of these twins in their search for Maíra.

The *Tenetehara* also tell various cycles of animal stories. One cycle deals with the difficulties of the Gamba (*Didelphis* sp.) in arranging a satisfactory husband for his daughter and of how he is followed when trying to imitate the various animals. For example, the girl marries the wood tick, and Gamba, dissatisfied with his new son-in-law, tries to imitate the wood tick by floating to the ground on a leaf from a tree top, but falls hard to the earth. There is also a long cycle in which the tortoise has a trickster role. Other stories recount the Rolling Head and the Festival of the Animals. Modern *Tenetehara* legends include a large series that are of Iberian and Africo-Brazilian origin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barbosa Rodrígues, 1872; Bettendorf, 1910; Dodt, 1873; Froes Abreu, 1931; Kissenberth, 1912; Lago, 1822; Lopes, 1934; Marques, C. A., 1870; Métraux, 1928 a. 1928 b; Moraes, 1860; Nimuendajú, 1915; Plagge, 1857; Ribeiro, 1841; Leite, 1943; Snethlage, E. H., 1927, 1931 a; Wagley, 1942, 1943 a.