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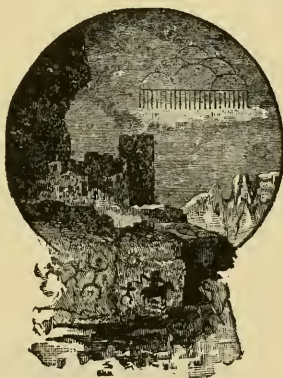
**HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS**

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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THE TURIWARA AND ARUÃ

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THE TURIWARA

LANGUAGE, TERRITORY, AND HISTORY

Turiwara ("those of the Turí"—the meaning of Turí is unknown) is the name used by this tribe and by the *Tembé* (map 1, No. 1; see Volume 1, map 7). The *Amanayé* say *Turiwá* or *Turiwã*.

The *Turiwara* language is a *Tupian* dialect of the *He-* group, and scarcely differs from the *Urubú* dialect, which has suggested the possibility that the two tribes are local divisions of one people. That there is a river named Tury in the present habitat of the *Urubú*, and that an *Urubú* group is called "*Turiwara*" is no proof of this possibility. Because the *Urubú* migrated to the Tury River, from Maranhão, only at the beginning of the 20th century, whereas the *Turiwara* had left Maranhão half a century earlier, the *Urubú* band named *Turiwara* can have no connection with the *Turiwara* tribe.

The first record of the *Turiwara* language is a list of personal names and their explanations compiled by Meerwarth (1904), who, however, confused forms of the *Lingua Geral* with those of the *Turiwara* dialect. The only published vocabulary consists of 103 words (Nimuendajú, 1914 c).

In the 18th century, a tribe named *Turiwara* was noted on the lower Tocantins (Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1812, p. 8; Villa Real, 1848, p. 431). (Lat. 4° S., long. 48° W.) It spoke *Tupian*, judging by the names of their two chiefs in 1793: Tatahi (tatá-i, "little fire") and Areuanajú (arawaná = a fish, *Ichnosoma* sp. + yu, suffix for persons' names).

According to *Tembé* tradition, the *Turiwara* crossed the Gurupí River from the present State of Maranhão shortly after the *Tembé*, probably between 1840 and 1850. In 1862, they lived in three villages on the Capim River below the Acaraçuçua Rapids: Suaçupepora with 30 persons, Cauaxy with 15, and Cariucaua with 60. In 1871, the Pracateua Mission (Assumpção) was founded on the Capim River with 500 (600?) *Tembé* and *Turiwara*. The following year, the murder of the missionary to the *Amanayé* put an end to the Christianization (see p. 200). (Cunha, 1852, p. 82; Brusque, 1862, p. 12; Cruz, 1874, p. 47; Souza Franco, 1842.) This evidently prompted the *Turiwara* to move from the Capim River mission to the Acará Grande River, where, in 1868, a large part of the tribe had already been established near Miritipirange (Gama Malcher, 1878, p. 102). In 1885, there were 100 *Turiwara* here, and 71 more on the left bank of the Acará Pequeno (Baena, 1885, p. 28). In

1899, Meerwarth (1904), the sole source of ethnographic information about the *Turiwara*, visited the tribe on the Acará Grande River. They lived then in 8 places below the Grande Rapids. In 1914, they numbered about 100, and all were on the Acará Grande. In 1942, only 14 survived (Arquivos da Inspectoria do Serviço de Protecção aos Índios).

The *Turiwara* were, according to Meerwarth, visited from time to time by merchants (regatões), mostly Portuguese, traveling in canoes. The merchants cheated the Indians outlandishly (Meerwarth, 1904).

CULTURE

Farming.—Manioc, cotton, urucú, and some bananas and oranges were cultivated.

Houses.—The house was a long, rectangular building with gabled roof and ridge pole. It had no walls.

Clothing.—The *Turiwara* wore clothes of civilized origin, but most of the time they went about with the upper portion of their bodies unclothed.

Transportation.—Houses were connected by overland paths. For river travel, the *Turiwara* had dugout canoes of the "casco" type, which were hollowed and the side walls spread more widely apart by heating inside and out over a fire and stretching. This is also the Neo-Brazilian type. Some canoes had shields fore and aft. The paddle had a crutch handle.

Manufactures.—Meerwarth (1904) lists manufactured objects: Pans for flour making, baskets woven of timbo, carrying baskets woven of liana with straps for hanging from the head and other straps for hanging from the shoulders, painted and unpainted pottery, beautiful hammocks of cotton dyed with urucú, gourds (*Lagenaria*) for holding water and others for beverages, braziers which at night they put under their hammocks for warmth, bows and arrows for fishing, rifles for hunting, bush knives, and iron axes. The women made the hammocks and pottery. The men hunted, fished, helped with flour making, and cut wood.

Social Usages.—The *Turiwara* were monogamous, though a chief formerly had several wives. A girl's father or, if she had no father, her older relatives gave her in marriage without consulting her wishes. The *Turiwara* practiced the couvade.

Meerwarth (1904) lists a series of men's and women's names which, without exception, were nicknames, not true surnames, and referred to the person's favorite food or to some amusing physical or mental peculiarity.

Accompanied by loud monotonous singing and the music of taboca flutes and clarinets (*toré*) made of the trunk of *Cecropia*, groups of *Turiwara* danced slowly, always singing the same refrain.

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See *Amanayé* bibliography, page 202.

THE ARUÃ

TERRITORY, LANGUAGE, AND HISTORY

In the 17th century, the *Aruã* (*Arouen*, *Aroua*) occupied the north-eastern part of Marajó Island (for Marajó archeology, see this volume, pp. 153-159), the islands of the estuary of the Amazon including Caviana, and perhaps part of the mainland on the left bank of the estuary. Later, they withdrew in part to Brazilian Guiana and the adjacent region of French Guiana. This zone consists almost entirely of lakes and floodlands.

Viñaza (1892) mentions no less than seven works in and on the *Aruã* language, written in the 18th century. Fr. Joaquim da Conceição wrote two religious texts; Fr. João de Jesus, a religious text and a grammar; and Fr. Boaventura de Santo Antonio, a grammar. All these have been lost. In 1877 in the village of Afuá (Marajó), Penna (1881) compiled a vocabulary given by the last *Aruã* of the place, a shaman of about 75. Penna thought the language was *Cariban*, but it is clearly *Arawakan*, though quite different from that of the true *Arawak* of the Guiana Coast and of the *Palicur*. In 1926 on the Uaçã River, the present author found no one who spoke the *Aruã* language. Two old Indians, however, gave a list of 30 vocables.

O'Brian del Carpio (ms.), who entered the estuary of the Amazon in 1621, was the first to mention the name *Aruã*. On Sipinipoco Island (i.e., Sapanapok or Caviana, or else one of the adjacent islands?) he learned the language which "they themselves called Arrua." Laet's map (1899) made 4 years later is the first to record an Arouen Island (i.e., Curuá or another one near it?). At the same time, Des Forest (1899) mentions near Cabo do Norte several *Arouen* villages of "Indians who wear their hair long like women." Later writings and maps distinguish Joanes Island (i.e., Marajó) and the Aruans Island or Islands.

The *Aruã* appeared for the first time in the history of Marajó in 1643 when a ship was wrecked on the Pará River. Father Luiz Figueira and other passengers reached the coast of Marajó, where they were killed and devoured by the *Aruã* (Moraes, 1860). Berredo (1905, 2:66), however, who likes to emphasize the "barbarity and ferocity" of the Indians, states that Figueira and others were drowned, and that nine others reached Marajó Island, where six of them were killed, but he does not say eaten, by the *Aruã*. It seems that the *Aruã* and the other tribes on Marajó Island were always hostile to the Portuguese of Belém, although they maintained friendly relations and commerce through the estuary of the Amazon with other nations, especially the Dutch. Father Antonio Vieira (1735-46, 1:135-136) emphasizes several times that the blame for this hostility lay with the Portuguese. By 1654, the *Aruã* and "*Nheengayba*" threatened the vicinity of the city of Belém itself (Berredo 1905, 2:95),

and an expedition was sent against them. (See also Bettendorf, 1910, p. 112.)

These tribes rejected all offers of peace and pardon, and, although Berredo stated that the war was ended with the "fatal annihilation of the barbarians," another armed expedition was in preparation 4 years later. Meanwhile, in 1652, Father Antonio Vieira had succeeded in having the laws sanctioning Indian slavery abolished. He informed the Indians of this and succeeded in making peace before the expedition went afield. Among the tribes which in 1659 solemnly made peace on the Mapuá River and on Marajó were the *Aruã* and their chief Piyé (Peyhé), whose village was in Rebordello, on the eastern point of Caviana Island (Vieira, 1735-46, 1:135, 151-169). The war was over and Christianization began, but the *Aruã* and other Marajó Indians began to migrate to Guiana. The following century is marked by this migration and by the Portuguese effort to prevent it.

The peace had but a limited effect, probably because the Jesuits, after a popular uprising in 1661, were compelled to stop enforcing the laws of 1652. In 1698, a number of the *Aruã* were declared "undesirable on the Northern coast because they were too friendly to the enemy" (the Dutch) and were expatriated to Maranhão (Bettendorf, 1910, p. 663).

In 1701 there was another great conflict with the *Aruã* of Marajó Island, who were established in three villages near the mouth of the Paraguay (Soure) River by Fr. José de Santa Maria. In the absence of the missionary, they were ill-treated by the residents of Belém and by the governor himself, Fernão Carrilho, and left their villages. Upon his return, the missionary and Fr. Martinho da Conceição went up the Paraguay River (Rio de Soure) to repair the damage, but the Indians killed them. The following year, a punitive expedition of 60 soldiers and 200 Indians captured some 200 *Aruã*. The murderers of the two priests were executed in Belém. (Southey, 1862, 5:90; Berredo, 1905, 2:399; Rocha Pombo, 1905, 6:338.) The same year the *Aruã* of Ganhoão (north coast of Marajó) were transferred to the village of the Aroaquis on the Urubú River, in the present State of Amazonas. With *Aruã* from the Cabo do Norte, another village was founded near Belém (Caiá or Monsarás?), but the missionary was not able to prevent the escape of the Indians (Annaes da Bibliotheca . . . I, Nos. 79, 85).

Twenty years later, the *Aruã* who had escaped to Guiana and obtained French support, took the offensive against the Portuguese under a chief named Koymarã (Guayamã, Guamã). They attacked the Portuguese settlements and for one year occupied the village of Moribira, 45 kilometers north of Belém. (Rio-Branco, 1899, 2:53, 90, 101; Guajará, 1896, p. 166; Coudreau, H., 1886-87, 1:220.) These hostilities lasted at least until 1727.

From 1738 to 1744, Father Lombard gathered the *Maraón* and *Aruã*, fugitives from the Portuguese missions, in the Ouanari mission, French Guiana (Coudreau, H., 1895, p. 274). In 1743, Barrère recorded the presence of *Aruã* to the south of Mineur River (Amapá Grande?), stating that they had outstanding ability as seamen. From 1784 to 1798, the Portuguese depopulated the entire coast between the Amazon and the Oyapock, taking the fugitive Indians to Pará. As trade invariably attracted the Indians to the French, it was essential that the Portuguese depopulate a zone between Pará and Cayena (Coudreau, H., 1886-87, 1:224). Despite great dangers, however, a large part of the prisoners returned in their fragile canoes to their refuge in Guiana. It was probably at this time that part of the *Aruã* settled on the Uaçá River. The persecutions stopped in the 19th century.

The Indians in Marajó disappeared during the first half of the 19th century. In 1793, *Aruã* were transferred from Chaves (north coast of Marajó) to the lower Tocantins, where the village of Murú was founded for them between the present Patos and Alcoaça (Almeida Pinto, 1906, p. 188). Rebordello counted 279 Indians in 1816, but the last *Aruã* of Marajó and neighboring islands disappeared, probably in consequence of the revolt of the Cabanos, 1834-36. A nucleus of *Aruã* and *Galibí*, however, settled in Uaçá, completely under French influence. With them were also some *Maraón*, *Palicur*, and *Itutan*, and French Creoles, Chinese, Arabs, and Brazilian Mestizos. In 1854, Father Dabbadie refers to 80 *Aroua* on the Uaçá River, and in 1891 H. Coudreau (1886) mentions 100. In 1925, when the present author spent some time among the 160 Indians of the Uaçá River, the *Aruã* component was much more reduced than the *Galibí*. There was no longer any vestige of the other Indian components, and the only language used was French Creole.

CULTURE

When the *Galibí* and the *Aruã* gathered on the Uaçá River, they probably brought very little of their own original culture, for both had been influenced for nearly a century by the missionaries and other civilized people. In consequence, they were greatly influenced by the *Palicur*, a still relatively strong and intact tribe who had become their neighbors. The little Indian culture that they still possess is practically identical to that of the *Palicur*. Otherwise, their culture is adopted from the French Creoles of Guiana and, to a lesser degree, from the Brazilians. The Serviço de Protecção aos Indios maintains a station among them.

There is nothing in the literature on the original culture of the *Aruã*. The paleoethnological (archeological) material in the urn cemeteries of the region do not lead to any precise conclusion. On Caviana Island,

stronghold of the *Aruã* during the last phase of their ethnic existence, the author investigated five urn cemeteries in 1925. Three of these contained glass beads and other European objects. In historic times, only the *Aruã* are known to have inhabited the island, but the style of urn is very different in the three sites mentioned, and there is no certainty as to which one belongs to the *Aruã*. Only one thing is common to all: secondary burial in urns.

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