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THE AMANAYÉ

By CURT NIMUENDAJÚ AND ALFRED MÉTRAUX

LANGUAGE, TERRITORY, AND HISTORY

The names *Amanajó*, *Manajó*, and *Manaxó* were used in Maranhão, in Piauí, and on the lower Tocantins; *Amanagé* in Pará. *Mananyé* is the name given by the *Turiwara*; *Manazewa* by the *Tembé*. The self-denomination, *Manayé* or *Amanayé*, has uncertain meaning, but may be *Guaraní*, *amândayé*, an "association of people," or *amanajé*, "alcoviteiro" (Platzmann, 1896). In order to conceal their identity, some groups assumed the name of *Ararandewá* (*Ararandewára*, *Ararandeuara*), "those of the Ararandéua [River]," and *Turivá* (*Turiwara*), the name of a neighbor tribe.

On the *Amanayé* language there have been published only two small vocabularies, both in 1914: Lange's and Nimuendajú's. It is the most distinctive of the *Tupí* dialects of the *He*-group. As far as can be ascertained from the vocabularies, there is no difference in the grammar.

The *Amanayé* (map 1, No. 1; see Volume 1, map 7) always occupied the upper Pindaré, the Gurupí, and the Capim Rivers, the middle Mojú River, and the central part of the right bank of the lower Tocantins below the mouth of the Araguaya, and were found only rarely away from this region (lat. 4° S., long. 48° W.).

They are first mentioned in 1755 when they made an agreement with the Jesuit P. Daniel Fay (Tray? Tay?), of Acamá (Monção), a *Guajajara* village of the Pindaré River. They had evidently had previous contact with civilized people, for they avoided all Whites except the Jesuits.

According to Ribeiro de Sampaio (1812, p. 9), in 1760, a large band of *Amanayé* moved peacefully southeast to the Alpercatas River, and settled near the village of Santo Antonio. By 1815 there were only 20 of this group, and they were mixed with Negro blood. The last mention of this village was in 1820 (Francisco de N.S. dos Prazeres, 1891, p. 132). A part of this band evidently continued its migration in 1763 across the Parnahyba River into Piauí (Alencastre, 1857, p. 6), but its subsequent fate is not known.

In 1775, the "*Amanajoz*" are listed among the tribes of the lower right Tocantins (Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1812, pp. 8, 9), and, in 1798, they were seen to the east of the Surubijú River (Mendes de Almeida, n.d., p. 104). In 1845, the "*Amananiú*" were mentioned as inhabitants of part of the Mojú River by Saint-Adolphe. In 1854, they had a village on the Pindaré above the *Guajajara* village of Sapucaia (Marques,

1864), but by 1872 the village had been moved to the Tucumandíua, a western tributary of the Gurupí River (Dodt, 1873, p. 132). In 1862, the *Amanayé* had two villages with 60 people on the Ararandéua River, western tributary of the Capim River, which has subsequently been their center.

In 1872, Fr. Candido de Heremence began to convert the *Amanayé*, *Tembé* and *Turiwara* of the Capim River. With 200 *Amanayé*, he founded the Anauerá Mission (São Fidelis) on the left bank of the Capim River, below the confluence of the Ararandéua and the Surubijú Rivers. The *Turiwara* and *Tembé*, being hostile to the *Amanayé*, were established together farther downstream. The next year, the *Amanayé* killed Fr. Candido and a Belgian engineer, Blochhausen, because during a trip the latter dealt severely with the *Amanayé* crew and injured the chief's son. (Souza Franco, 1842, p. 22; Cruz, 1874, p. 47; Moreira Pinto, 1894; Nimuendajú, unpublished notes.) Reprisals against the *Amanayé* for these murders drove them to take refuge in the region of the Ararandéua River. Today some of them still avoid contact with the civilized people. Others appeared later under the name of "*Ararandewára*" or "*Turiwara*" to conceal their identity.

In 1889, the surviving *Anambé* and *Amanajó*, almost wiped out by epidemics on the Arapary, lived by the last rapids of the Tocantins River (Ehrenreich, 1892, p. 149).

In 1911, Inspector L. B. Horta Barboza, of the Serviço de Protecção aos Índios, found four *Amanayé* villages with more than 300 inhabitants on the left bank of the Ararandéua River. In 1913, another, more primitive part of the tribe, calling itself *Ararandewára*, was visited by Algot Lange on the upper Mojú River, at approximately lat. 4° S. He has published the only description of the *Amanayé* (Lange, 1914).

During several decades at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the most important person among the *Amanayé* of the Ararandéua River was a mulatto woman named Damasia, wife of a member of the tribe. In 1926, Nimuendajú saw a small group of *Amanayé*, who called themselves *Ararandewá(ra)*, in Mundurucú at lat. 3°55' S. They had a plantation on the Mojú River. In 1942, only 17 persons, mostly Mestizos, survived in the group headed by Damasia's son (Arquivos da Inspeccoria do Serviço de Protecção aos Índios, Para, 1942). These people stated that another group lived away from all contact with the civilized people, on the Igarapé do Garrafão, a left tributary of the Ararandéua River. In 1943, Nimuendajú found a small group of *Amanayé*, who had been living for several decades, in contact with Neo-Brazilians, on the upper Cairary, a tributary on the left bank of the lower Mojú. They called themselves *Turiwa(ra)*.

CULTURE

Subsistence.—The *Amanayé* cultivated manioc, cotton, and tobacco in forest clearings. One clearing measured 1,000 by 1,300 yards. These Indians also hunted, especially turtles, which were abundant. Turtles not consumed at once were kept in small corrals.

Dogs and chickens were introduced by the White man.

Manioc was prepared in a special hut; the tubers were crushed in a trough made of the mirití palm trunk, pressed through a coarse-meshed fiber sifter, then kneaded into balls which were allowed to ferment on a platform. Subsequently, the paste was squeezed in the cylindrical tipití, or manioc squeezer, after which the dry pulp was crushed and spread on

a hot clay pan with slightly upturned edges. Brazil nuts might be added to manioc flour to improve its taste.

Dwellings.—The *Amanayé* village that Lange visited had 26 houses “of a very low order, some not having a proper roof, built around a small area of bush cleared forest.” The only furniture was small cotton hammocks.

Clothing.—*Amanayé* men wore nothing but a short cotton string tied around the praeputium, while women wore only a narrow loincloth.

Men’s ornaments included little wooden sticks in the lower lip and turkey feathers stuck in colored cotton bands around the head. Women wore “garter-like cotton bands below their knees and on their ankles; . . . some of the youngest maidens insert ornaments made of the ivory nut in their ear lobes” (Lange, 1914).

Boats.—Dugout canoes, 35 feet (10.6 m.) long, and 5 feet (1.5 m.) wide, were made of trees felled in the forest and dragged to the water on rollers by means of creepers.

Manufactures.—Manioc squeezers were plaited of strong mirití palm and tucum fibers. Cotton spindles had a rounded wooden disk. The loom was “a simple square frame made of four sticks about 2 feet [0.6 m.] long, tied together with fiber or ordinary bush-cord to form a square” (Lange, 1914). Cloth, like hammocks, was loosely twined with a double weft. Loincloths were stained red with urucú.

The only pottery mentioned is the clay manioc pan.

Weapons.—Bows were large—one being 8 feet (2.4 m.) long and 4 inches (10 cm.) in diameter—and notched at each end for a curauá fiber bowstring. Arrows were tipped either with a bamboo blade or with a sharp rod with a few barbs on each side. Occasionally, a small nut which produced a whistling sound was fastened near the tip. Arrow feathering was either of the eastern Brazilian arched or of the Xingú sewn type.

Stone axes, used until recently, had carefully ground, quadrangular heads of diorite with a notch running along the face near the butt. The head was inserted in the split end of a shaft of pao d’arco and lashed with heavy fibers, then covered with the black gum from the jutahy tree.

Fire making.—Fire was made with a fire drill. Two men working together could make a fire in 2 minutes.

Social and political organization.—Lange observed an *Amanayé* chief whose weak personality suggested that he must have inherited his position. Lange gives no other information on political or social organization.

Prior to marriage, young men proved their fortitude by plunging an arm into a braided fiber cylinder that was closed at both ends and filled with tocandeira ants.

Musical instruments.—The *Amanayé* had a drum that is unusual in this area: A long, hollow emba-uba tree trunk was suspended from a

horizontal branch by a thin, tough bush rope. While one man beat the drum with a stick, "another, probably a shaman, danced around it" (Lange, 1914).

Tobacco.—Tobacco was smoked in huge cigarettes, 1 foot (0.3 m.) long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (1.2 cm.) thick, wrapped in tauarí bark. These were passed around, each man taking a few draughts in turn.

Drinks.—The *Amanayé* drank a fermented beverage (probably of cassava) called cachiri.

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