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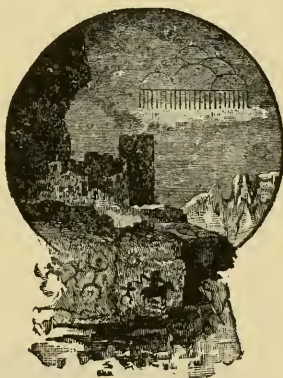
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JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

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LITTLE-KNOWN TRIBES OF THE LOWER TOCANTINS RIVER REGION

By CURT NIMUENDAJÚ

INTRODUCTION

This article will deal with the *Pacajá*, *Anambé*, *Tapiraua*, *Kupê-rób* (*Jandiahí*), *Jacundá*, *Paracanã*, and *Miraño*. These tribes, most of them *Tupí*-speaking, are now virtually extinct (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7).

THE PACAJÁ

Pacajá (*Pacajara*) means in *Tupí*, "master (*yára*) of the *paca*" (*Coelogenys paca*). According to Bettendorf (1910, pp. 97, 111), the *Pacajá* used the *Lingua Geral*.

TERRITORY AND HISTORY

This tribe appears to have centered in the basin of the *Pacajá* de Portel River. It may also have lived in the lower Tocantins River and the lower Xingú River where a right tributary is named *Pacajá* (de Souzel) River. (Lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.)

In 1613, an expedition of French from São Luiz do Maranhão and their allies, the *Tupinamba*, passed the Pacaiaras River in a campaign against the *Camarapin*. Later, Father Yves d'Evreux (1864) makes a passing mention of the *Pacajá*. In 1626(?), Benito Maciel Parente (1874) mentioned them with the *Yuruna* and other tribes between the *Pacajá* and "Parnahyba" (Xingú) Rivers. In 1628, the *Pacajá* were "appeased" (Berredo, 1905, 1: 229, 231) by Pedro da Costa Favella on his expedition to the Tocantins (*Pacajá*?) River. Bettendorf (1910, p. 97) recounts with some exaggeration that at their first meeting the *Pacajá* and the *Tupinamba* annihilated each other. In 1639, the *Pacajá* are mentioned by Acuña (1682, p. 139) as inhabitants of the *Pacajá* River. Between 1656 and 1662, an ill-fated expedition went in search of mines on the *Pacajá* River, and the Jesuit Father João de Souto Mayor, who accompanied it, died (Berredo, 1905, 2: 115). It resulted, however, in the *Pacajá* entering a Jesuit mission (Arucará or Portel?), from whence a large part escaped again to their own land. The others were sent to distant missions (Bettendorf, 1910, p. 98; João Daniel, 1841, p. 182). In 1763, the *Pacajá* are mentioned for the last time by De São José (1947, p. 490) as one of the 13 tribes constituting the population of 400 in the village of Portel.

In 1889, Ehrenreich (1891 a, p. 88; 1892, p. 149) was told of the existence of savage *Pacajá* at the headwaters of the Uanapú and *Pacajá* Rivers near Portel, a statement not subsequently confirmed.

CULTURE

Acuña (1682, p. 139) and Bettendorf (1910, p. 97) considered the *Pacajá* brave and warlike. P. Sotto Mayor (1916) accuses them of cannibalism. In warfare, they eat the enemy which they kill by hand, and keep the skulls as trophies. Some 100 years later, João Daniel (1841) describes them as "very soft and lazy" (i. e., for work in the mission). The women wore short skirts and the men short trousers, which they might have adopted from the runaway slaves who settled at the headwaters of the Pacajá River (?). They were a canoe people; at their encounter with the *Tupinamba*, they came "in over 500 canoes"—evidently an exaggeration.

THE ANAMBÉ

HISTORY AND TERRITORY

The *Anambé* ("anambe" in the *Lingua Geral* is applied to a considerable number of species of birds, *Cotingidae*) were, by contrast to the *Pacajá*, a modern tribe, which appeared and disappeared during the past century.

The *Anambé* language, according to Ehrenreich's vocabulary, was a *Tupí* dialect of the *He-* group, very similar to the *Tembé-Guajajara* and *Turiwara*. If the texts of legends in the *Lingua Geral* published by Magalhães (1876) were, as he says, dictated by *Anambé*, this tribe was bilingual, and at the time did not use its own language.

The *Anambé's* (lat. 4°-5° S., long. 50°-51° W.) first contact with the civilized people was in 1842 (Brusque, 1862, p. 12). In 1852, they appeared on the left bank of the Tocantins River (Cunha, 1853, p. 18); they numbered 600. Another group lived in the village of Tauá at the headwaters of the Cururuhy, a tributary of the upper Pacajá River, but it was in contact with the first byway of the Caripy River, a tributary of the Tocantins a little above Alcobaça. A village of 250 *Curupity* (?) and *Anambé* on the upper Pacajá River was at war with the *Carambú* (Brusque, 1862, p. 12). In 1874, this village was reduced to 46 persons. The following year 37 of them died of smallpox, and the 9 survivors joined their fellow tribesmen on the Tocantins River.

In 1889, Ehrenreich found a remnant of four completely civilized *Anambé* in Praia Grande, at the end of the Tocantins rapids. Moura (1910, p. 106) mentions *Anambé* in 1896 and shows a picture of two men. The supposed "*Anambé*" seen by H. Coudreau in 1897 were *Arara*. The tribe is today completely extinct.

THE TAPIRAUA

The *Tapiraua* (*tapiíra*, "tapir"), or *Anta*, lived west of Itaboca Falls in 1889 (Ehrenreich, 1891 a, 1892).¹ Each time they came to the shore of the Tocantins, they were driven back by gun shots. They still used stone implements.

In 1896 or 1897 (Moura, 1910, p. 192), two "*Tapiri*," or *Anta*, appeared a few kilometers below Timbozal. They had short hair and their

¹ The distance from the Tocantins is given as 3 to 4 days' travel (Ehrenreich, 1891 a, p. 88), and as 1 day's travel (Ehrenreich, 1892, p. 148).

ears were pierced by tiny holes, but they lacked tattoo. This tribe is not subsequently mentioned by name, but it may possibly be the same as the *Kupẽ-rób*.

THE KUPÊ-ROB

Apinayé tradition relates that a tribe called *Kupẽ-rób* (Kupê, "Indians," i.e., non-*Timbira*, plus *rób*, "jaguars") or, in Portuguese, *Cupe-lobos*, lived below them on the Tocantins River (lat. 5° S., long. 50° W.), and that the *Apinayé* occasionally attacked them to obtain European-made white beads before the *Apinayé* had begun to trade with the civilized people. The *Kupẽ-rób* perhaps are identical with the *Jandiahí* who, in 1793, lived below Itaboca Falls (Villa Real, 1848, p. 426), and, in 1844 (Castelnau, 1850, p. 113), lived on the west shore near Itaboca Falls. At the later date, they were hostile to the *Jacundá* and to the Christians, and only rarely were met by travelers. Baena (1870) mentions their habitat as Lake Vermelho, at lat. 5°10' S., west of the Tocantins and below the mouth of the Araguaya. In 1849, Ayres Carneiro (1910, pp. 78-79, 81, 84, 90-91) found famished and lean *Cupe-lobos* on the Canhanhá beach, near the Igarapé do Pucuruhy, lat. 4° 10' S., where they were persecuted by the *Apinayé*. In 1896, this tribe appeared peacefully in the Rebojo de Bacury, a little above Itaboca Falls, hunting and fishing, and using apites (labrets?) of glass (?) or worked stone (Moura, 1910, pp. 160, 193). Above Timbozal (a little above the mouth of the Pucuruhy River), they had an old village site.

H. Coudreau (1897 b, p. 43 and map) had a report in 1897 of unidentified Indians on the upper Igarapé do Bacury. The year before these Indians had come in contact with the civilized people. They were at first peaceful but soon became hostile.

In 1922, eight wild Indians appeared on Volta Grande, on the left bank of the Tocantins. Both sexes had their hair cut all around, and wore a little stick through the ears. The men had their foreskin tied with an embira string, and the woman wore a band of the same material. The children were carried in a sling under the arm. The belly of the bow was flat, the outer side, convex. The bow string was made of curauá (*Bromelia*) and the arrows had flush feathering. A hammock was made of fibers.

One of the men, taken to Belém seriously ill, gave the author a list of 16 words. The language was *Tupí* of the *He-* group, definitely distinct from Ehrenreich's *Anambé* and from *Amanayé*. As the material culture of these people did not correspond to that of the *Paracanã*, it is possible that they were the *Kupẽ-rób* survivors. Also, it is possible that the Indians who occasionally came peaceably to the post of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios on the Pucuruhy River were not *Paracaña*, as supposed, but *Kupẽ-rób*. The people at the post noted that they called cer-

tain plants and animals by *Tupí* names, similar to those of the Neo-Brazilians. In 1942, unknown Indians were again seen in the Igarapé do Bacury, and it may be that the tribe still exists around there.

THE JACUNDÁ

At the end of the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th century, the *Jacundá* lived on the Jacundá River, which empties into the Tocantins from the right below Itaboca Falls (lat. 4° 27' S., long. 49° W.). The name designates a fish (*Crenicichla* sp.). Meneses' diary (n. d., p. 175) ascribes to these Indians "red eyes, just like those of a certain fish by the same name."

The only record of the *Jacundá* language is the names of two chiefs of 1793: Uoriniuera, which is a *Tupian* word (warinikwéra, "old war"), and Claxira, which is contrary to *Tupí* phonetics. A map of Brazil of 1846 states: "Jacundá, tractable people who speak the Lingua Geral" (Niemaeyer, 1846).

The *Jacundá* were first mentioned by Villa Real (1848, pp. 424-426, 432) in 1793, when they lived at the headwaters of the Igarapé Guayapí (Jacundá River?) and occasionally appeared on the eastern bank of the Tocantins. Another igarapé (water passage) above Itaboca Falls was also inhabited by the *Jacundá*, who had a port at its mouth. According to Villa Real, the *Jacundá* had two chiefs. Meneses (1919, p. 175) mentions the *Jacundá* in 1799 on the Igarapé of Jacundá, and Ribeiro (1870, p. 37) mentions them in 1815 among the tribes of the Tocantins River. According to Castelnau (1850), they lived in 1844 on the right bank of the Tocantins, above Itaboca Falls, and were hostile to the *Jundiahi* (*Kupē-rób?*) of the opposite bank and to Christians, who rarely saw them. In 1849, they were said to be peaceful.

In 1849, Ayres Carneiro (1910, p. 45) saw 30 to 40 *Jacundá*, including women and children, on the Ambáua beach, a little above the present Alcobaça, on the right side of the river, but they fled into the jungle. Henceforth, their name disappears, and, since 1859 the *Gaviões*, a *Timbira* tribe of the *Ge* group (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 477), has occupied their region (Gomes, 1862, p. 496). Ehrenreich, however, mentions the *Jacundá* in 1889, 30 years after they had probably become extinct.

THE PARACANÁ

HISTORY

In 1910, an unknown tribe of savage Indians appeared on the Pacajá River above Portel. Their repeated attacks on the *Arara-Parirí* caused the latter to abandon their territory on the Iriuaná River, a left tributary of the Pacajá, and to take refuge with the Neo-Brazilians on the lower Pacajá. The *Parirí* called this tribe *Paracanã* (lat. 4°-5° S., long. 50°-51° W.). Perhaps it was the same tribe that, under the name of *Yauriti-Tapüya*, was hostile to the *Anambé* of the Pacajá River during the last century (this volume, p. 204). At first they were at peace with the Neo-Brazilians, and at times helped them pass Cachoeira Grande Fall of the Pacajá River.

According to information obtained from the *Parirí* in 1914, the *Paracanã* call thunder, "tumpô" (*Tupí*, tupã), and water, "i" (*Tupí*, i). The *Paracanã* language is, therefore, possibly a member of the *Tupian* family.

During the 1920's, the *Paracanã* began to appear on the left bank of the Tocantins, above Alcobaça. They were pretentious and demanding, and, though they used no weapons, they frightened the residents away and pillaged their houses. After 1927, they became openly hostile toward the civilized residents. They would come shooting arrows, and every year they killed people, but they did not mutilate the bodies nor take trophies. Civilized people attributed this hostility to the entrance of nut gatherers into the regions west of the Tocantins. After one of these attacks, the head of the Alcobaça Railroad ordered a punitive expedition, which surprised and killed the *Paracanã* in their camp. This incited the *Paracanã* to attack even within sight of Alcobaça and to extend their raids north to Juana Peres and the upper Jacundá River. During the last two years, however, their raids on the Tocantins side have for an unknown reason ceased completely.

While on the Pacajá, these Indians were always known as *Paracanã*, a name given to them by the *Parirí*. It was wrongly believed on the Tocantins that they were *Asurini* from the Xingú River.

CULTURE

Clothing and ornaments.—The *Paracanã* cut the hair around the head and wore a wooden peg through the lower lip. Several items of apparel are among 142 *Paracanã* objects in the Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi. There are short cotton women's skirts, 18 inches (45 cm.) long, made with a twined weave, the weft elements a finger's breadth apart. The warp runs all the way around each garment, the cloth being tubular, like that produced by the "*Arawak*" loom. Some strings of red cotton threads are probably pectoral ornaments. There are necklaces of black *tiririca* (*Scleria* sp.) seeds, alternating with fine tubular bones. A child's (?) headband is made of close-looped cotton string with a strip of Neo-Brazilian cloth and 15 macaw tail feathers carelessly attached. A comb is made of 12 teeth bound with thread between two pairs of sticks; the wrapping is not ornamental. Jingles, probably worn below the knee or on the ankle, are made of piquí (*Caryocar* sp.) nuts hung on cotton thread.

Basketry.—A rectangular basket of the "jamaxim" type for carrying objects on the back has the outer side and the top end open. The side against the carrier's back and the bottom have a twilled weave and black zigzag designs; the outer sides have a fine, open octagonal weave, the strips running in four directions.

Weaving.—A hammock 58 inches (1.8 m.) long, is woven of twined cotton strings and of strings taken from hammocks stolen from Neo-Brazilians. The weft elements are 3 to 4 inches (7 to 10 cm.) apart.

Weapons.—Arrows have camayuva shafts, 54 to 66 inches (1.4 to 1.7 m.) long, and sewn feathering which is bound with fine thread and frequently decorated with small toucan feathers. Three types of heads are: (1) Lanceolate bamboo blades, 24 inches (70 cm.) long and about 2 inches (5.5 cm.) broad at the widest point. These are smeared with black paint on the concave side and a few specimens bear a crude black design on the convex side. Just behind the point, some arrows have a palm coconut, about 1½ inches (4 cm.) in diameter, perforated with a row of as many as nine holes around it. (2) Bone points, either without barbs or with a barb on one or both sides. (3) Plain, rodlike wooden points. The bow is of paxiuba wood, very wide (5 cm., or 2 in.), flat (1 to 2 cm. thick), similar to the *Asurini* bow. It is about 159.5 cm. (62 in.) long. The ends are cut with shoulders, to hold the cord, 5 cm. and 11.5 cm. respectively from the ends.

Fire.—Torches are made of cotton cords or of Neo-Brazilian cloth, and are impregnated with beeswax.

Musical instruments.—A set of panpipes has 8 tubes, ranging from 5½ to 10 inches (12 to 26 cm.) in length and 5 to 12 mm. in diameter and held together by two parallel ligatures of Neo-Brazilian cotton.

THE MIRAÑO

Rivet (1924, p. 689) places a *Tupí* tribe of *Miraño* Indians "between the Acará and Capim Rivers at the headwaters of the Bujarú." On the map of the State of Pará by Santa Rosa, the "Indios Miranhios" appear on the left margin of the Capim River, at lat. 2°30' S. There was never any tribe by this name, however. Among the *Tembé* there was a large family called "Miranya." The present author found members of this family in the Indian village of Prata as late as 1916. Since the place where the *Miraño* was supposed to be settled coincides almost exactly with the old *Tembé* village of Mariquita, it is probable that the so-called *Miraño* were in reality *Tembé*.

According to Métraux (1928 a, p. 22), "*Amiranha*" is a synonym of *Jacundá*. The *Amanayé* of the Ararandéua River spoke to the present author in 1913 about a tribe called *Mirán*, but they could not tell him where they were settled.

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