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THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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TRIBES OF THE LOWER AND MIDDLE XINGÚ RIVER

By CURT NIMUENDAJÚ

GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The Xingú Basin, as far south as lat. 7° S., is exclusively characterized by Amazonian virgin forest, whose wealth of rubber and nuts attracted the attention of civilized man. From that latitude south or upstream, savannas appear, becoming more and more predominant southward, until the forest is reduced to a narrow border along watercourses, sometimes even encroaching upon the river banks.

It is rolling country. The "Morro Grande" of the Xingú River rises to some 975 ft. (300 m.) above the level of the river. The watercourses are interrupted by rapids and the Xingú River beyond Volta Grande is one of the most difficult rivers in Brazil to navigate. Over long stretches the bed of the river is filled with enormous rocks cut through by channels full of rapids. The Iriri River is of similar type.

The tribes (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) of this region may be classified according to these geographical features into three groups.

(1) Canoeing tribes restricted to the Xingú, Iriri, and Curuá Rivers: *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, *Arupáí*.

(2) Tribes of the central virgin forest: *Curuaya*, *Arara*, *Asurini*, and, formerly, *Tacunyapé*.

(3) Savanna tribes that only temporarily invade the forest zone: *Northern Cayapó*, which were dealt with in Lowie's paper on "The *Northwestern and Central Ge*" (Handbook, vol. 1, pp. 477-517).

CULTURAL SUMMARY

Farming, with manioc the staple crop, was the basis of subsistence among all these tribes except perhaps the *Arara*, who were less clearly horticultural. Caimans, turtles, honey, and Brazil nuts were outstanding wild foods. The *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, and *Tacunyapé* built large communal dwellings in isolated places for fear of attack. Excellent canoemen, the *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* lived along the rivers, whereas the other tribes kept to the forests. Houses were furnished with wooden stools and hammocks. Dress included breechclouts (?) (*Curuaya*), women's wrap-around skirts, and men's penis covers (*Yuruna* and *Shipaya*), and women's

aprons (*Tacupyapé*). Ornaments were the usual Tropical Forest types: feather headdresses, arm and leg bands, necklaces, ear sticks, nose pendants (*Arara*), and lip plugs (*Curuaya*). Among manufactures, which suffered because of much nomadism enforced by warfare, were: Cotton textiles (*Yuruna*); ceramics, which are usually plain; incised gourds (*Shipaya*); and stone axes. The bow and arrow was the main weapon.

The sociopolitical unit was the village, seemingly patrilineal in organization and in descent of chieftainship. There was little polygyny and family ties were very strong. Intertribal relations involved intermittent warfare, with cannibalism ascribed to the *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* and trophies more general. The latter include skulls (*Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, *Curuaya*), bone trumpets (*Yuruma*), tooth necklaces (*Shipaya*), and scalps (*Arara*).

These tribes drank much fermented liquor, but had no drunken brawls. The *Yuruna* smoked tobacco in cigarettes. Musical instruments include panpipes; shaman's gourd rattles; gourd horns; gourd, wooden, and human-skull trumpets; bone flutes, clarinets, and whistles. The predominating art motif is the maze; sculpture reproduced mythical personages.

Shipaya and probably *Yuruna* religion was based on a cult of the jaguar demon, who was the patron of war and cannibalism, and a feast of the dead, in which men and women drank chicha. The *Tacunyapé* had a similar feast. The shaman, in the capacity of priest, served as intermediary between people and demons and souls. As medicine man, he cured, without the aid of supernatural spirits, by sucking, massaging, and blowing cigarette smoke to remove the disease-causing substance.

LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES

Of the tribes on the lower and middle Xingú, the *Arara* stand apart as *Cariban*. Their speech is so close to *Yarumá* (Paranayuba River, a tributary of the right bank of the upper Xingú) as to permit the hypothesis of a common ancestral tribe, the *Arara* turning north, the *Yarumá* south, perhaps separating under *Cayapó* pressure (Ehrenreich, 1895).

All other tribes are *Tupí*. To be sure, there is not the slightest record of *Asurini* speech, but an English missionary conversant with *Guajajara* who spoke with a young *Asurini* woman captured by the *Górotire* commented on the resemblance of her tongue to the language familiar to him. Accordingly, *Asurini* may be reckoned as probably *Tupí*. About the remaining languages we can be more positive.

Martius (1867) and Lucien Adam (1896) challenge the *Tupí* relationship of *Yuruna*, which is accepted by such competent authorities as Bettendorf, Von den Steinen, and Brinton. Closer study leads me to the provisional conclusion that *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, *Manitsauá*, and perhaps *Arupai* form a special division of impure *Tupí* languages. Lexical *Tupí*

elements in *Yuruna* are conspicuous, though often obscured by alterations so that correspondences are proved only by comparison with *Shipaya* and *Manitsauá* equivalents. Contrary to Adam's assumption, there are also important grammatical features of *Tupí* type, though less numerous than might be inferred from the large percentage of *Tupí* vocables. However, the *Yuruna* group does differ greatly from *Tupí* proper, especially in the pronominal system. The present author tentatively recognizes four components: (1) A *Tupí* foundation, even anciently modified by strong influences due to (2) *Arawak*, and in lesser degree to (3) *Carib* languages; to these must be added (4) recent loans from the *Lingua Geral*.

Shipaya differs so little from *Yuruna* as to permit, with some trouble, mutual intelligibility. Some two dozen words differ radically; otherwise regular shifts appear:

<i>Yuruna</i>		<i>Shipaya</i>
pi	=	si
pe	=	se, si
bi, be	=	zi, ze
c	=	t
za	=	ya
bi	=	dyi

Thus, we have:

<i>Yuruna</i>	<i>Shipaya</i>	<i>English</i>
pinapa	sinapa	comb
pe	se	in (post- position)
abi	azí	back
abí	adyí	Indian
ca	ta	to go
za	ya	name

The grammatical divergences are insignificant: The imperative differs; the negative *ka* of *Shipaya* corresponds to *Yuruna* *poga* and *teha*; *Yuruna* regularly forms the future with the auxiliary verb *ca* (to go), whereas *Shipaya* has recourse to adverbs.

The *Arupáí* spoke *Yuruna*. They are in no way connected with the *Gurupá* of the Tocantins River and the *Urupá* of the Gy-Paraná.

Curuaya resembles *Mundurucú* as closely as *Yuruna* does *Shipaya*. In some cases it preserves primitive *Tupí* forms better than *Mundurucú*.

The *Tacunyapé*, according to the Jesuits, spoke the *Lingua Geral*, whereas Von den Steinen credits them with a *Tupí* dialect appreciably distinct from *Yuruna*. The present author found no *Tacunyapé*-speaking Indians, but three Neo-Brazilians, formerly resident in the area and during the last 20 years of the last century in close contact with the tribe, dictated 34 words and phrases, probably badly garbled. Though diverging considerably from the standard *Lingua Geral* (final *t*'s!), their *Tupí* relationship is beyond doubt.

PREHISTORIC PEOPLES

Not only along the Xingú River and its larger affluents, the Iriri and Fresco Rivers, but also along the smaller tributaries and subtributaries, are found vestiges of a vanished population, whose culture differed from that of the tribes found in the 20th century. The impression is that these tribes formerly occupied all of the jungle region of the Xingú Basin. These vestiges comprise:

(1) Dwelling sites found on points of solid land jutting out to the edge of the water and easily recognized by their "black earth," a cultural layer containing fragments of pottery and stone instruments.

The pottery can be distinguished at first sight from that of present-day tribes. On the lower Xingú and lower Iriri Rivers it is rich in plastic adornment, recalling somewhat the pottery of the Monte Alegre region or even of the *Tapajó*. The pottery of the middle Xingú River and its affluents is plainer, with little plastic or engraved ornamentation, and is not uniform. On the Igarapé das Flechas River, a tributary of the upper Curuá River, two small stone statuettes were found, one representing a beetle, the other a man.

(2) Cemeteries. In the same "black earth" are found burial remains. In the streets of Porto de Moz and Altamira, there may be seen the mouths of urns covered by other vessels; Panellas, a little above Altamira, owes its name to such findings. In Porto Seguro, at lat. 7° 10' S., on a permanent island of the Xingú River, funeral urns are found, and among them superficially buried skeletons, lying stretched on their backs. Because of their size, all these urns could have served only for secondary burials.

The presence of funeral urns distinguished the culture of the Xingú Basin from that of the neighboring *Tapajó* and its affiliates.

(3) Petroglyphs. Along the Itamaracá and Cajituba Falls of the Volta Grande do Xingú, at Caxinguba (lat. 5° 20' S.), and along the lower Pacajá and upper Iriri, the figures of men, of animals, and of unknown meaning are engraved on the surface of the smooth rocks. The most important are those at Itamaracá, already known to the first Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century, and one in Pacajá.

(4) Monoliths. In a stony stretch of the Xingú River, at lat. 7° 20' S., are eight more or less vertical small stone pillars, which are from 1 to 2 meters ($3\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) in height and are roughly broken off but not carved. There can be no doubt as to their artificial origin.

(5) At various points of the middle Xingú and of the lower Iriri Rivers, there may be found about 50 piles of small stone blocks on the slabs of the falls.

Stratification.—Downstream from Volta Grande, these remains must, at least in part, be ascribed to the tribes which were encountered by the

first explorers. Above this point, however, there is a hiatus between the prehistoric and historic peoples. The Indians of today know nothing of their origin. When the *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, *Arupai*, and other tribes appeared, the sedentary potters no longer existed, probably having been annihilated by the expanding *Northern Cayapó*, who, coming from the open country of the south, spread throughout the Xingú Basin. When the *Tupí* tribes appeared, they found the *Cayapó* already there, for their traditions always make them coexistent, no story accounting for their appearance. These *Tupí* tribes, with the exception of the *Curuaya*, the westernmost tribe, succeeded in penetrating and inhabiting these regions—incidentally, with great difficulty—only because they were excellent boatmen and occupied the islands of the great rivers, while the *Cayapó* made only very primitive craft, which they used exclusively to cross the rivers.

HISTORIC TRIBES

These populations disappeared, and no chronicler has left us any information of ethnographic value about them. The chart of Joannes de Laet (1899), dated 1625, shows the presence of *Apehou* on both sides of the mouth of the Xingú River; in the *Tupí* language of the "He-" group, *Apehou* means "man" (*apiháw*). After 1639, the Jesuits began to establish themselves on the Xingú River, but no one knows what Indians composed their missions. The first missionary, Luiz Figueira, preached in 1636 in *Tabpinima* (the modern *Itapinima*?) to Indians "who were not well versed in the *Lingua Geral*," i. e., *Tupí-Guaraní*, and founded the Xingú mission later called *Itacuruçá* and today known as *Veiros*. Shortly after, five more missions were established. Old chronicles and maps (Heriarte, 1874 [written in 1662]; Samuel Fritz, 1922 [map of 1691]; Bettendorf, 1910 [written in 1699]) refer specially to three tribes: the *Coani*, the *Guahuara*, and the *Guayapí*. The last two spoke the *Lingua Geral*. These three tribes probably inhabited the western side of the river. At that time the *Paraná* of *Aquiquy*, an offshoot of the Amazon that flows into the Xingú, a little above *Porto de Moz*, was known as the "Coanizes River." The *Guayapí* were settled for a time at the beginning of *Volta Grande*; in 1763, they and the *Yuruna* were still reported at *Freguezia de Souzel*. Most of this tribe, however, seems to have emigrated earlier to the north of the Amazon River, probably by way of *Jary*, and established themselves on the *Oyapock* River, where they are mentioned after 1729. The *Guahuara* tribe in 1688 had 22 villages in the interior of the central forests (*sertão*). From Bettendorf one gets the impression that this tribe is identical with the *Curabare* or *Curuaya*.

In the 19th century, writers no longer spoke of Indians on the lower Xingú River, because the survivors had fused with the semicivilized population which spoke the *Lingua Geral*.

THE YURUNA

Synonyms.—*Juruna*, *Juruûna*, *Juruhuna*, *Geruna* (from the *Tupí-Guaraní*, *yurú*, "mouth," plus *una*, "black"); self-designation and *Ship-aya*, *Yudya* (meaning?); in *Curuaya*, *Parawa-wad* (*paráwa*, "blue macaw," plus *wad*, "people"); in *Arara*, *Paru-podeari* (*parú*, "water"); in *Cayapó*, *No-irén* (*no*, "water").

History, territory, and number.—The first reference to this tribe is found in a memorial written by Maciel Parente (1874) in 1626: ". . . the island between the Pacaja branch [of Portel] and the Parnahyba [Xingú] . . . where are situated the provinces of the Pacajaras [Pacajá], Coanapús [Anapú], Caraguatas [?], and Juru-hunas." (Lat. 5°-6° S., long. 53° W.)

Afterward, during the entire 17th century, we learn only of the more or less vain attempts to reduce the *Yuruna* to the secular or clerical regime. The chronology of these happenings is, however, very doubtful. An expedition from São Paulo descending the Xingú was attacked on one of the islands of the river; only two tame Indians escaped, the rest being killed. An expedition commanded by the Captain-General of Gurupá, João Velho do Valle, composed of 100 musketeers and 3,000 tame Indians, was driven back with heavy losses. In 1655 or 1657, the Jesuits were able to settle two large divisions of the tribe in villages in Maturú (Porto de Moz); this work was, however, interrupted by the first expulsion of the order in 1661. Later (1665?) the Jesuits took some *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé* to the villages of the lower Xingú, but the majority returned to the plains. In 1666 (?), the *Yuruna* defeated another party. Between 1682 and 1685, the *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé* defeated an expedition of tame Indians and *Caravare* (*Curuáya*) led by Gonçalves Paes de Araujo, inflicting great losses. Then the *Yuruna* started out in 30 war canoes to attack the civilized population. In 1691 or 1692, the Jesuits failed in an attempt to reopen relations, the *Yuruna* killing every one sent out to them.

According to Father José de Mello Moraes (1860), the *Yuruna* were settled in four small villages on islands of the Xingú, 30 leagues from its mouth. As he sets the distance between the mouth and the first falls at 40 leagues, the *Yuruna* were still 10 leagues below those falls. These tribes must have early abandoned this place, however, retreating to above the falls of Volta Grande, where the Jesuits (in the middle of the 18th century?) also had the mission of Anauerá or Tauaquéra, a little above present-day Altamira. The missionaries were finally expelled by the Indians, who were dissatisfied with their strictness.

During the following 150 years, there is no record of the tribes above Volta Grande, which seem to have been left to themselves, protected by the dangerous falls and by their reputation as ferocious cannibals; as late as 1831, their attacks were feared above Souzel. In 1841, the Vicar of this village, Torquato Antonio de Souza, made a new attempt to establish a mission in Tauaquéra, which, after a few years, seems to have been abandoned.

In 1843, the *Yuruna*, by that time completely tame, were visited by Prince Adalbert of Prussia, guided by Father Torquato. At that time they lived in nine small villages between Tauaquéra and a point 1 hour above Piranhaquara. There was no village in Volta Grande, but the *Yuruna* paid friendly visits in Souzel and knew a little *Tupí-Guaraní*. Father Torquato reported their number as 2,000, which would average 222 to each village; possibly 200 would come nearer to the truth.

In 1859, the Government of the Province of Pará initiated again the catechization of the tribes above Volta Grande; however, the first attempt was a failure. At this time the number of *Yuruna*, in three villages, was calculated at 235. This mission was kept up until about 1880, with, it seems, little success. In a fairly detailed

report by President Carlos de Araujo Brusque (1863), apparently based on information given by the missionary, the total number of *Yuruna* in that year was 250.

When Von den Steinen descended the Xingú in 1884, this mission was no longer in existence. Two hundred and five *Yuruna* inhabited five villages between "Pedra Preta" (lat. 4° 40' S.), above Piranhaquara, and lat. 8° 30' S., a little below Pedra Seca. These Indians still maintained their independence, and their original culture was almost intact. The civilized population had not yet reached the mouth of the Iriri.

When H. Coudreau visited the Xingú in 1896, the situation of the tribe was completely changed. The 150 *Yuruna*, except for a group which had fled a little beyond Carreira Comprida, had fallen into servitude to the rubber gatherers, whose authority was extended to above the mouth of the Triumph River. Another small group, led by Tuxáua Muratú, lived in Cachoeira Jurucuá, in Volta Grande. The two largest groups, working for Raymundo Marques in Pedra Preta and the Gomes Brothers in Caxinguba (lat. 5° 20' S.) were composed, respectively, of 15 and 30 persons.

In 1910, a rubber-plantation owner crossed Carreira Comprida and settled a little below *Pedra Seca*. The *Yuruna* refugees there came under his authority, tried to flee upriver, but were pursued with firearms. Later, impelled by poverty and by the attacks of the *Cayapó*, part of them returned, but in 1916 they once more fled to the upper Xingú never to return. They settled near the mouth of a tributary of the left bank, a little above the Martius Falls, where they were still found in 1928 by G. M. Dyott's expedition. They number about 30 Indians. Probably there are also survivors in Volta Grande of Tuxáua Muratú's family.

THE SHIPAYA

Synonyms.—*Juaicipoia*, *Jacipoya*, *Jacipuyá*, *Javipuyâ*, *Acipoya*, *Achupaya*, *Achipaye*, *Axipai*, *Chipaya*. Self-designation and *Yuruna*: *Shipáy* (shipá, bamboo for the arrowheads, plus -i, suffix of the collective plural of persons). In *Arara*: *Chipáy*. In *Cayapó*: *No-irén* (*Yuruna*). In *Kuruaya*: *Paráwawad* (*Yuruna*).

Physically, culturally, and linguistically, the *Shipaya* are the closest relatives of the *Yuruna*, being in many respects indistinguishable.

History, territory, and number.—The *Shipaya* (lat. 5° S., long. 55° W.) were first made known to civilization by the Jesuit priest, Roque Hundertpfund, who (in 1750?) went up the Xingú and the "River of the *Jurunas*" (Iriri), on a preaching tour of the *Curibary* (*Curuaya*) and *Jacipoya* (*Shipaya*). Whereas the *Yuruna* had for more than two centuries maintained themselves on a constant defensive against civilized people, the *Shipaya* had until after 1880 remained quietly in their own region without contacts with the civilized world. Kletke (1857), Brusque, and H. Coudreau mentioned them, but did not visit them. The first scientist to have direct and lengthy contact with them was Emilia Snethlage, in 1909, and especially in 1913. In the latter year she set the total number of *Shipaya* at several hundred, an estimate perhaps too high, since in 1918 only about 80 individuals were left. Today there may be only about 30, scattered in Largo do Mutum and Pedra do Cupim on the lower Iriri, and, mingled with a few remaining *Curuaya*, in Gorgulho do Barbado, on the lower Curuá, at about lat. 6° 30' S.

From remote times the *Shipaya* inhabited the islands of the Iriri River, from the mouth of the Curuá downstream. They never settled farther up, for fear of *Cayapó* attacks. Later, about 1885, the *Cayapó* forced them to evacuate their

settlements at the great falls of the Iriri, between lat. 4° 50' and 5° S. and to take shelter in the Curuá, settling in the Gorgulho do Barbado, which they only temporarily abandoned in 1913, after a bloody encounter with the rubber tappers. Since then they have always been divided into two local groups: on the lower Iriri and on the Curuá.

THE ARUPAÍ

This tribe is only known through information given by other Indians, as it became extinct before direct contact with civilized people. Prince Adalbert von Preussen in 1843 heard of them as enemies of the *Yuruna*. Brusque's report (1863) refers to them as *Urupaya*, and devotes a small chapter to them, which I quote here, since it is the only literature on this tribe.

This is a relatively numerous tribe, and although peaceable and relatively free of bad habits, it is extremely distrustful and suspicious in its relations with individuals of other nations. Its habits and customs are the same as those of the Tucunapeuas, with whom they have close bonds of friendship and trade. Since the Tucunapeuas from time to time meet the caravans which go up the Xingú River in search of natural products, it is they who obtain from these caravans objects which they trade to the Urupayas in exchange for canoes, cotton thread, hammocks and chickens. The Tucunapeuas, as intermediates in this trading, charge their neighbors a higher price for the objects they sell them—principally agricultural tools and beads highly prized for ornaments. In general Indians as soon as they come into contact with civilized man and learn the use of firearms, do everything in their power to get hold of these. The Urupayas, however, although acquainted with firearms through the Tucunapeuas, are so terrified by them, that they will not go near an armed man. They preserve a tradition from generation to generation about an ancient encounter with men who shot at them, causing a great slaughter, and this has instilled in them a great horror for firearms. They inhabit the most remote islands of the Xingú that anyone knows of. They cultivate manioc, cotton, and urucú. They are graceful, have beautiful bodies, and a beautiful color, and they are clever and industrious. They obey a "tuxaua" (chief) called Juacuá. [Brusque, 1863.]

Since at that time the Xingú was already known at least as far as the south of the Fresco River, the *Arupai* must have lived still farther up. (Approximately, lat. 7° S., long. 53° W.) Also *Shipaya* tradition places them on the Xingú, just above the *Yuruna*. A *Shipaya* band, which anciently migrated to the upper Xingú, fought with this tribe. According to another tradition, they received a few *Shipaya* who paid them a friendly visit. Finally, during a feast, they were taken by surprise by the *Yuruna*. The men were killed or captured to be eaten afterward; the women and children were made prisoners. Some escaped upstream, into the sertão, and were never heard of again. The tribe no longer existed when Von den Steinen descended the Xingú in 1884.

The name *Arupai* is derived from *Shipaya* "arupá" or "aguayé" (*Eichhornia* sp.) plus "i," suffix of the collective plural for persons.

THE CURUAYA

Synonyms.—*Kuruaya*, *Caravare*, *Curibary*, *Curuari*, *Curiveré*, *Curubare*, *Curabare*, *Curuahé*, *Curierai*, *Curuara*, *Curuaye*, *Curiuaye*, *Curueye*, *Curiuaia*, and *Curuaya*. Self-designation: *Dyirimáin-id* (?). In *Shipaya*, *Kiriwai* (kiri, "parokeet," plus wa, "master," plus "i," suffix of the collective plural). In *Yuruna*, *Kirivéy* (idem). In *Mundurucú*, *Huiaunyan*; *Wiaúnen*, linguistic variant.

History, territory, and number.—Between 1682 and 1685, the "*Caravares*" are mentioned for the first time. At that time a certain Gonçalves Paes de Araujo, who lived among the tribe, went up the Xingú with a few Portuguese, some tame Indians, and *Caravare*. The party fell into an ambush of *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé*, who killed one Portuguese, all of the tame Indians, and 30 *Caravare*. The latter, "showing an insuperable courage and spirit rarely found among savages," managed to cover the retreat of the Portuguese and to get them back safely to their own lands, although Gonçalves Paes was severely wounded. Bettendorf says that the "*Curabares*" spoke the *Lingua Geral* and had 20 villages in the sertão. An attempt by Father João Maria Gersony to settle them down on the Xingú (before 1688?) failed because of the influence of a Portuguese named Manoel Paes (the same as Gonçalves Paes?), who employed them in the extraction of cloves (*Dicypellium caryophyllatum*). After Paes had been killed by the Indians, the *Curabare* offered to go down by the Tapajóz River. This seems to indicate that they were already at that time established between the Xingú and the Tapajóz, although much farther north than at the end of the 19th century. (Lat. 7° S., long. 55° W.)

Father Roque Hundertpfund (about 1750) went up the Iriri River on a 9-day preaching tour to the *Curibary* (*Curuaya*) and *Jacipoya* (*Shipaya*). After a 9-day journey upstream, the priest was still a long way from the mouth of the Curuá River, as it takes 18 days of rowing to get to the Curuá from the Xingú. This proves again that the *Curuaya* formerly lived farther to the north. They were mentioned several times during the 19th century, but only through information given by the *Yuruna* and the *Tacunyapé*. According to H. Coudreau, who had no direct contact with them, the tribe in 1896 inhabited the forest on the left bank (?) of the Curuá River. The traditions of the tribe, however, only mention excursions to the west of the Curuá, where they had bloody encounters with the *Karuziad* (*Mundurucú*). The so-called, "*Parintintin*," who until 1883 attacked the Neo-Brazilians of the Jamaxim River, and who as late as 1895 went through the "seringaes" of the Crepory and Caderiry Rivers, were probably none other than bands of *Curuaya*. This would also explain their having objects of civilized origin when they first met the civilized people of the Iriri and Curuá Rivers. Beyond a doubt they themselves consider as their own territory the tributaries of the right bank of the Curuá River from lat. 6° 30' S. to 8° 50' S. (the bayous Curuazinho, Bahú, and Flechas), where they were found in the 20th century. When the *Shipaya* fled from the *Cayapó* in 1885, retreating to the Curuá River, they came into contact with them. By the time E. Snethlage—the only scientist to visit them in their own territory—saw them in 1909 and 1913, they were al-

ready restricted to the Igarapé da Flecha, and greatly influenced by the *Shipaya*. In 1913, they had two "malocas" on the bank of the Flecha; a third maloca 12 km. away from the bayou, on the west side; and numbered about 150. In 1919, they numbered about 120 and inhabited, in small groups of one to four houses, the tributaries of the left bank of the upper Igarapé da Flecha, at lat. 8° 30' S. About a dozen of them lived among the *Shipaya* on the lower Iriri, and scattered among Neo-Brazilians. Up to this time the *Cayapó* had respected the *Curuaya* territory, but from 1918 on they began to extend their incursions to the Curuá River, and in 1934 they attacked and scattered the *Curuaya*. The largest group of the *Curuaya* took the road from the mouth of the Riozinho do Iriri to the Tapajóz; other groups scattered along the middle Iriri. The remainder, except for a few who stayed on the Iriri, live together with the last of the *Shipaya* near "Gorgulho do Barbado" on the lower Curuá. In all, there are perhaps less than 30 of them.

THE TACUNYAPÉ

Synonyms.—*Taconhapé, Tacoyape, Taguanhape, Tacuañape, Tacunhapé, Taconhapê, Taconhapes, Tucunapeua, Peua.* From the *Tupí*, takúnya, "penis," plus "pe," péwa, "small and flat." In *Yuruna, Tacunyãpé.* In *Shipaya, Tacunyãpé.* In *Kuruaya, Eidum*, "honey-eater" (eid).

History, territory, and number.—In the second half of the 17th century, the west bank of the Xingú above Volta Grande was known as the "side of the *Jurunas*," and the Iriri as "River of the *Jurunas*," while the east bank was known as the "side of the *Taconhapés*." (Lat. 4° S., long. 53° W.) The "River of the *Taconhapés*" was probably the present Pacajá, a tributary of the Xingú.

In 1662-63, the Jesuits first tried to catechize the *Tacunyapé*, but three-fourths of the Indians who had already descended the river returned to the sertão, because the agreement made with them had not been kept. In 1667, again a number of *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé* were taken down to the Veiros mission, but these, too, soon fled back to their own lands. The third attempt was made, shortly afterward, it seems, by Father Pedro Poderoso. He traveled up the Xingú for 15 days, and, having passed the painted stones (of Itamaracá Falls), he arrived at the landing place and village of the *Tacunyapé*, where he was well received. The Indians who had already been taken downstream the first time refused to listen to any arguments, but many of the others followed the priest. Having been ill-treated by the captain-general of Gurupá, however, they returned to the sertão and never turned up again. When, in 1682, Father Antonio da Silva went to the "River of *Taconhapés*" in order to bring down the tribe of *Aracajú*, he made no mention of the *Tacunyapé*.

In 1685, they joined with the *Yuruna* in the attack against Gonçalves Paes and his *Curuaya*, as well as in the subsequent revolt. Father Samuel Fritz's map (1691) places the *Tacunyapé* on the right bank of the Xingú, below the "Pacaya River," under lat. 3° S. In 1692, Father José María Gersony once more succeeded in gathering together a large number of Indians of various tribes in Veiros, but, again, the intervention of the captain-general of Gurupá destroyed the project, transferring the Indians to Maturú (Porto de Moz) and other places.

In the 18th century, the Jesuits succeeded in settling *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé* in the Tacuana (Tauaquéra) mission, a little above present-day Altamira, and in 1762 and 1784 the *Tacunyapé* are mentioned as among the Indians settled at Portel.

That part of the tribe which succeeded in keeping its independence seems to have retreated to the middle of the Curuá region; that would also explain their friendship with the *Curuaya*. *Shipaya* tradition says that the *Tacunyapé* joined

them on the Iriri, having come from the upper Curuá, and settled near them, on an island a little below the mouth of the Rio Novo. Trouble with the *Cayapó* obliged them to return to their former settlement on the Xingú. There they were defeated in 1842 by the *Yuruna*, losing 10 men. A year later Prince Adalbert found their village, one day's journey above Tacuana, abandoned, and was unable to find where the tribe had taken refuge. In 1859, the *Tacunyapé* reappeared in large numbers (500?), and the Government of Pará decided to settle them in a new mission, which was kept up for some 15 to 20 years. In 1863, the fevers prevalent on the Xingú had reduced them to 150. In 1884, Von den Steinen found 70 individuals, living on an island at lat. 3° 30' S., and the rest of the tribe in that region became extinct within the next 15 years. In 1894, H. Coudreau still found about 40, but that year the smallpox decimated them, and by the end of the century the rest had succumbed to measles and catarrh. In 1919, the writer became acquainted with a single survivor, who, reared among the *Shipaya*, had never learned the language of his tribe.

The *Tacunyapé* became extinct without ever having been studied. We have merely scattered references to them in the writings of missionaries and of travelers who never stayed among them.

Character.—The *Tacunyapé* were considered the most tractable Indians of the entire region. They received the Jesuits courteously; the chiefs and people went out to meet them and made them sit in beautiful hammocks. They were industrious, honest, and intelligent. It is noteworthy that, while other tribes were continually at war one with another, the *Tacunyapé* were permanently at peace with the *Curuaya*, *Shipaya*, *Arupái*, and *Arara*.

THE ARARA

Synonyms.—*Apeiaca*, *Apiacá*, *Apingui*, *Pariri*. Self-designation: *Opinadkóm*, *Opinadkom* (?). In *Yuruna* and *Shipaya*, *Asipá* ("prop" or "support," on account of their tattooing design). In *Curuaya*, *I-amitug* (i, "their," plus ambi, "upper lip," plus tug, "pierced"). In *Cayapó*, *Kubē-nyóe* (kubê, "Indian," plus nyóe, "woodpecker [?]").

History, territory, and number.—In 1853, there appeared for the first time on the lower Xingú an unknown wandering tribe which the Neo-Brazilians henceforth called *Arara*, no one knows why. Ehrenreich without further proof considered them identical with their namesakes in the Madeira region, and even with the *Yuma*, remnants of which tribe still inhabit the headwaters of the Paraná-pixuna, tributary of the right bank of the Purús, at lat. 7° S.

The *Yuruna* informed me that these Indians formerly lived in a bayou, a tributary of the right bank of the Xingú, at the height of Carreira Comprida, perhaps the present-day Igarapé da Fortaleza (lat. 7° 30' S.). From there they had been dislodged by the *Cayapó*. The latter, not the *Suyá*, are the "*Autikas*" to whom the *Arara* make reference.

In 1861 and 1862, these *Arara* of the Xingú descended below Volta Grande, where they were in peaceful contact with rubber tappers for some time. At that time they numbered 343, not counting children. In December 1862, they made a surprise attack upon the crews of two canoes of *Yuruna*, their capital enemies, killing two and wounding others. A short time later they disappeared.

In 1884, Von den Steinen saw a captive of this tribe among the *Yuruna* of the fifth village. At this time the *Arara* lived in the lands to the west of the Xingú, from the mouth of the Iriri down. The inhabitants of one *Arara* village, who had lived for a short time with their friends, the *Tacunyapé*, had died off.

In 1894, H. Coudreau, too, was unable to find the tribe. About this time the *Arara* disappeared from the left bank of the Xingú, and gathered at the headwaters of the Curuatinga, main branch of the Curuá River, which flows into the Amazon above Santarém, where they were cruelly persecuted by rubber tappers. Perhaps because of these persecutions, they began to work away from the left bank of the lower Iriri. In 1897 they killed six rubber tappers in Nazareth, thereafter disappearing from that bank for good. In 1914 there was still a dwelling with a small clearing of theirs at the headwaters of the Curuatinga. The relations between these *Arara* and the *Shipaya* were usually bad, with bloody fights and kidnapping of each other's children.

A short time afterward the few surviving *Arara* moved upstream on the Iriri, toward the lands on the left bank. In 1917 they vainly tried to make peace with the rubber tappers a little above São Francisco. In 1918 vestiges of these *Arara* were seen on the west bank of the Curuá do Iriri, at lat. 7° 30' S., after which no more was heard of them.

Another band of *Arara*, which numbered about 30 in 1917, settled on the right bank of the Pacajá do Xingú River, at lat. 3° 40' S. They worked for Neo-Brazilians of the Pacajá River, who also used them in warring against the *Asurini*, as happened twice about 1922. There may possibly be some isolated survivor of this group. There probably is still a small group of *Arara* on the upper Anapú, whose upper course approaches the Pacajá do Xingú.

Western Arara.—In 1869, the first bands of this tribe, numbering about 500 persons, appeared peaceably on the western bank of the lower Tocantins, lat. 3° S., and were followed by other smaller groups. They seemed to live to the west of the Trocará Mountains. "Authorities" identified them as *Miranya* or *Apiacá*. In 1873, Bishop D. Macedo Costa took some of them to the capital. In 1889, Ehrenreich observed some of the survivors who were scattered through the settlements along the left bank of the Tocantins, almost as far as Cameta. In 1896, Ignacio Moura mentions a Captain Peter of this tribe, with his family, who served as a guide in official prosecutions of hostile Indians. He is probably the same man H. Coudreau saw the following year, who lived with from 12 to 15 individuals in the Igarapé Ararinha, a little below Breu Branco. Coudreau calls these Indians *Anembé*, but the tattoo he describes and the name of the chief make it seem probable that they were *Arara*. Today none are left.

In 1910 or 1911, another band of *Arara* Indians appeared under the name *Pariri*. They were fleeing from the *Paracanã*, a tribe probably of *Tupí* speech living between the tributaries of the Tocantins and the Pacajá de Portel, from Cachoeira Grande on upstream. The *Pariri* had settled on the Iriuaná, a tributary of the left bank of the Pacajá de Portel. As the *Paracanã* attacks did not let up, the rest of the tribe was obliged to take refuge with the Neo-Brazilians of the region. In 1926 there were still a half dozen of them; in 1932, there remained only a boy and a girl in the last stages of tuberculosis.

There is probably still another band of *Arara* on the Pacajahy River, tributary of the left bank of the upper Pacajá de Portel. The *Pariri*

called them *Timirém* or *Cimirem* (red). In 1913 or a little earlier, they came into brief contact with some rubber tappers, after which nothing more was ever heard of them.

THE ASURINÍ

Synonyms.—*Asurini* (from the *Yuruna*, *asóneri*, "red"), *Assurini*, *Assuriniikin*. In *Yuruna*, *Surini*. In *Shipaya*, *Adyí kaporurí-ri* (*adyí*, "savage," plus *kaporurí*, "red," *kaporurí-ri*, "very red"). In *Curuaya*, *Nupánu-pag* (*nupánu*, "Indian," plus *pag*, "red"). In *Arara*, *Nerimá* (?). In *Cayapó*, *Kubẽ-kamreg-ti* (*kubẽ*, "Indian," plus *kamreg*, "red," plus *ti*, "augmentative").

Territory, history, and number.—The *Asurini* appear for the first time in 1894, when they attacked a Neo-Brazilian at Praia Grande, above the mouth of the Pacajá do Xingú. In 1896 they twice attacked passing canoes in Passahy (lat. 3° 40' S.) and again at Praia Grande. In that year an armed band of 30, among them the *Tacunyapé* chief, Ambrosio, pursued the attackers, but did not dare to attack their village. Not long after this event Ambrosio was killed and torn to pieces by the *Asurini*. By that time they were known to have settled between the Xingú and its tributary, the Pacajá. Toward the south they reached the boundary of Morro Grande (lat. 5° S.), with their principal village in the Igarapé Ipixuna (lat. 4° 40' S.), 5 days above its mouth. From then till the present, the *Asurini* have remained absolutely inaccessible, almost annually attacking whatever rubber tappers venture into their territory. By 1917 their attacks on the right bank of the Xingú had almost completely ceased, but their hostilities against the civilized population of the Pacajá had increased. About 1922, the latter twice furnished the *Arara* with arms and munitions for a war of extermination against the *Asurini*, but with doubtful success. At least part of the *Assurini* remained at the headwaters of the Branco River, tributary of the left bank of the Pacajá (lat. 4° S., more or less), and in 1932 they killed a Neo-Brazilian well beyond the former limits of their territory, at the mouth of the Igarapé de Bom Jardim (lat. 5° 30' S.).

In 1936, the *Górotire-Cayapó*, in their northward expansion, attacked and defeated the *Asurini*, as proved by the great number of *Asurini* arrows and ornaments in their possession when, a year later, they made peace with the Neo-Brazilians. Survivors probably still exist today between the Xingú and Pacajá and preserve their hostile attitude. The truth of the matter is that until today no one has tried to pacify them.

H. Coudreau learned that the *Asurini* were known as "Deer Indians" on the Tocantins, where they were peaceable, whereas those on the Xingú were hostile. However, nobody ever heard of a tribe of that name on the Tocantins—not even Coudreau himself, when surveying that river in 1897. The erroneously named "*Asurini*" of the lower Tocantins are *Paracanã*, who, since about 1926, have plagued Neo-Brazilians on the left bank, between lat. 3° S. and 3° 40' S. Father Wilhelm Schmidt's guess that they are a *Carajá* subtribe is inadmissible.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

In clearings along the river, the *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* raised manioc, maize, potatoes, cara, bananas, sugarcane, cotton, pepper, tobacco, gourds,

urucú, and genipa. From the manioc they made fermented flour toasted in clay ovens set on three stones. According to Emilia Snethlage, the *Curuaya* cultivated chiefly bananas, manioc, and other tubers in clearings hidden in the forest far from their homes. When visiting the *Tacunyapé*, Father Pedro Poderoso was given roasted ears of maize, Brazil nuts, and cakes of pounded maize which had been wrapped in leaves and cooked under hot ashes. The *Tacunyapé* cultivated manioc and cotton. The *Asurini* also were farmers.

The *Arara* were less clearly horticultural. After their defeat and dispersal by the *Cayapó*, they became nomadic for some time, with unfavorable consequences to their material culture, which originally may well have been of a higher type before contact with Neo-Brazilians. When the *Arara* first appeared on the Tocantins River, turtles formed their only medium of exchange; Neo-Brazilians, therefore, deny that they had any knowledge of farming. Perhaps some of the bands had really given up planting altogether, but at the headwaters of the Curuá do Norte was found one of their farm clearings; moreover, they owned objects made of cotton and, like their congeners both north and south of the Amazon, they had words for "maize," "tobacco," "potatoes," "manioc," and "beijú."

Hunting and gathering were more important to the *Curuaya* than to the *Shipaya* but fishing was less important. The *Curuaya* fished with a drug made from a liana. The *Yuruna*, though expert canoemen, did little fishing and, dreading to go inland, did little hunting. The *Shipaya* say that 10- or 12-year old *Tacunyapé* boys were expert hunters, never in danger of becoming lost in the forest.

Caimans and turtles were major foods of the *Curuaya*. For the *Yuruna*, "tracajás" (a turtle species) and their eggs, even when containing embryos, were an important food. Other foods included various wild roots and Brazil nuts (*Bertholletia excelsa*). The *Yuruna* also collected the "uauaçú" nut (*Orbignya speciosa*). The *Curuaya* had great skill in obtaining wild honey.

The *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* cooked in pots set on three stones over the fire. They cooked fish without first cleaning it. Utensils included pots, gourds, cylindrical wooden mortars, which sometimes had a separate conical base, a pestle with a head on each end, large canoe-shaped wooden vessels, and spatulate bases of "anajá" palm leaves (*Maximiliana regia*) used as basins. They ate together, everyone sitting around the gourd which held manioc flour and the pot in which fish, hot with pepper, had been cooked.

The only domesticated animals possessed by the *Yuruna* were dogs and chickens. In Von den Steinen's time, 1884, they were not yet in the habit of eating either chickens or eggs. In their huts the *Yuruna* kept a great number of wild fowls and animals.

DWELLINGS AND VILLAGES

Constant fear of being attacked by the *Cayapó* and other hostile tribes forced the *Yuruna* to build their dwellings almost exclusively on the rocky islets of the rapids, where they were safe from the *Cayapó*, who had no skill in handling canoes. In 1843, the largest *Yuruna* village consisted of six dwellings. In 1884, the seven different villages had eight, two, seven, three, one, three, and two dwellings, respectively. The *Shipaya* had an even stronger tendency to isolate their dwellings and, although houses were sometimes quite near one another, more than two were never built in the same place. The *Shipaya* of the Curuá River inhabited the right bank, which up to 1918 had not yet been invaded by the *Cayapó*. On the Iri River their houses were mostly built on the rocky islands among the rapids and only exceptionally on the solid ground of the left bank, which was less exposed to *Cayapó* attacks than the right bank. The *Tacunyapé* seem originally to have been a forest- not a river-dwelling people, but after their return from the Iri to the Xingú River they, like the *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, and *Arupái*, began to live on the islands. The *Curuaya* of the 17th century were known as forest dwellers. In contrast to the *Yuruna* and *Shipaya*, genuine boatmen who never strayed far from the islands and banks of the Xingú and Iri Rivers, the *Curuaya* avoided the banks of the large rivers. The central maloca visited by Emilia Snethlage in 1913 consisted of five houses, grouped irregularly around an open yard.

The typical *Asurini* house was a long, rectangular, tent-shaped structure without side walls; one found at the headwaters of the Branco River was 180 palmos, i.e., 128 feet (39.4 m.) in length.

The *Yuruna* had two principal types of dwellings. One type had a rectangular or square gable roof, the rafters being set right on the ground and curved toward the top. Details are lacking. The other type was a rectangular hut, the roof of which came close to the ground, with ridge pole and perpendicular walls. The first of these dwellings was probably the original type. The roof was well-made with "uauaçú" or "anajá" palm grass. The largest house visited by Von den Steinen measured 24 by 24 m. (78 by 78 ft.), and 6 m. (20 ft.) in height; others were only 2 by 4 m. (6½ by 13 ft.). Inside there was always a sort of loft, formed by a scaffolding of poles, to store food supplies, weapons, and utensils. Sometimes this scaffolding hung from the roof.

Shipaya dwellings were similar to those of the *Yuruna*. In 1913, Snethlage found the remains of a big, oval-shaped "maloca." The *Tacunyapé* house Von den Steinen saw in 1884 was "in *Yuruna* style." The original *Curuaya* house seems to have been elliptical, with a row of central posts and two lateral rows on either side, decreasing in height. There seems not to have been any space between the walls and roof; flexible rafters covered with straw gave the houses the look of "long hayricks

rounded at the top," in Sneathlage's description. At each end was a door closed with a rush mat.

Yuruna, *Shipaya*, and *Asurini* household furniture consisted of benches cut out of one piece of wood (fig. 25), with a circular or oval seat and two sides forming legs, mats woven of palm leaves, baskets with oval

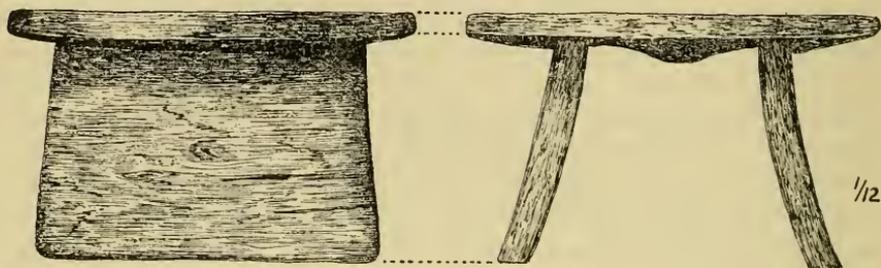


FIGURE 25.—*Yuruna* wooden stool. (Drawn from specimens, Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

lids made of "uauaçú" fiber, and cotton hammocks in which the Indians slept at night and sat during the day. The *Arara* north of the middle Iriri River in 1917 made palm-fiber hammocks. *Curuaya* dwellings were not very clean, and all their utensils were dirty and carelessly made. Their hammocks were small and made of palm fibers; the technique used is not known, but they were not woven. Their benches were crudely made and painted. Prince Adalbert speaks highly of the order and cleanliness of *Yuruna* dwellings.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

When still entirely free, *Arara* men and women were completely naked. In 1913, the *Curuaya* of the central malocas still were naked, but those of the river malocas dressed like the *Shipaya*, that is, men wore a belt of glass beads and covered the prepuce with a straw sheath, while women wore a woven loincloth. *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* women wrapped lengths of woven gray cloth around their waists; these were open on one side and reached almost to their ankles. Von den Steinen's prints show some women also wearing a kind of cape with wide stripes, apparently made the same way. Besides a belt, which seems originally to have been of cotton, men wore only the truncate cone of dry "uauaçú" fiber of the *Cayapó* and *Bororo* type which covers the male organs. This was the *Yuruna* style in 1884; 12 years later, their dress was more or less Neo-Brazilian (Coudreau, H, 1897 c). *Tacunyapé* women in 1884 were wearing aprons of material bought from civilized people.

Yuruna, *Shipaya*, and *Curuaya* men's hair hung loose almost to their waist, except when women parted it for them, making a pigtail which they tied with a gray twist of fibers. On their foreheads, where the hair-part started, there was a small circular red spot made with the pollen

of sororoca (*Ravenala guianensis*). The *Curuaya* often wore bangs. The women also parted their hair in the middle, allowing it to hang loose behind or tying it in a loose knot. The *Arara* wore their hair, which was brown and wavy, long behind; women's braids often reached their knees. The *Asurini* cut their hair ear-length. These tribes combed their hair with small one-sided combs made from stems.

The *Yuruna* made beautiful headdresses of green feathers and diadems of parrot and macaw feathers covered with small black feathers at the base. The feathers were fastened between two bamboo hoops held together by an elastic net about an inch wide. The *Shipaya* and *Curuaya* made men's diadems of cotton ribbons with feathers, sometimes fastened to straw hoops; those of braided straw in the shape of a hat brim with a tail of feathers or straw were used by both sexes. The *Górotire-Cayapo*, a *Ge* tribe (Handbook, vol. 1) were found to have feather ornaments taken from the *Asurini*: beautiful diadems made of various overlapping tiers of feathers mounted on cotton ribbons.

Yuruna men wore cotton bands 2 to 2½ inches (5 to 6 cm.) wide around their upper arms and ankles; these were crocheted on by women. At festivals, the anklets were often of beads. Narrower bands were also worn by men just below the knees. Boys and men wore a very tight beaded belt, preferably blue, from 4 to 6 inches (10 to 16 cm.) wide. Both sexes from early childhood wore strings of heavy beads around their necks and bandoleer-style, crossing in front and behind. Necklaces were made of worked peccary teeth. The *Shipaya* and *Curuaya* made similar bead ornaments, but showed more artistry in embroidering armbands and forehead bands with beads. In 1913, the *Curuaya*, owing to their relative isolation, still wore more seed and nut than bead necklaces.

Arara ornaments in the museum at Pará include: A diadem of parrot and japú feathers, the base of which is covered with small feathers; a braided cotton forehead band with small red feathers ending in two long strings; necklaces of black seeds and bones; a pair of cotton arm bands; a pair of bracelets of armadillo tail; and a necklace of armadillo claws.

The *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé* anointed their bodies with a vegetable oil for protection against mosquitoes. They kept the oil in small round gourds decorated with painted or engraved maze designs. *Asurini* warriors stain their bodies with urucú, whence their tribal name. The *Yuruna*, *Arara*, *Pariví*, and *Shipaya*, but not the *Curuaya*, tattooed the face. Until 1843 one could observe the characteristic *Yuruna* tattooing to which this tribe owed its name in the *Lingua Geral*. Both men and women made a black, vertical line down the middle of the face, from the roots of the hair to the chin, and running around the mouth. This tattooing was made by incising with animal teeth and rubbing in genipa stain, the person's social importance being indicated by the width of the

stripe. According to André de Barros, the chiefs' faces were all black; Mello Moraes says that the "most distinguished" persons generally had three stripes, the lateral ones being narrower. The width of the middle stripe is given as from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (3.8 to 7 cm.) by various authors. The tattooing was usually done in childhood. The *Shipaya* had ceased to tattoo before permanent contact with Neo-Brazilians. The *Arara* tattooed at puberty with genipa, making two vertical lines from the eye down to the curve of the lower jaw. The *Pariri* tattooed with charcoal of rubber.

Yuruna men and *Shipaya* and *Curuaya* men and women pierced their ear lobes. Ordinarily, they wore nothing in their ears but for festivals they inserted a long red macaw tail feather, with small feathers hanging from its point and surrounding the base. These feathers were kept in tubes trimmed with small "mutum" feathers. The *Arara* pierced the nasal septum as well as the earlobe. *Curuaya* women wore a stone tembeta in the lower lip.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* "uba" canoes are well adapted to the rough water of the rapids. They are made of hewn cedar logs, usually hollowed out by means of fire. The cross section is U-shaped, and there is a sort of rectangular platform at bow and stern. Von den Steinen gives the following dimensions of a *Yuruna* canoe: Length, 30 feet (10.6 m.); maximum width, 3 feet (95 cm.); depth, $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet (39 cm.); thickness, 1 inch (25 mm.); platform at the bow, 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 5 inches (57 by 44 cm.); platform at the stern, $3\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 feet (1 by 0.9 m.). (Steinen got the measurements of the platforms reversed!). These canoes can easily carry 10 people without baggage. They usually have an awning of rush mats from the middle to the rear, fastened to arched poles. The boats are punted by means of poles and steered by a paddle about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet (1.45 m.) long. The handle of the paddle, which ends in a somewhat convex cross bar, measures 2 feet (62 cm.); the blade widens toward the blunt end, and sometimes bears the painted maze design.

It seems established that the *Arara* had no form of canoe when first met. They lived on and roamed over dry land, only exceptionally appearing on the banks of the great rivers. The *Asurini* also lacked canoes. The *Curuaya*, living in the heart of the forests, paid little attention to boating. Their original canoe was made of jutahy bark. Later, they made this type only in emergency and constructed crude imitations of the *Shipaya* masterpieces.

Among devices for land transportation, the Museum at Pará has an *Arara* carrying bag of interlaced cords made of palm fibers.

MANUFACTURES

Weaving.—Since the Jesuit period, *Yuruna* women have been famous for their skill in spinning cotton "as fine as hair." They wove hammocks

on bamboo frames, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{3}{4}$ feet (2 by 3 m.). Two threads guided by a little piece of wood were passed horizontally through the vertical threads of the warp; the weaving technique is not clearly described but the product was unquestionably cloth. In order to tighten or separate the horizontal threads, they used a small toothed wooden instrument.

Pottery.—*Yuruna* pottery was simple (fig. 26, *b, d*), without painted or plastic decorations, except for the occasional addition of two small excrescences on diametrically opposite sides of the vessel edge. The principal form, used to hold water and fermented drinks, is a round jar with a short neck. *Shipaya* ceramics are coarser than those of the *Yuruna*.

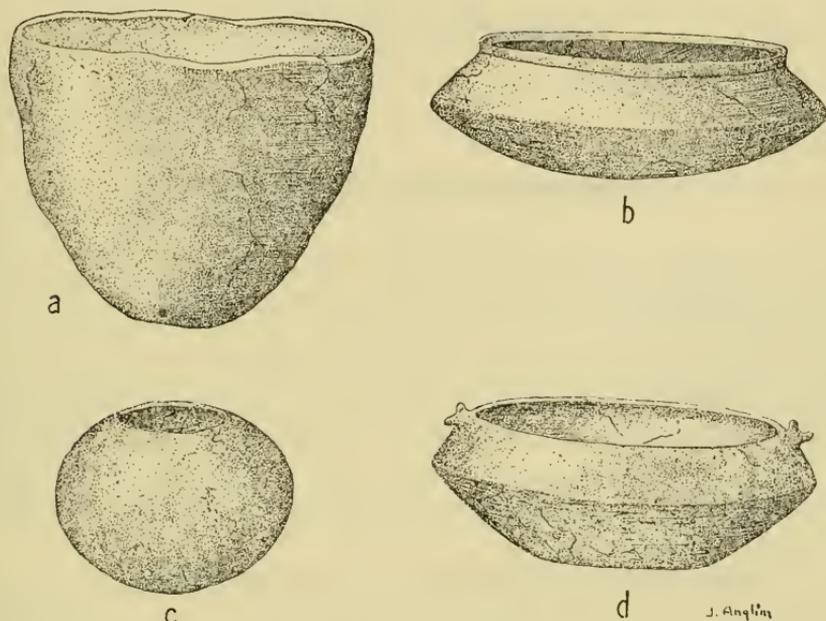


FIGURE 26.—Pottery from the lower Xingú. *a*, *Arara*; *b, d*, *Yuruna*; *c*, *Curuaya*. (All $\frac{2}{9}$ actual size.) (Drawn from specimens, Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém, and Nimuendajú and Snethlage collections.)

Huge vessels $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet (69 cm.) in diameter and equally high are used for fermented drinks. Exceptional pots were painted inside and outside. *Curuaya* pots resemble those of neighboring tribes, but the ware is inferior and vessels are small and plain. The characteristic form is a small, globular jar (fig. 26, *c*), apparently made in imitation of the capsule of the Brazil-nut tree. *Arara* pottery is very crude (fig. 26, *a*).

Miscellaneous.—The *Shipaya* made “half-gourds” (*cuias*) from the *cuieté* and *Lagenaria*. These are painted black inside and outside and sometimes have maze designs. The decorations are sometimes incised on the shell of the green fruit.

Other containers include an *Arara* vessel for dye made of the dorsal carapace of a turtle and a rectangular palm-straw basket with a lid and upright sides.

The *Yuruna* made candles of little wooden sticks wrapped in cotton and soaked in oil.

Weapons.—The principal weapon was the bow and arrow. The club was known only to the *Shipaya* and to the *Asurini* (fig. 27, c). The *Shipaya* attached a short cylindrical club to the wrist by means of a loop. A club of

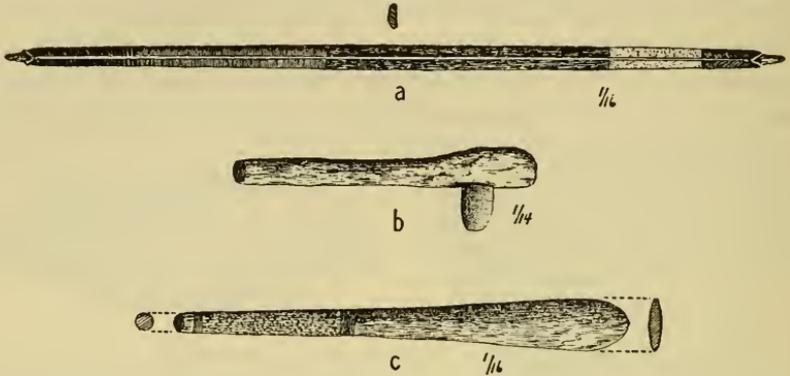


FIGURE 27.—*Asurini* weapons. *a*, Bow; *b*, hafted stone ax; *c*, wooden club. (DRAWN from specimens, Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém, and Estevão collection.)

the *Asurini* in the Pará Museum is $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet (85 cm.) long, the handle covered with fibers of two colors interwoven with little skill, the end rounded and flattened, the blade 3 inches (8.5 cm.) wide by 1 inch (2.5 cm.) thick, and both edges cut. The blade is slightly curved, almost like a machete. The cudgels found in the possession of the *Yuruna* were apparently of *Cayapó* origin.

The *Yuruna* bow was of black wood, rectangular in cross section, over $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet (2 m.) long, and notched at the ends to hold the cord. *Curuaya* and *Shipaya* bows were similar. The *Arara* made powerful bows $4\frac{1}{3}$ feet (1.3 m.) long with a flattened elliptical cross section about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches (4 cm.) wide. *Asurini* bows (fig. 27, *a*) in the C. Estevão Collection in Pará are made of paxiuba palm, $5\frac{1}{3}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet (1.62 to 1.67 m.) long. They are distinguishable from all other South American bows by their exaggerated width, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches (6 to 7 cm.); the maximum thickness is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (1 cm.). The ends are notched to hold the cord, one end of which has a ring to slip over the lower tip of the bow. The upper half or third of the bow is almost always wound with dark and white cotton threads, while the lower part is sometimes covered with hawk down glued on.

Yuruna, *Curuaya*, and *Shipaya* arrows are made of camayuva (*Guadua* sp.) and have bridged feathering. The *Asurini* and *Arara* used sewed feathering. The most common point is a lanceolate blade of bamboo or bone. *Asurini* arrows in the C. Estevão collection range from 4 feet 1

inch to 5 feet 1 inch (125 to 157 cm.) in length. The shaft is of camayuva; the heads are: (a) of bamboo, 1 foot (32 cm.) long by 1½ inches (4 cm.) wide; (b) of bone, 6 inches (15 cm.) long by ¾ inch (1.6 cm.) wide, with a lateral barb; (c) of wood, imitating (a) and (b), or of square or triangular cross section; (d) with four sharp wooden points. The feathering is sewed. The feathers, usually a hawk and a macaw feather, are very long, up to 1½ feet (40 cm.). The point where they are tied on is sometimes decorated with four overlapping rows of short feathers, glued on, three rows of yellow feathers, one row of red. The shaft of the arrow, in the space between the vanes, is sometimes covered with an interweaving of very fine black and white fibers or cotton threads of two colors with an equally ornamental effect. Some arrows have a "tucumã" nut inserted at the point where the head is fastened into the shaft. This nut makes no sound and apparently serves only to keep the arrow from penetrating too far. The *Shipaya* used a fish arrow having a long cylindrical point of paxiuba palm wood and an incendiary war arrow with a piece of jutahy resin in the slit end.

The *Arara* used a lance with a long bamboo point.

An *Arara* ax which I observed in 1917 north of the middle Iriri River had a stone head, with only the cutting edge polished. The head was held in a cavity in the thickest part of a wooden handle by means of wax and string lashing. A similar *Asurini* ax in the *Pará* museum has the head fitted so nicely into the cavity that an adhesive and lashing are unnecessary (fig. 27, b).

The *Arara* made a chisel of a hafted agouti tooth.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In 1913, the *Curuaya* still had a village chief, although an intelligent interpreter who had a monopoly on their communication with Neo-Brazilians enjoyed much greater prestige. Emilia Snethlage believes that chieftainship originally passed from father to son. By 1913, the *Curuaya* were becoming rubber collectors; by 1919, they were mere serfs of a Neo-Brazilian boss.

A certain solidarity united the *Shipaya* as against other tribes, but there was no tribal organization. From the beginning of the 20th century they seem no longer to have had chiefs (i-áma; i, reverential prefix) and nothing is known of their ancient functions. On war expeditions an experienced man was chosen ad hoc to take command.

The *Yuruna* were divided into villages, each composed of a number of families (patrilineal?). A comparison of Von den Steinen's and H. Coudreau's data indicates that these families or communal households were probably relatively stable. Chieftaincy descended from father to son; the war leader, however, was not the village chief but a medicine man.

Until shortly before Von den Steinen's expedition there seems to have been a supreme chief of the tribe, who lived at Piranhaquara.

Among the *Shipaya*, monogamy is the rule; bigamy a rare exception. Divorce is uncommon. The couples usually live in perfect harmony and treat each other on equal terms. Both men and women participate in religious ceremonies. Children are treated with an almost exaggerated tenderness, and are rarely given away to civilized people. Infanticide is considered a sin that provokes the anger of the god Kumāpári, who expressly forbade it. Formerly, there existed a relationship of solidarity very formally entered into by two individuals, maĩtumas, of their own free will. The alliance was sealed at the time of the zetábia ceremony in front of Kumāpári's statue. The two maĩtumas were never to quarrel, should converse with each other respectfully, and should help each other during the remainder of their lives. As long as the *Shipaya* kept their identity as a tribe, they were known for their honesty.

Among the *Yuruna*, polygyny (of the chiefs?) was practiced, a man having up to three wives. Since the 17th century, the *Yuruna* have been proverbially jealous of their wives; the uprising of 1666 was due to the abuses of the chief of the expedition in this respect. Von den Steinen noted the harmony prevailing between spouses. Parental love is proved by the breaking of relations with the mission when the missionary sent some children as hostages to Belém. One day Von den Steinen's expedition had to stop and camp long before the scheduled hour in order to prepare the food for the *Yuruna* guide's little daughter, who was feeling hungry. Naughty children were not beaten, but their parents treated them with ostentatious contempt until they mended their ways. Von den Steinen observed that on a canoe trip a father left his disobedient little daughter at the edge of the river, forcing her for a while to follow the canoe on foot with great difficulty.

The old reports describe the *Yuruna* as brave and warlike, and both sexes as hard workers. The women spun and toasted flour even during drinking sprees. Brusque's record (1863), however, calls them lazy, indolent, and thievish. Von den Steinen found them affable, given to laughter, not thievish, and willing to help with the work. He observed the weeping salutation which lasted about a minute and did not provoke tears. When subsequently talking to the host, the visitor stood beside him without looking at him, but staring straight into space. Visitors announced their arrival by blowing a horn.

Among the *Curuaya*, monogamy was the rule; bigamy was rare, according to Emilia Snethlage, chiefly because of poverty and the lack of women, although polygyny was the theoretical ideal. Families are apparently patrilineal. There were indications of the couvade.

WARFARE

There are no reports of intratribal conflict, but all these peoples were intermittently at war with their neighbors, though the *Shipaya* and *Arara* remained at peace with the *Tacunyapé*. In the 17th century, the *Curuaya* are mentioned as enemies of the *Yuruna* and *Tacunyapé*; in 1843, as enemies of the *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, and *Piapáy*. The *Asuriní* and *Tacunyapé* were at war recently. The implacable enemy of all these tribes was the *Northern Cayapó*, who, during the 18th century, made the *Yuruna* seek shelter in the rocky islands of the rivers and cut off all communications between the *Yuruna* and the tribes of the upper Xingú River until the beginning of the 20th century. We have already seen how the *Curuaya* succumbed to the *Cayapó* in 1934. The *Shipaya* had also been constantly menaced by the *Cayapó* and earlier by the *Mundurucú* and the now extinct *Piapáy*. The *Shipaya* had been alternately at peace and at war with the *Yuruna*, *Arupái*, *Curuaya*, and *Arara* but finally effected an alliance with the *Yuruna* and *Curuaya*, and, despite occasional flare-ups, intermarried and lived together with them. When at peace with the *Yuruna*, *Shipaya* groups sometimes settled among them on the Xingú. Von den Steinen's vocabulary of the language of the "upper" *Yuruna* is almost pure *Shipaya*, and Coudreau's map shows an old *Shipaya* maloca near that of the *Yuruna* of Jurucuá Falls at Volta Grande.

The *Tacunyapé* were never at peace with the *Cayapó*. The *Cayapó*, while pursuing the *Shipaya*, attacked them at the time when they lived on the Iriri, and a *Tacunyapé* raid against their assailants failed. A strange episode is told about this expedition; the chief of the *Tacunyapé*, mortally wounded by an arrow, requested that one of his warriors divide his body at the waistline with a big knife, so as to have to carry only the upper part of his body in the retreat to their village, leaving the nether part on the battlefield.

Cannibalism.—Since the 17th century, the *Yuruna* have been accused of cannibalism, and the 18th-century *Shipaya* were known as cannibals. The other tribes did not eat human flesh.

Father João Daniel, whose tendency to exaggerate makes him an untrustworthy witness, states that the *Yuruna* kept human fat in kettles for seasoning their food. He also cites cases of these Indians killing people in order to prepare provisions for a trip. The writer also doubts some stories told by the *Shipaya* about such customs of the *Yuruna*. It is probable, however, that cannibalism really existed among the *Yuruna*, more or less under the same conditions as among the *Shipaya*.

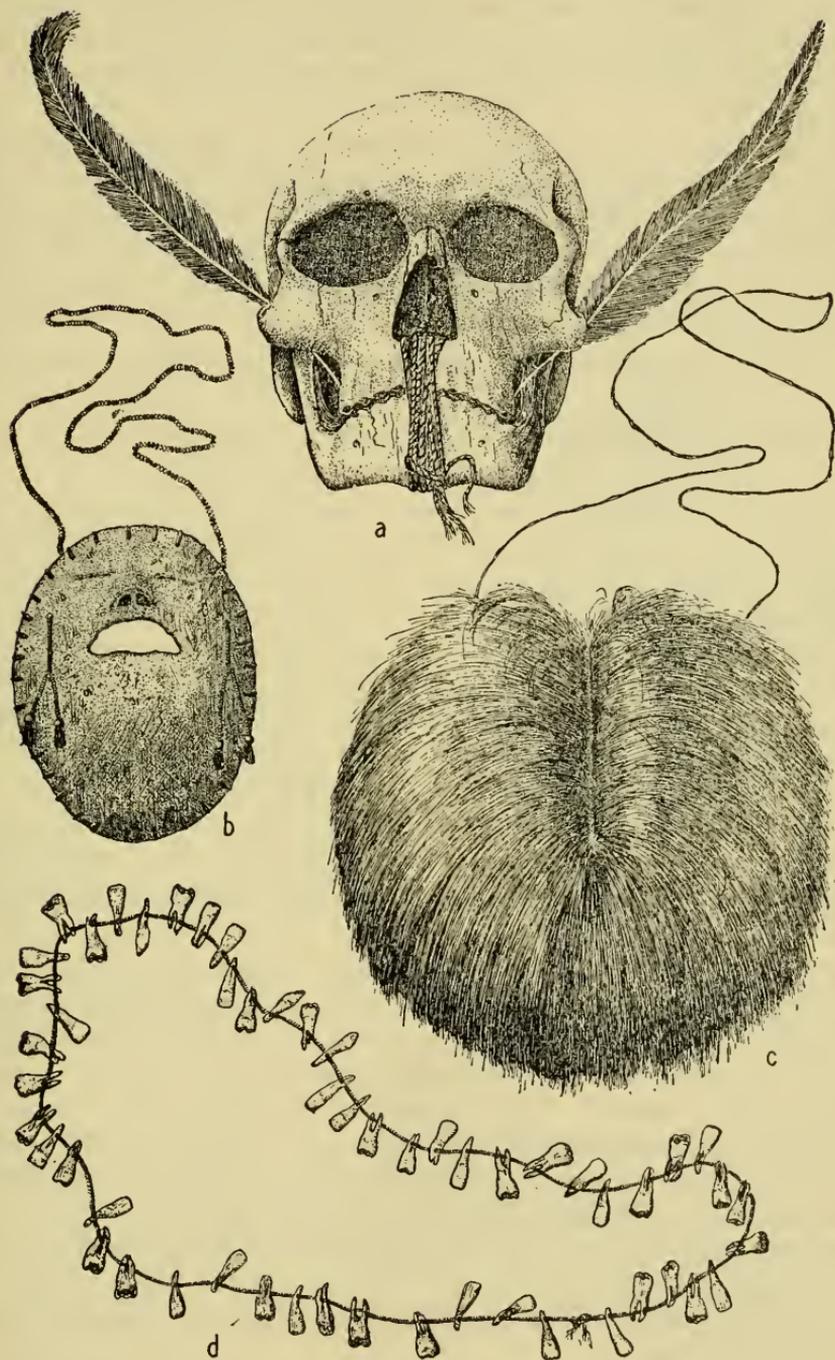
Father João Daniel (around 1750) called the *Shipaya* "warlike, cruel, and cannibalistic as these *Yuruna*," and doubtless before closer contact with Neo-Brazilians (around 1885), they were cannibals. Their last vic-

tims may have been the *Cayapó* during the conflicts which resulted in the abandonment of the tribal dwellings on the middle Iriri. (See above.) Except for a few cases where vengeance was the motive, cannibalism always took the form of a sort of communion with their national god, Kumāpari, now transformed into the jaguar with an avowed man-eating propensity. Through his medicine man, he used to manifest his desire to eat the flesh of the *Shipaya's* enemy. The tribe then organized an expedition against one of the hostile tribes, the main purpose being to take one of its members alive. The prisoner was taken to the maloca, where he was very well treated. Beverages were prepared, and after the guests had arrived, the prisoner was killed by arrows in the yard, then scalded, quartered, and the pieces cooked or roasted on a rustic grill (moquém). A large pot full of human flesh and drink was then covered with rush mats and placed near the caves for Kumāpari. Of those attending the feast "whoever wished" also ate of the enemy's meat. The killer was not subject to the purification prescribed for nonritual killing.

War trophies.—Trophy taking was more common than cannibalism. The *Yuruna* kept the skulls of their slain enemies. In the uprising of 1686, "they carried as a standard the head of a certain Sergeant Antonio Rodrigues, whom they had killed." Sometimes these skulls served as resonators for their war trumpets. They made flutes of the enemies' bones and used the teeth to decorate their ear lobes. The *Shipaya* decapitated a slain foe, carefully picked the flesh from the skull, fastened the maxillary on with wax, and filled the orbits with wax, placing small bone disks in their centers. The killer hung the trophy in a basket from the ridge pole of his dwelling. He extracted the teeth and made them into necklaces for himself and wife or used them to decorate earplugs. The *Arara* took the following trophies: The scalp (fig. 28, *c*), including the ears, stretched in a hoop; the skin of the face (fig. 28, *b*), similarly stretched and trimmed with tassels of beads, with a loop of beads for hanging; the skull (fig. 28, *a*), cleaned and decorated with two macaw tail feathers inserted behind the zygomata and with cotton fluff; and the teeth made into necklaces (fig. 28, *d*). It is reported that they stripped off the entire skin of one of their dead enemies. The *Curuaya* took trophy heads. In 1919, they told me that they had carefully preserved the skulls of the *Shipaya* killed in their last conflict with them, and that until recently they had danced with them.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Drinking festivals.—The *Yuruna* attached great importance to a drink, malicha, made from manioc, fermentation of which was produced by women chewing part of the mass. Sometimes bananas were added. It was allowed to ferment in a canoe set up in the festival house and covered with banana leaves. Drinking parties often lasted for days. During such



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FIGURE 28.—*Arara* trophies. *a*, Skull, ornamented; *b*, skin of human face with open mouth; *c*, human scalp; *d*, human-tooth necklace. (Drawn from specimens, Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

an occasion, Von den Steinen saw a gaudily adorned personage who alternately played the *pari-tadada* and sang, and also served drinks to the others. The *Yuruna* are not quarrelsome when they drink; they sing and talk to themselves, walking up and down, and pay no attention to one another.

From early times, the *Shipaya* too were considered heavy drinkers. At any celebration, even a religious one, enormous quantities of fermented drink were never lacking. The *Shipaya* never became belligerently drunk, but behaved like the *Yuruna*. After contact with Neo-Brazilians, however, they became sadly addicted to rum. The *Curuaya* were also passionately fond of fermented drinks.

The *Yuruna* smoked tobacco in cigarettes rolled in the thin skin of the *tauri* (*Couratari* sp.).

Musical instruments.—*Curuaya* musical instruments include small panpipes, bone flutes, and two kinds of the “*toré*” clarinet.

Yuruna musical instruments were: The gourd rattle (*maracá*), with a plume of macaw tail feathers at the tip; a signaling horn made of a gourd; a horn of thick bamboo with lateral opening for blowing and with loops and tassels of feathers; the same with sounding box made of a gourd or a human skull; small panpipes; a bone flute; Von den Steinen’s “*bassoon*,” perhaps corresponding to the *Shipaya* “*takari*” (Karl G. Izikowitz’s “*toré clarinet*”); a great wooden trumpet (*pari-tadada*) used at drinking sprees with lateral opening for blowing and a bamboo reed from 5.7 to 6.1 feet (175 to 187 cm.) in length.

Shipaya dancing and music were always linked. Some dances imitated certain animals in pantomime. During their sprees, they would walk up and down in pairs or alone, singing and playing the flute with an unearthly din.

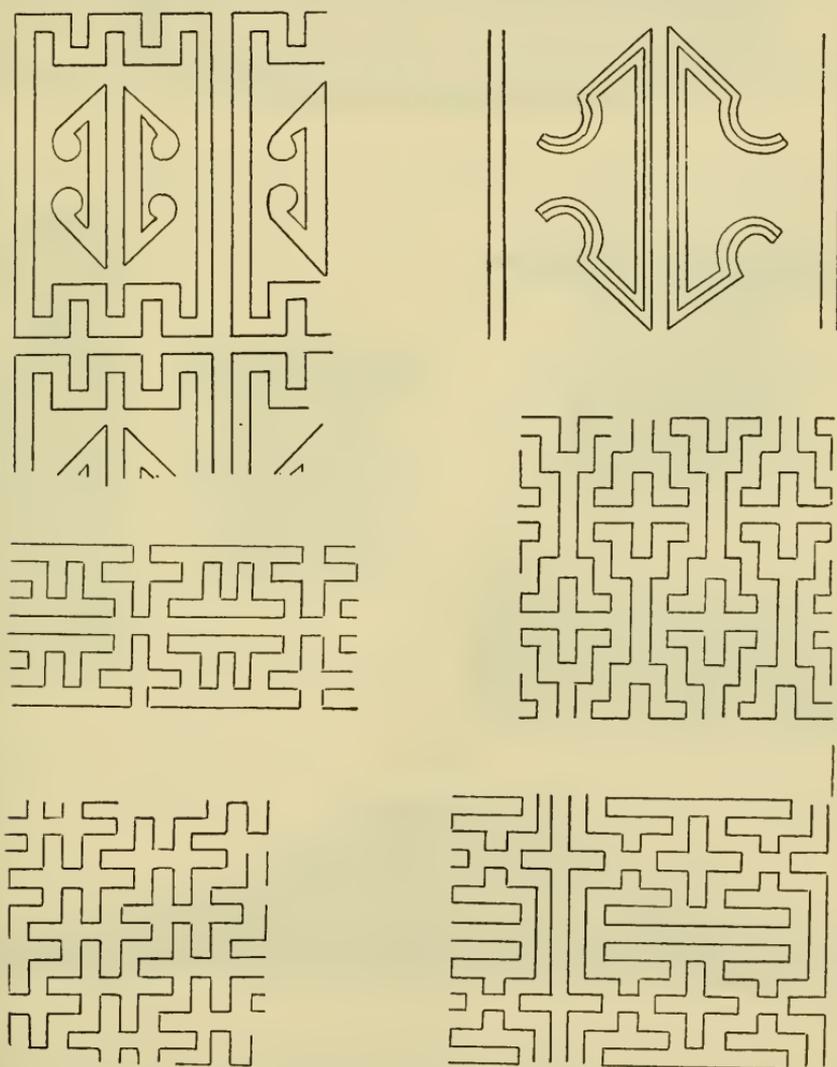
Besides the large flutes for the “*zetábia*” ceremony and the whistles for the dance of souls, the *Shipaya* had the same instruments as the *Yuruna*: a bone flute, panpipes, a signal horn, a large conical wooden trumpet, painted with the maze design (*pari-tadada*), a small four-holed flute, and the “*takari*.” This last requires four players, for it has a scale of four notes and each player has only one note to play. The melody results from each player’s playing his note as required. The quartette forms a circle, each person holding the “*takari*” with his right hand, and placing his left on his neighbor’s shoulder. While playing, they slowly move round and round.

The gourd rattle, identical with the *Yuruna* form, is also used only by the medicine man.

Art.—The *Yuruna* and *Shipaya* (fig. 29) used the maze design on their engraved gourds, but the former did not paint it on their bodies with *genipa*, generally limiting themselves to stripes on their forearms and legs,

so that, artistically, body decoration was much inferior to that of the *Shipaya*. *Yuruna* artists were generally women. There are numberless variations of the maze motif with which they cover objects and especially the body. Frequently, these body designs, used on festive occasions, are so fine and intricate that they can only be seen at close range. Besides the maze motif, there are also curvilinear patterns.

The most important *Shipaya* sculptural products, statues of mythological personages, do not show great development in this type of work. Little figures of armadillos and other animals are carved from a palm nut (*Bactris* sp.) and made into necklaces. Wooden spoons sometimes appear in artistic and original forms, the handle ending in the form of a clenched



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FIGURE 29.—*Shipaya* painted decorations. (Drawn from sketch by Curt Nimuendajú.)

fist, etc. In 1896, H. Coudreau found in an abandoned *Shipaya* tribal house a number of small carved, wooden figures representing animals, a canoe, and other objects. These were well done. (See figs. 30, *a*, *d*, *f*; 31, for similar *Yuruna* specimens.).

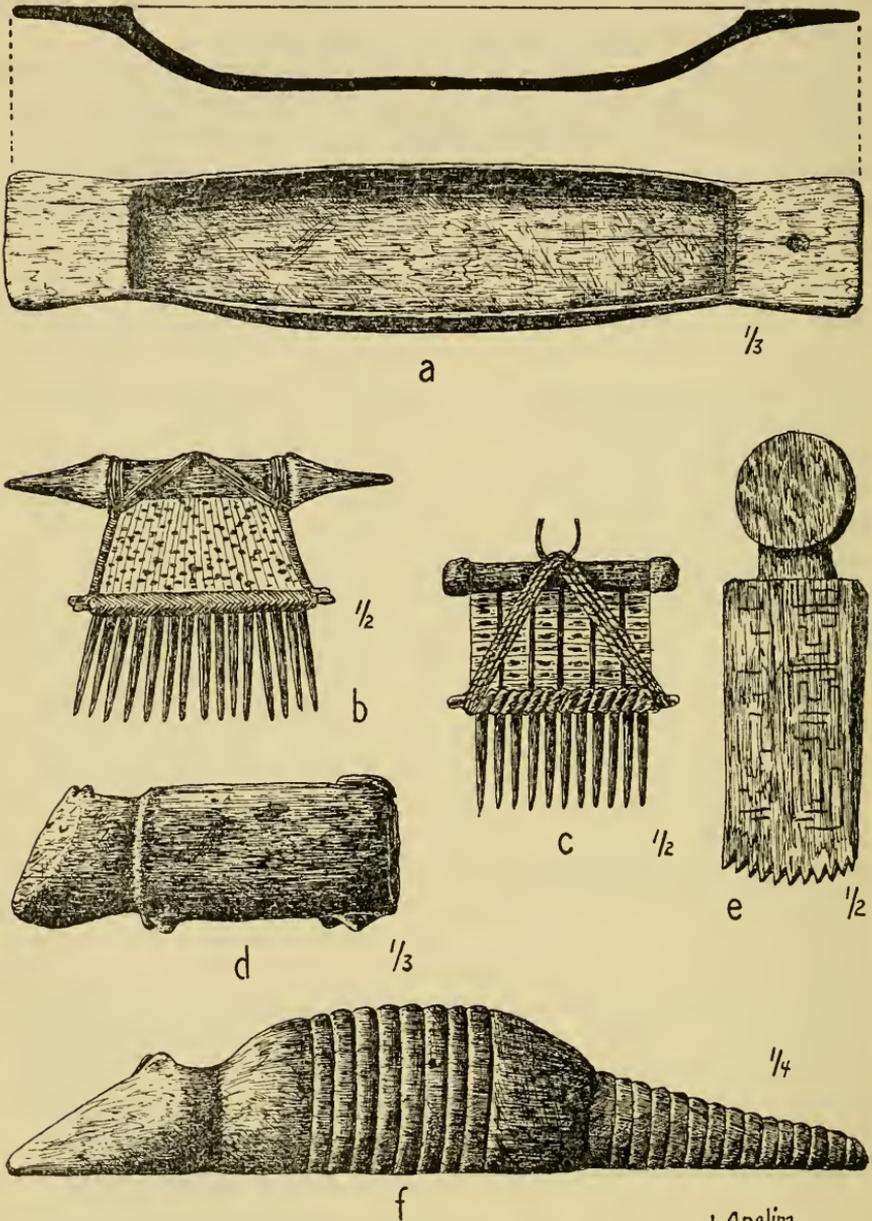


FIGURE 30.—Lower Xingú wood carvings and manufactures. *a*, *d*, *f*, *Yuruna* carved toys (?); *b*, *c*, *Yuruna* and *Arara* wood and cord combs; *e*, *Yuruna* carding comb. (Drawn from specimens, Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

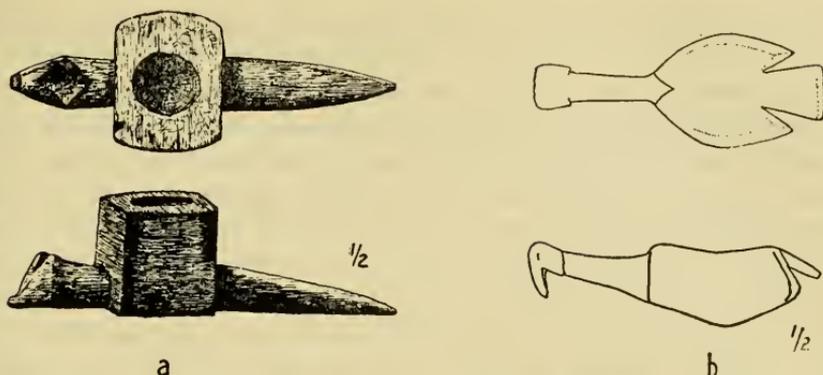


FIGURE 31.—*Yuruna* carved wooden toys (?). (Drawn from specimens, Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

The principal figure in *Shipaya* religion is the god Kumāpari, son of another god of the same name, and father of Kunyarima, whose uterine brother was Arubiatá. Kumāpari stole fire from the tapir hawk and created man from arrow-reeds, making the *Shipaya* first of all, whence his title of Sekárika (Our Creator). The brothers carry out a series of difficult tasks, by order of Kumāpari, who in these episodes bears the title Marusawa (*Tupí*: morubisawa, "chief?"). In these adventures Kunyarima gives proof of intelligence and courage, while Arubiatá tries in vain to imitate him, always failing and saved only through his brother's intervention. Kumāpári, angry with all men, goes away down the Xingú, to the north, where, at the end of the world, sky and earth meet. At first of human shape, he now has the form of an old jaguar. He has turned into the god of war and cannibalism, and is the object of a real cult. Consecrated to Kumāpari were: medicine men to whom he would directly manifest himself; their helpers; and the god's wives, who never married men and had certain religious duties.

Sometimes Kumāpari or the two brothers ordered statues (*upasi*) to be made: cylindrical posts with human heads carved and painted on them by the demon's wives. A ceremony (*zetábia*) would take place in front of the statues with two large flutes of thick bamboo, held by these women.

Among the many other gods or spirits of the earth and sky, the most important are the terrible Apu-sipayá (Jaguar of Heaven), the aquatic demon, Paí, and the Great Snake, Tobí, from whose ashes sprang all cultivated plants. Respect for these spirits, the help they can give men, and fear of their anger and malevolence constitute, together with magic and the worship of souls, *Shipaya* supernaturalism.

The soul is composed of two parts: the *āwá*, which after death turns into a specter that frightens but does not kill people; and the *isāwi*, which

inhabits certain large rocks or hills inside which it lives a life similar to that of the living. Jointly, all the isāwi are called i-ánāi (i, reverential prefix, plus ánā, plus i, suffix of the collective plural).

From time to time, the i-ánāi again desire to be among the living and advise the medicine man, who then orders an i-ánāi kariá (feast of the souls of the dead). The ceremonies only take place at night and last 8 or more nights. One by one, the souls enter the medicine man in order to dance and drink with the living. The medicine man appears from the interior of a dark house bringing the jugs of fermented drink, which are wrapped up closely in a rectangular cape of heavy coarse cotton, woven in the "double thread" technique. These threads are covered with cotton-wool, so that the cape resembles a sheep's fleece. The cape is fastened to a hoop worn on the head, and from which hang thick black fringes hiding the wearer's face. A wreath of parrot feathers decorates the head, and the bottom of the cape is bordered with wing and tail feathers of the mutum, which touch the ground. The wearer is completely covered, suggesting a white pillar. The soul is summoned with shouts and the music of two flutes, a single and a double one, fastened together with a thread. It then enters the circle formed by women and men, who welcome it with laughter. In a nasal voice, the soul sings a short verse several times, following the circular dance of the others, then disappears into the house, yielding its place to another soul. This ceremony ends with a great drinking orgy. Throughout the celebration the participants refrain from sexual intercourse. The souls of those recently dead never appear on such occasions. The festival ends with the medicine man's ceremonially restoring to each participant his isāwi, of which the souls had deprived him, for its loss would spell death.

The medicine man is, above all, the intermediary between the laity and the gods, the spirits, and the souls of the dead. The prerequisite for the profession is a tendency toward dreams and visions, a good teacher subsequently instructing the tyro how to develop and use his gift.

Magic, that is, the art of curing and of causing illness, as well as of securing special advantages, is a secular science. It is in no way connected with the spirits and the souls of the dead, although exercised by the medicine man, who heals by sucking and massaging, removing harmful influences from the patient's body, and transferring them to a green branch (compare *Yuruna*); he also blows tobacco smoke over the patient.

The *Yuruna* believed in the god the Shipaya call "Kumāpári," with whom some of their medicine men had direct communication, and also in the culture hero Kunyarima. One of their ceremonies, observed by Von den Steinen, is in every detail identical with the *Shipaya* Dance of Souls (i-ánāi Kariá). The souls, like those of the *Shipaya*, lived in certain large rocks, safe from high water, such as Pedra Preta, Pedra de Caxinguba, and Pedra Seca, to which due reverence was given. What

Kletke says about a benevolent diety and a malevolent deity seems not trustworthy.

The medicine man cured by violent massaging, forcing the pathogenic substances from the body into green branches, which were then carefully taken outdoors. Meanwhile, the patient remained lying in his hammock.

At a *Curuaya* feast, E. Snethlage saw two posts carved with human faces similar to the *Shipaya* statues. It is not known whom they represented. The medicine man's hammock was hung between these posts, and behind them was the canoe with the fermented drink. In the *Curuaya* mythology there are two pairs of brothers, Wítontim and Áizau, whose parents are called Karu-pia and Imíriwon, and Kabi-sáu (kabi, "sky") and Zaizu-sáu (zaizu, "armadillo"). The significance of the so-called "karuara" (in the *Lingua Geral*), cotton tufts hanging from the ceiling in small vases or baskets, is not certain. Emilia Snethlage says that they contained pathogenic substances the medicine man, an important person in the village, extracted from the body of patients. In his house there was a room walled with bark and closed to visitors, in which he effected his cures. Snethlage assumes an astral cult, a supposition the writer was unable to confirm.

Nothing is known concerning animism or burial practices.

The *Shipaya* say that the *Tacunyapé* celebrated the dance of souls. The cape worn for the dance was of palm fiber, closed all around, with an opening for the head. The souls of the dead came from the forest to participate in the drinking, but did not sing or dance with the living.

Shipaya and *Yuruna* dead were interred inside the house, the hammocks of the closest relatives being hung near the burial. Later, the bones were removed, cleaned, and put away in a basket, which was hung under the ridge pole. The writer does not know what was finally done with them. The closest women relatives cut their hair as a sign of mourning.

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