

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

**HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS**

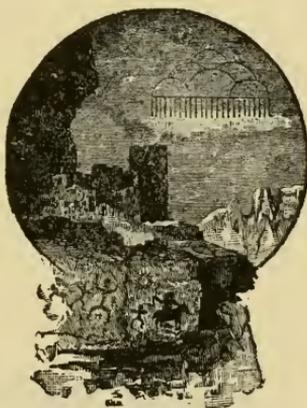
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Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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

Extraído do volume 3 (1948) do
Handbook of South American Indians.
Disponível para download em
<http://www.ethnolinguistica.org/hsai>



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

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

THE TRIBES OF THE UPPER XINGU RIVER

By CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The Xingú River was known south only as far as lat. 4° 5' 11" S. through the expedition of Prince Adalbert of Prussia in 1843. When Karl von den Steinen descended it for the first time in 1884, its upper course, the region inland, and the numerous tribes inhabiting the area were entirely unknown. Von den Steinen descended the Batoví River, a branch of the Xingú River, and discovered the *Northern Bacãiri*, *Custenau*, *Waura*, and, on the Xingú River, the *Suya* and *Manitsaua*. During a second expedition in 1887, he traveled down the Culiseu River, also a branch of the Xingú River, and saw the *Nahukwa*, *Mehinacu*, *Auetö*, *Yaulapiti*, *Trumái*, and *Camayura*.

Hermann Meyer made an expedition in 1896 to the Culiseu and Jatobá Rivers, and another in 1889, mainly to explore the Ronuro River. In 1900–1901, Max Schmidt traveled to the Culiseu River. Later, Hintermann (in 1924–25), Dyott (in 1928), Petrullo (in 1931), and Buell Quain (in 1938) studied the upper Xingú River region.

The upper Xingú tributaries form an elaborate comblike system of waterways, about 150 miles (240 km.) wide. After running most of their course parallel to one another, the streams join at about lat. 12° S. to form the Xingú River. The confluent branches are, from west to east, the Steinen (Ferro), Ronuro, Jatobá, Batovi (Tamitoala, Culiseu (Kulisehu), and Culuene Rivers.

Along their upper courses, the rivers are bordered by continuous strips of gallery forest which hardly screen the savanna of the hinterland. Along their middle and lower courses, the forest widens, and lagoons and marshes form dead-water channels which permit communication with the secondary streams. Several tribes live close to one another near the rivers. The more important settlements lie between the Culiseu and Culuene Rivers, in the eastern part of the basin. Few inhabitants dwell along the western rivers.

The native population of the Xingú area is numerous and extremely varied. The tribes belong to all the chief Brazilian linguistic families, but there is no correlation between the linguistic provinces and geo-

graphical divisions. The linguistic boundaries are difficult to determine because they freely overlap, crossing valleys and watersheds.

The location of the tribes of the upper Xingú River may be sketched as follows (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7.):

(1) **Cariban tribes.**—Only the eastern portion of a formerly important nucleus of *Cariban* tribes south of the Amazon River falls within this area. It extended west to the Tapajóz Basin, where it is now represented by the *Bacairi* of the Novo and Parantinga Rivers (lat. 14° S., long. 56° W.). In the south it reached the neighborhood of Cuiahá. The *Carib* of the upper Xingú Basin include: (a) The *Bacairi* of the Batoví River (4 villages in Von den Steinen's time); (b) the *Bacairi* of the Culiseu River (3 villages); and (c) the *Nahukwa* (*Nahuqua*, *Anauqua*), on the right bank of the Culiseu River (lat. 13° S., long. 53° W.). Between the Culiseu and Culuene Rivers, there were numerous villages, whose inhabitants Von den Steinen called *Nahukwa*, though they bear distinct names, among which *Guicuru* (*Cuicutil*) and *Apalakiri* (*Calapalo*) are mentioned most frequently (lat. 12° S., long. 53° W.). A careful census of the villages between the Culiseu and Culuene Rivers was made by Hermann Meyer, who recorded no less than 15 different groups. In Von den Steinen's time, the *Mariapé-Nahukwa* were the northern representatives of the *Cariban* family. The *Bacairi* language differs in important features from that of the *Nahukwa*. The latter includes several dialects distinguished by phonetics rather than by semantics or morphology.

(2) **Arawakan tribes.**—The *Arawakan* linguistic family, named *Nu-Aruak* by Von den Steinen, occurs mostly in the country between the Culiseu and Batoví Rivers, even crossing the lower course of the latter toward the Ronuro River. *Arawakan* tribes live north to the *Bacairi* of the Batoví River, northwest of the *Bacairi* of the Culiseu River, and east of the *Nahukwa*. From the southeast to the northwest, they include the *Mehinacu* (*Minaco*), on the left bank of the Culiseu River (lat. 13° S., long. 54° W.); the *Yaulapiti* (*Yawalapiti*), north of the *Mehinacu* (lat. 12° S., long. 54° W.); the *Custenau* (*Kustenau*), on the right bank of the Batoví River (lat. 12° S., long. 54° W.); and the *Waura* (*Aura*; not to be confused with the Orinoco Delta *Warrau*), on both banks of that river (lat. 12° 30' S., long. 54° W.). All the *Arawakan* dialects of the upper Xingú River are similar.

(3) **Tupian tribes.**—In Von den Steinen's time, the *Tupian* tribes occupied a small area on the left bank of the Culiseu River, opposite the *Nahukwa* and close to the *Yaulapiti*. They include the *Auetö* (*Autil*, *Auiti*), lat. 12° 30' S., long. 54° W., the mixed *Arauiti* (resulting from intermarriages between *Auetö* and *Vaulapiti*) to the south, and the *Camayura* (*Camayula*) to the north (lat. 12° S., long. 54° W.). The *Manitsaua* (*Mantizula*) are also *Tupí*, but their language includes many ele-

ments from the *Suya* (a *Ge* tribe), on the Xingú River to the north, about lat. 11° S., long. 54° W.

(4) **Trumai.**—This isolated linguistic family was in Von den Steinen's time represented by two villages, one on the left bank of the Culiseu River between the *Auetö* and the *Yaulapiti*, and the other on the right bank of the lower Culuene River north of the *Mariape-Nahukwa* (lat. 12° 30' S., long. 54° W.).

(5) **Ge.**—The *Suya* (*Tsuva*), who inhabit the Xingú River at about lat. 10° 5' S., belong to the *Ge* linguistic family, as probably do the unknown "*Cayapó*," who are said to live to the east on the headwaters of the Culuene River. (See vol. 1, p. 478.)

The history of the area is not well known. The *Bacaïri* say that their first home was on the headwaters of the Paranatinga and Ronuro Rivers. They moved to the great falls of the Paranatinga River, and later to the country between the Ronuro and Paranatinga Rivers. After unsuccessful wars against the *Cayabi* (*Cajabi*), who still occupy the Verde River, they returned to their present dwellings. The *Suya* appear to have moved during the first quarter of the 19th century from the Arinos and Verde Rivers to the upper Xingú River. Similar migrations within a relatively small area are said to have been made by most of the tribes prior to Von den Steinen's visit.

Since 1887 many changes have occurred in the geographical distribution of the different tribes. According to Hermann Meyer's map (Meyer, 1887 b), the southern *Trumai* village had disappeared in 1896, but it is found again on Max Schmidt's map made in 1900-1901 and on Petrucco's map made in 1931, though situated farther south, between the *Mehinacu* and the *Nahukwa*. The northern *Trumai* village was also moved south, across the Culuene River. By 1931, the *Arawakan* tribes had made important shifts. The *Waura* had abandoned the Batoví River and settled halfway between the *Yaulapiti* and the *Mehinacu* on the Culiseu River. Thus, the general trend is toward tribal intermixture and concentration of population on the river banks. The *Nahukwa*, however, still hold a continuous territory, clearly distinct from that of other tribes, along the right bank of the Culuene River.

In 1896, Hermann Meyer obtained information on the hitherto unknown upper course of the Paranaiuba River, a left tributary of the Xingú River. His informants named 19 different tribes said to be settled in that area. It appears from small vocabularies that the *Yaruma* speak a *Cariban* dialect and the *Arawine* a *Tupian* dialect (Krause, 1936 b). Nothing is known of the others. Meyer's list of the Paranaiuba River tribes corresponds, except for a few names, to the lists of tribes east of the Culuene River obtained by Petrucco from a *Bacaïri* and an *Apalakiri* informant. These consisted of 10 and 14 names, respectively. An alleged pygmy people is called *Phoi* by the *Bacaïri* and *Tahulgi* by the *Apalakiri*. Several widely separated groups are called *Cayapó* (*Kahaho*).

On the basis of Meyer's map, the whole upper Xingú area, excluding the Paranaiuba River, contained 35 villages. This number agrees reasonably well with Von den Steinen's estimate of 2,500 to 3,000 inhabitants made in the same region 9 years earlier. For more recent times, we possess only partial data. Fawcett counted about 150 *Bacaïri* in 1925, and there were approximately 50 persons in the *Trumai* village where Quain stayed in 1938. Although the population is apparently much less numerous now than 50 years ago, the Xingú Basin—probably because of its great isolation—did not suffer the same tremendous demographic decline that affected other parts of Brazil.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The economic life of the upper Xingú tribes is somewhat more complex than that of other Brazilian Indians, as it is based upon fishing, hunting, collecting of wild foods, and agriculture. Activities revolve around different products according to the season. Turtle eggs furnish a basic staple during the dry season. Piqui fruits (*Caryocar butyrosom*) and bitter manioc are the main foods during two different parts of the rainy season. Fishing is practiced throughout the year. To some tribes, it is the main source of food (Petrucco, 1932 a); to other tribes, it is the only recourse when other products are unavailable (Quain, ms.). Ants, larvae, and grubs are eaten; crickets are collected to feed pets. Hunts are usually large expeditions in which all the adult men of the village participate; they sometimes continue for days. Taboos on game seem to be rare; it is not certain whether squirrels, which the *Trumái* do not kill, and the sucuri (*Eunectes murinus*) and a certain bird, which are forbidden among the *Bacairi* (Capistrano de Abreu, 1938), may simply not be killed or whether they may be killed but not eaten.

Fishing.—Fishing is highly organized and is “one of the few examples of group cooperation which transcends the immediate family” (Quain, ms.). Each tribe possesses the privilege of fishing in well-delimited stretches of the rivers and owns fish dams and weirs. Some dams consist of fences of posts (*Bacairi*), others are made of branches or stones. Strangely, the widespread technique of drugging fish (p. 13) and the hook were unknown in 1884 (Steinen, 1886). Fishing techniques include nets placed across the streams, baskets used mostly in lagoons, and night fishing with torches. Basketry traps, made of tucum fibers, are either long and narrow or short and wide. Some are conical and open at both ends to permit the fish to be removed with the hand. The natives also fish from canoes, throwing wild fruits as bait and shooting the fish with bows and arrows when they come to the surface. Petrucco describes spear fishing from the prow of a canoe (pl. 27, bottom), the spear being about 25 feet (7 m.) long and consisting of a wooden shaft, a foreshaft of reed, and a large conical bone point. Quain did not find spear fishing practiced among the *Camayura*, the *Nahukwa*, or the *Trumái*; and he considers it an individual invention. The fish were usually cleaned before being broiled on a pyramidal babracot.

Farming.—According to Von den Steinen, women planted, weeded with the digging stick, and harvested the crops, but men cultivated tobacco. Among the *Trumái*, only men do the planting (Quain, ms.). A *Nahukwa* chief who was seen planting maize (Steinen, 1894) dug holes about 2 or 3 inches (5 or 8 cm.) deep with a stick and put several kernels in each hole. Manioc sprouts are set obliquely in loosened earth, first dug with hoes,

and then replaced in the trench (Quain, ms.). Gardens are opened in the forest by felling and burning the trees. Orchards of wild fruit trees are transplanted near the village or are cultivated in their native habitat. Von den Steinen saw avenues of piquí trees leading to a *Bacãiri* village. The *Waura* had mangabeira (*Hancornia speciosa*) orchards and the *Bacãiri* used to irrigate wild urucú trees. Bacaiuva palm trees (*Acrocomia*) and frutas de lobo (*Solanum lycocarpum*) were also cultivated. The best gardeners were the *Mehinacu* (Von den Steinen, 1894).

The species most frequently found in the area are bitter manioc and maize, the former being predominant; two kinds of yams and two kinds of beans; cara (*Dioscorea*), abóbora (*Cucurbita*), mamona (*Ricinus*); a small species of peanut; pepper; calabashes (*Crescentia*) and gourds (*Lagenaria*), chiefly among the *Nahukwa*; sweet potatoes, abundant only among the *Mehinacu*; tobacco, flourishing in the gardens of the *Suya* and *Auetö*; and cotton, the best quality being grown by the *Bacãiri* and *Mehinacu*. Other plants are grown for industrial purposes. For instance, a sharp lanceolated grass (*Scleria*), used for shaving the tonsure (p. 327), and the uba cane (*Gynerium sagittatum*), which provides arrow shafts for the *Batoví* (Steinen, 1894), are grown. The banana and guava were wholly unknown in 1887, but in 1938 the *Camayura* consumed quantities of the former and the *Trumái*, of the latter. The foreign origin of most of the agricultural terms of the *Trumái* suggests that they borrowed cultivated plants from their neighbors.

Food storage and preparation.—To store ears of maize, most tribes, especially the *Bacãiri*, *Yaulapiti*, and *Mehinacu*, hang them to the roof of the hut with their leaves artistically arranged in the shape of birds and other animals. The *Bacãiri* keep maize flour in large cylindrical baskets lined with sewed leaves and covered with bark sheets. Among the *Yaulapiti*; *Naravute*, a *Nahukwa*-speaking group (Petrucco, 1932 a); and *Trumái* (Quain, ms.), piquí fruits are boiled and placed in cylindrical bark containers about 4½ to 6½ feet (1.5 to 2. m.) in length, sealed at both ends, and placed in a pool of cool water. On ceremonial occasions the containers are opened and the beverage is equally distributed. It is mixed with water and drunk. Other preparations of the piquí include boiled sap (Quain, ms.), rasped and toasted seeds, and a syrup extracted from the leaves (Steinen, 1894).

Game and fish are broiled in the skin, generally on grids of plaited vines. The *Bacãiri* roast several turtle eggs simultaneously on a spindle-shaped griddle made of vines (Hintermann, 1926). Several kinds of wild nuts are eaten roasted. Although boiling is a woman's task, broiling and roasting are always done by men (Steinen, 1894). To prepare manioc (pl. 28), women grate it on thorns imbedded in wooden planks, but the *Camayura* use an *Anodonta* shell. The tipití is entirely unknown; instead, basketry sieves are used to strain off the poisonous juice (Steinen, 1894). Flour

and starch, which are prepared from manioc, are dried on large flat baskets. They are cooked and eaten in the form of gruel or of flat cakes (*beijú*); slightly toasted on clay slabs. Manioc and piquí gruel are a basic meal throughout the area. Quain observed that adult *Trumái* never drink water but only gruel. The *Trumái* season the manioc gruel with "iriwa," a shelled, fibrous, unidentified fruit, and prepare a cottonseed-oil paste (Quain, ms.). The *Bacairi* dip food in oil before eating it. According to Petrullo, salt is unknown, but Von den Steinen mentions salt made from bamboo salt, and Quain describes the preparation of water-lily salt, each *Trumái* making his own supply by burning the plant and sifting the ashes. Although geophagy is rare, Von den Steinen saw dolls made of edible clay being licked by *Bacairi* children.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Villages (fig. 32) are usually established two miles (3 km.) or more from the river, with a path leading to the stream. The only exceptions

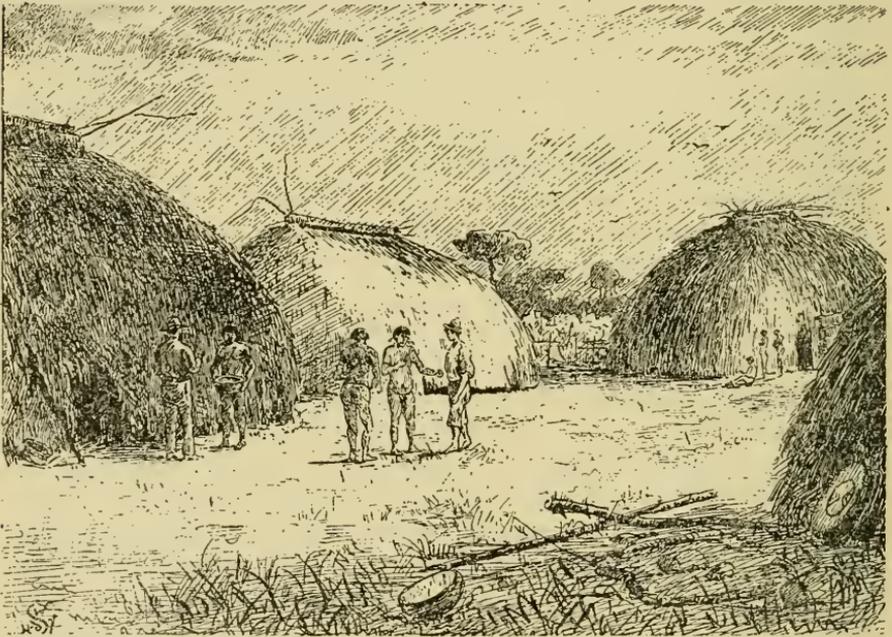


FIGURE 32.—A *Bacairi* village. (After Steinen, 1886.)

were the *Suya* (in 1884) and the *Trumái* (in 1887) villages, both built on a river bank. Villages visited by Von den Steinen had from 2 to 20 huts and from 30 to 200 inhabitants. Dyott saw a *Nahukwa* village of 7 houses arranged in a circle, and Petrullo visited a village where the huts were scattered in an irregular manner. Quain observed a *Trumái* village with

5 houses and 43 inhabitants and a *Camayura* village consisting of 11 houses, each haystack-shaped, with two clean, straight avenues leaving the village at right angles. The avenues of piquí trees of the *Bacairi* village have been mentioned (p. 325).

Three types of huts have been observed, the first two of which are rare. Von den Steinen (1894) gives a drawing of a *Custenau* hut with a circular ground plan and a huge conical thatched roof erected on a low circular lattice wall. Hintermann (1926, p. 251) reproduces a *Bacairi* house formed by a pointed arch covered with grass and closed at both ends with two apses of straw, in which doors were placed. All sources agree on the common type of hut (pls. 29; 30, *top*). According to Petrucco, the ground plan is an ellipse, approximately 30 feet (10 m.) by 65 feet (20 m.). In the center, about 16 feet (5 m.) from each end are three main supporting posts (two, and even one, among the *Trumai* in Quain's description) set deep into the ground.

A ridge pole is lashed on top of the supporting posts, which stand 25 feet (8 m.) above the ground. A wall, 5 feet (1.5 m.) high, is made of posts set 6 inches (15 cm.) apart. To these posts are lashed long thin poles, their tops bent inward and lashed together. Heavier short poles are lashed at one end to the ridge pole and at the other to the bent poles, so as to form a false outer roof. The entire structure is covered with a light framework thatched with grass, except for an opening between the false roof and the ridge pole, which is left as a smoke hole. The ends of the ridge pole project and are thatched decoratively.

A house is shared by several families, each of which occupies a section where it keeps its own fire. Hammocks are hung between the central posts and the wall, sometimes in two or three tiers. In the middle of the hut stands a platform where food and implements are kept. Two low doors are on opposite sides of the ellipse.

In addition to these communal dwellings, every village has a guest house, which Von den Steinen and Petrucco described as poorly built and badly kept. In most of these houses two logs running lengthwise provide seats for the men of the village. Guest huts are reserved for the entertainment of visitors and for ceremonial gatherings. Because dance costumes and musical instruments are kept in them, Von den Steinen called them "flute-houses."

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Hairdressing.—All the upper Xingú River Indians are tonsured. The *Suya* shave their foreheads but the tribes of the Culiseu River wear a circular tonsure which may be 3 inches (7 cm.) in diameter. *Bacairi* men sometimes use wooden hair curlers. Women's hair is cut only on the forehead, but men's hair is cut all around at the level of the ear lobe (see pls. 27, 30). Piranha-fish teeth are used for cutting, and red-hot embers

for singeing, the hair. The hair is frequently groomed with a composite comb, which hangs from the hammock (Culiseu River) or from the shoulder (*Suya*). Plucking all body hair is customary, although *Camayura* and *Nahukwa* men sometimes keep their moustache and beard, and *Suya* men do not pluck pubic hair.

Mutilation.—All men have their lobes pierced, but only *Suya* women wear large bark plugs in the lower lip. The nasal septum is pierced among both sexes of the *Bacairi* of the Paranatinga and Batovi Rivers and of the first village on the Culiseu River, but only among men in the second village; whereas the custom is completely lacking in the third village (Steinen, 1894). Men wear wooden pegs and women stone spindles in the nasal septum.

Body ornaments.—Smearing the hair and the body with urucú and oil paste is general. Sometimes dots and straight wavy, and zigzag lines are painted on the face or body. True tattooing exists only among the *Arawakan* tribes, whose men and women use semicircular and lozenge patterns traced with soot and taruma (*Verbenaceae*) juice. All tribes have scratches on the arms or elsewhere, made for medical treatment. Among the *Trumai* a nonceremonial hygienic scarification is frequently performed by adults.

All men slip their penis up under the belt, except the *Trumai*, who formerly tied only the prepuce with a cotton thread and now let it hang free. *Suya* women go naked, and *Trumai* women formerly used a supple belt of fiber with a perineal band (Steinen, 1894) but have now abandoned it (Quain, ms.). All other women of the upper Xingú River wear the "uluri,"—a piece of straw folded in the shape of a triangle, to two corners of which strings are attached to tie around the waist, with the third corner hanging down and held to the back of the belt by a perineal string passing between the legs (fig. 33).

Ornaments.—*Bacairi* and *Nahukwa* men use armlets and anklets of straw or woven cotton, and *Bacairi* men put feathers in their ear lobes. Headdresses are fashioned of skin, feathers, and fur diadems (especially rich among the *Camayura* and *Suya*), feathered circlets, and plaited osiers in cylindrical or star shapes (*Nahukwa*). The *Camayura* wear hair nets or caps trimmed with feathers or tufts of human hair. Necklaces are worn by the more developed tribes. They are made of shell (*Bulimus* and *Orthalicus melanostomus*) and nut beads among the southern tribes (*Bacairi* and *Nahukwa*), and of stone beads among the northern tribes (*Yaulapiti*, *Trumai*). The cylindrical, circular, spherical, and pear-shaped (*Mehinacu*, *Auetö*) stone beads were copied in clay and rosin in the south. In 1887, horn, bone, and teeth beads were used particularly by the *Yaulapiti* and the *Mehinacu*. The *Trumai* and *Auetö* have necklaces of jaguar claws. The *Yaruma* were said to use earrings having a metallic sound (Steinen, 1894). More recently, Dyott (1930, p. 223) noticed elaborate

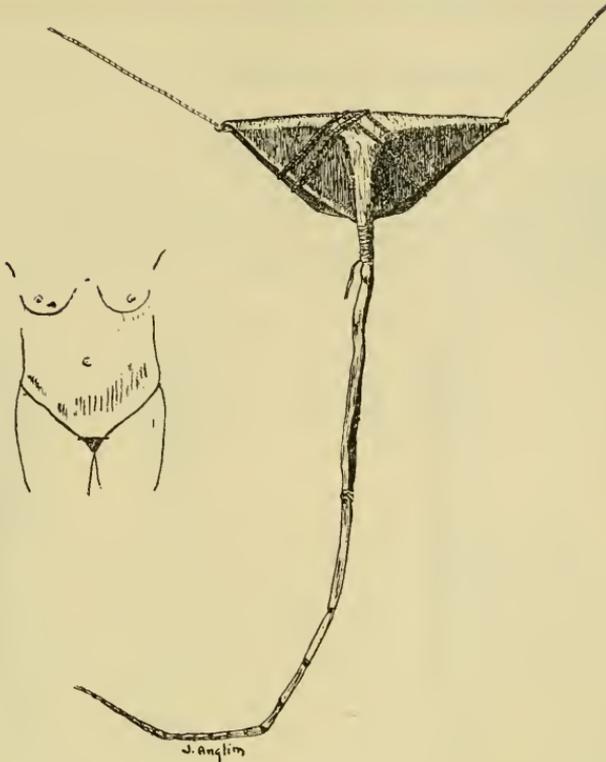


FIGURE 33.—*Bacairi* pubic covering. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, fig. 18.)

stone ornaments among the *Nahukwa*, such as a Maltese cross made of diorite, similar to those worn in the 18th century by the *Paressi*.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishing and intertribal trade make the rivers important communication routes (pl. 27). The upper Xingú canoes, which may be 25 feet (8 m.) or more in length, are made of the bark (pl. 32) of the jatoba tree (*Hymenaea* sp.). A suitable tree is found, and a light frame on which to stand is built against the trunk. A long rectangular piece of bark is stripped off and carefully placed on low trestles above a fire. When the heat has softened the bark, the edges are bent upward and the prow is given a pointed shape, while the stern is bent toward the inside. The *Yaulapiti* curl the edges toward the inside. Holes and cracks are filled with wax and clay. One day's work will make a canoe which can be launched the next morning. When the canoe is completed, several men carry it to the river on their shoulders, protected by a cushion of fiber or bark.

Paddles are cut from solid wood and have a long rectangular blade and shaft, the upper part of which is often carved in the shape of a transverse

handle. Decorative designs are sometimes carved or painted on the blade (fig. 34, *a*).

Small streams are crossed on tree trunks.

MANUFACTURES

Raw materials.—Stone, teeth, bone, shells, and feathers are used for manufacturing. Stone, however, is rare, only one quarry, worked by the *Trumái*, being known to Von den Steinen. On the Xingú River, how-

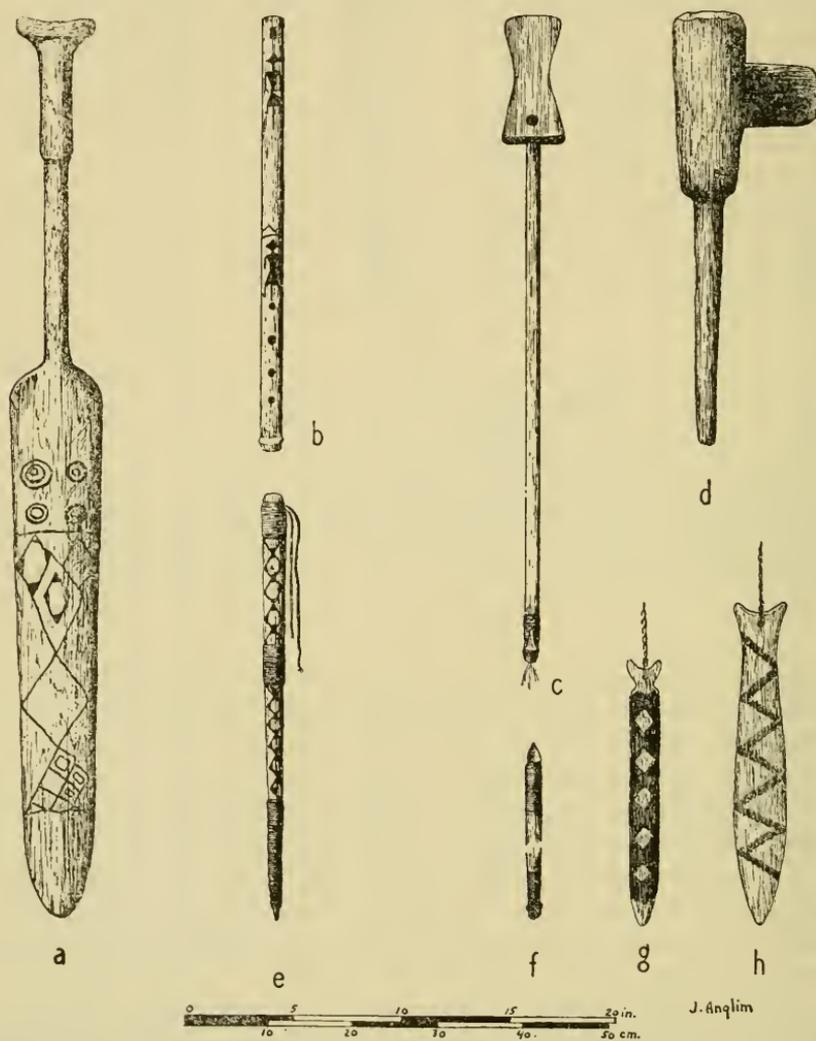


FIGURE 34.—Upper Xingú artifacts. *a*, *Bacairi* canoe paddle; *b*, *Mehinacu* flute; *c*, spear thrower; *d*, *Trumái* stone ax; *e*, *Bacairi* digging stick; *f*, hafted drill; *g*, *h*, *Nahukwa* bull roarers in fish form. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, figs. 29, 40, 28, 20, 76, 21, 122.)

ever, the *Suya* had their own stone quarry, and fashioned stone axes. The lower jaw of the piranha fish is used for sawing; and a front tooth of the cynodon fish for tattooing, carving, and piercing. The teeth of the traira fish (*Erythrinus*) and of the aguti (*Dasyprocta aguti*) serve as scrapers; those of the capivara (*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*), as graters. Monkey teeth decorate necklaces and belts. The long bones of monkeys and the spikes on skate tails are made into arrow points. Femur bones of deer and jaguars are used as ear borers. Bones also serve to polish wax or rosin surfaces. Jaguar claws and fish vertebrae are often strung on necklaces. Shells are widely used for cutting, rasping, planing, and polishing; the cutting edge is either the external rim or the edge of an irregular hole pierced in the center. A shell is usually tied to a cotton thread and carried slung around the neck to be used as a pry for opening nuts. Feathers are used to ornament the ears, head, and arms, and to feather arrows.

Spinning.—Fibers of wild pineapple (*Bromeliaceae*), tucum palm, burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), and cotton are prepared by women, who twist the thread on their thighs, previously smeared with white clay, and spin it on a drop spindle. The round whorl is made of tortoise shell or wood and is elaborately carved. Among the *Bacãiri*, the whorl, made of wood, a potsherd, or raw clay, is not decorated.

Netting and weaving.—Fishing nets, carrying nets, and hammocks are netted by women, with a wooden needle.

The *Bacãiri* have twined hammocks of cotton thread, whereas the *Arawakan*-speaking tribes make smaller woven hammocks with burití fiber and cotton. The *Auctö* hammock is woven with a tucum-fiber warp filled with a dense cotton weft disposed in bands alternately white and dark blue. In 1887, the use of the hammock was adopted by the *Suya*, who formerly slept on platforms covered with leaves. Sieves of woven cotton are also made for straining manioc. For weaving cotton armlets, women use a crude loom, made of two low posts fixed in the ground around which a continuous warp is passed.

Basketry.—Basket making is a man's task. Basketry materials are palm leaves, bamboo strips, and vines. The most common techniques are checker, twilled, hexagonal, and open hexagonal weaves. Forms include large flat baskets (*Auctö*, *Mchinacu*), storage baskets (*Bacãiri*), and narrow, hollow carrying baskets of open hexagonal mesh (*Trumái*, Schmidt, 1905; and *Bacãiri*, Hintermann, 1926). The natives also make improvised rucksacks and carrying baskets by weaving and knotting two or three freshly cut palm leaves. Small mats used for seats (Petrullo, 1932 a) and to wrap up feathers (Steinen, 1894) are made of bamboo sticks twined with a cotton string and decorated with designs. Square sieves for straining manioc and square and triangular fire fans are also made. In most basketry, part of the material is dyed black, giving diversi-

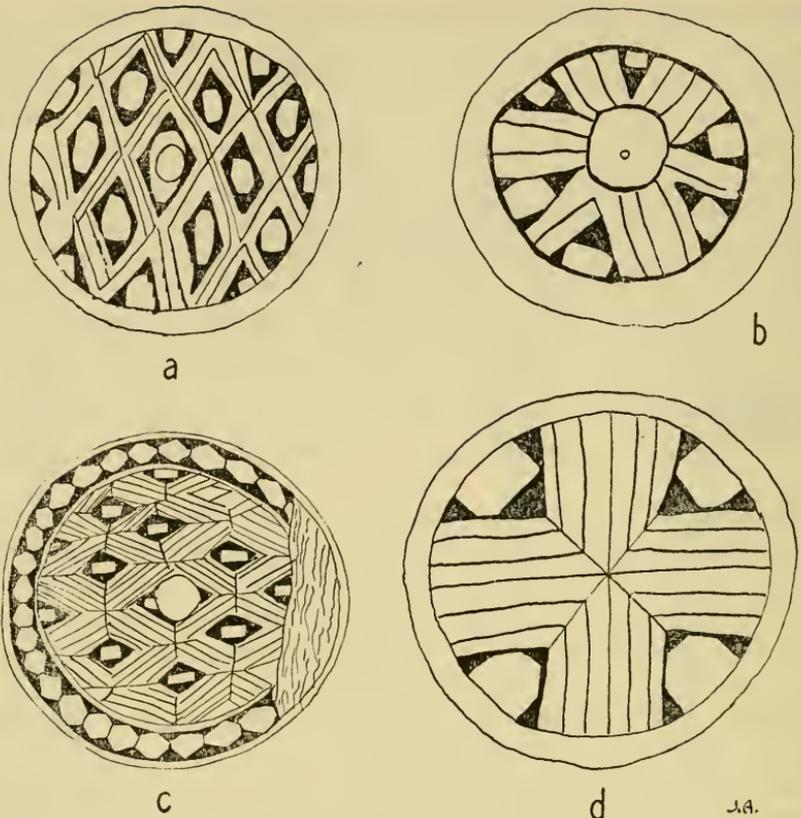


FIGURE 35.—Upper Xingú wooden spindle whorls. *a*, *Mehinacu*; *b*, *c*, *Camayura*; *d*, *Auetö*. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, figs. 55, 56, 59, 58.)

fied bicolor patterns (Schmidt, 1905). Dance costumes and *Bacãiri* cylindrical basketry headdresses are elaborately woven of straw.

Containers.—The bark containers for piquí and the bark-covered baskets for flour have already been described. Numerous kinds of containers, such as spoons, bowls, pots, and boxes, are made of gourds and calabashes. The inside of the calabash is varnished with burití soot mixed with scrapings of resinous bark; the outside is often carved, pyrograved, or painted with geometric designs. Broken calabashes are repaired by sewing the ends together.

Pottery.—Von den Steinen's statement, so widely commented upon, that the *Arawakan*-speaking tribes were the only ceramists in all the upper Xingú area was probably true as recently as 1938, when Quain noticed that all the pots owned by the *Trumái* came from the *Waura*. Three main types must be distinguished: (1) Large manioc-flour containers with flattened bottom and bell-shaped rim (pls. 28; 31, *bottom*), encountered among the *Mehinacu* and the *Waura*; (2) round cooking pots, already scarce in 1887; and (3) hemispherical bowls about 4 to 8 inches (10 to

20 cm.) in diameter, with a blackened inner surface, an indented rim, and often a modeled, stylized zoomorphic shape representing various animals

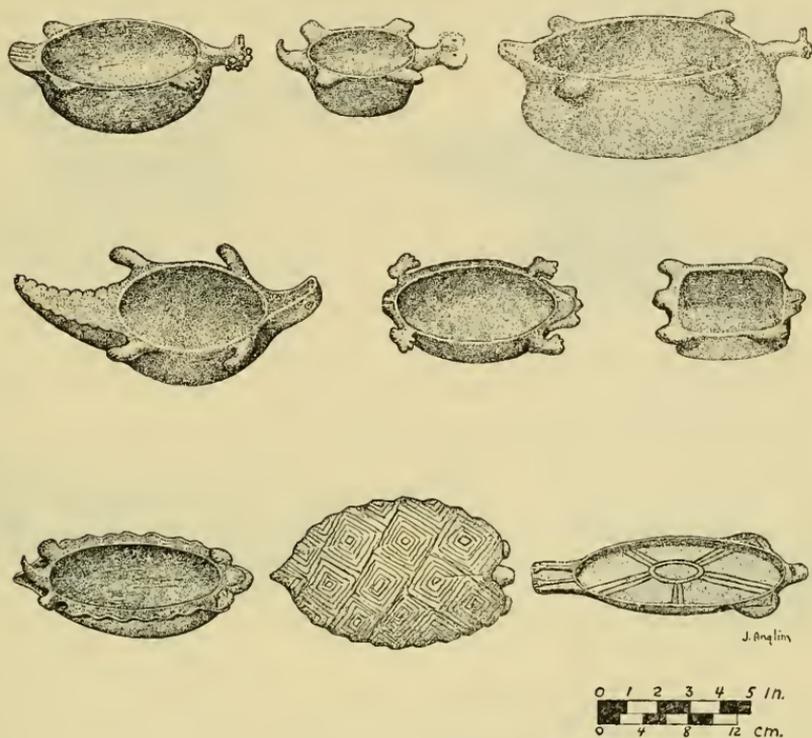


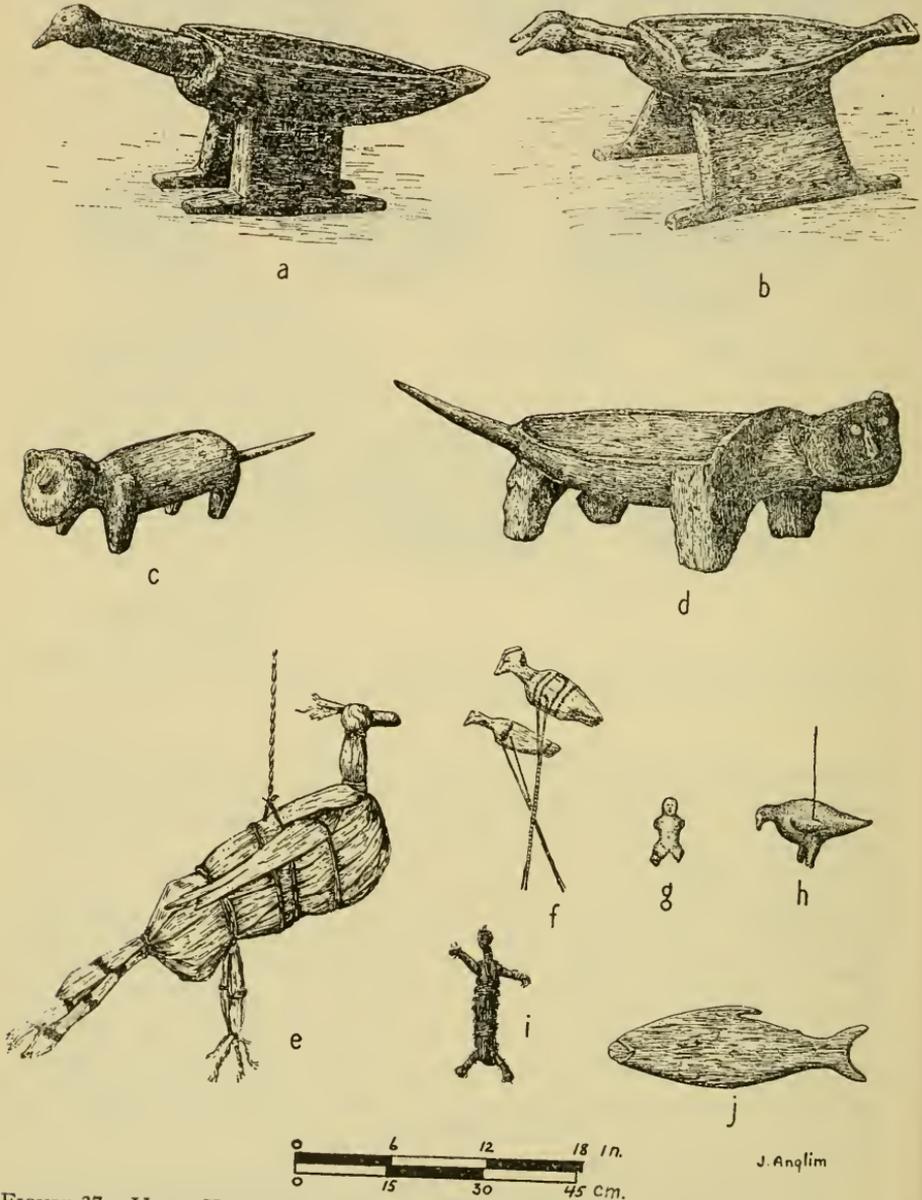
FIGURE 36.—Pottery of the upper Xingú River. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, pls. 23 and 24.)

(fig. 36). The last type is most frequently found among the *Auetö*, *Camayura*, *Trumái*, and *Nahukwa*, and is perhaps made by *Arawak* women who married into these tribes. Earthenware is made only by women and is baked in an open fire.

Wooden artifacts.—Carved zoomorphic benches, used throughout the upper Xingú area and everywhere called by the *Tupí* name, “apüka(p),” have a rectangular, slightly shallow seat supported by two side planks (fig. 37, *a*, *b*), whose lower edges extend forward and backward to give added support. Many of the seats are carved in the shape of a bird; a few represent quadrupeds (fig. 37, *c*, *d*) and are provided with four feet instead of the two side planks. Benches have mainly a ceremonial use and are offered to guests and dignitaries (Steinen, 1886, 1894). The *Naravute* use only bark benches (Petrullo, 1932 a).

Miscellaneous implements.—Stone axes are generally of diabase, round or ellipsoidal in cross section, and about 4 to 8 inches (10 to 20 cm.) in length. They are polished on natural rocks. The head is glued into a wooden handle which is shaped like a square club with a short shaft

(fig. 34, *d*). Drills (fig. 34, *f*) consist of stone points set in each end of a shaft and fastened with wax and cotton thread. Sanders are made of a capivara tooth tied tangentially to a handle.



J. Anq'lim

FIGURE 37.—Upper Xingú artifacts. *a*, *Camayura* stool; *b*, *Trumai* stool; *c*, *Nahukwa* stool; *d*, *Mehinacu* stool; *e*, *f*, *Bacairi* cornhusk and wood figures; *g*, *h*, *Mehinacu* gum figures; *i*, *j*, *Bacairi* straw and wood figures. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, figs. 82, 84, 85, 86, 69, 73, 75.)

Farming implements include digging sticks (fig. 34, *e*), those used by the *Mehinacu* having a carved handle, and hoes made by attaching the claw of a great armadillo (*Priodontes giganteus*) to a stick.

Shovels for turning cakes (*beijú*) during cooking are half-moon-shaped, with or without an elaborately carved zoomorphic handle, and often have geometric designs painted on the blade.

Combs are always composite; those of the *Nahukwa* and *Mehinacu* have tips carved with zoomorphic figures. Scrapers consist of triangular pieces of calabash imbedded with teeth.

Fire is produced with the drill and bark timber.

Weapons.—Bows and arrows are the only weapons found everywhere. Arrow poison and the blowgun are wholly unknown, although Quain saw the blow gun used as a child's toy among the *Trumái*.

Bows are about 6½ feet (2 m.) long; those of greatest length (8½ feet or 2.6 m.) are found among the *Naravute* and the shortest among the *Waura*. The cross section is generally round, sometimes oval, and occasionally flat (Max Schmidt, 1905; Petrullo, 1932 a). Bows are made of aratazeiro (*Anonaceae*) or of pau d'arco (*Tecoma*). The *Tupian*-speaking tribes are the only ones who sometimes make bows of palm wood and who decorate them by wrapping the center with cotton. The string is made of twisted tucum fiber. Among the semicivilized *Bacaïri* of the Paranatinga River, Von den Steinen noticed that bows and arrows were smaller than elsewhere.

Arrows, 5 feet (1.5 m.) or more in length, are made of uba cane or camayuva wood, with a thinner foreshaft. The point may be barbed with teeth, with the mandibular sting of the great anteater, with the spike of a skate's tail, or with a tubular monkey bone or a two-pronged bone fragment tied laterally to the foreshaft. Arrows with a barbed point are used only for fishing. Those with a point made of a large splinter of bamboo fastened to the foreshaft in such a way that the point will slip off the shaft or break off and remain in the wound are widely used in warfare. The *Trumái* and *Suya* employ such a point for hunting the jaguar. Von den Steinen described whistling arrows for bird hunting, made with a pierced tucuma nut slipped over the shaft; but those collected by Petrullo have the whistling nut in place of a point, and are used only for sport.

Two halves of feathers spirally twisted and sewed to the shaft are widely called "Xingú feathering." There is often a philodendron wrapping at both ends, plain among the *Camayura* and intricate among the *Trumái*. All tribes use the primary release and direct shooting for short distances, indirect or elevated for more distant targets.

The fishing spear of the *Naravute* has already been described.

The spear thrower, or atlatl (fig. 34, *c*) was known only to the *Camayura*, *Auetö*, and *Trumái*, but none used it as a true weapon. Although spear throwers were more numerous than bows in Von den Steinen's time

and perhaps were formerly employed in warfare, they are used now only in sportive ceremonies (p. 347). The upper Xingú spear thrower is about $2\frac{1}{3}$ feet (70 cm.) long and consists of a cylindrical palm-wood shaft, one end carved in the shape of a flattened handle, which is grooved on each side and has a finger hole, and the other end having a hook fastened on it. The spear is of uba cane without feathering or with small, non-spiraled feathers. The wooden or stone point is set on the shaft. It is either blunt (spherical, conical, pear-shaped, or cylindrical) or else sharp (knob-shaped, two-pronged, or flattened). A whistling nut is sometimes slipped over the shaft.

The *Suya* have clubs with a flattened oval head and a short shaft; these are made of siriva palm, a tree of the *Cocus* family. *Trumái* clubs are of the same type but smaller and cruder. Both the *Trumái* and *Camayura* use even smaller clubs for ceremonial dances.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Information on social and political organization is extremely scarce. Von den Steinen stated that there were several chiefs; Petrullo, that each house has its headman; and Quain, that the *Trumái* chief was assisted by two vice-chiefs, who rule in his absence, and by helpers or servants. Chieftaincy was transmitted from father to son, or, if there were no son, to the sister's son or the daughter's husband (Steinen, 1894). In 1938, the *Trumái* chief was the son of the daughter of the chief whom Von den Steinen had met 50 years before. All sources agree that the power of the chiefs is limited. The *Trumái* chief, for instance, is not the only medicine man of the group. He does no work and has no garden of his own. His main function is to assign work to men and women and to organize collective gangs for fishing, hunting, and tilling the soil. Petrullo described the exhortation pronounced by the headmen each morning followed by communal bathing in the river.

A division of the members of the group into "elders" and "youths" seems to exist among the *Trumái*. A sib organization is only vaguely suggested by our sources, except in the case of the *Nahukwan*-speaking villages, each of which has its own name and territory.

The *Bacãiri* are matronymic, and authority inside the family belongs to the maternal uncle. A distinction between the elder brother and the younger brother, the name for the latter being also used for cousin, seems to be made in all the kinship systems of the area (Steinen, 1894). Among the *Trumái*, residence is patrilocal, and marriage is forbidden between true cousins and some types of classificatory cousins and with the sister's daughter. The latter is permitted among the *Camayura*, who otherwise have the same kinship system as the *Trumái* (Quain, ms.). Among both groups there is a joking relationship between cross-cousins, and an avoid-

ance and shame relationship between brothers-in-law. Some undefined kinship relations imply homosexual relations (Quain, ms.). Nothing is known of the kinship systems of the other groups, but marriages between natives belonging to different generations among the tribes on the Parana-tinga and the Culiseu River (Steinen, 1894) and the fact that Von den Steinen was called "younger brother" by the *Bacãiri* and "maternal uncle" by the *Mehinacu* are strong indications that kinship systems might not be identical throughout the area.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth.—Sexual intercourse is forbidden among the *Trumai* during the last months of pregnancy and until the child can walk (Quain, ms.). Abortion is often practiced, either by manipulating the abdomen or by drinking magic medicines. Women give birth in a sitting position (Quain, 1894) or crouching and grasping a pole (Steinen, 1894). *Trumai* men attend each parturition and smoke tobacco (Quain, ms.). The couvade consists of social and dietary prohibitions accompanied by ceremonial blowing on the baby's body (Steinen, 1894).

The child is given magical drinks to ensure its being strong (Quain, ms.). Its father gives it a name different from his own. A prohibition on the use of personal names seems to have been widespread. Among the *Bacãiri* it is more strict for women than for men. Personal names can be changed several times; an exchange of personal names establishes a special tie of friendship between adults (*Auetö* and *Mehinacu*) (Steinen, 1894).

Puberty.—The initiation ceremony for *Trumai* boys includes scarifying the body with a fish-tooth instrument and rubbing the arms with the claw of the great armadillo. Whenever possible, the boy is given an opportunity to wrestle with a boa (Quain, ms.). During her first menstrual period, a girl is isolated; while tobacco is blown on her, her body is scarified; and she is forbidden to eat (Steinen, 1894). Her ears are pierced and her hair is cut and turned down over her face. During her subsequent menstrual periods, a girl is not isolated; but she is forbidden to have sexual intercourse, to do any cooking, or to eat anything but manioc (Quain, ms.). Leaves are used as an absorbent.

Infant betrothal was observed among the *Trumai* (Quain, ms.) and *Bacãiri* (Steinen, 1894). The marriage ceremony of the *Trumai* is merely the presentation and acceptance of a hammock and other gifts (Quain, ms.). A fishing expedition seems to be connected with the marriage feast. Among the *Bacãiri* there is no ceremony, but the bride's father receives an ax and arrows from the groom and his help in farming (Steinen, 1894). The only form of polygyny practiced among the *Trumai* is sororal. Adulterous relations between a husband and his wife's sisters are not infrequent. Among other tribes on the Culiseu River, a man may

simultaneously marry both a mother and her daughter (Quain, ms.). The levirate and some form of fraternal polyandry probably are practiced by the *Trumái*. The behavior of *Trumái* women suggests the fear of rape. When adultery is committed, the husband beats his wife, who seeks the protection of her mother. He stands in the center of the village and accuses her lover. Either spouse may bring about divorce (Quain, ms.).

Death.—*Trumái* behavior faintly suggests that a stigma attaches to old age. All the tribes of the upper Xingú area bury their dead in a recumbent position with the head toward the east, except the *Suya*, who practice a crouched burial. *Trumái* corpses are wrapped in their hammocks and, with their implements and cooking utensils, interred in the village plaza (Quain, ms.; Steinen, 1894). The *Mehinacu* cover the graves with pebbles and stones; the *Auetö* (pl. 31, bottom) and the *Yaulapiti* surround each one with a low fence, which, among the *Camayura*, forms a square, with two of the opposing sides concave. The *Camayura* break the dead man's implements on the grave and express their grief by shaving their hair and fasting (Steinen, 1894). Nothing is known about inheritance rules, except that, among the *Trumái*, the "ole" songs are transmitted from the maternal uncle to the sister's son (Quain, ms.).

SOCIAL RELATIONS

In social life there is a marked segregation of the sexes. Men have their own meetings. Their custom of smoking in the center of the village—the "evening group"—has impressed all travelers as a fundamental institution of upper Xingú society. Other occupations of *Trumái* men include trade games, the "ole" dance, and wrestling with visitors, the last an extremely popular pastime among all groups (Steinen, 1894; Quain, ms.). Trade games may last hours, while each man successively offers raw materials, art objects, or implements for sale. *Trumái* women, in contrast to the women of some of the other tribes (pp. 343–344), do not frequent the center of the village or participate in dances (Quain, ms.).

Trumái custom forbids a public display of the natural functions, which are performed far from the gardens (Quain, ms.). A *Bacairi* never eats in public, or else turns his back when eating. Singing in a loud voice is disapproved. Disgust is expressed by spitting quickly (Steinen, 1894). Most of the formalized etiquette is connected with receiving visitors in the guest house, presenting them ceremonial seats, and offering them food and tobacco. Ceremonial wailing was noticed among the *Bacairi* (Steinen, 1894), *Yaulapiti*, and *Naravute* (Petrullo, 1932 a).

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Although Petrullo emphasizes the homogeneity of material culture, wide variations in tribal customs undoubtedly once existed. A semblance

of homogeneity was produced by intertribal trade; for example, ceramics were, and in some instances are now, furnished to the *Bacãiri* and *Nahukwa* by the *Custenau* and *Mehinacu*, and to the *Trumai* and *Tupian*-speaking tribes by the *Waura*. In Von den Steinen's time, the *Bacãiri* specialized in the production of urucú and cotton, and in the manufacture of hammocks, rectangular beads, and other kinds of shell beads. The *Nahukwa* were the best producers of calabash containers, tucumã nut beads, and red shell beads. Stone implements were the monopoly of the *Trumai* and *Suya*; tobacco raising was a specialty of the *Suya*; and the production of salt was, and still is, important among the *Trumai* and *Mehinacu*. The *Arawakan*-speaking tribes exchanged their pots for the calabashes of the *Nahukwa*. In 1938, *Trumai* bows were still made by the *Camayura* (Steinen, 1894; Quain, ms.).

Industrial specialization was accompanied by a difference in living standards. Von den Steinen was struck by the poverty of the *Yaulapiti*, whose food supply was running low and whose manufactured articles were scarce. Such situations could also result from poor crops or from an unforeseen enemy attack, as intertribal relations on the upper Xingú River were not exactly pacific.

Each tribe possesses its own territory with well-defined boundaries, frequently river banks. Though the rivers themselves are unrestricted, the fishing dams which are built at short intervals are tribal property and are respected as such. The distrust between neighbors is shown in the custom by which visitors build a fire as a warning signal several hours or days before reaching a village (Quain, ms.). Tribes designate one another as "good" or "bad," according to the generosity they expect or according to the aggressive spirit of their neighbor. When Von den Steinen visited the Culiseu River, the *Trumai* had just been attacked by the *Suya*, who had also captured a large number of prisoners from the *Manitsaua*. The *Bacãiri* feared the *Trumai* because of their alleged custom of tying up and drowning their war prisoners. In 1887, the *Trumai* were fleeing from the *Suya* (Steinen, 1894), whom they still feared in 1938 (Quain, ms.). These conflicts existed even between groups speaking the same language, for instance among the *Nahukwa*. (Steinen, 1894; Quain, ms.; Dyott, 1930.)

Although visiting strangers were frequently robbed (Steinen, 1894; Quain, ms.), intertribal ties were undoubtedly stronger than rivalries. Quain noticed a general multilingualism. Each village always had visitors. Commercial travels and trade games, intertribal wrestling matches, and reciprocal invitations to feasts offered constant inducements for visits (Steinen, 1886, 1894; Quain, ms.). Extremely significant is Quain's suggestion that initiation ceremonies were perhaps performed jointly by the *Mehinacu* (*Minace*) and *Trumai*.

Intermarriages resulted from these half-warlike, half-friendly relations. In Von den Steinen's time, marriages occurred between the *Mehinacu* and *Nahukwa*, the *Bacäiri* of the Batoví River and the *Custenau*, and between the tribes of the Culiseu River and the *Nahukwa*. Intertribal marriages could even found new groups, like the *Arawiti*.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Toys and games.—*Bacäiri* children play shuttlecock with a maize husk topped with a feather. They spin tops made of a fruit impaled on a stick with cotton at the lower end to prevent skidding. They also have small spear throwers, blowguns, bows and arrows, and zoomorphic toys made of woven and twisted straw (fig. 37, *e, f, i, j*). Woven straw dolls have been found among the *Mehinacu* and dolls of clay and tree gum (fig. 37, *g, h*) throughout the area.

Trumái adults often wrestle for entertainment (Quain, ms.). The solid rubber balls of the *Auetö* are made by laying latex strips on the chest and rolling them into a ball, then piercing it with a small hole, and painting it red (Steinen, 1894).

Plastic art.—Esthetic activities are especially well developed among the tribes of the upper Xingú River, who tend to cover all their artifacts with painted designs (Steinen, 1894). Painting and drawing are stylized, often with purely geometrical patterns, such as checkerboard, triangles, lozenges, and parallel lines. But even these elements bear naturalistic names, e. g., a checkerboard represents a bee swarm, and recurrent triangles, bats. Quain collected naturalistic drawings among the *Trumái* far superior to the childish sketches published by Von den Steinen. The "mereschu" pattern is encountered throughout the area and was called after, and said to represent, a small fish of the lagoons (*Myletes*). It consists of a lozenge with four blackened angles representing the head, tail, and upper and lower fins. The *Auetö* seem to have brought the Xingú style to its highest level of abstraction. A special hut of the *Auetö* village was named by Von den Steinen "the painters' house," not only because of its numerous decorations but because it was inhabited mainly by artists.

House decorations are not rare. A frieze of bark strips (fig. 38) blackened with soot and painted with white clay extended along the wall of a *Bacäiri* hut for 185 feet (56 m.). Its decorative themes included zigzag lines, dots, circles, lozenges, and triangles, which were said to represent several kinds of fish, feminine sex symbols, palm leaves, snakes, and bats. The *Auetö* apply white clay uniformly to house posts and then paint designs in black soot over it.

Other decorated objects include paddles and pancake (beijú) shovels (all tribes), canoes and drums (*Bacäiri*), and calabashes (*Bacäiri, Nahukwa*). Tortoise-shell whorls are carved and painted with soot, often in a rosette pattern. During ceremonies, they are slung around the neck

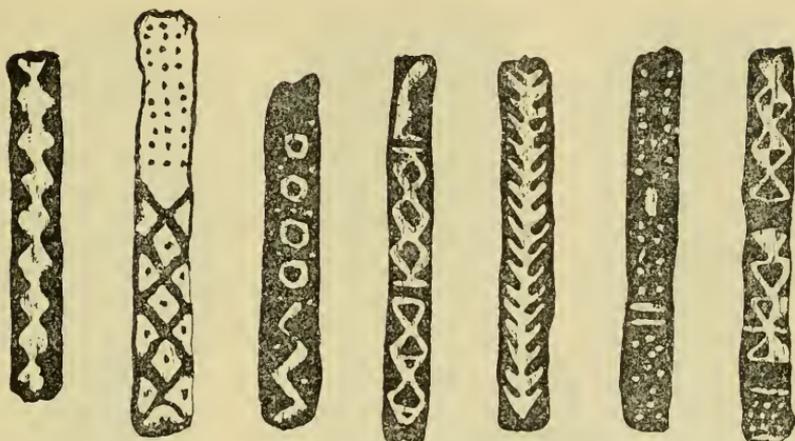


FIGURE 38.—*Bacairi* house wall decorations on bark strips. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, pl. 20.)

as ornaments (*Mehinacu*, *Auetö*, *Camayura*). Earthenware is painted with straight, parallel lines, angles, half-circles, and sometimes with reproductions of the tattoo patterns of the *Mehinacu*.

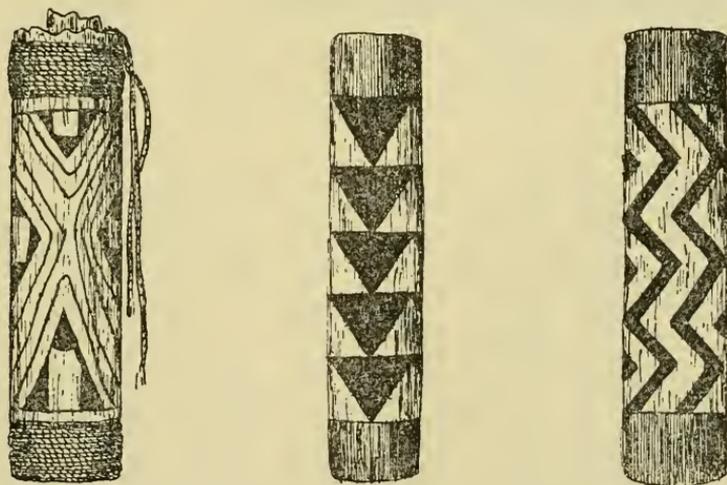


FIGURE 39.—*Bacairi* wooden dance pendants. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, fig. 48.)

Many wooden ornaments, implements, and pieces of furniture are carved in zoomorphic shapes (p. 333). Shell and stone beads are frequently retouched to suggest birds or fishes. In a guest house of the *Mehinacu*, Von den Steinen saw two small mounds modeled in the shape of a lizard, each about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 3 inches (8 cm.) wide. The most remarkable carving of the upper Xingú River is done on trees in the forest. The *Nahukwa* and to a lesser extent other tribes draw large effigies of men, women, and animals on trunks of trees, either by

carving an outline of the figure or by removing the bark from the whole silhouette.

Dance costumes and masks.—Costumes of foliage and straw caps ornamented with shells or feathers are widely used in dances. Straw garments like coveralls, with separate sleeves and legs and huge crinolines 30 feet (10 m.) in circumference, are worn by the *Bacãiri*. A two-piece straw costume gives the *Camayura* actor the appearance of a mushroom. Cylindrical blocks of wood richly painted with geometric designs (figs. 39, 40) hang on the back to complete the dance costume (Steinen, 1894).

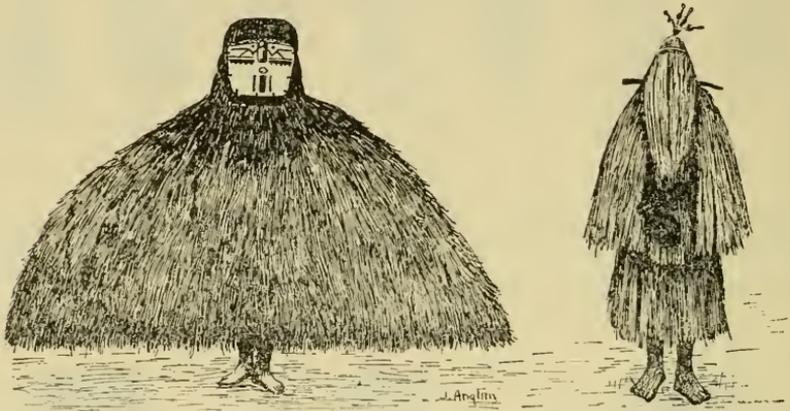


FIGURE 40.—*Bacãiri* masked dancers. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, figs. 98 and 90.)

South of the Amazon, masks were most highly developed on the Upper Xingú River, but are no longer made. They represented animals, but were shaped like human faces, the archetype being suggested only by a pattern painted in the middle of the face. The “mereschu” design was common on all masks. The simplest type of mask might be the fishing net that a *Nahukwa* put on his head (Steinen, 1894). Several elaborate types can be distinguished: (1) Zoomorphic headdresses made of carved wood, woven straw, painted calabashes, furs, or the dry head or skin of some animal. A remarkable headdress of the *Bacãiri* of the Batoví River consisted of seven carved and painted birds mounted on sticks to which cotton is glued (Steinen, 1894). (2) Straw masks woven in the shape of an oval sieve and either without human features or with stylized eyes and nose modeled in wax and attached to the frame (*Bacãiri*, *Nahukwa*, *Auetö*). (3) Flat, oval straw masks (fig. 42, *a*, *b*) with a frame of netting or of woven cotton and features made of plastic wax, cotton tufts, beans, or shells, lavishly painted (*Bacãiri*, *Auetö*, *Camayura*, *Trumai*). (4) Rectangular wooden masks, often with only the forehead and nose carved and an animal pattern painted in place of the mouth (figs. 41; 42, *c-f*). This type was found among the *Bacãiri*, *Nahukwa*, *Auetö*, and *Camayura*, and was the only one found among the *Mehinacu*.

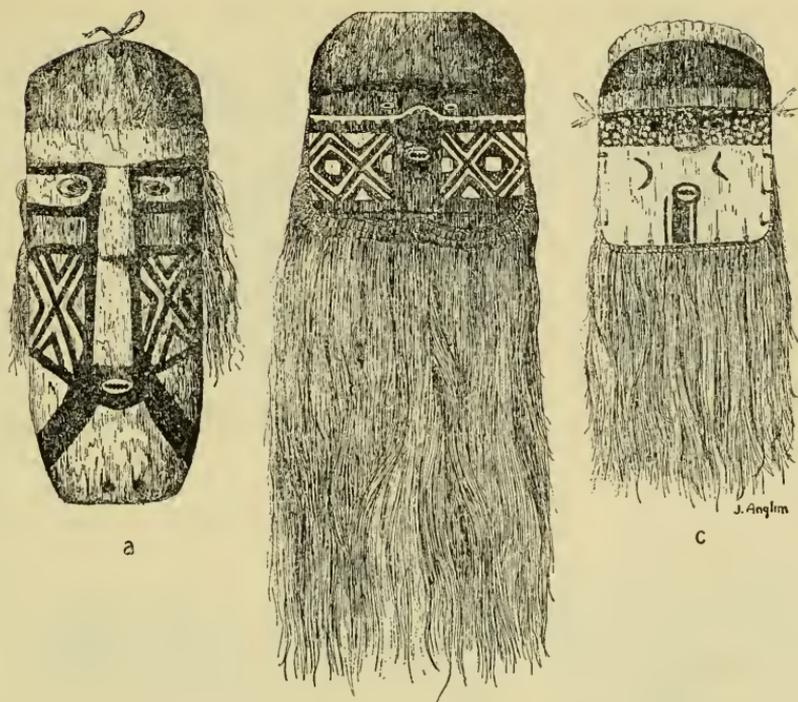


FIGURE 41.—*Mehinacu* and *Bacãiri* masks. *a*, *b*, *Mehinacu*; *c*, *Bacãiri*. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, figs. 103, 102, 94.)

The lower part of the mask usually bears a beardlike fringe of straw. The best carved and painted masks seem to have been made by the *Mehinacu* and *Auetö*. The *Trumai*, who now use no masks, had only woven cotton ones, probably borrowed from the *Camayura* (Quain, ms.).

Most tribes had "fish" masks and "bird" masks, each probably associated with a dance cycle. Every village possessed its own collection of masks; today these are not worshiped and are willingly sold.

Dances, songs, and music.—*Bacãiri* women are excluded from the guest house during "great feasts" but participate in lesser feasts and in exclusively feminine festivals (Steinen, 1894). Except among the *Trumai*, women are allowed to dance (Quain, ms.). The *Camayura* have seven different dances. According to Dyott's description (1930, pp. 201–202) of a *Nahukwa* dance, men form two lines lengthwise of the house; the women, two rows at right angles to them. The men hold their hands outstretched and stamp their feet; each woman rests an arm on the shoulder of her companion and swings the right foot back and forth. In another *Nahukwa* dance, witnessed by Von den Steinen, three men stamped and whirled rhythmically while an old woman jumped back and forth. In a *Yaulapiti* dance, the men circled counter-clockwise, stamping the right foot. Chanting, the women danced outside the circle, arm in arm and palm

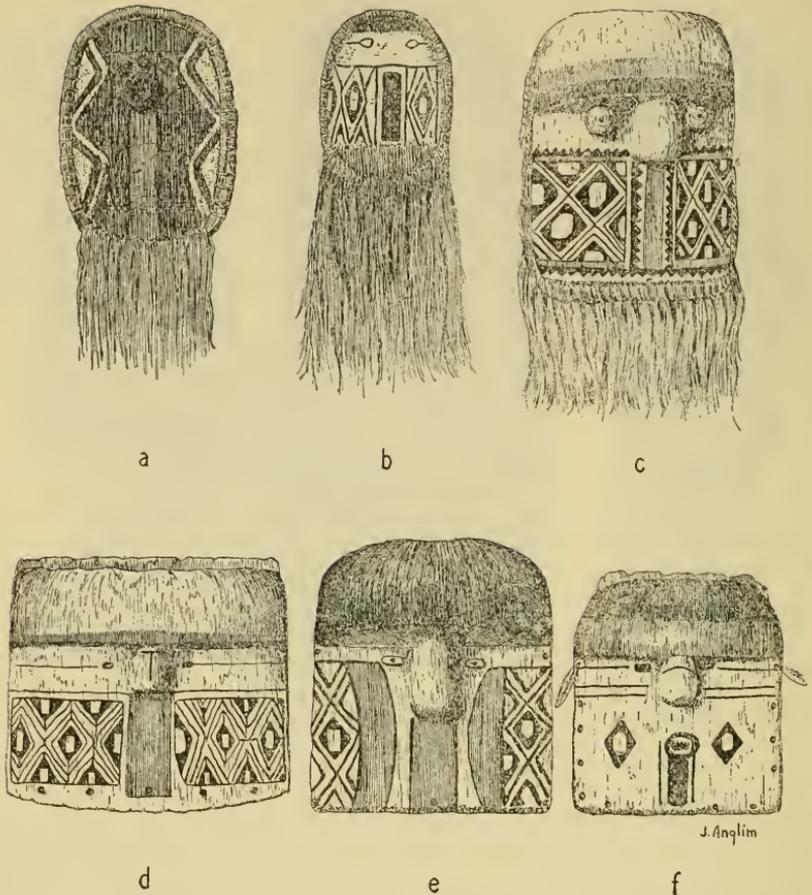


FIGURE 42.—Upper Xingú masks. *a*, *Trumai*; *b*, *Camayura*; *c*, *Auctö*; *d*, *Camayura*; *e*, *Mehinacu*; *f*, *Bacãiri*. (Redrawn from Steinen, 1894, figs. 118, 112, 314, 113, 104, 44.)

to palm with fingers interlocked, taking three steps forward, pausing, and stepping back (Petrullo, 1932 a, p. 142). During another feast, clowns with big flageolets marched grotesquely from hut to hut, entering each while the women pretended to be frightened (Petrullo, 1932 a, p. 139). Von den Steinen described a *Bacãiri* ceremony that is possibly related to the last. Men gathered in the guest house and each, wearing a dance costume, rushed out in turn to enter some hut, from which he returned with an offering of food. Quain (ms.) says that although *Trumai* singing was not polyphonic, "its modulations seemed like classical harmony."

Musical instruments.—All Indians dance with rattling anklets or necklaces of shells and seeds. Gourd rattles are common among the *Bacãiri*, *Nahukwa*, and *Camayura*, and tortoise-shell rattles among the *Nahukwa* (Steinen, 1894). The *Auctö* have rattles made of an egg

fastened to a stick. There are also bottle-shaped rattles which are beaten (stamping tube?) against the ground.

Two drums made of hollow tree trunks resting on the ground were found in a *Bacäiri* and a *Camayura* village (Steinen, 1894).

Wind instruments are common. Whistles consist of palm nuts pierced with one or two holes. Several types of small and large panpipes are used. *Suya* "panpipes," which have three tubes and are 5 feet (1.5 m.) long, have air ducts and reeds, and may really be three clarinets bound together. A widely used instrument is the flageolet, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet (75 to 90 cm.) long, with four holes and an air duct through the wax of the mouth-piece, which is sometimes beveled. The flageolet is usually made of a solid piece of bamboo, but sometimes two longitudinal halves are glued together with wax and wrapped with cotton or bark. The *Bacäiri* play two flageolets in unison (Steinen, 1886), and the *Nahukwa* and *Yaulapiti* play three that are attached together and painted red and black (Dyott, 1930; Petruccio, 1932 a). Von den Steinen mentioned a toneless rhythm trumpet made of bamboo without holes and with a calabash resonator at the bottom.

Drinks and narcotics.—Von den Steinen emphasized the lack of fermented drinks as proof of the primitive state of the area. When he was on the upper Xingú River, all men smoked, except those of a single *Bacäiri* village on the Batoví River. Tobacco leaves were dried between two planks and twisted in a spindle-shaped roll. Tobacco rolls similar to those described by ancient travelers are still in use. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and are tied with a bit of grass. Although tobacco has a secular use, smoking is frequently associated with magic and ceremonial.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Shamanism.—Shamanism is said to be uncommon among the *Bacäiri* and *Auetö*; more frequent among the *Nahukwa* and *Mehinacu*; and fully developed among the *Trumái*. To become a shaman, one must submit to long and complicated trials, including fasting, remaining awake, and self-punishment, such as knocking one's head against the hut posts and scarifying the body (Steinen, 1894). When curing a disease, the *Trumái* chief produced "blubbling noises . . . healing and blowing upon the patient with tobacco" (Quain, ms.). The belief in the life-giving property of breath is often emphasized by Von den Steinen, who also describes the shooting of "magic arrows," consisting of small sticks or cotton threads which were believed to cause illness and which the shaman sucked out of the body.

The practice of witchcraft ("okei" in *Trumái*, Quain, ms.) both for benevolent and evil purposes, is widespread. A knowledge of poisons is important to the shaman. Some drugs are said to swell the patient's body

fatally (Quain, ms.); others consist of lizards mixed with the blood and hair of an enemy (Steinen, 1894). According to the use they make of witchcraft, sorcerers are designated "good" or "evil."

An important culture trait is the magic use of tobacco for "seeing-smoking" (Quain, ms.). This narcotic state enables one to receive messages, warnings, and visions. According to Von den Steinen, narcosis is a privilege of the shaman, who might, in a narcotic state, assume the appearance of an animal and travel far away. Quain witnessed an exoteric use of the process by the *Trumái*, among whom "seeing-smoking" might be practiced by anyone, though only at night. The natives interpret reading as a sort of "seeing-smoking." They also believe in premonitory dreams, which the *Bacairi* explain as the alleged power of the soul to leave the body temporarily during sleep.

Religious beliefs.—Nothing is known of more elaborate religious beliefs, except that the *Trumái* are afraid of the rain, which "might kill people" (Quain, ms.). They also believe that after death one travels the Milky Way, meets many jaguars in the sky, and at last enters the Village of the Beyond, where one may fish with poison (Quain, ms.). This statement is in contradiction to Von den Steinen's opinion that fishing with poison was unknown on the upper Xingú River (p. 324). The *Bacairi* distinguish between man's two souls, "ghost" and "cover." When the "ghost" leaves the body it undergoes consecutive transformations, becoming first a wandering soul ("kXadopa"), often in the shape of an armadillo, and later being liberated, when it climbs to the sky on a cotton ladder and joins its ancestors in its final state called "yamüra" (Abreu, 1938).

Supernatural beliefs are probably associated with the custom, followed by most tribes, of raising a harpy eagle (*Harpia harpyja*) in a conical cage of poles erected in the middle of the village (photograph in Dyott, 1930, p. 220). The bird is carefully fed but is not worshiped. Petruccio suggests that it receives its share of all game in exchange for its feathers, which are periodically plucked and divided among the men.

Ceremonials.—The *Camayura* have special ceremonies for warfare, fishing, hunting, and initiation (Steinen, 1894). Among the *Trumái*, the manioc ("ole") ceremony is the most important (Quain, ms.). Several peeled poles, each rubbed with white clay, painted in black and red designs, and decorated with cotton tufts glued to the top, are set up in the plaza so as to form a shrine. Offering of fish cakes (beijú), and other kinds of food are placed before the altar, which is sprinkled at intervals with manioc soup. The ceremonial is reserved for men and includes wrestling matches, songs, and dances, the last similar to those performed at a shaman's cures and on other more profane occasions (Quain, ms.).

Another feast is given after piquí fruit drops, which is the time for piercing boys' ears. It is suggested, though not positively established, that



PLATE 27.—Yaulapiti Indians in “woodskins,” or bark canoes. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



PLATE 28.—Yaulapiti women preparing manioc in pottery vessels. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

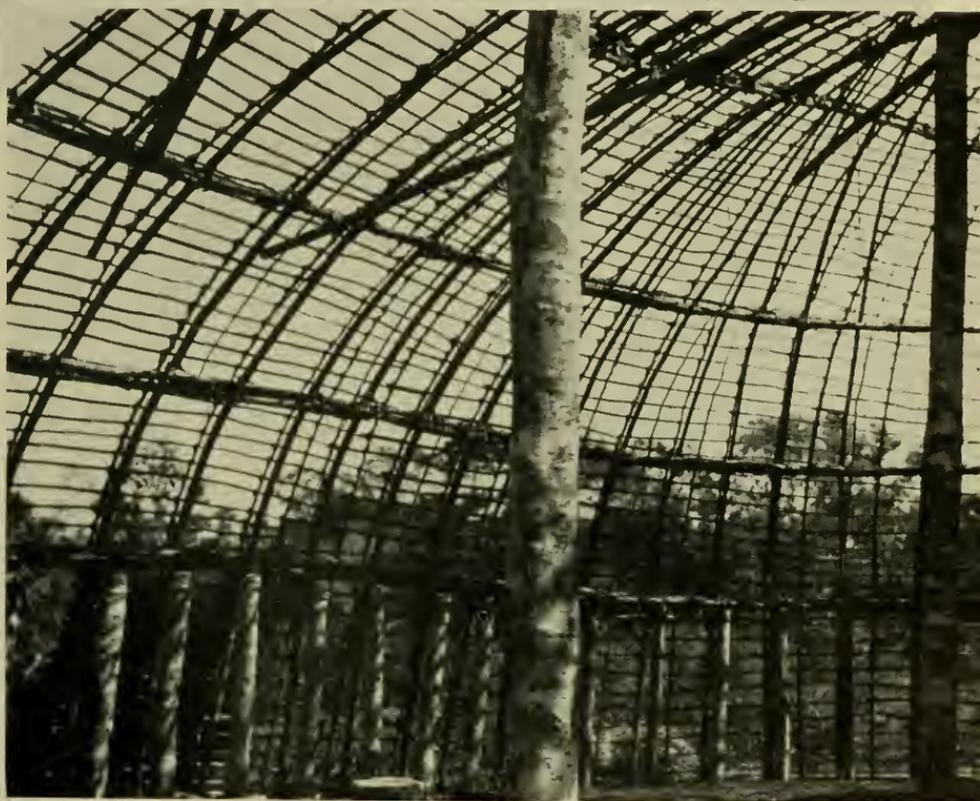
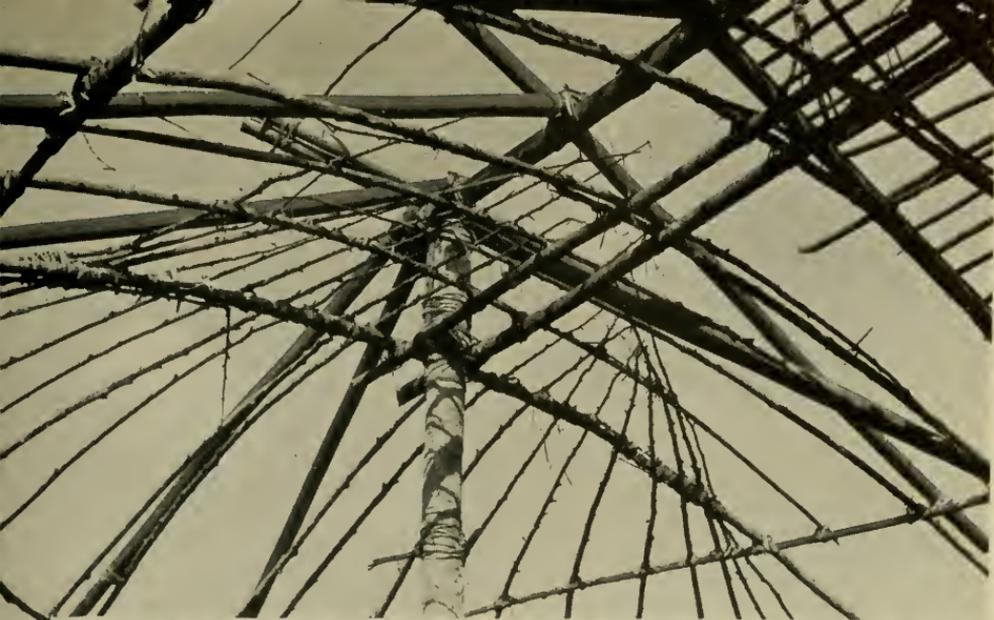


PLATE 29.—Upper Xingú house frames. *Top*: Roof of a *Naravute* house.
Bottom: *Yaulapiti* frame. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



PLATE 30.—Naravute and Yaulapiti Indians. *Top: Naravute communal house. Bottom: Yaulapiti polygamous family.* (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)



PLATE 31.—Upper Xingú Indians. *Top:* Bacairi hunter with carrying basket.
Bottom: Cooking pots and Auetö grave. (After Steinen, 1894.)

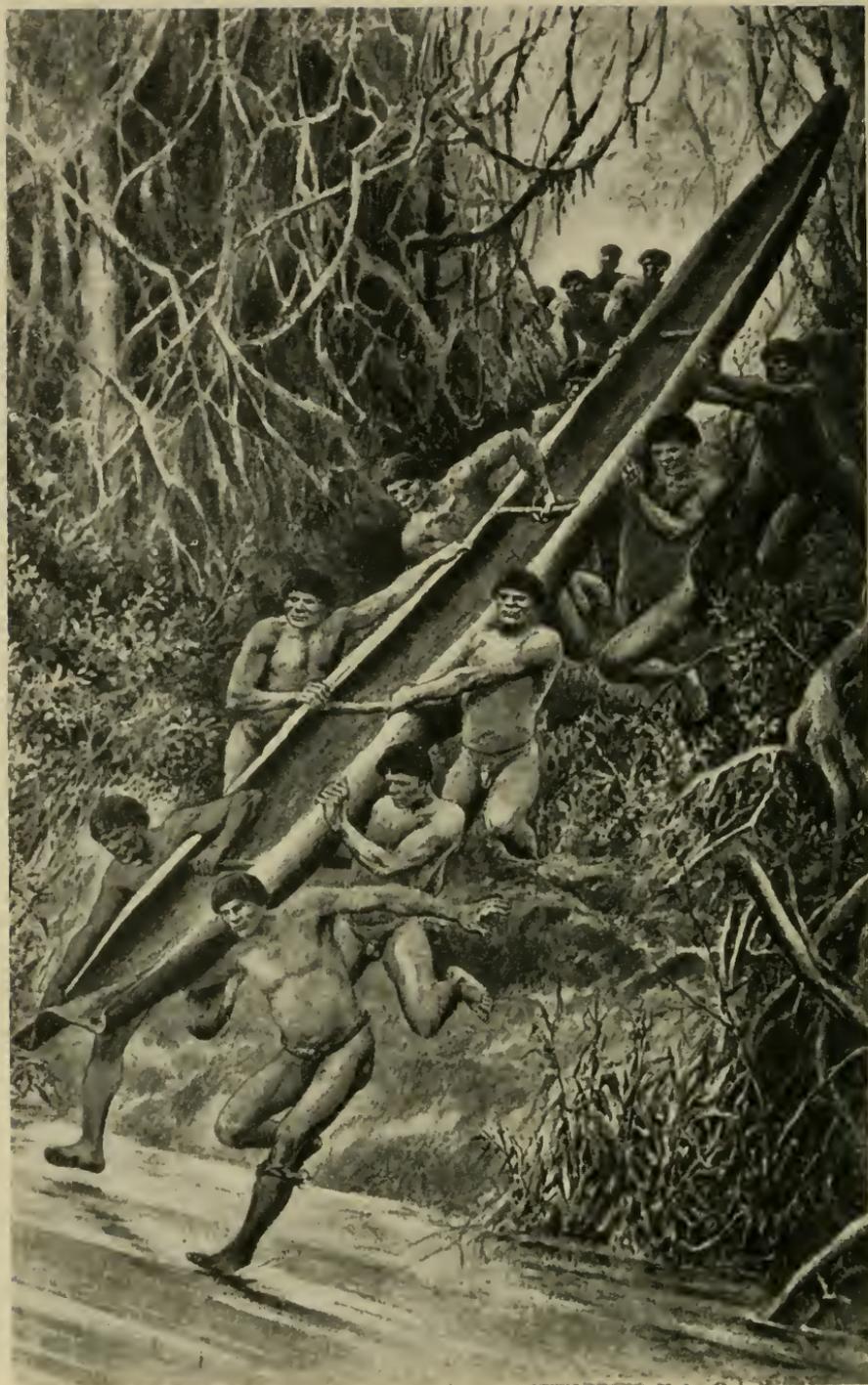


PLATE 32.—Auctö carrying bark canoe. (After Steinen, 1894.)



PLATE 33.—Upper Xingú Indians. *Top: Suyá. Bottom: Yaulapiti.* (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

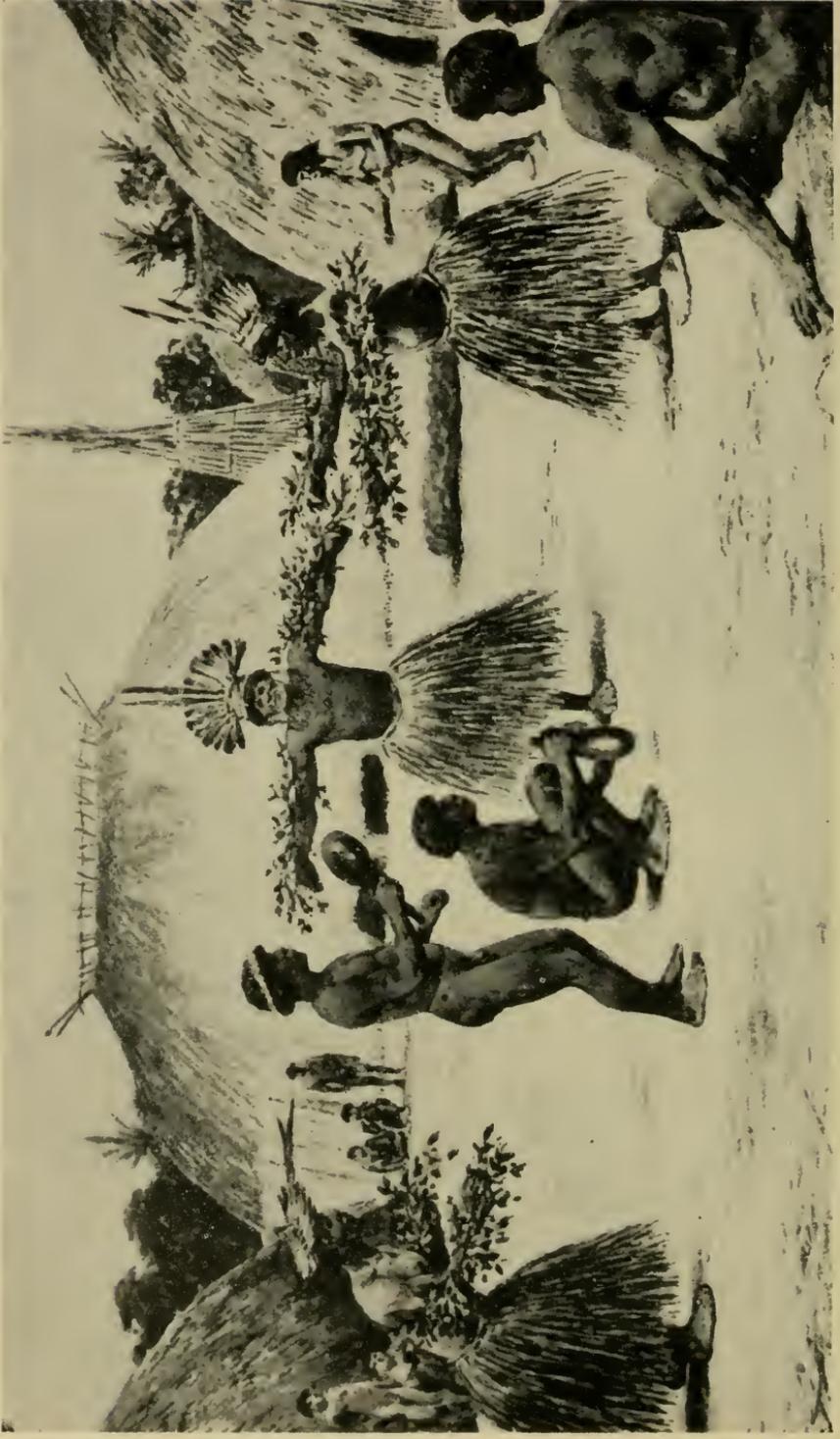


PLATE 34.—Fish-net dance of the Nahukwa. (After Steinen, 1894.)

different tribes are invited to participate in this initiation ceremony. The Spear Thrower Feast takes place at the beginning of the rainy season. The *Naravute* told Petrullo that ceremonial weapons are divided between two teams which try to strike each other with blunt-pointed spears. The spectacle of a similar feast among the *Camayura* was observed by Von den Steinen. Quain mentions a "Kuth" ceremony, with wooden symbols which women are forbidden to see. These symbols may be bull roarers, of which Von den Steinen describes several types. They are swordlike with black and red designs among the *Mehinacu*, and carved in the shape of a fish among the *Nahukwa*, who have no sexual prohibitions regarding them. The *Bacãiri* call their bull roarers "thunder" or "thunderstorm."

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

The *Bacãiri* tell of their migration to the earth, because of the high mortality in their first homeland, the sky (Steinen, 1894), and of the subsequent destruction of the universe by flood and fire and its re-creation (Abreu, 1938). The creation myths of the *Trumai* put several characters on the stage, the Crow, Sun, Moon, "Grandfather," and Jaguar ("Fetde"), father of the Sun (Quain, ms.). An important body of *Bacãiri* myths and tales were recorded by Von den Steinen. Three groups may be distinguished.

(1) **The cycle of Keri and Kame.**—Keri and Kame, which designate two culture heroes, are the *Arawakan* terms for Sun and Moon, borrowed by the *Cariban* speaking *Bacãiri*, who have reversed their meaning. Kame, the less intelligent and more foolish of the pair, got killed and had to be revived by Keri. These culture heroes are not identified with the eponymic celestial bodies; the latter are conceived as balls of feathers, which once had been united but which the heroes separated.

The numerous legends belonging to this cycle tell of an unsuccessful attempt by a mythical stranger to make new human beings; of the birth of Keri and Kame from two human bones swallowed by a woman married to a jaguar; of the murder of the pregnant woman by her own mother; of her post-mortem birth of the boys, done by a jaguar who was her uncle; and of the revenge by the two heroes. From their "masters," they received the natural elements, laws and customs, and fundamental items of *Bacãiri* culture, e.g., the hammock from the lizard, cotton from a kind of marten (*Galictis*), tobacco from the electric eel, and manioc from the deer. After having saved their tribe on a final occasion, the two heroes disappeared.

The *Trumai* also had tales about the Sun and Moon, in which the Moon played the foolish part and had to be saved by its companion (Quain, ms.).

(2) **Animal tales.**—The cycle of Keri and Kame is the basis for several animal legends. Others, such as the *Trumai* Tale of the Crow

(Quain, ms.) and the *Bacãiri* Tale of the Jaguar and Anteater (Steinen 1894), are pure animal tales, rather humorous in character.

(3) **Historical legends.**—Many details in the cycle of Keri and Kame and in other legends are interpretations of the early history of the upper Xingú River. The *Trumái* believe their ancestors to have been aquatic animals (Steinen, 1894; Quain, ms.). They explain the cultural diversity of the tribes of the upper Xingú River as having resulted from a choice of things which the Sun once offered people. The *Trumái* took the bees-wax, the *Camayura* the bow, the *Waura* pots, but the White man preferred the ax and hence he built an extensive civilization (Quain, ms.).

LORE AND LEARNING

According to the *Bacãiri*, the sky was once in close contact with the earth. The Sun and Moon, each a ball of feathers, are hidden under a pot when they are not visible and are carried through the sky by animals, either slow or fast, depending upon the hour and season. Sometimes the Moon is hidden by the body of an animal at work, and then an eclipse occurs. Several constellations are identified, chiefly the Pleiades, Orion, the Southern Cross, and Gemini. They are said to represent implements, plants, foods, and other objects. The Milky Way is compared to a drum which contains animals (Steinen, 1894). The *Trumái* believe that the sky is immortal and that it changes its skin like a snake. They also think that the visible sun is altogether different from, and is the "pet" of, the real sun, which is called by a special name (Quain, ms.).

All tribes draw geographical maps of the area on the sand. Rivers are suggested by zigzags cut by transverse lines for the rapids; circles represent huts, and circles arranged in a ring are villages. As signs to fishermen, drawings of the special kind of fish which is abundant at a certain spot are left on the sand bank of the rivers (Steinen, 1886, 1894).

The *Bacãiri* have distinct words for the numbers one to three. Three is not used frequently, and a combination of the words for one and two is often substituted for it. The counting of the *Trumái* is not perfectly clear, but they, as well as the *Waura* and *Camayura*, seem to have a distinct word for four. Five is expressed by a special word by the *Trumái* and *Auetö*, while the other tribes use the same word as for "hand." Counting above five is done with the help of hands and feet, and numbers above five are expressed by combinations of the basic terms.

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