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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

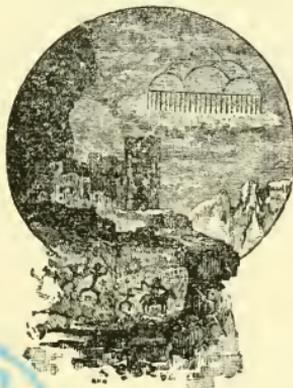
HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

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

Extraído do vol. 1 do Handbook of South American
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UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1946

PART 3. THE INDIANS OF EASTERN BRAZIL
EASTERN BRAZIL: AN INTRODUCTION

By ROBERT H. LOWIE

INTRODUCTION

The area covered under this head is not coextensive with the whole of the geographical territory so designated, from which the forest regions are deliberately excluded. This automatically eliminates the *Tupí-Guaraní* family, which has been sharply contrasted with neighboring groups by most investigators. In accepting this distinction as culturally warranted, it is merely necessary to remember that in the light of present knowledge we cannot dichotomize all the peoples of eastern Brazil into silvan *Tupí-Guaraní* and "*Ge*" or "*Tapuya*" of the steppes. To what extent the "*Tapuya*" of earlier writers coincide with the *Ge*, it is impossible to decide for lack of adequate linguistic data. That we have to reckon with a series of groups unrelated to either of the two major families mentioned is certain. Without any claim to exhausting the total number of linguistically separate units within the area, the following groups are here considered as "Eastern Brazilian" in the sense defined: *Ge* (*Northwestern and Central Ge*, *Southern Ge*, *Jeicó*), *Camacan*, *Guayakí*, *Bororo*, *Guató*, *Botocudo*, *Mashacalí*, *Pancararú*, *Pimenteira*, *Cariri*, *Patashó*, *Malalí*, *Guaitaca*, *Fulnio*, *Purí-Coroado*, and "*Tapuya*."¹

To segregate all these from the *Tupí-Guaraní* is not to deny that they share traits with *Tupí* tribes; nor is it suggested that the peoples in question are culturally uniform. In point of level, the agricultural *Camacan* manifestly tower above the *Patashó* hunters. Nevertheless, they have enough in common to warrant treatment in the same major category (map 7).

Archeological results tend to complicate our picture of eastern Brazilian history. It is true that in some parts of the area, notably that of the upper Paraguay Basin, archeological and ethnographic

¹ The *Carajá*, a Tropical Forest tribe of the middle Araguaya River, though described in Volume 3 of the Handbook, is mentioned in this Introduction for comparative purposes because it is an enclave within the culture area of eastern Brazil.—EDITOR.

findings neatly dovetail, e. g., the crude ceramics and the stone hammers of the mounds there closely resemble those of the modern *Guató*. But elsewhere sharp contrasts divide earlier and recent residents: The *Apinayé* make no earthenware, yet sherds crop up in their historic habitat; and in the Arraias District of the Araguaya River country fragments of pottery have turned up that cannot be connected with *Tupí* ceramics. The plausible inference is that part of eastern Brazil was once occupied by groups culturally distinct from both the *Tupí* and the nonceramic *Ge*.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

A pure hunting-gathering stage can be ascribed to only a few peoples in the area, such as the *Aweikoma*, *Botocudo*, *Patashó*, and *Bororo*; and even some of these have been credited with some agriculture. Several tribes (*Apinayé*, *Camacan*) were effective farmers. What remains true is that as a rule agriculture is less intensive than in the Tropical Forests; that manioc and maize, when raised, tend to be less important than sweet potatoes and yams; that correlatively other food-getting activities loom larger. An ethnographic curiosity is the raising by several *Ge* tribes of a species of *Cissus*, unknown to either Whites or *Tupí*. A crude dibble was the only implement; inadequate for steppe country, it restricted farming operations to the gallery forests.

A seasonal cycle is established in several cases. The *Timbira* roamed about, collecting wild vegetable fare and hunting during the dry season, at the close of which they returned to their villages to plant sweet potatoes, peanuts, and small-kerneled maize, which were harvested in May and June, when the tribe resumed its wanderings.

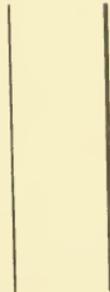
Collecting wild foods.—Gathering is very important for the simpler tribes. For the *Botocudo* the dry season was one of plenty in Saint-Hilaire's day, because they then had plenty of sapucaia fruits. Even incipient farmers, like the *Northern Ge*, relied largely on the babassú and other wild-palm fruits and fought for the possession of stands of these trees. Honey, characteristically stored in skin bags, must also be reckoned under the head of gathered food material. Various tribes did not disdain even toads and lizards (*Botocudo*), and Saint-Hilaire found the *Malali* cooking worms that live in a bamboo, both for the flavor and the marvelous visions they produced.

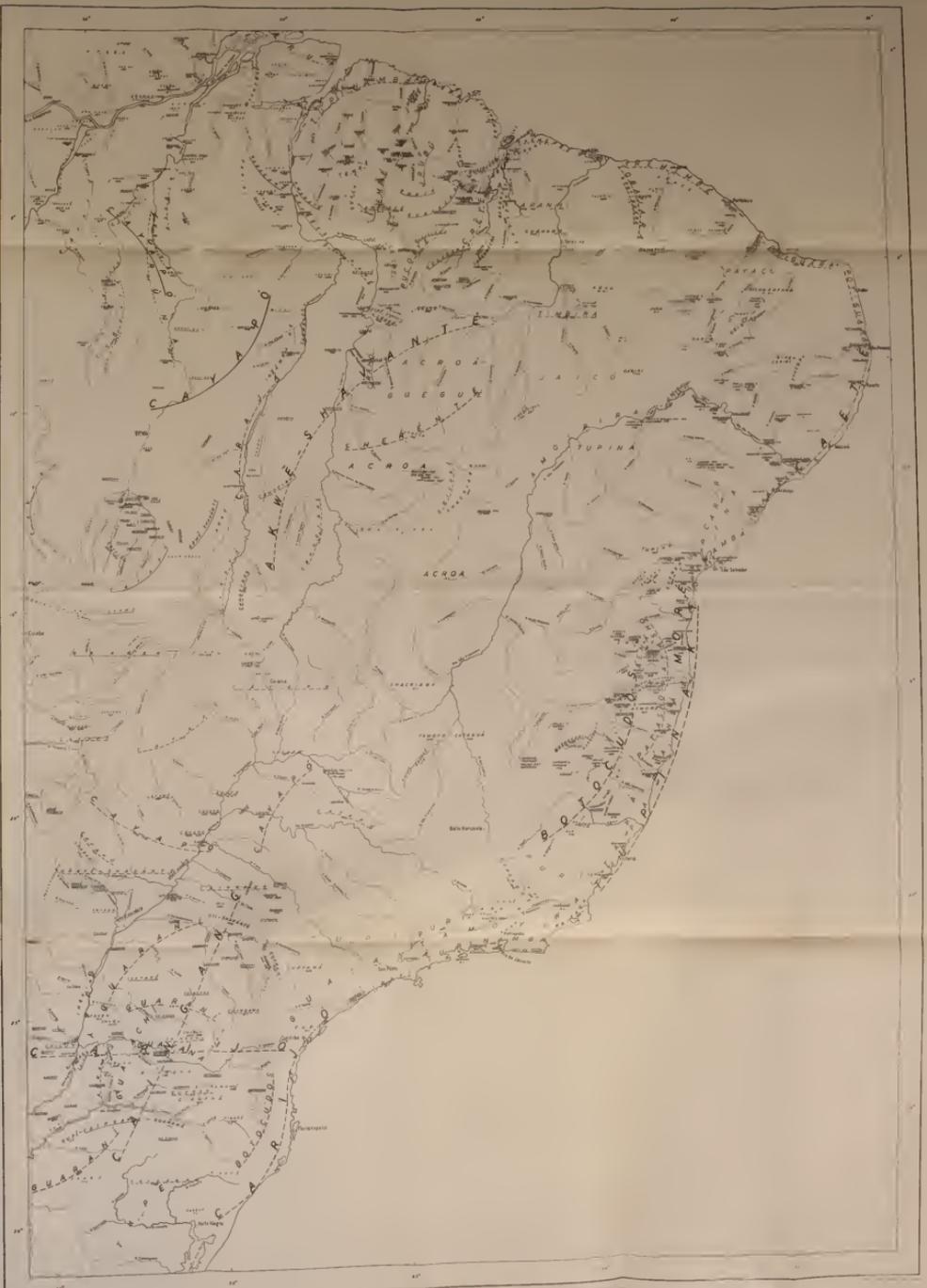
Hunting.—Hunting also varies in importance, completely overshadowing fishing among the *Timbira*. As a rule, the animals pursued include much of the fauna, but occasionally one meets whimsical taboos: the *Bororo* refrain from shooting deer. In addition to the

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MAP 1. The island of Sumatra. Based on the information received from the Dutch authorities and the information obtained from the Dutch maps. The names of the places are given in the original language.

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individual chase, some tribes (*Timbira*) practiced communal hunting with grass fires.

In pre-Columbian hunting, dogs were probably unknown; the *Cain-gang* still lacked the species as late as 1912.

Fishing.—The importance of fishing varied, largely with geographical conditions. The *Aweikoma* are reported not to have taken fish at all, and for the *Timbira* fishing is of minor importance. The general method of taking fish is by shooting them with bow and arrow; hooks were originally unknown; drugging occurs, but seems to be less important than in the Amazon-Orinoco area.

Food preparation.—Cooking methods depend partly on the presence of earthenware, which facilitates boiling, though pottery does not always imply this process, the *Mashacali* preferring to broil meat on a spit and to steam vegetable fare by covering the mouth of the pot with leaves and placing a clay bowl on top of them. The *Northwestern Ge* and their kin mainly bake food in earth ovens, including meat, which typically figures in the form of pies; as a minor technique, they practiced stone-boiling in preparing the bacaba fruit. A bamboo section may serve for cooking as well as for holding water (*Botocudo*).

Bitter manioc, where used, is freed of its poison in simpler fashion than by the forest peoples. It should be recalled that eastern Brazilians lean more heavily on the sweet potato (*Northern Ge*, *Mashacali*).

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Settlement largely hinges on geographical conditions; the proximity of water and of gallery forests is vital to the *Northern Ge*. Seasonal shifts may be due either to the threat of inundation (*Carajá*) or to the general economic organization; Ribeiro pictures the *Timbira* as roving hunters and gatherers during the dry season and as repairing to their villages in the rainy season to plant their plots.

The arrangement of houses varied considerably. A circular or horseshoe periphery is typical of the *Bororo* and the *Northwestern* and the *Central Ge*, with the central area reserved for councils, ceremonial activities, or sometimes, the bachelors' hall or men's club. An abandoned *Patashó* site revealed 15 huts round an open space in the woods, with one tree left intact in the clearing. Some tribes (e. g., the *Malali*) lacked any definite arrangement.

As to the house itself, the notorious rapidity with which natives have imitated the Neo-Brazilian rancho casts suspicion on the aboriginal character of rectangular huts. However, the primitive *Guató* dwelling has an oblong plan, consisting of a gable roof set on the ground, an effect similar to that of the somewhat arched *Carajá* house. Palm-thatched forms, more or less round, are usually

widespread. The modern *Timbira* still use beehive-shaped and conical types in ceremonial or in temporary camps; their *Shavante* equivalents—round huts built of palm leaves—have been expressly described as waterproof and as inhabited during the rainy season by the same author, Pohl, who notes the relevant inadequacy of the hemispherical, palm-thatched *Porecamecra* dwelling. The *Cariri* are said to have built clay huts; and in a *Shavante* settlement Pohl saw 30 thatch-roofed clay dwellings in a row.

One of the outstanding negative traits of the area is the lack of true hammocks for sleeping, which seems restricted to the *Cariri* and a few other groups. The *Carajá* analogue is similar in make, but serves only as a cape in the daytime or as a mattress on the ground; the *Mashacali* merely sit on hammocks in the daytime; and other occurrences are reasonably explained as recent loans. The typical eastern Brazilian contrivance for sleeping is a platform bed. Where that is lacking, we are likely to find the natives sleeping merely on mats (*Guató*) or on bast (*Botocudo*).

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Most of the tribes originally went virtually or wholly naked. The penis sheath was widespread (*Bororo*, *Cayapó*, *Camacan*, *Tapuya*), as was the tying of a thread round the prepuce (*Tapuya*, *Patashó*); and some groups tucked the glans under a belt so as to hold the penis vertically against the abdomen (*Botocudo*, *Mashacali*).

The profusion of ornament strongly contrasts with the tendency to go nude. Conspicuous over a large part of the area are earplugs, sometimes of huge size, and labrets for the lower lip. These, like certain other articles, sometimes serve as emblems of status. Tribal differences appear, the *Porecamecra Timbira* perforating only the ears, not the lips; the *Mashacali* neither or reserving the practice for males. Tattoo is limited.

Genipa and urucú are general, and for ceremonials the down of birds is often glued on the performer's body.

Many tribes practice a distinctive haircut. Thus, the *Eastern Timbira* leave a definite furrow in the back of the head.

The simple *Macuni* comb—a thin rod pointed at one end with a narrow spatula at the other—contrasts with the *Carajá* equivalent, which consists of a series of sharp converging wooden splinters held together by two pairs of parallel cross-sticks and an interwoven ornamental basketry fabric of cotton with an occasional addition of feathered tassels suspended from the upper edges. Live embers (*Cayapó*) took the place of scissors in cutting hair.

TRANSPORTATION

By and large, the eastern Brazilians differ from the *Tupí* and the forest Indians in being without canoes. Although this is not universally so, it was originally true of most of the *Ge*, the *Botocudo*, and the *Bororo*. In probable imitation of the canoe-using *Carajá*, the *Apinayé* also traveled about in boats while residing on the Tocantins River. The *Suyá*, however, have only bark boats, and the *Shavante* cross streams on rafts of burití leaf stalks.

The *Eastern Timbira* impressed Pohl (1832-37) with their skill in swimming and treading water. Early explorers record the same observation among the *Tarairiu*.

Simple footbridges of a pair of lianas, the upper forming the hand-rail, are reported for the *Botocudo*.

Burdens are commonly borne on the back by means of a forehead band, but in this respect there may be sex differences. A *Mashacalí* man, e. g., slings small bags from his shoulders and carries a larger one on the back by a shoulder strap, whereas his wife supports a corresponding load by a tumpline.

Infants generally straddle the mother's hip. A *Botocudo* child rests on the mother's back in a bast sling supported by a tumpline and puts his hands round the woman's neck. Among the *Mashacalí* he straddles the left hip, sitting in a sling that passes over the mother's right shoulder; or he may sit on her back with the sling crossing her forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Textiles.—True loomwork is very rare and of a simple order when it occurs (*Camacan*, *Guató*). The *Guató* frame consists of two posts with the warp wound between them; the threads are dyed in the decoctions of the bark or wood of certain species of trees; the techniques are varieties of twining; and the finished articles include cloth, mosquito netting, mats, and fly whisks.

The threads may be cotton (*Guató*, *Bororo*, *Timbira*) or human hair (*Bororo*), burití palm, or other plant fibers (*Guató*, *Timbira*). The *Caingang* and *Botocudo*, as well as probably the *Mashacalí*, grew no cotton. In the absence of this material and of spindles the thread was twisted on the thigh, a process also followed for plant fibers by tribes using a spindle for cotton.

Basketry and netting.—Basketry, though widespread, is not universal in the area, for the *Mashacalí* were originally unfamiliar with the craft, relevant specimens from them being of recent origin. On the other hand, the industry flourishes among the *Guató*, whose acuri

palms furnish excellent material for checkerwork and twilling. The *Northern Ge* have not only twilling, but also coiling, a technique unknown to the *Tupí*.

Basketry is not a distinctively feminine craft in South America. Possibly restricted to women by the *Bororo*, it devolves mostly on the *Timbira* men.

In compensation for the absence of plaiting, the *Mashacali* are skillful at the netting technique. Their women scrape off the bark of a *Cecropia* species, twist the fiber on their thighs, and use this thread for the manufacture of netted bags, in which most of their belongings are stored.

Featherwork.—With other South Americans, the eastern Brazilians share extensive decorative use of plumage. Though Martius (1867) denies the art to the *Gwaitacá*, even one of the Saint-Hilaire's (1830–51) *Botocudo* wore a diadem of radiating yellow feathers attached with the aid of wax. Creditable featherwork appears among the *Timbira* and *Central Ge*.

Stonework.—Stonework was rapidly eliminated by the introduction of iron tools and in part is unnecessary, the place of scrapers and knives being taken by shells, bamboo splinters, and rodent or piranha teeth. However, stone axes figure in the old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been observed by many travelers in the area. They were not only used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, but also as chief's badges (*Macamecra*). An anchor-shaped type merits attention.

Pottery.—Pottery was indeed lacking among most of the *Ge* and the *Patashó*, but by no means universally, plain ware even turning up among the *Bororo*. Further, sherds found by Kissenberth (1911) in the Araguaya River region and reported by Nimuendajú from *Apinayé* territory establish the pristine spread of pottery over tracts where it no longer occurred in the historic period. Finally, this ancient eastern Brazilian type closely corresponds to ware recently observed in the São Francisco River country. Fragments of large spherical vessels found by Nimuendajú near the *Camacan* habitat were without base or separately wrought rim. The lower half, or more, had been molded from a lump of clay and was plain; the rest had been built up of clay coils superimposed on one another so as to suggest fish scales or roof tiles. There was neither painted nor plastic decoration, and, except for a single comb-shaped stub below the rim of one pot, there was no indication of a handle. This residual lug specifically suggests the ceramics of Indians on the lower São Francisco River; and altogether the technique coincides with that observed by Carlos Estevão (1938) and Nimuendajú in the State of Pernambuco. Moreover, in 1938 Nimuendajú saw a surviving *Camurú* (*Cariri* family) still making pottery that corresponded in shape and

technique to ware he had noted among the *Shucurú* of Cimbres, Pernambuco.

This investigator also describes *Mashacalí* pottery. The bowls and cooking vessels are unpainted. The potter kneads her unmixed clay with a pestle, molds the walls from a lump between the fingers of both hands, forming only the upper margin from coils, which are laid on so as merely to suggest a distinct rim. She smooths the walls with a snail shell, the rim with some moist deerskin. Two little notched projections diametrically opposite to each other indicate vestigial lugs. The cooking pots are ellipsoid and without a true base. They are covered with open dishes, which also serve as food bowls. There are also elliptical drinking bowls.

Guató pottery is coiled, smoothed with a shell, and baked for 10 minutes in an open fire. The usually rounded ware had pointed bottoms. Decoration was restricted to rudimentary fingernail prints and small lugs.

Eastern Brazilian pottery thus distinctly differs from either *Tupí* or *Arawak* ware.

Weapons.—The most usual weapon is the bow, which often is of extraordinary length—in individual specimens well over 8 feet (2.4 m.). The *Mashacalí* type, however, is small and further differs in having a characteristic groove. Arrows, too, are frequently very long, and their structure varies for special purposes even in one tribe. A lancet-shaped bamboo point for big game, blunt heads for birds, barbed wooden points for jaguars, and hunting arrows with bone heads are among the types found. Arrows are usually two-feathered; the eastern Brazilian method of bridge and tangential feathering is authenticated for the *Tapuya*, *Canella*, *Shavante*, *Cayapó*, *Caingang*, and *Botocudo*. Poisoned arrows occur (*Carajá*, various "*Tapuya*").

Some of the *Tapuya* of the early 17th century—in contrast to the *Cariri*—were described as without bows, relying instead on a grooved atlatl. But shortly thereafter the bow and arrow were found among them also.

The spear or lance is also an important weapon; the head is usually of bone or serrated wood.

Fire making.—The fire drill is universal. Sometimes it consists of a simple shaft (*Botocudo*, *Cayapó*), sometimes the actual drill is inserted into the shaft of an arrow, superseding its head (*Botocudo*, *Mashacalí*). Fans for the fire are either of feathers or basketwork.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Government.—In general there is extreme separatism, as attested by the endless historic feuds of different *Botocudo* hordes. Saint-Hilaire (1830) found that each of these bands claimed a definite ter-

ritory, which was guarded by sentries at the border. The animosity between distinct groups of *Northern Cayapó* persists to the present day. Occasionally solidarity is found over a somewhat greater range of individuals: the *Guató* once held semiannual tribal assemblies, though otherwise each subtribe had its own council; and among the *Sherente* a conclave of the chiefs of all the villages fills a vacancy in any one settlement and deposes a miscreant colleague.

The chief is generally without coercive power, yet may exert great authority, as among the *Botocudo*, where supernatural power is a prerequisite to office. The functions include peacemaking, the preservation of order, the welcoming of guests, and the maintenance of ancient ceremonial and social usage. In some tribes (*Timbira*, *Sherente*), the chief took the initiative against sorcerers. A 17th-century headman of the *Tapuya* would order a crier to announce the plans for the day—whither the people should travel, where they were to pitch, and when they were to break camp (Barlaeus, 1659, p. 695). The *Bororo* simultaneously have two chiefs; the *Canella* even more.

In his official capacity the chief is generally aided by a council of elders that at the same time checks any tendency to overassertiveness. Among the *Canella* the collective senate of chiefs and elders controls communal life and is entitled to special respect and gifts, such as are likewise credited to the *Tapuya* "king." The *Cayapó* and *Botocudo* chiefs summon the elders for a council with trumpets made of armadillo skin, for which the *Ge* substitute gourd trumpets.

Succession may or may not follow the rule of descent; it is nepotic among the matrilineal *Bororo*, but a vacancy is filled by the chiefs and councilors among the equally matrilineal *Timbira*. The patrilineal *Sherente* and *Caingang* have at least a tendency to filial succession, but this is also favored by the *Guató*, who have no demonstrable clan system.

Prestige.—Definite castes are absent, but clans or moieties in some tribes (*Bororo*, *Caingang*, *Sherente*) may enjoy differential status. With the *Canella* certain social and ceremonial positions are honorific. Individual gifts are also recognized; the *Guató* and *Bororo* esteemed jaguar-killers, and honor was shown by the *Tapuya* to good wrestlers, fighters, and hunters.

Moieties and clans.—The *Canella*, *Apinayé*, *Bororo*, and at least some of the *Northern Cayapó* have matrilineal, the *Sherente* and *Caingang* patrilineal moieties; except among the *Apinayé*, these units are exogamous. In addition, the *Bororo* have a secondary dichotomy leading to an "Upper" and a "Lower" half of the village, and the *Canella* have three moiety groupings that are not connected with marriage. One of these *Canella* dichotomies splits the entire universe into two categories, a notion that is shared by the *Caingang*, with reference to

their exogamous moieties. Spatial allocation of the moieties to opposite cardinal directions appears, the *Canella* and *Cayapó* assigning their moieties to the east and west, the *Apinayé*, *Bororo*, and *Sherente* to the north and south, respectively. Among the *Apinayé* and *Sherente* the moieties are further linked with the sun and moon, respectively.

The *Timbira* moieties are undivided; those of the *Sherente* and *Bororo* have clans, each localized in a definite part of the circumference assigned to the moiety as a whole. The *Bororo* clans commonly bear animal and plant names, but their claim to full-fledged totemism is disputed.

Marriage.—True purchase is probably absent. But in matrilineal tribes the wife's family profits from her husband's labors, and elsewhere gifts are in vogue, as in the offering of game and honey to a father-in-law by *Tapuya* bridegrooms in the 17th century.

The *Timbira* and *Bororo* are matrilineal, the *Sherente* patrilineal, and the *Cayapó* pass from incipient patrilineal to matrilineal residence. Among the *Guató* a married son sets up an establishment of his own. The *Caingang* had no fixed rule of residence. Houses and fields always belong to the *Timbira* and *Cayapó* wife and to the *Sherente* husband. A *Canella* or *Cayapó* husband continues to maintain close relations with his maternal home; similarly, a *Carajá* eats with his married sister's, rather than with his wife's, household and receives his share of game in the sister's house.

Strict monogamy is reported for the *Timbira*, *Pau d'Arco*, *Cayapó*, *Shavante*, and *Caingang*. It is prevalent among the *Carajá* and *Botocudo*, but distinguished men could have more than one wife. The 17th-century *Tapuya*, like the recent *Guató*, were polygynous; the *Sherente*, *Botocudo*, and *Mashacali* permit sororal polygyny; and a case of non-sororal polygyny is on record for the *Botocudo*. The levirate occurs (*Sherente*, *Botocudo*, *Mashacali*), but both it and the sororate are unknown to the *Canella* and *Pau d'Arco*, whereas the *Apinayé* and *Sherente* permit the sororate. Sororal bigamy and stepdaughter marriage flourish among the *Bororo*.

Cousin marriage is explicitly denied for the *Botocudo*. The *Mashacali* consider cross-cousin marriage orthodox, whereas the *Sherente* restrict it to the paternal aunt's daughter, but favor unions with more remote matrilineal kinswomen, such as the maternal uncle's daughter's daughter.

Among the *Timbira* and *Sherente* there appears a class of "wantons" who are in no sense outcasts, but freely enter sex relations without the formality of marriage.

Kinship and kinship terminology.—The avunculate is prominent among the matrilineal *Timbira*, but also among the *Sherente*. The paternal aunt is very close to a *Canella* girl. Adult brothers and

sisters avoid each other among the *Sherente* and *Apinayé*. The *Timbira* permit familiarity between a man and his wife's sister, but not with his brother's wife.

The parent-in-law avoidance is unknown to the *Botocudo*, but occurs at least initially among the *Sherente* and *Apinayé*.

Artificial ceremonial relationships develop among the *Apinayé* and *Cayapó*; and unrelated *Canella* establish relations of respect and license, respectively, either through acquisition of certain names or by special acts.

Kinship nomenclatures are too little known for a broad comparative statement. A few details, however, are noteworthy. The *Bororo* stress relative seniority within one generation; the *Canella* have classificatory extensions with some *Crow* features; the *Botocudo* have teknonymy and some tendency toward a generation system; and the *Guató* separate maternal from paternal aunts.

Associational units.—The *Sherente* segregate youths in a special hut after their reception of a girdle emblematic of their status; in their centrally situated bachelors' hall the inmates are grouped by moiety and associational ties and are subdivided into six age grades. Chastity is imperative, on pain of expulsion, and only members of the highest grade are allowed to seek a wife. *Canella* and *Apinayé* youths also sleep in the center of the settlement, but in the open air. In both tribes a boy has to pass through elaborate initiation rituals prior to marriage.

The *Bororo* and *Northern Cayapó* have a men's club rather than a bachelors' hall. The *Górotire* and *Pau d'Arco Cayapó* divided all males into age grades which also represent ceremonial units; there is a lesser number of female grades. For either sex, advancement hinges on parenthood rather than on matrimony. A virtual men's tribal society with esoteric masquerading splits *Carajá* society into a male and a female half, and a corresponding cult with bull-roarers characterizes the *Mashacali*. On the other hand, the four *Sherente* men's societies remain on the profane level; here there is an unimportant women's organization.

By way of contrast, the *Timbira* display rather free association of both sexes in ceremonial and social activities; the festive societies of the *Canella*, e. g., have girl auxiliaries. Entrance into these associations automatically follows the acquisition of certain names, except that Clowns become such solely because of native gifts for farce.

Etiquette.—Apart from the stringent rules connected with the proper performance of ritual, several categories of fact merit special attention under this head.

The weeping salutation has been noted for the *Botocudo*, *Timbira*, *Tapuya*, and *Guató*.

In some tribes eating is subject to a definite etiquette: a *Carajá* eats by himself and turns away from his companions lest he excite their ridicule.

Notwithstanding the usually clear-cut division of labor and of ceremonial functions, the sexes are rigidly separated only where there is a definite men's club (*Bororo*) or tribal society (*Mashacalí*). Elsewhere, as among the *Timbira*, young women and men are found regularly joining in the daily dances, and the men's organizations have female associates.

WARFARE

The weapons partly coincide with those used in the chase, but naturally there are modifications and additions. The *Caingang* use a javelin, the *Aweikoma* a thrusting-spear over and above the bows and arrows common to both. In contrast to other *Ge*, the *Acroá* are said to have used poisoned arrows, which are also recorded for the *Botocudo* and various *Tapuya*; incendiary arrows are known from the *Shavante* and *Timbira*. The *Botocudo* have no special warclubs, such as are known from any of the *Ge*. Stone anchor-axes with short hafts slung over the shoulder are typical of various *Ge*, their possible congeners, the 17th-century *Otshucayana*, and the enigmatic *Tremembé*. Small specimens serve in ceremonials and as chief's emblems.

Many of the eastern Brazilian groups were conspicuously martial, holding their own tenaciously against the White intruders. The motive for warfare was mainly the desire for revenge. Adult male enemies were usually slain rather than captured by the *Sherente* and *Cayapó*. As for tactics, the *Sherente* would begin a skirmish by discharging their arrows, following this up by a charge with clubs and lances. *Cayapó* women are reported to have accompanied their husbands, supplying them with arrows according to requirements. Special military contrivances of the *Botocudo* included caltrops (Knoche, 1913, fig. 2).

The *Cayapó* slayer of an enemy was obliged to go into a fortnight's retreat. The *Apinayé*, *Canella*, *Northern Cayapó*, *Akwē*, and *Caingang* killer all deposited a club by the side of a slain foeman.

Cannibalism has often been imputed to eastern Brazilians, but with much exaggeration. It certainly did not approach the systematic anthropophagy of the *Tupí*. The *Timbira* and *Akwē* did not eat human flesh at all; the *Botocudo* probably indulged in the practice only occasionally and sparingly. The endocannibalism of 17th-century *Tapuya* as displayed in their mortuary rites obviously falls under a different category.

LIFE CYCLE

In part, this topic has been foreshadowed. A composite picture for the area would recognize prenatal and postnatal taboos observed

by parents in the child's interest; rites for the perforation of ear lobes and the lower lip; name-giving rites, distinctive games for boys and girls; menstrual rules; the acquisition of distinct emblems of adult status; marriage; parenthood; and death. Only a few summary remarks are possible here.

The *couvade* is prominent, extending for the *Canella* to all men who have had congress with the child's mother during her pregnancy. Personal names are extremely important: the *Bororo*, though possessing a profusion of changeable nicknames, keep their primary names for good and regard them as secret. The *Timbira* and *Sherente* solemnly bestow new names, which may qualify for certain ceremonial obligations. Sometimes basic social units own and confer personal names (*Sherente*).

Menstruation in some tribes involves taboos, including the use of a scratching stick instead of the fingers, but this rule extends to other critical situations, such as mourning or retiring after the killing of an enemy (*Canella*).

Interment is the general mode of disposing of a corpse. The *Botocudo* hastily leave the burial and the locality. The *Mashacali* place the body in the grave in a squatting position and break the dead person's weapons or pottery. Some peoples take care to prevent direct contact of the body with the earth (*Timbira*, *Cayapó*, *Sherente*). Elaborate mortuary festivals distinguish the *Bororo* and *Caingang*.

Secondary burial is lacking among the *Botocudo* and the *Mashacali*, but prevails among the *Timbira*, *Sherente*, and *Bororo*. The *Tapuya* of the 17th century had their priests dissect a corpse, which was then cooked and consumed. The bones, however, were carefully preserved for a subsequent solemnity, when they were pulverized, mixed with water, and drunk.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—Sport plays a large part among the eastern Brazilians; it is apparently indulged in for sheer enjoyment since there is no evidence of gambling. Relay races with heavy logs are typical of the *Timbira*, *Sherente*, and *Camacan*; they are also credited to the *Fulnio*, the 17th-century *Otshucayana*, and the natives of ancient Itatin, i. e., either *Southern Cayapó* or *Guarani*. This form of exercise was unknown to the *Caingang*; the *Northern Cayapó* seem to have manipulated heavy logs at dances. There is no evidence that log races are a test of fitness for matrimony—a popular fallacy refuted by the personnel of the competitors in the best-known tribes.

Wrestling appears as the favorite sport of the *Tapuya*, stilt-walking is especially characteristic of the *Apinayé*, hockey and tug of war figure among the *Northern Cayapó*, and the unique occurrence of a

hoop-and-pole game among the *Sherente* is noteworthy. The *Apinayé* and *Sherente* play ceremonial games with rubber balls, and shuttlecocks made of maize husks are struck with the palm of the hand by the *Mashacali*.

Cat's cradle figures are known from the *Mashacali*.

Children's toys include buzzes and tops.

Music.—Drums do not occur, but there are trumpets, rattles, and whistles. At dances, *Mashacali* men strike the ground with bamboo tubes 40 inches (101.6 cm.) long, instruments differing from the tribal water containers only in being ornamented with animal forms in poker-work and in being provided with a hook-shaped grip. The non-shamanistic use of gourd rattles by the *Timbira*, *Sherente*, and *Northern Cayapó* is noteworthy; the *Caingang* singers shake them during the mortuary solemnities. Bull-roarers were sacred among the *Bororo*, but not among the recent *Canella*.

Dances.—These are so important for the *Canella* that a village site is chosen with regard to its suitability for dancing, the young men and women performing three times daily during the dry season. Both sexes also participate in the Parrot ceremony of the *Mashacali*, witnessed by Nimuendajú: A dozen men formed two lines in front of the men's house and sang many songs, rocking their bodies from one foot to the other; they were soon faced by seven women, who placed their arms on one another's shoulders, bent forward, sang, and hopped sidewise round the men. The case is noteworthy because these people bar women from cult activities.

Stimulants.—Tobacco was probably not originally raised by the majority of eastern Brazilians. The *Botocudo* learned smoking from Whites and, though avid of the weed, had not yet come to plant it in Manizer's (1919) day. The *Timbira* do not raise it, even though the *Apinayé* are passionately addicted to smoking funnels of spirally rolled palm leaflets. The *Shavante* of Pohl's day did not use tobacco at all.

Spirituous liquors have a limited distribution, being unknown to many *Ge* tribes. But the *Camacan* women ferment manioc juice for a spree while their husbands hunt the requisite game; and the *Guató* befuddle themselves with wine from the sap of the acuri palm.

Ceremonial.—Much of eastern Brazilian ceremonial must be viewed as esthetic and recreational rather than religious. This applies preponderantly to the festivals of the *Timbira*, including their wholly profane mummers' performances. The Great Ant eater masquerades of the *Apinayé*, *Sherente*, and *Northern Cayapó*, in which a pair of the species is represented by the actors, are also devoid of sanctity. The elaborate initiation and other major ceremonies of the *Canella* involve only a few religious and magical elements, the stress being on the per-

formance as such—the organization and decoration of the actors, dramatic conflicts between rival societies, farcical antics of clowns, and competitive sports. (For religious ceremonial, see p. 396.)

SUPERNATURALISM

Magic, animism, shamanism, and celestial cults are probably found throughout, but with great variation in emphasis.

Magic.—Sympathetic magic occurs, as when a *Canella* invests urucú with marvelous potency for assuring luck or renders a youth tough by bringing him into contact with the tree symbolic of resistance. Throwing a disguise into a creek allegedly lengthens the former *Sherente* wearer's life. On the other hand, contagious magic of the classical type, e. g., by destroying clipped hair, is certainly absent among the *Timbira* and *Northern Cayapó* and undemonstrated elsewhere.

The dietary and other restrictions incident to birth, menstruation, and other critical periods have been referred to (p. 392). Bird omens were stressed by the *Tapuya*.

Animism.—Under this head may be distinguished worship of the dead and of spirits who have never led a human existence.

The *Caingang*, whose ceremonial centers in mortuary rites, are said to lack any vital beliefs in other spirits. The *Bororo* have both systems of beliefs, with distinct intermediaries for the two categories of supernatural beings. The *Canella* directly appeal to deceased kinsmen in times of stress, but the *Northern Cayapó* have no such practice, and most of the *Apinayé* avoid it. The *Botocudo*, though recognizing several types of soul, worship none of them and have no particular fear of the spooks supposed to arise from a corpse's skeleton, whom a doughty male will thrash if they give annoyance. Here animism takes the form of reverence for a never human, though anthropomorphic, race of sky-dwellers, the marét, who are invisible to the majority of mortals, but reveal themselves to a favored few, who become wonder-workers and curers. On special occasions a shaman chants by a sacred effigy-pillar, thereby invoking the spirits, who descend the post and, invisible to all but the medicine man, watch the proceedings. A generally benevolent chief of these beings is supplicated for aid on behalf of their protégés by his subjects. He grows angry over abuse of the *Botocudo* and causes rain and storms. The origin of certain songs, as well as the use of earplugs and labrets, is credited to him.

Among the *Mashacali* there is not only communion with the dead in dreams, but there exists also a men's tribal society whose members impersonate the deceased in disguises and simulate spirit voices by whistling and swinging bull-roarers. All boys are admitted and pledged to secrecy on pain of chastisement. The masquerading per-

formance alternates seasonally with ceremonials round a decorated sacred pillar in the center of the village by which the spirits supposedly descend to watch the human dancers.

The *Camacan* also believe in the descent of the souls of the dead to attend a carousal ceremony, unseen except by the elders. Women and young children are not permitted to view them. Evidently the *Camacan* and *Mashacali* beliefs are closely related, and, notwithstanding the distinctive character of the *Botocudo* spirits, the cult of all three tribes has genetically related elements. Less significant is the association of spirits with whistling by the *Mashacali*, the *Camacan*, and the *Fulnio*.

As for the fate of the soul after death, the *Tapuya* drew the familiar distinction between those who had and those who had not died a natural death; apparently, it was the former that were favored by being ferried to a land of honey and good fish. According to the *Botocudo*, a person's main soul dies before his body, the subsidiary souls go to the sky never to return. The *Bororo* believe that the spirits of the dead join the twin culture heroes.

Disease and Shamanism.—Eastern Brazilians have a number of profane therapeutic devices, such as scarification to prevent fatigue (*Tapuya*); massaging, flogging, and sweating the patient with the aid of hot rocks (*Botocudo*); and bleeding with a blocked arrow shot at the forehead (*Cayapó*, *Botocudo*). However, the cause of illness being commonly ascribed to sorcery (*Tapuya*), or other weird agencies, disease is usually treated by supernatural means, which usually involves recourse to medicine men.

However, the role of the shaman varied greatly. He is said to be nonexistent among the *Caingang*; and among the *Canella*, where any layman can go into seclusion and directly appeal to his deceased kin for aid in illness, the medicine man's position is naturally reduced. On the other hand, the two classes of *Bororo* shaman obviously loom large in tribal society. This is true of the *Sherente*, whose doctors derive their gifts from astral patrons, and of the *Northern Cayapó*, who distinguished ordinary practitioners from great curers communing with jaguars and able to revive the dead. The wonder-workers of the *Botocudo* as protégés of the marét also come under this head, especially when they unite political with supernatural power. *Tapuya* "priests" consulted the spirits in the woods when asked for advice on public affairs and returned with an impersonator of some supernatural being, who delivered a prophecy.

The intrusion of a pathogenic agent is possibly the most common source of illness, appearing among the *Northern Cayapó* and *Apinayé* in the special form of the intrusive soul of an animal or plant. Both of these tribes, as well as *Sherente*, recognize soul-loss as a cause of

disease; and there is a widespread fear of sorcerers, who are mercilessly killed by the *Cariri*, *Timbira*, *Sherente*, and *Cayapó*.

The methods of treatment include smoking and suction. A 17th-century *Tapuya* "king" would blow smoke on sick boys and was himself cured by doctors who extracted an awl, a rock, and a root from the afflicted parts (Barlaeus, 1659). The smoking of tobacco blown on the patient, chants, and the strewing of ashes round the bed to expel the "demon" are recorded for the same period among the *Cariri*. Certain *Sherente* doctors treat patients at a distance of 6 feet (1.8 m.) by means of a magical wand.

Possession is demonstrated for *Bororo* shamans; elsewhere the notion seems to be absent or rudimentary, as when souls of the dead are supposed to take temporary lodgement in the novices at initiation (*Canella*).

In this area the gourd rattle may figure in ceremonials, but is typically not associated with the shaman.

Ecstatic visions were induced among the *Camurú Cariri* by drinking "yurema," which evoked glorious sights of the spirit land, of the clashing rocks that destroyed souls traveling thither, and of the Thunderbird producing his peals and shooting lightning from his crest.

Possibly the *Malalí* custom of eating certain bamboo worms and thereby producing marvelous dreams with beautiful visual and exquisite gustatory sensations is psychologically related.

Celestial cults and major Gods.—For several tribes, Sun and Moon are not only mythological characters, but true deities, the Sun usually claiming precedence. Both sometimes appear directly to *Apinayé* votaries, and are addressed for rain and good crops by the *Canella*, who expect no theophany. To the *Sherente*, Sun and Moon do not appear either, but they send their distinctive astral deputies according to the solar or lunar affiliation of the visionary's moiety. The *Tapuya* worshiped the "Northern constellation," celebrating it with chants and "leaping," and at a special festival with athletic contests and dancing. According to their mythology, life had been easy for the Indians until Fox caused them to fall into this deity's bad graces, whence their subsequent need to worry about food.

The *Cariri* are supposed to have had a trio of gods, the "Father" being also represented as having two sons who quarreled (Bernardo de Nantes, 1896). According to another source, God (Touppart) sent a friend to the Indians who was called their Grandfather; after a while Grandfather retired to the sky and sent them *Badze* (Tobacco) to be worshiped through offerings.

Ceremonial.—The preponderantly profane nature of much of eastern Brazilian ceremonial has been pointed out (p. 394); on the other hand, certain phases of religious ritual have been necessarily

discussed under other headings. The elementary rites of prayer, offerings, dramatization, and self-mortification are probably general. Certain cryptic forms figure in early sources, such as "confession in the woods" by the *Cariri*. There is likewise the clubbing of a kneeling person by the *Cayapó* chief till the blood flows from his forehead and is wiped off by attending women—a rite that reappears in the obsequies on behalf of a distinguished man, whose corpse is smeared with the blood. The *Tapuya* "king" owned a sacred flask or case, containing several holy rocks and fruits. This could not be touched without his consent, but was consulted before serious undertakings after tobacco smoke was blown upon it (Barlaeus, 1659). Among these people priestly consecration was also deemed necessary to prosper the fields. The *Timbira* favored a retreat with ceremonial taboos in periods of crisis, such as birth or mourning. Arrows are shot at the sky during an eclipse by several tribes (*Cayapó*, *Bororo*).

Major festivals are usually highly composite. Mortuary rituals are elaborate among the *Bororo* and *Caingang*, whereas the boys' initiation is stressed by the *Apinayé*, *Canella*, *Aweikoma*, and in the special form connected with an animistic cult and a tribal society by the *Mashacali*. Name giving is a common occasion for solemnities, but often without manifest religious connotation. Performances are sometimes definitely linked with social units (*Timbira*, *Caingang*).

MYTHOLOGY

A Sun and Moon cycle, with Moon as the less intelligent member of the pair who is teased by his companion, spoils things by foolish chatter, gets killed as a result of his stupidity, and has to be revived by Sun, is important in *Timbira*, *Sherente*, and *Camacan* mythology and at least adumbrated among the *Mashacali*. Both are generally male, but frequently comrades rather than brothers. The *Bororo*, however, though also telling tales about Sun and Moon, have for their principal mythical heroes genuine twin brothers unconnected with the heavens, but appearing as hosts of the dead, as inventors, transformers, and slayers of monsters.

Significantly distributed in eastern Brazil are a number of motifs of which the following may be mentioned: A deluge; a world-fire; marriage to a star-woman (*Cayapó*, *Timbira*, *Sherente*); the deserted boy acquiring fire for Indians from a friendly jaguar (same tribes); the destruction of a man-eating falcon by two brothers (*Timbira*, *Cayapó*); and Sharpened-Leg (*Timbira*, *Cayapó*). The primeval hoarding of all water by Hummingbird and its liberation for general use is shared by the *Caingang* and *Botocudo*. The were-jaguar motif, popular among the *Camacan*, *Mashacali*, and *Cayapó*, is lacking among the *Botocudo*, *Timbira*, and *Sherente*.