Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie
50, part 2, pp. 145-197, 1966.

INDIANS AND MISSIONARIES ON THE RIO TIQUIÉ BRAZIL - COLOMBIA

BY

P. VAN EMST

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article [1]) is to sketch a number of aspects of the culture of the Indians on the Rio Tiquié, and of the Tuyuca in particular, to outline the ways in which that culture has been influenced by the West—mainly through the missionaries—and to deal briefly with some of the results of that influence.

It is based on the literature relating to the region in question, which is scarce and of very uneven quality, and on a field study undertaken in the summer of 1961. The nature of those literary sources and the fact that the field study was of necessity limited to two months imposed a number of restrictions in the sense that it was impossible to make a thorough analysis of *all* aspects—and the interrelationship of those aspects—of the culture in question. I am deeply aware of the fact that a tremendous amount of work will be required before it will be possible to make a real contribution to our knowledge regarding, say, religious experience, or basic personality, for which reason I have not ventured on to such ground. While collecting and processing the data I deliberately avoided all theorizing that might contain even a few elements of speculation. This does not mean to say, of course, that I am in favour of avoiding everything in any way problematical.

[1]) The field study during which the data in this article were collected was possible thanks to the support of the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research, the Brazilian Government and the Royal Dutch Geographical Association. I am further indebted to the Salesian mission at Uaupés for the generous assistance with which they provided me, in spite of the fact that I am not a Catholic.

It is not possible to express my individual thanks to all those who helped me in one way or another during my stay in Brazil. I would, however, make special mention of Mr. B. KNOPPERS, Dr. E. GALVÃO, Mgr. DOMITROVITCH, Padre JUAN, HENRIQUE and JOSÉ.

The translation is by Mrs. E. WENTHOLT-HAIG; the maps were prepared by Mr. E. A. J. RENAU.

My efforts were directed towards those aspects of the culture that could be studied within a comparatively short space of time and that would not be adversely affected by the somewhat patchy quality of the literature available. They are largely aspects relating to social structure, economics and technology. Others such as religion and magic are dealt with as briefly as I feel the circumstances allow.

Discussion of European influence is almost entirely restricted to the work of the Roman Catholic missions, which form virtually the only intermediary between the West and the Indians in these regions. I have gone into the history of the missions and the activities of the missionaries in some detail in order to leave no doubt as to the *way* in which "the West" is introduced here.

1. Aspects of Autochthonous Culture

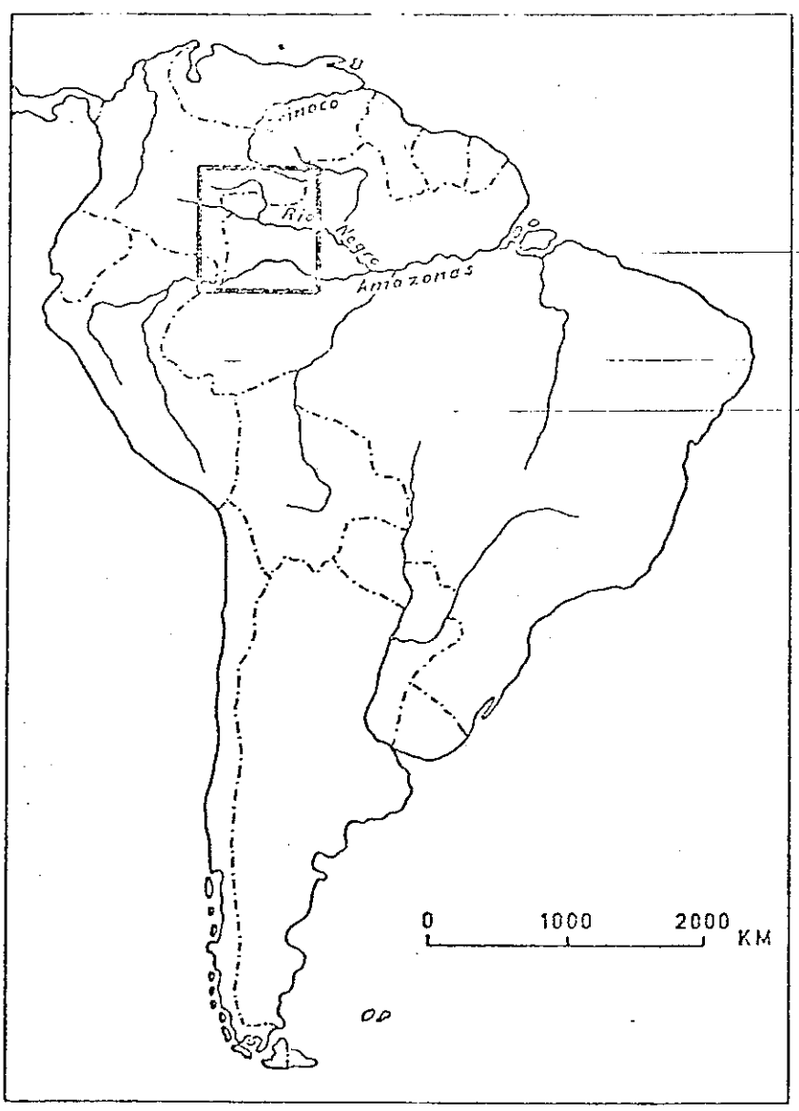
The general setting

It goes without saying that the culture or cultures of North-West Brazil and East Colombia were not entirely static before the arrival of the whites; migration and inter-tribal acculturation also occurred prior to the establishment of contact with the West.

The hypotheses formulated by Nimuendajú [1]) present the following picture of the cultural processes at work through the years. Roving tribes, the forefathers of the present-day Makú, had long lived here. Unfamiliar with the arts of pottery and weaving, and knowing nothing of agriculture and canoeing, they lived by hunting and food gathering. The arrival of other Indians was often an event of great significance.

The groups who arrived later already possessed fairly advanced techniques, as do their descendants today. They had mastered the art of pottery, knew how to grow and process manioc and built large *malokas*. They were divided into patrilineal, exogamous clans, buried their dead a second time in urns, which they placed in caves, and followed the cult of Kowai-Yurupari. They lived on the banks of rivers and streams, unlike the Makú, whose settlements were often far inland. Nimuendajú places the arrival of the first of these groups at a date no earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. He distinghuishes between various waves. The Arawak-speaking tribes from the north, consisting interalia of the Bará, the Manáo, the Baniwa and the Yauarété, had fanned out from their old centre on the upper Orinoco. Some Makú tribes underwent a complete process of acculturation, thus giving rise to other tribes, such as the Hohodene. These Arawak-speakers also lived on the Uaupés, but were later forced out by the Tukano-speaking people from the west, whose culture Nimuendajú states to have been inferior to that of the Arawaks. This clash led to a mutual exchange of culture elements, though it

[1]) Nimuendajú, C. "Reconhecimento dos Rios Içana, Ayarí e Uaupés", *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, XXXIX, 1950, pp. 164-66. Cf. Galvão, E. "Aculturação indígena no Rio Negro", *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi*, Nova Série, Antropologia No. 7, 1959, p. 14 ff.

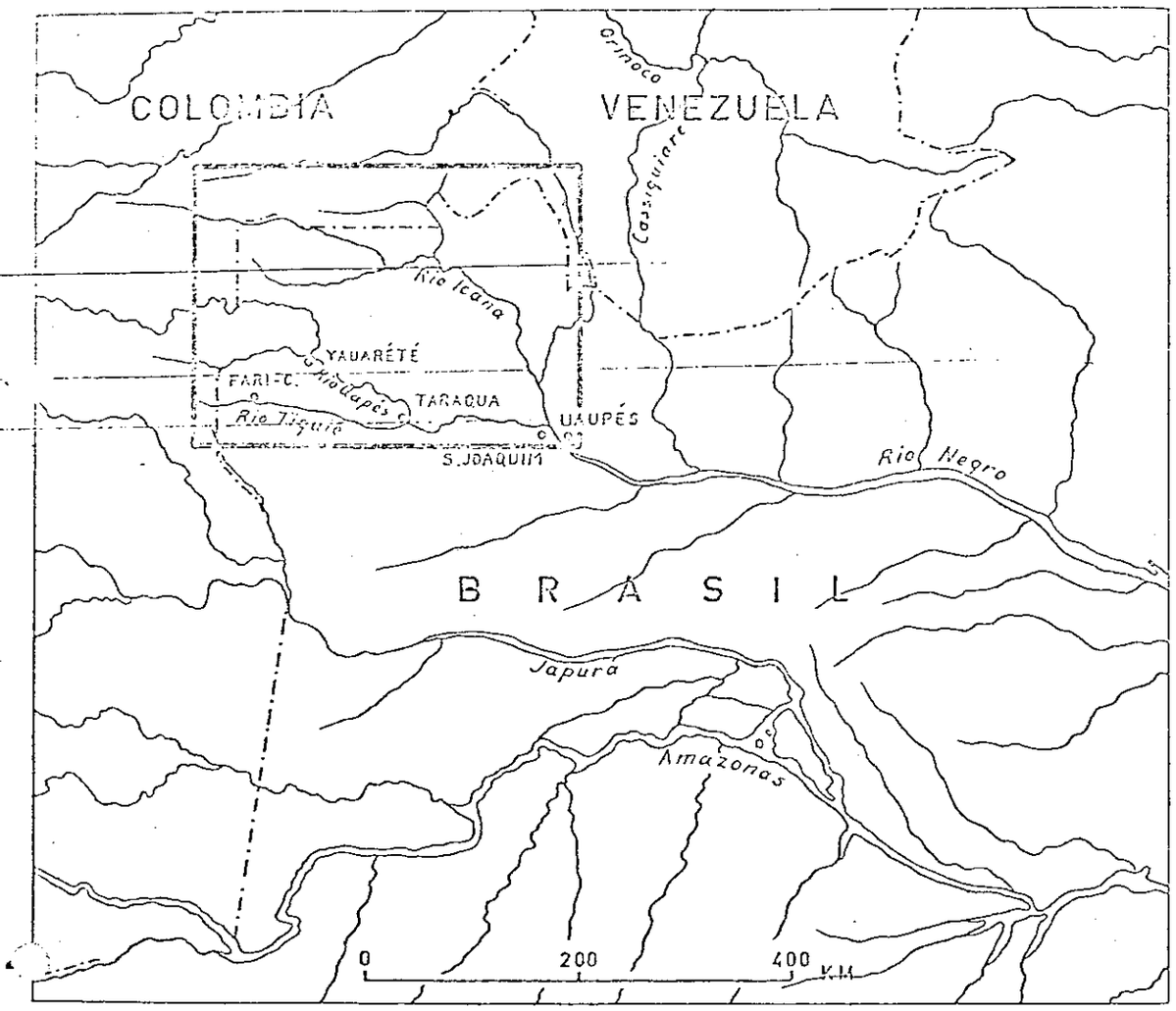


Map 1. South America. The area outlined in black is shown on Map 2.

is still possible to distinguish autochthonous characteristics, such as the large flutes and the highly developed pottery amongst the Baniwa, or the mask dances and the small benches found amongst the Tukano. The influence of the Tukano still continues to spread at the expense of the Arawak-speaking groups.

Finally, NIMUENDAJÚ lists the invasion of the Tariana, who had emigrated from the direction of the Rio Ayari and who still live on the banks of the Vaupés. He places their arrival at a date no earlier than the 18th century.

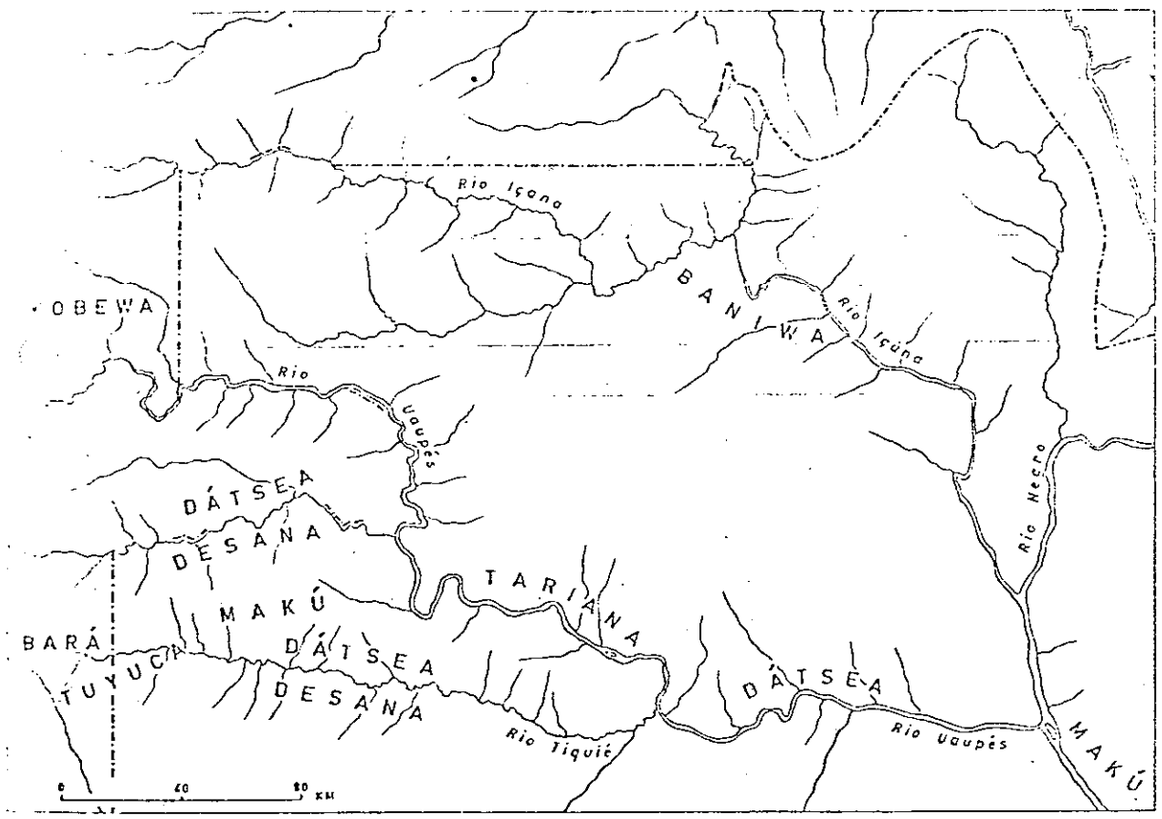
It would be outside the scope of this article to attempt any discussion on the accuracy of some of the above points. It is in any case a fact that migrations did occur in the area



Map 2. North-West Brazil with the adjoining areas of Colombia and Venezuela. The area outlined in black is shown on Map 3.

and that cultural exchange did and still does take place between the various groups. RIBEIRO, for one, points to the opportunities presented here for the study of acculturation between more or less related groups.

So we should not lose sight of the fact that this is a question of cultural change in time and space and that any description of the situation before Europeans arrived on the scene refers to no more than a given period. We may nevertheless speak of a considerable degree of homogeneity, even to the extent of there being no great objection to our referring, [illegible] GALVÃO, to a culture-area, which he dubbed the "Rio Negro" and which is



Map 3. The tribes in the catchment area of the Rio Uaupés and the Rio Içana.

clearly distinguishable from other areas. I believe I am justified in giving, as a first picture, a summary used by GALVÃO to depict the culture or cultures in the region [1]).

"Tribes: Baniwa, Tariana (Arawak); Tukano, Desana, Kobewa and smaller groups of the same language group (Betoya); groups of Makú. Population estimated to be 3,500 Indians. Acculturation (in the linguistic sense as well) between Arawaks and Tukano through their geographical proximity, trade and special industries. Arawak groups like the Tariana become "Tukanized". The Makú, perhaps the first inhabitants of the region, were largely absorbed by one of the two main groups. Outside contacts vary from incidental to permanent. Part of the population is assimilated into the neo-Brazilian settlements.

Manioc is cultivated. Technology similar to that in the Guianas, with only slight variations. Pottery highly developed and may be divided into two types: one black and undecorated, the other red and white. Curare and blowpipes used. Large, rectangular

[1]) GALVÃO, E. "Areas culturais indígenas do Brasil: 1900-1959", *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi*, Nova Série, Antropologia No. 8, 1960, p. 21 ff. The figures he gives relate only to the Indians in Brazil.

malokas—some occasionally round—now largely replaced by separate family huts of the neo-Brazilian type. Settlements of from 20 to 50 people. At the beginning of this century the *malokas* each housed a whole lineage of some hundred individuals. Exogamous, patrilineal sibs. Religion based on an ancestor cult (Kobewa) and the worship of mythological heroes, the principal one of whom is *Kowai*, who may be equated with *Yurupari*. Influenced by Christian ideas. Messianic movements. Moderate Shamanism. Use sacral flutes and masks representing supernatural beings; both forbidden for women. Use *paricà* (piptadenia), *ipadu* (coca) and *kaapi* (ayahuasca) in addition to tobacco. Dead formerly buried in urns; now in the settlements or in graveyards. Indications of endocannibalism in the past (in the form of the ash from burnt bones mixed with *chica*)".

The points of this lapidary summary which are open to criticism will be dealt with later. It suffices, however, as a sketch of the situation in the culture-area concerned.

Of greater importance is the fact that we are obviously dealing with a culture-area that may be regarded as an entity in its own right. This, of course, does not mean to say that a certain culture element found among a sub-group in this culture-area will *invariably* be present among all other sub-groups.

The following Table gives an idea of the principal tribes there. The population figures, with the exception of those relating to the Kobewa and the Tuyuca, which were calculated by GOLDMAN [1]) and myself respectively, are based on estimates made by RIBEIRO [2]), which to my knowledge are the best at present available. The Makú are not included. The Table relates to the situation between approximately 1940 and 1960.

FIGURE 1

Tribe	*Language group*	*River on which tribe lives*	*Approximate population*
Kobewa	Tukano	Uaupés, Querari and Cuduiarí	2,500
Baniwa	Arawak	Icana and Ayari	500 - 1,000
Desana	Tukano	Papurí and Tiquié	100 - 250
Tuyuca	Tukano	Tiquié	c. 370 (Ribeiro: 50 - 100)
Pira Tapuya	Tukano		100 - 250
Dátsea	Tukano	Uaupés, Tiquié and Paporis	?
Bará	Tukano	Tiquié	250 - 500
Tariana	Arawak - Tukano	Uaupés	500 - 1,000

[1]) GOLDMAN, I. "The Cubeo Indians of the Northwest Amazon", *Illinois Studies in Anthropology* No. 2, Urbana, 1963, p. 25.

[2]) RIBEIRO, D. *Culturas e Linguas indigenas do Brazil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1957.

The literature displays little unanimity on the question of the number and identity of the tribes in this region. There is general agreement on the existence of the groups listed in the Table as independent and clearly distinguishable units. Time and again, however, we find that other groups are mentioned by some authors, but not by others. MALCHER [1]), for instance, refers to no fewer than sixteen Tukano-speaking tribes, whom he mentions by name, but I discovered that some of them are nowhere to be found in the places he gives—or at any rate not under those names.

It is often impossible to tell whether a writer or an informant is referring to tribes, sub-tribes or even sibs. And the confusion on the subject of names complicates things still further. The outside world of the whites usually employs names derived from the *Lingoa Geral*; the groups concerned have their own names for themselves, while practically every tribe refers to this or that other tribe by yet another name. The following serves as an example of the difficulties encountered in this respect.

KOCH-GRÜNBERG states that the Tuyuca call themselves the Doxkafhuara. When amongst the Tuyuca I tried pronouncing this word in many different ways and wrote it down for my interpreter, who was himself a Tuyuca, with the request that he read it aloud. There was no reaction at all. When, finally, I got him to ask them directly what they call themselves, the question was greeted with discreet laughter and they answered: "The Tuyuca, of course!" A series of field studies, undertaking a little at a time, is the only means of clarifying this confused situation. It will undoubtedly then appear that the cultural change has now progressed beyond the point where we might still hope to find the answer to all sorts of questions regarding tribal and sib organization.

I shall nevertheless attempt something of the sort with respect to the population found along the Rio Tiquié, and the Tuyuca in particular. My information on the period prior to the arrival of the whites, who in this case were the missionaries, is derived partly from the literature and partly from personal observation. I had to rely, of course, on the reminiscences of my oldest informants. Some of the most valuable data was secured just over the border, in Colombia; since no missionaries are active there, time seems to have lagged somewhat behind.

The people on the Rio Tiquié: tribal territories and languages

We are concerned with the people, Tuyuca and others, who inhabit the upper regions of the river from the recently-established mission post of Fatima, situated roughly halfway along the river, to the region at its source. The mission there estimates the population to be something in the vicinity of 1,700—a somewhat liberal estimate, in my view—which figure includes 300 to 350 who live over the border in Colombia. As the national and the mission borders coincide here, the latter are not subject to the direct influence of the priest.

[1]) MALCHER, J. M. DA GAMA, *Tribos da Area Amazônica*, SPVEA, Belém, 1958, p. 14.

The first tribes found upstream are the Desana and the Dátsea. The Dátsea are also referred to as "real" Tukano. Members of these tribes live intermingled with one another ,which means that a settlement may consist of two *malokas*—now villages—one housing a Desana and the other a Dátsea group, or that the *malokas* of both may be scattered indiscriminately along the river.

The Tuyuca group lives upstream from the Dátsea and the Desana, while still further, at the source of the river, in a region criss-crossed by numerous small rivers, creeks and streams, the Bará have built their *malokas*.

In addition, representatives of other tribes, namely, the Pirarapuya, the Miriritapuya, the Ióba, the Carapanam and the Micura, are found here and there. Together, they are estimated to form less than 6% of the total population. Their numbers may have either increased or decreased in the course of the years, but at the present moment they are of no significance as separate groups. It is not unlikely that they migrated from elsewhere, for there has never been anything unusual about individuals settling with tribes other than their own.

Finally, mention should be made of the Makú. These hunters and food collectors lead a semi-nomadic existence and are seldom found on the banks of the great rivers, except as servants of the other groups.

To a certain extent, the Tiquié tribes each have their own territory. This means that on the whole one encounters few, if any, Tuyuca outside their own area. The tribal boundaries are, however, not clearly demarcated for all to know, which is apparent from the fact that the Dátsea and the Desana are intermingled. Nor is there any clear distinction upstream between the territory of the Dátsea and that of the Tuyuca. One finds a Dátsea *maloka*, then a few Tuyuca, and then suddenly a combined Tuyuca-Datséa settlement.

The Dátsea are said to have settled here several generations ago. KOCH-GRÜNBERG [1]) states that the Cabary-Igarapé is regarded as the "real, traditional boundary of the Tukano (i.e. Dátsea) territory" (i.e. upstream). But he also tells us that there is another Dátsea settlement further upstream. In any case, this "boundary" is now further up the river. No such boundary can be located downstream. Migration has at any rate taken place here in the course of the years, even if we do not accept NIMUENDAJÚ's hypothesis word for word. We can be more positive about the fact that in comparatively recent times the number of inhabitants along the lower reaches of the river has gone up or down, or has even disappeared altogether, in proportion to the amount of pressure exercised by the whites. This is connected with increased or decreased patrol activities on the part of the Portuguese or Brazilian authorities, with the activities of rubber seekers, etc. (see also p. 184). There is, however, nothing to indicate that the vagueness or absence of boundaries demarcating

[1]) KOCH-GRÜNBERG, TH. *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern: Reisen in Nordwest-Brasilien*, 1903-1905. Stuttgart, 1909, p. 310.

...al territories might be the *result* of pressure, or lack of presure, on the part of the whites. ...s simply that the members of any one tribe usually live in the same area.

The Bará are probably the only tribe who have no other tribe in their territory and ...so leave that territory only rarely. The reason why no-one else cares to join them is not ...d to find; food is very scarce there. I do not know why they choose to remain there ...emselves. This remark is not made in jest: fairly large-scale migration to regions where ...d is more abundant is nothing exceptional in any part of North-West Brazil.

Each of these tribes has its own language. With the sole exception of the Makú, ...ey all speak languages belonging to the Tukano group. The fact that these languages ...related, however, does not mean that a person from one tribe can communicate with ...person from another. Their grammatical, syntactic and lexicological resemblance to one ...other is of no importance in this respect. What concerns us most is the fact that the individual is clearly of the opinion that he belongs with his tribe and is continually finding, or rather, hearing, confirmation of that fact in the language. Their knowledge of other languages is usually fairly extensive. Practically everyone on the Tiquié knows the language of the Dátsea, the largest tribe, which is often referred to as simply "Tukano". In addition, it is not unusual for at least one of the other languages to be spoken as well.

A notable phenomenon is the fact that the language is handed down through the male line. For the men always marry women from other tribes, which means that the wife speaks a language different from that of her husband and his tribe. She is expected to learn his language and to bring up the children in it. There was no means of determining to what extent theory and practice tally on this point. In only a few instances, however, did it seem that the children really did not understand their mother's language.

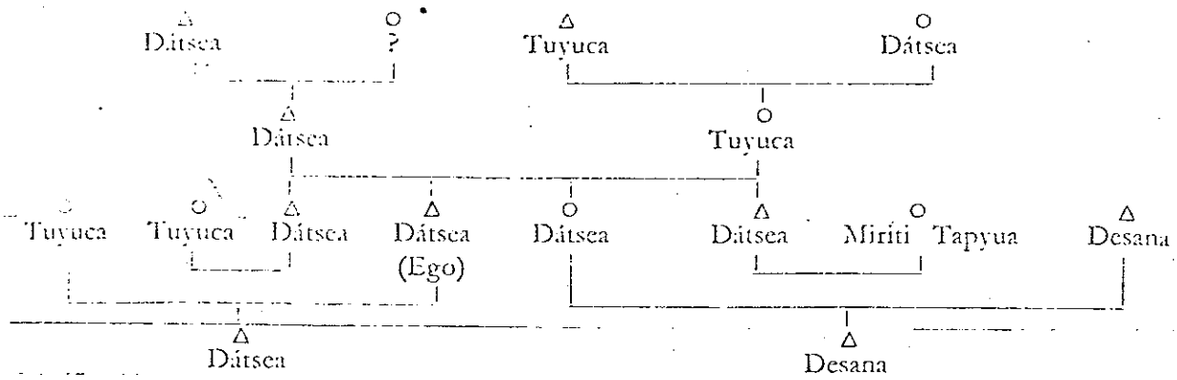
The tribe as an exogamous unit

As mentioned briefly in the foregoing, the function of the tribe as an exogamous unit is highly important, which is one of the principal reasons why the term "tribe" should be used with caution, or only for want of a better one.

Marriage is virilocal and descent is patrilineal. The women in a *maloka* or settlement therefore always come from elsewhere. There are no fixed connubia between certain tribes or language groups, though for obvious reasons the men usually seek a wife close at hand. Where a Dátsea and a Desana maloka exist side by side, marriage between neighbours is frequent. In theory, a man may marry a woman from any tribe he chooses and sometimes, in fact, this means from a tribe living at a great distance from his own. Fig. 2 shows the origins of the wives of the relatives of a Dátsea man from Pari-Cachoeira, near the Tuyuca territory. It is merely intended to serve as an illustration.

It is notable that in spite of the importance attached to tribal exogamy, the groups ...orientation of partners in marriages that are not very recent are (now) unknown.

FIGURE 2



A sample of 31 Tuyuca men residing between Fatima and the Colombian border proved to have married women from the following tribes:

Dátsea	18	Desana	4	Micura	2
Bará	6	Cirio	1		

I was unable to obtain any further data on the Cirio as a group or a tribe. If my information was correct, the woman concerned probably came from a very small, very distant group.

The rule of virilocality is practically always observed. It happens occasionally that a man goes to live permanently or temporarily with another tribe, but this need not mean that he is married to a woman from that tribe. We are not dealing here with a form of uxorilocality. The phenomenon fits into the general framework of comparatively slight ties with the surroundings on the part of both the individual and the nuclear family. They have no hesitation about moving elsewhere, temporarily or even permanently. The tribe thus functions largely as an exogamous and lingual unit.

The tribe as a war group and ceremonial unit

Little is known regarding the tribe as a fighting unit in intertribal wars. There is a stereotype to the effect that the Tuyuca are warlike and the Bará peaceable. I was unable, however, to trace more than one instance of war between the two groups. That must have been round about the 'thirties. The fact that this one clash is still remembered as a special event is indication enough that armed conflict between the tribes is rare.

Not much can be said about the tribe as a ceremonial or religious unit. The whole neighbourhood gathers as a rule on ceremonial or festive occasions. Needless to say, a large proportion of the men present on such occasions belong to the same tribe, but there is never any question of the festivities being exclusively for the members of any one tribe. It can even happen that the inhabitants of a Tuyuca *maloka* organize religious or other

... at which, because of the location of the *maloka* or for other reasons, the majority ... guests are Bará.

Existence and non-existence of a sib-structure

The question of the existence of sibs and their significance in the social structure of Indians of North-West Brazil, and of those on the Rio Tiquié in particular, is a somewhat controversial one. KOCH-GRÜNBERG, when he refers to them at all, does so in such ... terms that we are none the wiser. FULOP gives a system featuring tribes and sibs ... ed in a certain hierarchical order which, he says, finds expression in the forms of ...

Although he believes his data to be complete with regard to the Indians of North-... Brazil and the adjoining districts of Colombia, he makes no mention of either the ...ca or the Desana as a separate group. When he refers to the Barasano, he presumably ... the Bará at the source of the Tiquié. As far as the region in question is concerned, ... his data on the Dátsea is of any value, though his information was obtained from ...sea informants in the region of the Rio Papuris. He considers a certain hierarchical ...ture of the sibs to be of importance here as well.

GALVÃO [1]) reports a similar hierarchy—though a much less distinct one, specially in ...ent times—amongst the Baniwa. GOLDMAN [2]) states that the Kobewa have a clearly ...ed sib-structure. The sibs are arranged in a certain hierarchical order, but he could ... no evidence of the lower sibs being dominated by the higher ones. Older sources ... us nothing to go by. Personally, I found no evidence of a sibstructure amongst the ...pulation on the Rio Tiquié, though this could perhaps be attributed to the comparative ...ity of my sojourn there.

One might in any case state that sibs existed or exist among *some* groups in North-West ...zil. (The "sibs", "clans" and "lineages" referred to by various writers are obviously ...onymous.) But for some groups, including the Tuyuca, this is not certain, to put it ...ously. I need be less cautious, I believe, in stating that a sib-structure that may once ... existed, or one that, though existent, is concealed, can obviously never have been ... important part of the social structure.

The Dátsea, the Desana, the Tuyuca and, probably, the Bará all have a more or less ...al attitude towards their *kindred* as far as mutual assistance, etc. is concerned. It may ... pronounced similar to the European concept of "family". Since membership of the ... is patrilineal and marriage virilocal it follows that a man will usually associate more ... with his patrilineal relatives. His mother's family, however, is by no means ne-...ted, and is of special importance on his frequent visits to other districts.

[1] GALVÃO, E., op. cit., 1959, p. 42.
[2] GOLDMAN, I., op. cit., Ch. 3.

The maloka and its inhabitants

Before the influence of the whites made itself felt the Indians on the Rio Tiquié lived in long-houses, which were divided by simple means into a series of compartments along the length of the house—one for each nuclear family. The word *maloka* is the usual term for such houses in Brazil. The number of occupants tended to vary somewhat. Koch-Grünberg [1]) reports finding anything from ten to a hundred persons occupying the same *maloka* on the Rio Tiquié and Nimuendajú [2]) gives figures for the number of maloka occupants in the settlements on the Rio Uaupés in 1927, on the basis of which the average number of occupants can be estimated at 14.5, varying from a maximum of 58 to a minimum of 3. My estimate is that 30 to 40 persons would have been the usual number of occupants of a Tuyuca *maloka*. The number of occupants of a Tuyuca *maloka* still existent in Colombia is given here as an illustration.

Older men	4	(+ 1)
Younger men	5	
Women	8	(+ 1)
Children over 8 years	8	
Children under 8 years	6	
	31	(+ 2)

The figures in brackets relate to two married men. I was unable to discover whether their presence in the *maloka* was permanent or only temporary. Each *maloka* usually contains a number of persons who do not in fact belong there, while at the same time one or two of the real residents may be absent for a time. In addition, the *malokas* house individuals who may or may not be closely related to the families there and who sleep outside the compartments. They will have joined a nuclear family for certain operations or activities, and although they are usually closely related to the family concerned, this is not necessarily the case.

On the whole, the kinship criterion is of less importance to the occupants of the *maloka* than that of locality. The male members of a *maloka* are, of course, usually related to one another. In principle they belong to the same tribe—an exogamous unit—and these tribes are comparatively small. Traditionally, the occupants of a long-house consist of a father with his married sons and their children, in other words a patrilocal extended family. In practice, however, this pattern is seldom found intact; even after a few generations, when death has taken its toll and some have moved away, the situation is often such that many of the occupants have closer kinship ties with people in other houses than with

[1]) Koch-Grünberg, Th., op. cit., p. 75.
[2]) Nimuendajú, C., op. cit., pp. 160-62.

...e people in their own. It is significant in this respect that the present-day Dátsea equiva-...t of the Portuguese *familia* is *nka wiikama*, literally "those who live in the same house", i.e. *maloka*. Moreover, the fission of malokas does not appear to follow any definite line, though it should be added that information on this point is scarce. For instance, in an extreme case three nuclear families from three different *malokas* might join forces to found a new *maloka*. On the other hand, in view of the custom of living in long-houses and the virilocal marriage rule it is not surprising that married brothers are frequently found to occupy the same *maloka*.

Marriage

Preference is given to sister-exchange and bilateral symmetric cross-cousin marriage. Any female relative can, if need be, be substituted for a "real" sister.

As we have seen, marriage is virilocal. If a man dies, his widow, if she is still young, can return to her father's *maloka*. Her children, however, must remain in their father's *maloka*, which usually means in practice that she remains with them. The man is in a somewhat dependent position with regard to his father-in-law and is, for instance, not likely to refuse any request for assistance made by the latter. This relationship is not such, however, as to justify any use of the term "bride-service". The few vague indications of marriage payments having been made should in all probability not be interpreted as a formal bride-wealth. It is more likely to have been connected with the fulfilment of some specific material wish expressed by the father-in-law which the son-in-law, considering his traditional position, could scarcely have refused.

Leadership and stratification

There is little or no social stratification among the Tuyuca and the surrounding tribes.

SAMPAIO [1]), writing in the second half of the 18th century, reported the existence of a class structure among the Uaupé, a people that must once have lived on the river of the same name and to whom most writers refer only vaguely. The principal class, the "chiefs", were stated by him to have worn a pendant of white stone, an ornament which is still worn in some parts of the Upper Tiquié as the distinguishing mark of a *tuxaua*. He distinguished between "nobles" and "commoners".

This is our sole information regarding the existence of a class structure in these regions, though the literature contains many references to chiefs, who are called *tuxaua* in the *lingoa geral*. COUDREAU [2]) provides us with a number of details on a *tuxaua* who

---

[1]) RIBEIRO DE SAMPAIO, F. X., *Diario de Viagem da Capitania do Rio Negro. No Anno de 1774 e 1775.* Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon, 1825, pp. 113-14.

[2]) COUDREAU, H. A., *La France équinoxiale. Voyage à travers les Guyanes et l'Amazonie*, Vol. II, Paris, 1887, p. 162.

possessed absolute authority over the entire Tariana tribe around 1850. He states elsewhere, however, that the authority of the *tuxaua* is largely illusory. This view is also held by Mochi [1]).

On the Tiquié there are indeed chiefs who extend their leadership of their own *malokas* to other settlements by means of their personal prestige. Their authority, however, is usually restricted to the regulation and co-ordination, when necessary, of activities affecting the whole community. They can scarcely be said to possess any real authority over individuals. A chief normally participates in all the usual activities, even performing those tasks often carried out by the Makú. The extent to which he acts as the representative of his group is largely dependent on his personality. I have the impression that in the past, too, there were times when some *malokas* had no chief but continued to function just the same.

In theory, the *tuxaua* is the oldest man in the *maloka* and he is succeeded by his son. It will scarcely be necessary to add that these two principles are difficult to combine in practice. If his son is indeed his successor, the new *tuxaua* will not as a rule be the oldest man. If the *tuxaua* is an old man, it can usually be assumed that he is the brother of his predecessor who succeeded to the chieftainship either because the son was rejected or because there was no son. Since the succession can go to the brother as well as to the son, and in view of the fact that occasionally there is no successor at all, in which case the group continues without a *tuxaua*, there is no such thing as a genealogical group, a "tuxaua family", from which *tuxauas* are always drawn. Such families, if they existed, could be regarded as forming a ruling class.

Stratification and leadership are therefore not matters of any special importance to the Tuyuca or to such neighbouring tribes as the Dátsea, the Desana and the Bará, apart from the occasional instance of a *tuxaua* with pretensions.

They do, however, practice a form of slavery—better referred to, perhaps, as serfdom—with regard to the Makú, a group whose culture is more or less similar to that of the Indians discussed above, but whose language is completely different. They live far from the great rivers, in settlements very difficult of access. Unlike the other groups, they have no canoes, although it seems that they can navigate the river if need be. The Tuyuca and other tribes regard them as inferior beings, only good for the performance of the many tasks, usually of an unpleasant nature, which they choose to allot to them. Koch-Grünberg [2]) relates that the Dátsea were highly amused when he photographed a number of Makú while making a study of their language: "Es war den Tukano offenbar so, als wenn ich Affen photographierte". The same writer informs us that the Makú are

[1]) Mochi, A. B., "I popoli dell'Uaupé e la famiglia etnica Miranhá", *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vols. 32-33-34, 1903, pp. 106, 108.

[2]) Koch-Grünberg, Th., op. cit., p. 270.

[illegible] as scapegoats when anything goes wrong. If anyone dies mysteriously the medicine [illegible] sets out to find the person responsible. The trail usually leads to a Makú, who is [illegible]ptly killed.

If one makes enquiries regarding the inhabitants of a settlement where there are [illegible] as well, no-one would dream of mentioning them any more than it would occur to [illegible] to mention the local dogs. Small groups of them often settle in ramshackle huts [illegible] to a *maloka*. They always keep to themselves and take no part in the life around them [illegible]ss ordered to perform some particular task. It is unlikely that individual Tuyuca owned [illegible]ividual Makú in the pre-European period. It is more likely that the situation was then [illegible] nowadays, with every Tuyuca in a postion to give orders to any Makú he chooses. [illegible]ce heard someone in a *maloka* say how unfortunate it was that they "had" no Makú, [illegible]ning that there were no Makú nearby who could be put to work.

In principle, these people are free to come and go as they please. Small groups of [illegible]em often settle for a time in the neighbourhood of a *maloka* belonging to their overlords, [illegible]ring which time they also return to their own homes for a few weeks. I do not propose [illegible] go into the question of why they continue to act as serfs. A number of writers state [illegible]at they are held in real slavery and even refer to slave-trading. If this is indeed the case, I believe that it must be a more recent phenomenon, which will be discussed presently. The position of the Makú will be dealt with at greater length in a forthcoming article.)

Religion, magic and the afterworld

As stated at the outset, this study does not pretend to be a full or detailed account of [illegible]e culture of the Tuyuca and the surrounding groups; its sole aim is to discuss a number [illegible] aspects and problems relating to that culture. The Tuyucas' conception of religion and [illegible]agic will now be dealt with very briefly.

In the realm of the supernatural, there are two—and perhaps more—culture heroes. [illegible]rther, the ancestors have their role, as do also beings such as water and forest spirits [illegible]e elaborate mythology is largely of an explanatory nature, describing the origins, or "creation" of man, animals and things. Stories of the heroes and ancestors are also told.

The principal rituals are nowadays referred to throughout the whole north-west [illegible]egion of the Amazon as *Yurupari* and *Dabucuri* feasts [1]). In the former, the central figure [illegible]s the culture hero *Yurupari*, or *Kowai*. The main elements in this ritual are the initiation [illegible]f the boys, dances performed by figures wearing large masks fashioned from bark-cloth, [illegible]e music of long flutes and, of course, the use of stimulants or drugs. Generally speaking, [illegible]e ritual is either wholly or partly tabu for the non-initiated, i.e. the woman, to whom

[1] Both terms are derived from the *Lingua Geral*.

the sight of the flutes is forbidden. When not in use, these flutes are kept submerged in a quiet, out-of-the-way stream [1]).

Masked figures also feature in the *Dabucuri* feast, to which they add a religious touch. This rite has a great deal of the "exchange ceremony" about it. The initiative is apparently always taken by a young man, who fishes long enough to amass a good catch. Then, at a certain moment, everyone gathers with fruit, game, etc. for which the young man must "pay" with his fish. The ceremony is followed by a feast. GALVÃO [2]) informs us that flagellation is a feature of the *Dabucuri* feasts held by the Baniwa on the Rio Içana. In addition to the secret flutes used in the *Yurupari* ceremonies, there are other wind instruments, which are used in the various rites but which are obviously less sacred since they are stored at home in the usual way.

The small flutes that are played by anyone and everyone at any hour of the day or night are totally devoid of any sort of sacred character.

Magic, in both the positive and the negative sence, is practised by everyone. A certain category of men, the *pajes* [3]) (magicians or medicine men) are highly skilled in the art of magic and they also act as healers. In many way the *pajes* are the intelligentsia of these regions; their influence is often very great, even though they usually act behind the scenes.

"Medicines", materials or mixtures of one sort or another, are sometimes used in black magic. The "medicine" is used in such a way that the victim touches or swallows it, after which he becomes ill or even dies. If anyone dies under suspicious circumstances a effort is made to trace the malefactor and, as mentioned earlier, it happens not infrequently that the expert, the *paje*, lays the blame on one of the local Makú. When this is the case the dead person's relatives can avenge him without incurring much danger to themselves, the tension is released and, above all, the *paje* has done what was expected of him.

I was unable to discover whether there is any connection between the manner of death and the manner of burial. Preference is given to burying the dead under the *maloka*; burial in urns should be regarded as "prehistoric". Graves are also sometimes dug in arbitrarily chosen spots at some distance from the house.

It proved impossible to discover why one of twin babies was always killed at birth

Very little thought, in either a positive or a negative sense, is given to the dead or to the question of the continued existence of their souls. They obviously have no fear in this respect, as is apparent from their custom of burying the dead under the house. Nor are they afraid of the dark: no-one hesitates to go out alone late at night.

---

[1]) YPIRANGA MONTEIRO, M., "Cariama, Pubertätsritus der Tucano-Indianer", *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, Vol. 85, No. 1, 1960, pp. 37-38.

[2]) GALVÃO, E., op. cit., 1959, p. 49. See also Koch-Grünberg, op. cit., pp. 214, 314 and 342.

[3]) Term from the *Lingoa Geral*.

Agriculture, fishing and hunting

The Tuyuca and the surrounding tribes are agriculturists and, to a lesser extent, fishermen. They delight in hunting and in tales of hunting adventures, though the game they get with their blowpipes and their bows and arrows forms only a small part of the daily menu. The meat is sometimes smoked and can then be kept for weeks or even months. The Tuyuca keep a few dogs and chickens as domestic animals. One frequently sees tame birds, especially parrots, in and around the settlements. Their feathers are used as ornaments.

Here, as in so many parts of South America, the principal food crop is manioc (*Manihot utilissima*). The method of cultivation and the way in which manioc meal and cassava are made are the same as in other parts of the Amazon basin and have been described so often as to require no detailed treatment here.

The slash-and-burn technique is employed for the cultivation of this crop. The men of the *maloka* usually work together in clearing and burning off a stretch of primary or secondary forest. All other work is done by the women. New fields are cleared in June or July and are burnt off in August wherever possible. These three months are the period in which there is least rain in this region of otherwise heavy rainfall. Planting is begun around September or October and continued throughout the following months, thus ensuring a sufficient quantity of tubers for harvesting. The time required for ripening varies according to the quality of the soil, the need for food (crops are sometimes harvested before they are fully ripe) and the use to which the manioc is to be put. For manioc cakes, for instance, tubers that have been in the ground for some 6 or 7 months are preferred, while a period of anything up to a year is allowed when manioc meal is to be the final product.

A *roça* (the term commonly used in Brazil to denote a clearing in the forest) can be used, according to the population, only once or twice, depending on the quality of the soil. Taking into account the fact that planting goes on as long as possible and that the crop takes a year or longer to ripen, that period amounts to anything between one and four years. It should also be borne in mind that as a general rule the quality of the soil deteriorates the closer one approaches to the source of the Rio Tiquié and that the fields in adjoining areas are sometimes vastly superior. The latter, of course, remain fertile much longer. The people themselves claim to be able to assess the fertility of a piece of land by the colour and the nature of the soil and the wild shoots growing there. Whilst travelling or hunting the older men in particular take special note of the nature of the soil with an eye to the possibility of clearing new fields in the future.

Reference has already been made to the fact that borders between tribal areas are rather vague or completely non-existent. Anything in the nature of generally recognized "tribal territory" can scarcely be said to exist. New fields are selected as close [illegible]

home, even if only for practical reasons. The general view is that there is enough [illegible]—an opinion which is probaly correct in these sparsely populated regions—and that there is thus no need to get in one another's way.

The *maloka* usually functions as a unit in clearing new sections, though separate family fields are occasionally found as well. Consequently, it is usual to find one large manioc field per *maloka*, sometimes with the addition of smaller fields close by. The large field is divided into plots, one for each nuclear family, which are worked by the women. Tubers are harvested each day. As regards the ownership of such plots, the *yield* is the main thing [illegible] they are less concerned with the possession of exclusive rights to *enter* and work the individual strips of land. The women frequently go off to the field in groups to help one another and to keep one another company, but the yield from each plot is kept carefully apart.

The *tuxaua* often regulates the division of a large *roça* into family plots. The size of the individual plots varies according to the size of the nuclear family, the number of nuclear families in the *maloka*, the fertility of the soil and, often, chance factors. The latter might be, for instance, that the work of clearing a field continues to the point where some sort of barrier—a river, a hill, etc.—is reached. A *roça* is never fully planted; some strips will have been harvested while others still have to be sown. To give some idea of the average size of a family plot, those that I was able to check personally varied from approximately 9,700 sq. ft. to 52,700 sq. ft.

Fish is important as a source of protein, though on the whole the catch is comparatively small since the Tuyuca live along the upper reaches of the Rio Tiquié, where only small fish are found. The Bará are even worse off in this respect. Much of the fishing is done with hook and line from a canoe in the vicinity of the *maloka*. There is no means of discovering whether this method is autochthonous. At any rate the earliest reports speak of the use of hooks in fishing and the people themselves take it for granted that they have always been used. Further, a type of trap is placed in position in suitable spots, preferably where the current is strong. Another method is to dam up a small creek and throw in a poison which stuns the fish and ensures an easy catch. In addition, fairly big weirs are set in deep, quiet water and, finally, fish are also caught with the bow and arrow.

With the exception of the poisoning method, which requires a number of people, the various types of fishing described here are activities for the individual. Fishing rights exist in the sense that others do not as a rule fish in the place where someone is known to set his traps. It is also possible to fish further away from home—which, for the Tuyuca, means downstream. Group fishing expeditions are organized and sometimes last several weeks. Similar expeditions are also undertaken by individual families, who usually spend the night in their canoes which, being fairly large, are suited to the purpose, and camp ashore [illegible] shelters made of palm leaves.

[illegible] of this sort bring the participants into the neighbourhood of other

[illegible]. If relations between the latter and that of the fishing party are good then no difficulties occur. There are also long stretches of the river which, being uninhabited, are regarded as *mare librum*. Both the fish caught on these long trips and the game killed in passing, as it were, are smoked and taken home.

Subsidiary crops such as vegetables and fruit are by no means a major part of the staple diet. The one exception is the Spanish pepper (capsicum) which is grown near the [illegible].

Stimulants and narcotics

The important crops—ones that are certainly important to the Tuyuca themselves—are those that are converted into stimulants and narcotics. A great deal of time is spent on both the production and the consumption of these products.

To begin with, there is *kashirí*. Since the main ingredient is fermented manioc, no other crop has to be specially cultivated for the purpose. *Kashirí* or similar products are found in many parts of South America. The usual method of preparation is to mix small pieces of roasted manioc cake in a wooden trough with water, after which finely chewed pieces of manioc cake are added. The substance is wrapped in banana leaves and left for several days to ferment before being pressed through a sieve together with more water. The end product is a mildly alcoholic drink bearing some resemblance to beer. The Tuyuca and other tribes add taro—which is specially grown for the purpose—to their *kashirí*. Or the brew is sometimes mixed with sugar cane syrup. It is unlikely that sugar cane is native to these regions. (The mills in which the cane is crushed are definitely post-Columbian.) *Kashirí* is drunk in huge quantities on every possible occasion and it is such an essential ingredient of the dance feasts held fairly regularly that it is customary simply to speak of "holding a *kashirí*".

The daily consumption of *coca* (erythroxylon coca), known locally as *padí*, is very high as far as practically all of the men are concerned. The shrubs grow wild, but the Indians also grow them between the manioc or near the *maloka*. The small *coca* plantations make an extremely neat impression and are well cared for. The men tend them themselves and also gather leaves from the *coca* bushes growing wild in the jungle. The leaves are placed in a large earthenware pot and roasted over a fire, during which time they are stirred constantly with a rough type of wooden ladle. Then a great pile of leaves (which grow wild in the jungle but which I was unable to identify) are burned with complete disregard of any danger of the maloka being set alight as well. The ash thus obtained and the roasted *coca* leaves are ground together in a pestle and then transferred to a large wooden cylinder in which a stick wrapped in cloth or bark is moved back and forth for a considerable length of time. The final product is a fine, green powder which they chew whenever they feel the need for it. A number of men take it in turn to perform the various [illegible] involved in the preparation of *padí* and each man then gets his share. [illegible]

and the *tuxaua* take part in these activities. At least two of the male inhabitants of a *maloka* are occupied in this way every evening. The amount of *padú* consumed is by no means negligible. A number of tests showed that the daily average for each man is at least half a liter. Opinions regarding the effects of this *coca* powder are somewhat divided. Some claim that it is merely a harmless luxury, other recommend it as a stimulant against tiredness and one is also told that it is ideal as a means of suppressing hunger when food is scarce.

The men exhibit the same care in the growing of tobacco as in the cultivation of coca. The plots are weeded assiduously, the plants are properly spaced out and each young plant is screened from strong sunlight. Processing the large tobacco leaves is fairly simple, consisting solely of drying them and, sometimes, allowing them to ferment. The tobacco is rolled into large cigars, which are smoked only by the men. After the evening meal the men in the *maloka* sit together in a circle and pass around the cigar for that evening. There are indications of a fixed order of precedence for passing on the cigar amongst the Baniwa [1]) and the Dátsea. I found no evidence of anything of the sort amongst the Tuyuca. Women never smoke, nor do the men smoke during the day. *Padú*, on the other hand, they chew all day long.

Finally, *cayapí* should be mentioned in this context. A beverage that is prepared and drunk only by the men, it is made from the roots, stems and leaves of the shrub *banisteriopsis caapi*, which are pounded, washed and squeezed out. It is then pressed through a sieve into a special *cayapí* pot and is ready for consumption. Unlike other earthenware utensils, these pots are always decorated, usually with a tendril-like design traced in some sort of dye. Each *maloka* usually possesses only one such pot. They are never cleansed. *Cayapí* is consumed in small quantities at both secular and religious feasts and ceremonies, causing loss of consciousness and hallucinations.

Salt, or at least a substitute for it, is obtained from a green weed found on the smooth rocks of the rapids and waterfalls of the Rio Tiquié at Caruru, and perhaps other places as well. Caruru, which has taken its name from the weed, has long been visited both for its "salt" and for the game that goes there in the evening to drink and lick the salty stones, as is evidenced by the many engravings left on the rocks and stones and by the deep grooves worn by the canoes that for generations have been dragged past the waterfalls.

Daily activities

Day-to-day life in the *maloka* is generally peaceful and uneventful. Anyone feeling an urge to act exuberantly is expected to control this feeling until it is time for the next feast. Any attempt to attract special attention is simply ignored. There is very little privacy in a *maloka* and the general idea is to bother one another as little as possible.

---

[1]) Galvão, E., op. cit., 1959, p. 22.

It goes without saying that the Indians do not live by the clock. Before sunrise, from 4 a.m. to 6 a.m., people get up here and there to start stoking the fires and preparing the breakfast, which usually consists of manioc cake left over from the day before. Gradually more and more people leave their hammocks. Since they cannot be said to be over-fond of soap and water, washing takes little, if any, of their time. They often breakfast together, but on the other hand no-one objects if someone prefers to eat his *biju* alone. The men sit together and are served by the women, who eat later. It is all very informal. Those who have finished get up and go off to work, or lounge around for a time, just as they like. At this, as at other light meals, it is usual for each man to eat what his wife sets before him, though this is not insisted upon. Guests can always be sure of a meal from this one or that one and anyone short of food will be fed elsewhere. It will have become light in the meantime. The *maloka* is tidied a little and gradually the women go off to the fields, taking the very small children with them. One or other of the older women may stay at home to look after the other children. The bigger children up to the age of thirteen or fourteen do just as they like. The somewhat older ones help their parents. Obviously, no pressure is brought to bear on them in this respect. The men go off either singly or in groups to fish, look for *padú*, tend their tobacco plants, carry out repairs to the *maloka*, plait or hunt, depending on the weather. Many people return or are still in the *maloka* about midday, when another light meal is often eaten. The majority of the women do not return with the day's harvest until about 3 or 4 p.m., when they embark on the most unpleasant task of the day—preparing the manioc. This takes some two hours in all. They take it in turn to cook their large manioc cakes, or *bijus*, on the communal "stove". Most *malokas* possess at least one such stove. A semicircular clay structure built to hold their huge, flat pans, it is one of the comparatively few things intended for common use. Others are the mill for crushing sugar cane and, although not always, the wooden cylinder(s) used in the preparation of *padú*. The large wooden signal drums sometimes present also form part of this category. It is very difficult to determine the individual ownership of these articles, something which is definitely not the case as regards everything else, even though they borrow and lend freely.

The evening meal, consisting of *biju*, manioc gruel and fish, with the occasional addition of meat and some sort of vegetable, is somewhat more formal than the other meals. Everyone sits together; the men eat first, and the women afterwards.

By now it will be dark, and here and there small fires are lighted at spots chosen at random in the open part of the *maloka* for the preparation of *padú*. The smaller children wander off in search of a hammock—their own or someone else's. If the fires do not give enough light, a resin torch is lighted and affixed to a post used specially for this purpose. Scattered groups of men and boys will be playing their flutes, or *arpas*, and if an anthropologist happens to be present they are quite ready to stage a small concert for his benefit. The full orchestra, which always consists of eihgt players, will then be assembled.

Now and then a man will gather up his fishing line or his bow and arrows and go off to hunt or fish.

After a time the main door is locked. The tame parrots and other birds that are always part of the household are placed on their perches among the rafters with the aid of a long stick and the men, finding that the day's work is now done, sit together and pass around one of their long cigars. Round about 8 or 9 o'clock everyone goes off to his hammock.

Handicrafts

The crafts practised by the Tuyuca and surrounding groups are characterised on the whole by sound workmanship and a careful choice of materials. This also applies in general to the construction of the *malokas*, or at any rate the most important parts of them. The wood for the posts and beams is selected with care and it is nothing unusual for long journeys to be made to fetch the right type of palm leaves for thatching the roof. They are less particular about the interior of their houses, the partitions between the compartments being mostly nothing more than screens woven quickly and carelessly. The maintenance of the house is largely dependent on the chief's views on the matter. In some cases very little is done, whereupon the *maloka* soon takes on a dilapidated appearance in spite of the care originally bestowed on its construction. If a house is to remain in good condition all sorts of repairs and adjustments will have to be made even after the first year.

Their canoes are of the type found throughout the whole of the Rio Negro region. The smallest are just big enough for one person; the largest can accommodate twelve or more. They are of the dugout type. Since the Indians subscribe to the view that the forest and everything in it is available to all, there is no question of reserving a good "canoe tree" in advance. Once the right tree is found it is felled and chopped roughly into shape on the spot, after which it is dragged back to the settlement to be further hollowed out with axes and adzes. The art is to get the sides as thin as possible. The pointed prow and stern are tightly bound at an early stage to prevent the canoe splitting open before it is ready, a real danger at the stage when fire is used. Small fires are built in the canoe to facilitate its excavation, but the principal use of fire occurs in the final stage, when it is used to curve the sides outward. This is a process whereby the canoe is placed on a scaffolding constructed over a charcoal fire and turned around at regular intervals. The cavity grows steadily wider with the aid of wooden pegs. The result is a boat which is not only blackened with fire and smoke and, sometimes, encrusted as well, but also much wider in diameter than the tree from which it was made. Canoe-making is exclusively men's work and the builder, who is often helped by friends or relatives, is the sole proprietor. They lend their boats freely to one another, usually without expecting any favour in return. It is notable in this respect that the owner's wife is always consulted when there is any question of exchanging or selling the boat.

Although every man is presumed to know how to build a canoe some are specially [illegible] in the art. They make more canoes than they need for themselves, exchanging [illegible] for hammocks, benches, etc. A comparatively large number of the Tuyuca are canoe [illegible] and tradition has it that Tuyuca boats are superior to all others. They are completed [illegible] surprisingly short time. The men do not as a rule work at their boats continuously. [illegible] fourteen working days are required for the manufacture of a large canoe for five [illegible] persons, while a small boat can be completed in a little as three or four days. Barring [illegible] accident, the boats remain serviceable for six years or so, after which they are used as a [illegible] place for *kashiri*. Special bins or troughs are also made for this purpose.

Amongst the articles fashioned from wood, reference may also be made to the large [illegible] used in the preparation of *padá* and to a specific type of small bench. Making the [illegible] within cylinders requires so much time and skill that most *malokas* possess only one or [illegible]. The benches are mentioned here because they are made only by the Dâtsea. Some [illegible] Dâtsea bench-makers practise their craft in the settlements of other tribes. They attach [illegible] stock to lines which they hang in the river to ensure that the wood is thoroughly soaked.

Plaiting is another art practised exclusively by the men, who make a wide assortment [illegible] baskets, sieves, *tipitis*, nets, fish-traps and other articles. They always have some piece [illegible] work on hand to take up in a spare moment. Using fibres of different colours, they often [illegible] very attractive geometric figures into their work. The women make the hammocks, [illegible] which work bears a closer resemblance to knitting than to weaving. Hammocks are used [illegible] not only to sleep in, but also to relax in during the day. Here the question of personal [illegible] habits does not loom very large; on several occasions I returned to a *maloka* to find one [illegible] or more not over-clean Indians comfortably installed in my hammock. They use their [illegible] hammocks until they are completely threadbare, replacing them only when they are too [illegible] full of holes to be serviceable any longer. The women also make all the pottery, which in [illegible] the regions is black and practically always undecorated, in contrast to that found on [illegible] the Rio Içana, where they paint their pots and platters. Anything like an exchange of [illegible] techniques is obviously unknown. Suitable clay is found in certain places, which are used [illegible] by all the women in the area. Lumps of this reddish clay are brought to the *maloka*, where [illegible] they are cleansed and kneaded by hand. The women usually work in groups so they can [illegible] enjoy one another's company when there is not much to be done in the fields. The potter's [illegible] wheel is unknown. Strips of clay are rolled by hand, attached to a clay base and smoothed [illegible] out with a wooden spatula. Shaping a medium-sized pot (something in the order of 30" [illegible] high and 16" in diameter) takes an average of six hours. The work tempo of the women [illegible] concerned varied considerably. The newly-made pot or platter is dried and then fired [illegible] briefly beside an open fire. The pottery is of all shapes and sizes. Perhaps the potters' [illegible] most impressive achievement are the large platters which are best described as an enormous, [illegible] handleless frying-pan and which are used for the preparation of manioc cakes. They [illegible] are often 48" or more in diameter. The pottery is fairly hard and brittle.

Clothing is scanty, consisting for the most part of nothing more than a loincloth, or G-string, of bark-cloth (from the sterculia sp.), to which a long front strip is added on festive occasions. Personal ornaments are also worn, particularly on special occasions. They include various types of feather headdresses, bracelets and earrings, to name just a few. An ornament valued throughout the whole of the Rio Negro is a quartz cylinder, perforated from end to end, the wearing of which is a prerogative of the *tuxauas*. Both men and women paint their bodies, and more especially their faces, with blue-black and red dyes on special occasions and, in addition, whenever they feel like it. The dye wears off after a few days.

Wars being very infrequent, war weapons are practically unknown. The round, plaited shield is an exception. The weapons they have are scarcely ever used for anything more than hunting. First of all, there is the bow and arrow. The bow is made from a hard type of wood called *pau d'arco* (bow wood) by the Brazilians for this reason and which is smoothly concave in section. The average length is 5 ft. Most men own only a few arrows at a time. Roughly the same length as the bow, they are fashioned without feathers. The point has been of iron for as long as anyone can remember and is furnished with one barb. I noticed that these Indian archers use the "primitive release", i.e. the arrow and the string are held between the thumb and the index or third finger. Reference might be made here to an interesting photo of an archer in BIOCCA's publication [1]). The photo, taken on the same river, shows the "primary release", whereby the arrow is held with the index and third fingers, which are placed in front of the string. BIOCCA also informs us that the point of the arrow is poisoned with curare. I was unable to obtain any confirmation of this though there is no doubt of the fact that the small darts used with the long blowpipes, are poisoned. Use of the blowpipe is certainly not restricted to the Rio Tiquié regions but I was interested to learn that the Tuyuca and the Bará (or Dátsea) obtain their supplies, of curare from the Makú. The main active ingredient of curare comes from plants of the genus *strychnos* [2]).

Finally, spears are also included amongst the weapons.

Although it would be an exaggeration to claim that intensive trading activities were already carried out along the Rio Tiquié, the Uaupés and the Rio Negro centuries ago, goods have always been transported up and down these rivers. For instance, as stated in the foregoing, the Tuyuca may be said to specialize in the making of canoes, which they trade with other tribes for hammocks, stone axes, manioc graters, etc. The manioc graters are, in turn, a speciality of the Baniwa and, perhaps, of the Tariana, while the construction of small benches—at any rate on the Tiquié—is the special province of the Dátsea. Like everywhere else in the Amazon basin, curare is an important article of trade.

[1]) BIOCCA, E., "Pesquisas sôbre o metodo de preparaçao do curare pelos Indios", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. VIII, Nova Série, 1954, p. 212.

[2]) BIOCCA goes into this in considerable detail.

The tribal exogamy referred to above is one of the reasons why journeys are undertaken and contact is maintained with more or less distant tribes, while a favourable circumstance in this respect is the fact that there have never been any objections to outsiders passing through one's territory, that is, as far as there is any question of specific territories belonging to specific tribes.

II. The Arrival of the Europeans

It will hardly be necessary to say that any account, no matter how general, of the arrival of the whites in the Rio Negro, Rio Uaupés and Rio Tiquié regions must necessarily leave quite a lot unexplained. We are particularly in the dark regarding the activities of the traders and rubber tappers, about whom the literature tells us next to nothing. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to discover anything of the *intensity* of the contact with the Indian population as a whole. As will shortly be apparent, we are more fully informed as regards missionary activities and the rest of this article will largely be devoted to an attempt to describe their influence in these regions [1]).

The Rio Negro and Uaupés regions did not long remain *terra incognita*, in the literal sense of the word, after the discovery of Brazil. The Uaupés River is mentioned in the accounts of the expeditions of Hernán Pérez de Quesada in 1538 and of Philip von Hutten in 1541, in which reference is also made, albeit it somewhat vaguely, to a mighty people called the Uaupé of whom no trace now remains.

Jesuits are said to have been living near Taruma, on the Rio Negro, in 1657, where they stayed until 1661. The Carmelites arrived shortly afterwards and established a number of mission posts on the upper Rio Negro in 1695.

Even allowing for the inadequacy of the data, it is quite clear that up to about 1750 the number of whites in the territory, both missionaries and others, was very small and their activities did not amount to much. The situation changed when the Canal Cassiquiare was discovered.

The Cassiquiare links the Orinoco with the Rio Negro and therefore with the Amazon. It would probably be claiming too much to speak of a flourishing trade between Venezuela and Brazil at that time, but what there was followed this route, which was sufficient reason for the Portuguese to decide to pay greater attention to the region around the upper Rio Negro. Fort São Gabriel, the present-day Uaupés, dates from that period. The soldiers were there to guard against Spanish penetration from the west and north-west and to exercise some sort of supervision over the surrounding Indians. Whether the Indians chafed under that supervision, or whether their behaviour made it necessary in the first

[1]) Apart from that collected on the spot, the data for this section were derived principally from Carvalho, Coudreau, Galvão (1959), Giacone, Goldman, Koch-Grünberg, Kok, Mochi, Nunciandajú and von Martius, and from the booklet, *Pelo Rio Mar*.

place, it is difficult to tell; the fact remains that the population, i.e. the Manao tribes, rose several times in revolt. Missionary activity was very slight, or may even have been entirely absent in this period. At any rate DA SAMPAIO, who travelled along the Uaupés and the Içana in 1774 and 1775 makes little reference to them, apart from what is really an anecdote about two squabbling priests. Only in the last decade of the 18th century is there again mention of the founding of a number of mission settlements. As they had done earlier elsewhere, the missionaries tried to gather the Indians into sizeable villages as far as possible. Thus we hear of São Joaquim, a village that is still in existence but which now functions only as a sort of feast centre, Panoré and Yavarate, which was probably the forerunner of the present-day mission post of Yauarété. A certain MANUEL DE GAMA LOBO DE ALMADA, who arrived in 1748, is said to have played a major part in these developments.

So more and more Portuguese—or at any rate Europeans—gradually appeared on the scene. This probably accounts for SPIX's comment [1]) that some tribes, including the Baré and the Manao, were practically extinct by 1800.

Missionaries continued to come and go. There are various instances of priests—all of them Carmelites—arriving to find the work of their predecessors in ruins and succeeding after a short time in founding large villages, after which, for one reason or another, they again vanished from the scene. JOSÉ DOS SANTOS INÓCENTES is such an example.

The reason is clear enough in the case of Father GREGORIO, who established himself halfway along the Uaupés in 1852. He got himself into difficulties with a certain JESUINO CORDEIRO, who was "Director of Indians" and who, with military assistance, was also active in founding villages. GREGORIO had to acknowledge defeat and left for Manaos in 1854. His adversary went on with his work and even managed to get as far as Yuruparí-Cachoeira. After a time, however, he saw that his villages melted away almost as fast as they were built.

The first reports of messianic movements date from this time. Movements of this sort, which are generally led by Indians claiming to be the Messiah, do not occur in areas such as the upper Rio Tiquié, where there has been no real contact with whites, either missionaries or others; nor are they found in the few European centres like Uaupés, the former São Gabriel.

The earliest record of a Messiah goes back to the Rio Içana around 1850. The person concerned is reputed to have been a certain VENANCIO, a Baniwa Indian from Colombia. According to KOCH-GRÜNBERG an Indian from Venezuela was active in that area at the same time. Perhaps it is one and the same figure. Next, we hear of a man called ANIZETTO around 1875. KOCH-GRÜNBERG met him when he was a "Messiah in retirement".

[1]) VON MARTIUS, C. F. P., *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 179.

And in 1880 another movement grew up on the central Uaupés around the figure of VICENTE CHRISTO.

These movements took the form of mass gatherings at which the believers danced around a cross and large-scale baptism ceremonies were organised. An account of a more recent messiah will be given presently.

One is greatly tempted to correlate such outbursts with waxing or waning missionary activity, but it is likely that the information we have covers only some of them while, moreover, we know too little about the activities of non-missionaries, who could equally well have played a role here.

With regard to the latter, the only thing we know for certain is that they made their presence felt. Soldiers, traders and dealers in forest products all regarded the Indian as their natural enemy. The whole of the Amazon region began to attract attention in the second half of the 19th century as a source of wild rubber and, to a lesser degree, of other forest products. Though the upper Rio Negro area was never one of the "great" rubber regions, the influx of whites must nevertheless have been noticeable there as well. It has been occupied ever since by three main population groups the Indians, the missionaries and the other whites—the rubber tappers and the traders.

The role of the authorities remained largely restricted to the administration of one or two small European settlements and the organization of military expeditions. The Indians were usually the sufferers. The traders, to generalize for a moment, were out to exploit them while the missionaries attempted, with varying degrees of success, to save both their bodies and their souls.

There were signs that firmer missionary tactics were on the way when the Franciscans took over in 1880. As was to be expected, very little remained of the work of their predecessors. The first to arrive, Father VENANCIO (not to be confused with the Indian messiah of the same name), began quietly. Settling at Taracuá, on the Uaupés, he had some dealings with the population of the lower Tiquié but seems to have left matters very much as they were. His colleague, CAMIONI, arrived a year later and was followed in 1883 by Father COPPI. The latter seems to have been a particularly active man. He travelled extensively throughout the region, even getting as far as the Kobéwa om whom, however, he failed to make any impression. A large number of posts were established and some older ones, including Taracuá, Panoré and Yauarété, were revived. The familiar and always unsuccessful system of establishing mission villages was again followed. Two thousand Indians are said to have been assembled before long in such villages on the Uaupés, and one thousand on the Tiquié. COPPI established his headquarters at Panoré, which he transformed in a few months into what he regarded as an ideal village, with a handsomely painted church, a large number of houses and a prison. Discipline was rigidly enforced and before long he considered his position to be secure enough to risk openly ridiculing a number of native religious customs. The consequences were disastrous. The converts—

encouraged, it is said, by rubber traders—rose in revolt against the priests, who only just managed to escape with their lives by laying about them with their heavy bronze crucifixes. They left, never to return.

In addition, Capuchins were active among the Tariana between 1880 and 1888, when they succeeded in gathering a large part of the pupulation into eleven villages. After their departure, which was less spectacular than that of the Franciscans, but just as final, the Indians lost no time in reverting to their *maloka* life.

In the following period, around the turn of the century, the situation on the upper Rio Negro, the Uaupés and the Içana was somewhat unsettled. Things were much quieter in the middle and upper Tiquié regions.

COUDREAU informs us that he continually came across orgies and drunken feasts during his journey in 1884. That remarkable place, São Joaquim, was renowned in this respect. Around the turn of the century the Indians used to gather there from far and wide, specially in the months of June, July and August. Then saints' days were celebrated in the native fashion with the help of flags, statues, dancing, fireworks and *cachaça*, or cheap brandy [1]).

With the exception of the military, the whites with whom the Indians came into contact at that time were practically all rubber traders. There were two ways of obtaining rubber. One was for the "masters", the *regatoẽs*, to assemble their employees on the plantations, where they were provided with more or less adequate care and accommodation. The season lasted from December to April and the *regatoẽs* intended that their Indians should remain for the full period. The situation on many plantations was, however, obviously such that many Indians tried to leave again after a short time. In order to prevent their going the *regatoẽs* tried to set up a sort of indenture system, whereby they would negotiate with a *tuxaua* for the delivery of a certain number of workers, for which the *tuxaua* received payment. The latter did not, and still do not, possess such absolute authority over their "subjects". It is quite possible that the *regatoẽs*, who probably thought —as practically all Brazilians still do—that each tribe was ruled by an all-powerful chief, placed these *tuxauas* in the position of labour suppliers, thus altering their status from that of primus inter pares to an authoritative assistant of the *regatão*. Their authority rested on brute force and on the widely-established debt relations. A document dating from 1882, in which the Franciscan missionaries oppose the sale of Makú as slaves, is interesting in this respect. The position of the Makú may have been an inferior one in the autochthonous communities, but they had never been slaves in the sense that they were regarded as personal property that could be disposed of at will.

Brazilian traders also bought the rubber which the Indians themselves collected. This system seems to have been popular in the more peripheral regions, such as the Rio

[1]) Feasts of this sort are still held in spite of the opposition from the mission and the authorities. Only, 1961, the celebrations got so out of hand that a number of huts were burned to the ground.

Tiquié. We are told that round about 1900 Indians were tapping rubber on their own initiative on the lower reaches of this river and that traders even went up as far as Parí-Cachoeira to buy it. It should be noted here that this settlement is the last that can be reached by a boat of any size; rapids make the river impossible to navigate after this point, except with Indian canoes.

Punitive expeditions on the part of the military were a common occurrence at this time. The reasons for their actions may be obscure in most cases, but there is nothing obscure about their methods. They plundered, raped, burned and murdered. At the end of the 1920's the majority of Indians would still take to their heels at the approach of a white man.

In many respects the influence of the missions soon disappeared altogether. The Indians left the villages as fast as they could and returned to their *malokas*. Here and there a solitary statue survived. Reference has already been made to the way Christianity was practised in São Joaquim.

A change took place around the end of the 'twenties and the beginning of the 'thirties. To begin with, rubber was rapidly losing its importance, even though it has never entirely disappeared. The result was the departure of many traders and *regatões*. It should be noted in this context that the regions with which we are chiefly concerned had never been more than marginal with regard to forest products. Those who remained behind were largely *caboclos*, people whose standard of living was not very different from that of the Indians.

Then the somewhat improved outlook of the military and administrative authorities penetrated even to this backwater and punitive expeditions undertaken at random became a thing of the past. Finally, the missions returned. Pius X granted the apostolic prefecture of the Rio Negro to the Salesians in 1910. Starting from the small town of Uaupés, which at that time was still known as São Gabriel, they extended their influence slowly but surely. The old system of gathering the maximum number of Indians into villages in the shortest possible time was now replaced by the method of founding a small number of large posts complete with residential schools. Taracuá was settled, or rather, resettled, in this way in 1924, followed by Yauaréte in 1929 and Parí-Cachoeira in 1940.

We can be brief regarding the role of the Indian Protection Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, known as the S.P.I.). Kurt Nimuendajú made a journey of inspection along the Uaupés and the Içana in 1927. He strongly disapproved of the practices of the traders and similar figures and objected to the missionaries on a number of scores as well, even though the latter's activities were still on a very small scale. He proposed the establishment of one or more S.P.I. stations in the area. Though his suggestion was later carried out, the organisation has never really had a chance to do very much. As far as I could discover, the personnel for the entire area in 1960 consisted of only one man. There is no doubt of this man's personal capacities, but there is no question of his collaborating with the increasingly powerful missions since their interests and those of the S.P.I. are

practically always diametrically opposed. That fact combined with the inadequacy of the means at his disposal and the lack of interest on the part of the authorities has shaped a situation in which this one man is almost powerless to act at all.

Finally, mention should be made of the arrival of the Protestant missions. Fairly recently a Protestant missionary established a small school a comparatively short distance downstream from Uaupés. His relations with the Bishop in Uaupés are reasonable. It was a somewhat different story with the representative of the New Tribes Mission who arrived on the Içana from Colombia in 1952. The majority of his followers were fanatics with strong iconoclastic leanings.

A messiah arrived on the scene at much the same time and is said to have been a follower of this missionary. If the report was correct, the Indian was well ahead of his teacher. Accompanied by a group of disciples he travelled along the Içana from Colombia in 1950, destroying a number of chapels as he went and generally disturbing the peace of the region. This time the authorities were sensible enough not to send the police or the military, despatching instade a team from the S.P.I. which had been alerted in the meantime. The messiah and his followers were warned against further rioting. The upshot was that the mission priests saw their chance and accused the New Tribes Mission of disturbing the peace. I was never able to discover the exact details, but it is in any case certain that the missionary concerned left the district.

A number of migratory tendencies resulting from the arrival of the whites can be perceived amongst the population. Firstly, there were the attempts made by the various missionaries to concentrate the Indians in a number of centres. Then there is the fact that during the rubber boom many people were gathered together on the rubber plantations while at the same time many others tried to avoid the rubber traders by withdrawing further and further upstream. The places left open by the Indians' departure were more or less taken by the whites arriving in the area. A change occurred towards the end of the twenties, when the whites began to leave and the Indians to return from upstream. A few data regarding the mission residential school in Uaupés are significant in this respect. Around 1930 practically all the pupils were white children; in 1960 80% of the boys and 70% of the girls were Indians.

III. The Salesian Mission on the Rio Tiquie

It will be clear from the foregoing that the Tuyuca and the groups in their immediate surroundings can only have come into more or less permanent contact with the whites comparatively recently. This does not mean, however, that they had lived up to that time in total ignorance of the intruders. Relations between the groups scattered throughout the upper Rio Negro region may not always have been very close, but there was enough mutual contact for metal tools, for instance, to have reached them a good many years ago, so that there is every reason to suppose that they must also have been informed of the

activities of both the traders and the missionaries. Anticipating a later stage of the discussion, we may indicate a number of things that were quite definitely adopted from others. Among the material objects mention should first be made of the long chopping-knives that are now fully incorporated into the autochthonous cultural possessions. Moreover, clothing is sometimes worn, this consisting of cotton trousers with the occasional addition of a shirt for the men, while the women usually wear a skirt, but nothing more. A notable fact is their fondness for lengths of cotton material. The same is true of metal fish-hooks, which must have been introduced here many years ago, since there is no no-one who can relate what sort of hooks were used formerly; one is informed that the metal hooks have "always" been in use. The situation is otherwise with regard to axes and chopping-knives. Everyone knows what a stone axe is, even though no-one now alive will ever have worked with one. People tend to keep them as curios or, paradoxically enough, as whet-stones for their steel knives.

Everyone has a Spanish or a Portuguese name, even those who speak neither of those languages. When no kinship term is used people often refer to one another by these names, which also serve as a form of address. Associated with this is the fact that they are pleased to have their children christened, or at least to have a ceremony performed whereby they are endowed with names—which is how they probably regard it.

The whole question of acculturation will be gone into in greater detail presently. It does seem, however, that the adoption of Western goods and ideas is comparatively limited when the geographical distance is at all great and there is no permanent contact between the cultures concerned.

What is probably of greater significance in such cases is the fact that a great deal is known about the foreigners even before they actually arrive, so that by the time they appear the Indians will have been able to determine their attitude towards them.

At a certain moment—in 1940 to be exact—Salesian missionaries established a post in Parí-Cachoeira. A large Dátsea *maloka* occupied the site of the present mission buildings. More Dátsea and a number of Desana live further downstream, while Tuyuca, who may be divided into those who are directly influenced by the mission and those who are not, are found upstream from Parí.

With one or two exceptions, no neo-Brazilians, or *Caboclos*, have ever, as far as I know, settled on the upper Rio Tiquié. Unlike the Indians in the neighbourhood of the township of Uaupés, for instance, who live side by side with *Caboclos*, the people along the Tiquié know them only from afar. As stated above, the way of life of the Indians and the *Caboclos* on the Rio Uaupés and the Rio Negro is practically identical. Any idea of the Tuyuca and the surrounding groups being directly influenced by an established *Caboclo* population can thus be ruled out.

The traders' and *regatões*' influence was probably negligible. Their presence on the upper Tiquié was no more than incidental. It is difficult to determine to what extent the

pulation of this region worked for the whites elsewhere—e.g. on rubber plantations—in e past. It is in any case a fact that the mission is now by far the most important factor the process of cultural change. To begin with, the missionaries are the only non-Indians ho live there permanently. Much of the trade in the area is concentrated in their hands; ey run a shop and buy up surplus products from the Indians. Also, any Indians wishing work for money can often find employment at the mission post. Secondly, the local ission substitutes for the government in a certain sense. Of course, this is not officially egulated in any way but the local authorities, though not always over-delighted with the situation, could do little to change it even if they tried. For those authorities, usually a *prefeito* of a *município*, have absolutely no means of controlling the population in the remote (of their districts, where the missions are the only well-organized institutions. The third and probably the most important factor here is the fact that the missions, in view of their ultimate object, are deliberately trying to change many aspects of the autochthonous culture.

As far as one can generalize, the population's attitude towards the missions is a positive one. The many blunders made by missionaries in the past evidently make no difference to their appreciation of the present-day situation. In any case, those earlier attempts all took place outside Tuyuca territory and the tales then told were obviously not destined for immortality. What they do still remember, however, is the period just prior to the arrival of the Salesians, when unscrupulous traders and soldiers were the only whites who showed any sort of interest in the population. The Tuyuca may not have been troubled by them to the same extent as the unfortunate tribes downstream, but they too shared the conviction that flight was the best policy on the approach of any white man, no matter who it might be.

The Salesians had succeeded everywhere in establishing a favourable reputation as pro tors of the Indians, a reputation which of course accompanied them to the upper Tiquié. They settled there without any difficulty at all, though it will scarcely be necessary o add that the attitude of some persons of prestige will have been somewhat cautious, o say the least. The arrival of the missions also brought distinct material benefits in its ake. The population now gets some sort of medical care, even though this often amounts o nothing more than the medicine chest of an itinerant priest. For another thing, they ovide good quality tools in return for the *farinha* and fish required for their residential hools.

The mission post in Parí-Cachoeira is under the supervision of the Bishop in Uaupés. ree or four priests, the same number of nuns and a few laymen are stationed there and re are, in addition, more or less casual workers recruited from the Indians who work carpenters, farmhands, boatmen, etc. The staff of this and similar missions tends to tuate and there is said to be a general shortage of personnel. This is especially true priests, since it is mission policy that teaching must not be entrusted to laymen

more than is strictly necessary. Travelling round the villages is also part of the priests' [illegible]. If mass is to be celebrated regularly in all the settlements in the district, if the children—and sometimes adults—are all to be christened and, last but not least, if the population's medical needs are to be taken care of, then at least one priest has to be travelling all the time. Added to this, the average age of the priests is high.

Returning to the Pari-Cachoeira post, it may first be stated that the church and the school form the central points of the establishment. There is also a small hospital, which is run entirely by the nuns. The buildings, the older ones of wood and the more recent ones of stone, are built along both sides of the church. The nuns, the women employed at the post and the girl pupils live on one side, and the men and boys on the other. Segregation of the sexes is complete. The church has two entrances, one for the priests and boys and the other for the women. Inside the church, too, they each keep to their own part, thus conforming in fact to the custom observed throughout most Brazilian, if not South American, rural areas. The same applies to all secular activities. The nuns and their helpers and pupils do the housework and prepare the meals. The refectory is equipped with an ingeniously constructed revolving hatch through which food can be passed from the kitchen without anything more than oral contact being possible from either side. There are, of course, separate schoolrooms and playgrounds for the male and female pupils. Direct contact between persons of opposite sexes, whether priests, nuns, lay helpers or school children, is something that practically never happens. The hospital forms the sole exception to the rule. This being the system, the "women's world" at the mission posts remained a closed book to me.

I can be fairly brief about the church. The services are attended daily by the full staff and the school children and discipline in the church is rigidly enforced. The churchgoers from outside people from neighbouring villages and those employed by the mission, are subject to the same discipline. Everyone must be on time and no-one may leave before the end of the service. The congregation stay quietly in their places and give their full attention to the priest. Hymns are sung by the congregation in Portuguese, something that one also hears in Manaos. There were exactly 150 pupils at the mission in 1960 It is clear that the priests do not attempt to coerce parents to send their children to school; on the contrary, in recent years the number of applications has always exceeded the number of places available. The latter depends on the amount of space and the number of teachers at the post. Another point to be taken into account is the amount of food available. Though some food is grown on the spot and livestock are kept, the mission is still dependent for most of its supplies on what is transported by motor boat from elsewhere, principally dried fish (*pararuca*), *farinha*, flour and, sometimes, vegetables and fruit. In addition, a certain amount of food comes from the Indian settlements in the district, though it should be remembered that this requires labour, transport and articles of trade. In the final analysis, everything depends on the financial recources of the mission which, it will be understood, are limited.

The cost of running a mission post like Pari-Cachoeira is fairly high because of the current system of operating a boarding school as well. Where formerly the missionaries in the Rio Negro and Uaupés regions founded large settlements in which as many people as possible were concentrated, under the present system the Indians remain in their own villages or *malocas* while the children are cared for at the mission post. The children do some sort of work, it is true, but the proceeds are not sufficient to cover the expenses and in any case, that work is undertaken for its educational value rather than as a means of adding to the income of the mission.

The discipline alluded to above is enforced in the school as well. There are various reasons why this should be so. It is part of the educational approach which is the general system of the Salesians. The latter relates in turn to the Roman Catholic Church's object of propagating the Christian virtues as it sees them and which are most clearly manifested in the rules of religious orders. In addition, there is the fact that an organization of any size must maintain a certain discipline if it is to function properly, while the procedure in the Roman Catholic schools in the priests' countries of origin—mostly Italy in this case—serves, consciously or unconsciously, as their model. In view of the fact that the average age of these priests is decidedly high, we should also make allowance for the fact that their norms in this respect are often those of a previous generation. Moreover, the Salesians do not go home on leave at more or less regular intervals, as do the members of some other mission orders, so that it is understandable enough that their views should grow progressively more rigid, though this is not necessarily so.

The priests' way of life, and thus that of the lay helpers as well, fits into the general pattern. They neither smoke nor drink and cassocks are always worn, whether in church, in the school room or paddling upstream in a small canoe. Though recreation is not actually forbidden they seldom, if ever, meet for purely social reasons, for the pleasure of one another's company. Their private quarters are austere in the extreme.

The severity with regard to their charges that might consequently be expected is, however, tempered by a number of factors. For instance, the Salesians act on the principle that corporal punishment is wrong, a principle that once caused the Bishop of Uaupés to sigh that one would have to be a saint not to feel at least an occasional longing to give some of the boys a box on the ears.

In general, it may be stated that the Salesians regard themselves first and foremost as being responsible for bringing up and educating the children. The order is primarily a teaching one. In spite of the fact that for many reasons—not the least of which is their geographical isolation—they may not be aware of the latest pedagogic advances their efforts are deliberately directed towards educating their charges, a task which, apart from their other, more priestly duties, they regard as their principal one and which they carry out to the best of their ability. So although discipline is strict, it is accompanied by a distinct interest in the personal well-being of the children.

The age of the pupils varies somewhat. Most of them are between seven and ten years old when they arrive and the average length of stay is three years. But pupils of fourteen or fifteen are no exception. At first the mission also had a few older pupils but this is no longer the case.

I was only able to observe the "male side" of the institution. The boys sleep side by side in hammocks in a large dormitory, supervised by one of the masters, who sleeps in a space more or less partitioned off from the rest of the room. They go to bed at a certain hour, speak little and in no more than a whisper while preparing for bed and maintain complete silence after "lights out". Rising about 5 a.m., they go in a silent file to bathe, sometimes in the river, after which they go to mass and then to breakfast, which usually consists of gruel made from *farinha*. One should certainly not picture any of this as being in any way comparable to similar activities in a European youth hostel. The rest of the day is spent in school or in the fields. The boys on duty sweep the livingquarters, fetch the food, clear the tables, etc. The subjects taught are reading and writing, arithmetic, geography and history, while of course religious instruction is also an important part of the syllabus. Portuguese is the language used and the children learn extraordinarily quickly to express themselves in this language. The priests, too, use it almost exclusively amongst themselves. Special attention is given to Brazil in the history and geography lessons as part of the general policy to make Brazilians of the Indians. Without there actually being any question of indoctrination the priests make use of every opportunity to point out, for instance, that the Colombians (the mission post is close to the border) are the "others" and as such inferior to "us", the Brazilians. This all seems rather strange for the Indians on both sides of the border often belong to the same tribe, while at the same time their knowledge of the whites being confined to just a few categories, they distinguish between only "good" and "bad" whites. None of the priests are Brazilian; most are Italian and a few are German or Austrian. Work in the fields consists of the cultivation of a variety of crops, some of which are native to the area and some, particularly the vegetables and fruit, imported. Some of the implements used, such as spades, hoes, rakes and wheelbarrows, were formerly unknown to the Indians. The hoe is their favourite. They are encouraged to set about their work in an orderly, methodical manner and the beds planted neatly in rows are very different from the native *roças*. As far as I could gather no attempt is made to ascertain whether the extra labour required by this method is matched by a proportionately greater yield. The principle of working in a neat, orderly manner is the main thing

The mission livestock, consisting of cows or cattle bred from oxen and zebu, graze nearby on land formerly used for agricultural purposes but now lying fallow. The herd at Pari-Cachoeira consists of a few dozen animals. The enterprise is not a very successful one; the number of births and deaths remains roughly equal, a high proportion of the latter being due to disease. The care of the livestock does not require a great deal of work.

The boys work as a rule in groups formed according to the nature of the work and the age of the boys. The main meal is eaten around midday, after which the boys go to their classrooms. All activities are interpersed with frequent periods of organized prayer. There is comparatively little recreation, though there is an occasional quarter of an hour that could be termed a "free period", when the children swarm into the courtyard to play. Sometimes music is played through a loudspeaker on one of the outside walls. (At the Uaupés mission post the activities during these free periods are organized as well. This is not the case at Parí-Cachoeira.)

The children have a greater measure of freedom in the evenings, though this does not mean that they are free to come and go as they please. I noticed that one never sees them in the small Indian settlement near the post.

The clothing and other articles required by the pupils are supplied by the mission. It does not amount to much, for they do not need much.

Their families visit them from time to time and very occasionally they are given leave to go home. This does not mean, incidentally, that it is a deliberate matter of policy to weaken the children's ties with their families.

Some pupils stay on at the mission after they have completed their schooling. It is then easier to teach them a trade, such as tailoring, carpentering, engineering, etc. They usually remain or go to another post when they have completed their training, though some return to their homes to put their newly-acquired knowledge into practice. The older boys who are still learning their trade or who are already employed by the mission live there as well. They are subject to less discipline and are more free to come and go as they please outside of working-hours. When they marry they go to live in the settlement near the post. The inhabitants of this settlement are largely Dátsea, with a sprinkling of other tribes as well. Not all mission employees live in the settlement, however, nor are all its inhabitants attached to the mission; some simply live there, cultivate their *roças* and set their traps in the river. Those who work for the mission usually have their own plot of land as well and still pursue many of their traditional activities. It is not unusual, for instance, to find a neat mission plot side by side with a disorderly example of the old method, or to see women busily making their pottery a few hundred yards from the mission shop where metal pots and pans can be bought.

The shop is a fairly important part of the missionaries' work. On the Uaupés post, for instance, the mission shop serves among other things to counterbalance the practices of some traders who are not too particular about the quality and price of the goods they sell to the Indians. The traders are for that reason somewhat resentful of the mission shop and are of the opinion that the mission should restrict its activities to religious matters and leave trade and commerce to others. The situation in Parí-Cachoeira is different, since the mission shop is the only one in the area. The stock consists of useful commodities like axes, knives, pots and pans and clothing in addition to a few trinkets. The shop also

tobacco, even though the priests themselves do not smoke and, while not actually ...ding it at the post, can scarcely be said to encourage it either. Alcohol, however, ... sold and consequently the consumption of alcohol in the district is low, though a ...ain amount is still consumed. The Indians employed by the mission as boatmen, ...anies, etc. sometimes take the mission boats to Uaupés to collect supplies. Some ...ps there sell *cachaça*, of which they buy small quantities to take home.

There is virtually no money in circulation and payment is usually made in kind. ...is applies not only to payment for services rendered but also to the purchase of food. ...n principle, everything offered in this way is accepted, while at the same time nothing, ...th the exception of medicines, is provided free. There may, of course, be exceptions to ...ond rule. Old or sick persons, for instance, who are unable to fend for themselves, ...e not expected to pay for food or clothing received. Goods for barter are also taken ...o the villages and mission boats are stopped regularly by Indians in canoes wishing to exchange their freshly caught fish for goods. The mission even sends small trading expeditions over the border to buy *farinha* from the Tuyuca and Bará there. This is one of the ways in which people who have no formal ties with the mission post acquire their European goods.

Trade, however, is not the principal reason for the missionaries' journeys—which brings us to the question of spiritual care outside the posts. Their numbers permitting, the priests make more or less regular rounds of the villages in their parishes to say mass, perform marriages and christenings and various other duties. Some settlements have an evangelist, an Indian from the mission school who is considered to be suitable for this work. He is really the priest's assistant. There is, of course, no question of his administering the sacraments (not one Indian from the whole of the Rio Negro and Uaupés regions has yet become a priest); he sees to it that the church is built and kept in good repair, leads ...e congregation in prayer, admonishes the villagers to lead a Christian life, keeps the village accounts where necessary and sometimes dispenses a few medical supplies, for all of which he receives a small remuneration. When a priest comes to say mass, he usually acts as his acolyte. The situation varies from village to village with regard to the presence of both an evangelist and a church. Sometimes both are present, sometimes either one or the other, and sometimes neither, in which case mass is celebrated in one of the houses.

The Salesian missions claim, hereby referring to the relevant statements and regulations issued by the Vatican, that their object is not to cause the disappearance of the native culture, with the exception, of course, of those native institutions which the priests consider to be at variance with the most important Christian precepts and which are therefore better discouraged. But in spite of the fact that some missionaries are interested in and know a good deal about things like native music, legends and languages, the missions make no real attempt to preserve the culture elements "that can do no harm". Moreover, it would be unrealistic to expect every priest to be fully aware of the implications of certain

autochthonous institutions. In addition, much of what the mission offers relates to matters that are taken for granted. I am referring here to the well-known fact that everyone tends to judge other cultures in the light of his own and to regard those others as a deviation, strange or not, of his own. Though the other culture, or parts of it, may or may not find favour in the eyes of the priests, no-one mourns its passing for the simple reason that what the mission provides in its place is automatically considered to be better, or at any case more normal.

The first concrete example which comes to mind is that of religion. The Roman Catholic system of indoctrination is centred on the schools. The children are in fact regarded as Catholic right from the beginning and are expected to act accordingly. Since they are under the daily supervision of the priests, it is in no way surprising that their general religious duties and obligations are scrupulously observed, to say the least. New pupils are christened immediately on arrival should this appear to be necessary. It happens less often than formerly, however, for most children are now christened shortly after birth, on the following visit of a priest to the settlement. Part of the population of the settlement will have been taught as children by the priests, who hope that they will have retained as much as possible of what they have learned and that, moreover, they will do all in their power to propagate the true faith. Of course, the latter task is not left entirely to the ex-pupils; a priest arriving in a settlement will talk to the inhabitants and impress upon them how they should think and behave, while keeping an especially sharp eye on the conduct of all former pupils of the school. I was in a position to oberve the priests' visits on many occasions, but any opinion I might give would be based solely on the impression I then gained, namely that they are almost always extremely tolerant, while they are certainly under no illusions regarding the fact that their task is a lengthy one. Their approach is to exhort, to try to convince the Indians of the error of their ways. They may remind someone of the good intentions he once expressed, or preach a special sermon at mass (attendance at which is not obligatory), but there is no question of issuing orders, making demands or forbidding anything. These missionaries are very different from their predecessors.

Obviously, the missions' attitude to native religious or semi-religious practices cannot be a positive one. I was informed that even the priests themselves are sometimes in doubt as to whether or not a certain ceremony ought to be rejected. In general, however, they tend to take a negative view of everything to be on the safe side. For even if there were no question of "idolatry", they would still find the festivities immoral on account of the drunkenness and the—often imaginary—sexual promiscuity. They subscribe in this respect to the view formerly prevailing amongst Christians throughout the whole of the North-West Amazon that *Yurupari*, as the culture-hero is called, is synonymous with the devil.

The missions are generally of the opinion that the old beliefs will die out of themselves

a time or—as they sometimes express it—in a few generations. They are usually more concerned to see to it that the converts remain good Catholics and do not relapse into their old ways. Their attitude might be described as a certain friendly tolerance, something like the way in which one tends to regard a child who still believes in Santa Claus. This is apparent, for instance, from the fact that any sacral flutes coming into the missionaries' possession are kept concealed from the women and children.

They campaign much more actively against things that are at variance with European-Christian *morality*, things such as the former custom of killing one of twins at birth, polygamy—which in any case was never very common—divorce and anything that might relate to adultery or fornication. With regard to the latter, the feasts and ceremonies have already been referred to. Mention should also be made of the fact that the missions are decidedly against the *maloka* system and do all they can to persuade the population to settle in villages where each family has its own house.

Nor do they approve of the Indians' system of exogamy, since it reduces the chances of finding the right marriage partner. The position of the Makú is another point on which the missions and the Indians do not see eye to eye.

Matters relating to clothing, personal adorments and the like are perhaps of less importance, though the missions would prefer to see every Indian "properly clothed". The school children are provided with European clothes and trousers and shirts are handed out or sold in the settlements. Personal adornments and painting the body are not appreciated in view of the fact that this is associated with "festive garb" and the priests hold strong views on the subject of feasts.

Coca and other stimulants or drugs are rejected on the same grounds as tobacco and alcohol. Here we find yet another instance of the general tendency to prefer "one's own" to what is strange, for though the mission shop sells tobacco the priests are always inclined to reproach the parishioner caught with his mouth full of *padú*. It might be mentioned in passing that some priests enjoy a pinch of snuff.

For the sake of brevity, we may sum up with the statement that perhaps one would not be too wide of the mark in supposing that the activities of the missions are directed towards the attainment of the average, well-meaning Italian priest's image of the ideal society, an image to which he is willing to add a little harmless local colour if need be.

The missions have in many respects what may be termed a monopoly with regard to contact with the Indians in the regions under discussion here. We have already alluded to the fact that traders have never been more than sporadic visitors to these parts. Relations between the missions and the traders are not very good on the whole. This is more noticeable further downstream, especially in the township of Uaupés. The representatives of the missions are inclined to blacken the traders in the eyes of the Indians, particularly if they are Colombians. The traders on the other side of the border are more free to act as they please, though there, too, they are seen at very irregular intervals.

The missions take the same negative attitude to the S.P.I.

Finally, it should be mentioned that relations between the—distant—Brazilian authorities and the missions are very cordial. The priests do their best to impress on their pupils their good fortune in being citizens of Brazil. Portuguese is boosted everywhere and things like the flag and the national anthem are known to virtually every Indian

IV. The Tuyuca in their Modern Situation

Examination of the various aspects of the old Tuyuca culture and of the way in which that culture has been affected by outside influence reveals the following picture.

There is little or nothing to indicate any change in the *principles* underlying the Indians' attitude with regard to tribal or group territory. It is likely, however, that changes of habitat did, and still do, take place, while there has also been a transition to a more individual, or rather, nuclear family control and cultivation of the land as part of a general tendency towards individualization.

With regard to the first point, it is probable that there was a movement downstream throughout the whole of the Rio Negro-Uaupés region in former times, before there was any contact with Europeans (see p. 152). The arrival of the whites caused a general withdrawal upstream, specially from the 18th century onwards. That withdrawal must have been accelerated in periods of increased pressure; this was certainly the case during the rubber boom. No definite proof can be obtained regarding these migrations, which took place at a fairly slow tempo, but the fact that they did occur is confirmed by all experts on the region. Moreover, one can still obtain sufficient oral information on the subject, even though it is limited to the general announcement that they went further upstream at roughly this or that time. To the extent that calculation is possible, the time given usually turns out to have been the period of the rubber boom. It was possible in only a few instances to be shown the site of a former settlement.

As far as the Rio Tiquié is concerned, there was little or even no direct contact with Europeans before the permanent establishment of the mission in Pari-Cachoeira in 1940. But a sort of concertina effect must have been noticeable here as well, since even today the population becomes denser the further upstream one goes (see p. 152). In the last twenty years or so, i.e. since the population has been subjected to comparatively little outside pressure, people here and there have begun to move downstream again. This general tendency to move downstream rather than upstream is connected with the fact that the soil is better and the fish more plentiful there—or at least according to the persons concerned. This migration, which is on a very small scale but nevertheless clearly discernible, practically always concerns nuclear families. Under the influence of the missions, which do all they can to imprint the idea of the independence of the family, they are beginning not only to plant their *roças* in the settlements but to cultivate *roças* at a growing distance from those settlements as well. One now finds huts inhabited by only one family, with

their own special *roça* nearby scattered here and there along the lower reaches of the Tiquié. The general attitude to property, hunting and fishing rights places no legal obstacles in the way of a movement of this sort. "Movement" is in any case too strong a word in this context. The pattern with regard to territorial rights and the use of the land in general described in the foregoing is the one which is still by far the most common. The same distinction is still made between the tribes. Though they have never attached any particular importance to territorial questions, the matter of tribal unity remains unchanged. They continue to speak their own languages and there is nothing to indicate that they might be beginning to use Portuguese instead. In intertribal contacts one of the native languages is used, Dátsea, as stated previously, usually functioning as the lingua franca. The younger Tuyuca all have a command of Portuguese ranging from fairly good to good and though they use it in their dealings with the missions they never speak it among themselves or in their contacts with other tribes, such as the Desana or Dátsea. The remarkable fact here is that the school children are expected, at least officially, to speak Portuguese to one another but that they discontinue the practice later, even though their native languages are not always the same. This does not mean that the Indians have no interest in Portuguese. They read the booklets and periodicals distributed by the missions, for instance, and they like to be considered able to understand the laguage, even those whose knowledge of it is sketchy, to say the least, being definitely in favour of the itinerant priests preaching their sermons in Portuguese. It is not likely that knowledge of this language gives added prestige, even if only for the fact that the number of persons who speak it is now so great that it can no longer be regarded as something exceptional. Moreover, they know quite well that it will not be so very long before everyone speaks Portuguese, as is now the case with those groups whose contact with the missions or with other whites is comparatively longstanding. The *lingoa geral*, or *ngeengatu*, has never been as important on the Tiquié as on the upper Rio Negro, for instance, or the Içana. That is attributable to the comparative isolation in which the inhabitants of that region lived until recently. There are, however, some people who are familiar with the language, usually people who have had fairly lengthy contact with Europeans through, for instance, working on the rubber plantations further downstream or on the Rio Uaupés.

The continued tribal exogamy is another point that may be mentioned in the context of the still strong feeling of tribal identity. We are obviously dealing here with a rather resistant trend. No Indian on the Tiquié would dream of trying to break away from it. Any mention of the possibility of doing so is at once consigned to the category of the impossible, like the idea of man living under water. It is simply unthinkable. The missions, or in any event some missionaries, believe that it would be a good thing if this system were to disappear. Perhaps this point of view is part of the attitude that it is all nonsense anyway, an attitude based consciously or unconsciously on the assumption that the European way of doing things is the normal one. The priests reason—or rationalize—that

exogamy restricts the Indians' choice of a marriage partner and is often the cause of what they consider to be a comparative delay in their getting married, a situation which creates conditions conducive to the Christian sins of adultery and pre-marital sexual intercourse. Whether they are right or not, their influence on this point is absolutely nil.

It is in any case apparent from the missions' attitude that they go further than opposing behaviour that they consider to conflict with their "happy family" policy: they also give thought to what might be the underlying causes of that behaviour. It is extremely difficult to state with any certainty whether the Indians' attitude to matters like adultery, pre-marital sexual experience and divorce have undergone any change or not. For it is possible, after all, that they observe two separate rules of conduct: one for the outside world (i.e. to please the missionaries) and one for themselves. Discussing these matters with them, it was in any case soon apparent that they do not regard them as something terribly wicked. But at the same time it was not easy to gather any information regarding specific "cases". The missionaries claim that there has been a sharp drop in the number of divorces over the last few years. This all relates to the Tuyuca, who have always lived comparatively far removed from European influence.

The situation is somewhat different downstream. During the time of the rubber boom and even before that the situation sometimes closely approached the chaotic, which will not have been conducive to the maintenance of close family ties. This was followed later by what was a fairly incidental departure for the towns. Some individuals, usually members of more downstream tribes like the Dátsea and the Desana, go off to Uaupés or sometimes even to Manaos. Occasionally, a man abandons his family in this way. I would repeat, however, that migration to the towns (still) occurs most infrequently.

Patrilineality and virilocality exist as they have always done and it may be stated that as far as the Tuyuca are concerned there is no difference in this respect between those who live in mission areas and those who do not.

This is the point at which to return briefly to the question of the existence or former existence of a more or less tightly-knit sib-structure amongst the Tuyuca. As we have already mentioned, the Kobewa definitely have a structure of this sort, while at least one writer (FULOP) postulates the existence of something similar amongst the Dátsea, the Desana, etc. as well. In addition, we have GALVÃO's description of the Baniwa, though he does not dare to be very positive on this particular point. The question is whether the Tuyuca have "always" lacked a sib-structure or whether it has disappeared as a result of outside influence. The latter, however, does not seem to be very likely. For, with the possible exception of the Kobewa, the Tuyuca have been subjected to less influence than the other tribes in this culture-area. Moreover, the fact that some of them live outside mission territory makes it possible for us to look further into the past. So here, if anywhere, we might expect to find at least traces of a sib-structure, whether hierarchical or not. But this is not the case. The rather vague group referred to earlier as kindred is the only

small kinship group to emerge. The missions have made some effort in the direction of, shall we say, codifying the kinship structure by providing the school children with surnames in West-European style, that is, they are meant to function as family names as we understand them. Of course the Tuyuca themselves know very well to whom they are either closely or distantly related, as is obvious from their kinship terms, but the function fulfilled by our surnames is, as far as I know, something that is quite foreign to them. The whole situation appears to be fairly confused. The lists of pupils at the boarding schools is officially in order in that each child has a Christian name and a surname, though strangely enough brothers and sisters may sometimes be listed under different surnames. As noted earlier, the Indians translate the Portuguese word "familia" with a term relating to the group jointly occupying one *mäloka*, which does not render the meaning of the European word. This whole business of names is not necessarily very important in itself. We may wonder how the use of terms based on European concepts will eventually affect the native structure, though there is certainly no sign of any such effect as yet. The situation is different as regards the Christian names, or rather *the* name. Though everyone had his own name previously, it would seem that it was used very little in day-to-day life. Now they have Portuguese names which they use all the time, even amongst themselves. One seldom hears native names. The Tuyuca both in and outside mission territory are very attached to their Portuguese names. I was unable to discover why this is so. It is perhaps a status symbol, denoting that the person concerned is up to date. Or perhaps the old names were not openly used and the assumption of a European name simplifies matters. Whatever the reason may be, the preference for the new names is connected with something of particular interest to the missions, namely baptism. As far as I know, every Tuyuca has been christened at some time or other and the same applies to such tribes as the Dátsea, the Desana and others. A great many of the Indians outside mission territory have been christened as well. The name received during the ceremony attests to the fact that the person concerned has been baptised, but on the other hand baptism may also be regarded as way of acquiring such a name. For there is no doubt that Christian zeal is not, or need not be, the sole motive here. Nowadays, in any case, there is no question of the missions having to persuade people to be baptised. I was even urgently requested on several occasions, mostly in places outside mission territory, to christen children myself. It may be mentioned in passing that I resisted the temptation to bestow names like JAN and KLAAS on Colombian or Brazilian citizens. Whatever the actual situation may be, one still finds a number of people, usually older people, who have been christened but who otherwise have little or nothing to do with Christianity. A more trivial reason—or at least one that appears to be more trivial—for their desire to be christened or to have their children christened is that they count on receiving a small present or at least a saint's medal to mark the occasion.

The *malokas* have now disappeared from the whole of the Brazilian part of the

...pe's region. They survived longest on the Tiquié, but there too one only finds them ... on the Colombian side of the border, and then only to the exclusion of other types ... dwelling. Their disappearance cannot be ascribed solely to the influence of the missions. ... other parts of the region, where the Indians have been exposed to all kinds of outside ... influence longer than have the Tuyuca and where the missions occupy a much less predominant position than those on the upper Tiquié, they no longer exist either, some already having vanished a good many years ago. Leaving the whys and wherefores in the regions where there are no Tuyuca out of account, it is nevertheless a fact that the missions in ... Tuyuca territory are definitely opposed to *maloka* life. More often than is now the case, the missionaries used to be convinced that the many people sharing one long house lived together in promiscuity. Most of the priests whom I questioned on this point, and particularly those who have worked in these regions for many years, were prepared to admit that closer acquaintance with *maloka* life proved that assumption to be wrong. But it was always clear from their attitude that they did not regard it as being conducive to the healthy family idea and that the disappearance of the *malokas* can only be counted a blessing. One is struck by the fact that the population seems to have experienced no difficulty in changing over from the *maloka* to the settlement with separate huts, in other words, that they blithely gave up what may be regarded as the physical personification of a co-operative group. But one can also regard it otherwise. The *maloka* is a large, laboriously-built structure, the sole purpose of which is to provide accommodation. It has no sacral significance. Each nuclear family has its own separate compartment and one can view the *maloka* as a settlement composed of a number of dwellings built round a central, communal space, all of which is contained under the one roof. To make the transition to a settlement or village of the new type they had only to remove, as it were, the communal roof, after which the old life could continue in exactly the same way. The new system offers a number of advantages. It is much easier, for instance, to build, say, ten small huts than one *maloka* for ten families. The living space can be adjusted more easily to the number of inhabitants when the village consists of separate huts. (Demolition is never necessary; the huts are not built to last.) So there is less possibility of there being too much or too little space. I do not know whether the greater degree of privacy was regarded as an advantage. The transition from *maloka* to separate huts may therefore be regarded as having come about when the Indians realized that it was possible to live in a different type of dwelling, one which seemed to offer advantages without there being any corresponding disadvantages. Though the process was encouraged by the missions, it is probable that it would have taken place just the same even had they not been present. There seems to be no reason to speak in terms of "disintegration" in this connection. But disintegration in the sense of individualization, including individualization in the spatial sense as well, can probably occur more easily in the settlement than in the *maloka*. Indeed, one sees it happening. The individual in a maloka-area who for whatever reason wishes to have

... to do with his local group has only the choice between moving his family to another ... or building a new *maloka* with a number of like-minded persons. If he lives in a ...-type settlement, however, he can build his hut away from the others, and can even live at some distance from the main group. In fact, a situation can come about whereby it is not only possible, but actually demonstrable, that one can no longer speak of settlements but of isolated huts or, at most, of small clusters of huts. This has now become the residential pattern of the neo-Brazilians in extensive areas of Amazonia (cf. GALVÃO on the same subject).

The situation on the Tiquié is as follows. The Bará at the source of the river live entirely in *malokas*, as do also the Tuyuca on the Colombian side of the border. The first Tuyuca settlement on the Brazilian side of the border consists of two houses in *maloka* style, each containing a number of families. The following settlements are progressively less on the *maloka* principle, culminating in the last Tuyuca villages, which are groups of huts, many of them of the wattle and daub type popular in many parts of South America. They are sometimes built around an open space and sometimes in the form of a street. Most of these settlements have a small building that serves as a church. Further down the Tiquié one begins to find single huts built far from any settlement. It is clear that this is not merely a geographical progression; one can also trace the course of a development down the years. The role of the missions is also recognisable, for although the ... is not really abrupt it is still plain that the mission borders are also the borders of the *maloka* region. Nor is there any doubt that these borders relate to more than just the type of building erected. For although the missions prefer villages to *malokas*, they also prefer them to separate huts built at some distance from one another. If one views the departure of an individual as forsaking the community then it stands to reason that the missions must also regard that community as the Christian community, and if a priest notices that one of his parishioners is thinking of moving away, far from the madding crowd, he will certainly do everything he can to persuade him to change his mind.

As far as actual building techniques are concerned, the influence of the priests is unmistakable and direct in that the school children gain a certain amount of experience in handling European tools and building materials and later apply what they have learned. Personal ambition plays a considerable role as well. There are plenty of men who, having been trained in this way or not, are simply not interested in carpentry and masonry and are satisfied with a simple wattle structure. Others, again, try to attain the architectural ideal of the priests, which usually amounts to a pleasant house with a door, windows, a number of rooms and—if it is an exceptionally fine house—plastered walls and painted woodwork. Houses of this sort are few and far between. There are three in the settlement near the mission post of Parí-Cachoeira. Though opinions based on one's own values are frowned upon in anthropology, I feel compelled to express the hope that any attempt to bring in corrugated iron will be foiled by the first rapids in the Tiquié.

In principle, there is, as stated above, little or no difference between the *maloka* and settlement as the place of residence of a local group. A tendency towards individualiza- is, however, more pronounced in the latter, as is apparent from the fact that some ple in the settlements have their own private *roças*.

The role of the *tuxaua* has, of course, undergone some change as a result of changing circumstances, but I have the impression that there is no question of anything revolutionary having taken place. As mentioned earlier, the *tuxaua* should be regarded more as primus inter pares than as a powerful chief. Some present-day settlements have no *tuxaua*, and it must sometimes have been the case in former times as well. In all probability, the authority of the tuxaua either waxed or waned in the course of the years, even though it would have been largely outside Tuyuca territory and more in the old contact areas. Non-Indian rubber tappers, or rubber traders, operated on a system of obtaining their raw materials or their labour through a native intermediary, usually a *taxaua*, who received a certain sum or quantity of goods in return for seeing to it that they got what they wanted. Allowing for a few exceptions, however, it is higly unlikely that any *tuxaua* was so powerful as to be able to commander others at will. He would have needed to employ more than the usual means of power at his disposal and he was able to do so through his position as representative of the rubber trader whereby he functioned as part of the system of indebted- ess with all the power of his principal behind him. It is therefore not unlikely that the authority of the *tuxaua* showed a relative increase at that time, decreasing again as the rubber boom faded. There are no means of telling what sort of repercussions all this had on the Tuyuca, but the possibility of there having been some sort of effect cannot be ruled out. Very little definite information can be given on the present-day position of the *tuxaua*; my own experiences were too widely divergent on this point. The missionaries are in any case not of the opinion that the *tuxauas* undermine their work. Many of them send their children to the mission schools. One or two make it quite clear that they wish to have nothing to do with the priests. The missions, of course, constitute a new force that must of necessity lead to a lessening of the chiefs' authority. The itinerant priests and, to a greater extent, the village teacher have assumed the role of adviser, admonisher and arbitrator. Some villages have a permanent representative of the missions in the person of the evange- ist, who is often a native of the village concerned. His influence varies according to his personal qualities and ambitions. A superficial glance reveals no permanent conflict situation between the evangelist and the *tuxaua*, although there could be tensions or conflicts under the surface. My stay in the area was too short for it to be possible to analyse matters of this sort. No evidence of such conflicts in the form of murder, manslaughter or departure for another settlement ever came to my ears.

The general attitude to the Makú remains unchanged. The missions on the Tiquié have virtually no direct contact with these people. There was only one Makú boy at the Cachoeira school while I was there, and it was significant that his parents were entered

in the school register as "N.N." (*nomen nescio*; name unknown), i.e. even the priests knew nothing about them. The priests told me that there had been a period when they had a considerable number of Makú pupils who, however, disappeared again after a short time. And every now and then a Makú man might turn up at the mission to work for a short time.

It is not unlikely that the situation responsible for the relative increase in the *tuxauas*' authority during the rubber boom also had some effect on the general attitude to the Makú. For the latter cannot be regarded as real slaves in the sense that they are held as personal property, at least not in the autochthonous society. There are some indications that outside influence has contributed to a situation whereby the river Indians have indeed developed a master-slave relationship with the Makú in that they have begun to sell them and hire them out to others. But in view of the comparative isolation of the Indians on the Rio Tiquié, this situation could never have reached the same proportions here as elsewhere. The present situation in the settlements and *malokas* of the Tuyuca (data on other Tiquié groups are too scarce to allow of an opinion) is as described on p. 156. This is in itself remarkable. The missions are opposed to the inferior position of the Makú, but have so far failed to effect any improvement whatsoever. The crux of the matter is that they really have no contact with the Makú; their superiors do not allow it. One often sees a few huts of inferior quality lying at some distance from the rest of the village. They belong to the Makú who have taken up residence in the village for the time being. If a priest or another European gives something to one of them no-one finds it in any way unusual for a Tuyuca, a Dátsea, or whoever happens to be on the spot, to take it from him. In brief, there is no sign of the position of the Makú having changed in the last few decades. The most that can be said in this respect is that the articles passed on to them by their lords and masters now include a few European goods, or the remains of them, like knives, articles of clothing, etc.

The boys at the mission schools receive a number of years' training in agricultural methods such as weeding and hoeing, planting and sowing in rows, irrigation and the cultivation of imported crops. The appearance of the *roças* at home, however, is just the same as it has always been. There is a sharp contrast between the ease with which they made the transition from the *maloka* to the separate hut and the difficulty which they seem to experience in applying what they learned and observed at the mission post. The mission method requires more work in any case, while it is a moot point whether the yield is proportionally higher. The Indians are obviously of the opinion that this is not the case. While at the mission they accept the order, precision and discipline that also prevails there with regard to the cultivation of crops, but do not find it necessary to put it into practice themselves. The introduction of new crops is also a slow process. A few hitherto unknown crops, such as beans, may be planted here and there. The situation is the same as regards livestock, if one is justified in using the word. Chickens are everywhere, even in the most

distant *malocas* in Colombia, and were probably kept long before the missions appeared on the scene. They make comparatively little use of them. I never saw anyone eating either eggs or chicken, though it probably does happen occasionally. These products are, however, freely exchanged with outsiders for articles like fish hooks. Someone may occasionally show a little interest in his poultry by turning an old canoe upside down and scattering scraps of left over food in this improvised hen-coop from time to time. Pigs are a rarity on the Rio Tiquié; the Indians on the Rio Negro and the Uaupés are more interested in breeding these animals. The mission posts have a few cattle, but no Indian has yet decided to try it himself.

Though the agricultural methods remain practically unchanged, the newer *roças* have changed in the sense that a number of family plots are to be found in the villages, especially those where the influence of the missions has been active the longest. This is obviously connected with the tendency towards individualization discussed above. It cannot, however, be said to be a frequent occurrence. The disadvantages of this system are evident. It is probably not entirely a recent phenomenon, for small *roças* were sometimes cultivated in the past as well.

The Tuyuca and other tribes have a number of "bad habits" from the point of view of the missionaries. They are habits that are also found in Europe and that are opposed there by the Churches as well. They include things like smoking and drinking to excess, bad language and indecorous behaviour. It is a fairly simple task for the Salesians on the Rio Tiquié as they are not dealing here with mortal sins but with questions of human frailty that cannot be condoned. The reader will recall that the Salesians themselves neither smoke nor drink. The school children are not permitted to use narcotics or stimulants. For the rest, the attitude of the priests is a fairly tolerant one.

Padú, *kashirí* and tobacco still occupy their old place in the villages, though the most zealous parishioners abstain from using them. And the villagers are tactful enough not to hold a real *kashirí* feast when a priest is due to visit them. *Padú* is prepared even in villages more or less next door to a mission post and tobacco is still grown in the usual way.

Some innovation has been introduced with imported articles. Tobacco and cigarettes are available even in the mission shops and are smoked in the European manner, i e. at all hours of the day by men, women and children. Their approach is the same in this respect as it is to *padú*. The large native cigars are still smoked only by the men, and then only after the evening meal. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that they once had a more special, or sacral, significance. The only indication now remaining that this may have been so is the fact that they are obviously in a different category from the Western-type cigarette.

Very little imported alcohol, which is usually Brazilian rum or brandy (*cachacha*), is drunk. Repeated reference has been made to the fact that the Rio Tiquié missions have closed off their area from the rest of Brazil as far as possible, which means that traders

...e little or no chance of selling the *cachaça* that they distribute throughout other parts ... North-west Brazil. Colombia now offers one of the few possibilities of obtaining this drink. Another possibility is to go and fetch it oneself, in Uaupés for instance. It is impossible to say whether such trips are often undertaken, though it is unlikely that they are in any way regular. Very few Indians in the region have the chance or are willing to take the trouble. The Indians themselves do not regard it as being in any way reprehensible.

For instance, the boat in which I made part of the journey from Uaupés to Pari-Cachoeira was manned by "mission Indians" from the Tiquié. The captain, an intelligent, capable man, was one of the mission's show figures, yet he saw no harm in taking a few bottles of *cachaça* home with him. Drinks were handed around from time to time and I was given my share as well. It is all very symptomatic: the priests admonish their flock and set a good example themselves; the Indians regard these exhortations as something to be taken heed of or not, just as they please.

The same attitude can be observed as regards "correct behaviour". The priests teach them that a well-mannered person expresses thanks for anything given to him, shakes hands with his right hand, does not relieve himself in the company of others, etcetera. Some parishioners, particularly those who are out to please, have mastered the etiquette quite well and try to observe it in their contact with whites. Amongst themselves, however, they do not bother. It can also happen that people become confused, specially in areas where only a few are familiar with both systems, their own and that of the white man.

My arrival at a Tuyuca maloka in *Colombia*—that is, outside mission territory—serves as an illustration. My rowers, two Tuyuca and one Bará, were addressed at the door of the *maloka* by the *tuxaua*, who acted as though I were not there. They answered his address and were invited to be seated on small benches just inside the door. I remained standing. One of the women served the visitors with a bowl of *beijú* and a hot sauce and, after some hesitation, presented me with a bowl as well. Towards the end of the meal I was approached by a young man who turned out to be the *tuxaua's* son and who shook my hand in greeting after having been prompted to do so by one of the rowers.

For reasons mentioned in the introduction, I shall be brief as regards magic and religion.

The position of the *shamans* appears to have deteriorated. As far as I could tell, they still act in the capacity of healers, which has always been one of their most important functions, and the priests obviously do not object. It was difficult to establish contact with these people, nor was it easy to gather information on their practices from others. It is clear that the mission takes a firm stand on these matters and that people are reluctant to discuss them with outsiders. The same is true of the *Yurupari* rituals. The missions do all they can to present him as the devil, but he has by no means disappeared; on the contrary, everything connected with him is no longer sacral in a general, neutral sense,

positively dangerous. Those still in the possession of sacral flutes now conceal them carefully than ever.

The priests co-operate on the whole, for although they do not believe in the harmful ers of the flutes they are sensible enough not to provoke the population on this point. ey, too, know the story of the missionaries who deliberately shocked the Indians who had to pay for it by beating an ignominious retreat and they will take care that thing similar happens to them.

It is in no way surprising that saints' medals fulfil the function of amulet or talisman. he priests hand them out fairly liberally and it is not unusual for someone to ask for a re- lacement for one that no longer works properly. The missions do not find this so strange, is understandable in the light of the fact that amulets are used extensively in practi- lly all southern European countries. The situation is the same in Brazil, with the difference at the neo-Brazilians—with whom the Indians on the Rio Tiquié have very little contact erually wear amulets that have little or nothing to do with the Roman Catholic Church.

Magic is openly discussed and more or less openly practised. It is largely black magic. ne of my informants was an evangelist, who told me of various instances of magic while was busy carrying out repairs to the hut that does duty as the church in his settlement. all amounted to much the same thing: X or Y died soon after being attacked by sudden ains, fits of vomiting, etc. Later the "evil substance" that someone had placed by the ctim's door or had concealed in some other suitable spot was usually discovered, and nothing was found then it was assumed that it had been smeared on to some surface. y informant was of the opinion that the ordinary medicines, which are usually adminis- ered by the missionaries, are of little use in such cases.

On the whole there are no objections whatsoever to Western medicines and they e even prepared to make long journeys to obtain them. I was repeatedly struck by the ay which sick parades were organised immediately upon my arrival in the villages, en in those villages outside mission territory, and by the fact that I was constantly ked for medicines for all sorts of ailments.

It is mission policy to require the Indians to do something in return for the medicines ey receive.

If the medicine fails to help, and the patient dies, the relatives are practically always favour of burial in consecrated ground, that is, in a churchyard near the mission post. h burials are accompanied by the usual rites of the Roman Catholic Church. I do not w to what extent other, autochthonous, rites and customs are observed in this respect. re were no deaths during my stay in the area. The care of the dead follows the native en outside mission territory, i.e. the body is buried in a shallow grave under the *a*. No-one was able to give me any information on the question of a second burial larger urn, even though the discovery of a number of such urns points to the fact his must have been the custom in the past.

V. Will it become a Mission Culture?

The role of non-missionary whites has been no more than touched upon in the foregoing. Their role is no more significant at present than it was in the past. Contact with traders, rubber planters and other whites is mainly confined to the Indians in Colombia. These Tuyuca and Bará also come into contact with the priests from the Brazilian side of the border, though they are not in mission territory. Every now and then a number of them go deeper into Colombian territory to work on the rubber plantations. They do not go very willingly, and their number are small. Nor are the advangtages very evident. It is known, or at least suspected, that they are underpaid by the Colombian employers. Payment is usually in the form of goods and one of the main incentives to go off to work the desire to obtain goods that are difficult or impossible to obtain from the missions. One such article is the much-sought-after rifle, the desire for which even spurs on a few Indians from Brazil to find employment in Colombia rather than on a Brazilian plantation, though this is not a frequent occurrence.

On the whole, contact with these Europeans is extremely limited. No-one ever arrives to recruit labour in mission territory and even outside these areas such expeditions are no more than sporadic, happening, as far as I could discover, no more often than once in every two or three years.

There is a general consensus of opinion that it is best to have as little contact as possible with traders and other such Europeans. They have obviously not yet fully recovered from their former experiences.

There is definitely no question of anything like a "hunger for goods" that must be satisfied at any price. The point is well illustrated by the case of a Tuyuca from a Colombian *maloka* who had worked hard on a rubber plantation to assemble a curious collection of articles like a winter coat, a pair of braces and even an old gramophone. The other inhabitants of his *maloka* immediately declared him to be out of his mind and he even to some extent assumed the role of village idiot, though I can testify to the fact that he was in no way psychologically disturbed.

I believe that I am correct in stating that non-missionaries scarcely enter into the picture as disseminators of Western goods, institutions or ideas in any part of the upper Tiquié.

Without actually wishing to state that the priests have lowered a sort of iron curtain around the Indians, the situation is indeed such that practically all relations with the non-Indian world are channelled through the missions. In a certain sense, the priests represent the forces of authority within their areas, even though they have no real means of enforcing their authority. If a Tuyuca refuses to submit to that authority, no-one can compel him to do so. The situation being as it is, however, it is virtually impossible to ignore the missions. At the same time, the fact, for instance, that the demand for places in the mission schools almost always exceeds the number of places available shows that the population has its own reasons for not wishing to do so.

As a consequence, the population has a greater chance of preserving its own identity than is the case anywhere else in the Rio Negro region. They are not absorbed, as it were, in the *caboclo* society, for the simple reason that the missions also keep the *caboclos* at a distance as part of their policy of protecting the Indians from the wicked outside world.

The system is of course not absolutely watertight. The West has more to offer the Indians than the missions and they are obviously interested in discovering what they are missing. There is nothing in the way of an "emigration ban" to prevent those wishing to do so from gaining a first-hand acquaintance with the outside world and some individuals go off to work for rubber tappers or traders.

We have already seen that the Indian crews of the mission boats sometimes go as far as Uaupés. Up to the present, however, no Tuyuca has settled either in the township or the surrounding district. This does not mean, of course, that it could not happen in the future. Whether the missions possess any real means of power or not, there is a clearly defined difference between the adoption of new practices—and the accompanying breaking away from tradition—for which the missions serve as no more than an example and the adoption of those which may be defined as basic principles. Agricultural methods serve as an example of the former; baptism and burial in consecrated ground exemplify the latter.

The regions on the upper reaches of the Rio Tiquié present us with one of the comparatively scarce instances of guided acculturation. Whether one endorses the aims of the "guides"—in this case the Salesian priests—or not is immaterial. It looks, however, as though those aims will be achieved without there being any question of real force on the one hand or of a high degree of frustration on the other.

A number of more or less incidental factors are involved here. They are the isolation of the area, which means that it has never had anything much to interest anyone but the missionaries; the accompanying fact that the population has been left in peace; the unfortunate experiences that other Indians have had with whites other than missionaries, which tales have filtered through to the Tiquié; and the errors made by the missions in the past which serve at least to remind the present-day priests of the mistakes they must avoid.

LITERATURE

The following list contains only those publications which are relevant to the subject and which I have actually consulted. The more general type of work, whether theoretical or otherwise, is not included.

BIOCCA, E.
1954 "Pesquisas sôbre o metodo de preparação do curare pelos Indios", *Revista do Museu Paulista* Vol. VIII, Nova Série.

BOJE, W.
1930 "Das Yurupari Fest der Tuyuka Indianer", *Der Erdball* Vol. IV.

CARVALHO, J. C. M.
1952 "Notas de viagem ão Rio Negro", *Publicaçoès avulsas do Museu Nacional No.* 9, Rio de Janeiro.

COUDREAU, H. A.
1887 *La France équinoxiale. Voyage á travers les Guyanes et l'Amazonie*, Vol. II, Paris.
FULOP, M.
1955 "Notas sobre los términos del sistema de parentesco de los Tukano", *Revista Colombiano de Antropologia.*
GALVÃO, E.
1959 "Aculturação indígena no Rio Negro", *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi*, Nova Série, Antropologia No. 7.
GALVÃO, E.
1960 "Areas culturais indígenas do Brasil: 1900-1959", *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi*, Nova Série, Antropologia No. 8.
GIACONE, A.
Pequena gramática e dictionário da lingua tucana, Missão Salesiana do Rio Negro-Amazonas. Manáos s.a.
GIACONE, A.
1949 *Os Tucanos e outras tribos do Rio Uaupés, afluente do Rio Negro-Amazonas. Notas etnográficas e folclóricas de um missionário salesiano*, São Paulo.
GIACONE, A.
1955 *Pequena Gramática e Dictionário Português-Ubde-Neheru ou Macú*, Recife.
GOLDMAN, I.
1963 "The Cubeo Indians of the Northwest Amazon", *Illinois Studies in Anthropology* No. 2, Urbana.
KIRCHHOFF, P.
1932 "Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas", *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie* LXIII.
KOCH-GRÜNBERG, TH.
Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern. Reisen in Nordwest-Brasilien, 1903-1905, Stuttgart, no year.
KOK, P.
1921-22 "Ensayo de Gramática Dagseja o Tokano", *Anthropos* XVI-XVII.
KOK, P.
1925 "Quelques notices ethnographiques sur les indiens du Rio Papuri", *Anthropos* XX.
DA GAMA MALCHER, J. M.
1958 *Tribos da Area Amazônica*, SPVEA, Belém.
MARTIUS, C. F. P. VON,
1867 *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens*, Leipzig.
MOCHI, A. B.
1903 "I popoli dell' Uaupé e la famiglia etnica Miranhâ", *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia* Vols. 32-33-34.
NIMUENDAJÚ, C.
1950 "Reconhecimento dos Rios Içana, Ayarí e Uaupés", *Journal de la Société des Americanistes*, Vol. XXXIX.
PFAFF, F.
1890 "Die Tucanos am oberen Amazonas", *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte.*
RIBEIRO, D.
1957 *Culturas e línguas indígenas do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro.
RIBEIRO DE SAMPAIO, F. X.
1825 *Diario de Viagem da Capitania do Rio Negro. No Anno de* 1774 *e* 1775, Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon.
PELO RIO MAR,
1933 Missoēs Salesianas do Amazonas, Rio de Janeiro.
YPIRANGA MONTEIRO, M.
1960 "Cariama, Pubertätsritus der Tucano-Indianer", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 85, No. 1.