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Restrospective on the Comparative History of Upper Xingú Cultures.
A Sketch of the Backgrounds of Upper Xingú Cultures.

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Introduction

Over thousands of years a great number of ethnic groups have entered Amazonia, forming a patchwork of cultures each of which is adapted to its niche in this zone. As one ethnologist observed, "The region is an ethnographic swamp where few features rise clearly and vividly above the surface. Whoever undertakes to survey the data confronts a morass of customs dispersed over the vastness of the Amazon Basin with no easily discernible patterns" (Goldman 1963:1). Even before the beginning of the 16th century when Europeans invaded, indigenous peoples on the peripheries of greater Amazonia have withdrawn inland and pressed one another into various refuge areas. This paper addresses the formation of cultural arrangements in one small area within that vast zone.

In 1954 nine groups representing four distinct language stocks occupied the small area enclosed by the headwaters of the Xingú river. One of them, Trumai, was originally classed as isolated, unrelated to any other. However, Greenberg (1960) placed it in the Equatorial subfamily of the Andean Equatorial family, which includes the Arawak and Tupí-Guaraní languages, and Schaden (1965:88) found it to have Kamayurá admixture. More recently linguist Monod-Bequelin (Monod-Bequelin, 1975 Vol. 1) suggests influence in the recent past from numerous peoples, especially the Kamayurá.

Scholars have differed widely about the ancient homeland of the Arawak-speaking peoples. Von den Steinen derived them from the south, but Nordenskiöld and Lovén both believed they migrated down the Amazon from the Montaña (Rouse 1961:57), and Birket-Smith (1943:17), referring to Max Schmidt (1917:34f), thought they spread by peaceful penetration from "Guiana, the Orinoco drainage area, and the region around the western tributaries of the Amazon."

Accepting that view, Whitehead has written (1990:66) that the 'Proto-Arawak' and 'Proto-Tupí-Guaraní' were probably parts of a fairly homogeneous lowland culture. He believes their expansion into the tropical forest from a point close to the northern limits of Gê territory was closely

associated with the development of agriculture and, referring to Lathrap (1970:76), places the beginning of that expansion at about 3000 B.C.

The prehistoric expansion of the Tupian peoples was one of the most extensive and complicated. As von Ihring (1912:261) had observed they entered Amazonia as warring conquerors in contrast to the supposedly peaceful spread of Arawakans. The Kamayurá language appeared to von den Steinen (1940:148) to be "almost identical to the Guaraní" of Paraguay. However, Lemle (1971:128) classes it with Urubu, Guajajara and Asurini in the north and with Parintintin in the southwest as opposed to Guaraní and Tupinamba.

Diverse regions have been suggested as centers of Carib distribution also, from the Caribbean islands (Gumilla 1963 and Im Thurn 1883); the south, perhaps in the headwater region between the Madeira and Tapajós (von den Steinen); the region between the Upper Xingu and Tapajós Rivers (Rivet according to Ramos 1951); and ultimately from the western mountains (Friel 1958).

Durbin (1977) classes Bakairí with Nahukwa and suggests that they were among the first to separate from Proto-Carib in northern South America. Other Upper Xingú Carib languages are placed in a separate group. Parenthetically, since Nafuquá represents the dialects referred to as Akuku by the Kuikuru, and since Akuku includes Kalapalo, Durbin's analysis may shed some light on the fact that Kalapalo and Kuikuru cultures differ from each other to a considerable degree. Durbin finds Yarumá and Txicão to be closely related to each other and to eastern Guiana Caribs in contrast to Upper Xingú Carib..

It is apparent that the Arawaks preceded the other present-day groups into the Upper Xingú. From archeological material Simões concluded that "Numerous displaced indigenous groups migrated into the area between A.D. 1500 - 1884." but suggests (1967) by implication that Arawak people were in the Upper Xingú before 1500. On the basis of glottochronological analysis, Swadesh (1959:) concluded that the expansion of Caribs into much of the territory that had been occupied by Arawakan peoples was relatively recent. Although some Caribs moved southward much earlier, Durbin suggests that the Yarumá and Txicão moved south across the Amazon sometime within the past 500 years. It is clear from historical data that of the nine groups that occupied the area at mid century the Tupians and Trumai were the last to enter it.

At that time many Xinguanos, especially women, did not speak or understand any but their natal language. Moreover, traveling distances of up to 100 kilometers between groups required a considerable amount of time, which, together with their linguistic diversity, effectively isolated some groups from others. In view of the linguistic and spatial isolation it is remarkable that these groups were culturally very similar, as first reported by Karl von den Steinen in (1894). Yet in spite of extensive cultural "borrowing," individual groups retained cultural differences. Here, as in the Northwest Amazon region, the variety of ethnic groups provide a laboratory for studying the process of cultural assimilation and the relation of local groups to such analytical units as tribes, cultures, and societies.

Robert Murphy pointed out that the the local groups in this area have managed to maintain a network of social ties through intermarriage, economic interdependence and ceremonial cooperation, though in an atmosphere of "distrustful peace." He concluded, therefore, that they constituted a society (Murphy and Quain 1955:10) in the sense that we speak of a western society, a European society, etc. The Villas Boas regard the groups as "a legitimate society of nations" [1973:17].

Nearly half a century after von den Steinen's observation, Fritz Krause (1973) referred to a "common culture" in the area. Somewhat later Eduardo Galvão drew up a list (1953) of striking cultural similarities that he considered to be a common denominator of the cultures in what he designated as a culture area. About the same time Kalervo Oberg (1953) presented a similar list as characteristic but not diagnostic of the area. In recent literature ethnologists have reinterpreted those lists of common features as representing a single homogeneous culture (see Becker 1969; Villas Boas and Villas Boas 1973:16; Zarur 1975; Gregor 1977). Ellen Becker Basso especially has emphasized the similarities in the Upper Xingu Basin:

"Here a large complex of unique traits -- including dietary system, ceremonial structure, trade specialization, mythology, and social organization -- is shared by speakers of mutually unintelligible languages. The villages of Carib speakers cannot be distinguished from those of Tupi, Arawak or Trumai speakers in the area on the basis of any of these features" (Basso 1977:19).

Granted that the Upper Xingú peoples interact as a maximal social unit, neither social interaction nor general cultural similarities necessarily imply a single homogeneous culture. On the contrary, the cultures in this area differ from one another in many material, social, and ideological traits,

and the participants themselves attach great significance to those differences. This is true even of dialect groups within language units. For example, the Kalapalo and Kuikuru, whose dialects show systematic differences in vocabulary, sound system, and accent, have numerous different practices of which the Kuikuru, at least, are acutely aware and which give rise to marked suspicion and latent hostility.

Language by definition is an integral part of any culture, a verbal distillation of other cultural data. Because linguistic difference is a barrier to communication and hence to integration, it has been taken as a sufficient, though not a necessary, criterion of cultural distinctiveness. To the extent that a people maintains a distinctive language, it is said to have a culture of its own. At any rate, as an enduring source of cultural information it can be used as a relatively reliable indicator of ethnic identity and affiliation.

Similarly, complete political autonomy of the local groups perpetuates a degree of isolation and tends to foster enmities, a major factor in their cultural separateness. As a matter of fact the network of peaceful relations is a relatively recent development that is still in the process of consolidation. In the past, various groups engaged in open conflict, and they still regarded one another as enemies into the 1960s.

It may be that the similarity among the tribes in this region has been exaggerated, for, as any Xinguano will tell you with typical ethnic pride and prejudice, each local group is different from the others. Their differences have seldom been addressed by ethnologists except in passing, and in fact have been obscured by the tendency to emphasize homogeneity.

The linguistic diversity alone implies that in the not very distant past peoples come together from regions with different cultural backgrounds, suggesting that the Upper Xingú basin was a refuge for peoples of different ethnic origins who have become acculturated to one another in the region. The eminent ethnologist Egon Schaden noted (1965) that Krause considered the contributions of the various tribes to shared cultural traits in the Upper Xingu society to be a major scientific problem and all his research in that region was aimed at solving it:

'Krause menciona um 'grande problema científico' ainda não resolvido, o de determinar 'qual a contribuição que a diferentes tribos ou grupos de tribos prestaram para a cultura comum'; declara que todos os esforços que dedicou à 'provincia cultural da região das nascentes do Xingú convergiram para esse objectivo, mas ao mesmo tempo é levado a confessar

que sem a realização de novas pesquisas de campo no chegaremos à resultados definitivos' (Krause 1937)."

Many of the original cultural differences among Upper Xingú groups have disappeared even in the last few decades. However, forty years ago there were still a number of widely recognized tribal differences. Whereas data on the progressive homogenization in historic time are readily available, Krause's problem is still largely unsolved because the prehistory of the region is not known. Schaden himself devoted much of his attention to solving it. Impressed by the strength of native conviction regarding cultural differences, I have been interested in the puzzle of their backgrounds and have attempted through archeology, ethnohistory, and history, and comparative ethnology to determine the contributions of various groups to the common materials, practices and lore and have described some of these elsewhere (Dole 1961-1962; 1993).

I will mention only briefly, without repeating the arguments or detailed references, data that I have already published, and will present additional data on cultural differences that happen to have come to my attention. A thorough search of the literature would surely reveal a great deal more about ethnic origins. It would mean gleaning clues from the early reports on Xinguanos and systematic comparison with other societies in Amazonia representing the respective linguistic blocks, a type of research seldom undertaken by modern anthropologists but one that would make a very rewarding career for someone interested in cultural dynamics.

Preliminary research.

I began my effort while in the field by recording the results of a preliminary archeological survey of some sites that had been occupied by the Kuikuru on the shore of the two-lobed lake Kuikuru and Lahatua about 12 kilometers west of the Kuluene river at about 12.5° S. latitude. From that survey and a later comparison with archeological findings elsewhere in South America, I concluded that an early type of ceramics in this region was related to an early tradition in the Orinoco region in Venezuela. I concluded further that the broad, flat-bottomed panelas currently made by the Wauja for processing manioc appeared to have been developed (1) in the region, (2) in response to the distinctive local manner of treating manioc, (3) by ancestors of the contemporary Arawaks, and (4) before the advent of the other groups currently residing in the area. I attributed another type of pot to Kuikuru (Dole 1961-1962).

A few sherds from small fine rimless rectangular pots with vertical sides appeared to represent a different ceramic tradition. Remains of such a tradition have not been reported by other researchers in this area to my knowledge. Who left them continues to be an unsolved problem along with urn burials sheltered in a fabulous "stone house" on the upper Kuliseu river that Hermann Meyer reported nearly a hundred years ago in a letter to von den Steinen:

"... [before he died of fever in the interior] Lewandowsky was looking for the Martyrios with Colonel Castro shortly after my return. They came to the Kulisehu where Bakairi took them to that fabulous stone house, which appears to be an ancient Indian burial place with burial urns! " (Meyer 1899)

I surveyed also a pair of ten-foot-deep parallel ditches outlining three sides of an ovoid tract of about 280 acres of former intensive occupation. The Kuikuru knew nothing about the origin of the ditches, which indicated that they had been dug before they occupied the site. The depth and length of those ditches suggested that they must have been dug by people in a larger society with more social control than the contemporary Kuikuru. Moreover potsherds found in the rims and walls of the ditches indicated that they had been dug by the same people who developed the broad flat-bottomed panelas, probably for defensive palisades such as have been observed at numerous other sites throughout greater Amazonia, mainly in areas occupied by Arawaks and Tuipians (Dole 1961-1962).

These conclusions were rejected by Simões (1967), who had investigated ditches near the Jacaré settlement site and the Diararum Indian Post. He was of the opinion that they probably represented dry beds of ancient streams. The Vilas Boas (1973) recognized that the ditches were man made but thought they might have served for "shelter from weather during a long cold spell or from icy currents coming from the south."

Another prehistoric feature associated with the area outlined by the ditches at the Kuikuru site and clearly visible in aerial photographs was a wide straight trail leading from the former occupation site to the Kuluene river. Numerous instances of wide strait trails, roads, and causeways are described in early literature. Because they are in areas occupied by Arawak groups on the Amazon, in Venezuela, among the Tairona of Colombia, the Mojo and Paressi, I suggested that Arawaks had once occupied the eastern part of the Upper Xingú basin and that Arawak place names, such as Kuluene and Tuatuari were relics of that occupation.

Some of these conclusions have been corroborated by the recent investigations by Michael Heckenberger (1996).

If the ditches were designed for defense, their presence implies warfare, which we know occurred in this region. Slave raids and punitive expeditions were being conducted on the lower Xingú even before 1600, impelling people to flee up river, some of them eventually reaching the Upper Xingú basin. From at least as early as 1663 bandeirantes tramped through the area east of the Upper Xingú basin rounding up or killing Indians. In 1684 the famous pioneer Antonio Pires de Campos led a punitive expedition from São Paulo to Bananal, "Ilha dos Karajás." At that time the Kuikuru lived on the shore of the very large lake Tafonuno just east of the lower Kuluene.

About 1755 a second generation of bandeirantes led by the notorious Colonel Antonio Pires de Campos, Jr., entered the region with a troop of Gé-speaking Bororo who called him Pai-Pirá, their rendition of the Portuguese Pai Pires, "father Pires." They attacked and killed people in the area and pillaged their settlements, destroying their crops and food stores, which caused many Kuikuru and others to die from starvation. The Kuikuru fled their homes. The Whites came again, and the Kuikuru moved again, this time crossing the Kuluene river (Carneiro n.d.).

Within the Upper Xingú basin the Kuikuru first settled in the region of Oti, or Inã, near the 1954 Matipifi village known as Yanumakapifi, where their neighbors included "all the Indios mansos," Wauja, Kamayurá, Aueti and Naravuto, etc. At Oti five or six Kuikuru settlements aggregated into one village (Carneiro n.d.). Numerous peoples speaking Gé languages (Suyá, Sujakati, Auaicu, Shavante and Sherente, the so-called Kayapó, Krenakrore, Tapayuna, and no doubt many others ranged and hunted in the vast area around the Upper Xingu basin and harassed those inside the basin (Villas Boas and Villas Boas 1973:44; Holanda Pereira 1967-68:226). As late as the mid 1900s the Kuikuru feared marauding "wild Indians" from the east. Whenever they saw smoke across the Kuluene they expected a Kayapó attack, and they feared the "Red Bluffs" of the Kuluene because the Suyá used them as lookouts (Moenich 1942).

According to historical sources and the Trumai themselves, they came from the Roncador and the Rio das Mortes. Chased by the Shavante in the east, they were seen near Cuiabá around 1723 and were repulsed also by the Suja from the Rio Verde in the west (Monod Becquelin 1975: vol. I). The Kuikuru say the Trumai were warlike at that time and did not plant gardens; they used to fight "every day" but got tired of it and fled to the Kuluene

from the headwaters of the Tanguro. After meeting them on the Kuluene, "300" Kuikuru took manioc, including tubers, cuttings and flour, to the Trumai to exchange for stone axes, arrows, feathers and cotton. The Kuikuru then gave them permission to settle near their lake at Oti west of the Kuluene. Monod Becquelin (1975: vol. 1) reported that they entered the Upper Xingú about 150 years ago and made their first contact with the Kuikuru on the Rio Inha.

While they were living at Oti, the Kuikuru had an argument over removal of a twisted post and part of the community withdrew. The headman, Amatuagi, was old and remained at Oti. A younger man, Fikutafa took his family to the other side of the lake. They walked through the forest to a place on the east side that the Kuikuru called Kafugupe ("black monkey place"). On the way they met a black monkey and killed him. (It may be significant that the trumai referred to bandeirantes as big black monkeys.) After talking with the Kafugufetoso ("black monkey image"), Fikutafa and a companion cleared a site that became the Kuikuru village of Atiki. Later Amatuagi and the rest of the community at Oti came to join them.

This is perhaps the logical time to mention that 'Karajá,' a Tupian term for the large black howler monkey, was used by paramilitary pioneers in the mid 1700s as a pejorative term for people we know as Karajá (Ehrenreich 1948:17).

Diversity among Upper Xingú Cultures.

The foregoing summary provides a background for considering differences among Upper Xingú cultures. In 1979 I discussed some of the differences in a paper (Dole n.d. a), of which an expanded version has since been published in the von den Steinen (Penteado Coelho 1993). In that paper I mentioned some tribal specialties.

Perhaps the most notable specialty in material goods is the Arawakan expertise in producing ceramics. Today the Wauja are the only potters, but at one time the other groups made their own pots. Kamayurá even boast that they taught the Wauja the art of making large pots. The Wauja also planted exceptionally large quantities of yuucu (urucú), as well as piqui in 19th century (Ireland 1988). in formal orchards that remind one of the groves of cultivated trees in areas occupied by Arawaks along the Orinoco and Amazon, and in the Antilles at the time of early European contact, and among the contemporary Kogi (Ereira 1990).. Salt was prepared from water

hyacinth by Wauja, Mehinaku, and Trumai. The Mehinaku were known as the best flute makers. .

The most distinctive trait of the Tupians is the hard black bows made from pau d'arco that recall the bows carved out of a "strange black wood" by early Tupinambá. The Kamayurá claim that in former time they built larger houses, involving a large number of people, some from other villages. They also say they taught the other Xinguanos how to make large haystack houses. Their claim is supported not only by von den Steinen's impression that a Kamayurá house he saw in 1884 was the best constructed in the whole region, "high and spacious," but also by the prevalence of similar houses among Tapirapé and the coastal Tupians, where a single longhouse sheltered as many as 100 people. By contrast, circular houses were characteristic of Arawaks in throughout the northwest Amazon-Rio Negro area, in the Mojos, the Guana region, and the Antilles. (Oval houses are found also among Caribs in the Guianas, but they usually differ from the Upper Xingú type in having walls that are distinct from the roof.)

Other practices that differentiated the Tupian groups here include Kamayurá expertise in making fishnets (along with the Kuikuru, Junqueira:49); their former use of a hollow log drum (Moenich:109); and the production of quantities of piquí oil (Schultz and Chiara 1971) and medicines for ritual use (Gregor:310).

Carib specialties in this area include their expertise in making fishnets, bast rings for women to use in carrying burdens on heads, jaguar-claw necklaces, and waistbands or necklaces made of both land and water snail shells, of which they had a virtual monopoly. The Kuikuru are also said to provide the proper wood for ceremonial flutes (Gregor 1977:310). The Matipú produced quantities of cotton, while Nafuquá made gourd containers and redish shell beads and carved tucum-nut ornaments (Steinen: Unter den Natruvölker: 333).. Formerly the Kalapalo produced arrow cane and trafficked in stone ornaments.

In addition to producing salt from water hyacinth and tobacco (Steinen 1894: 333), the Trumai made stone axes formerly.

Subsistence practices differed somewhat, mainly in the type and quantity of game that was eaten. Whereas the only mammals eaten by Caribs were monkeys, the Wauja and Kamayurá ate paca as well. By contrast with all those groups, the Trumai originally ate a wide variety of game animals and continued eat various furred animals other than monkey after entering the Upper Xingú region..

The Kamayurá practice of merely drying manioc tubers sometimes instead of grating and leaching them resembles in detail the treatment of "sweet" manioc among the Tupinambá.

Wiers constructed by the Wauja and their group techniques for fishing are more complex and better coordinated than those of the Caribs. Their method of trapping fish approximates techniques practiced by the Arawak Wakuénaí on the upper Rio Negro in Venezuela (Hill 1984).

Leadership among Arawak- and Tupi-speaking peoples in the Upper Xingú appeared to retain remnants of the ranked and sometimes stratified chieftainships once prevalent among their congeners in the Orinoco-Amazon region, on the Brazilian coast, in the Mojos, and even among the Paressi. Tattooing was used by Arawaks and Tupians in this area to identify members of the families of leaders, as among Arawaks elsewhere (Métraux 1948:416).

The political structure of the Caribs, tended to be less structured in spite of their ideal of strong leadership. According to Rivière, (1977) "all known Carib societies" share some "fundamental structural features," including absence of "corporate bodies of any sort" and lack of "any political organization or institutions." Here as in the Guianas Carib headmen have "helpers" (assistant leaders), who are senior men and women and heads of families. (See, for example, Butt 1965/66).

The Trumai were unique in their emphasis on sorcery and aggressiveness instead of strong formal leadership as a basis for prestige and social status. Other Trumai traits as of mid century resemble those found among Gé-speaking peoples in eastern Brazil. They include full body paint in black geometric designs, seasonal hunting treks with their peculiar technology, an unusually primitive treatment of manioc, wanton women, and a dual social structure.

Arawaks and Tupians exercised more formal leadership in work patterns than did the other groups; the headman or household heads regularly coordinated the efforts of extended families or larger, even communal, work groups as among the contemporary Kogi (Ereira 1990) and numerous other Arawak groups, as well as among the Tupian Tapirapé, Mundurucú, and Tupari, who organize large collective work parties for house building, gardening and food processing. A special example of large-scale endeavors among the Arawaks here as elsewhere (see above) is the custom

of clearing long, wide, straight trails often referred to as roads, in which they take immense pride.

Among the Kuikuru, the unit of production is usually a nuclear family or a small group of very close relatives similar to those described by Butt (1965) for the Cariban Akawaio: The Kalapalo seem to work in extended-family or even communal groups somewhat more frequently than the Kuikuru. When the Kuikuru need larger numbers of workers, labor is usually mobilized by the secular use of ceremonies through what I have called the owner-asker-performer system, an elaboration of the common custom of exchanging food for labor.

Rituals in the Upper Xingú are generally most complex among Arawaks. (See Penteadó Coelho 1984). The celebration of bird spirit people here appears to be derived from the northern Awarak theme of an enormous conflagration, from which only a few ancestors survived as birds. Initiation and training for shamans are longer and more rigorous among Xomgú Arawaks, reminding one of the role played by shamans or priests among the Kogi today (Ereira 1990) and in the chiefdoms of Taino, Tairona, Manao, Bauré, Mojo, and Paressí at the time of contact. Rituals such as the use of secret flutes used to manage social tensions (Gregor 1969) and the serious use of bullroarers to recall rain and fish after the dry season form a far greater part of every-day life among Arawaks than among the other groups. The Kuikuru, by contrast, used bullroarers in a secular context as toys. The rubber ball game, of which only simple forms occur among Xinguanos, is associated especially with prehistoric and early historic Arawaks from the Antilles to the Mojos.

Arawakan cosmology appears to have influenced not only the lore of the Bakairí, as von den Steinen observed, but also that of the Kamayurá, whose legend of Morená as a place of origin and Mavutsini as the original ancestor may be a variation of the Wauja stories of Kwamuti. The Wauja belief that all creatures and even minerals originated in a hole in the ground is a version of a theme common to Arawakan cosmology throughout Amazonia. In their mythology the anaconda appears to have been the source of special knowledge, which is dramatized in the ritual use of anaconda tails (Penteadó Coelho 1984). Their emphasis on women's place in the society and mythology of the "Amazon" women (Yamarikumá) with its related rituals are more elaborate than those of other Xinguanos.

Withholding of flute power from women in this area apparently has its roots in the Yaperikuli fertility cycle of the Arawak peoples of the Northwest Amazon (Wright and Hill 1986), found also among Tupians on the

Amazon and even the coastal Tupinambá. Whipping children "to make them grow," observed as a part of initiation and maize harvest among the Kuikuru, is a remnant of flagellation among early Arawaks on the Orinoco, Aiary, Negro and Amazon rivers, among the Culina on the Purús, as well as the contemporary Wakuénai and other Baniwa (Wright 1981; Hill 1984). The ritual flagellation among early Tupian peoples and some Tucanoans on the Amazon and among modern Tupari (Caspar 1956), is undoubtedly related to the same widespread Arawak custom.

Myths and rituals about "Amazon" women play a relatively minor role in Kuikuru culture, as does the making and use of bullroarers, which are much less elaborate and sacred among the Caribs than the Wauja and Mehinaku. In fact, the Upper Xingú Caribs place a relatively minor emphasis on supernaturalism in every-day life. Many of their rituals have been adopted from other groups and are used in a secular manner as entertainment.

The agá ritual, for example, was taught to Kuikuru a long time ago by "outra raza do Kamayurá," a tribe called Karajai. A group that used the same language as Kamayurá and formerly lived near Kamayurá, called Wakamimbutaka, gave them the takuaga ceremony (Carneiro n.d.). The most common Kuikuru ritual, called ndufe, is an adaptation of aruanã, the intertribal fertility dance of the Karajá (see Schultz 1962:23), which is found also as tauarauana among the Trumai. When the Kuikuru saw the Trumai performing that dance, they liked it and adopted it. Monod-Becquelin (1975, vol II:125) describes that incident:

"After their arrival at the Kuikuru [village], they say that the Trumai went down onto the beach and danced the Tauarauana. One of the Kuikuru who were there watched and liked this dance. The Trumai went on their way, and that Kuikuru, Ficotava by name, quarrelled violently with the Kuikuru chief who had not liked the ceremony. Ficotava was not chief, but a very important person with a large family. He became owner of Tauarauana, owner of the area where Tauarauana was danced. One of the doors of the men's house was controlled by him, and the path to the right of it that went to the stream. For the Kuikuru the Tauarauana then became and remained very important. Their chief has a very close relation with it. In the old days, in addition to the Jakui house (more Bakairi than Xinguano) there was a house of Tauarauana with doors, one of them the chief's door, the one that belonged to Ficotava initially." (Tr., GED).

While the Tupians in this region have less elaborate supernatural means of social control than do the Arawaks, it is clear that the Kamayurá

have played a greater role in the intertribal conduct of the kuarúp festival than the other groups have. In the 1950s the Kuikuru were still in the process of integrating kwarúp with their own celebration of the dead, called egitsi, and as late as 1970 the Trumai did not participate in kuarúp festivals but performed their own long festival of songs and dances, olé, with posts representing the manioc spirit standing in their village throughout the planting season (Monod 1975).

Introduction of another major intertribal ceremony, the sportive and semi-religious spear-throwing festival of javarí, is linked to the Trumai in traditions of the Carib groups and Trumai legends. It seems to have been brought from a region between the Xingú and Araguaia rivers once occupied by Gé-speaking peoples, including the enigmatic "southern Kayapó," whose preferred weapon was the spear thrower early in the 18th century (Schaden 1965:76). A part of that population, the Trumai, once lived on a large lake east of the Kuluene. When they were attacked there by intruders they moved to a tributary of the Kuluene before crossing the Kuluene itself.

The Trumai tell of a split in their community, one faction joining a red-headed tribe called Paietan (or Panhete in another version), who spoke their language. A Trumai man left his village and visited the village of Paietan, a hero of the Kawahib, who spoke the Trumai language. While there he watched javarí match and learned how to conduct it (Monod-Becquelin 1975 Vol. 2:46, 53, 58, 98ff., 125-129; 1978). In another version Ayanama, a Trumai, appears to have married into another village where people quarreled and split. The defeated faction invited Ayanama to join them and taught him the javarí game. Elsewhere Ayanama is represented as one of the first Kamayurá. In still another version the Kamayurá learned javarí by playing it with the son of Panhetá, leader or ancestral hero of the Kawahyb, a hostile Tupi-speaking people. In recounting the history of the Tupian Ka'apor, Balée commented (1984) that after the expedition of Pires de Campos, Jr., the Ka'apor of the lower Tocantins engaged in raids against "Karajá-Pitang," who were then north of Bananal, and that the leader of another group of Karajá living at peace with the Tapirapé formed a wartime confederacy of Karajá to counter Shavante raids on their gardens. The government impounded Karaja at military posts along the Araguaia "to control the relations between the Karajá and the bandeirantes." By 1824 "Carajahís" had moved westward across the Araguaia (Tavener 1973).

A Tapirapé version of javarí story centers around an ancestor, Anchopeteri (a name of Arawak origin, but note the resemblance to the names, Panhetá, Panhetan, and Paietan and even Pai Pira). Anchopeteri played the game with another group whose sodalities vied with one another

by throwing wax-tipped spears. Unfortunately while playing the game Anchopeteri killed one of the host group and fled to his own people, whom he then taught how to play the game. The Karajá called the ceremony "the Tapirapé game" (Krause 1911:142, 247). The Kamayurá tell of learning javari from the Trumai at the headwaters of the Paranajuba, where they themselves were engaged in violent hostilities. Kuikuru say they learned ifagaka, their version of javari, from "Karajai," a group similar to the Kamayurá who were identified as Kawahib.

The Trumai appear to have played a key role in bringing Javari to the Upper Xingú, but who are the Trumai? The stories about the spread of javari lead one to conclude that mutually hostile groups who undertook to intermarry and celebrate that festival together were members of a herogeneous, unsettled population that included Tupi- and Gé-speaking groups between the Xingú and Araguaia. They suggest also that the peoples we know as Karajá, Tapirapé, Trumai, Kamayurá, and perhaps the Kawahib (Parintintin) are remnants of that population.

Although the Trumai have borrowed much from the Kamayurá and Arawaks since entering the basin, numerous early cultural traits link them with the Karajá of the Araguaia region. These include their custom of hunting and eating game animals and their attire (penis sheath formerly [Monod-Bequelin, 1975 Vol. 1] or tied prepuce [von den Steinen, 1940; Ehrenreich 1948], jangada bast belt around a woman's waist and between the legs [Ehrenreich 1948, Monod-Bequelin, 1975 Vol. 1]. and long hair on men). Moreover, both the name and form of their Tauruanã dance is clearly an adaptation of the great Karajá Aruanã festival.

Other traits, such as their feathered attire, a myth of the king vulture bringing daylight in the form of a red macaw feather headdress, long wooden lip ornaments, flat-bottomed carinated polychrome pots, an emphasis on a riverine habitat, and Trumai burial urns found in Rio das Mortes (Monod-Bequelin, 1975 Vol. 1:40) are characteristic of Tupians.

At one time the Trumai lived on a large lake east of the Kuluene (lake Pararrú according to Villas Boas and Villas Boas, 1973: 23). Monod-Bequelin (1975 Vol. 1) describes their contact with Shavante, Coroado ("people who painted themselves with urucú"), Suyá and Tchukahamai. Like other peoples in the region between the Araguaia and Xingú, the Trumai had a fishing, hunting, and gathering mode of subsistence adapted to the dry chapadões. Since the Kamayurá say they too once lived in that region, it may be significant that the linguist Loukotka (1939:164) found Tupian admixture in

the language of the Yarumá, a very aggressive Carib group who lived east of the Kuluene.

As an indication of intertribal contact, linguistics and ethnographers alike have noted evidence of Tupian and Arawakan admixture in the Juruna and Mundurucú languages as well as Tupí and Gé admixture in Karajá and Tapirapé (Loukotka 1939:164, 1942:31; Hartt 1885:113; Ehrenreich 1948:29). Other instances of mixture include the Carib Bakairí, which appears to represent a considerable amount of Arawak admixture according to von den Steinen (1892). When von den Steinen visited the Nafuquá, several Mehinahu women were living with them, and he noted (1940:197) a marked Arawak influence on the Nafuquá language and culture. I have already mentioned the Kamayurá influence on Trumai (Schaden 1965), and Gé admixture has been noted in Kamayurá (Rodriguez 1958:231). By contrast, Arawak groups in the Upper Xingú as elsewhere try to maintain a superior status by refusing to speak other languages and manifest linguistic chauvinism toward members of other language groups, whom they regard as barbaric or only recently civilized. (See Gregor 1977:306ff. 314-315).

This sketch gives an indication of the type and extent of cultural differences among Xinguanos, and it demonstrates the fact that these peoples have not developed their cultures in complete isolation; rather their cultures are the end products of hostile or peaceful contacts with one another.

The Carib groups appear to have few distinctive traits and to have contributed relatively little to the cultural inventory of the area. Their cultures consist largely of what Hornborg (1990:65) has called an "archaic template" of basic traits common to the area but lack numerous traits that are found among the Arawak and Tupian groups. The fact that they have borrowed freely from their neighbors, especially the Arawaks and Tupians, illustrates the principle that cultural practices are adopted mainly from groups with greater power or prestige.

I have tried to assess the relative contributions of the various groups and have suggested sources of some of the differences. Ethnohistory and comparative ethnology help to unravel the course of intertribal relations and cultural development. Clearly native stories are not always purely fanciful fiction, but often have a basis in fact. I would like to emphasize the potential benefit to be gained by a more thorough study of the literature for an understanding of conservatism and change in Upper Xingú cultures.