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SPACE AS MOVEMENT:

THE PARINTINTIN SETTLING OF THE MAICI VALLEY:

TWO FORMS OF ETHNOHISTORY

Waud Kracke

University of Illinois

at Chicago Circle

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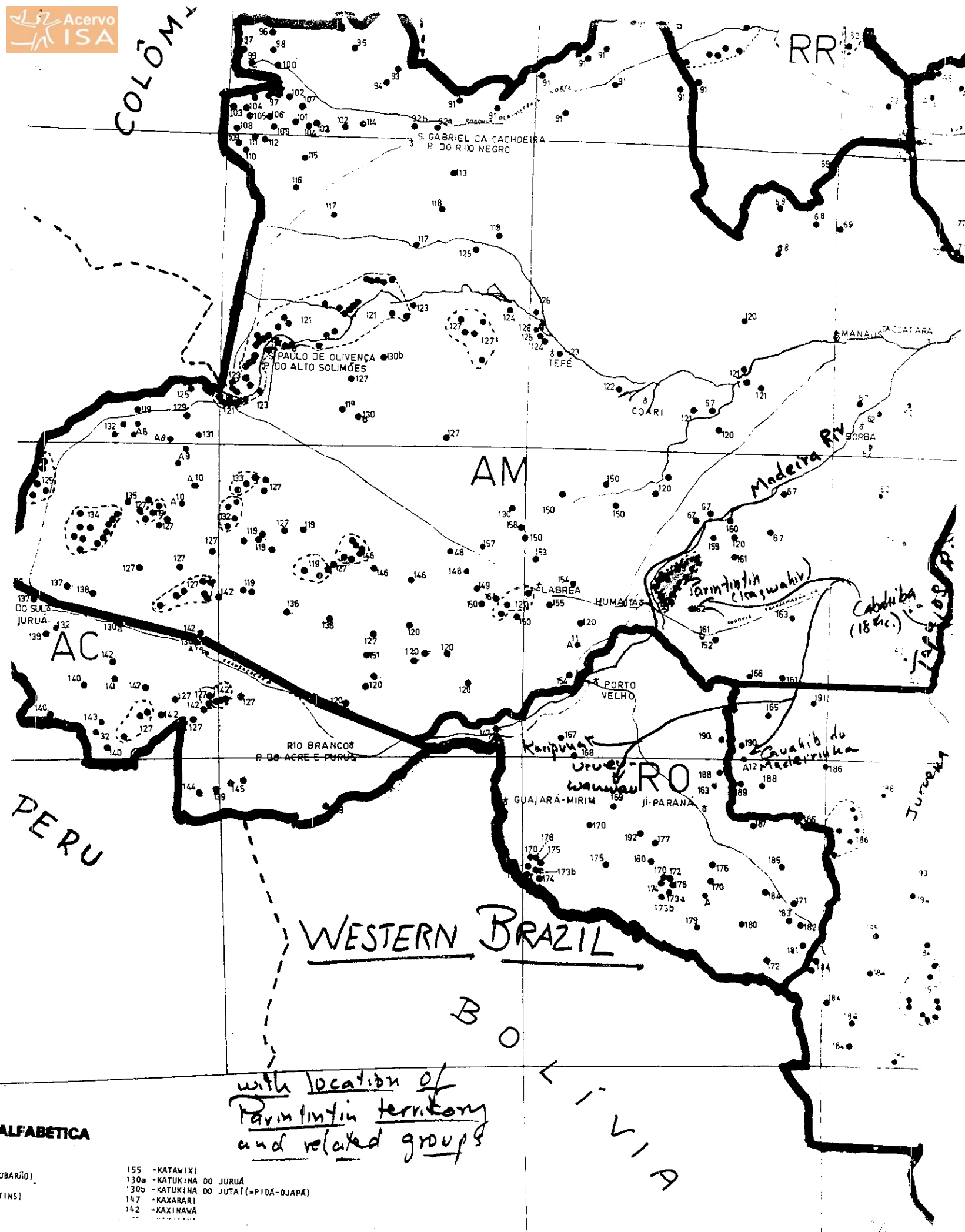
In this paper, I am going to talk about a settlement pattern based on movement -- outward movement of settlements and return. As I discussed this configuration with my colleague José Carlos Levinho, who is collaborating with me in my current research project, we realized that this pattern of outward movement and return is part of a pattern which is deeply rooted in Parintintin culture, which I will touch on in this presentation. But I also want to talk on a point of ethnohistoriography -- a comparison of two kinds of ethnohistorical data: legendary history and detailed memory accounts of historical geography. Both of these relate to the progression of settlements up the Maicí river during the Parintintin occupation of this territory in the last century, and in fact the two kinds of information are provided by the same elderly informant. One is a legendary account of the travels of the Parintintin which compresses several centuries of migration into a single epic canoe journey up the Amazon, narrated by the elderly informant Paulino. The other is a list which Paulinho

gave me of the location of all the settlements on the Maicí and Ipixuna rivers that he knew or knew of from his elders, a remarkably detailed and consistent account of the movements of particular groups and their members which must go back to the sixth or seventh decades of the nineteenth century, at least forty years before Paulino's birth.

The Parintintin do not have a great time depth in their present territory, to the east of the Madeira River in Amazonas, Brazil. They arrived sometime about the middle of the last century, at about the beginning of the rubber boom in the area; they were, according to Nimuendaju's historical researches, driven from the Tapajós headwaters by the Mundurucú, who probably gave them the name Parintintin (which is not a word in their own language -- they refer to themselves as Kagwahiv). They displaced the Mura-Pirahã residents of the Maicí River, and warfare between the two groups, as well as with rubber tappers along the Madeira, was consequently intense.

The legend of the original arrival in the Maicí region was told to me on two widely separated occasions by Paulino, once in 1967, the other in 1985. The main armature of the myth is identical in the two tellings, but there are some interesting differences that bring up questions of change in myth and relation of a mythic version to historical context -- questions related to the theme of the preceding paper.

The legend of the journey of Ika'ap#tĩmba'vi or Taraveapoa'i starts with the Parintintin in a barren land -- in the version of 1967, a land without water, in 1985 a land without trees. They



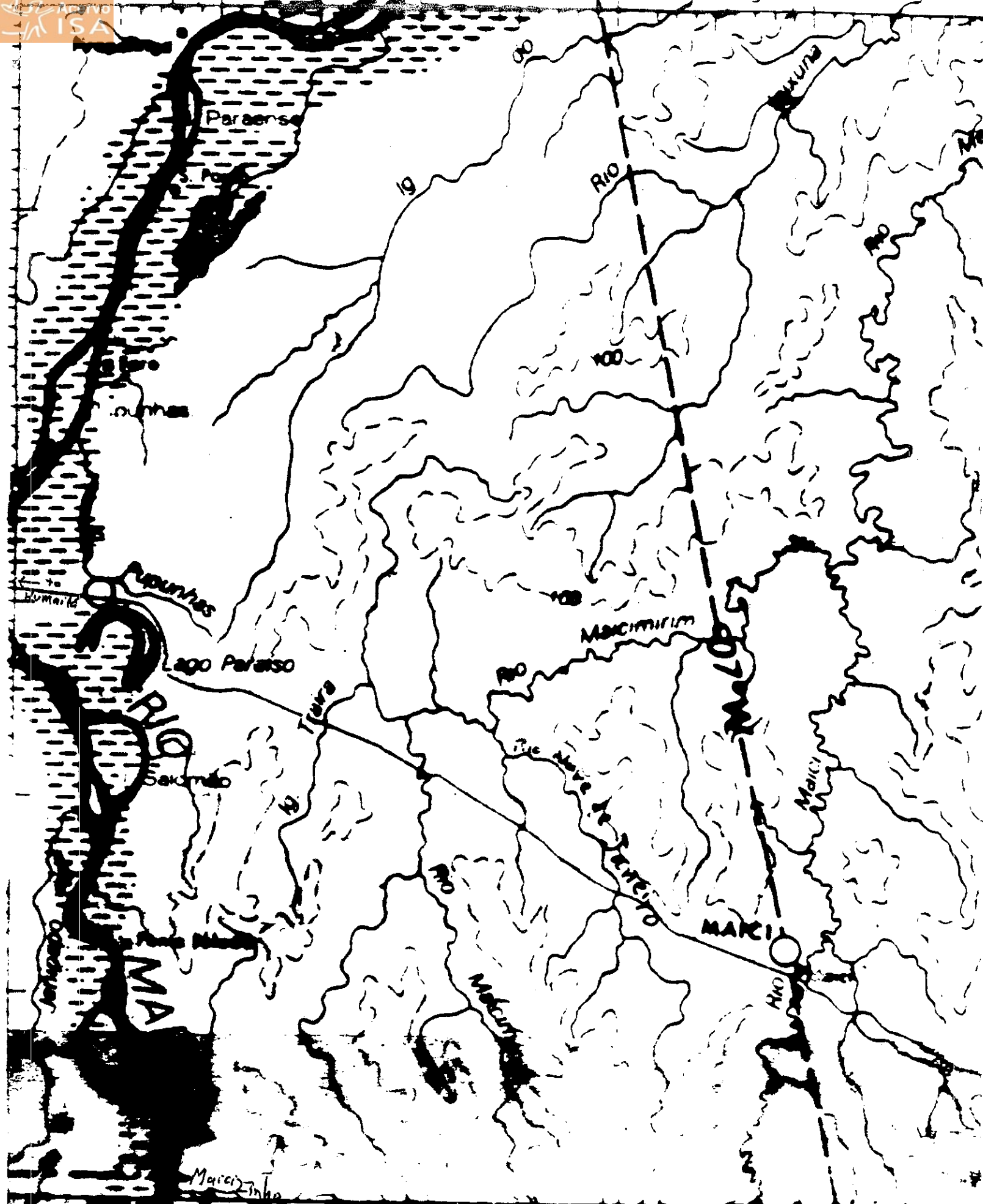
with location of  
Parintintin territory  
and related groups

ALFABÉTICA

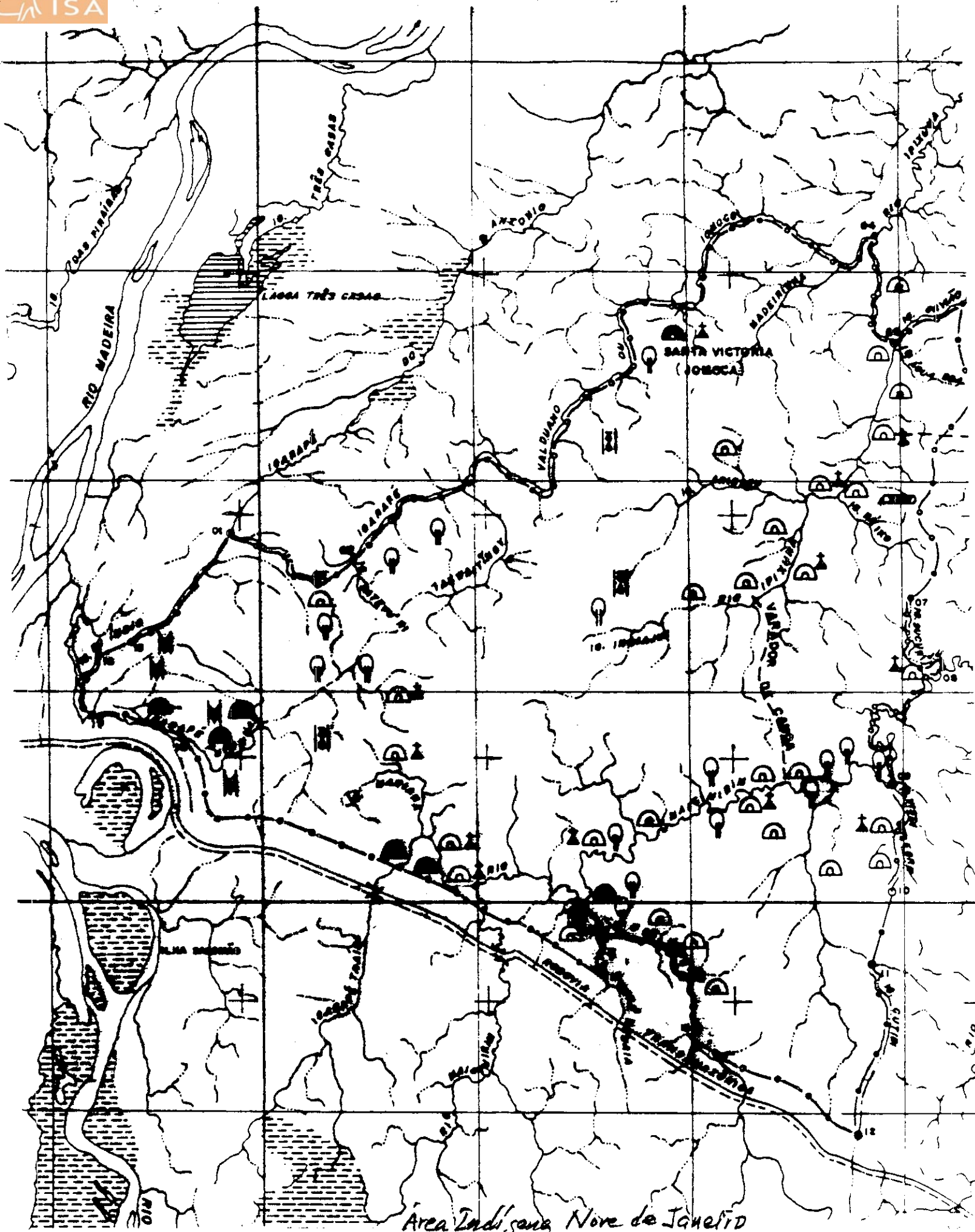
- 155 - KATAWIXI
- 130a - KATUKINA DO JURUA
- 130b - KATUKINA DO JUTAI (=PIDÁ-DJAPÁ)
- 147 - KAXARARI
- 142 - KAXINAWÁ

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B O L I V I A

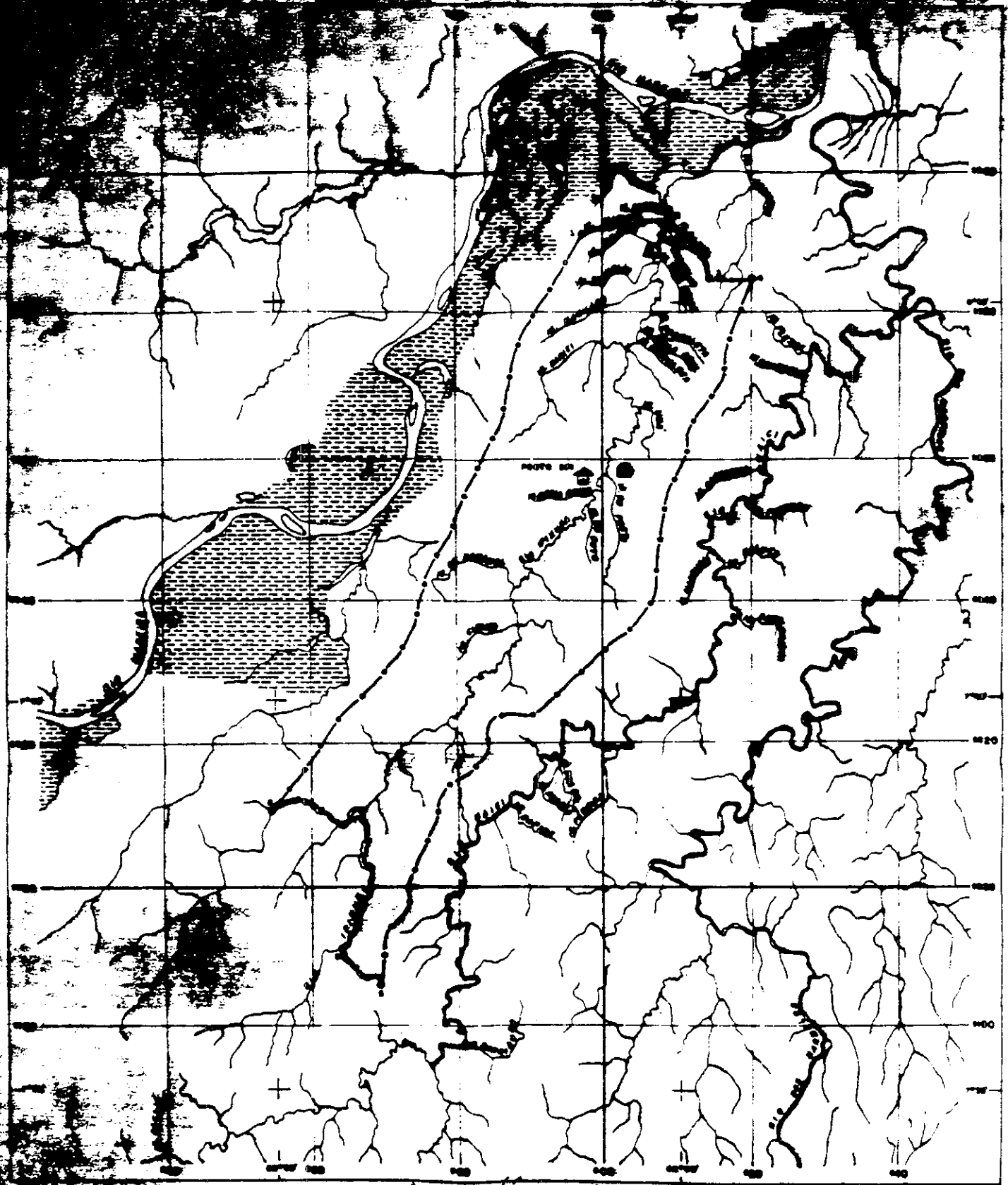


Detail map of Parintintim territory



Área Indígena Nove de Janeiro





Area Indígena Ipiranga

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embarked in a canoe and traveled for two days without catching sight of land -- perhaps the lower Amazon above Marajó Island. Thence they continued up the Amazon and the Madeira Rivers, and entered the Marmelos and the Maicí. Along the Maicí and the Maicí Mirim and their tributaries, he proceeded to open up the major habitation sites and give them names. The list of names of places opened up by Ika'apitimba'ví is much more exhaustive in the 1967 version of the myth, but otherwise they are remarkably consistent; I will come back to this after looking in more detail at the organization of the settlements themselves, so that we can see some of the significance of the order in which he presents them.

The most striking difference between the versions is in the final fate of Ika'apitimba'ví himself. In 1967, Paulino had him get as far as Ko'í, Castanhal de Garcia, a spot fairly far up on the Maici Mirim, leaving his son to succeed him. Paulino was a bit vague on the name of the son, but gave it as Icava'ehujavera (from icava'ehu, "very old man,"), who he claimed was the father of his grandfather Iguaharé, and he traced the succession on down to himself. This was at a time when Paulino was still trying to maintain his hold on the position of paramount chieftainship he tried to sustain for many years with limited success. But in 1985, when he had largely abandoned his aspiration to real power, -- he had Ika'apitimba'ví continue on up the Maici Mirim, two stops beyond Ko'í to Karãtinguhũ, and from there to the Machado River (Kanindehã). Paulino here professes to lose track of him; but there is an implication that he may have continued on across

the Kanindehí on into the heartland of Rondonia, where within the last ten years several groups of Indians have been contacted who are linguistically and culturally virtually identical with the Parintintin (Paulino's own son was recruited by the FUNAI to help contact them).

This legend establishes a basic directionality to the Parintintin world, an axis of movement which divides the cosmos into "that which is behind us" (ñande rakikweré), downriver, and "that which is ahead" (tenondeuhú) upriver in the direction toward which Ika'apitimba'ví disappeared. The great tapir, tapiranuhũ, who stands at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of animal species, is located "behind us" somewhere in the regions from which the great chief came.

This directionality seems to be generally reflected in the historical movement of settlements as they moved from spot to spot along the Maicí and Maicí Mirim, in Paulino's account of the groups of specific headmen. Paulino provided me with a list of some sixty localities on the Maicí-Maicí Mirim, and another thirty on the Ipixuna, most of which were locations of settlements established by particular headmen. These were not, of course, all occupied simultaneously, but rather each headman moved his group successively to a series of different locations, in the frequent tropical forest pattern of movement of settlements at five or ten-year intervals. For many of these localities, Paulino gave me at least a partial list of the major residents, and also the sequence of movement of the group from one location to another.



The pattern of movements one can thus reconstruct in general follows the pattern of moving southward up the Maicí to the Maicí-Mirim and thence up the Maicí-Mirim to its headwaters. Most of the headmen operate in a restricted range of territory-- one tributary, or a segment of the Maicí or Maicí Mirim -- known as his "land" (ivá), within which he progresses generally in an upriver direction, as he moves his group from site to site.

On the upper reaches of the Maicí-Mirim, approaching the Machado River which forms a southern natural boundary to Parintintin territory, the inhabitants of the last few settlements had something of the reputation of frontiersmen or pioneers: they were rough and fractious characters who engaged in considerable feuding among themselves, unlike the more "civilized" behavior of the high-status residents of the core of Parintintin territory.

But the movement is by no means an even upriver flow. Rather, there is a progression of upriver moves interrupted by reverse moves downriver, either returning to a favored site already occupied or opening a new site below. Furthermore, as my colleague José Carlos Levinho pointed out in discussing our findings, the overall sweep of the settling of the region also involves a reverse movement, as leaders moved up the Maicí, across to the headwaters of the Ipixuna and the Pupunhas, and then down those rivers, back in a northerly direction. Thus this "outward and return" form of movement appears both in the macroscopic sweep of the occupation of the territory, and in the individual movements of headmen.

This progression in fits and starts is perhaps not in itself remarkable; it may be characteristic of any natural movements of this sort. But the pattern appears in a number of other areas of Parintintin life, in a way that suggests that it may be a deeply engrained motif in Parintintin culture. Young men, and older men as well, go out into Brazilian society to work for a number of years, appearing to disappear into the traffic of the river or the cities, but then return home. In ways that I cannot elaborate here, the theme also appears in myth and other aspects of the culture.

Our recent research on life histories has elaborated this pattern somewhat. Work with one articulate informant revealed that, while his normal orientation was one of constant movement-- "I never stop in one place, I always move on" -- when he was sick, his whole orientation reversed to one of return home. This observation recalled my experience that old people will return, when ill, to a favored place of their earlier life to die there. And this can be seen in the pattern of movements of some of the individual headmen: Mandat, Paulino's father whose ɔvi was the Igarapé Nove de Janeiro, returned toward the end of his life to a downriver settlement near where he had started out (although his last move was to the uprivermost spot of his ɔvi, Birititi'vi). And Gwivi'ga, as his final move, returned down the Igarapé to a spot where he had had a settlement early in his career. The return thus is associated with closure, with illness and the end of life.

SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE NOVE DE JANEIRO

Koivate'í	Jahárijuva'ga, Pireró [cunhados]
Naëhü'í	Avarimähü, Pireró
Mbairia'ívuhu	Jahá'rí [só aquí -- <u>opitaheté</u> ]
Juako'í [location??']	Iguarikatú'ga [to Gapáwkaitav]
Japi'ív	Paririmã*
Icava'egwaia*	Jahárijúvuhu (85v11v) Paririmã (8521) [to Capoeira Arinão] Jahá'rí (PN, III57)
Itakúhu	Mandat [from Okáratin'gi]
Emokó	Iguaharé [II31v], Mandat [II31]
Jaguatingwanguhu	Memôã'í (152), Mbaravatéuhu
Tajivaia'béuhu <sup>10</sup> (Jiruréuhu)	
Jiruakó	Mandat (152), Biahú. Tatarugá †, (I 116)
Juparapakó	Mandat se casou com Iaté, Biahú
Naepopév (Jiruréuhu)	Memôã'í, Batiti'ga
Guiririkó [here? or below Jaguatingwanguhu?]	Mandat, Tatarugá <u>opitá ga pá'róva</u> depois, Ukaya'ga Iaté † (1.52) (Mandat's wife dies here)
Okaratin'gi <sup>11</sup>	Mandat, Tatarugá, Mbiahú <sup>12</sup>
Mbarititi'ví	Mandat (†)

*Kothaoti (high up on the Ka. Mission)*

<sup>7</sup>Near Mbairia'ívuhu, according to Pino 1967 Int. p. 41.

\*85v22; opitaheté, IV 1

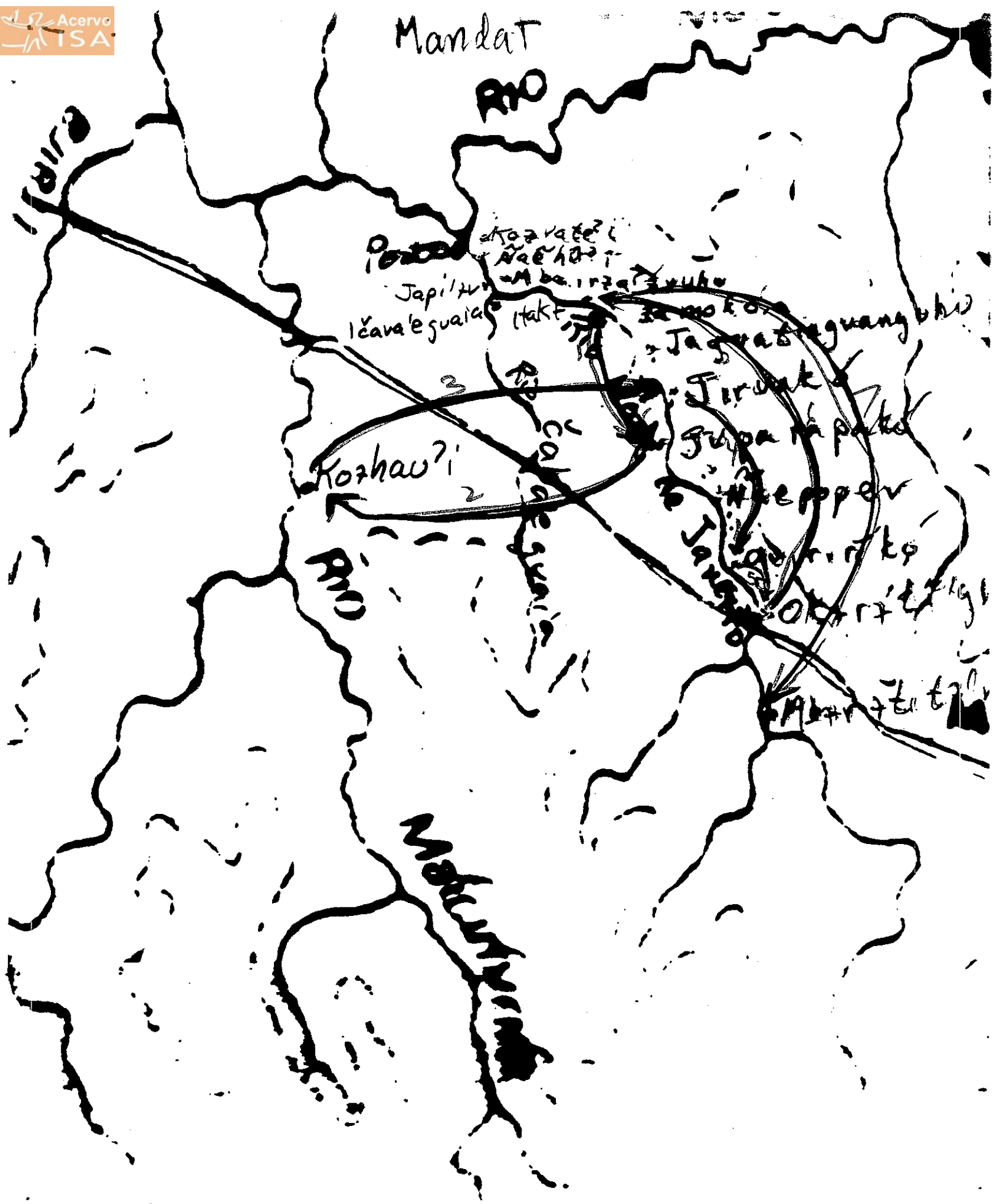
\*No ig. Icava'egwaia.

<sup>10</sup>"Dentes de queixo não prestam"

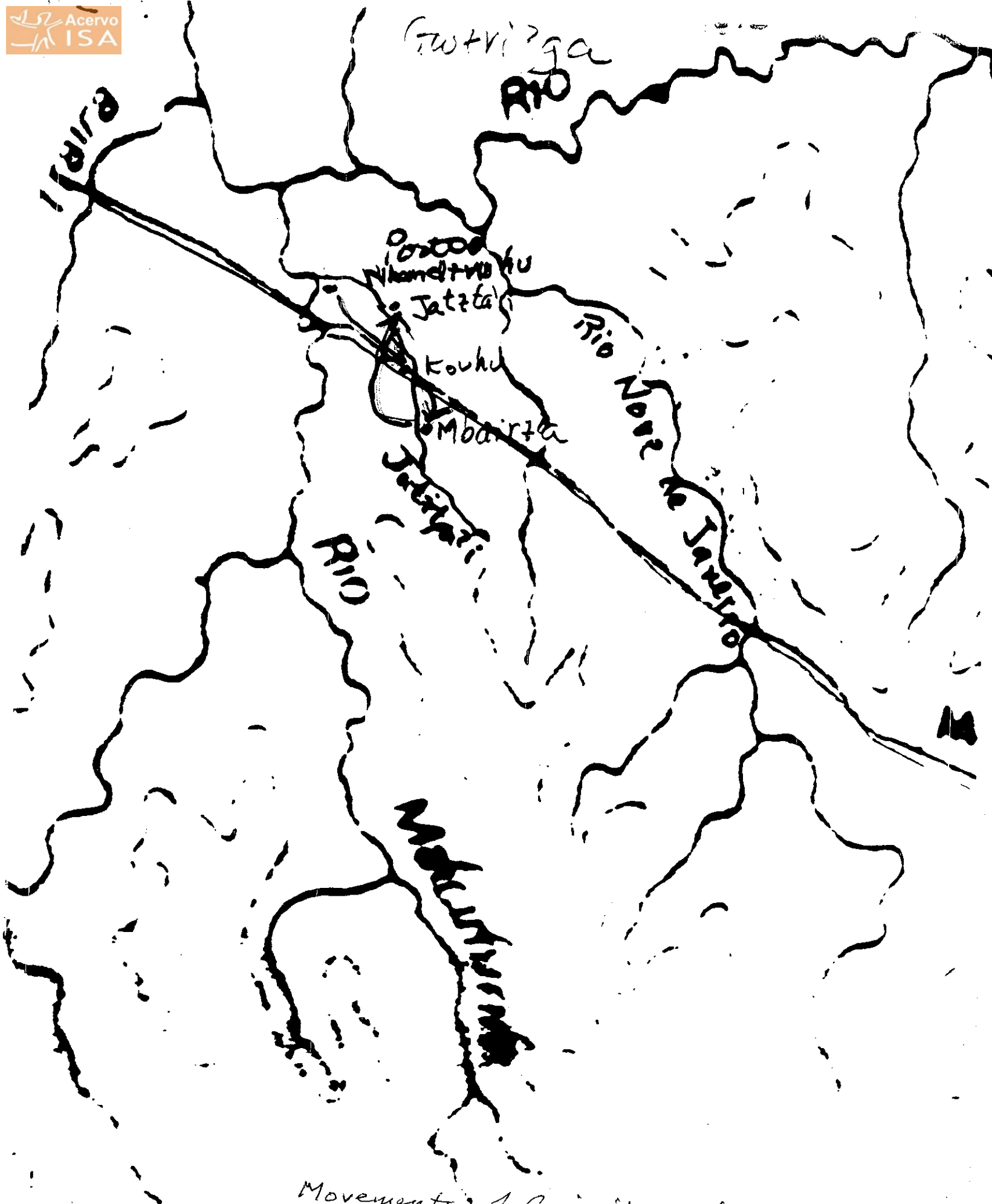
<sup>11</sup>Porque limpinho terreiro.

<sup>12</sup>Mandat, Mbiahú mema opó oná

*Movements of MANDAT and his group along the Igarapé Nove de Janeiro*



Movements of Mandat and hrs group along the Igaraapé Nova de Janeiro (and to Maici-Mirim)



Movements of Gwivilga and group along the Garapé Jattai.





Not all sequences of life movements correspond to this exact pattern. In one or two cases, most notably that of Iguarikatu'í, the person starts with a return movement, to then spend the rest of his life progressing forward upriver. Iguarikatu'í began at a settlement fairly high on the Maicí Mirim, and progressed down to a settlement on the Maicí, then continued to progress up the Maicí until he ventured to the headwaters of the Ipixuna. Others, like Memûa'í and Takwãñovape'ví, hopped over long distances in their upriver progression, the latter progressing from the lower Maicí-Mirim to the upper headwaters of it before transferring over to the Ipixuna where he bounced around among several settlements before returning to the confluence where he died.

Let us return to the legend of settlement. The two versions Paulino told in 1967 and in 1985 correspond quite closely in the settlements listed, as I have mentioned. Here again we are faced with the historical (or here, personal) conditions of the narration: in both versions, Paulino begins his list of settlements with his father's places on the Igarapé Nove de Janeiro, and proceeds upriver from there, even though his father's places are far from the beginning, and indeed are not located on the Maicí and Maici Mirim at all, but on a tributary. More than half of the settlements he named in the 1967 version are on his father's igarapé, and the second mentioned was Juparapakó where Paulino was born. The choice of settlements to list, then, and the order in which they are mentioned, is a highly subjective one.

Further, although in the beginning of the list of settlements he emphasizes the directionality of ñande rakikwere and tenondeuhú, the list follows the directionality only in general; the first-mentioned settlements are generally downriver and the last three or four are in the headwaters, but he gives the intermediate settlements listed hopping back and forth with apparent randomness, as he thinks of them. What he stresses in giving the list is the fact that Ika'apítimba'ví opened each one, and gave it its name.

The underlying principle that is embodied in the legend as well as in the memory account of moves is that constant movement is a fundamental feature of Parintintin life. I never come back but a family has moved to another settlement, often in another part of Parintintin territory, or left for the city -- or returned from it. Few people stay for more than a few years in any one place, and many Parintintin, like Bebé, are constantly on the move. This becomes evident in life histories, which are often a catalogue of moves. But equally significant are the returns.

If the Ika'apítimba'ví legend encapsulates the principle of constant movement onward, forward, tenondeuhu, then perhaps the great tapir who waits behind us, ñande rakikweré, ready take care of any species of injured animal, represents the less explicit pattern of return.

This pattern of outward movement and return is a way of confronting the new. It characterizes the occupation of a new territory by the Parintintin, as they sought out areas that were

free of existing occupants to oppose them, and more recently moving outward into Brazilian society to bring back new skills and knowledge. The war forays engaged in by parties of young men before 1923 also fit into this pattern of outward movement and return -- and they brought back not only head trophies, as my colleague José Carlos Levinho pointed out, but basic innovations such as iron axes and pots and pans, which by pacification had already totally replaced pottery. Even new ideas were introduced: Uarinão observed the architecture of rubber tappers' houses on war raids, and introduced the raised floor.

Thus this pattern is a part of the fundamental Tupí orientation which has been observed by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, of reaching outward for identity, "becoming the other."