

CEDI - P. I. B.
DATA 31/12/86
COD. YAD 129

THE MANKIND QUARTERLY



AN INTERNATIONAL QUARTERLY JOURNAL
dealing with Race and Inheritance in the Fields of
ETHNOLOGY · ETHNO- AND HUMAN GENETICS
ETHNO-PSYCHOLOGY · RACIAL HISTORY
DEMOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPO-GEOGRAPHY

Vol. X, No. 4 · April-June 1970

7s 6d · \$1.50

P. 125

The Aharaibu Indians: A “White” Tribe in the Amazon

By FRANCIS J. KNOBLOCH

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The homelands of the Aharaibu Indians are situated in the upper regions of the Cauaboris and Maia rivers in north-eastern Brazil—roughly in an area bounded by latitudes 00° 30' and 00° 55' North and longitudes 65° 45' and 66° 20' West. This area is in the foothills of the Serra da Neblinha which reaches altitudes of more than 3000 metres and marks Brazil's northern frontier with Venezuela. The land of the Aharaibu is completely covered by tropical rain forest and the climate is hot and humid, although it can be relatively cool at night. The prevailing wind blows from the east, bringing with it most of the rain-bearing clouds, while the dry season lasts from November to March.

The vegetation includes a considerable number of palms, including the *açai* (*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.), *bacaba* (*Oenocarpus distichus* Mart.), *inajá* (*Maximiliana Regia* Mart.), *paxiuba* (*Iriartea exorrhizo* Mart.), *pupunha* or *raça* (*Guillemia speciosa* Mart.), and *ubim* (*Geonoma* sp.).

Animal life includes the jaguar (*Felis onca* L.), tapir (*Tapirus americanus* Briss.), deer (*Cervidae* sp.), forest pig (*Pecari tajacu*), and monkey (*Alouatta Guariba*). The more common birds include the curassow or *mutum* (*Crax* sp.), the Red Arara or macaw (*Ara macao* L.) and the *Papagaio curica* parrot (*Amazona* sp.), among others.

ETHNIC GROUPS AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS

There are two groups of Aharaibu in this area and each group forms an independent political unit, although they are closely related by blood, culture and language. The largest group, the Wawanaweteri, live on the River Maia and consist of between 450 to 500 people. They adopted a family of five Höreweteri last year. The other group, the Masiribuiweteri, live near the Salesian Mission on the Rio Maturacá, a tributary of the Cauaboris. They numbered 250 in 1964 but had increased to 295 by 1967 through natural reproduction and the absorption of 18 surviving Höreweteri.

Linguistically the Aharaibu are related to the Yanoname family who are also known as the Waika or Shiriana in ethnological literature and who live in the Pacaraima, Roraima, Curupira, Tapirapeca, Imeri and Neblinha serras of the mountains on the

Brazilian-Venezuelan border, and in the upper valley of the Orinoco and upper tributaries of the Rio Branco.

They are relative newcomers to the Cauaboris and Marauia river areas, having arrived about 50 to 60 years ago. They settled after driving out the Aruakian tribe of the Yabahana from the Marauia, and the Mandauacas, another Aruakian group, from the Cauaboris and Maturacá.

CLASSIFICATION

J. H. Steward classifies the Yanoname as "Guiana Internal Marginals."¹ All these marginal tribes hunt, fish and collect food. They do not carry on agriculture as such, although a start has been made with horticulture.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The Aharaibu economy is based mainly on hunting and collecting food. Hunting is carried on exclusively with bows and arrows. The bow, which is about two metres long, is carved from the wood of a *pupunha* (*Guillemia utilis*), while the arrow, which is of similar length, is made from cane and tipped with one of three heads made, respectively, from bamboo, the bone of the Guariba monkey and *pupunha* wood. The arrow head made from *pupunha* is dipped in a poison derived from three vegetal ingredients which have not been botanically identified. Fishing is also carried out with bows and arrows, although it is considered to be a less important occupation. Collecting plays an important part in the life of the Aharaibu and is mainly left to the women. Items collected include more than 80 species of plants, as well as lizards, moluses and small animals. As far as horticulture is concerned, the Aharaibu cultivate bananas—principally the *kurata* or English plantain (*musca paradisiaca normalis*)—*pupunha*, sweet potatoes (*hunkomo*) and yams (*ahé*).

The Aharaibu dwellings are simple wind screens with sloping rectangular roofs covered with leaves of the *ubim* palm and supported on poles of hard timber. The houses are formed into two semi-circular groups facing an ellipsoidal court which is the scene for a great festival of the dead and the ritual of *hekura*.

The craft of basketry is well developed among the Aharaibu. The baskets are made from liana stems and there are several types, including a round flat one (*sóto*) and a tall one (*nii'ii*). The Aharaibu also make hammocks—one made by men with lianas and the other made by women with cotton.

The Aharaibu do not wear clothes, although a cotton belt is worn on official occasions—the woman's belt being much larger

¹ Julian H. Steward, *Handbook of South-American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smith Institute, Washington, Vol. III, Bulletin 143, 1948, pp. 883-889 and p. 896.

than the man's. Body painting is very common and carried out in two colours. The ground colour is a red dye made from the fruits of a shrub, *Bixa orellana* or *urucú*, on which are painted black designs resembling the markings of a snake. The black dye is made from the fruits of a tree, *Jenipago americana*, which grows in the swamp-like *tgopós* areas along the Cauaboris river.

The Aharaibu construct hanging bridges from lianas to enable them to cross streams and small rivers. These bridges resemble the famous hanging bridges of the Incas.²

Fire is obtained by rubbing together pieces of wood from the wild cacao or *pohoroa* tree (*Theobroma cacao*).

FAMILY AND VILLAGE LIFE

Every family nucleus—father, mother and children, and grandfather and grandmother—has its own house. Generally the family is organised on a matriarchal basis, although this is not strictly observed everywhere. The son-in-law is not allowed to speak to his wife's parents—although there are no such restrictions regarding a woman and her husband's parents. All except four families are monogamous. The four exceptions—who include the two chiefs—practise polygamy and have two wives. Marriage partners are generally chosen from cross-cousins—the children of the father's sister marrying the children of the mother's brother. Parallel cousins cannot marry because all sisters of the mother are also called mother (*nape*) and all brothers of the father are also called father (*hape*), and their children, therefore, are considered and called brother (*apa*) and sister (*naka*). Should there not be a suitable girl available when a man wants to marry, a girl or young woman is often taken from another village, sometimes with her consent, but sometimes against her will.

Women generally command a respected position among the Aharaibu. Their principal task is to be good mothers and as far as I can judge during the nine years I have lived amongst them the Aharaibu are very careful and dedicated in this respect. Both parents, in fact, love children. Girls and boys are betrothed by their parents very often at a very early age. There are parallels for this custom in America, India and Europe. It is practised by the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois Federation in New York State.³ An example in medieval times was the betrothal at the age of four of St Elizabeth, the daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary, to the Wartburg family of her future husband, Louis IV of Thuringia.

² Sancho de la Hoz, "Relación de lo sucedido en la conquista y pacificación de estas provincias de la Nueva Castilla," *Colección de libros referentes a la historia del Perú*, Lima, 1917, Vol. V, chapter XVI.

³ Francis MacDonald, *Star of the Mohawk: Katheri Tekakwitha*, Benzinger Brothers Inc., New York, 1958, pp. 29-44.

Daily work in the village is divided between men and women. The men hunt, fish, work in the plantations and, if necessary, defend the village, as well as manufacturing bows and arrows. The women take care of the children, prepare food, collect fruit and make baskets and hammocks. Men and women become the owners of the items they make and when they die all their possessions are destroyed.

Small children are carried by their mothers in a belt made from the bark of a tree. The bigger boys hunt lizards and other small animals with bows and arrows, while the girls generally remain with their mothers, helping to cook and learning to make baskets and other utensils.

The Aharaibu village is divided into two sections, each in the form of two half circles placed at the eastern and western sides of the court. From my observations over a long period the organisation of a village never changes-- even though the tribe, being semi-nomadic, moves from place to place. The western half-circle of huts is called *oro* (further ones) and the eastern, *koro* (rear ones). Both chiefs of the village belong to the *oro* section and Henrique, son-in-law of a first chief, told me that only men from the *oro* section can become chiefs. There appear to be no hard and fast rules about marriage within the *oro* and *koro* and there are some marriages between members of the groups. From my observations, however, it would appear that people in the *oro* section are closely related, whereas the *koro* is made up of a great number of people who originated from other villages of the Waika. It is interesting that the division of the village into *oro* and *koro* applies both to the Wawanaweteri of the Maia River and the Masiribuiweteri of the Rio Maturacá. Both the Wawanaweteri and the Masiribuiweteri villages are ruled by two chiefs, who are called *pöliome*, one of them being the high chief (*pöliome pata pata*). If both chiefs are absent from a village, the Masiribuiweteri are led by a brother-in-law of the chiefs. The brother-in-law will come from the *koro* group.

The Höreweteri, a group of 18 people from the headquarters of the Cauaboris river, joined the Masiribuiweteri in December 1967. So far the Höreweteri have not established themselves as a separate entity in the village. Their three families do not live together as a unit but have been scattered among the rest of the villages and it seems likely that the Masiribuiweteri do not want a half-independent group in the village.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTISES

The Aharaibu believe in the immortality of the soul (*noporere*). They believe that after death the body must be burnt because the soul will be judged by the "Son of Thunder" (*Naru-ihirube*). If a person was avaricious or a thief they believe he will not be

allowed to enter the village of the souls and will be left to wander forever in a dark forest. If a soul has been generous it can enter the village of the dead and will not suffer or “die”.

The Aharaibu have some mythological people and spirits to whom they attribute the creation of things and the teaching of arts and crafts to the tribe. The most famous of these are *Pore*, *Omaue*, *Naru* and *Horoname*, as well as a mountain ghost called *Kakamaue*. In addition, there are many animal ghosts called *hekura* who are asked for help in times of drought, hurricane and sickness, and for protection from threats to the village from outside, and for success in hunting and war. The ritual for calling on the *hekura* for help is also called *hekura*. Each *hekura* spirit has its own voice and ceremonial and lives in a mountain peak or waterfall. Communication with *hekura* is established by making a powdered snuff called *epéna* which is made from three plants --*Virola theiodora*, a myristicaceae; *Justicia pectoralis* var. *stenophylla*, an acanthaceae; and *Elisabetha princeps*, a leguminosae.⁴

If a warrior has killed he must undergo a ritual with much fasting and stay in the forest for several days. He then has a bath and may be allowed to return to the village and seek permission to assume a large tonsure.

The Aharaibu's only-- and very solemnly celebrated--festival is the *leahumo*, which commemorates the dead and their souls. This feast has much in common with similar celebrations of the Bororo in the Mato Grosso,⁵ the Umutina on the upper Paraguay river,⁶ and the Šipaia, an impure Tupi tribe on the Iriri river in the Xingu region.⁷ During the festival, which may last from seven to fourteen days, the men enter the village each afternoon and there is singing and dancing each night by separate male and female groups. An important feature of the celebration is the endo-cannibalistic meal. When the dead are burnt during the year the bone ash is collected, reduced to powder and mixed in a soup made from plantain. All members of the tribe eat the soup in the belief that they will assume some of the strength of the dead person. Some of the bone ash is retained after each death for use in a great meal on the last day of the *leahumo* feast which is frequently attended by neighbouring villagers. As far as is known endo-cannibalism is a characteristic of all groups of the Yanoname family. The Aharaibu, like other Yanoname --

⁴ Richard E. Schultes and Bo Holmstedt, “The Vegetal Ingredients of the Myristicaceous Snuffs of the North-west Amazon,” *Rhodora*, 1968, Vol. 70, p. 135, pp. 147-156.

⁵ Vera Dagny Stähle, “Dorforganisation und Kulturwandel bei den Bororo,” *Staden-Jahrbuch*, 1966, Vol. XVI, pp. 17-28.

⁶ Harald Schultz, “Informações etnográficas sobre os Umutina,” *Revista do Museu Paulista*, 1961-1962, Vol. XIII, pp. 258-311

⁷ Kurt Nimuendaju, “Bruchstücke aus Religion und Überlieferung der Šipaia-Indianer,” *Anthropos*, Mödling bei Wien, Vols. XIV and XV, 1919-1920, pp. 373-385.

such as the Surara and Pakidai—claim to have originated from blood drops from the Moon (*pelibo*).

HISTORICAL NOTES

The Serra Parima and the headwaters of the Orinoco may be the original homeland of the Yanoname family. They have been migrating from this area in several groups down the rivers towards Venezuela and Brazil. The Aharaibu, who came from a north-easterly direction, have lived in their present territory for about 50 to 60 years. An old chief, Toritauc, father of both present chiefs of the Masiribuiweteri, always said he was a Waika. There has been a continual war this century between the incoming tribes on the one side, and the Aruakian tribes and the mixed-blood *caboclos* of the Rio Negro on the other. Invading Yanoname tribes expelled the Aruwakian Yabahana on the Marauia river and the Mandauaca on the Cauabori and Maturacá. There have been clashes between the *caboclos* and the Indians and in one incident the *caboclos* killed 19 Indians at the mouth of the Castanheiro river. A Salesian priest, Father Antonio Gois, visited the Indians in 1952 and was well received. He founded a mission among the Masiribuiweteri which has been administered since 1960 by Father J. Schneider, who has also made contact with the Wawanaweteri.

TRIBAL CHARACTERISTICS

All Aharaibu men cut their hair in the form of a tonsure which resembles that of the monks of the Carmelite Order—the Tonsure of St Petrus—and perforate the ears, under-lips and ends of the mouth. The women perforate the septum—the skin which divides the nostrils. Another male custom is the binding of the male member with a cotton string.

RACIAL QUALITIES

The Aharaibu are a relatively small people. The average height of 30 males measured was 1.54 metres. With the exception of one man, Antonio, who was 1.68 metres, the tallest male was 1.60 metres and the smallest 1.44. Of 30 women measured, the tallest was 1.47 metres and the smallest 1.31, with a medium of 1.43 metres. Despite their size, the Aharaibu are not a pygmy people in the strict sense of the word.

The Aharaibu skin colour is very light and almost white. Some individuals are as white as Europeans of the Nordic or East Baltic race and this is particularly true of the Waheteiwe Numenkake Kariñabeteri family. One old man told me that he was a Heaweteri, a completely white tribe of the Yanoname family.

The Aharaibu hair is as fine as silk and not curly. The colour varies from a very dark brown which is almost black to a reddish hue in some cases, and— frequently among children—very fair or blond. The head is dolichocephalic, with the front often flat and the nose broad, although the root of the nose is narrow. The nostrils are turned slightly upwards. The eyes are generally light but sometimes they are almost black. There are people among the Heaweteri with green eyes but I have not seen any with blue eyes in the true sense. Some individuals have normally formed earlobes, others have none. Those with Mongoloid faces have pronounced cheekbones with a Mongolian eye position, and most of these people have black hair and black eyes. The facial hair of the beard is very sparse and sometimes consists only of scattered hair. The lips are slightly thickened and the teeth are very healthy and beautifully white. The body is well formed and symmetrical and the arms and legs are very muscular. An interesting feature is the wide space between the big and second toes.

Over a period of nine years I have been unable to discover the Mongolian blue spot in any child. Unfortunately a blood group investigation has never been carried out. This should be made because, so far, the Aharaibu have not mixed with another ethnic group, such as the Rio Negro *caboclos*, Whites, Aruak or Betoya. There has never been a scientific anthropological investigation of the Aharaibu and the only information we have from a specialist in anthropological science is provided by Eickstedt,⁸ who is probably referring to the Yanoname group of the Schiriana on the Uricapará when he says that they include individuals of the Lagid race. Zerries says that the Brasilid race was a very important element in the formation of the Yanoname.⁹ Blood group investigations among the Yanoname group of the Waika and Schiriana of the Orinoco produced the interesting fact that there is a complete absence of the so-called *Diego Blutmerk males*, which is similar to the Rhesus factor. The blood factor *Diego* is characteristic of Mongoloids and its absence shows that there was a strong European element in the formation of the Yanoname.¹⁰

ANTHROPOLOGICAL POSITION AMONG THE AMERINDIANS

As we have seen the Yanoname are of small stature. Other tribes of similar stature include the Arawak (1.55 metres); Aruaki (1.45); Baré (1.45); Caingua (1.54); Carib (1.49); Cayapa (1.55); Chipaya (1.45); Cuna (1.54); Cunco Araukaner (1.55); Guarani

⁸ Egon von Eickstedt, *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit*, Stuttgart, 1934, p. 751.

⁹ Otto Zerries, *Waika: Die kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika Indianer des oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas*, Klaus Renner Verlag, Frankfurt, 1964, p. 44.

¹⁰ Otto Zerries, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.

(1-53); Guayaki (1-51); Mura (1-54); Puri (1-54); Pariqui (1-55); Temb  (1-51); San Blas (1-49); Tucuna (1-49); Umaua (1-53); Tucano-Desana (1-54); Jaricuna (1-53); Paressi (1-55); Alacaluf (1-54); and "Motilones" (1-40), the name given to various tribes living in the Sierra de Perij  on the Colombian-Venezuela border.¹¹

FAIR-SKINNED PEOPLES IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

The Aharaiibu are not the only relatively fair-skinned people in Brazil. Other groups of the Yanoname with similar colouring include the Hacubueteri, who have blond hair and blue eyes¹²; the Namoieteri¹³; the Waika and Schiriana¹⁴; and the Suraka and Pakidai.¹⁵ The presence of white-skinned Indians in Central and South America has been known since pre-Columbian times from the "White Gods" myths of mythology. The Incas venerated *Kon Tiki Illac Viracocha*; the Mayas, *Kukulkan*; the Aztecs and Toltecs, *Quetzalcoatl*; the Chibcha, *Bochica*; and the Aymara, *Illystus*.¹⁶ All these "White Gods" were legislators or cultural heroes who arrived in the country from abroad, taught the people and then left, promising to return at some future date.

Similarly, the folklore of the Shipaia, an impure Tupi tribe in Central Brazil, mentions the light-skinned children of the "wives of Kumapari" and the light-skinned "Siphaia children."¹⁷

Columbus twice refers to often seeing on Guanahani (Watlings Island) Indians who were almost as white as Spaniards. Cortez, writing of his meeting with the Aztec king Montezuma, says that he had black hair, a small beard and lighter skin than other Indians. Pedro Pizarro, writing about the Incas, said: "The ruling class in the Kingdom of Peru was fair-skinned and blond, like ripe wheat. The lords and ladies were mostly white, like the Spaniards."¹⁸

Garcilaso de las Vegas says that the eighth Inca, Viracocha-Inca, was white and bearded.¹⁹ Some historians say that the Tupi, who live on the Brazilian coast, have Caucasian characteristics.²⁰

¹¹ Otto Zerries, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

¹² Franz Knobloch, *Die Aharaiibu-Indianer in Northwestbrasilien*, Collectanea Instituti Anthropos, Verlag des Anthropos-Instituts, St. Augustin by Bonn, 1967, Vol. I, p. 7.

¹³ Wilhelm Saake, "Nap uma die Tochter der Weissen," *Staden-Jahrbuch*, Vol XIV, 1966, p. 39.

¹⁴ Otto Zerries, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-44.

¹⁵ Hans Becher, *Die Surara und Pakidai, zwei Yanonamist mme in Nordwestbrasilien*, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum f r V lkerkunde in Hamburg, Cram, de Gruyter and Company, Hamburg, Vol. XXVI, 1960, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ Pierre Honor , *Ich fand den Weissen Gott*, Heinrich Sch ffer Verlag, Frankfurt, 1961, pp. 11-13.

¹⁷ Kurt Nimuendaju, *op. cit.*, pp. 1009-1027.

¹⁸ Pierre Honor , *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁹ Pierre Honor , *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²⁰ Paulo Florencio da Silveira Camargo, *Historia Ecclesiastica do Brasil*, Editora Vozes Ltd., Petropolis, 1955, p. 16.

The British explorer, Colonel Fawcett, discovered an old document of the prospector Francisco Raposo who claimed to have seen white Indians during a visit to the Amazon.²¹ Colonel Fawcett also refers to having seen white Indians with red hair and blue eyes on the Acre river in the upper Amazon.²² Indians from San Blas in Panama are blond and almost white.²³ In a list of Indian tribes living in the Mato Grosso, Frei José Maria de Macerata says that there is a family of the Karipuna, a tribe of Pano stock on the upper Madeira river, who live in the forests of the Rio Madeira, and whose "members are pure white and have red hair."²⁴

Dr Vernau believes that the Patagonians of the Rio Negro in Argentina are of the same white race as the people of the Lagoa Santa, who are typical of the Lagide race.²⁵ The Passé of the Rio Negro are a white tribe with Caucasian colouring and are very good looking.²⁶ Homet numbers among the white Indian tribes the Uros of Lake Titicaca and believes they are descendents of the Atlantes.²⁷ Frikel, describing the Xikrin-Kayapó do Rio Itacaiúna, mentions the Tupis - probably the Kuben-Kamrekti-Assurini - as being lighter than the Xikrin, with whom they live.²⁸

There are two types of colouring among the Bororo of the Mato Grosso - one dark-skinned and the other light. The latter also possess a fine physiognomy and are looked upon with envy by the others as light skin appears to be considered the ideal of beauty. The differences of colour and type among the people are derived from race-mixing, evidence of which is contained in a tribal myth.²⁹

Other fair-skinned tribes are the Betoya of the Arapaço on the Rio Uaupés and the so-called Makú or Hubdé who live in the drainage area of the Uaupés and upper Rio Negro.³⁰ I saw fair-skinned people in both tribes when I stayed with these Indians from 1960 to 1961. The "Motilons" of Serra Perija on the Columbian-Venezuelan frontier are a well-known white-skinned tribe, as are the Pauisohana, Waiwai and Emerillon in Guyana. In Peru, the Jivaro, Zaparo, Schipibo and Chachapoya are light-skinned, while in the upper Xingu region there are the Bakairi and Nahuqua, and

²¹ Marcel F. Homet, *Die Söhne der Sonne*, Walter-Verlag, Olten, 1958, p. 190.

²² Pierre Honoré, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

²³ Pierre Honoré, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

²⁴ Victor Hugo, *Desbravadores*, Missao Salesiana de Humaitá, Sao Paulo, 1959, Vol. II, p. 344.

²⁵ Marcel F. Homet, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁶ Dom Pedro Massa, *De Tupã a Cristo*, Missões Salesianas do Amazonas, Rio de Janeiro, 1965, p. 62.

²⁷ Marcel F. Homet, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁸ Protasio Frikel, *Os Xikrin*, Publicações Avulsas, Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Belém do Pará, No. 7, 1968, p. 113.

²⁹ Thekla Hartmann, "Ethnobotanische Beobachtungen unter den Bororo," *Staden-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XIV, 1966, p. 14.

³⁰ Alcimilio Bruzzi Alves da Silva, *A Civilização Indígena do Uaupés*, Missao Salesiana do Rio Negro, Sao Paulo, 1962, pp. 77 and 96.

in eastern Brazil, the Botokuds. Caribbean tribes like the Karará, Wama and Wayarikure are regarded as white, as are many people among the Sirionó in Bolivia.³¹

Among North American tribes, the Cheyenne of the Algonquin, and the Crow of the Siouan are light-skinned, while fair hair and light-coloured eyes are common in the Mandans, another Siouan tribe. The Hopi and Zuñi of the south-western Pueblo often contain albinos.³²

Many of these "white" tribes belong to the so-called "Marginals," the oldest layer of the South American people. It is quite possible that there may be some relation between these tribes and the pro-Australoids—such as the Ainu of Japan—as R. Gayre of Gayre has pointed out.³³ Certainly there is need for revision of the Brazilian school geography and history textbooks which still maintain the view that Amerindians are part of the Mongolian race. This idea may be true of many tribes, but certainly not all.

INDIAN POLITICS AND RACE RELATIONS

Attention has been drawn in recent times to the existence in Brazil of a racial conscience. Confirmation of this fact is contained in articles dealing with the subject by Fernando Henrique Cardoso³⁴ and Octavio Ianni.³⁵ P. Erich M. Kräutler, who has a deep knowledge of Brazilian life, believes that some disharmonies in Brazilian character are caused by race mixing.³⁶ Marialice M. Foracchi writes of a Japanese schoolgirl in Brazil whose parents stopped her mixing with Brazilians once she became old enough to marry.³⁷

Father Don Cesare Albisetti, in an article in *Boletino Salesiana*, says that the chief of the Xavante Indians, a Jé tribe in the Mato Grosso, told him: "We want the missionaries and sisters here but not the Whites and Bororo. Our children are baptised and they will never abandon our tribe and they do not want anything different from us. They are Christians but they will always remain

³¹ Otto Zerries, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

³² Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Pagan Books Inc., New York, 1960, Vol. II, p. 945.

³³ R. Gayre of Gayre, "Ethnological Elements of Africa: Part IV," *THE MANKIND QUARTERLY*, Vol. VI, No. 3, January-March 1966, pp. 123-138.

³⁴ Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "Das hautfarben vorurteil in Brasilien," *Staden-Jahrbuch*, Vols. XI and XII, 1963-1964, pp. 9-17.

³⁵ Octavio Ianni, "Os estudos sobre relações raciais no Brazil," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. XVI, 1965-66, pp. 289-319.

³⁶ P. Erich M. Kräutler, *Die Steppe zittert Originalbericht über den Ritt zu den Xikrins-Indianern*, Verlag der Missionäre vom Kostbaren Blute, Mindelheim-Schwaben, p. 22.

³⁷ Marialice M. Foracchi, "A valorização do trabalho social do Imigrantes," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Vol. XIV, 1963, p. 316.

Xavante.”³⁸ Stähle says that the Bororo themselves are dissatisfied with the disintegration of tribal life.³⁹

The publication *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* has recently been drawing attention to the differences of such groups as the Negroes and the Indians.⁴⁰ Relations between Indians and Whites have been investigated by Edson Diniz Soares⁴¹ and Roberto Décio de Las Casas.⁴²

The racial differences, while mostly appearing in a horizontal form characteristic of Portuguese colonies, have also been shown by R. Gayre of Gayre⁴³ to take on a vertical direction, such as among Indian tribes. Brüzzi Alves da Silva repeatedly describes the tribes of the Rio Uaupés as “racialists”.⁴⁴

A very critical statement on race mixing in Brazil was given in 1886 by Schütz-Holzhausen, a nobleman who certainly cannot be accused of being a racialist. He said:⁴⁵

Sehr wahr sind Agassiz' Bemerkungen über das anthropologische Chaos in Brasilien, das selbst in Peru, Ecuador und Colombia nicht schlimmer erscheint. Er fand die Menschen besonders in den nördlichen Teilen schlaff und schwach in Bezug auf ihr ganzes Wesen. Man sieht hier Kinder von allen

³⁸ Don Cesare Albisetti, “Si avvera il sogno Don Colbacchini,” *Boletino Salesiana*, Opere Salesiani, Torino, November 1965, No. 21.

³⁹ Vera Dagny Stable, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-28.

⁴⁰ “A Situação Econômica, Social, Cultural e Religiosa na América Latina,” *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, Vol. XXVIII, June 1968, pp. 432-442.

⁴¹ Edson Diniz Soares, *O Perfil de uma Situação Interétnica, os Macuxi e os Regionais do Roraima*, Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi Belém-Pará, Antropologia No. 31, 20th April 1966, pp. 16-26.

⁴² Roberto Décio de Las Casas, *Índios e Brasileiros no vale do Rio Tapajós*, Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Belém-Pará, Antropologia No. 23, 8th October 1964, No. 23.

⁴³ R. Gayre of Gayre, “The Dilemma of Inter-Racial Relations,” *THE MANKIND QUARTERLY*, Vol. VI, No. 4, April-June, 1966, pp. 183-201.

⁴⁴ Alcínio Brüzzi Alves da Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

⁴⁵ Cuno Damian Freiherr von Schütz-Holzhausen, *Der Amazonas Wanderbilder aus Peru, Bolivien und Nordbrasilien*, Verlag Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1886, p. 403. “Agassiz's account of Brazil's anthropological dilemma is correct and the situation seems to be no better in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia. I have seen people, especially in the northern regions, who have weak and indolent characters. In these areas you can see children of all shades of colour, often living together in the same house. It seems likely that the clearness of the type is wiped out and spoiled. The result is an uncertain mixture, without looks and character. Such a class of half-breeds, in which the blood of Whites, Negroes and Indians is mixed up constitutes a large part of the population in the towns and on large plantations. Whoever doubts the disadvantages of race-mixing and its effects, and who wants to ban all colour barriers because of a wrong understanding of philanthropy, should visit Brazil. In Brazil he will not be able to deny that mongrelisation has caused deterioration. It quickly wipes out the best qualities in each of the three races and leaves only a vague type, lacking in every physical and spiritual energy. The worst of these mixed-blood people lack honesty and appear to be completely incapable of maintaining law and order.”

möglichen Farbenschattierungen und oft in demselben Hause nebeneinander. Es ist, als ob die Klarheit des Typus verwischt und versudelt wäre, als Ergebnis tritt ein unbestimmter Mischmasch hervor, dem Ausdruck und Charakter mangeln. Solch eine Mischlingsklasse, in der das Blut von Weissen, Negern und Indianern durcheinander gemengt ist, bildet einen sehr zahlreichen Teil der Bevölkerung sowohl in den Städten wie auf den grossen Plantagen. Wer die nachteiligen Wirkungen und Einflüsse dieser Rassenmischung bezweifelt und aus falsch verstandener Philanthropie alle Schranken zwischen den verschiedenen Rassen entfernen möchte, der möge nur nach Brasilien kommen. Er kann hier gar nicht in Abrede stellen dass die Vermischung der Rassen eine Verschlechterung herbeigeführt hat. Sie verwischt sehr schnell die besten Eigenschaften, die jede einzelne der drei Rassen besitzt und es bleibt nur ein buntscheckiger, verschwommener Typus, dem alle physische und geistige Energie mangelt. Das schlimmste bei dieser Mischlingsbevölkerung ist, dass ihnen jedes Ehrgefühl und alle Wahrheitsliebe mangelt, und dass sie ganz unfähig scheinen, geordnete Staatswesen zu bilden.

The first settlers in Brazil believed that the Indians were not humans but animals. But in three encyclicals in 1537 Pope Paul II condemned this view, rejecting the enslavement of Indians and reaffirming their liberty, despite the fact that they were not Christians.⁴⁶ Philip II, King of Spain and Portugal, reaffirmed in a decree the Indians' liberty and their right of land possession, and banned their enslavement.⁴⁷

During the reign of the Aviz dynasty and the Hapsburgs the care of the Indians was left mainly in the hands of the Jesuits. Under them there flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries the system of *aldeamentos* or "reductions," under which new villages were founded. The principles of this system were:

1. Complete freedom from serfdom and the prohibition of Whites from entering the villages;
2. A religion based on tribal traditions, and the use of tribal language in everyday life;
3. The prohibition of mixed marriages with Whites.

It is not true to say that the Jesuits did all they could to mix different tribes. On the contrary, there is proof that they divided established villages only to satisfy the wishes of a tribe which wanted to be separated from another. An example of this was the Coribere Indians, who were separated from Itacuruza, a Juruna village on the lower Xingu river—the Jesuits founding for the Coribere the

⁴⁶ Paulo Florencio da Silveira Camargo, *Historia Ecclesiastica do Brasil*, Editora Vozes Ltd, Petropolis, 1955, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁷ Paulo Florencio da Silveira Camargo, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

village of Piravari or Pombal.⁴⁸ Oddly enough, the Jesuit *aldeias* (villages) in many ways had much in common with the South African Group Area Act. The same rigid separation between White and “Red” was also practised by the Franciscans.⁴⁹

Portuguese settlers, mainly from Sao Paulo, strongly disapproved of the Jesuit system. The settlers frequently criticised the Jesuits and even made armed raids against them. During the liberal government of Pombal the Jesuits were expelled. In a royal proclamation in 1755, Don José I gave the Indians their “liberty” and ended the ban on mixed marriages. Practically, this meant that the Indians, deprived of their protectors, became easy game for slave hunters. The *aldeias* were abandoned and the Indians had again to take to the woods or die in slavery and submit to exploitation—a situation which continued during the 19th and into the 20th centuries. Religious missions sometimes flourished but generally little was done to help the Indians.

The Indian Protection Service of General Rondon has been a complete failure. Often criticised by such well-known ethnologists as H. Baldus, W. Saake, E. Pinto, R. Nash and others, it was finally abandoned in 1968 by the Brazilian Government of President Costa e Silva because of the criminal activities and murders committed by officials of the protection service. The idea of the now defunct service was to reduce the Indian to the state of a protected animal. In contrast, Catholic and Protestant missionaries have done much to help the Indians, although they have sometimes favoured acculturation and integration. Salesians and sisters did excellent work among the Indians and *caboços* in the Apostolic Prélatur of Rio Negro under the direction of the late bishop, the Most Rev. Dom Pedro Massa. They dedicated themselves and often sacrificed their lives liberating Indians from a half-slavery imposed by merchants. They founded schools and hospitals—the only such institutions in a territory as large as Great Britain—and have done much for the Indians’ spiritual and material benefit.

However, the big intermediate colleges or boarding schools, have favoured acculturation and integration. In 1960, the late bishop coadjutor, Dom José Domitrowitsch, told me: “We should go very slowly and carefully with the Indian tribes on the Uaupés and Içana rivers. Quick changes of customs and possible mixture with Whites and *caboços* should be avoided. They would cause a

⁴⁸ Carl Borromäus Ebner, “Die Glocke von Piraquiri,” *Christ Unterwegs*, Munich, No. 5, 1964, p. 2. Another objection to the Jesuit *aldeias* has been that it established “soil communism” and “patriarchalism.” A worthwhile exercise would be a comparative study of the *aldeias* and the Inca Empire. It might well result in the conclusion that they have many similarities. It is true that the Jesuits have not created a simple model to work on but they do have a profound knowledge of the Indian way of life.

⁴⁹ Basílio Röwer, *Páginas da Historia Franciscana no Brasil*, Editora Vozes Ltd., Petropolis, 1966, p. 502.

serious loss of substantial qualities and characteristics of the Indians. Where the tribal organisation is still active there is much more hope for the future than among the *caboclos* of Rio Negro.”

Starting with the mission among the Aharaibu, steps have been taken to resume the traditions introduced earlier by the Jesuits. Since 1952 there have been no marriages with outside ethnic groups, the presence of Whites and *caboclos* in the villages has been reduced to a minimum, and tribal traditions and language have been respected. The result is that between 1964 and 1968 the Masiribuiweteri increased its numbers from 222 to 279; the tribe has retained its integrity.

In recent times the desire has been expressed repeatedly for the recognition of the surviving Indian tribes as independent sub-cultural areas of Brazil. However, this will only be possible if tribal—and this ultimately means racial—integrity is preserved.

Sign, Symbol and Script

HANS JENSEN

Translated by GEORGE UNWIN

From all over the world explorers, anthropologists and archaeologists have collected the evidence: more than 600 tables, pictures and specimens of script drawn from all manner of inscriptions, including tombs, weapons or precious objects, documents, manuscripts and *graffiti*. This material has been shaped into a fascinating account of all the known ways in which man has tried to write; it touches life at every point and reflects layer upon layer of civilization.

‘He writes in a scholarly manner... The book is generously illustrated, and the reader is never at a loss for verifying a statement by reference to a photograph or diagram.’ *Irish Independent*.

Illustrated £5 10s

Allen & Unwin