

I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

HABITAT

THE TIMBIRA habitat extends from 3° to 9° S. latitude and from 42° to 49° W. longitude—through the northeastern part of the Central Brazilian steppe area, where that area adjoins the southeastern tip of the Amazon rain forests. The tropical forest extends back of the coastal steppe strip liable to inundation, beginning at a point on the Tocantins somewhat above the Araguaya confluence, and includes the entire Gurupy basin, the middle and lower Pindaré, the lower Grajahú, and the lower Mearim. Its domain comprises the present habitat of the following Timbira tribes: the Western Gaviões; the Krëyê of Cajuapára; the Krëyê and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal.*

But by far the greatest part of Timbira territory is covered by high steppes and dry forest; tall timber occurs only in the form of *galeria* forests along the brooks and rivers, also at times on the slopes of the so-called mountains (*serras*), at the foot of which these watercourses usually develop from many minor springs. These inextensive wooded tracts are of great economic significance for the steppe Indian, since they offer the only soil suitable for his primitive husbandry.

The *galeria* forest further provides not only the material for housebuilding, but also the extremely important burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), the leaves of which furnish the main material for basketry while its fruits are edible and its trunks are made into logs carried in relay races. Further, there are the oleaginous babassu palm (*Orbignia speciosa*); the sororóca (*Heliconia* sp.) with its gigantic leaves, indispensable in Indian cookery; and many other useful plants.

The predominant part of the Timbira steppes consists of *campos cerrados*, that is, grass tracts with more or less dense stands of trees and bushes. Absolutely pure steppes I have seen only in the upper Pindaré country, and even these were only of minor extent. The two Timbira tribes of that region—Krakatí and Pákóbye—are accordingly called by the other members of their branch Popéykateye (inhabitants of true [or beautiful], pey, steppes, pö).

The prevailing grass species is Capim agreste (*Pannascum* sp.). Noteworthy among the trees are the sucupira (*Cassia* sp.), which symbolizes for the Timbira the power of resistance; the sambahyba (*Couratella* sp.), whose rough leaves serve to polish wood; the pau de leite (*Sapium* sp.), whose latex when mixed with powdered charcoal forms the favorite pigment; the tucum palm (*Astrocaryum* sp.), important for its fibers; the almecegueira (*Protium* sp.) with an odorous rosin much used in decorative outfits; finally, the fruit-bearing piquy (*Caryocar* sp.), bacury (*Platonia* sp.), and the mangabeira (*Hancornia* sp.).

The soil is mostly sandy, more rarely clayey, and still more rarely rocky. The northern Timbira country is rather flat, rising only quite imperceptibly southward. Even the most recent maps (Stieler, 1928) crowd the southern half with mountain chains—to the grave disappointment of an observer on the spot, who finds simply mesas and small plateaus with steep slopes, sporadic residual phenomena, mostly

* In the rendering of the aboriginal terms with which the monograph bristles it seemed best to adhere to the orthography established for The Apinayé, a slight simplification of that chosen by Nimuendajú himself. A tilde over vowels indicates nasalization; a short hook below a vowel designates it as postalalatal. The latter symbol is necessary, because it defines a phonemic difference. The following values hold for symbols requiring explanation:

ē = first German e in Ehe	n with dot above it = half vocalic ng (replaced here with g)	ž = French j
ō = German o in ohne	š = English sh	x = German ch in ach
ö, ü = as in German	č = Spanish ch	' = glottal stop

[2002: This work includes 3 cases of doubled diacritics difficult to recreate in pdf. They have been replaced with diacritics from Crocker's (1990) orthography matching, as nearly as possible, the sound Nimuendajú intended. Pg. 12, "e" with macron and tilde = ē. Pg. 27, "a" with tilde and reverse cedilla = ã. Pg. 32, "o" with reverse cedilla and stress mark = è.]

in the watersheds, where a tougher stratum of rock offered more vigorous resistance to weathering. Seldom does the elevation of these *serras* exceed a hundred meters above the valley bottom, and everywhere it remains below three hundred meters above sea level. Notwithstanding their insignificance, however, these hills have played a great part in Timbira history, since their steep walls formed natural forts to which the Indians retreated on the approach of enemies.

There is no statement concerning Timbira tribes ever inhabiting the low coastal steppes of Maranhão, which are periodically exposed to inundations; but the more northerly tribes of this branch did formerly share the lake region, well stocked with fish, that extends on both sides of the lower Pindaré, Grajahú, and Mearim. However, the true home of the Timbira people lies in the arid steppe: only there—not in the primeval Amazonian forests—was it possible for the peculiar Timbira culture to evolve.

The climate is noticeably drier than in the adjacent Amazonian area. Unlike the territory farther east and southeast, the country does not suffer the terrors of a drought, yet there is a definite dry season from July until December. This sharp division into a rainy and a dry period affects not only economic but also social life. Naturally on cloudless days the tropical heat from the sun is intense in the open steppe, and after noon the sand grows so hot that even Indians cannot stand on it with comfort. But after midnight the temperature often drops to such an extent that a fire is required outdoors, especially if a wind should begin to blow before sunrise.

CONQUEST AND WHITE SETTLEMENT

The Timbira country was simultaneously occupied by civilized newcomers along four distinct avenues of approach: (1) from São Luiz do Maranhão up the Mearim and Itapicurú; (2) from Pará up the Tocantins; (3) from Goyaz down the Tocantins; (4) from Bahia across the steppes to the northwest, across Piauí.

Oddly enough, it was the last of these attempts at settlement that proved most potent and most significant for the Indians, for in the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth Bahia was a center for Portuguese colonization, while São Luiz, Pará, and Goyaz formed mere outposts.

The Portuguese probably did not come into close contact with the Timbira until after the expulsion of the French from the island of Maranhão. Then, in 1624, Bento Maciel Parente, notorious as a butcher of Indians, established a fort at the mouth of the Itapicurú, below the present town of Rosario, and afflicted the tribes of the vicinity by his slave raids.¹ Then followed Jesuit activity: in the sixties of the seventeenth century, the missionaries labored hard with the Guajajara, a Tupí tribe that at every opportunity fled back into the woods. They also had stations on the Itapicurú and Monim, but these failed to exert any influence on the savage Kaikaí and Uruatí suffering grievously from attacks by them. Throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, indeed, until 1731, the Portuguese fought for the possession of northeastern Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and the Parnahyba. Whether the aborigines of that region included Timbira, remains unascertainable. At all events, the tenacious resistance of diverse Indian tribes rendered progress along this line relatively slow.

In the meantime the Jesuits, accompanied by military escorts, also entered the Tocantins area.² In 1763, a troop of Paulistas appeared, probably descending the Tocantins. They were headed by Pascoal Paes de Araujo, who enslaved the peace-

¹ Berredo, Annaes, 1:191. Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Itapicurú Grande."

² Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 1.

{The map which appears facing this page is hyper-linked under "Maps."}

able Guarajú on the right bank of the lower Tocantins in defiance of the ordinances of Capitão Francisco da Motta Falcão, who had been dispatched against him from Pará.³

In 1674 the conquest of Piauí was inaugurated by an expedition against the aldeas of the “Gurgas” (Gurgueia); it started from the Rio São Francisco and was led by Domingos Affonso, Julião Affonso, and others.⁴ In 1694 there followed Francisco Garcia de Avila’s great expedition with 1350 men to the region of the Itapicurú headwaters.⁵ Paranaguá was founded in 1698,⁶ and in 1722 Villa da Moxo (subsequently known as Oeiras) was laid out as the capital of the new capitania Piauí. For 1728 there is a record of a great Timbira invasion in this locality,⁷ the first literary mention of the people, proving that they then lived east of the Parnahyba as well. However, their range there could not have been very extensive, since the lower Rio Poty was held by the tribe of that name,⁸ while the Aruá lived in the município Valença; the Jaicó, on the upper Gurgueia and Canindé; and to the west of the Gurgueia, the Gogué and Akroá. In other words, the Timbira east of the Parnahyba were probably restricted to the district of the lower Canindé, Piauí, and perhaps also of the Gurgueia. Their last remnants in that territory seem to have been annihilated during the Akroá wars.⁹ In 1763 and 1769 there are still records of wars against the Timbira of Piauí.¹⁰ Subsequently, the Gogué and Akroá—demonstrably of the Akwê, not the Timbira, branch of the Gê—are the only tribes referred to for that area.

In 1764 there was established São Bento dos Pastos Bons between the Parnahyba and the upper Itapicurú. Thus, in the vicinity of Caxias the wave of colonization from Bahia met that following the course of the Itapicurú from the coast of Maranhão onward.

After 1782 Goyaz and Pará had scant intercourse via the Tocantins. In 1808 there appeared at this river the trader Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, coming from Goyaz. In 1810 he made peace with the Krahô, who had been defeated in the previous year, and founded the settlement of São Pedro de Alcantara on the site of what is today Carolina. About the same time the stockbreeder Elias de Barros, starting from his fazenda on the Rio Sereno, had reached the Tocantins, descending the Rio Manoel Alves Grande, and had established a land connection with Goyaz.¹¹

Thus by 1810 there had arisen in the southern part of Timbira territory a zone of settlement that extended uninterruptedly from east to west straight across southern Maranhão, from the Parnahyba to the Tocantins—a zone that was gradually to widen northward. This was the classical period of the *bandeiras*, about which Ribeiro—for many years an eyewitness and an occasional participant—has registered interesting details.¹²

The relations between the newcomers and the Indians were treated as the settlers’ private affair until the aborigines attacked the settlements in order to bar further

³ Berredo, Annaes, 2:212–216.

⁴ Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 7, 8. Pereira de Alencastre, Memoria, 14, 19.

⁵ Penetração, 79.

⁶ Pereira de Alencastre, Memoria, 15.

⁷ Annaes, 3:266.

⁸ Pereira de Alencastre, Memoria, 52.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 35, 36.

¹⁰ Annaes, 2:92; 8:22.

¹¹ Marques, Apontamentos, “Carolina”; “Manoel Alves Grande.” Ribeiro, Memoria, § 72. Pereira de Alencastre, Annaes, 28:82, 87. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:375. Almeida, Carolina, 13.

¹² Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 75–79; *idem.*, Roteiro, 75–79.

encroachments or attempted to recover lost territories. Then the settlers would invoke aid from the government, which, however, in the main let them shift for themselves. In several instances the border commandant did furnish some regular troops or even assumed personal charge. But typically an attack on a fazenda was followed by a bandeira. This never comprised more than 200 men since many of the prospective able-bodied recruits evaded service by flight. It always required a month or two to get such a troop ready to march. Undisciplined and uninterested in their enterprise, poorly armed and even less adequately equipped with ammunition, these men were quite unfit to inflict a decisive defeat on warlike tribes or to bring them into subjection. As a matter of fact, until Ribeiro's period, 1819, such raids against the Gamella of Codó, the Čt'kamekra, and the Pákóbye invariably ended with a more or less serious defeat of the bandeira, whose purposes the Indians thwarted by simply retreating to their natural strongholds, the rocky eminences scattered all over the country.

Where force of arms failed the colonists often sought to gain their ends by false proposals of peace and mendacious promises, made through interpreters to the fortified Timbira; those who trustingly met the bandeira were then enslaved or massacred. Ribeiro cites several instances of such treachery, which victimized the Čt'kamekra, Põrekamekra, and Augutgé. This behavior, according to him, more than all causes rendered a peaceable solution of the Indian problem impossible. Further, after fruitless efforts against their true enemies, the bandeiras repeatedly turned against weaker and peaceable tribes, which they attacked and enslaved without cause. Foremost among those addicted to this policy were the inhabitants of São Pedro de Alcantara, led by its founder, Magalhães, and aided by their KrahÇ allies.

According to Ribeiro's explicit statement, the Indian wars were due to the colonists' craving for slaves rather than to the need of opening up new territories. The Portuguese government in general prohibited the enslavement of Indians, but by a decree (1808) had lifted the ban under certain conditions with respect to the Botocudo of Minas Geraes. The settlers of Maranhão were only too eager to extend this provision to the Timbira and Gamella. For that reason they tried in every possible way to bring them into the category of "Botocudo," either by emphasizing their labrets and earplugs or by attempting to prove historically that the natives of Maranhão were identical with Botocudo hordes from Minas which the Coroados had driven to the boundaries of this province in 1758."¹³

The year 1811 witnessed the first complete descent of the Rio Grajahú, but sundry attempts at settlement along its banks (1814–1817) all failed in more or less tragic fashion. In 1841 travelers from São Luiz laid out Barra do Corda. In 1848 there started from Parã the first attempt at a military colony on the site of what is now Imperatriz, though its actual establishment was achieved only four years later. In 1850, emanating from Goyaz, were founded the missionary stations of Piabanha and Pedro Affonso on the Tocantins, being designed for the Šerénte and the KrahÇ.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the resistance of the Timbira, weakened by war and disease, perceptibly waned. The dreaded Matteiros (= Čt'kamekra) and Gaviões (= Pákóbye) made peace, as did the Timbira of the Pindaré, Grajahú, and Mearim; the bandeiras grew rarer and finally ceased. However, no true and honest peace ensued; endless friction had at last inured the conflicting parties to bearing with each other after a fashion, yet at bottom bitter hostility prevailed.

¹³ Spix and Martius, *Reise*, 2:806.

This maladjustment is rooted in the weakness of the Portuguese-Brazilian colonization in this area. For the earlier and largely even the present fazendeiros of the sertão of Maranhão must not be pictured in the image of the landed gentry of Rio Grande do Sul or São Paulo. On the contrary, they have been predominantly recruited from among miserable and culturally backward folk. Owning a handful of livestock, they lay claim to hundreds of square kilometers of land, where they do little cultivation and nothing to promote law and order. Devoid of public spirit and social solidarity, each individual vegetates for himself. As long as he still fears his Indian neighbor, the settler will swallow his hatred and repugnance, flatter a *compadre* who meets him with self-assurance, play the part of a disinterested friend, and connive at stock lifting.

On the other hand, the feeble bandeira warfare and the infamous treachery of the truce bearers could hardly inspire the Indians with esteem for their civilized neighbors, nor did the colonists' affected amiability deceive the natives as to their true sentiments. The Indian still considers his hereditary territory as his own, irrespective of whether the settlers have duped a chief into permitting them to reside there. The native treats it as a foregone conclusion that he may, from time to time, appropriate a head of livestock from the herds kept on the Indian land—all the more so because hunting always decreases as the cattle increase. Ultimately a stage is reached when the tribe is so weak and settlers have encroached to such a degree that they drop the mask of friendship. Now the colonist assumes the role of lord and legal master of the entire tract: by chicanery, threats, violence, if not wholesale massacre, he tries to rid himself of his erstwhile *compadres*. This is the point reached by virtually all Timbira tribes nowadays; their scant remnants form only tiny enclaves within the territory occupied by Neobrazilian ranchers and farmers.

So far as they affect the Timbira, a few words suffice concerning the earlier governmental decrees and the present Indian Welfare Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Índios). Those ordinances issued in the interest of the Indians as a rule remained wholly futile; and the Welfare Service has likewise failed to abolish the principal abuses during the twenty-eight years since its establishment. An ideal institution on paper, it is rendered ineffective by administrative red tape, by the lack of suitable personnel, and the meager appropriations for so arduous an undertaking; moreover, the funds allotted sometimes fail to be disbursed for years. Though unable to prevent or punish the massacre of the Kénkatéye in 1913, the Service nevertheless represents the Indians' sole official safeguard. It must be credited with having aided them in many minor difficulties; and they have often been saved from deeds of violence merely because the would-be perpetrators were afraid of the Indian agent in Barra do Corda. The revolution of 1930 rendered even this last protective agency on the Indians' behalf wholly ineffective.

Not a single Timbira tribe owns a square meter of land by Brazilian law or *de facto*. Ever since the fighting subsided, innumerable delegations of these tribes have petitioned the state and the federal government to stop further encroachments on their land. These embassies have always been amicably welcomed and assured of their rights, but there has never been the slightest effort to validate them. Instead of such legal recognition the Timbira have received governmental alms, such as clothing and tools. Even nowadays annual delegations turn up in the several state capitals, but they rarely mention land any more, contenting themselves with asking for gifts.

CLASSIFICATION OF TIMBIRA TRIBES: TIMBIRA AND GÊ-CRAN

The ethnic individuality, homogeneity, and Gê affinities of the Timbira are too manifest to have been challenged by any serious observer. Opinions diverge solely as to their position within the Gê family; as to what tribes should be added to their branch of the Gê; and with respect to possible subdivisions.

In this monograph I embrace under the caption Timbira the fifteen tribes listed below; in each case the allocation rests either on available samples of the language or on some competent investigator's statement that the speech in question is to be equated with that of a linguistically documented member of the branch. Although terminologically the classification follows the cardinal directions, the actual criterion is purely linguistic, there being a remarkably close correlation of geographical distribution with linguistic relationship. Dialectically, then, I offer the following classification:

Northern Group:	Eastern Timbira
1. Timbira of Araparytíua (Gurupy)	7. Western or Forest Gaviões (?)
2. Krëyê of Bacabal	8. Kre`pá'mkateye
3. Kukóekamekra of Bacabal	9. KrahÇ
Southern group:	10. Põrekamekra (?)
4. Krëyê of Cajuapára	11. Kénkateye
5. Krakatí	12. Apt`nyekra
6. Pákóbye	13. RtmkÇkamekra
	14. „ t`kamekra
	Western Timbira
	15. Apinayé

In my opinion the nearest relatives of the Timbira are the several subdivisions of the Northern Kayapó; further, the Southern Kayapó and the Suyá. These four groups I should unite under the category of Northwestern Gê. I separate from them however the Goguê-Akroá, whom I class as Central Gê (a term that includes the Šerénte-Šavánte and the Šakriabá). The Jaicó are likewise distinct from the Timbira, but I am unable to assign these Gê to any definite branch within the stock. As for the Southern and Eastern Gê, this is not the appropriate place to discuss them, and I also purposely refrain from characterizing tribes as Gê on ethnographic grounds since the concept is primarily a linguistic one.

Let me now scrutinize the way in which other authors have defined the Timbira.

Critique of Ribeiro.—The oldest chronicler of the Timbira is the previously mentioned Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. From 1800 until his assassination in 1823 he served as an officer along the Timbira frontier and, as commandant of Pastos Bons, had to go to war against these Indians four times. In his *Memoria sobre as Nações Gentias* (1819) he distinguishes two “dialects” in Maranhão—Timbira and Gamella. To the speech of the several Timbira “nations” he ascribes merely “aquella diferença trivial que a distancia de umas e outras povoações de mesma raça lhes permite.” He devotes separate chapters to the following Timbira tribes: (1) Timbira of the lower Mearim (= Krëyê and Kukóekamekra); (2) Sacamekrans (= Čt`kamekra); (3) Capiekrans (= RtmkÇkamekra); (4) Piócobgêz (= Pákóbye); (5) Purecamekrans (= Põrekamekra); (6) Macamekrans (= KrahÇ).

Incidentally, he further mentions the Canaquetgêz (= Karëkateye?); Norocoagêz (= Nyurukwayé); Poncatgêz (= Põkateye); Ponecra (= Apt`nyekra); Augutgêz (= ?); and the Apinagêz. As for the Bu, of whom he had heard in 1800, he conjectures that they either had never existed or had been exterminated by other tribes.

This thorough observer of the primitive Timbira commits a single blunder in regarding his “Timbira of the lower Mearim” as of the same tribe as the Guajajára, instead of affiliating the latter with the Indians he had seen in the village of Vianna, whom he suspected, correctly enough, of kinship with the Tupinambá. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Guajajára of the middle Pindaré had probably been cut off from all contact with civilization by the warlike Gamella of Vianna and the Timbira of the lower Mearim, Grajahú, and Pindaré, so that they were known only by name. For in 1820 Pereira do Lago, too, confuses them with the Timbira in question; and Martius’ statements concerning this Tupí people are extraordinarily contradictory. Now he treats them as descendants of the Tobajara, then he equates them with the Buco-Bûs, that is, Pákóbye; and finally they turn into a horde of Mundurucú.¹⁴

Critique of Martius.—Unfortunately Martius’ personal contacts with Timbira were limited to a brief meeting with a troop of some twenty KrahÇ and Apt’nyekra who were visiting the town of Caxias in 1819. In his masterly fashion he describes the impressive appearance and behavior of these Indians, establishing the complete similarity of both tribes as to looks, manners and speech. All his other statements about the Timbira, as well as other Maranhão tribes, were derived from personal communications by Ribeiro and by Luiz de Oliveira Figueiredo, who had for seven years served as judge in Caxias.¹⁵

Subsequently Martius for the first time determined the linguistic and cultural affinity of the Timbira with a considerable number of other tribes in Goyaz and the adjoining districts of Maranhão, Bahia, Piauí, and Pará. All these he grouped together as Gêz, recognizing a Southern branch, viz. the [Southern] Cayapós, Chavantes, Cherentes, and Chicriabás; and a Northern branch, viz. Gêz proper, Crans, and Acroás. As members of the stock he further included the Masacará, Aracujá, Pontás, Geicós, and Gogué.¹⁶

The dichotomy rests on the ending of the tribal names, either -gêz (= ye) or -crans (= kra). In contrast to Ribeiro, Martius defines only the latter as Timbira. He further considers it likely that the Crans were the “sons”—a recent offshoot—of the “paternal” Gêz proper. For, he argues, the Crans occupy the northernmost tracts (which is the precise reverse of the contention in his other work),¹⁷ while the Gê stock as a whole had undoubtedly moved from the south northward. He further tried to derive certain Cran “clan” names from Gêz equivalents.

It seems worth while to examine these conjectures, for which purpose we may first of all determine the meaning attached to the terms Timbira, Cran, and Gêz.

According to Martius, the term Timbira is referred by some to the custom of wearing tight armllets and footbands of bast (= embira, imbira), but he himself is inclined rather to derive the word from tembetá, tembetara, the Tupí term for a lip plug. Apart from the phonetic impossibility of deriving the term Timbira from tembetara, only a small section of the Timbira branch perforated the lower lip. Ribeiro had already separated the Gamella, who were conspicuously labret wearers, from the Timbira, with whom Martius, to be sure, erroneously classes them. On the other hand, the earplug is indeed a tribal badge of the Timbira, but (contrary to Martius’ apparent assumption) the word for labret cannot be extended to these ornaments, for it is derived from tembé, lower lip. Nor will imbira, the designation

¹⁴ Martius, Beiträge, 1:193, 286, 394.

¹⁵ Spix and Martius, Reise, 2: 818–825.

¹⁶ Martius, Beiträge, 1:257 f.

¹⁷ Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:823.

for *bast* in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial *T* unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from *imbira*, *bast*, but is a compound of *tɔ* to bind, and *pɔra*, passive, with the initial “*p*” of the second element transmuted into “*mb*” because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term *Timbira* would correspond to “the bound ones,”—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of *Tupí* origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

Cran or rather *kra* does mean “son,” but also “tribe” or “people.” For example: *ampó kra ma ka*, Of what tribe are you? *i pe Apt´nyekra*, I am of the *Piranha* tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this *kra* is commonly preceded by the particle *kame*, of which *me* precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of *ka*.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix *ye* (*Apinayé ya*) in *Timbira* speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the *Timbira*. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by *kate*. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in *-kra* or *-ye* depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The *-ye* tribes cannot be separated from the *-kra* tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. *Ribeiro* remained quite free from this error. Actually, the *Timbira* of *Cajuapára* are called indiscriminately *Piht´kamekra* or *Krêyé*; while the *KrahÇ* are subdivided into the *Mtkamekra* (*mt*, ostrich; ostrich people) and *Kenpókateye* (*kenpo*, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain *kra* names from *ye* equivalents. The names *Piocabgêz* and *Piocamecrans* are unrelated: the former is derived from *pákób*, *yam* (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from *piht´*, weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term *Poncatagêz* is traceable to *põ* (steppe), *Ponicrans* to *apt´n* (*piranha* [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of *Martius’* criteria for assuming a *Bûs* subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.¹⁸

Finally, the settlers’ division of the branch into *Timbira da Matta*, *Timbira de Canella fina*, and *Timbira de Bocca furada* obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. *Martius* himself, in volume 1 of his *Beiträge*, puts the *Aponegicrans* (= *Apt´nyekra*) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as *Timbira de Canella fina*. Of the contemporary *Gaviões*, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the *Gê* stock in a wider sense is exclusively *Martius’* merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into *Gêz* proper, *Crans*, and *Bûs* rests on unacceptable principles.

Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.—In 1886 *Karl von den Steinen* studied *Gê* languages, which he grouped together with the *Botocudo* and *Goytacá* to form the *Tapuya* family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern *Gê* embraces the *Suyá*, *Apinayé*, *Apt´nyekra*, the [Southern] *Kayapó*, and the *KrahÇ*. He further adds the *Karayá*, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central *Gê* comprise the *Šavánte*, *Šerénte*, *Šakriaba*, and *Akroá*; he does not so much as mention the *Jaicó*. Except for the allocation of the *Karayá*, *Von den Stei-*

¹⁸ *Nimuendajú*, *The Gamella Indians*, 5 f.

nen's grouping of the two western subdivisions of the Gê stock forms an excellent basis for further elaboration.¹⁹

Ehrenreich, who subsequently himself collected better material from the Karayá., excluded them from the Gê stock and provided the following scheme for the Western group.²⁰

Akroá	Northern Kayapó (<i>continued</i>)
Akroá	Apinayé
Jeiko	Karahó
Goguez	Timbira or Gamella
Kayapó or Bu	Western Kayapó
Southern Kayapó	Suya
Northern Kayapó	Akuä
Ušikrin	Chavantes
Kradaho	Cherentes
Gaviões or Karakati	Chieriaba

Here I must make the comment that the Akroá (except for the Jaicó) are linguistically much closer to the Akwẽ than to the Kayapó. Specifically, Bu as a tribal name and synonym for Kayapó (Ehrenreich once refers to the Kayabus) is inadmissible, while Timbira and Gamella represent two (or three) distinct peoples. Apart from this, my own Northwestern Gê group is merely an amplification of Ehrenreich's Kayapó.

Critique of Rivet.—In 1925 Rivet published a new classification of the Gê.²¹ With reference to the Northwestern and Central branches, his scheme is as follows:

Že septentrionaux:	Že centraux:
(1) Timbira de forêt	(1) Kayapó
Timbira du haut Gurupy	Kayapó
Gamella	Mäkubenkokré
Sakamekran	Gradahó
Piokobže	Kurupite (Purukaru)
Augutže	Gorotiré
Kranže	Karahó
Paikože	Ušikring
(2) Timbira de savanne	Suyá
Temembu (Bukobu, Manažó,	Apinaže
Aponegikran)	Gaviões (Krikataže, Karakati)
Kapiekran	(2) šavánte Opaíé (Arae)
Makamekran (Karađu, Krađ)	šerénte
Tamembo	šikriabá
Karahú (Karakú)	žeikó
Kannakaže (Kannakatže)	Akroá
Purekamekran	Gogue
Ponkatže	
Norokoaže	

As against Von den Steinen's and Ehrenreich's groupings, which rested only on reliable material, this later classification marks an unmistakable retrogression. The author has not merely included a large number of tribes for which historical documentation is hardly extant and linguistic evidence wholly wanting, but—strangely enough, in a linguistic classification—he has segregated his Timbira according to phyto-geographical principles. In coping with the chaos of synonyms Rivet has tried to simplify in a single case, infelicitously identifying the Temembu (prob-

¹⁹ Von den Steinen, *Durch Central-Brasilien*, 315 f.

²⁰ Ehrenreich, *Die Einteilung*.

²¹ *Les langues du monde*.

ably to be equated with the KrahÇ) with the Bucubu, Aponegikran, and Manařó. A little farther on he cites these Temembu again as Tamembó; the Bucubu have appeared twice before as Piokobzé and Paikozé; and the Manazó, a Tupí tribe, figure twice previously as Manařé and Amanajó. The KrahÇ, too, appear three times, twice among the Northern and once among the Central Gê. Rivet has, indeed, dropped the division into Gês, Crans, and Bus; but by way of compensation he separates the Apinayé, Krakati, and KrahÇ from the other Timbira and places them with the Kayapó among the Central Gê. For his Šavánte Opaíé, who are not a Gê people at all, one must substitute Šavánte-Akwē.

Critique of W. Schmidt and Sneathlage.—In 1926 Wilhelm Schmidt restored order by uniting the Kayapó and Akuā languages as Northern and Western Gê groups.²² Under the head of Cayapó-Sprachen he lists Suyá, Cayapó, Carahó, Apinagés, Aponegicran, Capiecran, Timbira, Canela, and Crengéz; as Akuā-Sprachen, he lists Chavante, Cherente, Chacriabá, Geico, and Acroá-Mirim. Here the only doubtful allocation is at most that of the Geicó.

The last treatise on the Timbira is Sneathlage's.²³ First among Martius' successors he reverts to the designation Cran (Krān), making it comprise the Timbira-Gaviões, Kanella, Krađ, Apinayé, Kayapó, and Suyá. The segregation of the Krān from among the great conglomerate of Gê peoples (*Das Herausheben der Krān aus dem grossen Konglomerat der Gê [ǒe]völker*) is in his opinion the outstanding result of his researches. That this subdivision already appears in Ehrenreich's and Schmidt's schemes, seems to have eluded him.

Partly because of his reliance on Rivet, the section on History and Statistics²⁴ surveying the several tribes contains a series of minor inaccuracies. I venture to correct these in the order of their occurrence.

1. I am unable to discover any source suggesting that the [Southern] Kayapó who had been overcome with Bororó assistance were split into two sections that were pushed northward and southward, respectively. Actually the Southern Kayapó escaped toward the southwest; the Northern Kayapó, as Ehrenreich already stressed and as a glance at the word lists demonstrates, by no means represent the same tribe, but are clearly distinct, even though closely related.

2. "Möglichkeit besteht, dass einige Stämme, die Kaingang und Cherente Akwé ...auf diese oder ähnliche Weise (?Abdrängung durch die Conquista?) nach Süden gekommen sind." This sentence is not clear to me. So far as I know, the Šerénte never got away from their ancient habitat; and their traditions point toward the southeast. The Kaingang, too, rather seem to have pushed northward.

3. As for the KrahÇ tribe assigned by Sampaio to the northwest corner of the state of Bahia, it never existed. His informant, whom I knew personally, was a true Apinayé, who deliberately deceived Sampaio and others. I shall revert to this case.

The names Pepuxi, Puxiti, Petuxi, and Capepuxi (Kupēpá.í.) are evidently more or less corrupted forms of Pá.éti, the Timbira word for the Akwē, hence without reference to the KrahÇ, one of whose subdivisions is represented by the Maḡamekra. Purekamekra (Pōrekamekra) and Noroquagé (Nyurukwayé) were tribes distinct from the KrahÇ, and originally not even their neighbors. Afotigé and Otogé are synonyms for the Apinayé. It is unintelligible why part of the KrahÇ should be regarded as "possibly identical with the Caracati"; the two tribes

²² Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde*, 238.

²³ Sneathlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 139-142.

have been geographically and historically distinct from time immemorial and speak somewhat different dialects.

4. The author, following Rivet, incorrectly identifies the Aponegikrân with the Temembó and Manajó. Capiécra, Corumecra, and RtmkÇkamekra all designate a single tribe, viz. the Canella of Ponto. The Sakamekrân are neither identical with the Gamella of Codó nor do they come under the category of Canela. On the other hand, Acobu (Haktpó) is the Timbira word for the Gamella. Of course, Apónyekrân (or rather Apt´nyekra) and Aponegicra are merely different renderings of the same word.

5. The Tremembó could not possibly be identical with the Mugaraguano because, for one thing, Heriarte's description of the latter does not refer to any tribe of Maranhão. The Tremembé did not practice endocannibalism, but buried their dead in the sand of the ocean beach.²⁵

6. It is incorrect to speak of the Temembó driving the Cannacatgé and Poncatgé out of the Rio Farinha district, especially if one identifies the aggressors with the Aponegicra, as the author does. According to Ribeiro, the Cannacatgé, who lived on the Farinha, were exterminated by São Pedro de Alcantara's bandeira in 1814; it is true that the KrahÇ (= Temembó) acted as allies of the expeditionary force.²⁶

7. The free Gaviões neither live on the Gurupy nor are they identical with the Krëyé of that area or the Timbira of Araparytúa (whom I at one time erroneously designated as Meh); still less can they be equated with the Urubú, a Tupí tribe. Their settlements, so far as we can at present surmise, lie near the headwaters of two rivulets which empty into the Tocantins somewhat above and below Mãe Maria, halfway between the Araguaya and the Tacayunas confluence. Although Snethlage is unquestionably right in considering the steppes the true home of the Timbira, it is an indubitable fact that a fair number of contemporary tribes of this branch inhabit the true rain forests. On the other hand, the "tame" Gaviões live in what are perhaps the purest steppe tracts of the entire region.

8. Near the sources of the Alpercatas and on the Rio Balsas there are no Indians nowadays. The former marked the habitat of the Kénkatéye Canella before their extermination in 1913.

9. The statements Snethlage obtained from an old Apinayé about supposed relations of his tribe with the wild Gaviões are incorrect. The Apinayé are afraid of the tame Gaviões, let alone their wild brethren, who are shunned even by their peaceable congeners on the upper Pindaré. Snethlage's informant estimated the Krãnye population at 1000. Yet in 1914 I found the tribe to number about 100; the census of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios in 1919 sets the number at 65; and I have never known an Apinayé able to count with any assurance beyond twenty.

Omitting the distinction of Gês, Crans, and Bus because he evidently realized its inadequacy, Snethlage nevertheless retained the phrases Timbira da Matta and Timbira do Campo— notwithstanding his conclusion that basically all Timbira are steppe dwellers. How he got the designation Krân, and especially why he invariably applies this nasalized form for the tribal names, I cannot comprehend. In his own word lists the unnasalized kra figures about half a dozen times with the meaning of "child," "son," "boy," "family." I am under the impression that he never heard the native terms for the tribes from the lips of the Indians, but adopted the forms I had used in a provisional communication to Father Koppers.²⁷ For example, he

²⁵ Betendorf, *Chronica*, 319.

²⁶ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §§ 70, 83.

²⁷ Nimuendajú, *Im Gebiet der Gê Völker*.

writes “Krānye” instead of “Krēyé,” though the name has nothing to do with kra (head) or kra (tribe), but is derived from krēre (dwarf parrot), a word Snethlage himself records in his lists as “krenrä” and “krenärä.” He has not corrected the errors of my earlier orthography.

TRIBAL NAMES IN TIMBIRA SPEECH

The Timbira know that they are the several tribes of a major ethnic unit, which they define above all—apart from the greater or lesser linguistic homogeneity—by the presence of the hair furrow, earplugs, circular form of settlement, and log racing. Whenever I told them about some strange people they invariably questioned me as to the occurrence of these traits in order to determine whether I was speaking of congeners or aliens.

All non-Timbira were presumably once put into the category of kupē, a term now restricted to Neobrazilians, but formerly extended to Indians also, as appears from its application to the legendary foreign tribes of old.

So far as they are acquainted with one another, all the fifteen tribes listed above treat one another as members of one people, while this does not hold for their attitude toward the Guajajára, Tembé, Urubú, Gamella tribes, Karayá, and Akwē. When asked for a term to cover the totality of their own ethnic unit, the Indians are perplexed and finally either fail to answer or furnish one of the following three appellations: meh«(mehe, mehē); tayé (tay' , t-yš) ; and mekra.

Of these, the first is more frequent, Fróes Abreu considering mehim and Pompeu Sobrinho mehime as the RtmkÇkamekra and Apt'nyekra designation for themselves, while I conceived meh«as that of the Timbira of Araparytúá.²⁸ The term further figures in my lists as follows:

Krēyé: m' h«, body.
 Pákóbye: mehē, people.
 Kre'pá'mkateye: mehe, people.
 Apt'nyekra: meh«, Indians.
 RtmkÇkamekra: meh«, people, Indians.²⁹
 Apinayé: pa'hi, people, Indians.

At all events the term is of quite generic significance, not restricted to the Timbira, let alone to a specific tribe of the branch, as I at first had assumed. According to my present knowledge, I incline to interpret the word as approximately signifying “person.”

I committed a corresponding error in interpreting tay' ' as the Bacabal Krēyé word for this tribe itself,³⁰ though my list registers: t-y' ' , Indian; t-yš people. Among the Kre'pá'mkateye and RtmkÇkamekra I have recorded tayí, tay' ' for “people.” Pompeu Sobrinho³¹ assumes itáiê as the pronoun of the second person plural. I would at present render it as possibly equivalent to “comrade,” perhaps actually as “fellow member of my people.” It seems to be used mainly as a vocative.

Mekra, as already explained, signifies “people, tribe”; at least in the formation of tribal names it is applied only to Timbira groups.

All these designations occur solely among the Eastern Timbira. The Apinayé, who are thoroughly imbued with the sense of kinship with the remainder of the branch, gave me for the Timbira people in its totality the word mākraya, which

²⁸ Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 101. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 81. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras.

²⁹ Snethlage has: mamhim, people; panjín, Indians.

³⁰ Vokabular und Sagen, 630.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, 24.

they otherwise use for the Krakatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krakatí.³² Literally, the term signifies “ostrich tribe.”

A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajara) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as *tw@va*. Fróes Abreu spells it “Awâ,” but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní *awá* (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with *awí* (different), with the secondary meaning of “false, incorrect.”

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SEVERAL TIMBIRA TRIBES

1. The Timbira of Araparytúa

The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3E S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro’s “Timbira do Baixo Mearim,” to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.³³ But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajara and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acarynassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.³⁴ But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna município. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.³⁵ Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatiua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the ‘eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayá. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

³² Nimuendajú, *The Apinayé*, 169.

³³ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 25.

³⁴ *Itinerario*, 113, 114.

³⁵ Nimuendajú, *The Gamella Indians*, 11.

accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Karin' 's band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajara, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytúua.

During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered this group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembê had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembê of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my *Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará*.

Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term *ku' ux@d* corresponds to the *RtmkÇkamekra kÇkr@t*.³⁶ It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembê station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors. I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

2-3. *The Krëyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra*

These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"³⁷ —people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

³⁶ It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

³⁷ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 57; *Roteiro*, 26.

In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had hostile encounters with the RtmkÇkamekra and Čt kamekra.

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,³⁸ the Krëyé and Pobzé began to present themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them. Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration, for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajara) and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods. In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862, a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra); 87 Cremzés (= Krëyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the Pobzé.

In 1913 I met one of these Krëyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements: Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krëyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra). They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

The word Krëyé is derived from krëre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal remnants is said to present no differences.

4. *The Krëyé of Cajuapára*

The Krëyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians, are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation. This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles that of the Timbira of Araparytúua, the Krëyé of Cajuapára and linguistically closest to the Kre'pámkateye and Pákóbye. The Cajuapára call themselves Krëyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Piht kamekra (piht', weaverbird [*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobrazilians have transmuted into Pivócamecrans, Pivócamecras, and Pivocas.³⁹ The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of them as Pihó.

Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond the woods, with a joint population of over 200.⁴⁰

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

³⁸ Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonização." Botero dos Reis, Machado, 619.

³⁹ Cazal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Somno.

⁴⁰ Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza."

among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.⁴¹

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes⁴² visited a settlement of the Krëyé, whom he oddly designated as “Carajás.” It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmeccras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmeccras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krakatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt’s survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the “Carajés” were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400-500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men’s absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.⁴³

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krëyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembê name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Índios transferred it to Felipe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krakatí*

Krakatí means “big village”; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.⁴⁴ The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krakatey’ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krakatey’ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mąkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre’pá’mkateye, RtmkÇkamekra, and Apt’nyekra as P’nykÇkatēye (those of the mangaba water [p’ny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kÇ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pákóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krakatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

⁴¹ See Aguiar, etc.

⁴² Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194-195.

⁴³ Dodt, Descrição, 121.

⁴⁴ Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaia to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.⁴⁵ This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.⁴⁶ The report for 1849 designates these Indians as “ponco familiarizados” (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gaviões settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.⁴⁷ But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,⁴⁸ in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pákobyé and Krakatí.

Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões or Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões or Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.⁴⁹

The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pákobyé. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krakatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krakatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apt'nyekra to harbor them, the Krakatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Krakatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pákobyé.

⁴⁵ Castelnau, *Histoire*, 2:11, 17, 18.

⁴⁶ J. F. Coelho, *Falla*, 76. Aguiar, *Relatorio*, 53. J. J. Cunha, *Falla*, 1852, 82.

⁴⁷ Rego Barros, *Falla*, *Annexo*, 56.

⁴⁸ Frias Vasconcellos, 59.

⁴⁹ Ehrenreich, *Beiträge*, 149; *idem.*, *Die Einteilung und Verbreitung*.

6. The Pákobyé

The Pákobyé (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krakatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pákóp or pèkóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krakatí, Kre'pá'mkateye, and occasionally the RtmkÇkamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krakatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.⁵⁰

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpção's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account⁵¹ this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pákobyé had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pákobyé (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),⁵² but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4E 50' S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.⁵³

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors, and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krakatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pákobyé settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

⁵⁰ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §§ 62–64, 79; *Roteiro*, 27, 46; *Descrição*, 70.

⁵¹ Carlota Carvalho, *O Sertão*, 43–45.

⁵² J. F. Coelho, 76.

⁵³ Marques, *Apontamentos*, "Índios." Aguiar, 53.

The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pákóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krakatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pákóbye have dwindled to very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pákóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krakatí refugees.

In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krakatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the KÇá'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pákóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pákóbye words in Barra do Corda ;⁵⁴ five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. The Western Gaviões

Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pákóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real⁵⁵ in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.⁵⁶ Ribeiro mentions them in 1819, Castelnau in 1844.⁵⁷ In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobça.⁵⁸ This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the first time figure in their place.⁵⁹ At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

⁵⁴ Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 187 f.

⁵⁵ Villa Real, *Viagem*, 425 f., 432.

⁵⁶ Marques, *Apontamentos*, "Tocantins."

⁵⁷ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, Nota 51. Castelnau, *Histoire*, 2:117.

⁵⁸ J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, *Itinerario*, 25.

⁵⁹ Ferreira Gomes, *Itinerario*, 496.

on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attacking civilized travelers.

The split into Eastern (Grajahú steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization.

Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.⁶⁰

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about “treachery,” the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open “the fabulous wealth” of their region “in the interest of the state.” And the former government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.⁶¹ About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Šikr«Kayapó in the Tacayunas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Índios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there.

Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

⁶⁰ Simões da Silva, 747–750.

⁶¹ Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Fri.'s map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krëyé and the Tembê (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krëyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Meh⁶² The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,⁶³ lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40' S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembê in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pákóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pákóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

⁶² Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 114, 142.

⁶³ *Idem.*, *Meine Reise*, 113.

is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

8. *The Kre'pá'mkateye*

This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the RtmkÇkamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krã'pá'mkateye or Kreapá'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pá'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the RtmkÇkamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé ? = Karëkateye ?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre'pá'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.⁶⁴ Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.⁶⁵ On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

The 1919 census of the Serviço do Proteção aos Índios sets the number of Kre'pá'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krakatí and Pákóbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

9. *The KrahÇ*

This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

⁶⁴ Marques, Apontamentos, "Índios."

⁶⁵ Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277-278.

Martius gives as synonyms: Grajahús, Guajajáras, and Pepuxis.⁶⁶ However, Grajahú is the name of a river, not of a tribe; it is derived from karayá (howling monkey) and (water). Guajajára designates the well-known Tupí tribe, never known to have lived even near the KrahÇ. As for Pepuxi, that term will be discussed presently.

The Akwẽ-Šerénte, their southern neighbors, call the KrahÇ by the name Worazúrié (small alien people). Ribeiro at first speaks of them only as Caráuús or Carâous⁶⁷ and wonders why “a certain person” (he means Pinto de Magalhães, the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara) had called them Maquemecrans. But later he himself invariably used the form Macamecrans, saying that on the Tocantins they were known as Pepuxis and Tamembos. However, his earliest paper reckons the Pepuxis and Caráuús as distinct tribes of the Tocantins, while elsewhere he cites the Timbira Caráuús as a branch of the Pepuxis.

Ignoring the term Macamecrans for the present, we shall devote ourselves to clearing up the confusion concerning the terms Tamembó and Pepuxi. The first chronicler (1812) who mentions the Capepuxis and Temimbós, but not the KrahÇ is Silva e Souza.⁶⁸ He places the indolent and predatory Capepuxis in two villages “do Araguaya” (meaning “do Tocantins”), assigning to the peaceable Temimbós five villages near Pastos Bons. His Capepuxi are thus probably identical with the KrahÇ. His Temimbo must designate the Amanayé, though they occupied a single village, one legua from Pastos Bons, where they numbered in 1815 some 20 souls. Cazal, too, equates Temembó and Manajó.⁶⁹

As indicated, Ribeiro, otherwise highly reliable, is full of contradictions on this point. His contemporary, Pohl, who himself visited the KrahÇ, registers Temembó as a synonym for KrahÇ, while he identifies the Iricosche, an otherwise unrecorded people living near the Põrekamekra, with the Capepuxi.⁷⁰

In 1824 Cunha Mattos mentions the Pepuxy or Temembó as on the left bank of the Tocantins below São Pedro de Alcantara, adding the KrahÇ as a distinct tribe. Elsewhere he states that the Puxiti (Timbira pã.‘.‘ti = Šavánte), Petuxi (?), Pepuxi, or Temembó were living from the Manoel Alves to the Caxoeira das Tres Barras and were of the same tribe as the Macamecrans (= KrahÇ), but immediately thereafter he lists this last group as a separate tribe.⁷¹

Rivet, and after him, Snelhage, not only adopted Cazal’s identification of the Temembó with the Tupí Manajó (= Amanayé), but went so far as to further identify them with the Timbira Aponegicran (= Apt’nyekra) and to list the KrahÇ separately. The identity of the Temembó with the Krahõ’—as assumed by Ribeiro Magalhães, and Pohl—rests, above all, on the fact, that the former name occurs only in the reports of 1812–24, that is, precisely during the period in which the KrahÇ appeared on the Tocantins, spreading along both banks in the very region those older sources ascribe to the Temembó. Against this evidence Cunha Mattos’ listing of Temembó and KrahÇ as separate tribes does not weigh heavily, for this author listed the Apinayé as three distinct tribes under as many synonyms.

On the contrary, the identity of the Pepuxi (or Capepuxi, in Silva e Souza’s and Pohl’s spelling) with the KrahÇ seems highly dubious. Cunha Mattos’ Puxiti, recorded as a synonym along with Petuxi and Pepuxi, indicates the name Pã-..‘-ti

⁶⁶ Spix and Martius, *Reise*, 2:286.

⁶⁷ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §§ 68, 70–74; *Roteiro*, 62, *Notas K, S, U*; *Descrição*, §§ 55, 59, 69.

⁶⁸ Silva e Souza, *Memoria*, 495, 496.

⁶⁹ Cazal, *Chorographia*, 2:265.

⁷⁰ Pohl, *Reise*, 2:191, 211.

⁷¹ Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, 37:386; 38:20.

(large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Šerénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Kupêpá. ' (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

About the original habitat of the KrahÇ, Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the KrahÇ were neighbors and enemies of the Akwê-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the KrahÇ must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume in the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

However, in Ribeiro's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the KrahÇ begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000.⁷²

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantins.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the KrahÇ until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.⁷³ In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a KrahÇ mistress. In any case the KrahÇ henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the KrahÇ, but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, the KrahÇ girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.⁷⁴ His best tool in the slave raids was the KrahÇ chief Apúicrît, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

⁷² Cf. Pohl, *Reise* 2:182–207.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 2:137.

⁷⁴ Saint-Adolphe, *Diccionario*, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara."

After Magalhães' death the Krahç constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;⁷⁵ they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50', and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahç, attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahç sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahç on the Tocantins and took down a word list.⁷⁶ He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahç had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.⁷⁷ Castelnau sets the limits of Krahç territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40'N Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahç settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahç farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.⁷⁸ The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Šavánte-Šerénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahç permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.⁷⁹ In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.⁸⁰ The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahç owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahç chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tt'm). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahç village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

⁷⁵ Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, 38:20, 286.

⁷⁶ Castelnau, *Histoire*, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."

⁷⁷ Coudreau, *Tocantins-Araguaya*, 210.

⁷⁸ Pohl, *Reise*, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, 37:384.

⁷⁹ Tuggia, 122.

⁸⁰ Ferreira Gomes, *Itinerario*, 490.

In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tt'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the Serviço de Protecção aos Índios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahç and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahç, but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahç, he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahç have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahç speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegicran word list) the Krahç dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

What little information Luiz Ka'tt'm dropped concerning the customs of his people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katôk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahç in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahç with the Rtmkçkamekra dialect.

I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a northern and a southern.

The southern group, which bears the name of Mākamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, a) and Pedra Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahç will not be executed in the immediate future.

In 1930 the surviving Mākamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahç tribe may be estimated at 400.

In comparison with the RtmkÇkamekra the KrahÇ appear culturally impoverished—a possible result of their repeated wanderings and of their resettlement under Neobrazilian influence.

10. The Põrekamekra

According to the mutually corroboratory testimony of Ribeiro and the KrahÇ the remnants of the Põrekamekra merged with the Mākamekra horde of the KrahÇ over a century ago. Ribeiro identifies them with the Cupinharó, but remarks subsequently that these people, of whom he had learnt in 1800 as steppe dwellers to the west of the Grajahú, either had never existed at all or had been destroyed by the Põrekamekra and Pákóbye.⁸¹ The tribal name in question, which still figures in the traditions of contemporary RtmkÇkamekra, is doubtless Timbira kupëyaró, from kupë (alien tribe) and ro (stooping, bent). Thus, the very term proves that it refers to a non-Timbira people, thereby excluding the Põrekamekra. Martius suggests that they may have been Tupi and explains the name as Cupynuaras (ant men).

In 1722 or 1723 war was waged against the Cupinharós, Guanarés, Barbados, and Anapurús—all of them tribes of the northeast corner of Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and Parnahyba,⁸² but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe is mentioned solely for the Tocantins region. It is said to have owned an idol (dance mask?) which the commandant of Pastos Bons sent to the governor of Maranhão. According to Martius,⁸³ the tribe was existing “even today” (1819? 1867?) unconfined on the Tocantins, south of São Pedro de Alcantara. In any event, Ribeiro’s identification of the Kupëyaró and the Põrekamekra is unacceptable.

The only two, almost synchronous, sources on the Põrekamekra, Pohl (1819) and Ribeiro (who saw them in 1815 and probably also later) are not easily reconciled. According to Pohl, Pinto de Magalhães, after his sudden appearance on the Tocantins in 1808, first made a treaty of peace with this tribe on the west bank, subsequently coming to terms with the KrahÇ attackers of the Põrekamekra. Contrary to Pohl, the Põrekamekra could not formerly have lived much farther south, for there lay the territory of the Akwê-Šavánte. During Magalhães’ subsequent stay in Pará, Antonio Moreira’s bandeira attacked and massacred the Indians. In 1810 Magalhães returned, assembled the Indians anew, and founded São Pedro de Alcantara, while Plácido Carvalho, who had accompanied him from Pará, settled with the Põrekamekra at Cocal, at the apex of the great westward bend of the Tocantins below Carolina, that is, on the west bank. Pohl seems to indicate that this occurred immediately after Magalhães’ return. Nine years later Pohl visited the colony of Cocal, remaining from August 9 to 11, 1819.

According to this author, then, the Põrekamekra resided on the west side of the Tocantins at least from about 1808 until 1819.

Ribeiro, certainly far more familiar with the development of the district after his nineteen years’ stay than Pohl could have been after a three days’ visit, tells the history of this tribe quite differently. He credits the Põrekamekra originally with two villages between the Pákóbye (Grajahú region) and the mouth of the Rio Farinha, that is, on the east bank. After Antonio Moreira’s offer of peace to one of the villages in 1814, its 400 to 500 inhabitants (not counting the children), headed by chief Cocrît, appeared in São Pedro de Alcantara, bearing green twigs in token of peace. Several months later they moved their settlement near this town, but their

⁸¹ Ribeiro, Roteiro, § 61; Memoria, § 63.

⁸² Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 135.

⁸³ Martius, Beiträge, 1:198.

chief was captured and the rest were abused to such an extent that part of them joined the KrahÇ, while the remainder despondently sought safety in flight.

The second village of the Põrekamekra, as well as that of the equally peaceable “Poncatagê” (Põkateye, those of the steppe; an unidentifiable tribe), was visited by the bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara and the allied KrahÇ. The Indians had fled, but persuaded by promises made to them through Cocrît, 364 of them consented to appear before the bandeira, only to be thrown into fetters amid horrible murders and other deeds of violence. Some were still able to flee, but 164 were captured, 130 of them—the bandeira leader’s share—being branded with redhot irons and sold to Pará. Of this occurrence on July 24, 1815, Ribeiro, according to his express statement, was an eyewitness.

It is thus incomprehensible that four years later Pohl should have found 600 to 700 Põrekamekra peaceably residing in Cocal. Possibly he merely saw another group erroneously identified by Carvalho as Põrekamekra. Cunha Mattos, who mentions Cocal as late as 1824, described its residents as Cherente (?).⁸⁴

The tribal name is not derived from “pure,” burity leafstalk, as Ribeiro’s orthography would suggest, but according to what the KrahÇ explicitly told me, from põre, a small falcon known to the Neobrazilians as caboré.

Pohl mentions a vocabulary recorded by him and refers readers to his Appendix, but I cannot find it in the two copies of his work accessible to me. Thus, I am acquainted with only the thirty words given by Martius here and there for purposes of comparison.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, it is clear that, as with the neighboring Pákóbye and KrahÇ, the speech represents the southeastern dialect of Timbira. They differed to their advantage in their amicable, peaceable character, stressed by both Ribeiro and Pohl, which reminds one of their northwestern neighbors, the Apinayé.

11–13. *The Canella*

Neobrazilians unite the Kénkateye, Apt´nyekra and RtmkÇkamekra under the single head of Canellas. These tribes themselves, however, lack a common name for the three groups and recognize no closer affinity among themselves than between any of the three and the KrahÇ or the Čt´kamekra.

In the sertão no other tribes have ever been connected with that appellation. Martius, too, classes as Canellas finas only the Corume- and Capié-Crans (= RtmkÇkamekra) and the Aponegi-Crans (= Apt´nyekra); possibly the Kénkateye were not yet in existence in his day.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Snethlage defines the concept quite differently, making it comprise: (a) Aponegikrân = Temembó = Mannajo; (b) Kapiekrân; (c) Sacamekrân = Gamellas de Codo; (d) Korumekrân; (e) Acobu; (f) Remkókamekrân; (g) Aponyekrân; (h) Kénkateye.⁸⁷

This list evokes the following comments:

The Aponegikrân are, indeed, identical with Aponyekrân, or rather Apt´nyekra, but not with the Temembó and, still less, with the Mannajo (= Amanayé). Kapiekrân, Korumekrân, and Remkókamekran are merely three distinct names for one tribe, the Canella of Ponto. The Sacamekrân were quite distinct from the Gamella of Codó, in fact, were their bitter enemies. On the other hand, these Gamella, who are not Timbira at all, are identical with the Acobu (= Haktpó).

In Les Capiekrans, Father Etienne Ignace gives misleading statements about the habitat of the Canella whose coastal origin he “proves” by their allegedly excessive

⁸⁴ Cunha Mattos, *Chorographia*, 38:386.

⁸⁵ Martius, *Beiträge*, vol. 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:285.

⁸⁷ Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 141.

salting of food even at the present day! He assigns to the Canella four villages near Grajahú, viz. Dois Braços—an old Guajajara colony somewhat above Barra do Corda; Jacaré (unknown to me, but certainly not a Canella village); Ponto (actually Canella, but seventy-eight kilometers south of Barra do Corda); and Mocura (a former Čt'kamekra settlement southeast of Barra do Corda). However, this author asserts, contrary to the facts at any period, that Canella groups reside in and around Barra do Corda, alongside of Craméro (?) and Crarros Indians (KrahÇ, fifty kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda). His other statements likewise are most inaccurate and refer, as Snethlage correctly recognized, to tribes outside the Gê stock. Ignace's history of the Capiékran is a greatly abbreviated and disfigured summary of Ribeiro, and the vocabulary he obtained from Canella Indians visiting Bahia in 1902 includes a considerable number of words not belonging to their speech.

Similarly we must correct the statements of Pompeu Sobrinho concerning the habitat of the Canella.⁸⁸ These neither resided at the Balsas headwaters until a few years ago, nor are they at present situated in the missions of Barra do Corda. Their villages never lay on the left bank of the Rio Corda, but invariably east of this river. Of the five names he cites as borne by the principal Canella settlements, Capim = Porquinhos, and Soledade = Travessia. Both the Timbira of the Gurupy and the forest-dwelling Krëyë of Bacabal call the Canella by the name Krakatí, and the Pákóbye by the name Pökatie (those of the steppes [põ]). Ribeiro, too, mentions the Poncatgê in connection with the PÇrekamekra. To the Akwë-Šerënte the Canella tribes are known as Worazúauré (large alien tribe) in contrast to the Worazurie (KrahÇ).

Ribeiro was the first writer to apply the term *Canellas finas*; he applied it to the Capiécra (our RtmkÇkamekra) and expressly admits ignorance of the etymology of this name: "nome do qual ignoramos a etymologia."⁸⁹ Others, however, were not backward in giving interpretations. Martius translates the name as "thin feet," declaring that the Corumécra achieved the desired slenderness for their lower legs by means of tight cotton bands adopted in youth.⁹⁰ Saint-Adolphe has it that the discoverers of the Timbira dubbed them "Canellas finas" because of the thinness of their legs and bodies; while Kissenberth translates the name as "Indians with thin shinbones."⁹¹ Finally, Snethlage declares that the thin calves of the Krān tribes had always aroused attention, whence the Capiékran were designated as "Canellas finas."

To be sure, *canella* signifies "shinbone" and "calf" to boot, for which vulgar Portuguese lacks a separate term; it is also true that *fino* means "thin, fine, delicate." These facts, however, were naturally known to Ribeiro as well as to others of Portuguese speech; if he preferred to leave the rendering open, it was because his undoubtedly accurate knowledge of Capiékran had taught him to reject the common interpretation of the phrase. Certainly it would be remarkable if the very people who from childhood on ardently practice running and log racing as their national sport were to be distinguished from other tribes by the delicacy of their calves. A glance at their photographs suffices to dispel this interpretation.

Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose

⁸⁸ Pompeu Sobrinho, *Merrime*, 4, 8.

⁸⁹ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, § 45.

⁹⁰ "Ihre Unterschenkel sind mit Querbändern von gefärbter Baumwolle geziert, deren straffes Anziehen von Jugend auf sie als Mittel betrachten, die gewünschte Schlankheit zu erlangen." Spix and Martius, *Reise*, 2:822. Martius, *Beiträge*, 1:285.

⁹¹ Saint-Adolphe, *Diccionario*, "Timbiras." Kissenberth, *Bei den Canella-Indianern*, 47.

the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains.⁹² In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apt'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella*, not *dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (*fin*a) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

11. *Kénkateye*.—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to RtmkÇkamekra and Apt'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apt'nyekra band that at one time joined the KrahÇ, who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of KrahÇ, returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*. In the late summer of 1908 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.⁹³

In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldeia to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.⁹⁴ The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old KrahÇ friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apt'nyekra, and a few to the Pákóbye and RtmkÇkamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200⁹⁵ and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apt'nyekra with a chief of their own.⁹⁶

12. *The Apt'nyekra*.—This term (or its variants Apt'nekra and Apt'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from Apt'n

⁹² Brué, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.

⁹³ Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.

⁹⁴ Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.

⁹⁵ Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).

⁹⁶ Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

(piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]), referring to the red paint put on the lower jaw, a decoration peculiar to this tribe among the Timbira. Ribeiro mentions the “Ponecra” as neighbors of the Sacamecrans (Čt’kamekra).⁹⁷ In 1819 Martius obtained a vocabulary from a band of this tribe mixed with KrahÇ, which had come on a visit to Caxias.⁹⁸ His orthography of the tribal name, “Aponegicrans,” proves that he heard it not from the natives themselves, but from one of his Brazilian informants, probably Oliveira Figueiredo, since Ribeiro’s spelling gives a simpler and phonetically better form. Martius’ word forms in some measure coincide with my lists of 1913 and 1930. His frequent use of the “Sch” symbol is due to the occasional merging of the “y” sound into “z” or “ñ” among the Apt’nyekra (as well as KrahÇ).

In 1913 I encountered a Canella band at São Luiz and obtained a short word list from the leader. He mendaciously declared himself a R“makÇkamekrere, that is, RtmkÇkamekra from Ponto. Subsequently I got to know him well; he turned out to be the chief of the Apt’nyekra of Porquinhos, Capitão Chico Noletto. Members of his tribe often pretend to be RtmkÇkamekra, because these enjoy a somewhat better reputation among Neobrazilians.

The Apt’nyekra occupy the village of Porquinhos on a small right-hand tributary of the upper Rio Corda. In the east they used to adjoin the RtmkÇkamekra on the Porcos-Papagaio watershed, these being likewise tributaries of the river from the same direction. Westward they extended beyond the Rio Corda: into the steppe region of the upper Mearim—not the forests, which are held by the Guajajára. Their western neighbors were probably the Pákóbye of the Rio Grajahú region.

Of this ancient habitat they retain approximately the site of their present village. Their community is decadent: the residents are almost constantly gadding about on the outside, devoting little time to agriculture. Their impertinent mendicancy, in which the above-mentioned chief excels, makes a sojourn among them highly unpleasant. Allegedly they were often at war with the RtmkÇkamekra and proved more than a match for them. At present they are inferior in numbers and otherwise to their old enemies, who rather look down upon them, while their relations with the KrahÇ and Pákóbye have always been better.

The census of 1919 estimates the Apt’nyekra at 118 souls; during my visit in 1929 I set the figure somewhat higher, at possibly 130. Since then it has obviously increased somewhat. In 1930 I obtained a vocabulary of one hundred and sixty-nine words.

13. *The RtmkÇkamekra.*—Until 1934 these eastern neighbors of the Apt’nyekra occupied the large village of Ponto, south of Barra do Corda, near the sources of the Santo Estevão, a left affluent of the Ourives. As to the distance of Ponto from Barra do Corda observers are strangely at variance: Snethlage sets it at one hundred and twenty kilometers; Fróes Abreu speaks of one hundred kilometers, which his map reduces to fifty; having myself covered the entire distance on a mount some twenty times and measured part of it with a 10-meter rod, I cannot put the distance above seventy-eight kilometers.⁹⁹

The tribal name is derived from a small eastern source of the Santo Estevão known to Neobrazilians as Cabeceira do Campo. This brook (kÇ, water) in turn gets its name from the almecega trees (rtm, almecega [*Protium* sp.]) along its banks. Thus, the word as a whole designates “the tribe on the almecega water.”

⁹⁷ Ribeiro, Roteiro, 43.

⁹⁸ Spix and Martius, *Reise*, 2:820. *Beiträge*, 2:149.

⁹⁹ Snethlage, *Meine Reise*, 464. Fróes Abreu, *Terra das Palmeiras*, 167.

To the Apt'nyekra, KrahÇ and Pákóbye they are known as Kè'ikra, Kèrumekra (eastern tribe, from kè'i east, kè'irum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records;¹⁰⁰ yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50N where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čt'kamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apt'nyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Porcus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čt'kamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Temp' ', marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čt'kamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.¹⁰¹ Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čt'kamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Temp' ' and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho.

RtmkÇkamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Temp' ', whose

¹⁰⁰ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §§ 45-61; *Roteiro*, 43–45.

¹⁰¹ Moreira Pinto, *Apontamentos*, "Canellas finas."

name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Temp' 's murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Alcanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising. In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the RtmkÇkamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino KÇkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels

In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino KÇkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropkt', the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrân and Sakamekrân, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

- 1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegicran-Apt'nyekra).
- 1902. Ignace, Les Capiécraes, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
- 1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkatéye).
- 1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakókamekrere, actually Apt'nyekra).
- 1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (RtmkÇkamekran).
- 1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-RtmkÇkamekra).
- 1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 798 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

14. The Čt'kamekra

To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the RtmkÇkamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the „ t'kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

¹⁰² Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.¹⁰³ Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.¹⁰⁴

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čt'kamekra, from .tre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*.]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Sneath's "Sakamekrān," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorā" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative RtmkÇkamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

In Ribeiro's day the Čt'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

The military post of Príncipe Regente at the Alpercatas-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Čt'kamekra and RtmkÇkamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.¹⁰⁵

The Čt'kamekra remained hostile until at least the ,forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10'N and 5° 20'N as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). RtmkÇkamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čt'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

At all events the remnants of the Čt'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the ,nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

¹⁰³ Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.

¹⁰⁴ Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.

¹⁰⁵ Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.

sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the RtmkÇkamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the RtmkÇkamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karêkateye.—Their name is derived from karê (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Canaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.¹⁰⁶ In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with KrahÇ allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his KrahÇ as victims of the Canacategé.¹⁰⁷

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pá'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).¹⁰⁸ In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pá'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karêkateye of RtmkÇkamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamht'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karêkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karêkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

The KrÇrekamekra.—The remnants of this people were adopted by the RtmkÇkamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamht'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães¹⁰⁹ lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10'N the tribe is said to be hostile to the KrahÇ. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius¹¹⁰ and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

KrÇre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

¹⁰⁶ Ribeiro, *Memoria*, §§ 70, 83; *Roteiro*, 46.

¹⁰⁷ Almeida, *Carolina*, 52.

¹⁰⁸ Marques, *Apontamentos*, "Índios."

¹⁰⁹ Almeida, *Carolina*, 55.

¹¹⁰ Martius, *Beiträge*, 2:284. Cazal, *Chorographia*, 2:293. Pohl, *Reise*, 2:211.

The Nyurukwayé.—The literature records such synonyms as Norocoagê, Norogagê, Noraguagê, Noraquagê, Unuruguajé.¹¹¹ The name is derived from the Timbira word for dwelling: Apinayé nyurukwá, Eastern Timbira nyðkwa, yékwá. However, the Eastern Timbira also use the Apinayé designation for the tribe in question, which lived on the west side of the Tocantins, south of the Apinayé, though Pohl erroneously puts them among the tribes of the east side.

Pinto de Magalhães places them among the tribes between the Tocantins and the Araguaya, from São Pedro de Alcantara to the confluence of these rivers. He reports how *more suo* he had tried to make friends with them by aiding the KrahÇ in a raid against the Norocagês and sending back to their own people two of the three women that were made captives. This seems to have occurred in 1810 or a little later.

According to Ribeiro this tribe was enslaved and dispersed at the same time as the Canaquetgês, that is, in 1815. However, it evidently maintained its existence for some time thereafter, since Cunha Mattos reports an attack in 1824 by Inhajurupé-Chavante and Noraguagês on the Šerénte aldea Graciosa, which he had founded somewhat below the present Porto Nacional. He regarded the Noraguagês as of the same origin as the Šerénte and describes them as a tribe of insignificant size, though his figure of 200 warriors would correspond to a total of 800 to 1000 souls. They were said to reside west of the Temembó or Pepuxi (=KrahÇ ? Šavánte ?) in the region of the Estreito, 6° 30'.

In 1844 Castelnau once more cites the tribe as one of the five Šerénte subtribes¹¹²— unquestionably an error, for the Šerénte constitute a single tribal unit. Since then the Nyurukwayé no longer appear in the sources. The KrahÇ of today recognize the name, but disclaim any further knowledge.

The Augutgé.—Without any localization Ribeiro mentions a tribe he designates once by the above name, a second as Angetgé:

In 1816 a bandeira lured it into its power by mendacious promises, enslaved its members, and hacked to pieces its chief when he protested against such treachery. Part of the slaves were shipped to Pará, the rest were sold to itinerant traders, who sold them off to Piauhy.

Otherwise I have no knowledge of any statements about this tribe; possibly the name is a distortion of Ahótye (=Apinayé).

Other names.—Various tribal names referred to the Timbira zone appear in the literature without definite localization, so that it is not worth while to discuss them in detail.¹¹³

Chacamecran, Xocamecran, and Jocamecran presumably refer to the Čt'kamekra. Others (such as Manacobgê, Caturecategê, Capacatagê [= Capetigi?], Sapicran, and Tucategê) I am unable to interpret. They may or may not have been Timbira tribes, for we must recollect that the Tupí Amanayé, too, bear a tribal name ending in -ye, -gê.

¹¹¹ Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Norogagês." Ribeiro, Memoria, § 83; Roteiro, 37, 46. Pohl, Reise, 2:682. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:357; 38:21, 78. Almeida, Carolina, 51. Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."

¹¹² Castelnau, Histoire, 1:352.

¹¹³ Martius, Beiträge, 1:284. Pohl, Reise, 2:182. Almeida, Carolina, 55. Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza," "Tocantins." Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293.