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**PARECI, CABIXI, NAMBIQUARA:
A CASE STUDY IN THE WESTERN CLASSIFICATION
OF NATIVE PEOPLES**

by David PRICE

Few peoples are entirely without history. Most parts of the world have been visited by adventurers, missionaries and merchants over the course of the last two or three centuries. Their letters, reports and journals are full of references to native peoples. These materials are often hard to interpret, however. A reference may consist of little more than the statement that a "tribe" known by a particular name lived in a specified place, and the names of "tribes" were often used in different ways at different times.

Indians living between the Cuaporé and Arinos Rivers in western Mato Grosso, Brazil, have been known to members of Western society for over 250 years. But the historical record is so confusing that Schmidt (1912:157) hesitated to explicate what he regarded as "extremely tangled intertribal relations."¹ He apparently did not consider the possibility that it was the tribal names, rather than the intertribal relations, that were tangled up. When, for example, a particular name was used first for a group in one place and then for a group somewhere else, there are two possibilities: either the group moved, or the name came to be applied in a different way. In order to choose between these alternatives, collateral information is necessary. Often, it is helpful to know something about the people who *used* a particular tribal name—what their interests were and how they viewed the people named.

This paper is an interpretation of the historical record in which an attempt is made to pay as much attention to the namers as the people named. Names for particular groups are seen in the context of names for neighboring groups—as part of the namers' classification of "Indians." Linguistic material and oral tradition are used to complement the documentary evidence.

THE PARECI AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

The heart of the region under consideration is a high, rolling plain called the Parecis Plateau or, less appropriately, the Parecis Mountains. Streams rising on the plateau flow

south into the Rio Paraguai, west into the Rio Guaporé, and north into the Ji-Paraná, Roosevelt, Juruena and Arinos. A semi-xerophytic savanna predominates in the highlands, where forest is only found around springs. A large continuous forest occurs on the tributaries of the Paraguai, in the broad valley of the Guaporé, and to the north of the region, where the Amazonian jungle begins.

The first outsiders to penetrate this area were *bandeirantes* from São Paulo who came to western Mato Grosso in the early part of the eighteenth century, in search of treasure and Indian slaves. They came by canoe, portaging between navigable rivers. The Rio Cuiabá was explored in 1718 by a party under Antonio Pires de Campos, who returned with many "heathen Coxiponé" (Sá [1775]1901:5). Gold was discovered the following year, a goldrush ensued, and the city of Cuiabá was founded.

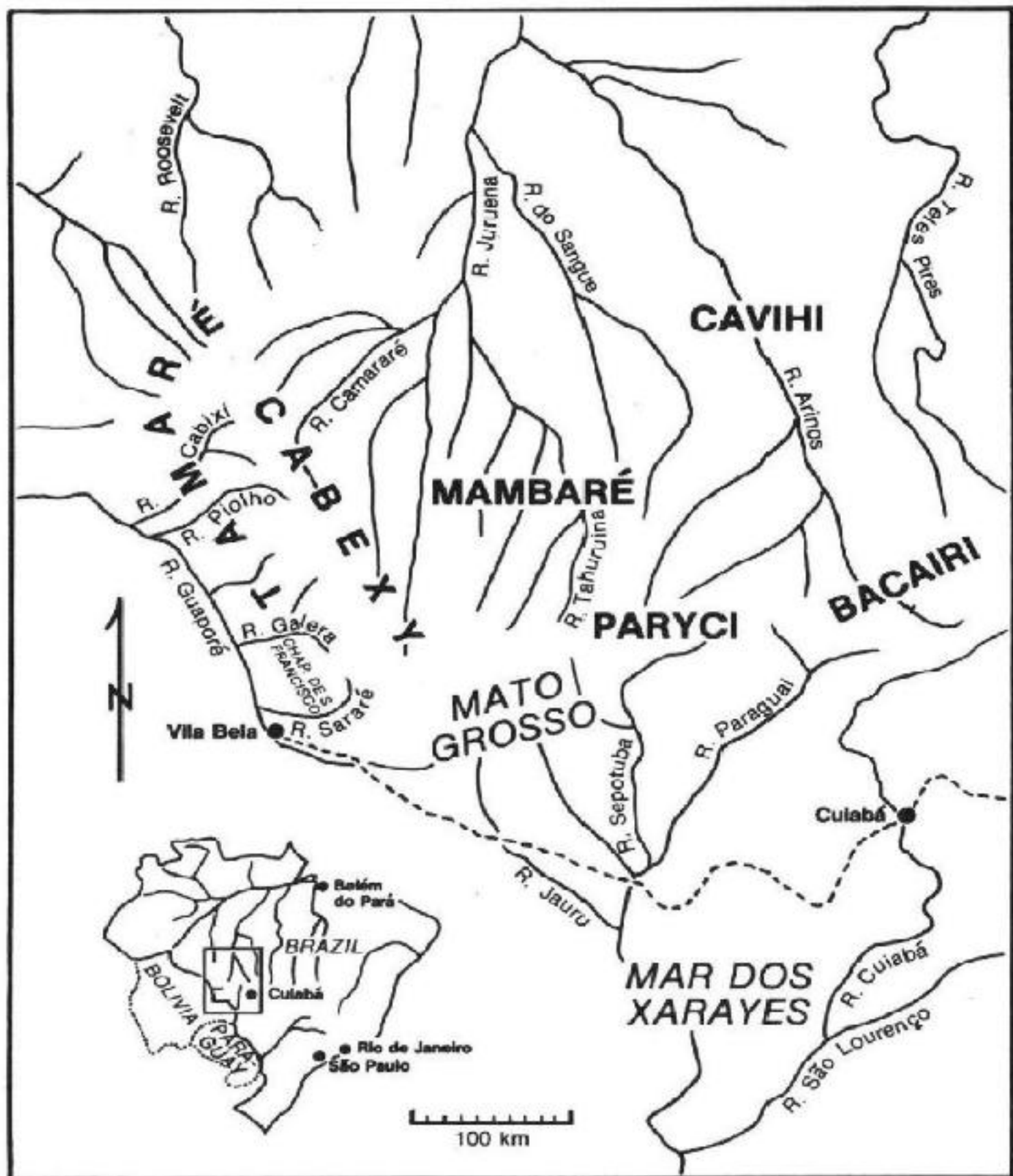


FIG. 1. — Native peoples between the rios Guaporé and Arinos according to eighteenth-century sources.

By 1727 the richest deposits were exhausted and the *bandeirantes* began to look farther afield (Sá [1775]1901:20-21). On the move once again, Antonio Pires de Campos ascended the Rio Sepotuba to its sources and climbed out of the forest onto a broad plateau where "all the streams flow to the north."² It was heavily populated with Indians whom he called Pareci. He reported that "often ten or twelve villages are passed in a day's march, and each of them have from ten to thirty houses, and amongst these houses are found some that are 30 or 40 paces across." The Pareci sustained themselves through agriculture, in which they were "tireless," and they used efficient cooperative hunting techniques, driving game into corrals (Campos [1728?]1862:433).

Campos was particularly struck by the egalitarian and non-aggressive character of the Pareci. "It is their misfortune," he said, "that they have no single head whom everyone obeys as a king or chief, but many among whom the government is divided." Elsewhere, he said, "They are not warlike, and only defend themselves when somebody goes after them" ([1728?]1862:443-444). Their lack of central leadership or a bellicose nature as well as their practice of living in large villages in the open savanna made them ideal quarry for slave hunters. Within a year of Campos' discovery of the Pareci, an expedition had been sent to begin the harvest (Sá [1775]1901:24).

In 1731 two brothers who had gone out to hunt Pareci found gold in the Chapada de São Francisco (Sá [1775]1901:31-32), a small isolated plateau (now called the Serra de São Vicente) that is separated from the main mass of the Parecis Plateau by the valley of the Sararé and Galera Rivers. The administrators of Cuiabá prevented a goldrush for several years, but in 1737 a fleet of more than 70 canoes set out for the new region, leaving Cuiabá nearly deserted (Sá [1775]1901:37). They traveled down the Rios Cuiabá and São Lourenço, and up the Paraguai and Jauru. Other prospectors pioneered an overland route from Cuiabá to the Paraguai (Coelho 1850:153). There were already settlers on the Sepotuba and Jauru. They called the forest on the headwaters of these rivers *mato grosso*, "dense woods" (Coelho 1850:151), in contrast to the open savannas to the north. The whole region, including the new mines, soon became known as Mato Grosso.

The gold was found in gravel, which had to be washed and panned. This process was very laborious, but the nearby Pareci provided a ready supply of slaves. In a report written in 1738, Manoel Rodrigues Torres, superintendent of the royal treasury in Cuiabá, discussed the enslavement of the "Paryci, Cabexy, Mambaré and Waccayiri." He recognized that it was illegal to capture Indians for sale as slaves,³ but he said the practice was impossible to stamp out. He asserted, moreover, that the treasury could not bear the expense of taking all the enslaved Indians away from their owners and establishing a settlement for them, as the law required. Without slaves, productivity would fall, and the crown would lose revenue from taxes. As a compromise, Torres had determined that Indians should not be bought or sold, but that people who performed a useful service in "disinfesting" the countryside should be rewarded with a lifelong right to the labour of the Indians they captured.

Who were the four groups referred to by Torres?

Modern researchers have found the people who speak the Pareci language to be divided into three contiguous regional aggregates, each with its own dialect (Steinen 1894:426-27; Rondon [1910]1947:6; Roquette-Pinto [1917]1935:115, 123-24). These "related tribes" (Steinen 1894:437) call themselves *kodãrene*, *kašniti* and *wáimare* (Rowan 1961:2). The *kodãrene* live to the west, the *kašniti* to the east, and the *wáimare* to the north (Rondon [1910]1947:13).

In the *wáimare* dialect, the word for "people" is *haltti* (Rowan 1961:11). It seems possible that the name "Paryci" derives from this term as it was pronounced in another dialect—perhaps the dialect originally spoken by the *kašíniti*, the regional aggregate that Campos would have encountered at the head of the Sepotuba. Unfortunately, the *kašíniti* were extinct as an autonomous group by 1888 (Steinen 1894:427), and their original dialect is unrecorded.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, both the *kašíniti* and the *wáimare* referred to the *kođárene* as Cabixi. Members of the latter group disliked this term, which they considered deprecatory (Roquette-Pinto [1917]1935:124, Schmidt 1929:103). The term may or may not have had a pejorative connotation in the eighteenth century, but it seems likely that the *bandeirantes* learned it from the *kašíniti* as a name for the ancestors of the *kođárene*.

Thus, Torres' Paryci and Cabexy can be identified with the *kašíniti* and *kođárene*. The Mambaré are the *wáimare*,¹ and the Waccayiri are the Bacairi, their neighbours to the east.

In his account of the Pareci, Antonio Pires de Campos mentioned peoples called Mahibaré and Cavihi. It is clear that the former should be identified with the *wáimare*: They lived to the north of the Paryci, had "the same customs and usages," and spoke a language that differed only "in a few words" (Campos [1728?]1862:445). But to identify the Cavihi with the Cabixi, as Steinen and Roquette-Pinto do (1894:425; [1917]1935:29), would seem to be a mistake. Campos said that the Cavihi lived to the north of the Mahibaré, and that they were savage warriors and cannibals who kept skulls and shin-bones on platforms under the roofs of their houses (Campos [1728?]1862:445-46). These are Tupian customs, and the Cavihi should probably be identified with the modern Caiabi. The Cabixi, on the other hand, are mentioned in several eighteenth-century documents together with the Pareci and Mambaré, with no suggestion that they failed to partake of their all-too-peaceable disposition.

The Guaporé was discovered in 1737 (Coelho 1850:156), and in 1742-43 the first trip to Pará was made via the Guaporé, Mamoré, Madeira and Amazon (Sá [1775]1901:42). The Guaporé became an important avenue of commerce (Davidson 1970), and the Portuguese attempted to protect it from the Spanish in eastern Bolivia by making Mato Grosso a captaincy (1748) and establishing its capital on the river. Thus, Vila Bela da Santíssima Trindade de Mato Grosso was founded in 1752. Garrisons were stationed along the Guaporé, and in 1776-1783, a fortress was built at Príncipe da Beira.

In 1750 José Gonsalves da Fonseca (1826:139) reported that Indians captured in the surrounding countryside furnished the labor in all of the plantations along the Guaporé except one, where there were slaves from Guinea. A Franciscan mendicant, Frei José dos Anjos, was outraged by the "destruction and slaughter that the backwoodsmen of these districts visit upon the Indians." "They kill the old," he said, "and bring the young in chains to be sold." So he "went out into the countryside to preach the word of God, and reduced more than two hundred Indians to the Catholic Faith, from the four nations called Mabará, Paritacá, Matacaré and Cabexi."² He left them in a settlement in the savannas of the Parecis and went to get permission to found a mission village. This was denied, however, because the Jesuits had been granted exclusive rights to the region (Anjos 1750).

In 1770 an expedition under João Leme do Prado³ encountered both Cabixi and Pareci⁴ somewhere near the Jurucua (Castelnau 1851:166-169). In 1781 an Indian settle-

ment was founded by one Bernardo Cardoso on a tributary of the Sararé. This village, which contained 56 Pareci, Maimbaré and Cabixy, came to an abrupt end two years later. When one of the Indians appeared with a new bride, Bernardo took her for himself and gave "in trade the woman he already had." The Indians rose up, killed Bernardo and seven other Whites, and burned the settlement (Fonseca 1881:156).

In 1797 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra wrote a geographical description of Mato Grosso containing a catalog of Indian nations. This is the first systematic attempt to specify where the different peoples lived. He places the Pareci "in the savannas of this name," on "the origins of its principal rivers, which flow to the Tapajoz." He locates the Maimbaré "on the Taburina, an eastern branch of the Juruena." "The Cabixi, he says, are "a nation that wanders in the savannas of the Pareci; they live at the sources and in the forests of the Rivers Guaporé, Sararé, Galera, Piollo and Branco [Cabixi]" ([1797]1844:195, 1857:243-244).

In describing the Pareci, Serra used the past tense. He said that they "had nearly been extinguished by the incursions, slaving and emmigration occasioned by the Portuguese," and that their ruin could be attributed to "their valor and peaceable conduct." The Pareci who survived the slave raids had "mixed in with the Cabixi and Maimbaré," and the latter two groups were also "mixed" with each other ([1797]1844:195). Ninety years later, Steinen found the three groups still identifiable, although he said there had been considerable intermarriage (1894:427).

EXPANSION OF THE TERM CABIXI

The rich deposits that had caused the goldrush of 1737 were nearly exhausted by 1740 (Davidson 1970:35-36). Mining continued in the Chapada de São Francisco Xavier, but by the end of the eighteenth century it was a routine industry, with a routine profit margin. In 1816 merchants began making regular canoe trips up and down the Arinos. Since this was a more direct route between Cuiabá and Pará, commercial traffic on the Guaporé fell off abruptly. In 1820 the provincial capital was moved to Cuiabá, and over the course of the next few years practically everyone left Vila Bela except for a few hundred freed African slaves.

In 1805 the town of Diamantino was founded near the source of the Rio Paraguai. Diamonds had been discovered in the the area 70 years earlier, but the crown evacuated the region to protect its own interests and settlement was not resumed until prospecting had been deregulated (Castelnau 1850:319). Since Diamantino was only ten leagues from the limit to which the Arinos was navigable, it became a way station on the commercial route between Cuiabá and Pará.

During most of the nineteenth century, the Brazilian frontier in northern Mato Grosso remained stationary. When Francis Castelnau visited the area in 1844-1845 (1850:285-293, 305-306; 1851:64-79), Cuiabá was a city of 6,000 or 7,000, with perhaps another 6,000 in the surrounding countryside. The canoe route linking it with São Paulo was no longer in use. There was an overland route to Rio de Janeiro, but many necessities such as shot, powder, salt and cooking oil came up the Arinos. Commerce with Paraguay via the Rio Cuiabá would have been easy, but its development had been inhibited for poli-

tical reasons. Diamantino was a busy little town of about 1,000 inhabitants that served as a market center for some 3,000 Brazilian settlers and extractivists, as well as an entrepot on the route to Pará. Vila Bela, on the other hand, was in decline. The town itself had a population of 800 to 1,000, and there were another 400 people at São Vicente and 200 at Pilar, the two mining camps that were still in business. Commercial caravans went there from Cuiabá, via Poconé and Vila Maria (now Cáceres), whose population was between 500 and 600. But Vila Bela was the end of the line for organized commercial traffic.

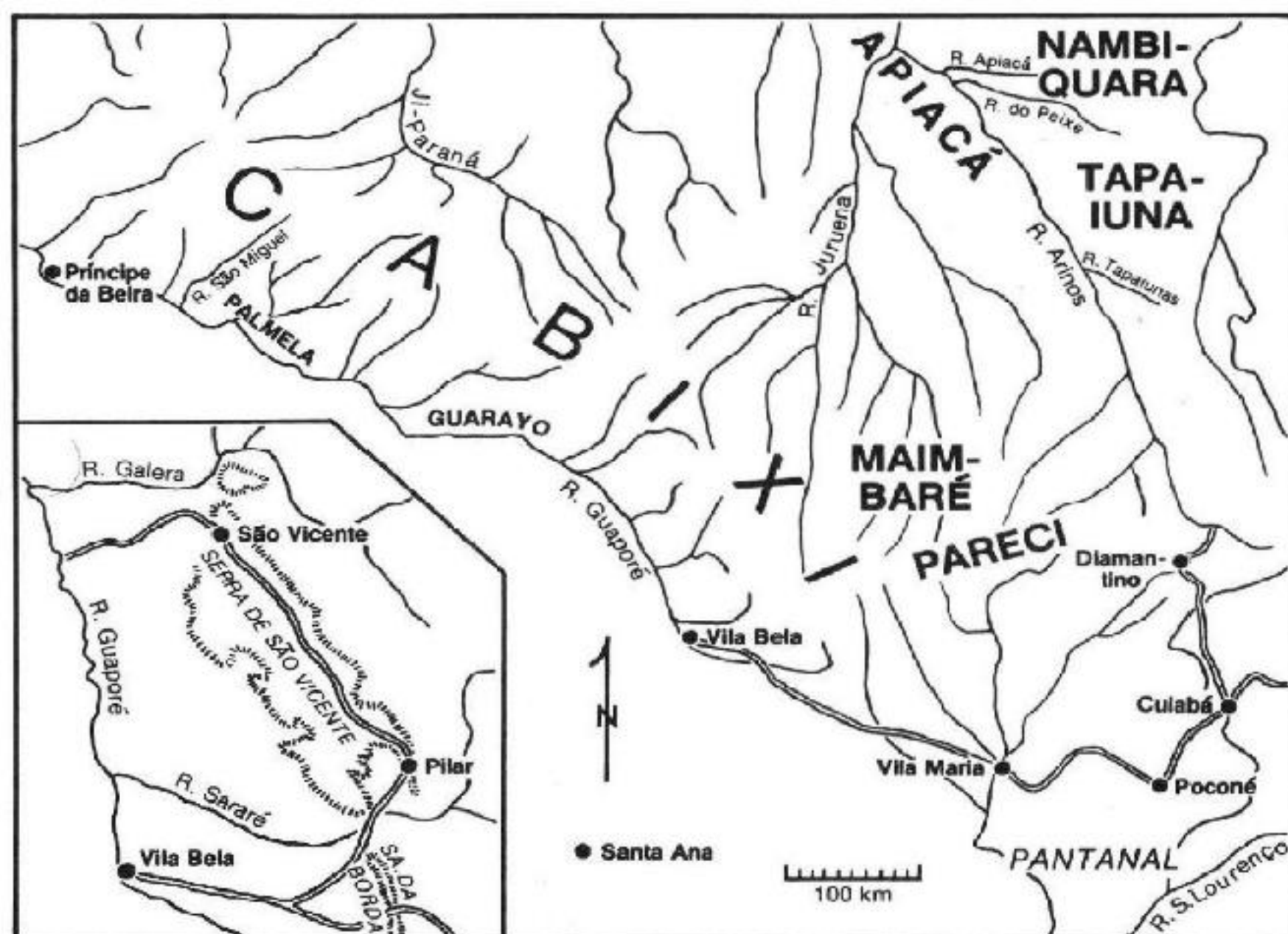


FIG. 2. — Native peoples between the rios Guaporé and Arinos according to mid-nineteenth-century sources.

Sometime during the first part of the nineteenth century, hostile Indians began to attack in the neighborhood of Vila Bela and the mining camps. I cannot say exactly when, for there is a forty-year gap in the evidence at hand.⁹ But a small detachment was stationed there because the forays of the Indians had caused people to "abandon the cultivation of lands of the first quality, not only for agriculture but for mining," and in 1841 it was reinforced (Guimarães 1841:16). In 1847, a man and a woman were killed in a raid on Pilar (Ribeiro 1848:80), and in April of the next year two men were murdered as they worked in the fields near the same camp (Correia 1848). The Indians burned the bridge over the Guaporé on the road from Vila Maria and murdered people on the outskirts of Vila Bela (Moutinho 1869:143). Pilar was abandoned, and in 1877

Indians attacked and burned the mining camp of São Vicente (Melgaço 1884:420, *foot-note* 1). In 1880 they massacred a party of eight, including five soldiers (and two women), near the pass through the Serra da Borda (Lisboa 1881).

In the 1840s there were differing opinions as to the identity of the Indians who committed these atrocities. Some people blamed the Pareci (Guimarães 1841:16, Ribeiro 1848:80), although Castelnau, who visited first Diamantino and then Vila Bela, found this strange. "For some reason that is not understood," he wrote, "[the Pareci] are very docile toward the inhabitants of the first town, but entirely hostile toward those of the second" (1850:308). Jardin, who knew the eighteenth-century literature, concluded that the marauding Indians could not be the peaceable Pareci, but must be the Cabixi-Uajururi (1847:552), "a mixture of two tribes" that Serra ([1797]1844:243) places beyond the Cabixi to the northwest. In the opinion that came to prevail, however, the hostile Indians were Cabixi. This was reasonable, as the Cabixi were the westernmost of the three "related tribes" that spoke Pareci.

In eighteenth century documents, the Cabixi were often mentioned with the Pareci, and there was no indication that they were especially hostile. But nineteenth-century Indianists began to distinguish between the Pareci and the Cabixi in this respect. Ferreira ([1848]1905:88) says of the Pareci :

Although they sometimes hide from us and show a lack of confidence, in general they seem disposed to strengthen their relations with us. From time to time they visit our settlements to procure agricultural implements, clothes and beads in trade for seives, baskets, hammock string, quills, gourds and tobacco... They understand and speak little of our language. They are never openly hostile.

In contrast, the same author says of the cabixi :

Our mining camps and settlers in the district of Matto-Grosso were often assaulted by these Indians who make yearly raids, killing, robbing and burning ([1848]1905:88).

Whoever they were, the Indians who harassed Vila Bela and its surroundings gave the people a very real cause for concern. But their fear and hatred of the "Cabixi" was extreme. Perhaps they felt especially vulnerable, having seen their city, which had been planned as a great capital, reduced to a few dozen adobe houses on broad, grass-grown avenues. Perhaps they needed the Indians as scapegoats, to explain the decline of their prosperity. Whatever the reasons, a mass paranoia concerning the threat of the "Cabixi" possessed the people of Vila Bela and held them in its grip for more than a century. Mouthinho, who lived there in 1854, reflects this attitude :

Mato Grosso is wasting away before our very eyes, and the untamed and maleficent Cabixi, nursing their hatred of society ever since the times when they were beaten by the first settlers of this wilderness, can cause very great harm to a population which, the way things are going, will shortly lack the necessary force to defend itself against this immense and powerful horde (1869:144-45).

A report written by Luciano Rodrigues Montemor, chief of police in Vila Bela, shows how deeply the townspeople feared the "Cabixi." A *bandeira* of 240 men was sent out, in 1848, to punish the Indians. It entered the forest near the mouth of the Rio Galera, but the men soon became dispersed. After regrouping, they sent word that they were out of supplies. Montemor arranged more supplies and went to take charge of the *bandeira* himself. He led his troops into the forest near the mining camp of São Vicente.

[But after] wandering around in various directions, through malice and without the will to reach the dwelling place of the Indians, ... all the soldiers of the first line revolted, reporting in sick and saying that they would not go any further.

Disgusted, Montemór suggested that if there were another *bandeira*, someone else should lead it (Montemór 1848).

Inasmuch as everyone was terrified of the "Cabixi," no one knew much about them. The region they inhabited was vaguely described (Ferreira [1848]1905:88, Moure 1862:19) or left unspecified (Moutinho 1869). No one knew anything of their customs. Moure was able to imagine that they covered themselves with grotesque tattoos and spoke Quechua (1862:19).

The only thing that everyone knew for certain was that they were hostile. For the Brazilian population, the most important distinction, when it came to Indians, was whether they were "wild" (*bravos*) or "tame" (*mansos*). "Wild" Indians were thought to be nomadic, bellicose and unpredictable. "Tame" Indians were those who did not interfere with Brazilian economic endeavors. Some Indians, like the Pareci, were naturally "tame." Others, of a fiercer disposition, had to be "pacified." Hard-liners argued that they had to be "broken" (*domado*), like wild horses, while liberals (eg. Silva [1823]1920) maintained that they could be "civilized" by example and inducement.

Vila Bela's position on the Guaporé strongly influenced its people's view of the world. Even when organized commercial traffic had become irregular, small private boats continued to make the trip between Vila Bela and Príncipe da Beira (Moutinho 1869:143). People who traveled along the river sometimes felt themselves menaced by hostile Indians, whom they believed to be "Cabixi." Fonseca, for example, wrote :

We felt that we were followed at close range by savages—no doubt the Cibixys, who are currently the fiercest devastators of these regions... The dugout, which was in the lead, also caught sight of them and returned to warn us, whereafter we went forward with our scow hugging the opposite bank (1881:163).

On the lower Guaporé, there were "tame" Indians such as the Guarayo and Palmela living along the river (Fonseca 1881:167-171, 192-196). But farther back, on the flanks of the Parecis Plateau, lived other Indians who were "wild." People came to suppose that all the "wild" Indians in a 600-kilometer arc parallel to the Guaporé were "Cabixi." The Barão de Melgaço described the "Cabixi" region as simply "the margin of the Guaporé and inland" (1884:395). Thus, the term "Cabixi" ceased to have any clear reference.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, rubber began to be extracted along the lower Guaporé (Fonseca 1881:182-183). In 1909, Haseman, an ichthyologist encamped near the mouth of the Rio São Miguel, met a group of Pawumwa. Whenever he showed them arrows made by other tribes, they shouted "Kabiši"! (1912:344). Nordenskiöld, who visited the lower Guaporé in 1914, reported "Cabiji" as a word that apparently meant "enemy," whose use was widely diffused in the region. He found it being employed by Indians whose languages were unrelated, such as the Huanam¹⁰ and the Huari (Aikaná) (1924:246). He suggested that it might have been spread by rubber tappers (1924:225). Roquette-Pinto classed the term Cabixi with such "collective names" as Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and Auca. He complained that its use generated "constant confusion" over the identity of the native peoples in the region (1913:382).

THE PARECI AND THE "EARTH PEOPLE"

Since the surviving Pareci were "tame" Indians who lived in a region that had little of interest to the Brazilians, they were generally left alone. They continued to make articles for sale on the Brazilian market and regularly appeared in Cuiabá, where they were given clothes to hide their nakedness and permitted to wander through the streets selling their wares (Moutinho 1869:220). But the Brazilians had no reason to make fine distinctions, and whereas in the eighteenth century the term Pareci had been used for just one of the Pareci-speaking regional aggregates, in the nineteenth century it began to be used for all the Indians who spoke the Pareci language. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Rondon was able to state that "the great tribe of the Pareci was divided into three branches" ([1910]1947:6).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the town of Cáceres (formerly Vila Maria) became the center of a growing extractive industry. First ipecac (a medicinal root) and later latex were found in the original *mato grosso* on the southern slopes of the Parecis Plateau. Extractivists who went up the Sepotuba and Paraguai could use these waterways to get back to market with the product of their labor. The Pareci also collected ipecac and tapped rubber (Steinen 1894:426, Rondon [1910]:65), which they traded to people from Cáceres at Porto dos Bugres, on the Sepotuba (Roquette-Pinto [1917] 1935:103). In some instances, the Brazilian extractivists may have resented this competition (Rondon [1910]:65), but in general they were more concerned about Indians who impeded access to potentially rich forests than those who competed with them. For rubber tappers, it was very important to know which Indians were "wild" and which were "tame."

In Cuiabá, Steinen obtained a report written by Antonio Annibal de Motta, who had gotten to know the Pareci on the headwaters of the Rio Sepotuba. Through these people, Motta had learned that there was a difference between the Pareci-speaking Cabixi and the Indians who harassed Vila Bela. To make this distinction, he referred to the two groups as "tame Cabaxi" and "wild Cabaxi." He reported that the Pareci "maintained relations with the 'tame' Kabisehi but not with the 'wild' ones, who live in the forest, ten days beyond the tame ones." He said that the language and customs of the "tame Cabixi" were like those of the Pareci, except for a few minor differences (Steinen 1894:426). Rego (1899:176) also wrote that

two groups of [Cabixi] are distinguished : wild Cabixi and tame Cabixi. ... The tame Cabixi extend along the sources of the Guaporé and its tributaries ; the wild ones, the right margin of the same river, to the north of Vila Bella.

The Pareci called these "wild Cabixi" *waikoókore* (Guaiguakure, Schmidt 1912:157). This term, which means "Earth People", calls attention to a custom of the "wild Cabixi" which the Pareci found particularly offensive : the fact that they slept directly on the ground. The Pareci made beautiful hammocks, twined and knotted from cotton or tucum (*Astrocaryum ureurium*), and they looked upon people who slept on the ground as barbarians.

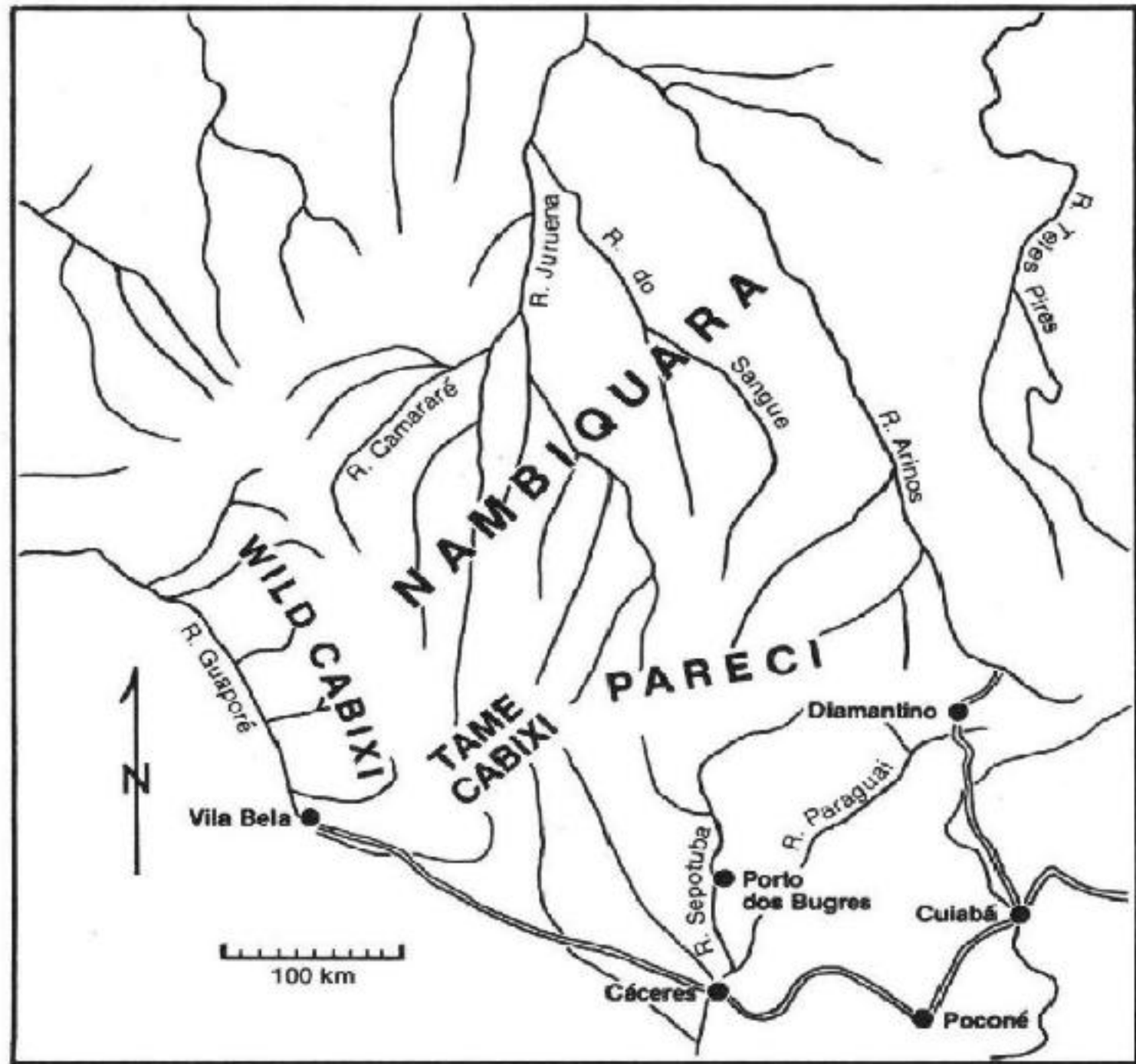


FIG. 3. — Native peoples between the rios Guaporé and Arinos according to late nineteenth-century sources.

The first reference to these "Earth People" that I have been able to find occurs in Castelnau's summary of the expedition led by João Leine du Prado. In May 1770, a captured Cabixi,

when interrogated as to what might have become of the Negroes who had abandoned the expedition... replied that they had sought refuge among the Tamaré, who do not wear clothes and sleep on the bare ground (1851:167).

Presumably these Tamaré lived somewhere in the region through which the expedition had recently passed. It was traveling in an easterly direction, and visited the first Cabixi village about 20 kilometers after crossing a stream with water up to the men's chests, and some 20 kilometers before encountering tributaries of the Camararé (Castelnau 1851:16). This seems to place the Cabixi village on the headwaters of the Rio Cabixi or its tributary, the Rio Pardo. As presumptive neighbors of the Cabixi, the Tamaré must have lived somewhere in this general vicinity.

Available documents make little mention of the Tamaré. Serra places the "Tameri"

"on the Juina and the upper course of the Rio Galera" ([1797]1844:195), which is a bit farther south, and seems to conflict with his placement of the Cabixi. Martius places the "Tamararé, Tamare, Tamari" in a large but confused area and adds "they differed from the neighboring and intermingled Indians of the Pareci tribe in their bellicose nature" (1867:249-250). The assertion that they were "intermingled" with the Pareci may be an attempt to reconcile the conflict in Serra's localizations, or it may represent information acquired from Natterer, an Austrian naturalist who was in Cuiabá and Vila Bela from 1825 through 1829 (Pelzeln 1871:IX-XI).

Linguistic evidence and oral tradition suggest a possible interpretation. The twentieth-century descendants of the Tamaré with whom I lived for a short while¹¹ are still called *waikoákore* by the Pareci. They, in turn, refer to the Pareci as *wqlakittésú*, which means "savanna dwellers." Just as the designation "Earth People" is used by those who do not sleep on the bare ground, it may be supposed that the term "Savanna Dwellers" was originally used by people who did not live in the savanna. It seems likely that the "Earth People" once lived in the forests bordering the savannas of the Pareci, perhaps in the Guaporé Valley. This would explain why they were little known to the *Bandeirantes*, who could travel and round up slaves more easily in the open.

The statement that the Tamaré and Pareci were "intermingled" might mean that there was some degree of economic interdependency. Such a possibility is suggested by a story that Américo Kithaulhú told me in 1967 when I asked who had lived at an archaeological site near the village of Serra Azul. Here are relevant excerpts from his account :

A long time ago there were people, I've been told, who were just like the people of today. They were called *neyalhósú*¹². Long ago they lived in the place where you now see the postherds. ... Once some people went to a *neyalhósú* village and asked for food. The *neyalhósú* said, "Listen. If you kill a paca or an armadillo, I will give you produce in payment for this meat, and we will eat each other's food."

The men did not understand. ... One said, "I think he wants some pitumbas [a fruit]." But another man, who understood the language, disagreed. "That's not what he wants at all. He didn't ask for pitumbas; he asked for meat—either armadillo or paca."

But after he had left, the other man rejected this. "What he wants," he said, "is pitumbas." Nobody else wanted to make an issue out of the matter. "That's right," they said. "He asked for pitumbas. Pick some and give them to him."

So the man went and picked pitumbas and took them to trade. But the *neyalhósú* refused to accept them. He turned his back and put his produce away. "I asked you for meat," he said. "Paca or armadillo. So why have you brought me fruit?" Then the man who understood the language said, "That's just what I told you. He didn't ask you for fruit. I told you what he wanted; now you must take the blame."

That's how they spoke to each other. That's how it was a long time ago.

This evidence suggests that the Tamaré and the *kodárene* Cabixi may have lived in the same region, with the two peoples exploiting the environment cooperatively: the Tamaré hunting and the *kodárene* practicing agriculture. Similar "symbiotic" adaptations existed in various parts of South America (cf. Baldus 1939; Ramos 1980). But this partnership came to an end with the arrival of the slave hunters. When I asked Américo what became of the *neyalhósú*, he said :

All I know is what my father told me. He said that the people I've been talking about lived in the places where you find the potsherds today... He said that the first Brazilians were very warlike, and carried off the inhabitants of these sites. ... They killed all the old mothers and fathers, and carried the young men and women away with them.

In the nineteenth century, the term Tamaré dropped out of active use. Sources that mention a tribe by this name seem to be repeating information from earlier accounts. The people who had been known as Tamaré became part of the undifferentiated horde of "wild" Indians who were called "Cabixi"¹³. Concealed from Western notice in this catch-all category, they began to settle an area on top of the plateau that had been opened up by the near-extinction of the Pareci. In the eighteenth century, the *koðárene* (the only people then known as Cabixi) lived in a territory that extended to the northwest as far as the Cabixi River. But by the twentieth century, their nearest village was at Capoeira (now Uirapuru), 150 kilometers away on the source of the Juina. The geographical distribution of languages suggests that the "Earth People" expanded to the south and east, isolating the Sarave and Salumá from the main body of Pareci speakers¹⁴.

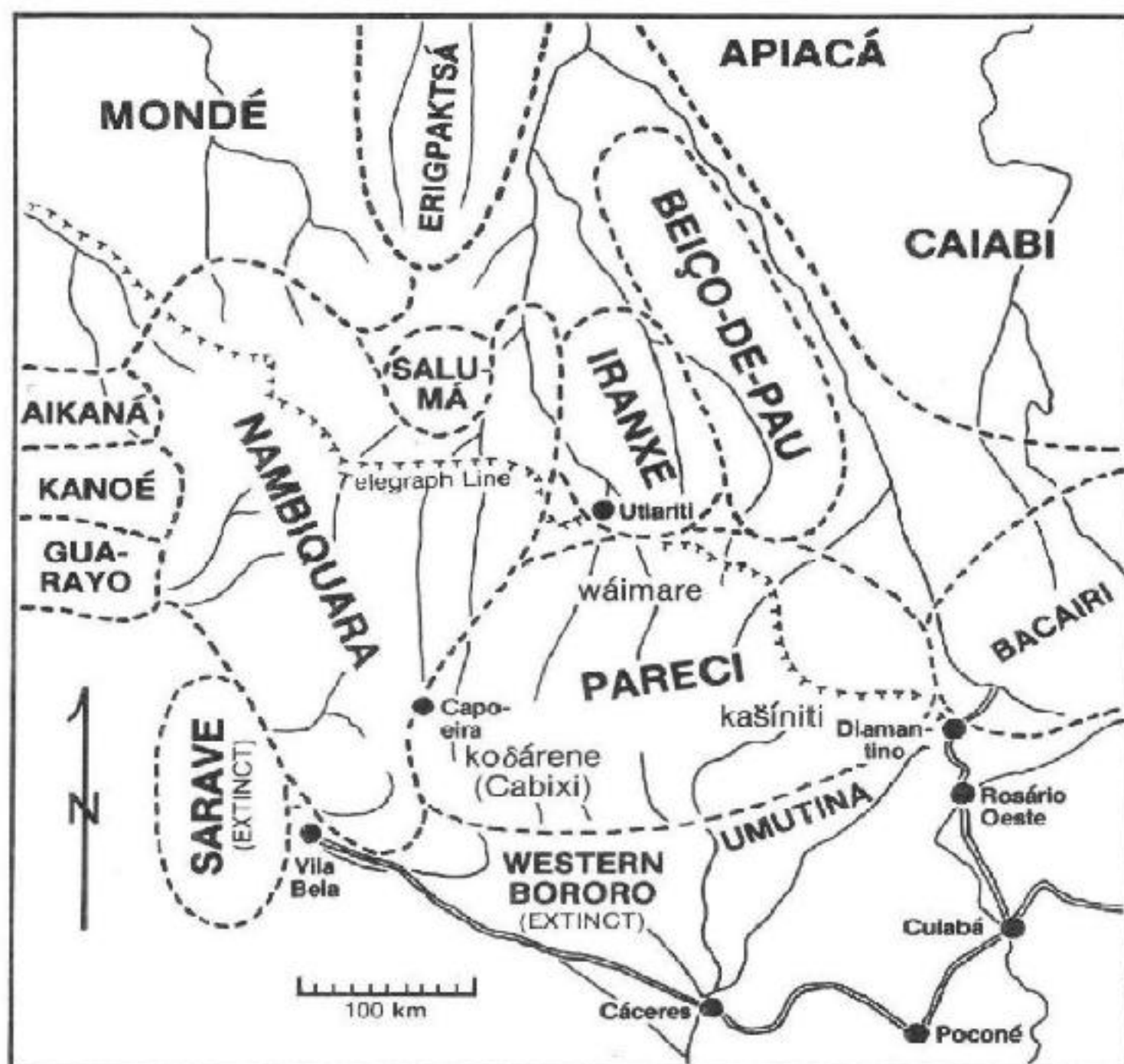


FIG. 4. — The approximate distribution of language families between the rios Guaporé and Arinos at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Kodãrene ethnohistory confirms this hypothesis : According to tradition, they once occupied a territory extending down to the middle course of the Juina, but retreated little by little to the south " in order to avoid proximity with the ... Uaicoacõre " (Rondon [1910]: 98), who began moving into the region after the *kodãrene* had been decimated by the slave hunters (Rondon [1910]:55)¹⁵.

A HISTORY OF THE TERM NAMBIQUARA

The earliest reference to a people called Nambiquara seems to occur in a report written in 1671 by Padre Gonçalo de Veras (*cited in* Leite 1943:265-66). The name is composed of two words in the Tupi-Guarani language : *nambi*, " ear " ; and *cuara* " hole " (Barbosa 1967:105, 48). The people referred to lived on the Rio Tocantins and probably belonged to one of the Gê-speaking groups whose men made holes in their earlobes and enlarged them until they could carry wooden disks several centimeters in diameter. But this term does not appear to have been used for any group in the area under study until the nineteenth century, when reports began to circulate that there were Indians called Nambiquara living in the vicinity of the Arinos. Little was known about these Indians, who were greatly feared. They were said to be savage warriors and cannibals, who lived in the forest and did not know how to use the canoe (Castelnau 1850: 307, Coudreau 1897:136). The name suggests that they wore earplugs.

The first authority to report a people called " Nambi-uaara " in the general region under consideration seems to be Natterer (*cited in* Martius 1867:208, *footnote*)¹⁶. A document from 1843 places the " Nhambiquara " on the sources and margins of the Rio Apiacã (*cited in* Rondon [1910]:69). In 1848, Ferreira put them at the confluence of the Rio do Peixe and the Arinos (1905:88). Chandless said they frequented both banks of the Arinos (1862:271); and Coudreau, who visited the area in 1895, put them on the west bank (1897:134). This series of localizations makes it appear that they were moving south¹⁷.

Other evidence tends to support this hypothesis. A group speaking an unaffiliated language called Iranxe lived to the north of the Pareci, on the Rio Cravari. They seem to have been on good terms with the Pareci, to whom Rondon mistakenly believed they were related ([1910]1947:6, 12). Their first contacts with Brazilians apparently took place toward the end of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, they came under attack by the hostile Indians whose southward course has been inferred from documents. One group of Iranxe fled to the northeast and established themselves near the mouth of the Rio Papagaio, while the rest eventually sought refuge at the Catholic mission of Utiariti (José de Moura e Silva, S.J., *personal communication*).

Like the " Earth People " these " Nambiquara " began to encroach on the Pareci. And from the Pareci point of view, they resembled the " Earth People " in a significant respect : they did not sleep in hammocks. Thus, the Pareci called both groups by the same name : waikoákore (Adalberto Holanda Pereira, S.J., *personal communication*)¹⁸. Local Brazilians, who knew little of " wild " Indians beyond what they learned from the Pareci, also came to use a single name for both groups. Motta, who established the distinction between " tame " and " wild " Cabixi, said that Indians called Nambiquara lived

farther north, along the Juruena (Steinen 1894:426). And at the beginning of the twentieth century, both Schmidt (1912:157) and Roquette-Pinto ([1917]1935:30) reported that backwoods Brazilians in the region called the "Earth People" Nambiquara.

Beginning in 1907, Mjr. Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon built a 1500-kilometer telegraph line through previously unknown territory between Cuiabá and Porto Velho, on the Rio Madeira. In the valley of the Juruena, just beyond the area still held by the Pareci, his exploring party was attacked by "wild" Indians ([1910]:53). He had a choice of names for the perpetrators of the ambush, since his *koãurene* guide, Toloiri, told him the "Earth People" were known to Vila Belans as Cabixi, and to the people of Diamantino and Cáceres as "Nhambiquara" ([1910]1947:12). Rondon rejected the term Cabixi. Perhaps he felt it had come to be used in a way that lacked precision, or perhaps he believed that its proper referents, whether they liked it or not, were the *koãurene*. Still, he was puzzled to find Indians called Nambiquara "in the valley of the Juruena and its tributaries on both sides," for he knew that "all the old explorers placed them in the valley of the Rio do Peixe, a tributary on the right bank of the Arinos" ([1910]:68). Whatever his reasons, Rondon persisted in calling the "Earth People" "Nhambiquara"¹⁹, and the notoriety he received for building the telegraph line and founding the Indian Protection Service made this usage canonical.

Thus, the Indians who had formerly been called Nambiquara were left without a name. This lack was supplied when they became known as Beço-de-Pau, "Wooden Lips," in reference to the lipplugs which the men wore in addition to the earplugs for which they had previously been named (Lévi-Strauss 1946:140). By the early part of the twentieth century, they had displaced the Apiaçá between the Arinos and the Rio do Sangue, and their attacks on the telegraph line, beginning in 1931, caused it to be moved 80 kilometers to the south (Lévi-Strauss 1955:297-98). When they came into permanent contact with Brazilian society in 1968, they were found to speak a language of the Gê family. They were nearly wiped out by Hong Kong flu during their "pacification", and the survivors were resettled in the Parque Xingu near the culturally similar Suyá²⁰.

DISCUSSION

The names used by Westerners to refer to the native peoples between the Rio Arinos and the Rio Guaporé have changed in many ways since the beginning of the historical period, early in the eighteenth century. The major changes described in this paper are summarized in Table 1. It is hoped that this interpretation of scattered and fragmentary

TABLE 1

Changes in Names Used by Westerners.

18th Century		19th Century		20th Century
Paryci	=	Pareci	}	Pareci
Mambare	=	Maimbaré		
Cabexy	=	Cabixi	=	Nambiquara
Tamaré	=	Cabixi	=	Beço de Pau
		Nambiquara	=	

evidence will be helpful to ethnologists, linguists, historians, and Native Brazilians who wish to understand the history of interethnic relations in the area.

The names used by outsiders were able to change with relative ease because they did not correspond, as a general rule, to any sociopolitical units recognized by the natives. The structure of egalitarian society is so different from Western expectations that it often seems to be altogether lacking. The "Earth People", for example, did not feel that they belonged to any political entity larger than the individual village—which only had about 25 members. Outsiders reacted to the apparent lack of political organization in two ways. Some, like Torres (1738), who characterized the Indians as living in a state of "perpetual confusion," regarded native society as essentially inchoate. Those who held this view generally referred to native groups as "hordes." Others reacted to native society as if it were a Rorschach or thematic apperception test, finding in it the institutions of their own society. Such people supposed that the Indians belonged to "nations" presided over by authoritarian rulers.

Under these circumstances, the native aggregates named by outsiders were not politically coherent groups, but categories defined by the interests and observations of the namers. As invaders of Indian lands and captors of Indian slaves, these people's main concern was whether to expect resistance. Thus, they divided all Indians into two major categories: "wild" and "tame." When Indians were regarded as "wild," it was not considered necessary—and often it was not possible—to know anything else about them. In some instances the primary criterion for the use of a tribal name was that the designated Indians were "wild." Such was the case with "Cabixi" and "Nambiquara" in the nineteenth century.

When Indians were regarded as "tame," more distinctions were made. Westerners often accepted the categories used by Indian groups to classify each other, especially when they depended on easily observable defining criteria such as the use of large earplugs or the habit of sleeping on the ground. These categories were crude means of identifying cultural groups that depended on the presence of single traits. The modern practice of classifying peoples according to their languages, which consist of thousands of interrelated traits, is a more sophisticated outgrowth of this technique (see Figure 4).

Brazilian knowledge of Indian groups was organized taxonomically. The category of "Indians" (which contrasted with "Negroes" and "Europeans") included two sub-categories, "wild" and "tame," each of which included a number of "tribes" or "nations." In most cases, "tribes" were not subdivided, although Rondon saw the Pareci as composed of three "branches." Since the term "Pareci" originally named only one of these "branches," there must have been a time, as its reference expanded, when it functioned at two levels of contrast, naming both a generic category and a specific category.

The correspondence between named category and cultural group varied in both time and space. At different points in history the same group was known by different names (Tamaré-Cabixi-Nambiquara), and different groups (the Gê-Nambiquara and the "Earth People") were known by the same name. It was even possible for different Brazilian communities to call the same group by different names at the same time, as happened around 1900 when the "Earth People" were known as Cabixi to the inhabitants of Vila Bela and as Nambiquara to the people of Diamantino.

Changes in the way native groups were named reflected changes in the namer's knowledge of cultural differences. When the Brazilians recognized a distinction between

two groups, they gave them separate names. When the distinction was forgotten, the two groups came to be known by a single name. If the distinction was recognized again at a later date, two names once again became necessary, and a name formerly used for one group could come to be used for the other.

What governed the Brazilians' recognition of cultural differences was economic interest. In the eighteenth century, when the Indians themselves constituted economic goods, the *bandeirantes* made relatively subtle distinctions, such as that between Pareci, Cabexy and Mambare. In the nineteenth century, when slaving diminished, so did knowledge of cultural differences. All of the Indians throughout a vast area came to be known as Cabixi. Then, toward the end of the century, the rubber boom sent Westerners back into Indian country, and knowledge again increased. Several different "tribes" were distinguished, and by the middle of the twentieth century, the name "Cabixi" had nearly disappeared.

It continued to be used, however, for two groups that lived 600 kilometers apart, at opposite ends of what had been the "Cabixi" region. One, on the Rio São Miguel, in Rondônia, spoke a Chapakuran language. According to tradition, these people had been "wild" Indians who went naked and spoke a different language until they were "pacified" and "civilized" by the Huañam (Nordenskiöld 1924:246, Silva 1924, Snelthage 1937:86, Bontkes 1968). The other group that continued to be known as Cabixi, at least to a few people in the immediate area, was the *koñirene*, the least acculturated of the Pareci regional aggregates. In both cases the term "Cabixi" retained vestiges of its nineteenth-century meaning, since it referred to Indians seen as "wilder" than their neighbors.

Behind the naming practices of the Western invaders, it is possible to see in dim outline the history of the people named. The Pareci, after near extinction at the hands of slave raiders, learned to live on the fringes of Brazilian society. Some of the Nambiquara moved onto the Parecis Plateau. The Beço-de-Pau migrated south, terrifying everyone, until they were vanquished by a virus. And the Brazilians advanced by fits and starts, as the promise of profits overcame their fear of the savages.

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NOTES

1. This and all citations from foreign-language sources are given in my own translation.
2. According to a prologue, Campos gave his account (probably by dictation) on May 20, 1723. This is inconsistent with internal reference to the years 1725, 1726 and 1727. Roquette-Pinto claims that the account covers events between 1718 and 1723, without stating how he came to this conclusion ([1917] 1935:21). Perhaps the date in the prologue should be 1728; it is conceivable that the left side of the "8" was obliterated.

ated in the manuscript from which the 1862 text was printed. Campos says he did battle with the Cavihi in 1727 (1862:445), which corresponds with Sá's affirmation that this was the year in which the Pareci were first discovered ([1775]1901:21). This strongly suggests that Campos' account was given in 1728 or later.

3. The legislation in effect was, I believe, the Law of April 1, 1680.

4. I am indebted to Aryon Rodrigues for the observation that there is a tendency in Brazilian Portuguese for stress to shift to the final syllable of words classed as tribal names. This clearly happened in the transformation of *uãmãre* into Mambaré. It also seems to have happened to the term Pareci. In older Portuguese orthography, the use of «y» rather than «i» often indicates stress. "Paryci," in Torres' transcription, is closer to *hãliti* than the modern form, which is stressed on the last syllable.

5. It is not clear who the terms Paritacá and Matacaré refer to. Campos also mentions the Paritara, who lived to the north of the Pareci and were neighbors with the Cavihi ([1728?]1862:445).

6. This expedition, which went overland from Fort Bragança (later Príncipe da Beira) to Vila Bela in 1769-1770, is reported in Coutinho 1770. Castelnau gives an extensive résumé of an account of the expedition that he obtained in Mato Grosso without mentioning the leader of the expedition by name (1851:153-170).

7. In the account of the expedition, first Cabixi are mentioned, then Pareci, then Cabixi, and then Pareci again (1851:166-169). It seems that the Indians encountered near the large rivers were called Pareci, while those encountered between rivers were called Cabixi. This observation may be spurious, however. It is also possible that the term Pareci was used randomly as a synonym for Cabixi.

8. An extract from Serra's geographical description was published in 1844. The full version was published in 1857, without the author's name being given. The 1844 version has "on a branch of the Jurucua"; the 1857 version has "they live on the Taburuina, an eastern branch of the Jurucua." It may be that information has been added to the later version rather than dropped from the earlier one, for in many respects the 1844 version is the better text.

9. Information to fill this gap could certainly be found in the Mato Grosso state archives. Much of my material for the 1840s comes from Ron Seekinger's having kept an eye out for the word "Cabixi" while scanning through papers from that decade. Careful research would reveal similar material from earlier decades.

10. Nordenskiöld's Huañam can be equated with Haseman's Pawunwa by vocabulary comparison.

11. I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the area in 1967-70, and from December 1973 through March 1974. I also worked in the area for the Fundação Nacional do Índio from August 1974 through July 1976.

12. Américo made it clear that the *nevathósi* described here were different from the Nambiquara group known by the same name (see Price and Cook 1969:690-91).

13. Slaves who fled from Vila Bela in the latter part of the eighteenth century established themselves near the Rio Piolho, among Indians who were referred to as Cabixé (Francisco Pedro de Mello 1795, cited in Roquette-Pinto [1917]1935:38). It seems likely that the term was already being used for the "Earth People," for according to the traditions of their descendants, they learned to grow bananas and cotton from Westerners living in this region.

14. Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1913:530) call Sarave a "co-dialect of Pareci." In 1845, Castelnau found Pareci living at the Bolivian mission of Santa Ana, where Sarave was the common language (1851:222). In 1909, Rondon's guide, Major Libanio, hoped to encounter the Salumá, a related group said to live on the left margin of the Jurucua, with which the Pareci had lost touch ([1910]1947:12-13). In the early 1970s, Padre Thomaz de Aquino Lisboa made contact with this group and confirmed that it spoke a dialect of Pareci (*personal communication*).

15. In a previous publication I argued that the Nambiquara have been practicing agriculture for a long time, citing in evidence a myth that explains the origin of twelve cultivated plants (Price 1978:151). Silbenc de Almeida has informed me, however, that this myth, which I recorded on the Parecis Plateau, is unknown among the Nambiquara of the Guaporé Valley. It is similar, on the other hand, to a Pareci myth that accounts for the origin of manioc (Rondon [1910]1947:42-43). This suggests that the Nambiquara who settled on the Parecis Plateau may have learned how to garden—or how to garden more intensively—from the Pareci.

16. According to Martius, Natterer placed the Nambiquara on the Rio Jaguaru, which was said to be a west branch of the Tapajos. I have not been able to find a Rio Jaguaru in this vicinity, and other sources suggest that in the 1840s they were east of the Arinos, an eastern tributary of the Tapajos. It should be noted that Natterer was primarily interested in birds and animals, not Indians, and while he spent considerable time in Caiaba, Cáceres and Vila Bela, he did not descend the Arinos.

17. An inconsistent placement is given by Ribeiro (1848:80), who reports that a fleet of canoes was attacked by Nambiquara at the mouth of the Rio Tapajunas. The Tapaiuna were another hostile tribe, often mentioned together with the Nambiquara (Castelnau 1850:307, Chandless 1862:271, Strinen 1894:391). It seems likely that the two groups were sometimes confused, although they were clearly different, for Condreau (1897:136) found that they were hostile to each other. I think that the Indians who attacked at the mouth of the Rio Tapajunas were more likely Tapaiuna than Nambiquara.

18. Rondon reports ([1910]1947:12) that the Pareci recognized two different kinds of Nambiquara, which they called Uéikoakóré and Ouianiéré. The second group, which were more warlike, were said to live "from the Jurucua to the Camararé." One might suspect that the Ouianiéré were badly localized Beço-de-Pau, but contemporary Pareci say this term was used for a regional division of their own people (Adalberto Holanda Pereira, S.J., *personal communication*).

19. It is unclear why Rondon insisted in spelling "Nhambiquara" with "Nh" (pronounced ñ), when the Tupi word clearly begins with a simple "n". Perhaps he was following his 1843 source, which, in turn, may have been writing the word as it was pronounced by the Mundurucu. The Mundurucu wordlist apparently transcribed by F. C. Hoehne (in Rondon 1915:181) gives *ninhamba* for "ear."

20. During the "pacification" campaign, FUNAI personnel sometimes referred to the Beço de Pau as Tapaiona, under the erroneous assumption that they were descendants of the people known by this name in the nineteenth century. The Beço de Pau spoke a Gê language, however, while Coudreau states that the Tapaiona spoke a Tupian language and were "perfectly understood by the Apiaca" (1897:135). Thus, the Tapaiona should probably be identified with the eighteenth-century Cavili and Cababiba, and the twentieth-century Caiabi.

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David PRICE : *Pareci, Cabixi, Nambiquara. Une étude de ces dans la classification occidentale des peuples indigènes.*

Dans les documents des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles il est difficile d'interpréter les références faites aux Indiens vivant entre les fleuves Arinos et Guaporé (Mato Grosso, Brésil) en raison de la manière dont les Blancs ont utilisé les noms tribaux. Ces documents peuvent cependant être éclairés si l'on considère ces références comme des révélateurs de la classification occidentale des indigènes avant de les utiliser comme outils d'identification et de localisation des groupes indiens.

En los documentos de los siglos XVIII^o y XIX^o es difícil de interpretar las referencias correspondientes a los Indígenas que viven entre los ríos Arinos y Guaporé (Mato Grosso, Brasil) debido a la manera en que los Blancos han utilizado los nombres tribales. Sin embargo, estos documentos pueden aclararse si se consideran esas referencias como reveladoras de la clasificación occidental de los Indígenas, antes de utilizarlos como útiles de identificación y de localización de los grupos indígenas.

Documentary references to Indians living between the Rio Arinos and the Rio Guaporé, in Mato Grosso, Brazil, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are hard to interpret because of the ways in which Westerners used tribal names. The historical record is clarified by considering these references as evidence for the Western classification of native peoples before using them as evidence for the identity and location of these peoples.