

INDIAN SLAVERY IN THE NORTHWEST AMAZON

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ABSTRACT - This article presents missionary and official records of Indian slavery in the Northwest Amazon (the Rio Negro region) in the latter half of the 1740s. Two sets of documents are analyzed: 1) the *Sequente Notitiae* de Rio Negro (original in Latin) by the Jesuit priest Ignacio Szentmartonyi, dated 1749-55 (manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro), which contains the first extensive reports on the upper Rio Negro, its native peoples, and the limits of penetration by Portuguese ransom troops; and 2) records of Indian slaves and *forros* (free) from the Rio Negro region in the years 1745-7. These records, from the Arquivo Público do Pará, were restored by specialists of CEDEAM (Centro de Documentação e Estudos da Amazônia) in the 1980s and are among the many records still to be examined on the extensive slave trade on the Rio Negro in this period. As they contain the names of ethnic groups enslaved, they are of exceptional interest to ethnohistory. This article includes a complete list of ethnic groups with possible identifications and locations. By comparing this list with Szentmartonyi's report and other sources (written and oral traditions), we obtain a more complete picture of the Portuguese slave trade and its ideological foundations.

KEY WORDS: Indigenous History, Portuguese Slave Trade, Rio Negro.

RESUMO - Este artigo apresenta registros oficiais e de missionários da escravidão indígena no Noroeste Amazônico (a região do Rio Negro) na segunda metade da década dos anos de 1740. Dois conjuntos de documentos são analisados: 1) a *Sequente Notitiae* de Rio Negro (original em latim) pelo padre jesuíta Ignacio Szentmartonyi, datada de 1749 a 1755 (manuscrito na Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro), que contém as primeiras notícias extensas sobre o Alto Rio Negro, os seus povos indígenas, e os limites da penetração pelas tropas de resgate portuguesas; e 2) registros de índios escravos e *forros* (livres) da região do Rio Negro nos anos de 1745 a 1747. Estes registros, do Arquivo Público do Pará, foram restaurados por técnicos do CEDEAM (Centro de Documentação e Estudos sobre a Amazônia) nos anos de 1980 e são entre os

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muitos registros ainda a serem examinados sobre o extenso comércio de escravos indígenas no Rio Negro neste período. Já que contém os nomes das etnias escravizadas, são de excepcional interesse para a etno-história. O artigo inclui uma listagem completa das etnias registradas com suas identificações e localizações possíveis. Comparando a listagem com a informação em Szentmartonyi, obtém-se um retrato mais completo do comércio português de escravos indígenas e suas fundações ideológicas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: História Indígena, Escravidão, Rio Negro.

INTRODUCTION

The decade of the 1740s was an intensive period of Portuguese slaving operations in the Northwest Amazon - from the middle Rio Negro to the upper Orinoco. This has been documented by various students of Northwest Amazon history (Sweet, 1974, on the middle Rio Negro; Farage, 1986, on the Rio Branco; Useche Losada, 1987, on the upper Orinoco/upper Rio Negro; and Wright, 1981, on the Uaupés and Içana). One of the difficulties, however, in understanding the nature and extent of the operations is the scarcity of records for this period.

This article offers a contribution to this question based on two primary sources both dating from the 1740s and '50s. The first is a report by the Jesuit priest Ignacio Szentmartonyi titled *Sequente Notitiae de Rio Negro*, originally written in Latin, found in the Biblioteca Nacional (RJ), and which in actuality contains information from several slave troop commanders and the principal Jesuit slaving chaplain on the Rio Negro concerning geography, tribal locations, linguistic and ethnographic notes. The second is a set of official records of slave and "free" Indians registered by the government slave troop on the Rio Negro from June 1745 to May 1747. These records have long been known to exist in the collections of the Arquivo Público do Pará (*Códice nº 1110*, 2 volumes)² and form part of a much larger set of records covering the period from 1739-55. To my knowledge, only a portion of these were restored in the 1980s by the Centro de Documentação e Estudos da Amazônia (Universidade do Amazonas, Manaus).

² The exact title of the *Códice* is: "Livro que há de servir na Alfândega do Pará, que vai numerado e rubricado e leva no fim seu encerramento feito por mim Alexandre Metello de Souza e Menezes".

Certainly the difficulties in utilizing these documents have hindered their previous use: Szentmartonyi's report was written in Latin, and both it and the slave records are in extremely damaged condition even after their restoration. It was possible, however, to obtain important information from the slave records on the ethnic origins ("*nações*") and the numbers of officially recognized slaves and "free" Indians. A series of other inferences can be made on the basis of this information: for example, which native groups were affected more intensively by the slavers, and the geographical range covered by the slave troops during these years. By comparing this information with Szentmartonyi's report, we obtain a relatively clearer picture of the extent of Indian slavery in the Northwest Amazon.

Specifically, our interpretation of these documents addresses the following questions:

- Which areas of the Rio Negro valley and which peoples were most affected by the slave traffic in the 1740s?
- What estimates can be made for the annual number of slaves officially registered, and for the total number of slaves descended from the upper Rio Negro for the decade?
- What were some of the routes of traffic most used by the slave troops?
- What methods were used by the slave troops in obtaining and processing slaves?
- On what ideological grounds was the slave traffic justified in the Northwest Amazon, and to what extent did such justifications correspond to the reality?

As this article does not pretend to be an exhaustive study, but rather is limited to an interpretation of two sets of documents, it seeks to determine specific answers to these questions.

1. THE SEQUENTE NOTITIAE DE RIO NEGRO BY IGNACIO SZENTMARTONYI, 1749-55

The Jesuit priest Ignacio Szentmartonyi (b. 1718 - d. 1793), from Croatia, was a professional astronomer and mathematician sent by Dom João V to work on the first commission to delimit the territories of Spain and Portugal in the Northwest Amazon in the 1750s. Szentmartonyi left Pará around 1753 for Mariuá (modern-day Barcellos)³ on the lower Rio

³ Mariuá was the principal slave-camp (*arrayal*) on the lower Rio Negro throughout the 1740s until its elevation to capitol of the Captaincy of São José do Rio Negro in the early 1750s.

Negro with other members of the Portuguese commission to await the Spanish delegation. The Spaniards, however, never arrived:

"O plenipotenciário espanhol, impedido pelas perturbações indígenas do Rio Orenoco, não chegou no prazo estabelecido nem em nenhum; e os soldados, para lhes não pagarem os salários a tempo, revoltaram-se e fugiram." (Leite 1943:148).

The Jesuits shortly afterwards became the objects of intensive blame and political attack, and Szentmartonyi himself was in and out of prisons from then until 1777 when he returned to Lisbon and finally, Croatia. He was thus among the last of the Jesuits to stay on the Rio Negro.

With respect to the writing of this document, I have not found any outside source which directly states that he ever went on a journey to the upper Rio Negro nor even much further than Mariuá. There is considerable evidence from the document, however, which indicates a first-hand knowledge of the upper Rio Negro. Most likely, Szentmartonyi obtained information from the following sources: 1) chiefs of the upper Rio Negro mentioned in the document whom he could very well have met and questioned; 2) the commander (*cabo*) of the official slave troop (*tropa de resgate*) on the Rio Negro in the mid-1740s, the Irishman Lourenço Belfort, and private slavers such as Pedro Braga and Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes; and 3) most importantly, the Jesuit slaving chaplain on the Rio Negro, Aquiles Avogadri, who worked with Belfort and was stationed at Mariuá.

This document is notable in that it contains the first extensive reports on the upper Rio Negro valley. The task of translating it from the original Latin to English was extremely difficult and took several years of effort with various Latin dictionaries. Where the difficulties of the Latin prevented an acceptable translation, I have summarized in parentheses the main idea of the passage. The place-names and ethnic names are of greatest interest to the ethnohistorian. To help in their identification, I have indicated in parentheses modern-day names of rivers and alternate spellings of ethnic groups found in the documents from the 18th century to the present. A preliminary attempt to map the ethnic groups onto the river locations may be found in my thesis (1981:136). (Note: ** = hole/scratch in original).

"News From the Rio Negro

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On the ascent of the Rio Negro, first is the Rio Anavinjena (Anavilhena) on the right and after the Paravingena (Rio Branco). Then the Padauri River... Then on the left is the Majuissshi, five days from the

Arrayal, where the Barés are, who extend onto the same Rio Negro. Afterwards, on the left from the Majuissí, is the Aisuara where the same Barés are; again to the right the Cahaburi (Cauabory River) where the *Chapuenas* (Abuenas) live, which is ten days distant from the *Arrayal*. Afterwards, there follows four very swiftly-flowing large rapids, of which the first begins ** days from the *Arrayal*. Between them, on the left, there inhabit the river the *Madivena* whose chief is *Muru*. (Then follows a difficult passage: above this point just described, there are the several rapids around Corocoví and islands in midriver).

"Above the rapids occurs first to the left, the *Cajari River* (*Vaupés*) on whose banks live the *Chapuenas*, the *Kuevanas*, after them the *Banivas*, then *Boapés* who occupy the upper river and are the last population, to even above the source. The *Padre* (*Avogadri*) believes that they own this celebrated lake covered with gold, in which much gold lies; the Spaniards call it the lake of gold. For, as the *Padre* mentions, the *Boapés* craft out of the precious gold sheets of gold which they append to their ears. Several of these sheets of gold, the head of the ransom troop, D. Bellforte the English saw on the *Marañon* and declared them excellent gold; and the Indians who saw them were many. For *Braga*, a certain Lusitanian, went to the sources but fled from the Indians and was frightened, saying many ferocious Indians prohibited him access to it.

"After the *Cajari*, perhaps four days journey on the left follows the *Içana* where the *Banivas* live whose chief there was *Makupi*. After the *Içana*, to the right, follows the *Ishie* (*Xié*), on whose eastern banks live the *Mabeis* (*Baré*), then *Mabana*, then *Bajanás* (*Baniwa*). On this river, the mouth of which is measured at 500 lusitanian poles, the *Padre* ascended a ten-day journey - it has now and then rapids and inlets and ascends to the place where the chief of the *Mabana*, one of the greatest lives, whose name is *Cavabana*. His mother, a quiet person, was persuaded to know Christian life, and now lives a Christian life in the *Aricara* village on the *Xingu River* among Christians. The *Padres* have known this man for two years and he has abstained forever from all eating of human flesh, faithful always and himself forever loving.

"After the Rapids to the right on the Rio Negro, are people, first the *Demanao*, whose chief is *Camanao*, and the *Kuenas*, whose chief is *Mabavire*. (The following passage relates that *Camanao* and *Mabavire* exchanged their sisters for wives. There was a disagreement between the two chiefs and they went to war against each other. *Mabavire* killed the sister of *Camanao* and advanced against *Camanao*. The chiefs met in

battle and Mabavire was killed. Camanao, it is said, then roasted and ate Mabavire's flesh. Camanao and "very many blood relatives were eating flesh with delight.")

"After the *Kuenas* come the *Maribitenas*, after this the *Vipuari* (Guaypunave), whose people walk in great numbers on the Orinoco, according to Padre Roman who is of our High Spanish Mission on the Orinoco. After the *Vipuari*, the enemy nation *Zavani* inhabits the river, then the *Maribitenas* whose chief is *Immo*, it is said, who has captured many enemies to be eaten and had a fence infixed around his village. The Lusitanian named Francisco Xavier (Mendes de Moraes) approached and asked him for their captives which he had come upon as victor in war, to sell the same or else to eat them up. The Lusitanian used several means to obtain them and at length he sold them at a price, angry and savage, and out of some of these, even, it is certain he will eat them (...)

"After the *Maribitenas* are the *Warekenas*. The chief with his people were invited two years ago to descend the river into Christianity. (The Warekena refused and either the chief threatened the Padre with imminent death and a cannibalistic feast, or the Warekena stated that they feared being enslaved by the Portuguese if they descended the river. In any case, the Warekena made the Padre stay for the night. Neighbors from surrounding villages arrived and held a dance-festival. As the Padre stayed and watched, all of a sudden a troop of "vigilantes" arrived and seized several chiefs and caused all other Warekena to flee.)

"After the *Warekenas* come the *Mallivenas*, the last of the people whom the Padre knows. The Warekena I got to know from these people. The language among them is common except the dialects differ in the way of enunciating; all the *Kuevenas*, the *Banivas*, the *Boapés*, the *Bajanas*, the *Mabanas*, the *Zavanis*, the *Vipuaris* among themselves share a common tongue which is as discrepant as the Lusitanian *Chapuena* and *Barreo*.

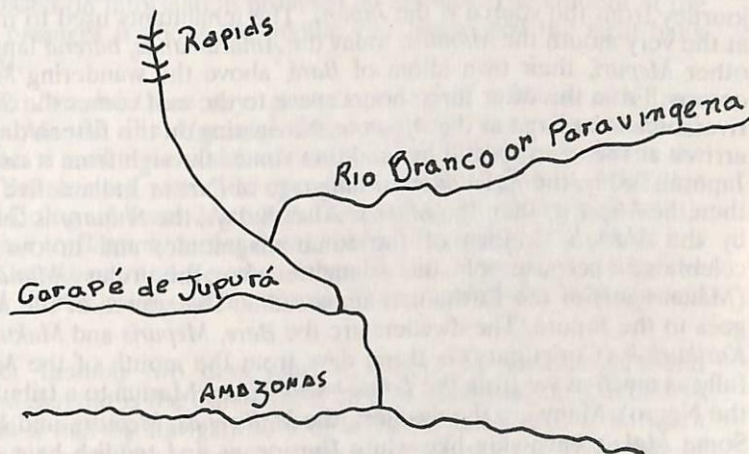
(The following passage is mostly illegible and difficult to translate due to the inordinate number of holes in the page.)

"There is not one of these nations which does not eat human flesh such that the smallest enemy captured in war is held, altogether, until the day of the feast when they come to satisfy their tastes. The Padre questioned a certain chief, who had been living in peace and Christianity for some time, why did they eat human flesh. The chief responded that he had not done so for years and that a far greater number of captives would be taken to sell to the Lusitanians, that as a practice, they were accustomed to sell whomever they captured to the Lusitanians.

Francisco Portilho (de Mello) and (Pedro) Braga thus obtained many slaves.

(There follows about one page relating the story of the discovery of the Cassiquiare in 1744. Padre Roman, Superior of the Missionary Society of Nova Granada, met Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes and was taken by Mendes to the Rio Negro Arrayal. Padre Roman was ignorant of the connection with the Rio Negro and was of the impression that, according to the Indians of the Orinoco, only "giant people" lived there. When Padre Roman arrived at the Arrayal, he met Padre Achilles Avogadri. Roman was there for three months and obtained an idea of the connections of the Orinoco, Negro, and Amazonas.) "He baptized six thousand and the Lusitanians made descend twenty thousand inhabitants."

(A sketch drawing of the connections follows):



"And the following news was received from the Padre (Avogadri): News of the Rio Negro tributaries which flow into it from Francisco Xavier Mendes, citizen of Pará, who has lived on these rivers 28 years.

"The rivers ascending the Rio Negro on the right occur as follows: ** the missions *Cabuquena* and *Bereroah* *** is the river *Guarira*. It has a swift-flowing current, eight days journey to the headwaters, and a width of 100 lusitanian poles at its mouth.

"After the mission of *Dari*, following another day's journey is the *Turubasshi*, 300 poles width. At the source, there is a lake which is full of large rivers, from which about 200 paces one emerges on the beaches

of the Japurá. It is abundant in puxiri. There dwell on it the *Manaos*, fugitives from the missions, and at the very source *Makus*. *Makus* are a nation of wandering and uncertain Indians, **, they do not plant manioc, but fish, hunt and live from the seasonal ripening of forest-fruits. It is not easy for the Lusitanians to buy them for possession because either they break away in flight at the first most proximate occasion, or they die at labor; by nature they are mild and docile, accustomed partly to hunting, partly to fishing and manioc to live. Human flesh they do not eat, but a great number of them are taken as captives by others to eat.

"From the east, from the *Iurubasshi*, if you will, 10 /lencarum/ distance, is the *Ajoanna*, a little bit larger than the former. The source, it is said, lies by a distance of two days journey to the Japurá. It is abundant in puxiri. On the lower part is the *Mariarana* nation, *Bare* language, distant **, and the upper river the *Maku*. The *Ajoanna* is followed after a day and a half by the *Venuissshi*, larger than the former. A half day's journey from the source is the *Japurá*. The inhabitants used to number at the very mouth the *Manaos*, today the *Amariavanas*, *barena* language, other *Mepuri*, their own idiom of *Baré*, above the wandering *Makuni* occupy. From this after three hours space to the east comes the *Shiuara* river, almost as large as the *Ajoanna*. Navigating on this fifteen days one arrives at the sources, still by land one comes through from it onto the Japurá. Today, the *Kavaipitenas*, language of *Parena* Indians, live there, then the *Mepuris*, then the *Makus*. After 8 days, the *Shiuara* is followed by the *Mariah* (Marie) of the same magnitude, and in our times celebrated because of the slaughter by the ruler *Manakazeri* (Manacaçari) of the Lusitanian ambassador. The source of the *Mariah* goes to the Japurá. The dwellers are the *Bare*, *Mepuris* and *Makus*. The *Kurikuriuh* (Curicuriary) is three days from the mouth of the *Mariah*, fully as much as we from the *Isshie-minor* (from Mariuá to a tributary of the Negro). Many are the dwellers, the *Mallivenas*, *Mepuris*, and *Makus*. Some *Makus* have skin like white Europeans and reddish hair; others dark and black hair. As a nation, the *Makus* do not speak a common language.

"There follows the rapids, first the *Biuari* (Bituri), it is said, after that another great one, the *Surukua*, then the first and a half distance, ** the nation *Tibajakena* whose chief, *Mab*, lives today, it is said: within, the *Mepuris* and *Makus*. Then the third rapids which is seen from the second by $1/3$ (lenca) space of the *Cajari* (Vaupés); and then a quarter $3/2$ (lenca) is distant from the third. Near this mouth is the first river, the *Cajari*, the greatest of them, which flows into the Negro from the right (...). Ascending the river, the *Tikie* River occurs to the right, distant

from the mouth as much as *Iauissa* from *Mariua*. Between the *Tikie* and the Rio Negro, on the banks of the *Cajari* dwell the *Cuevenas*, their own idiom, and on the *Tikie*, are first the *Meoanas*, their own language, then *Chumanas*, again their own language, and then various people with whom there is no commerce or negotiation.

"After the *Tikie*, the *Kapuri* (Papury) flows into the *Cajari*, distant from the former as much as *Pedreira* from *Mariua*. Between these two rivers live the *Boapés*, a nation copious in particular idioms, of which are the *Tarianas*, of the *Baniva* tongue, the *Barias*, with a particular language, and many other unknown people. The *Kapuri* flows from the west into the *Cajari*. The *Kapuri* ** from the right and the people to the right bank are the *Cuevenas*, their own language, *Banivas*, of their own language, the *Boapés*.

(There follows a change in the text, subheaded by an Italian sentence - possibly by Avogadri? - indicating that the description to follow is based on information provided by Mendes. The content of the following passages is about the middle Rio Negro and the right bank tributaries).

"After *Darahá* three days journey, being as much as it is from *Bereroa* to *Maruia*, the *Marauiah* follows, greater than the *Isshiemiri*. Then comes a mountain which abounds in salsa; and there dwells the *Jabanas* (Yabahanas), with their own idiom and the *Carnaus* of the *Baré* language. Going up from *Marauiah* five days journey, as much as it is from *Mariua* to *Bereroa* occurs *Barabi*. After *Marauiah*, as much as it is between *Cabukuena* and *Bereroa*, occurs the *Inambu*, greater than the *Isshie-miri*; it has salsa and mountains. There dwell the *Jabanas* and *Carnaus*.

"After *Inambu* two days journey, being the distance between *Mariua* and *Bereroa* is the *Caburis* and on this, islands divide it in half. A month and a half by navigation, a distance as much as it is between *Arikari* and *Bareroa*: between the mountains flows the river full of rocks, which have rough rapids. Ascending on this, occurs on the right the *Iuh* (Ia) and the people that are there are *Demakuris*, with a *Baré* idiom, the *Iaminaris*. On the left, the distance of *Mariua* from *Arikari*, is *Shamani* whose people are the *Demakuris*, the *Tibakenas*, the *Cubenas*, and other unknown people all with the *Barena* idiom; for it abounds in Indians, the *Caburis*, and it abounds in salsa above where there is a break in the river (...). They are *Madavakas*, a nation who are many and warlike, with their own language: they use guns in war, which they obtain from the Dutch in trade for captives, whom they bring out of various backwater rivers from especially the *Jabanas* and *Carnaus* (who either

flee into the countryside or are taken to Pará). The *Caburis* runs into the east.

"From the mouth, the *Miüva* is distant from the *Caburis* as much as the *Isshie-miri* is between Mariua and Dari. It is inhabited by the *Makuris* and *Makus*. After the *Miüva* follows the *Ibara* by the same distance as Dari from Bereroa. It is inhabited by *Makus* and *Makuris*.

There follow two rapids of which the first is as far from Ibara as Bereroa from Dari. After the rapids is *Caua*, smaller than the *Isshie*; it is inhabited by a population of *Demanaos*, of the *Barena* language. From the sources of the *Caua* are distant the sources of the *Caburis* a space of two days journey, on which are the *Demakuris*. After the *Caua* is the *Imula* two days journey, likewise inhabited by *demanaos*. From this the *Maboabi* is distant as much as *Cabukuena* from Bereroa, as large as our *Issie*. It is inhabited by *demanaos*.

Iabana is a distance from *Maboabi* as great as we from Bereroa; it is inhabited by *Kuenas* whose ruler is *Ioa* who, having descended, lives near Pará. The *Kuenas* speak a *Barena* language. *Maboabi* is distant from *Iabana* as much as Bereroa from Mariua. It is inhabited by *Maribibitanas*, of the *barena* language, whose ruler *Cucui*, was invited to descend. After this is an unnamed river, on which *BiaKuenas* inhabit, which is distant from *Maboabi* as we from Bereroa.

"On the Cassiquiare, the *Bacimunari* live. Padre Roman and the Lusitanians persuaded the purchase of 80 *Bacimunari*. On the *Bacimuni*, the *Mabanas* live, with their own idiom, and the *Madavakas*. There follows the *Shiaba* by our *Issie*. *Verikenas* (*Warekenas*) live there, with their own language, and the *Madavakas*. After the *Shiaba* is the *Bativa* which is a bit larger. After these two is a lake and in the middle of the lake one can see many beaches. On this lake lives *Immo*, ruler of the *Maribibitanas*, brother of *Cucui*. It is said that that lake is never disturbed by storms... The *Bativa* is distant from the *Shiaba* as much as we from Bereroa; and the *Shiaba* from the *Bativa* as much as Mariua from Cabuquena. From the *Bativa*, the Orinoco is distant as much as Cabuquena from Dari.

After the Cassiquiare, to the right of the Rio Negro are fields and not a river flows on them. (Illegible passage about the Orinoco and Cassiquiare). The *Inuini* River returns into the Rio Negro, the mouth of which canal is above the Cassiquiare in the same distance as *Arikari* from Dari. A second time one enters the *Timuini*, from which, by an extension of three days, one comes on a small river, the *Simité*. There, poison-darts are manufactured, descending on the *Iatavapu* (Atabapo) where they enter on the place of the *Simité*, which is as distant as much as Mariua

from Dari. From the *Iatavapu* comes the *Iakaú* (Atacau) after a way, which is the same distance as Cabuquena from Mariua. From *Iakau*, the *Inirida* advances this journey, which is the same distance as *Dari*. Then it begins to enter on the *Aviari* (Guaviare). On the *Aviari*, they navigated eight days, as much to finish the journey as it is from the mouth of the Rio Negro to Mariua, and then on the Orinoco they arrived. Fifteen days with favorable winds and an adverse river (...)

Rivers to the left:

Guarira	Mariah	Tumbo
Iurubassi	Kurikuriah	Ake
Ajoanna	Cajari	Nakeni
Uenuissi	Issana	
Shivara	Issie	

Rivers to the right:

Issie miri	Caburis
Anjuri	Miuva
Iaha	*va
Daraha	Imula
Maraviati	Maboabi
Inambu	Mabana
	Matuiti
	Biakuenas
	Caihikiari

"According to Padre Ignacio, who adds:

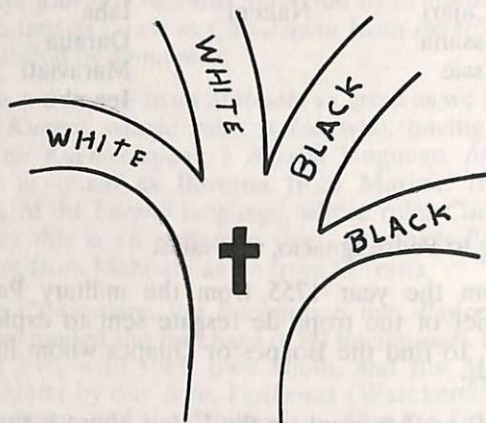
"News from the year 1755 from the military Paraense whom Bellfort, the chief of the *tropa de resgate* sent to explore the Cajari (Vaupés) River, to find the Boapes or Guapes whom he saw carrying gold on their ears:

"To the left as they went up the Cajari, there is the *Tikie*, distant five or six days from the mouth. On it live the *Yapoas* (Yupuas) in whose language *Tikie* means white. After the *Yapoas* are the *Meoánas*, who live on the river flowing into the *Tikie* to the left, which ascends the *Tikie* (Ira-paraná?)

"From the *Tikie* the Ipanoré rapids is distant *, from a day of two the *Kapuri* (Papury). After the *Kapuri*, a rapids which is near the mouth (Jauareté). After this a day, a rapids on which inhabits the nation *Manonapes* (Wanana), with their own language; after the *Manonapes* is the *Cujari* nation, their own language. After this is the *Cudujari* (Cuduiary) River after which follows the largest and most difficult rapids (Jurupary), being eight days distance from the *Capury*. After this, I do not know how wide is the lake which four rivers form, flowing into the same *Cajari*: two from the east with white waters, two from the right black, altogether at the mouth gathering ** *Vittarino*. Following the white

cross sign (see sketch drawing, which appears in the margin of the document), one ascends on the white, the *Cajari*, until one comes to the source of the *Cajari*, it is believed. On this a nation he has seen which has the gold, which it gathers to have some commerce with the Europeans. After serious ***, it radiates. One month's descent to the same mouth of the *Kapury*, which is on the left of the *Cajari*.

"But from the right, oppsite the mouth of the *Tikie* are *Kuevenas*, with their own language. The people on the left of the *Cajari* do not eat human flesh, but on the right they do. On the right *Cajari* is the *Shiviari* (*Yaviari*) River, distant three days from the mouth. It is inhabited by the nation of the *Banivas*." (END OF DOCUMENT)



By far the greatest elaboration of information (ethnographic, linguistic, etc.) in the text deals with the upper Rio Negro valley and its tributaries, particularly the *Uaupés*. Besides being a source of slaves, the "Boaupés" people - according to Szentmartonyi, "a nation copious in particular idioms" (who would appear to have been Arawak-speaking peoples) - were of particular interest to the Lusitanians because of the supposed existence of the famed "Lago Dorado, ... the lake covered with gold, in which much gold lies," at the headwaters of the *Uaupés*. According to Belfort, the "Boaupés" wore crafted gold earrings (much like the *Tariana* of the *Uaupés* were reported to have used in the eighteenth century), although they impeded Portuguese access to the upper river. As early as the 1630s, Portuguese explorers on the Amazon had noted these gold earrings among the *Aisuari* people, who obtained

them in trade from the Manao of the middle Rio Negro who, in turn, obtained them from the peoples of the upper Uaupés. Throughout the period of slavery on the Rio Negro, the search for the source of these gold earrings appears in the records, but by the 1760s, the Portuguese believed that it was beyond their reach - in Nova Granada, most likely among Chibchan peoples.

Oral histories of Tukanoan peoples (Desana, Tukano, and Makuna) confirm the intensity of slaving activities on the Uaupés and its tributaries. These oral histories (Kumu & Kenhiri 1980:101-2) state, for example, that the Tiquié River was formerly inhabited by two peoples, the *Waiera* (or *Wa'yana*) and *Koamona* (*Makuna*), and that the "whites" took them below, enslaved them, or exterminated them, while the survivors fled to the Pira-paraná region of present-day Colombia. For this reason, the Tiquié River was temporarily uninhabited until the Tukano, coming from the Papury, repopulated the area. The slave records analyzed in part II below also contain the names of various Makuna sibs and the "Wa'yana."

Three other areas where the slave troops concentrated in the 1740s were the upper Rio Branco (especially the Uaricoera); the middle Rio Negro and its tributaries from the Jurubaxi and Majuishi (territory of the once powerful Manao who had been all but dispersed and enslaved by the 1740s) up to the rapids of Corocovi (modern-day São Gabriel), near the mouth of the Uaupés (*Cajari*); and the upper Rio Negro and its tributaries from Corocovi to the headwaters, the Cassiquiare and upper Orinoco.

The upper Rio Negro/upper Orinoco had been visited by the Portuguese since at least the 1730s and, by the 1740s their extensive activities had caused enough concern among the Spanish Jesuits that in 1744, Father Manuel Roman, Superior of the Missions, travelled to the upper Orinoco where he met, near the Atabapo River, the Portuguese troop commanded by Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes, confirming the already suspected connection of the Orinoco and Negro by the Cassiquiare.

Roman's impressions of the magnitude of the depopulation on the Upper Negro/Orinoco due to the Portuguese traffic are worth citing here (in: Useche Losada 1987:111):

"Los daños que haxen y muertes para cautivar a tantos no se puede saber; lo cierto es que serán más a los que quitan las vidas, que a los que captivan, porque entran a fuego y sangre entre los indios gentiles, quitando la vida a quienes se resisten, y aprisionando a los que no tienen fuerza para tanto: a los adultos con esposas en las manos y prisiones en

los pies, los ponen en las canoas (digo lo que he visto con grandissima compasión) y los llevan a el Pará; muchos de dichos indios sacan de los dominios de Vuestra Real Corona, y de este rio Orinoco, sin que aya fuerzas que lo puedan impedir."

According to what Avogadri told Roman, between 1738 and 1744, some 8,000 slaves had been examined and certified; 4,000 more "free" Indians had been resettled from their villages (Useche Losada 1987). At the end of the 1740s, Avogadri told Szentmartonyi that he had baptized 6,000 Indians and that (presumably over the entire decade) some 20,000 inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro had been made to descend.

From the slave records and Szentmartonyi's report, it is evident that the troops covered a wide area of the upper Orinoco and Negro, from the Guaviare River to the west, to at least the Padamo River to the east, and up to at least the confluence of the Atabapo with the Orinoco to the north. Thus one notes in both documents the presence of Guaypunavi (on the Atabapo, Orinoco, and Sipapo rivers), Paraeni (on the Orinoco), and Maquiritare (on the Padamo) slaves. Possibly many other peoples of unidentified ethnic origin are from this region. Perhaps equal to, or greater in number to the Tukanoan, Arawakan, and Macuan peoples of the Uaupés, the Arawak-speaking peoples from the middle Rio Negro to the upper Orinoco basin were the objects of the slave commerce. These included principally the Baré and peoples who seemed to the Jesuits to speak Baré-related languages (in modern linguistic terminology, the Northern Maipure language family) - the Mepury, Mariarana, Amariavana, Carnaus, Demakuris, Demanaos, and Maribibitenas, along with the Kuevanas, Baniwas (or, Bayanas, Banibas), Tariana, Guaypunave, Mallivena, Warekenas, and others.

Vidal (1987:249-61) has pointed to a series of fluvial connections in the upper Orinoco area traditionally used for commerce and migratory routes but which, with the penetration of the Portuguese slavers, were converted into routes of slave transportation. Szentmartonyi notes several other connections on the Negro and Orinoco: 1) the Simité (on the Atabapo, where poison darts were manufactured) - Atacau - Inirida - Guaviare; 2) the Cauabory - Yatua - northeast, over which the Mandavakas obtained manufactured goods and arms from the Dutch; and 3) the Negro - Japurá - Solimões, over which the slavers presumably obtained the large numbers of "Macu" Indians noted both in the records and other documents. Certainly another important traffic route was the Rio Conorochita/Itinivini, connecting the Upper Rio Negro with the Cassiquiare, for the Warekenas, inhabitants of this connection, are mentioned in numerous places both in Szentmartonyi and the slave records.

One of the keys to the successful operation of the commerce was the formation of alliances with powerful chiefs of the Upper Negro/Orinoco who could serve as guides and providers of slaves. Among those mentioned in Szentmartonyi are Cucui and his brother Immu of the Maribibitenas (Baré) from whom Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes obtained slaves in the 1740s. It is plausible that one of the key allies of the Portuguese in the 1750s, Jacobo Yawitá of the Paraeni people (upper Orinoco/Atabapo), may already have been supplying slaves in the 1740s. It is equally plausible that survivors of the Arawak-speaking Manao served as guides with the troops in their incursions in all areas mentioned, exploiting the commercial and trade connections they had maintained long before and throughout this time (Sweet, 1974:595).

The notable number of references in Szentmartonyi's text to cannibalism and to savage feasts must be understood in the context of the ideological justifications for slavery by the Portuguese. Ransom troops (*tropas de resgate*) were charged with buying captives in war who were supposedly being held to be eaten; thus "rescued" from the hands of their captors, they owed their lives to whoever bought them and were obliged to repay this with labor for a specified time. It was in the interests of both the Jesuits and the slave troops to create images of cannibalistic tribes even if this meant, as it often did, imputing the practice to peoples who ate human flesh only on restricted occasions and within a highly specific social, political, and religious dynamic. Thus one finds in the document the bald assertion in reference to the peoples of the upper Rio Negro that: "There is not one of these nations which does not eat human flesh such that the smallest enemy captured in war is held, altogether, until the day of the feast when they come to satisfy their tastes." With reference to the peoples of the Uaupés, Szentmartonyi's assertion is as transparent: "The people on the left of the Cajari do not eat human flesh, but on the right they do."

In short, virtually all peoples of the upper Rio Negro valley, except for those who had been Christianized or descended to mission settlements, were fair game for the ransom troops. The transparency of such statements as ideological justifications is evident at several points when Szentmartonyi refers to the cases of Christianized chiefs who had "abstained" from cannibalism after their conversion, or who maintained that a "far greater number of captives would be taken to sell to the Lusitanians" than would be taken in war to be eaten.

Nevertheless, the question must be raised whether and to what extent cannibalism indeed existed as a practice related to indigenous

patterns of warfare among any tribe of the rio Negro. Recent studies of oral traditions of the Baniwa and Curripaco of the Içana and upper Rio Negro (Journet 1988; Wright 1990) have demonstrated the predominance of warfare as an institution in the past, prior to and in the early history of contact with the whites.

The practice of cannibalism is present in the majority of Baniwa and Curripaco oral histories, and in the histories of Tukanoan peoples about Baniwa warfare. There is no reason, then, to doubt its existence in the past, although it is extremely difficult to reconstruct from oral histories the nature and symbolism of the practice. As we have argued (Wright 1990), the act of eating an enemy was part of a more inclusive logic of "return" defining socio-political relations among distant and potentially hostile groups. The practices of child capture, the taking of bone trophies, and anthropophagy were all related to the notion of war as a form of symbolically structured hostility which served the interests of social reproduction. The hunting and gathering "Maku" peoples, who lived on the frontiers of Arawak territory, were indeed among those whom the Baniwa and Curripaco raided for captives, but who would eventually be incorporated into the hierarchical structure of social groups in Baniwa society (that is, they were not necessarily eaten unless a vengeance "return" was being taken). In any case, the oral histories leave it clear that cannibalism was an extreme form of vengeance "return", far from being the universal practice attributed to them by the eighteenth century slavers. In the ideological framework of conquest, however, the mere existence of anthropophagy was sufficient justification to seek satisfaction for labor demands in the colony.

II. SLAVE AND "FREE" INDIAN RECORDS, 1745-7

Sweet (1974:578-94) has described the ransom troops as an institution and the process of certifying slaves. Once captives were brought in to the slavers' camp (*arrayal*), it was required that they be examined by the Jesuit slaving chaplain to determine whether they had been taken under legitimate circumstances. If, by chance, the chaplain was convinced that they had been "unjustly" made captive, he was empowered to make note of this fact so that the captive would be sent to Pará as a "forro" who could not be sold but was obliged to work for a period of five years only to repay the cost of his "ransom."

"The examination produced a document drawn up by the scrivener according to a standard form in which the Jesuit declared '*secundum allegata e probata*' the tribe, name, age, distinguishing

marks and price of each captive, and whether he was 'slave' or 'free. This was signed by the priest and the cabo, copied into the registry book of the tropa, and sent with the slave to Pará to serve as the basis for his disposition by officials of the Thezouraria dos Resgates and the Junta das Missões." (Sweet 1974:589)

In practice, this examination was little more than a farce, undertaken not only with the connivance of the missionaries, but also through the false testimonies of the members of the troop and with threats to the Indian captive to answer the missionaries' questions correctly, that is, attributing to himself the condition of slave (Sweet 1974). Numerous cases are on record of missionaries who signed blank records or who, ceding to the demands of the members of the troop or to their own interests, declared as slaves captives who legally were free. This certainly was the case on the Rio Negro in the mid-1740s when Lourenço Belfort worked together with Aquilino Avogadri who, despite his initial recalcitrance and doubts about the slaving business, eventually became "the greatest and least scrupulous slaving chaplain of them all." (Sweet 1974:602).

All of the records analyzed here have the same standard form. All are signed by Belfort and Avogadri. All were copied at the *arrayal* of *Nossa Senhora de Penha de Tranca e Santa Ana*. Curiously enough, this was not one of the established slave-camps on the Rio Negro. One possible explanation is that this arrayal was a temporary base set up somewhere on the mid-to-upper Rio Negro for the purpose of handling the large volume of slaves taken during these years.

The following is a transcription and translation of a typical slave record:

"Nº 831. Maxauaru Rapariga da nação Maquiritare de idade de doze annos pouco mais o menos com quatro sinais da parte direita hum atras da orelha outro no ombro dois grande um no meyo do peito outro no vintra. Foi resgatada por conta de Mendes de Baixo da Tropa de Resgate e apresentada ao exame na forma da lei. Foi havida por Escrava pelo Reverendissimo Padre Missionero e Cabo da Tropa e por assim passar na verdade, eu José Antonio de Miranda escrevam da Tropa de Resgate da cidade do Pará passei o prezente Registro q. assignou o Rmo pe Missionario e Cabo da Tropa. Arrayal de N. Sra. de Penha de Tranca e S. Anna. 24 dezembro de 1746.

Pe. Achilles Maria Avogadri // Lourenço Belforte."

"831. Maxauaru, girl of the Makiritare nation, 12 years old more or less with four marks on the right side, one behind the ear, another on the shoulder, two large ones, one on the middle of the breast, the other on the abdomen. She was ransomed by Mendes under the Ransom Troop and presented for examination according to the law. She was declared a slave by the most reverend missionary Father and Cabo of the troop and so came to be in truth. I, José Antonio de Miranda, scrivener of the Ransom Troop of the City of Pará, copied the present record signed by the most reverend missionary and cabo of the troop. (...)"

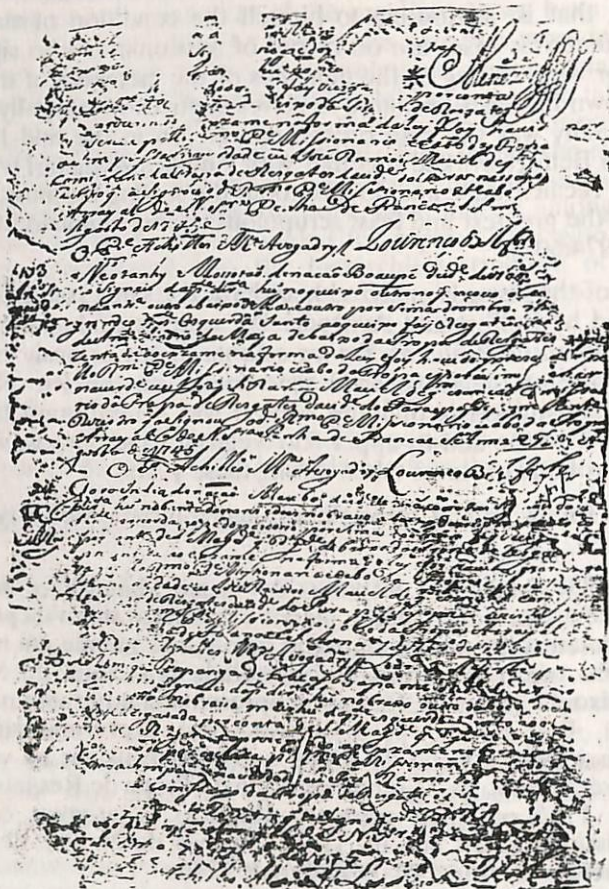


Figure 1. Sample page - slave records

The only difference between a slave and a "free" Indian record is found in the phrase which justified the freeing of Indians illegally taken: "como não consta de titullo algum justo de cativoiro foi havido por forro pelo Rmo Pe Missionar^o..." ("as there is no just title Whatsoever of captive, he was declared free by the Reverend Missionary Father..."). All records consistently note distinguishing "marks" on the slaves, which we may reasonably suppose were the effects of the violence with which the slave traffic was conducted (Sweet 1974; Farage 1986; Useche Losada 1987).

In all, between June 1745 and May 1747, there are records for 1.334 slaves and 43 *forros*. These figures, however, tell us very little about the overall number of slaves taken during these years, since private slaving accounted for a greater part of the commerce. Furthermore, given the Crown's concern with the abuses of slaving, the records probably represent only a portion of what really went on.

In the tables below (pp. 68-76), I have organized in alphabetical order the names of all groups ("*nações*") cited, and legible, in the records. In many cases, it was possible to determine the identification of the group from a comparison with ethnonyms of surviving groups in the region, with other written sources from the latter half of the eighteenth century, and with oral traditions. I have indicated these probable identifications and locations of groups whenever possible.

There are numerous difficulties with the list, however. The names themselves are confusing: some refer to groups which might reasonably be called "tribes" today (the colonial Portuguese preferred "nations"). Others may refer to subdivisions of tribes, clan groups, inhabitants of particular villages, etc. Sometimes the name may well be no more than that of a specific village chief to whose followers the name refers. Added to this are the problems of language differences between the scribes and the peoples enslaved, the undisciplined orthography of eighteenth century colonial Portuguese (which results in multiple spellings of the same name), and simple error in recording the unfamiliar names of tribes. It should also be remembered that the people were rarely known to the Portuguese by the names they gave themselves and were more likely to be called by names given to them in *lingua geral* by the Paraenses or their Indian crewmen and interpreters.

Name-endings were a helpful clue in identifying a people either with modern-day descendants, or with the linguistic group to which the people belonged. For example, the endings *-panameno*, *-maxa*, *-maçam*, *-pona*, *-puara* are all characteristic of Tukanoan sib names, meaning "descendants of," "people." With the help of various modern-day

ethnographies, it was possible to make plausible links with groups who are known to have inhabited the Uaupés and its tributaries since early colonial times. The endings *-minavi*, *-navi*, *-tana*, *-ary* are characteristic of Arawakan peoples of the region, meaning "owners of," "masters of." In the process of discovering these links, others appeared both in the ethnographic literature and colonial sources, confirming the hypothesis that the slaves were being taken primarily from the upper Rio Negro valley and secondarily, the upper Rio Branco. With few exceptions, all names cited in Szentmartonyi's report were to be found in the slave records, and these exceptions (Amariavana, Tibajakena, Demakuris, Tibakena, Carnaus, Manonapes) may be due to a variety of factors, such as that the slave troops hadn't yet frequented the rivers on which these peoples were located in the mid-1740s. Finally, the works by Sweet (1974), Farage (1986) and Useche Losada (1987) were all extremely useful in establishing name concordances.

It became evident in analyzing the records that certain groups were cited with far greater frequency than others. These are, in order of importance: the *Boaupé* (Arawak-speaking peoples of the Uaupés); the *Macu* (of various origins - the interfluvial between the Negro and Japurá, the Tiquié, Uaupés, and Rio Branco); the *Paraviana* (Rio Branco); the *Baniwa* (or, Maniba, Maniva, Baniva - of the Içana, Uaupés, upper Rio Negro); and the *Ariquena* (or Warekena of the Xié, upper Rio Negro, Conoroquite). Altogether, these five groups account for a quarter of the total number. It was also evident that there was a significant number of Tukanoan-speaking peoples. We may infer from this that the area of the Uaupés and its tributaries (the Tiquié and Papury) was one of the principal targets of slaving activities in these two years, confirming the reports left by Szentmartonyi.

NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE NORTHWEST AMAZON ENSLAVED IN THE YEARS 1745-7

(with possible identifications and locations)

A:

Agujana, Ogujana

Amamaça

Amamarian

Amassa

Amona

Anhanipapanameno

Tukanoan

Tukanoan?

Barasana sib?

Tukanoan

Anoveraminana

Apuni

Aradiana

Aramuana

Aramacana

Ariquena

Warekena: rios Xié, Shiaba

Atura

Atorai? Rio Branco

Auebutana

Auetuanna

Auicana

B:

Baenna, Bayena

Same as Bajana?

Bajana

Baniva: Rio Xié

Bajapona

Tukanoan Baya-po'ná

Bajaro

Suryāna sib Bayaro

Bajuana

Bahuana: Rio Araça

Barivitena

Baré?

Baniva, Baniba

(see also Maniba,

Maniva)

Baniwa: Rios Içana, Uaupés

Baquena

Barabitená

Bará? Marabitená?

Barena

Baré: Rio Negro

Bareroa

Bará sib?

Baria, Varea

Achagua: lower Uaupés

Baroá

Bará sib?

Bauriminavi

Bassiminavis: Cassiquiare

Biacoena, Viacoena

Biaquena: tributary of Cassiquiare

Biaribitená

Bixena

Bixuana

Boaupé (also, Guapé)

Arawak-speaking peoples of the Uaupés

Bojagopanamenó

Tukanoan

Bopame

Boua

Pira-tapuya? Bará sib Boa?

Boyapanamenó

Tukanoan

Buâgopanamenó

Tukanoan

Buapopanamenó

Tukanoan

Buhegababana

Makuna sib: Uaupés

Bujabopopanamenó

Tukanoan

Bujaquea

Bungamana

Makuna sib: Uaupés

Buquejana	
Burugiga	Tukanoan
Buxaraga	
Buxupona	Tatuyo sib Bu'ú-po'ná
C:	
Cabajabitená	Kavaipitena : Rio Shiuara
Cagerá	
Cajana	
Cajarua	Kayaroa (warrior sib, Taiwano? Barasana?)
Camaratani	
Cariria	Kawiria? (Piapoco)
Casiari	Kaviari?
Chamena	
Chapará, Saporá	Saporá: Rio Branco
Chimana	Chumana: rios Tiquié, Uaupés
Chira	
Chirôa	Sirôa (Makuna sib): Uaupés
Churia	Tsuria (Tukanoan)
Coama	
Coana	
Coena	Kwenaka (Tariana): Uaupés
Coeyna	Kwenaka (Tariana): Uaupés
Coino	
Cajariveni	Cujaris (Arawak): upper Uaupés
Comea	Komea (Makuna): Uaupés; or, Jí-tapuya
Comeavana	Komea (Makuna): Uaupés; or, Jí-tapuya
Comeuana	
Comian	Kumia (Tukanoan)
Comuana	
Corea	K'orea = Arapaço: Uaupés
Coronahi	Curanaue: Rio Marauíá
Cuatena	
Cuamuna	Kwamona (Makuna, or Barasana)
Cuatena	
Cucuana	
Cueana	Kwevana: lower Uaupés, mid-Uaupés
Cuêna	Kwenaka (Tariana); or Kuena: Rio Abaibante
Cucuana	Kwevana: lower, mid-Uaupés
Cujary	Cujaris (Arawak): upper Uaupés
Cumiary	Kumia (Tukanoan)
Cumiha	Kumia (Tukanoan)
Cumiho	Kumia (Tukanoan)

Cumijuauna
Curimabanu

D:

Dapaba
Daricaúana
Dariuagaina
Dassiha
Deamana, Diamana
Demanano, de Manô

Idapa-minari: Cassiquiare
Daribatana: rio Ubatiba
Darivagana: rios Siapa, Pamoni
Daxseá (Tukano): Uaupés

Demanau: Upper Rio Negro, rios Cauá,
Maboabi

Dessana, DeeSanna

Desana

Diatona

Tuyuka sib?

Diatuma

Tuyuka sib?

Diria

Carapana? (Duria mute)

Docamaçam

Tukanoan

Docapuara

Tuyuka (dohka puara)

DoSiânaga

Dratana

Duajana

Duexana

Duja

Dumangubena

Dupopanamenno

Tukanoan

E:

Eduria, Aduria, Iduria

Taiwano

Enaua

Hehenawa (Cubeo sib)?

G:

Gabona

Ganavitana

Genopame

Gibamaxam, Gibamaxa

Yiba masa (Makuna sib): Vaupés

Gipoa

Yipoa, Gipiua: Rio Marié

Guaená

Yurutí-tapuya (Gwaiiana, Uhaiana)

Guajara

Guajara: Rio "Ocahy" (Uraricoera?)

Gualimana

Guapó

Boaupés: Rio Uaupés

Guinaui

Guinau: Rio Branco

Gujna

Guinau: Rio Branco

Gunena

H:

Hamunatana

Tatu-tapuya (Hamõa-sená, Hamonya): Rio Uaupés

I:

Iabana

Yabahana: Rio Inambu, Isshie-miri

Iaboana

Iabuana

Iaibitana

Iamaha

Carapaná sib?

Iamanapanameno

Tukanoan

Iamanapanameno

Tukanoan

Iaminary

Iaminary: Rio Iá (Baré?)

Iana, Yana

Iana: Rio Uxié-mirim, Padauiri

Iauhi

Tariana: Rio Uaupés

Iaipanameno

Tukanoan

Iavana

Iavollydydazeddy

Iazareana

Ibamaçam

Tukanoan (Makuna? Yebe masa?)

Ichuiana

Ienuá

Iepuacama

Ihanhininula

Baré? (Ihiní): Rio Negro

Imian

Inacimiana

Inhajua

Inhaime (Tariana?): Rio Uaupés

Iniyarana

Iopiuá

Yopiuá: Rio Tiquié

Itana

Izanai: Rio Içana

Iucajana, Iacajana

Yukuna?

Iudecha

Iuguajana

Iuirana

Jurinas? Rio Acque

Iulibana

Jurimana: Tiriquem

Iuraniua

Iziyana

Izanai: Rio Içana

L:

Luiayana, Lucayana

M:	
Mabavena	Madavena? Rio Cauabury.
Mabe, Maue	Baré: Rio Xié, rios Miua, Maroene, Anavexy, Xuara, Mariá
Macara	
Macu	Rio Negro - Japurá
Macu Boaupé	Rio Uaupés
Macu Cueurana	Rio Uaupés
Macu do Cajari	Rio Uaupés
Macu do Parauá	Rio Branco
Macu do Tiquié	Rio Tiquié
Macuchi	Rio Branco
Macumary	Makuris: rios Miuvá, Ibara
Madauua, Madauaca,	
Madauauqua	Mandahuaca: Rio "Abuara", Caburi, Banimuni
Magibona	Tukanoan
Maia	
Majuruha	
Manau	Manao: mid-Rio Negro
Maniba, Maniva	Baniwa: Rio Içana, Uaupés
Maniha	
Maniminavi	(Arawak) Manynosminariz: Rio Cauabory
Manoritana	
Manitibitena	Baré: Upper Rio Negro
Maquiritari	Maquiritari: Rio Padamo
Maratibitena	Baré: Upper Rio Negro
Marauebuana	
Marekivana	
Maria, Mariana	Baria (Achagua): Rio Uneixi, Ajoanna, Anareixi
Marlauena	Mallivena: Upper Rio Negro
Marriubiminari	(Arawak)
Matautacavy	
Mâvâna, Mavana,	Rio Xié, Rio Banimuni
Mabana, Mauana	(Arawak)
Mavominari	Mcoana, Mueinó (Tukanoan): Rios Tiquié, Uaupés
Meuanai	Miuanas? Rio Inambú
Miana	
Minâua, Minoua	(Arawak): Rio Maboabi
Moboaviminari	
Mopury, Mapury,	Mepury: Rios Marié, etc. (Uneixi, Shiura,
Mepuri	Curicuriary Xuara)

Mujamana	
Mumia, Mumiha	Tukanoan
Muna, Muona	
Tukanoan	
Mutavena, Matavena,	
Mutauana	Madiuena: between Cauabory and Uaupés
N:	
Nocunajara	
Nucamaçam	Tukanoan
O:	
Obiapanameno	Tukanoan
Omamaça	Tukanoan (Umoa masa)
Oravano	Cubeo (Orobakó)? Pira-tapuya (Omanano)?
Oriueni, Uriueni	
P:	
Pabany	Tariana?
Padijana	
Paimona, Pamona	Pemon?
Pamapuha	
Pamuan	Tatuyo (=Pamoa)
Panena	Panenoa (-Hanera = Barasana)
Paracavary	
Paracodo	Purukoto: Rio Branco
Paraene, Pasaene,	
Pariena, Parieni	Far Upper Rio Negro
Paramuana	Parauiana: Rio Branco
Paraua	Rio Branco
Pepuacama, Papuacama	
Pequama	
Podijara	
Pradiana	
Prauilhana, Paruiana,	
Pravilhana Saporá,	
Rio Branco	
Parauiana, Prauiana	
Puemon, Puemana	Pemon
Puevana	
Puha	Maku (poxsa)?
Pumena	
Puna	
Puxirinsky, Puxirinabi	Upper Xié

Q:

Quauama	
Quemona	Koe Mona (Barasana sib)
Queuana, Queuama	Kuevana: Rio Uaupés
Quenauana	Baré?

R:

Ribaranna	
Rorancanga	Rokahana (Tuyuka)? Rasengana (Barasana)?

S:

Savopeaminari	(Arawak)
Seminopananoma	

T:

Tabarina	
Tamiviuna	
Tapiquaru	Tapicári: Rio Branco
Tauani, Zavani	Zavani: Upper Negro, Orinoco
Temapominari,	
Pemapominari	(Arawak)
Tojua	
Tuariminari	Turimana: Upper Rio Negro, Tiriquem
Tuirana	
Turinominavi	
Tutari	

U / V:

Vaenâ	Same as Baena?
Vaimaçana	Pira-tapuya? Bará?
Vajamana	
Vajana	Wa'ya-nã: Rio Tiquié
Vajauna	Bahaúna (Tukanoan)
Vajgua	Waiká? Rio Branco
Vajpanameno	Tukanoan
Vajxena	Uasona (Pisá-tapuya): Rio Uaupés, Tiquié
Vamapu	
Vamaya	
Vaminiminari	(Arawak)
Vamunâ	Tukanoan (Panenoa sib Wámona)
Uana	
Vanamana	

Uanubaquera	
Vapanauí, Upunauí,	
Vapunauí, Vipunauí	Guaypunave: Upper Orinoco
Uapixena	Wapixana: Rio Branco
Vapichi, Wapechi	
Vaquapanameno,	
Vaquipanameno	Tukanoan
Varea	Baria? Lower Uaupés
Uaropanameno	Tukanoan
Varacubona	
Varuviana, Vaxuxiana	
Uaruhuana	
Uaxana	
Uaypíxi	
Uenonigana	
Uêua	
Uhiana	
Viana	
Vibana	
Vipixina	
Virumanau	Manau: Rio Anjuri, Rio Padauri
Virupajama	
Viuiana	
Ujana	Ujana (same as Chichana?)
Umamaxam, Umamaçam,	
Umomaçam	Tukanoan (Makuna Omoa masa)
Vorina	
Upana	
Uriueni	
Uruarana	
Usauiana	
Vyujauijana	
X:	
Xabinavy	
Xalomenã	
Xamipapanemeno	Tukanoan
Xapiena	Chapuna? Middle Negro, Upper Negro
Xarabiquenauí	
Xibibona	
Xira	
Xirira, Xiriha, Xiriá	Xiriana: Rio Branco
Xiruã	
Xiuitona	
Xura	

SOURCES USED IN IDENTIFICATIONS

1) Ethnographic

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Correa, François, 1980-81 | Useche, 1987 |
| Brüzzi da Silva, 1977 | Wright, 1981 |
| Kaj Arhem, 1981 | Nimuendajú, <i>Mapa Etnohistórico</i> (1980) |
| J. Jackson, 1983 | |
| C. Hugh-Jones, 1979 | |
| Koch-Grünberg, various (1906, 1922) | |
| Sweet, 1974 | |
| Farage, 1986 | |

2) Historical

- Anón. 1755 (various: Rio Negro, Rio Branco, Rio Japurá)
Szentmartonyi, 1749-55
Noronha, 1768
Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1775

* * *

CONCLUSION

Late in the 1740s, the system of ransom troops began to decline "whether because of news about the atrocities regularly perpetrated under its aegis, or because it had proven unsuccessful as a means of raising revenue, is uncertain." (Sweet 1974:610). In 1747, the Crown ordered the withdrawal of the troop from the Rio Negro and in 1749 forbade the continuation of the troops. Yet, as Sweet has noted, "the century-old system died hard" (Sweet 1974:611) and it was to continue unofficially well into the 1750s.

The documents interpreted here have thus partially brought to light the magnitude of the trade and the limits of the area covered in what were possibly the most intensive years of slaving in the Northwest Amazon. As we have indicated at several points, the institution of slaving was grounded in a series of ideological constructions by colonial society about native peoples of the Northwest Amazon. Such ideological constructions formed part of a larger culture of conquest and slavery or, to use M. Taussig's term, a "colonial mode of producing reality" (1980). The imputation of cannibalistic savagery extended to all indigenous groups of the upper Rio Negro, as though to create an image of

non-reproducing and morally inverted "others," whose victims (captives in war) could be "rescued" (= purchased = alienated from the symbolic process of incorporation into the captor society) in order to serve the process of the reproduction of colonial society. As a means of sustaining and reproducing this relation with native societies, the culture of conquest used terror and violence, evidenced by the marks left on all slaves and "free" Indians during their captivity, and by the very process of examining and certifying the slaves.

"Cannibalism" was thus an intermediary term which shaped the relations between colonial and indigenous societies. Its complement was the image of an obedient, loyal, and Christianized subject, an ex-cannibal, who served the program of the colonists by attracting or negotiating with others. Colonial enslavement thus attacked both the demographic viability of native groups as well as their symbolic construction of reality.

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