



Fig. 1 Hood with neck feathers (*akeri kaha*), Mundurucu, Rio Tapajós, Weltmuseum Wien 1255 (Johann Natterer coll.).

# Munduruku and Apiaká Featherwork in the Johann Natterer Collection

Andreas Schlothauer

Today most of the about 10,900 Munduruku or Wuy jugu, as they call themselves, live on officially demarcated reservations (*terras indígenas*) in the Brazilian state of Pará in the region of the Rio Tapajós (FUNASA 2009; Enciclopedia n.d.: povo/munduruku). Their language is considered to be part of the Munduruku branch of the Tupi language stock (Campbell 1997: 201). In the first half of the nineteenth century the Munduruku were among the peoples of the Brazilian lowlands best known in Europe. They were not only admired for their capabilities as warriors, but first of all for the beauty of their featherwork, their artistic tattoos, and their mummified head trophies. The territory inhabited by them was larger then at present. They lived on both banks of the upper Rio Tapajós as well as between the Tapajós and the right-hand tributaries of the Rio Madeira, in the region of the Rio Canomá and Rio Abacaxi. The knowledge relating to the manufacture and use of their traditional feather ornaments has disappeared among the Munduruku of today for more than one hundred years.

The language of the Apiaká is grouped together with those of the Kaiabi, Juma, and Kawahib-Parintintin into the Kawahib group of the Tupi language stock of the Tupi-Guarani language family (Campbell 1997: 200–201). In the middle of the nineteenth century there are said to have lived about 2,700 Apiaká in the vicinity of the Rio Arinos, Juruena, and Teles Pires, by the middle of the twentieth century their number had declined to 32 persons (Nimuendajú 1948). The Apiaká of today, numbering either 167 (CIMI 2004) or 450–1,000 (Tempesta 2009), live in various *terras indígenas*, no longer speak their language, and have lost all knowledge relating to their traditional feather ornaments (Enciclopedia o.J.: povo/apiaka).

## The Munduruku and Apiaká in Reports of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century

In his travel account of 1768 José Monteiro Noronha, the Vicar General of what was then the Rio Negro district, was the first one to take notice of a tribe called “Manturucu” on the Rio Mauhés. Toward the end of the eighteenth century armed conflicts unfolded between the Munduruku and the neo-Brazilian population on the lower Rio Tapajós, as the latter repeatedly pushed forward into Munduruku territory. At that time

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Mundurucus also settled on the eastern bank of the Rio Madeira, where in 1788 they attacked the members of a Portuguese expedition led by the naturalist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira who, however, makes no reference to further contacts with them. The peace between the neo-Brazilians and the Munduruku, which followed the warlike encounters, was a process lasting for many years that came to an end at the latest in 1803 with the establishment of the first missionary aldeia, Santa Cruz on the Rio Tapajós, seven days of travel above the city of Santarém, other missionary settlements, and of permanent trade relations.

To a broader European public the Munduruku became known in the 1820s through the travel account of the Bavarian expedition of the botanist Carl Friedrich Philipp Martius and the zoologist Johann Baptist Spix. According to their report, the Munduruku were hardly known in Brazil even by name prior to 1770, when they emerged in numerous bands from along the Rio Tapajós, destroyed the neo-Brazilian settlements, and made themselves so formidable that troops had to be sent against them whom they resisted with great intrepidity (Spix und Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1338).

They are living in great numbers – I heard the strength of the tribe reported as eighteen, and even forty thousand heads – along the Rio Tapajóz, to the east and west of it ... (Spix and Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1313).

Martius reports that on his return trip he visited the Munduruku in the region of the mission Novo Monte Carmel do Canomá on the Rio Canomá on the lower Rio Madeira, in whose vicinity about 1,000 Munduruku were living, and he writes of a “five-day sojourn” until 25 March 1820. Traveling in advance on a smaller hunting boat (*montaria*), he was followed by his seriously ill travel companion Spix on a larger vessel:

It was predictable that our heavy craft would only slowly fight its way to Canoma, the first mission of the Mundrucús; I therefore hastened there in advance in a *montaria* manned with four Indians and a hunter, to remain for a longer period of time among these Indians who are cited as one of the most powerful and peculiar tribes of the whole province of Rio Negro” (Spix and Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1307).

After the arrival of Spix in the evening of 24 March they proceeded early in the morning of 25 March. Once again Martius traveled by himself in advance and in the evening arrived at the Povoação dos Mauhés where “Mundrucús and Mauhés” were living “among each other” (Spix and Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1318).

By comparison, the contacts of the Austrian traveler Johann Natterer with the Munduruku are less well documented. Since his travel diary is missing (having probably been consumed by fire in 1848), the most important sources are his letters, shipping and accession lists, the catalog of the museum (Heger 1882), and an itinerary compiled by the ornithologist August von Pelzeln (1971: I–XX) on the basis of Natterer’s zoological collection slips. On 21 December 1823 Natterer had reached the city of Cuiabá where he remained, seriously ailing, until 1825. In Cuiabá he acquired for the first time feather ornaments of the Munduruku who were then living “along both banks of the Rio Tapajoz, then in the so-called Campina, the steppes between this river and the Rio Canomá, and on the Rio Abacaschi” (Heger 1882). In a letter to Karl von Schreibers, dated 18 December 1824, Natterer wrote about the provenance of these items: “The things of the Mundurucus and Apiacás I have traded in from Cap.[itão Antonio] Peixoto.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johann Natterer to Karl von Schreibers, 18 December 1824 (Weltmuseum Wien, Archiv, Natterer, no shelfmark); Natterer to Schreibers, 18/25 February 1825 (Weltmuseum Wien, Archiv, Natterer, 18/1–4); both letters partly published in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode* 115, 24 September 1825, 957–959). These pieces already arrived in Vienna in 1825 (although apparently no shipping list has survived). However, lists are available of those Munduruku items arriving with the Eighth Shipment in September 1827 and designated as from the Munduruku “on the Rio Tapajoz” (Natterer 1825, 1827). A third group, dispatched from Borba on 30 May 1830, reached Vienna on 11 May 1831 (Natterer 1831).

Natterer had first met the Brazilian officer Antonio Peixoto de Azevedo during a stay on the Paraná in the spring of 1823. "Peixoto was sick and Natterer was able to cure him by means of his medicines" (Schmutzer 2011: 142–143). In a further letter of 18/25 February 1825 Natterer (1825b) reported about Peixoto's trip in 1819 on the Rio Paratinga where, i.a., he visited the Munduruku. A second, independent source supplies evidence that these travels had in fact taken place. In his diary the painter Hércules Florence noted on 14 April 1828 on the occasion of his visit to a large village of the Apiaká: "There we saw dogs, two three pigs, some chicken and ducks, which had been introduced about ten years ago by a Portuguese named Peixoto, an enterprising man who even brought a beautiful horse into this region and who made the trip several times" (Florence 1948: 268). Another source, José da Silva Guimarães, mentions that in 1818 Peixoto met the Apiaká on his way to Pará and brought seven of them to the city of Cuiabá (Guimarães 1844: 298). In connection with several skins now in the ornithological collection of the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien Natterer refers to encounters with his supplier "Capitain Peixoto" in Cuiabá in the period between October 1824 and April 1825 (Pelzeln 1871: 135, 202, 255, 260). It can therefore be taken for granted that regular contacts were made in 1824/25. It is probable that even the objects reputedly from the Munduruku "on the Rio Tapajoz," which arrived in Vienna in September 1827, had been collected by Peixoto since Natterer reached Borba on the Rio Madeira in the vicinity of some aldeias of the Munduruku only on 24 November 1829, where he stayed until 25 August 1830 (Pelzeln 1871: XII). While he may have visited the Munduruku from Borba and acquired additional objects on such an occasion, such visits are not listed in the itinerary compiled by Pelzeln. It was only a day after his departure from Borba, on 26 August 1830, that for the first and only time a visit to a Munduruku village is referred to: "at night landing in Muri'i-muriituba, a malloca of the Mundrucú Indians" (Pelzeln 1871: XIII).

During Natterer's second sojourn in Cuiabá in the fall of 1827 an encounter took place with the Russian expedition led by the German explorer Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff. Its members had already been in the city since January 1827, when Natterer arrived on 26 October 1827. Three members of the expedition, Langsdorff, Florence, and the cartographer Rubzov departed from Cuiabá on 5 December 1827 to reach the Amazon by way of the Rio Preto, Rio Arinos, Rio Juruena, and Rio Tapajós. The Russian expedition encountered Mundurukus for the first time on the upper Rio Tapajós in June 1828. By then Langsdorff was already so seriously ill that he was unable to produce any written record (Berthels et al. 1979: 254; Šprincin 1950: 95). Only the painter Hércules Florence still kept his diary and made drawings. In his chronicle, first published in 1875, he notes several encounters with groups of the Munduruku and describes, e.g., their tattoos, ear studs, and hairdo, but not their feather ornaments (Florence 1948: 304). The sojourn of the Langsdorff expedition in the territory of the Apiaká dates from April 1828; on 11 April the expedition arrived in the first aldeia of the Apiaká on the lower Rio Arinos, on 26 April the explorers left the last settlement of the Rio Juruena. Evidence for these encounters is found in the diaries of Florence and Langsdorff (the latter only partly published by Šprincin), and by the outstanding drawings by Florence. Otherwise the Apiaká of the nineteenth century have not been described in greater detail; only José da Silva Guimarães (1844: 298ff.) supplies some information on their customs and their language in connection with three visits of Apiakás in Cuiabá and Barão de Villa Bella between 1818 and 1820.

Several explorers of the second half of the nineteenth century reported on their encounters with Mundurukus. The Italian naturalist Gaetano Osculati met Mundurukus in 1848 at Taituba und Canomà and collected some featherwork (Osculati 1854: 263). Edwards, an American entomologist, mentions them under the designation "Tapajos Indians," but he details he gives prove that he means the Munduruku (Edwards 1847: 130f.). The English naturalist Henry Walter Bates, e.g., witnessed a parade of about 100

Mundurukus in Santarem, and he also visited a Munduruku village on the upper Tapajós in August 1852 (Bates 1962: 209). In 1861 the English engineer William Chandless traveled on the Rio Tapajós and Rio Arinos on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society, and stayed there also in villages of the Munduruku (Chandless 1862: 276–277, 1870: 424) and Apiaká (Chandless 1862: 273); finally, in December 1865, the Swiss-American naturalist Louis Agassiz encountered some Mundurukus on the Rio Maué-Assú (Agassiz 1869: 308ff). He was accompanied by the Canadian geologist Charles Frederic Hartt, who in 1870/71 stayed for a second time on the Rio Tapajós (Hartt 1885: 131). In 1870 the Italian Capuchins Frei Pelino de Castrovalva and Frei Antonio de Albano established a mission station on the upper Tapajós, which in 1872 was visited by the Brazilian naturalist João Barbosa Rodrigues (1875, 1882). Only three years later, in 1875, the Brazilian engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins (1877: 149–154) came into the area, while in 1895 the French geographer Henri Coudreau (1897) traveled on the Rio Tapajós.

In summary it may be stated that until 1820 hardly any information about the Munduruku was recorded. The first reports by traveling naturalists date from the period between 1820 and 1830. However, neither Martius and Spix, nor the members of the Langsdorff expedition, being mostly seriously ill, were capable of in-depth observations in the course of the few days of their respective stays. The visits by Agassiz, Bates, Chandless, and Hartt in the period between 1851 and 1865 were likewise too short and their interest only superficial. Natterer had received the most significant information from the Brazilian officer Peixoto de Azevedo. A visit in an Apiaká or Munduruku village lasting for several days can be excluded.

Only in the 1870s we are grateful for the detailed descriptions by Tocantins and Barbosa Rodrigues. Barbosa is the only author who was able to witness one of the warlike feasts celebrated by the Munduruku in connection with head hunting. Although not explicitly acknowledged, he also appears to have also used oral information received from the Italian Capuchins. In 1952/53 the American cultural anthropologist Robert F. Murphy made an attempt to reconstruct the headhunting rituals of the Munduruku, but there were only a few old men still alive who had themselves participated in the ceremonies and feasts of the “old times.” Raids and headhunting came to an end no later than 1911 with the renewed arrival of missionaries (Franciscans). The feasts lost their meaning, and the knowledge relating to the production and use of feather ornaments disappeared along with the head trophies.

The body of nineteenth-century sources is sketchy, and the information is partly contradictory. Sources independent of one another are Natterer, Florence, and Barbosa Rodrigues. Since Florence’s diaries were first published in 1875, at least Barbosa Rodrigues’s first publication (also published in 1875) is an independent source. Some of Natterer’s collection data were already used in part by Martius (1867: 389), however, without acknowledging the source. Nevertheless, Natterer’s data have the quality of a third, independent source. Barbosa Rodrigues’s contributions were not mentioned by Murphy – they were apparently unknown to him. Thus, Murphy is a source independent of Barbosa Rodrigues. Natterer’s collection data were likewise unknown to Murphy.

### **Feather Ornaments of the Munduruku and Apiaká in Texts, Images, and Collections**

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Munduruku were famous in Europe for the quality of their featherwork, on the one hand due to the exhibition of specimens in Vienna, Berlin, and Munich since the 1820s, and on the other hand thanks to the much-read travel account by Spix and Martius:

However, these Indians together with the Mauhés are the greatest artists in featherwork. Their scepters, hats, hoods, garlands several cubits in length and tassels, which



Fig. 2 “Indio de tribo não identificado” [Indian of an unidentified tribe] (Ferreira (1972: pl. 102).

they wear during dances over the shoulders like a mantilla, and aprons of ostrich<sup>2</sup> and other feathers worn around the loins compete with the most delicate works of this kind in the nunneries of Portugal, Bahia, and Madeira. ... The feathers are sorted very carefully by the Mundrucús, tied together, or glued to one another with wax ... (Spix und Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1312).

We are obliged to Ferreira for what is probably the earliest depiction of a Mundurucu, although it has so far not been identified as such. Folio 102 of his book *Viagem Filosófica* (Ferreira 1972) shows an “Indian of an unknown tribe” (Fig. 2). In his hand he is holding an arrow and a feather scepter, on his head he is wearing a hood, and in addition his lower lip has been pierced in the middle. Although the draftsman did not quite know how to represent the feathers of the hood, which therefore rather looks like a fur cap, the feather scepter can be undoubtedly identifies as from the Mundurucu, and the hole in the lower lip is typical as well. In addition, Ferreira’s work illustrates a ceremonial lance of the Mundurucu or Apiaká, as well as a Mundurucu trumpet.

The first documented Mundurucu feather ornaments reached Europa at the latest in 1784. Today, the Ferreira collection in Lisbon and Coimbra includes at least three hoods with neck feathers (Br168, Br179, Br 183), four head ties (Br143, Br154, Br178, Br179), one upper body band (Br153), one wooden scepter (ACL verde279), three ceremonial lances (Br196-198), and 17 trumpets (Hartmann 1994: no. 114–124; Monteiro Soares and Ferrão 2005, 1: 124–125, 166–167, 190; 2: 56–57, 64–67, 133–139, 142–145). A mummified head trophy ornamented with feathers was received by the Göttingen anthropologist Blumenbach in 1805 and became what is probably the most widely known Mundurucu item of the nineteenth century (Schlothauer 2012).

Additional Mundurucu items were brought to Berlin between 1806 and 1812. Since 1801 Friedrich Wilhelm Sieber had been commissioned by Johann Centurius von Hoffmannsegg to collect in Brazil animals, especially insects, and plants, and during this

<sup>2</sup> The use of “ostrich feathers” by the Mundurucu cannot presently be verified by any museum object.



Fig. 3 Munduruku with feather hood. Colored lithograph in Spix and Martius 1823–1831, Atlas: pl. 32.



Fig. 4 Jean-Baptiste Debret, “Manteaux et sceptres. Instrumens de musique” [Mantels and scepter. Musical instruments]. Colored lithograph after a drawing by Debret of objects in the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro (Debret 1834, 1: pl. 33). Of Munduruku origin are the scepter (top right 1), the upper body bands (top 3, 5), the upper arm tie (top 6) and the trumpet (bottom 1). According to Debret (1834, 1: 52) the scepter was of the Coroado or Munduruku, the upper body bands (3) of the Munduruku, the upper body band (5) of “a chief of the Coroado,” the upper arm tie and the trumpet of the Coroado. The Hawaiian cloak, which was a present of the King of Hawaii to Pedro I (top 4), was attributed to the “savages of the province Pará.”

period of time had also acquired ethnographic objects (Stresemann 1950: 43–51). In 1818 Hoffmannsegg bequeathed his collections to the Royal-Prussian Museums; today these artifacts are found in the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (EMB; catalog of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin). There are ten scepters (EMB VB36–39, 41–44, 46, 47), three upper body bands (VB52–54), three hoods (VB96, 98, 99), four forehead ties (VB147,<sup>3</sup> 148–150) and one trumpet. In 1818 the catalog noted twelve scepters (VB40, 45 are missing), four hoods (VB97 is missing), and two trumpets (VB137 is missing).

Although Martius was not a gifted draftsman or painter, his field sketches are nevertheless valuable sources as the earliest securely documented Munduruku illustrations made on the spot. It must be born in mind that the engravings accompanying the travel account were only made after the expedition’s return to Munich and possibly are not reliable. Objects brought back from Brazil are correctly represented, but other details, e.g., the feather ornaments worn on the body, were based on oral communications by Martius. The best-known illustration, showing two dancing Mundurukus, relates to the

<sup>3</sup> Forehead tie VB147 has heretofore been considered missing; however, there is a forehead tie numbered “VB157?” with the following label: “To be regarded as without number: Without number no. 38! since another ornament better corresponding to VB157 (forehead tie from the Rio Branco) is numbered as such.” I assume that this is the missing item VB147 of the Hoffmannsegg collection, resulting in the presence of four forehead ties. The museum is unaware of this.

visit noted above of the mission aldeia Povoação dos Mauhés on 25 March 1820:

When the Indians saw us rowing toward them, they emerged from their big, conical huts and danced toward us in wild leaps, donning a feathered hood on their head, long loops of feathers hanging down the back, and waving in the hands a cylindrical scepter of feathers (Spix and Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1311).

The text and the image agree to the extent that the Mundurucus are wearing feather hoods and each one is holding a feather scepter in the left hand. In addition, the illustration also shows feather bands tied around the neck and dropping down all over the upper body, whereas the text only refers to the neck. In the background there is a head trophy mounted on a stick. No other feather ornaments are mentioned or illustrated. Mundurucus, once with and once without a feather hood, are also shown in two other images (Spix und Martius 1823–1831, atlas: picture 32 “Indios”; Fig. 3). Of the 30 Munduruku items collected by the two explorers 27 are presently in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich (SMVM), but there are also two pieces in Vienna (scepter 179769, upper body band 179770) and an upper body band in Frankfurt am Main (40572, formerly SMVM 369).<sup>4</sup> The Munich group consists of nine scepters (SMVM 287, 289–293, 323d, 325d, 416), two hoods (260, 261), five upper body bands (251, 252, 253, 254, 255), four upper arm ties (272 [a pair], 251a, b), two ankle bands (272a [a pair]), one ceremonial lance (675), two trumpets (470, 471), and two head trophies (543, 544). This inventory is partly based upon my review of the collection in 2007 and 2008. I was able to identify objects in the collection that were then without numbers (252, 254 [part], 416), and in one case I corrected the body part on which the ornament was worn (now ankle instead of formerly knee). The following Munduruku objects were misattributed by Martius to another ethnic group: 272 = Juri, 323d = Miranha, 325d = Miranha. This had already been recognized and corrected by Zerries (1980: 185, 190). The ascription by Martius of a head tie (271) to the Munduruku is erroneous. The piece may rather have come from Northwestern Amazonia. I am not aware of comparative examples. Zerries has not corrected this error.

The feather ornaments (26 items) brought back by the Langsdorff expedition are now in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) of the Kunstkamera in Sankt Petersburg (Manizer 1967: 154–207, fig. 55–61): one head trophy (MAE 2445–?; Gilson 1918: 351–358),<sup>5</sup> three hoods (MAE 764-31, -35, -68), eight upper body bands (including three black, one yellow, and two red ones; MAE 764-72–77, 765-17, -19), three scepters (MAE 764-36, -37, -69), one belt (MAE 764-39), three upper arm ties (MAE 764-31–33), two wrist ties (MAE 764-70), and five knee ties (MAE 764-26–30). The assignment of each of the feather ornaments to a specific body part apparently does not go back to Langsdorff, but was made by Manizer.

Some of the pictures produced by the French painter Jean-Baptiste Debret, who had lived in Brazil between 1816 and 1831, also illustrate Munduruku feather ornaments, which he had drawn after originals in the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro (Debret 1834, 1: 43, 52). The items, such as scepters, upper body bands, upper arm tie, trumpet (pl. 33; Fig. 4), hood (pl. 29-1), and two head trophies (pl. 28-10–11) are correctly represented. His scenic compositions, however, are either based upon images published by other authors (e.g., von Wied or Martius), or are mere products of the imagination. Two pictures said to show a “Coroado” feature a Munduruku trumpet (Debret 1834, 1: pl. 11, 12), one of them also wearing Munduruku upper arm and

<sup>4</sup> The items in Vienna were presented to the museum in 2002 by Christine Spitz, a great-great-granddaughter of Martius. The museum in Frankfurt received the object through an exchange with Munich (together, i.a., with two Munduruku feather scepters of the Leuchtenberg collection).

<sup>5</sup> On the picture “Visita dos Mundurucu ao acampamento de Tucurizal” one of the members of the expedition on the far left is possibly holding this head (Florence 1948: 308).





Fig. 5 Hércules Florence, "Tucháua, Mandurucu en costume de fête" [Mundurucu in festive dress]. Santarem, August 1828.



Fig. 6 "Indio Mundurucu" [Mundurucu Indian]. Wood engraving in Barbosa Rordigues (1882: 28).

knee ties (pl. 11). Debret's probably best-known illustration shows a mummy burial in an urn (pl. 4), said to be of the "Coroado." Part of the feather ornaments (scepter, head trophy, ear rosette, upper body bands, and knee ties), however, are Mundurucu items. (What is shown here as a knee tie is in fact the neck piece of a hood.)

The drawings by Hércules Florence are unique documents and illustrate how the Mundurucu and Apiaká were wearing their feather ornaments on the body. Among the Apiaká these included at least the ceremonial lance, head ring, ear studs, belt, upper arm tie, wrist tie, knee tie, anklet bands, and scepter. It is not clearly discernible whether the belt as well as the arm and leg ties were decorated with feathers. In the description of his drawing, so far only published in Russian, Florence refers to further details: "The ornaments worn on the wrists and ankles are made of vines and died with urucu. ... The cords worn in the hair and around the neck are most skillfully twisted of cotton. In the ears they are wearing small tubes of tree bark. The leg ties are also of cotton. ... Flat disks deforming his ears are of wood. The necklace consists of dried claws decorated with bundles of cotton" (Šprincin 1950: 88). In his diary Florence essentially describes tattooing and body painting, while feather ornaments are noted only briefly and in general: "Their feather ornaments are assembled like works of art and are of radiant colors. For this purpose they use very nicely colored feathers of the araras in blue, yellow, red, and purple, also those of green parrots and of various other pretty birds" (Florence 1948: 264).

On 13 April 1828 Langsdorff as well rather tersely noted in his diary: "Both the men and the women were ornamented: feathers, tightly fitting arm and leg rings, necklaces, ear ornaments of the most diverse kind; with a shorn streak around the head, the hair mostly cut short (tita head)" (Šprincin 1950: 89). It is only the excellent illustrations by Florence that instantaneously show the quality and colorfulness of the feather ornaments.

The way the Mundurucu were wearing their feather ornaments on their body is conveyed by the colored image made in August 1828 in the town of Santarem at the

mouth of the Rio Tapajós into the Amazon (Fig. 5). It is the only known such illustration in color and shows a Munduruku leader (*tucháua*). He is wearing a cotton hood decorated with feathers and with a neck piece of feathers. Several bands are tied obliquely across the upper body from the right shoulder to the left hip, while a cotton belt decorated with feathers is tied at the waist. Feather ties are fastened pairwise to the upper arm, wrist, and below the knee, as are feather bands around the ankles. In the right hand he is holding a scepter. Mundurukus are also featured – but without feather ornaments – on some other pictures and field sketches by the artist. Body tattooing and/or painting, however, is conspicuous.

The correctness of the representation is confirmed by three engravings, one in Osculati (1854: pl. XIV, fig. 1 right; Fig. 7)<sup>6</sup> and two in Barbosa Rodrigues (1882)<sup>7</sup>, accompanying the “Exposição Antropológica” organized by the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. One of the engravings shows a Munduruku man wearing feather ornaments (Barbosa Rodrigues 1882: 28). Although the warrior poses gracefully like a Greek model, it may clearly be discerned that feather ornaments are attached to the body parts already noted. The elongated object in his right hand is not an umbrella but a feather scepter. In his left hand the warrior is holding a head-high stick with a head trophy placed at its end (Fig. 6).

The second engraving shows a scene from a feast (Barbosa Rodrigues 1882: 45). Ornaments men stand encircling a woman who holds a feather scepter in each hand and is wearing feather bands around her upper body while a man is tying a belt around her waist. Another illustration of this belt clearly shows that teeth are attached to it. In the background the male participants of the ceremony are depicted wearing feather ornaments on their head, upper body, hips, upper arm, wrists, knees, and ankles. The accompanying text states: “After the wounded had thus been honored and received the belts prepared for them, three women were likewise honored, one from each family [rather clan, A.S.], conforming to the colors black, white, and red, who were receiving the compensation as sisters in the place of the killed ones, representing the widows of each family. They appear dressed with a necklace of animal teeth worn by everyone on this day, and with the *carurape*. In their hands they are holding two *putás*: one of one of their ancestors and one of one of the dead” (Barbosa Rodrigues 1875: 148).

It can be assumed that Barbosa Rodrigues was unaware of the pictures by Florence whose illustrated diary was only published in 1875, the same year in which Barbos Rodrigues published his virtually unknown “Exploração e Estudo do Valle do Amazonas.” Here the Munduruku’s own designation for each of the feather ornaments is given,

- <sup>6</sup> For the period from 20 to 30 March 1848 Osculati (1854: 263, 275) notes an encounter with Mundurukus in the villages Taituba and Canomã as well as the acquisition of feather ornaments and weapons. His collection list includes under “Ornamenti maschili” a hood (“berretto,” no. 45) and two scepters of the “Mundrucu del rio Tapayos.” In addition, two plates (pl. XV, no: 8; pl. XIII) show a typical Munduruku trumpet, however, misattributed to the Anckuterer or Encabellados [Secoya] (“Strumenti musicali. 31. Bobona, o gran tromba dei capi-tribù degli Anckuterer”). Of the illustration of a Munduruku with feather ornaments (pl. XIV, fig. 1, right) both black-and-white and colored versions exist. The exact representation of the scepter and hood indicates that the artist must have known the objects collected by Osculati. In addition five black and two red feather bands are shown suspended from the hood and extending over the back. Ties on the upper arms, wrists, knees, and ankles are each shown as pairs but without details indicating a Munduruku origin. A feather skirt worn at the waist does not resemble the known Munduruku belts. The artist may have been inspired by an the illustration “Visit among the Mundrucús” in Spix and Martius (1823–1831, Atlas, pl. 34).
- <sup>7</sup> Zerries and other German authors cite Barbosa Rodrigues without apparently ever having read him. This may also be true of Murphy, who at least does not mention him in his books (1958, 1960). In the French and Italian language area, however, the results of Barbosa Rodrigues’s investigations were known and reference to them is found in museum catalogs (e.g., Paris, Rome).



Fig. 7 “Selvaggia Mundrucus” [Mundurucu savage (female)]. (Osculati 1854: pl. XIV, fig. 1, right).



Fig. 8 “Tête d’Indien Mauhès préparée par les Mundurucus (Rio-Arinos, Brésil)” [Head of a Maué Indian prepared by the Mundurucu (Rio Arinos, Brazil)]. Lithograph by Delahaye in Castelnau (1855: frontispiece).

their separate parts described in detail, and in several instances the birds identified that had furnished the feathers (*arara* [*Ara sp.*] and *mutum* [*Crax sp.*]).

They ornament the head with the *aquiri-aã*, a kind of bonnet woven of cotton with body feathers of the *arara*, in such a manner that the outside gives the impression of velvet, whereas only the cotton fabric can be seen on the inside. At a level with the ears this bonnet has extending to the back a kind of fan consisting of two layers of tail feathers of the same *arara*, joined together and ornamented at the distal end with small feathers of various colors covering the neck. Two rosettes, also of feathers, are stuck through the upper perforations of the ears. Around their waist they tie the *tempé-á*, which is a tie made like the *aquiri-aã*, and which is decorated with small feathers at the end where it is tightened around the waist. Four groups of feathers of equal length are corresponding to one another, two on each side and one each on the front and on the back. They wear the *tiracollo*, called *carurape*, which is a band of feathers terminating in a large rosette, and ornament the upper arms with the *báman*, a kind of ‘dragonas’ with locks of small feathers; the wrists with the *ipé-á* or armbands; and below the knee with the *caniubiman*, which are bands of feathers covering the calves, studded with nut shells to produce a rattling sound. Also belonging to it is the *caniubi-cric* at the ankles, which is a band of small feathers terminating in a rosette. The wrist and upper arm ties as well as the knee and ankle bands are usually of black *mutum* feathers, and the rest of the feather ornaments are blue and red. There are also bows, called *iraré*, decorated with feathers; moreover lances, *bicacá-ipé*, and a special kind of scepter, *putá*, made of long tail feathers of the *arara*, terminating at the ends in a rosette and ornamented with small feathers at the handle made of arrow reed (Barbosa Rodrigues 1875: 147f.).

In his synoptic work *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas* Martius (1867, 1: 389) writes: “Their scepters (*buta*), which they carry in their hand on festive occasions, stiff cylindrical bunches of feathers, their arm ornaments (*bombim manja*), their bonnets (*akeri*), sometimes equipped with braids of *arara* feathers (*akeri kaha*), their cords and tassels with *arara* feathers (*para-oara*), which at their dances they suspend from their shoulders like a mantilla, belong to the most elegant and laborious products of the Indian artistic industry. They also carry on commerce with them.” He does neither mention the other feather ornaments (belt, knee and wrist ties, ankle bands), nor the ceremonial lances.

The Munduruku terms *akeri kaha*, *bombim manja*, *buta*, and *para-oara* used by Martius are traceable to Natterer's shipping list of 7 May 1825 (Natterer 1825a). Martius must have seen this list and other documents by Natterer, when he was studying the latter's collection in Vienna between August and October 1847. In addition Martius borrowed from Natterer (1831) also the Munduruku terms for two wind instruments, *beni* and *kio-hoa*, where *beni* is apparently a copying error of Natterer's forms *bem* or *beem*.

A second agreement is also notable: "The feathers were sorted carefully, tied together or glued to one another with black wax, and kept in baskets or cylindrical palm leaf stalks, and some birds are reared alive for this purpose. They compete with the Apiacá in the breeding of fowl. In their chicken yards one finds in addition to the domestic chicken also mutums or hoccas (*Crax*), jacus (*Penelope*), the king and the white vulture (*Cathartes papa* and *Falco urubutinga*), the red and blue arara, and many parrots" (Martius 1867, 1: 389). Natterer (1825, 1827, 1831) as well as the Vienna catalog (Heger 1882) very frequently refer to araras, parrots, and mutums, and at least once to the vulture (*Cathartes urubutinga*) and the trumpeter bird (*Psophia*). When compared to the travel account (Spix and Martius 1823–1831) and the sparse and often inaccurate collection data of the Munich inventory of 1843, it is surprising to recognize the sudden ornithological knowledge of Martius. There can be little doubt that the specific identifications noted were derived from Natterer, although he is not credited as his source by Martius.

Another and much less precise description of these feather ornaments has been left to us by the entomologist Bates who describes a parade of about 100 Mundurukus in the town of Santarem. Parrot, toucan, and trogon are mentioned as the sources of the feathers.

Many of the men were dressed in the magnificent feather crowns, tunics, and belts, manufactured by the Mundurucús, and worn by them on festive occasions, but the women were naked to the waist, and the children quite naked, and all were painted and smeared red with anatto [Bixa orellana]. The ringleader enacted the part of the Tushaua, or chief, and carried a sceptre, richly decorated with the orange, red, and green feathers of toucans and parrots (Bates 1962: 212).

At the end of August and in September 1852 Bates visited a Munduruku village on the upper Tapajós, where he bought two feather scepters in their bamboo containers from the *tuchaúa*.

"These are of cylindrical shape, about three feet [91 cm] in length and three inch [7,6 cm] in diameter, and are made by gluing with wax the fine white and yellow feathers from the breast of the toucan on stout rods, the tops being ornamented with long plumes from the tails of parrots, trogons, and other birds. ... It is very difficult, however, to get them to part with the articles, as they seem to have a sort of superstitious regard for them. They manufacture headdresses, sashes and tunics, besides scepters; the feathers being assorted with a good eye for the proper contrast of colours, and the quills worked into strong cotton webs, woven with knitting sticks in the required shape (Bates 1962: 275f.).

It is of interest to note the use of knitting needles in the production of the ties. Since Bates was the son of British manufacturer of knitwear, it may be assumed that this observation is reliable.

In summary it may be said that the images in the works of Florence and Barbosa Rodrigues are for the most part in agreement with one another. The illustration in Spix and Martius differs significantly from these two sources and is therefore not regarded as representative. It is notable that women were apparently permitted to carry feather scepters and upper body bands at certain ritual feasts. The ear studs mentioned in Barbosa Rodrigues's text cannot be recognized in the illustrations. Other illustrations and descriptions supply evidence for the Munduruku practice of piercing two or three holes in the upper auricular cartilage for the insertion of small reeds, however, not ornamented with feathers.

## Comparative Notes on Feather Ornaments of the Munduruku in the Natterer Collection

The compilation and analysis of Amazonian feather ornaments in 54 European and Brazilian museums has resulted in a preliminary total of around 620 items<sup>8</sup> from the Munduruku, the majority of which had entered private and public collections during the first half of the nineteenth century. I would assume that additional search of collections would increase this number by around 100 to 150 items, since I am only partly familiar, on the basis of books, with holdings in Portugal, England, Brazil, and North America. Larger collections are found in the following museums: Vienna (172), Paris (71), Rome (65), Stockholm (51), Berlin (35), Munich (34), Florence (31), St. Petersburg (26), Dresden (18), Neuchâtel (18), Copenhagen (17), Mannheim (16), Madrid (11), Gotha (10), Geneva (9), Basle (9), and Frankfurt am Main (7).

With its 161 objects<sup>9</sup> the collection assembled by Natterer with the significant support of the Brazilian officer Peixoto de Azevedo for the museum in Vienna is the largest and most complete collection of Munduruku feather ornaments worldwide – about a quarter of all the items known today. Natterer distinguishes their provenance as “from the Rio Tapajóz,” “from the Rio Abacaschi,” and “from near Canomá.” In a letter to his brother Josef Natterer he writes from Cuiabá on 18 February 1825:

From this same Capitão [Peixoto] I have also traded in magnificent things, especially from the Mundurukus Indians. Included are 5 bugle horns of which the longest measures 7 foot in length, several head ornaments or caps, like wigs of arara feathers, arm decorations, an apron of feathers, pikes, bows, and arrows. Similar things will follow from the Apiakás and Bororos as well as some from the Parecis, also a poisoned arrow of the Mauhés (Schmutzer 2011: 143).

132 items (hoods, forehead ties, upper body bands, apron, belts, upper arm and wrist ties, ankle bands) may be classified as “personal ornaments,” while the class of “object ornaments” (ceremonial lances, trumpets, head trophy) includes 29 objects.

	<b>Number</b>	<b>Catalog numbers</b>
Scepters	17	WMW 1240–1251, MVD 2757, WMW 53473–53476
Hoods	8	WMW 1252–1258, 53502
Forehead ties	6	WMW 1259–1261, 53503–52505

<sup>8</sup> I am not sure whether I have always been able to record all items preserved in these museums. Another difficulty relates to the counting of the upper body bands, because it depends upon how to define them as units. A unit originally consisted of two bands. The museums have generally preserved these elements knotted together in an arbitrary manner. The present count reflects catalog numbers.

<sup>9</sup> Included in this study are Munduruku and Apiaká objects predominantly consisting of feathers or to which feathers have been attached, but excluding arrows. A distinction is made between “personal ornaments” worn directly on the body and “object ornaments,” i.e., objects to which feathers have been attached (e.g., lance, rattle, flute, trumpet).

	personal ornaments	object ornaments	feather ornaments
Munduruku+Uauirivait	132	29	161

133 of these 161 objects are from the Natterer collection formerly displayed in the Brazilian Museum in Vienna, four of which were traded in 1881 from the exchange reserve in Vienna to the Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden (MVD). 28 had remained in Natterer's private collection and were acquired by the museum in Vienna in 1883 from his son-in-law Erich Freiherr Schröckinger. Of the 129 objects from the original collection of the Weltmuseum Wien (WMW) one object each was exchanged with the present Museo Missionario-Etnologico of the Vatican and the Museum der Kulturen, Basel (cp. Feest 2014).

The group referred to by Natterer as “Uauirivait” and identified as enemies of the Munduruku living upriver on the right bank of the Rio Tapajós, were possibly a subgroup of the Munduruku: *Uai-riwat* = uaii-people; “ua(k)u(r)i” = jaku (*Penelope Pileata*, a clan of the Munduruku) (Zimmermann 1963: 24). They are represented in the collection by only one item, a feather-ornamented “bugle horn” (trumpet) (WMW 1187).

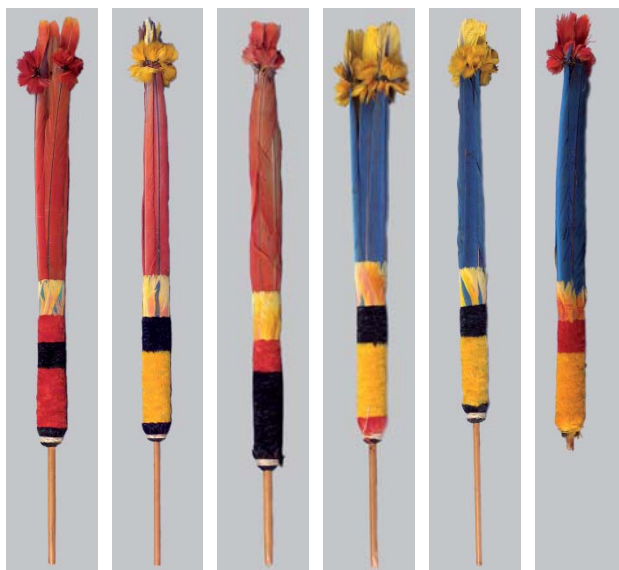


Fig. 9 a–f Scepters, Munduruku: (a–d) Rio Tapajós, WMW 1240, 1243, 1244, 1250; (e) Rio Abacaxi, WMW 1249; (f) without provenance, WMW 53475.

Upper body bands	58	WMW 1262–1294, 53477–53501
Apron	1	WMW 1295
Belt	4	WMW 1296–1298, 53510
Upper arm ties	12	WMW 1299–1306, 53506–53507
Wrist ties	21	WMW 1307–1322, MVD 2816–2817, WMW 53508–53509
Ankle bands	5	WMW 1323–1327
Ceremonial lances	6	WMW 1203–1208
Trumpets	22	WMW 1209–1228, MVD 2784
Head trophy	1	WMW 1232

### Scepters (Fig. 9 a–f)

*butá*: “... which the Indians at certain feasts have carried in the hand” (Natterer 1825a).

Based on the analysis of the color sequence and the birds used of 91 scepters studied so far in museum collections, four types with a total of eleven subtypes may be discerned. The most frequent type, embracing around 50 percent of all scepters, is represented by five pieces in the Natterer collection (WMW 1240, 1241, 53473, 53475, MVD 2757). Four specimens belong to the second most frequent type (about 15 percent) (1246–1249), of the third most frequent type (about 10 percent) the collection includes one example (53475). Two types with two specimens each were only collected by Natterer (1242, 1243, and 1244, 1245), while of one type represented by three examples (1250, 1251, 53474) only one other specimen has been located in the Museo Luigi Pigorini in Rome (83621). According to the museum catalog (Heger 1882) nine of the scepters were from the Munduruku on the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1240–1246, 1250–1251) and three from the Rio Abacaxi (WMW 1247–1249).

The collection also includes three reed tubes (two with a cover) for the storage of the scepters (*taboca*, WMW 1237–1239).

### Hoods (Figs. 1, 10)

*akeri*: “Cap” without neck feathers, Rio Tapajós (WMW 1252; Fig. 10).

*akeri kahá*: “Cap” with neck feathers, Rio Tapajós (WMW 1253–1257; Fig. 1), near



Fig. 10 Hood, Munduruku: without neck feathers (*akeri*), Rio Tapajós. WMW 1252.



Fig. 11 a–b Forehead ties, Munduruku: (a) without neck feathers (*akeri kaha*), without provenance, WMW 53505; (b) with neck feathers (*akeri*), Rio Tapajós. WMW 1260.

Canomá (WMW 1258), without provenance (WMW 53502). In comparison with the other specimens studied, hood 1258 is especially remarkable. It is made of the black feathers of the mutum (*Crax alector?*), whereas all other examples in this region were made from red-yellow-orange feathers of *Ara sp.* altered by tapirage.

#### Forehead ties (Fig. 11 a–b)

*aquerí, akeri*: “forehead ornament” without neck feathers, Rio Tapajós (WMW 1259), without provenance (WMW 53505).



Fig. 12 Upper body bands, Munduruku (*paro-oarà*), without provenance. WMW 53493– 53499.

Fig. 13 Apron, Munduruku  
(*garù-tát*), Rio Tapajós.  
WMW 1295.



*akeri kahá*: “forehead ornament” out neck feathers, Rio Tapajós (WMW 1260–1261), without provenance (WMW 53503–53504).<sup>10</sup>

### Upper body bands (Shoulder strings) (Fig. 12)

*paro oarà*: “The head and one arm are put through it, it is thus suspended from one shoulder obliquely across the body”; “... at their dances [they] are suspended cross-wise from one shoulder and under one arm.” From the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1261–1269, 1273–1275, 1281–1289), from Canomá (WMW 1270–1272, 1276–1280, 1290–1294) and without provenance (WMW 12065, 53477–53501). The strings are single or tied together in pairs or groups of up to ten.

### Apron (Fig. 13)

*garù tát*: “genital cover or apron”, Rio Tapajós. So far this form has not been found in any other collection.

### Belt (Fig. 14)

“Abdominal bandage ... used at dances”, Rio Tapajós (WMW 1296–1298) and without provenance (WMW 53510).

### Upper arm ties (Fig. 15)

*bobim manhá*, *bombim manjà*: “is tied to the upper arm near the shoulder” (Natterer 1825a), worn in pairs. Six pairs, of which one is from the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1305–1306), the others without provenance (WMW 1299–1304, 53606ab–53607ab).

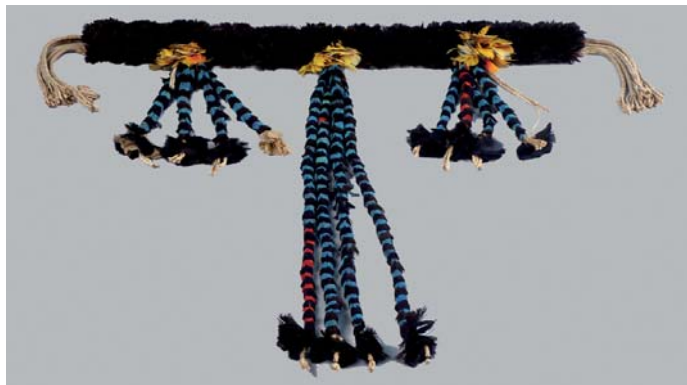


Fig. 14 Belt, Munduruku,  
Rio Tapajós. WMW 1296.

<sup>10</sup> This type of head ornament is not shown on any of the illustrations in Martius, Florence, or Barbosa Rodrigues.





Fig. 15 Upper arm tie, Munduruku (*bombim-manjà*), without provenance. WMW 1302.

### Wrist ties (Fig. 16)

*uitó tap*: “is tied around the wrist, mostly as ornament especially at feasts and dances but also when using the bow to prevent the backlash of the string against the hand.” Ten pairs and single specimen from the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1307–1308, 1311–1322), from Canomá (WMW 1309–1310, 53509), and without provenance (WMW 53508, MVD 2816–2817). Probably only the pieces terminating in a feather rosette at the cotton band are wrist ties, while the others may have been knee ties (1309 and 1310 [pair], 53508 [pair], 53509 [single item]).

### Ankle bands (Fig. 17)

“Ankle ornament”: one pair of one ring each, one pair of two rings each, and a single specimen of two rings from the Munduruku near Canomá (WMW 1323–1327).

### Head trophy (Fig. 18)

According to Natterer this is the mummified head (*pariua-á*) of a “Parintintin ... enemies of the Mundrucú”. It was “preserved as a sign of victory and displayed on a stick at their warpaths – from Canomá”. The appropriate stick (WMW 1233) “on which the mummified head of the enemy is put at the feasts,” cannot presently be located. The same is true of three other sticks, which had served the same purpose (WMW 1234–1236). For the meaning of the designation Parintintin see page 153 below.



Fig. 16 Wrist tie, Munduruku (*uitó tap*), Rio Tapajós. WMW 1319.



Fig. 17 Ankle band, Munduruku (*bombim-manjà*), Rio Tapajós. WMW 1324.



Fig. 18 Head trophy, Munduruku (*pariua-á*), Canomá. WMW 1232.

### Ceremonial lances (Fig. 19 a–c)

*murucú*: “Throwing pike of a chief” (WMW 1203), with a human face at the upper end of the shaft and asymmetrically attached feathers in three places. On the right side there are three red-yellow-orange bunches of tapirage feathers of araras (macao, ararauna, or chloroptera), each one corresponding on the left side to bunches of black feathers of *Crax sp.* A long strand of black human hair is attached to the back, and four incisors of monkeys are inserted into the mouth. The elaborate wrapping with a cotton band above the face is so similar among the Apiaká and Munduruku that I have so far been unable to detect any difference. No other example of a ceremonial lance has up to now not been found in any other collection. It is also a very rare piece of evidence for the practice of woodcarving among the Munduruku.

*uba-cà-càip*, *uba kakahi*: “Throwing pike” (WMW 1204–1206), with a piece of monkey fur (?) (*Alouatta* = genus howling monkey?) below the cotton wrapping, feather attachments twice red-brown, once black, and symmetrical feather trimming in three places. Above the cotton wrapping bunches of black feathers of *Crax sp.* have been attached,



Fig. 19 a–c Ceremonial lances, Munduruku: (a) *murucú*, WMW 1203; (b) *uba-cà-càip*, WMW 1206; (c) *uba-kakahi*, WMW 1207.



Fig. 20 a–d Lateral trumpets, Munduruku:  
 (a) *bem*, Rio Tapajós. WMW 1209. Length 205 cm  
 (b) without designation, Rio Abacaxi. WMW 1220. Length 93 cm.  
 (c) *kio-haa*, Rio Tapajós. WMW 1224. Length 88 cm.  
 (d) *ko-go-gá*, no provenance. WMW 1227. Length 110 cm.

below the piece of fur in the shape of a ring. In between, at the upper edge of the fur and below the wrapping may be seen tapirage feathers of araras (*A. macao*, *ararauna*, or *chloroptera*). Apart from these six, so far only five other lances are known, one in Munich (SMVM 675), one in Dresden (MVD 329) and three in the Peabody-Museum, Harvard University (73-9-30/7408, 83-14-30/30174, 78-5-30/16795).

Two specimens, referred to as “lances” (WMW 1207– 1208), are without attachments of monkey fur. Several bunches of black feathers (*Crax sp.*) are attached on both sides above the cotton wrapping; below it appears a ring-shaped band of tapirage feathers (*Ara sp.*).

**Trumpets** (Figs. 20 a–d, 21)

The Natterer collection includes four types of lateral trumpets:

*bem*, *beem* (cylindrical wooden tube wrapped with strips of reed and with conical bell covered with cotton cloth at the distal end): “Big signaling horn of the Mundurucus of the Rio Tapajoz ... usually two men simultaneously blow two horns of which one is longer and one shorter” (Natterer 1825a); “is always blown simultaneously on the prime and second” (Natterer 1831); three pairs (WMW 1209–1210, 1211–1212, and WMW 1214–1215 [1215 given in exchange to the Museo Missionario-Etnologico of the Vatican]; Fig. 20a). A single instrument of this type (no Munduruku term recorded) was “used at feasts and for giving signals” among the Munduruku of the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1213). Another pair from the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1216–1217) differs mainly in lacking the cover of cotton cloth; a similar specimen (no term recorded) from the Rio Abacaxi is much smaller (WMW 1218).

Two trumpets (“signaling horn”, no term recorded) from the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1219, given in exchange to the Museum der Kulturen, Basle) and from the Rio Abacaxi (WMW 1220; Fig. 20b) differ from the *bem* in the biconical form of the bell and their smaller length. On the piece remaining in Vienna the feather hangings are missing.

*kio-haa*, *kiohoa* (thin bamboo tube with bell made of larger bamboo cylinder): “wind instruments” from the Rio Tapajós (WMW 1221, 1224; Fig. 20c), from the Munduruku near Canomá (WMW 1223), and without provenance (WMW 1222, 1225, 1226, MVD 2784), presently partly without the feather hangings.



Fig. 21 Lateral trumpet, Uairivait.  
WMW 1187.

*ko-go-gà* (thin bamboo tube with gourd bell): “Wind instrument” without provenance (WMW 1227, 1228; the latter presently without feather hangings; Fig. 20d).

In addition the collection includes a “bugle” of the Uairivait, “which they use to imitate the voice of the jaguars. Carried off by the Mundurucús who are at war with this nation” (Natterer 1831; WMW 1187; Fig. 21).

Martius (1867, 1: 392) summarizes the information available to him: “During the war it [the men’s house] is guarded by a patrol, who give signals with the *toré* (*beni*), a buzzing trumpet of reed, or the *kioha*, a whistle. By means of this instrument the leader, who during the battle remains in the rear of the fighters, issues his orders by usually having two of his adjutants simultaneously blow horns of different length.”

The Munduruku terms of the respective feather ornaments are primarily known from two sources, Natterer and Barbosa Rodrigues. In addition there are isolated data in the museum catalogs in Berlin (Schomburgk and Sieber/Hoffmannsegg collections), and Dresden (O’Byrn collection). The information in Martius (1867) and Zerries (1980) can be neglected, since it is merely taken from Natterer. The data accompanying the collection in the Musée du quai Branly in Paris are obviously based on Barbosa Rodrigues.

	Natterer/Peixoto (1825)	Barbosa (1885)
Head trophy	<i>pariua-á</i>	<i>pariua-á</i>
Hood	<i>akeri</i> or <i>akeri kaha</i>	<i>aquiri-aà</i>
Upper body band	<i>paro oarà, karorap</i>	<i>carurape</i>
Belt	—	<i>tempé-á</i>
Scepter	<i>butà</i>	<i>putá</i>
Upper arm tie	<i>bombim manjá</i> ( <i>manha</i> )	<i>báman</i>
Wrist tie	<i>uitó tap</i>	<i>ipé-á</i>
Knee tie	—	<i>caniubiman</i>
Ankle band	—	<i>caniubi-cric</i>
Ceremonial lance	<i>uba-ca-caip, uba kakahi, murucú</i>	<i>bicacá-ipé</i>
Trumpet	<i>bem, kiohoa, ko-go-gá</i>	<i>ufuá</i>
Feathered bow	—	<i>iraré</i>

The Munduruku terms given by the two explorers for the head trophy, hood, upper body band, and scepter are substantially in agreement. Natterer gives no term for the belt, knee tie, and ankle band.

The designation *akeri-koha* of the hood with neck feathers in the O’Byrn collection in Dresden (MVD 146) may have been later added by a curator, just as the term

*bambinu-manja* for the arm tie in the same collection (MVD 150). (Unfortunately I was unable to have a look at the old book inventories of the Dresden museum.) The designation *baman* given by Barbosa is garbled but resembles Natterer's *bombim manja*. The three upper body bands in the Sieber/von Hoffmannsegg collection (EMB VB 52–54) are designated as *abundruka*, some of the scepters in the same collection (EMB VB 36–47) are called *nucancann*. A scepter in the Robert Schomburgk collection in Dresden (MVD 7) is referred to as *tsapupu*. Definitive answers to these discrepancies may only be given by the Munduruku themselves or by linguists.

### Dance costume

The Munduruku dance costume preserved in the Natterer collection is almost complete. The number of items would indeed be enough for two costumes. Knee ornaments are not mentioned by Natterer, but may be in the collection as wrist ties.

### Birds

The Munduruku almost exclusively used the feathers of various araras (*A. ararauna*, *macao*, *chloroptera*) as well as of the mutum (*Crax alector*, *Mitu tuberosum*, et al.). Very rarely and only supplementing these feathers of the mutum pinima (*Crax fasciolata*), trumpeter bird (*Psophia* sp.), and vulture (*Cathartes* sp.) are featured; but if at all only on upper arm, wrist, and knee ties or on the belt, and never of the hood, upper body bands, and scepter. The information given by Bates on the use of toucan and trogon feathers is definitely wrong, while the ostrich feathers mentioned by Martius cannot be found on any of the surviving specimens.

### Color

Especially notable is the almost exclusive use of red (*Ara macao*), blue, and yellow (*Ara ararauna*), as well as black (*Crax* sp.). Various shades of brown (*Mutum pinima*, *Psophia* sp.) and white (*Cathartes urubitinga*, *Sarcoramphus papa*) are very rare. The color sequences are not random; this is particularly obvious in the case of the scepters, upper body bands, and head ornaments.

The use of three colors was also documented by Barbosa Rodrigues, who writes in his first publication:

The tribe is divided into three large families, *Aririchá* or Whites, *Ipápacate* or Reds, and *lasumpaguete*, Blacks. These three colors are only conventions, because it is not the color of the skin, ... but they refer to a differences in their descent" (Barbosa Rodrigues 1875: 138).

According to this text red, black, and white should have been the predominant colors. The absence of blue and yellow is explained in a passage of his second publication:

The large tribe is divided into three divisions or families, distinguished only by the color of their clothing and by the respect demonstrated for one another: the *Ipápacate* family (red), the *Aririchá* (white), and the *lasumpaguete* (black). In the first the color red is dominant in the ornaments, in the second it is yellow, and in the third it is blue, the colors being those of the feathers of various species of arara bred by them for this purpose (Barbosa Rodrigues 1882: 28).

The information given by Bates on the use of green feathers is certainly erroneous. Greenish as well as blue and red spots of color appear on the frequently used yellow-orange tapirage feathers.

### Tapirage

The artificial alteration of the colors of feathers of live birds (tapirage) was of utmost importance for the Munduruku. Martius writes:

... many parrots ... are kept especially for this purpose. They assured me here as well that it was their custom to pluck the feathers of the parrots and to dab the gall with frog blood until the re-growing feathers were changing their color, especially from green to yellow (Spix und Martius 1823–1831, 3: 1312, Martius 1867, 1: 389).

Some tapirage feathers can be detected on almost all items in the Natterer collections, mostly from the region of the upper wings (4–6 cm in length). It is interesting that these feathers are from various species of arara (*A. ararauna*, *macao*, possibly also *chloroptera*) and that it was therefore possible to obtain different shades of color. It is debatable whether different methods of tapirage were used, such as by a special nutrition of the live bird. The tapirage of tail feathers is extremely rare and was only detected on one scepter (WMW 1250) and one hood (WMW 1254); this unique coloration was already conspicuous to Natterer who was, however, unable to explain it. The tapirage of parrots (*Amazona sp.*) described by Martius is known to have been practiced by other groups, but I am not aware of any evidence for its presence among the Munduruku.

### Comparative Notes on Feather Ornaments of the Apiaká in the Natterer Collection

Munduruku featherwork is technically perfect, very aesthetic, and frequently found in collections. At least as appealing but quite unique are the specimens listed in the museum catalog as “Parintintin” (WMW 1138–1151) and “Apiacá” (WMW 1185–1186). These pieces as well Natterer had obtained from Antônio Peixoto who in turn, according to the records, had obtained at least some of them from the Munduruku who had carried them off in their wars. References to this provenance are found repeatedly in the museum’s catalog (Heger 1882). Thus, Heger in connection with the dance lance WMW 1138 refers to Natterer’s object label: “*murucú* or throwing pike of the Parintintin nation on the Rio Madeira or Rio dos Marmelos, captured by the Mundrucús in wars in 1822”; in connection with the dance lance WMW 1139 the entry reads: “designation on the object label, captured by a division of Mundrucús”; and for the ear studs WMW 1146–1149: “were captured in war by the Munduruku.” The entry for the head ties WMW 1141 and 1143 is even more specific as to the place: “designation on the object label: Parintintin upcountry of Mantaurá on the Rio Madeira.” Since Peixoto, as pointed out above, had been engaged in trade with them, it may be assumed that some of the items were obtained by him directly from the Apiaká.

A comparison with the Kawahib-Parintintin collection of Curt Nimuendajú (Världskulturmuseet Göteborg [VKMG], acquired in 1923) and of Hermann Dengler (Lindenmuseum Stuttgart, acquired in 1925) shows no similarities to the featherwork in the Natterer collection. (An exception is provided by an upper arm ring of bone, VKMG 1923.03.086). This negative evidence may possibly be explained by the distinction made by the Munduruku between various kinds of humans: “First the Parintintin, i.e., Indian tribes foreign and hostile to the Munduruku. Then ... the Brazilians. Then the Negroes” (Kruse 1951: 929). If Parintintin means as much as “hostile Indians,” it does not make sense to look for an ethnic group of this name. An important clue is found in the introductory list of the “Wild Indians” in the Vienna museum catalog (Heger 1882):

25. Parintintin: Live on the Rio Madeira and Rio dos Marmelos<sup>11</sup> and appear to be only a special band of the Apiacás of the Rio Tapajoz. Every year the Munduruku go

<sup>11</sup> Today the Rio Marmelos is inhabited by the Tenharim who belong to the Kawahib group of the Tupi-Guarani language stock. Only a few pieces, collected in 1993/94, are now in Dresden. The web page of the Brazilian Instituto Socioambiental features an image of two Tenharim with head ornaments (<http://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/povo/tenharim/1030>).

Unfortunately the limited number of objects permits no serious comparison.



Fig. 22 Head ring (*kanitara*) of chief Preha. Apiaká. WMW 1185.

on expeditions against them to enslave them and cut off heads for their feasts: the following objects derive from such an expedition. Also roam to the Rio Machado. Further, the catalog lists as number 26 the Marauá, “a band of the Parintintin on the Rio Madeira” (Natterer 1831). They are followed under number 27 by the Apiaká:

Live on the banks of the Rio Arinos and Rio Juruenna (affluents of the upper Rio Tapajoz): appear to be related to the Parintintin.

In his wordlists Natterer notes that the designation “Apiaca” had been applied to them by the Portuguese, whereas they were called “Parintintin” by the Munduruku (Kann 1989: 116). Thus, the Portuguese had employed the self-designation of the Apiaká (Tempesta 2009).

Natterer sent a total of 19 Apiaká and “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) items to Vienna. 17 of these can be classified as “personal ornaments” and two as “object ornaments.”

“Parintintin”[-Apiaká]	Number	Catalog numbers
Head ties	4	WMW 1140–1143
Head bands	2	WMW 1144–1145
Ear studs	7	WMW 1146–1151, MVD 2758
Ear pendants	1	WMW 1152
Upper arm ring	1	WMW 1153
Dance lances	2	WMW 1138–1139
<b>Apiaká</b>		
Head ring	1	WMW 1185
Head tie	1	WMW 1186

The Apiaká items of the Natterer collection are unusual in terms of their preservation, rarity, and aesthetic quality, and are certainly among the most important pieces in the collection. Nine comparable examples are in the Langsdorff collection in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Kunstkamera in Sankt Petersburg (MAE): two head rings without feathers (764-15, -16; Manizer 1967: des. 44) and two head rings with feathers (764-40, -42; Manizer 1967: des. 43; same type as WMW 1185), six ear studs (764-1 to -6; Manizer 1967: des. 43; same type as WMW 1146–1151), and one feather scepter (764-7; Manizer 1967: des. 47). So far only four further pieces have

Fig. 23 Head tie, Apiaká.  
WMW 1186.



Fig. 24 Head band, Parintintin-  
Apiaká. WMW 1144.

been identified in other museums: a head band in the Virgil Helmreichen collection in Vienna (WMW 3555), which up to now has been regarded as Munduruku; a head tie in the Sieber/Hoffmannsegg collection in Berlin (EMB VB 154), previously only designated as from “Brazil”; a head ring acquired by Hans Sioli on the mission station São Francisco do Cururu and accessioned by the museum in Berlin in 1941 (EMB VB 17122); and a ceremonial lance in the Museo Luigi Pigorini in Rome (26833), donated in 1883 by Ladislão de Souza Mello Netto, a Brazilian botanist and Director of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro between 1874 and 1893.

#### **Head ring, Apiaká (WMW 1185; Fig. 22)**

*kantitara*: “crown of japu and arara feathers and 2 wing feathers of the jacutinga of the cacique Preha.<sup>12</sup> The feathers are tied into a wreath plaited of cipò, with the tie placed where the ends of the wreath are superimposed. The arara feathers are in the center of the forehead” (Natterer 1825a). A similar head ring was collected by the biologist Hans Sioli (EMB VB17122); two other comparable pieces are in the Langsdorff collection (MAE 764-40, -42). The attribution is also confirmed by a drawing by Florence of an Apiaká wearing such a head ring (Carelli 1992: 78–82; cp. Sepúlveda 2014: 51, fig. 10).

#### **Head tie, Apiaká (WMW 1186; Fig. 23)**

For this piece there are neither comparable examples, nor illustrations. The short red feathers with green traces are body feathers of *Ara chloroptera*, the superimposed short black ones are of the mutum (*Crax sp.*). The 47 long feathers are of *Ara ararauna* (blue tail and wing feathers), of *Ara macao* or *chloroptera* (red blue tail and wing feathers), and

<sup>12</sup> The Brazilian term “japu” is used for the genus *Psarocolius*, and probably these are the yellow tail feathers of *Psarocolius decumanus*. “Jacutinga” refers to the black-fronted piping guan (*Pipile jacutinga*); here the outermost feathers of the bird’s hand are used.





Fig. 25 Head tie, Parintintin-Apiaká. WMW 1141.

of one or two raptorial birds (brown-white tail feathers), according to the catalog (Heger 1882) of *Gavião real* or *Falco destructor* (= *Harpia harpyja*). The yellow and reddish discoloration of the long blue tail and wing feathers proves that this especially rare kind of tapirage was also known and important to the Apiaká. It is likely that this specimen was tied around the forehead with the feathers standing upright.

#### **Head bands, “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) (WMW 1144–1145; Fig. 24)**

One example with yellow tail feathers of the japu (*Oriolus christatus*; according to the museum catalog = *Psarocolius christatus*) and with white feathers of a stork (*Ciconia maguari*, according to the catalog). Both bands are likely to have been set into a plaited ring as on the Apiaká head ring noted above (WMW 1185). In collection of Virgil Helmreichen in the Weltmuseum Wien (WMW 3555) there is a similar band with long yellow japu feathers and short black feathers of the red-billed curassow (*Crax alector*); like Natterer’s “Parintintin”-Apiaká featherwork this item was collected among the Munduruku.

#### **Head ties, “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) (WMW 1140–1143; Fig. 25)**

This head ornament is exceptional and very rare. Similarities to the head tie WMW 1186 are recognizable, but also differences in materials and technique of manufacture, which cannot be discussed here in detail. All three pieces make use of red body feathers of *Ara macao* and/or *A. chloroptera*, the somewhat longer yellow-orange tapirage feathers are from the wings of various araras (*A. ararauna*, *macao*, *chloroptera*). Two examples (WMW 1141, 1142) also feature dark-brown wing feathers of raptorial birds, according to the museum catalog of *Gavião real* or *Falco harpia* (= *Harpia harpyja*). So far I was able to identify only one other piece of this Apiaká type, a head tie in the Sieber/Hoffmannsegg collection in Berlin (EMB VB 154) merely labeled “Brazil, forehead tie, von Hoffmannsegg, 1818.”

#### **Ear stud, “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) (WMW 1146–1151, MVD 2758; Fig. 26)**

Long red arara feathers; on only one of the plugs two bunches of short red arara feathers are attached to the long arara feather, similar to the ear pendant discussed immediately below. The section of yellow feathers in the central area is of the toucan (*Ramphastos sp.*), the black feathers are of the mutum (*Crax sp.*). On the picture by

Fig. 26 Ear stud, Parintintin-Apiaká. WMW 1147.

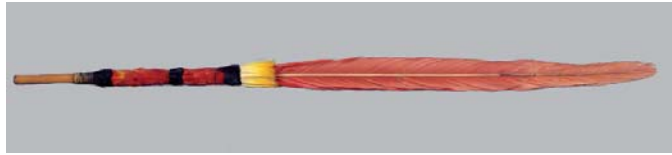


Fig. 27 Ear pendant, Parintintin-Apiaká. WMW 1152.



Florence the Apiaká on the left is wearing similar ear studs but with a long black tail feather (*Harpia harpyja?*).

**Ear pendant, “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) (WMW 1152; Fig. 27)**

Of “two long red arara feathered tied together with a short cord of bast, ... and some black mutum feathers”. At the end of one of the long arara feathers, bunches of short arara feathers are attached from both sides.

**Upper arm ring, “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) (WMW 1153; Fig. 28)**

“arm ornament forming a closed arm band 7 cm in width, the same consists of 59 thin, sturdy long bones of the monkey, which are widthwise attached to one another.” In the center of the ring a bunch of short red arara feathers has been attached, and on the left and right side short arara and mutum feathers, each with a long feather of a raptorial bird (*Harpia harpyja?*) extending beyond the bones. On the drawing by Florence



Fig. 28 Upper arm ring, Parintintin-Apiaká. WMW 1153.



Fig. 29 Dance lance, Parintintin-Apiaká. WMW 1141.

the Apiaká on the right is possibly wearing a similar ornament but without feathers. A comparable item was collected before 1923 by Curt Nimuendajú among the Kawahib-Parintintin on the Rio Maicy Merim and is today in the Världskulturmuseet Göteborg (G-1923.03.086).

#### **Ceremonial lances, “Parintintin”-(Apiaká) (WMW 1138–1139; Fig. 29)**

*murucú*: “Throwing pike, usually the emblem of the chiefs.” On the photographs the composition of this item and the technique of wrapping with cotton cords in its upper third resemble those of the dance lances of the Munduruku in der Natterer collection to an extent that makes it impossible to use this element as a distinctive feature. Since feathers are lacking on all three lances in the Ferreira collection, it is impossible so far to assign these specimens to either the Munduruku or Apiaká. The analysis of the black-and-white patterns on the point may possibly lead to an unequivocal result. Typical for the Apiaká may perhaps also be the terminal cotton cord wrapping below the feathers. The two Apiaká lances in the Natterer collection are similar, but significantly more colorful than those of the Munduruku. The red feathers are of *Ara macao* or *chloroptera*, the black ones of the mutum (*Crax sp.*), and the longer yellow-orange tapi-rage feathers of the arara (*ararauna*, *macao* oder *chloroptera*). The drawing by Florence shows a definitely longer and even more colorful lance.

#### **Dance costume**

The dance costume of the Apiaká is only known from the drawings by Florence (Carelli 1992: 78–82; cp. Sepúlveda 2014: 51, fig. 10). No other description exists. On

the composite illustration the Apiaká on the right is wearing a head ring, an upper arm ring, and is holding a dance lance; the left man is sporting a pair of ear studs, a pair of upper arm bands, and a scepter. No head tie or ear pendant is shown on any of these drawings. According to Langsdorff feather ornaments were worn "... in war and at dances ..., even the weapons are decorated with feathers" (Šprincin 1950: 94).

### Color

As among the Munduruku the only colors used are red (*Ara macao*, *A. chloroptera*), blue (*Ara ararauna*), yellow (*Psarocolius* sp., *Ramphastos* sp.), and yellow-orange (tapirage of *Ara* sp.), as well as black (*Crax* sp.); in addition brown-white striped feathers of raptorial birds.

### Birds

The feathers of various araras (*A. ararauna*, *macao*, *chloroptera*) as well as of the mutum (*Crax* sp.) were used; furthermore the long yellow tail feathers of the japu (*Psarocolius* sp.), short yellow feathers of the toucan (*Ramphastos* sp.), wing feathers of *Pipile jacutinga*, as well as tail and wing feathers of raptorial birds, presumably all of *Harpia harpyja*. The last four birds mentioned (harpy eagle, toucan, japu, jacutinga) do not appear in Mundurucu featherwork. Langsdorff's diary contains additional data on the birds and the procurement of feathers, which largely coincide with and supplement Natterer's notes on the objects: "The Indians primarily ornament themselves with feathers. It would be impossible to follow this passion without keeping these beautiful birds as pets. ... Each bird has been taken as a young one from its nest in the forest and has been raised by humans. ... They include blue and red araras, various kinds of parrots und cassiques [*Psarocolius* sp., AS]. Especially in demand are the long tail feathers of araras and cassiques. ... The forehead ornament usually consists of the feathers of Falco or Mutum Cavalho. I believe that they are more highly esteemed as the feathers of araras and parrots, because they have to be procured by hunting" (Šprincin 1950: 94).

### Tapirage

Artificially altered feathers were of utmost importance for the Apiaká as well. Especially on the head ties of the "Parintintin"-(Apiaká) tapirage feathers predominate. It is interesting that these feathers are of different kinds of araras (*A. ararauna*, *macao*, and perhaps also *chloroptera*), which made it possible to produce various shades of color. Possibly different techniques of tapirage were used. The tapirage of tail feathers of the arara is very rare, but has been identified on the Apiaká head tie WMW 1186. Langsdorff writes in his diary on 17 April 1828: "Especially impressive were the vast numbers of red and blue araras flying around the house. ... Every now and then long feathers were plucked from their wings and tail. As a result the wings change their color in due course and become yellow, sometimes with a red edge. The feathers are used in the manufacture of ornaments, which I was here ... able to procure" (Šprincin 1950: 92).

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