

Name: Abigail Rehard

1. Description

- 1.1 Name of society, language, and language family: Maku-Hupdu (other names include: Hupda, Maku, Pohsá, Peoná, and Wirapoyá¹), they speak Hupdë (also called Hup, Hupda, Hupdá Makú, Jupdá Macú, Jupde, Macú de Tucano, Makú-Hupdá, and Ubdé²), a subset of the Maku language family. Although most of the Maku in the Uaupés area are multilingual, speaking with the Tukano languages as well.¹
- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): jup²
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): Northwest Amazonas, Rio Auari, and Colombia.² 1°S, 69°W⁵
- 1.4 Brief history: The Maku-Hupdu are traditionally hunters and gatherers, living in the forested regions surrounding the Vaupés River. “The Hupdu say that they originated from the East, downstream, and were the first to enter the area, travelling by foot through the forest. In those times they say they had no agriculture, and subsisted entirely from hunting and gathering. The Hupdu trace this ancestral journey from the Amazon.”^{4, 21} The horticulturist Tukanoans, who live by the river, introduced the Hupdu to manioc production.^{4, 21} Spanish and Portuguese colonizers had difficulties traversing the terrain and their contact with the Maku was limited. “From the 18th century onwards...even the Maku in their secluded interfluvial territories had some of their own kind imprisoned as slaves.”¹ Salesian missionaries, Catholic missionaries dedicated to education, entered the region in 1914. “They encountered strong resistance from the Maku, who refused to send their children to the boarding schools at the mission centres. In the 1970s, the Salesians experimented with a few exclusively Maku mission villages.”¹
- 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Salesian missionaries, river Indians, rubber gatherers, and other non-Indian settlers in the region have influenced the Maku-Hupdu. After the missionaries contacted them, they have become more agriculturally based than they traditionally were. “Recently settled as a result of contact with occidental society and the influence of Salesian missionaries (a Catholic order), the Hupda have small, incipient fields.”³ “A few Hupdu occasionally visit mission stations to trade directly with the priests, but most say that they are too afraid of the priests and local river Indians to do this.”^{4, 209} “During 1974-6 then, the Hupdu were largely employing models based on their own clan system and on knowledge of Tukanoan social structure to organise the generation of an increasingly sophisticated system for classifying the new groups of non-Indians who were appearing in the area.”^{4, 275} Rubber-gatherers began appearing in the Vaupés region in the nineteenth century and used mostly Indian labour.^{4, 204} “The rubber of the Vaupés is still gathered from wild trees, mainly by Indian tappers. Debt peonage of Indian tappers has not been reported in the Vaupés since the 1920s, but this does not mean that it does not exist, or that the recruitment of Indian tappers is always voluntary.”^{4, 208} The exploitation of Indian labor made the Maku-Hupdu and river Indians cautious to all secular non-Indians.^{4, 288} “Increasing numbers and permanence of non-Indian residents in the Vaupés over the last eighty years or so have also influenced Hupdu mobility...the greater availability of metal tools...have also given the Hupdu the means to expand their own agricultural output.”^{4, 214}
- 1.6 Ecology: The Hupdu territory is covered in tropical rain forest with “outcrops of granitic rock protrude to a height of 200m in a few places. The area is threaded with an intricate network of streams of all sizes, culminating in the major rivers, the Vaupés, Papuri, and Tiquié.”^{4, 13} The brown waters of the Tiquié drain into Hupdu territory, producing fertile soils in their region.^{4, 13}
- 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density: 1,000 in Brazil and 240 in Colombia.² Villages average between 25 and 30 inhabitants.¹

2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s): Their main carbohydrate is bitter manioc, supplemented by fruits and nuts gathered in the forest. “The women eat...go to the swiddens to harvest and replant manioc. They return close to midday and prepare manioc flour, porridges and bread.”¹ “Although the majority of the carbohydrate base of their diet is derived from agriculture, the Hupdu women can list enormous numbers of wild roots, tubers, fruits and nuts which substituted for cultivated products in the past.”^{4, 288}
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources: They get protein from game animals like the tapir, peccary, deer, armadillos, agoutis, and paca.^{4, 30} “If game is not encountered on the outward path, a man may decide to fish one or more streams with rod and line.”^{4, 42}
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The Maku-Hupdu hunt with bows and arrows and use rods and lines for fishing.^{4, 35} They use blowpipes during monkey hunts. “Blowpipes are infrequently used by adult Hupdu nowadays...they are used if there is no shotgun available, or for hunting monkeys.”^{4, 65}
- 2.4 Food storage: “Gourds, metal and clay pots, and cassava baskets.”^{4, 35}
- 2.5 Sexual division of production: Hupdu women prepare meals, plant and harvest manioc, firewood, and take care of the children. The men are hunters; they are responsible for providing the village with protein.¹
- 2.6 Land tenure: No information found
- 2.7 Ceramics: The Maku-Hupdu have ceramic pots.¹
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns: The Maku-Hupdu gather to distribute and consume food on a daily basis.^{4, 105} The women and children usually eat after the men. “Each woman puts her pot and casava bread in the center of the largest house, and one man, often the leader of the group calls the other men and boys to “eat pimienta”. As the men eat, each woman gives her husband or son a big gourd full of warm *wun* (tapioca and hot water) that she has cooled to drinking temperature. It is passed round the circle of men. The gourd is finished by the man who first received it and handed back to his wife or mother. When the men have finished, they get up from the meal and move away, and the wife of the man who summoned the men to eat calls the women and girls to eat and drink.”^{4, 36} “Another meal is prepared from this catch and consumed communally by the men, whilst the women and children eat their shares at their hearths.”^{4, 37}
- 2.9 Food taboos: No information found
- 2.10 Canoes/watercraft? The Maku-Hupdu use canoes.¹

3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f): No information found

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f): No information found

4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): No information found

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): No information found

4.3 Completed family size (m and f): Around the age of thirty, a Hupdu couple will have at least three surviving children, sometimes more.^{4, 162}

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): No information found

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f): Females usually marry in their late teens.^{4, 155} "Most young men marry in their late twenties."^{4, 157}

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: Divorce is rare for the Maku-Hupdu. "Hearth groups will only break up on the divorce of the couple, a comparatively rare occurrence."^{4, 106}

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously: No information found

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: No information found

4.9 Inheritance patterns: As a tradition hunter and gatherer group with high rates of mobility, the Maku-Hupdu do not have many possessions. "Membership of a clan does not give an individual rights over land or property, and since at death all of the belongings of the deceased are destroyed, there is no inheritance system."^{4, 110}

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: Kin relationships are close within this group. "Young couples are very affectionate with one another and their new babies."^{4, 158}

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: No information found

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy): The Maku-Hupda people have mostly endogamous marriages. "The average frequency of endogamic marriages - that is, between people born in the same regional group - is 80%."¹

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? No information found

4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows") No information found

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No information found

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: No information found

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin) Bilateral cross-cousin marriages are preferred by the Hupdu.^{4, 119}

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms? No information found

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring? No information found

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? No information found

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females No information found

4.22 Evidence for couvades: The mother and father will both participate in couvades after the birth of their child. "For several days following, the new father and mother may not move from the house except to bathe and may eat nothing but vegetable foods and drinks until, after several days, a shaman or other knowledgeable man has administered protective spells to the father, mother, and baby."^{4, 142}

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older) No information found

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect? No information found

4.24 Joking relationships? There are joking relationships between the Maku-Hupdu. "It is not considered proper for men to chatter with other men's wives, and accompanying them to the garden invites endless dirty jokes at the woman's expense."^{4, 40} "Then there is simply joking, including comparisons of penises and vulvas, with abundant deprecatory metaphors, as well as mocking comments made in a collective falsetto voice about other people's past lovers."¹

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations: No information found

4.26 Incest avoidance rules: Marriages between parallel cousins are avoided. "It is based on the bipartition of cousins into those prohibited in marriage (parallel cousins, that is, children of siblings of the same sex)."¹

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony? They do not have a formal marriage ceremony. "Marriage is not celebrated in any formal ritual sense, and is often brought about by the pregnancy of the young woman."^{4, 155}

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name? A village elder will choose the child's name after using a hallucinogen to reach the ancestral world. "In order to name a child, the elder undertakes a 'trip' (using a hallucinogen of the genus banisteriopsis) to the world of the ancestors. Arriving there, he consults the latter concerning the child's name. Each clan possesses a repertoire of names, such that the proper name already determines the person's clan identity, as well as his matrimonial status (whether 'brother' or 'brother-in-law') in relation to the other clans."¹

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?) Marriages between cross cousins—children of opposite sex siblings—are preferred in marriage.¹ "Rules of exogamy serve to regulate the exchange of women between the descent groups, though they are neither so strict as to severely limit any ego's choice, nor are they so rigidly adhered to as to preclude "wrong" marriages."^{4, 120}

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? No information found

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: No information found

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: No information found

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: No information found

- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: The Hupdu maintain peaceful relations among themselves and other groups. Most instances of killings occurred when a Hupdu was drunk and greatly provoked. "I have heard many stories from both river Indians and Hupdu about fights at inter-group ceremonies where river Indians had been killed or severely injured by Hupdu."^{4, 182-183} "The Hupdu do kill people, both other Hupdu and Tukanoans. They do so when they are drunk, but the victims have usually incited the violence they receive."^{4, 186}
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): Most of their neighbors are from a Tukano or Arawak language family. "The majority of the inhabitants of this region are riverine Indians of the Eastern Tukanoan and Arawakan language stocks."^{4, 14} The Maku are referred by the Tukano as their slaves. "However, this is much more an ethnic ideology than an effective social practice. The Maku are free to come and go, establishing (or breaking) 'slavery' relationships with various riverside villages at the same time."¹
- 4.18 Cannibalism? No information found

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size: "They live in settlements of 6 to 50 people, with an average size of about 25."^{4, 18}
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): Many different factors can determine when the Maku-Hupdu will change their location; there is no fixed pattern based on seasonality. "They live in settlements...but spend some of their time away from these base settlements in camps in the forest...they tend to change the location of their base settlements every few years. The Hupdu have a high rate of mobility dependent on ecological, social, and ideological factors. "This constant pattern of mobility cannot be directly related to any one ecological or social feature."^{4, 33}
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): Hupdu organize themselves in clans without defined status classes.^{4, 109} "There are no leaders or 'tribal' councils who could arbitrate the frequent misunderstandings between a village's inhabitants. The village leader is no more than a host and co-ordinator for collective hunts."¹ The village leaders are in an intermediary sub-class between the *wudndu* (mature = adults) and the *wuhudndu* (dry = elders). The latter, apart from almost invariably performing the function of shamans, are also name-givers."¹
- 5.4 Post marital residence: A newlywed husband will move into his wife's residence until the birth of their first child. At that time the couple will "begin to move away from the wife's natal hearth."^{4, 106} "A clan is a patrilineal descent group, all of whose members are believed to be descended from one founding male ancestor."^{4, 109} As long as the husband's parents are alive, a Hupdu couple will live with the husband's family.^{4, 126}
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): There are no defined boundaries in their settlements.^{4, 34} No information found on active defense against outside groups. Their main defense against internal conflict is spatial dispersion. "When we fall out, we spread out through the forest and stay there until the anger passes."¹
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): Among Maku-Hupdu women, there are hardly any interaction divisions. "There is little differentiation between women in terms of age, knowledge and ability to carry out the tasks required in cooking, the cultivation of manioc, or production of baskets."^{4, 40}
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships: Male friendship in the Maku-Hupdu is founded on "the relationship between brothers-in-law, that is, men who exchange sisters."¹ Sexual joking is evident in this group. "Then there is simply joking, including comparisons of penises and vulvas, with abundant deprecatory metaphors, as well as mocking comments made in a collective falsetto voice about other people's past lovers."¹
- 5.8 Village and house organization: A typical Maku village has around three houses inhabited by 25 people. "These are situated in a clearing, at the top of a hill, close to a non-navigable stream or creek."¹ Their houses are loosely organized without "any special pattern or with any particular orientation."^{4, 34} Each village has around six domestic groups. "The Maku domestic group comprises a husband, wife or wives, unmarried children and perhaps some adjoined family members, who may be close relatives, widows or unmarried adults, of the husband or the wife or wives."¹
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): No information found
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? They sleep in hammocks. "In day-to-day life, male activities have an easy-going rhythm, very often interrupted by long periods of idleness in their hammocks...the women idle in their hammocks."¹
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: They organize themselves by three main age groups: "the *dowdu* (green/unripe = children), the *wudndu* (mature = adults) and the *wuhudndu* (dry = elders)."¹
- 5.12 Trade: Their split-vine carrying baskets are "a major item of trade between the Hupdu and the river Indians."^{4, 39} The Hupdu exchange "meat or other forest products for coca, cultivated products or western goods."^{4, 74}
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies? There are no defined social hierarchies in the Maku-Hupdu society.^{4, 109}

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6 Time allocation to RCR: No information found

- 6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine): The Maku-Hupdu have two types of shamans (both are typically older Maku men).¹ "These, though, are of two types: the curers (*bididu*) and the jaguar-men (*nyaam hupdu*). The former cure by using spells. The latter by extracting the affliction by means of suction. Frequently, the same individual performs both functions. In neither case does the shaman inspire much fear among his peers: he is instead one of the favourite targets for mocking. But sometimes he may be accused of malice and sickness, whereupon the people who believe they have been attacked change village or "stay in the forest until the anger passes."¹
- 6.2 Stimulants: They use hallucinogens from the banisteriopsis genus¹ and *Erythroxylum coca* var. *ipadu* known by the Hupdu as "Patu."³ "Collected "Patu" leaves, dried in a manioc toasting pan, are beaten and the resulting powder is mixed with ashes of dried *Embaúba* (*Cecropia* sp.) leaves. The final product is then sifted through cloth to be taken orally in doses of a teaspoonful, or more, at a time in the "roda dos homens"; the circle of men. "Patu" is also important in the preparation for the ingestion of "Carpi", *Banisteriopsis*

- caapi, because it allows the shaman to acquire the mental state and the physical purification necessary for the "Carpi" ceremony. "Patu" is chewed in great quantities while fasting for several days before the ceremony. "Xenhet", a red powder made from trees of the genus *Virola*. The Hupda utilize two species: *Virola theiodora* and *Virola calophylla* and consider this plant to be "Carpi's" relative. To the "Carpi" are added various plants such as tobacco, whose leaves are mixed into the drink and its smoke blown above the liquid to avoid any evil influence, as well as other plants depending on the use intended. Among the traditional additive plants, we also find *Diplopterys cabrerana* and *Psychotria viridis*. The Hupda also use the *Vismia guienensis*, in Hupda "Há Routen". It is dried, pulverized, and added to the "Carpi for dance" during boiling. *Nampiá*, a species of the genus *Spathiphyllum* of the Araceae family, serves both for the "Carpi for dance" and the shaman's "Carpi". It is believed that this plant offers particularly bright visions, being even stronger than "Carpi". The men rub their bodies with its leaves to be scented as a spell to conquer women."³
- 6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): **Birth** – Babies will receive their names from a village elder. "In order to name a child, the elder undertakes a 'trip' (using a hallucinogen of the genus *banisteriopsis*) to the world of the ancestors. Arriving there, he consults the latter concerning the child's name. Each clan possesses a repertoire of names, such that the proper name already determines the person's clan identity, as well as his matrimonial status (whether 'brother' or 'brother-in-law') in relation to the other clans."¹ **Puberty** – They have an initiation ritual for boys, but not for girls. "The jurupari ritual, in which boys are initiated into adulthood. During this rite - which comprises a theatrical representation of the arrival of the ancestral anaconda at the stretches of river nowadays occupied by the Tukano - the men play the sacred flutes, which cannot be seen by women."¹ "A girl's 'initiation' is not marked in any formal ritual way."^{4, 152} **Death** – No information found **Seasonal** – No information found
- 6.4 Other rituals: The river Indians influenced Maku-Hupdu rituals. "The other rite is the *kaapi wayá* dance and chant, also originating from the riverine populations, in which the serpentine path of the anaconda is performed, but without the sacred flutes. In addition to these rites, there is *dabocuri*, again deriving from the river Indians. This is a profane festival, light-hearted and fuelled by alcohol. Among the Maku, very often this ends in veritable battles, with slapping, stick beating and early morning shouting."¹ The Hupdu also have use spells during certain rituals. "When the Hupdu blow spells, the performance centers around the recital of a specific formula, usually murmured into a cigar or a gourd containing 'medicine' of some type. All spells are different verbally, each relating to a named illness which the blower wants to cure or induce in his patient or victim...to protect individuals or groups of people entering or leaving some ritually special state, such as childbirth, or a ceremony involving the use of the Jurupari trumpets."^{4, 276-77}
- 6.5 Myths (Creation): The Maku-Hupdu believe their universe is divided into three parts. "The Maku universe takes the form of an upright egg, with three levels or 'worlds': (1) the subterranean 'world of shadows' from where all the monsters come, such as scorpions, jaguars, venomous snakes, the river Indians and whites; (2) 'our world', that is, the forest and (3) the 'world of the light' above the sky, where the ancestors and the creator live - the Son of the Bone (a possible allusion to the penis, also called bone). Light and shadow are the two basic substances from which all beings are composed in varying proportions. Light is a source of life. Shadow is a source of death."¹
- 6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): **Music** – They play sacred flutes¹ or trumpets during rituals. "The ritual exchange ceremonies which the Hupdu practice are called Pwu...often involve the use of the sacred trumpets which have several names in Hupdu."^{4, 278} "there they build the Jurupari trumpets, from the bark and trunk of various trees. The words used to describe the various parts of the trumpet are skin, bone, mouth, etc., strongly implying that the physical entities represent bodies."^{4, 280} **Games** – Maku games develop hunting skills. "The blow-pipe...used in competitive target shooting tournaments, especially among the Nadub. Other games enjoyed by the Maku are whistling spinning-top, made from cocopalms and the rod from caryota rufflepalm, hunting doves with stones, and a certain enjoyment in tormenting animals: a man, lying idly in his hammock, kills time offering a portion of manioc bread simultaneously to his pet toucan and his hunting dog so as to watch the bird inflict painful pecks on the snout of its rival; children amuse themselves tying flaming cinders to the tail of feral dogs, to watch them scamper off in fear, while the whole village falls about laughing."¹
- 6.7 Sex differences in RCR: Men only use certain stimulants and sacred instruments. "Both the preparation and the ingestion of "Carpi" are realized far from the indiscrete eyes of women and children, otherwise the drinker may get sick."³ "All women and children, including adolescent girls, are excluded from contact with the sacred trumpet."^{4, 152}
- 6.8 Missionary effect: No information found
- 6.9 RCR revival: No information found
- 6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs: "After death, a human's ghost leaves the host body but remains on this Earth. For a few days post mortem the Hupdu continually report hearing the deceased's ghost in the forest or gardens near to their houses, but eventually it wanders further away into the forest."^{4, 222} "but the soul continues to grow after the body has reached maturity and by old age is thought to envelop the Hup's entire body, creating a protective force around it. Shortly after death, the soul departs from the body, becoming tiny again, and begins its migration to the upper levels of the cosmos. The ghost, however, follows the reverse progression to that of the soul through the life cycle...it is very small at death when it departs from the host body, but it never regenerated again."^{4, 223} "The lowest level of the uppermost zone of the cosmos is populated by the souls of all dead Hupdu, stretching back as far as the clan ancestors."^{4, 229}
- 6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? No information found
- 6.12 Is there teknonymy? No information found
- 6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.) The Maku-Hupdu practice ancestral worship. "Nowadays, the creation and exploits of these ancestral people are recalled in myths and chants, each clan claiming to have its own body of such myths."^{4, 109}

7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint: The Maku-Hupdu have body paint.¹

7.2 Piercings: No information found

- 7.3 Haircut: No information found
- 7.4 Scarification: No information found
- 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): No information found
- 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: No information found
- 7.7 Sex differences in adornment: No information found
- 7.8 Missionary effect: No information found
- 7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: No information found

8. Kinship systems

- 8.1 Sibling classification system: Kinship terminology is related to the Dravidian system. "All these terminologies are of the bifurcate merging type, closely resembling the Kareiva Dravidian system...The terminology distinguishes five generations, two above and two below ego...All terms except for those for father, mother, husband and wife refer to both real and classificatory kin. Between true siblings and parallel first cousins (FBS and FBD) the distinction is made on the basis of age. Between more distant parallel cousins of the same clan the distinction is made on the basis of the relative seniority of the sibling pair from whom the two cousins are descended. Beyond clan boundaries, sibling seniority is reckoned by the relative position of the two clan...Secondly, all the children of the women of the same clan who have fathers of different clans are related to each other by the term *In Teh* or *In Togm*, mother's son or mother's daughter, as well as being classificatory siblings to each other."⁴, 117-118
- 8.2 Sororate, levirate: No information found
- 8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.): Parallel and cross cousins "are split into 'brothers' (parallel cousins) and 'brothers-in-law' (cross cousins)"¹

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

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