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WARFARE, CANNIBALISM, AND HUMAN TROPHIES

By ALFRED MÉTRAUX

WARFARE

The two predominant types of warfare among South American Indians coincided roughly with the two principal cultural divisions of the continent. In the high culture area of the Andes imperialistic wars were waged to subdue and occupy vast regions. The more primitive Indian tribes from the Guianas to Tierra del Fuego, on the contrary, raided territories and took loot and captives but, as a rule, they did not seek permanent control over their enemies. Although superficially some migrations may appear to have been wars of conquest or extermination, and therefore exceptional, they were not planned as military expeditions. What happened was that the migrants became involved in rivalries and disputes with the earlier inhabitants and then fought it out until the defeated group was uprooted and cast out, exterminated, or assimilated. The *Carib* and *Tupí-Guaraní* are examples of peoples who swarmed across the continent in this fashion. What Rochefort writes about the *Carib* may well be applied to most Amazonian and Chaco tribes:

Their aim in war is not to make themselves the masters of a new country or wrench spoils from the enemy; they have as their only purpose the glory of defeating them and the pleasure of avenging on them the wrongs which they have suffered. [Rochefort, 1658, p. 476.]

Several South American tribes have gained wide fame for their warlike character and for their courageous resistance against the Spaniards and Portuguese. The daring and ferocity of the *Carib*, *Araucanians*, *Guaicurú*, and *Chiriguano* have been celebrated in Spanish prose and verse. The resistance of the *Araucanians* and the Pampas Indians ended only in modern times; even recently the *Mundurucú* and *Parintintin* were feared by their Indian neighbors and the White colonists alike. To the present day the *Jívaro* carry on their feuds and retain the bellicose character that once distinguished so many tribes of the upper Amazon.

Hostile relations still prevail in many regions of South America. The *Yanaigua*, who are probably the same Indians as the *Tapiete* of

the northern Chaco, have been pushed northward by the Whites and are now engaged in warfare with the *Sirionó* and other tribes of eastern Bolivia. The *Moro* of the southern part of the Province of Chiquitos still attack the *Chamacoco* bands. *Nambicuara* bands are frequently at odds with one another. Bloody feuds mark the relationships between the *Panoan* and *Arawakan* tribes of the Madre de Dios and Juruá Basin. The *Tucano* and *Arawakan* tribes of the Yapura and the Uaupés River attack the so-called *Macú* and subjugate those whom they do not kill. The *Suya* of the upper Xingú River are greatly feared by their neighbors and have shown themselves hostile to travelers. Only in recent times, after many years of enmity, have the *Tapiete* and *Carajá* made peace.

In many South American cultures a strongly integrated system of social and religious values was associated with warfare, and every male member of the group was expected to become a warrior. From early childhood the *Tupinamba* and *Guaraní* boy was taught to become an "avenger," i. e., a man who would capture prisoners and sacrifice them ritually in compensation for all the losses suffered by his tribe at the hands of their enemies. Similarly, *Jívaro* boys are systematically trained for warfare. From the time they are about 6 years old, their fathers daily remind them of their dead relatives and warn them to take revenge lest unhappiness be their lot (Stirling, 1938, p. 51). The *Jívaro* also take young boys on war expeditions so that they may learn first to defend themselves and later to kill men and to prepare shrunken heads.

The European conquest contributed greatly to the strengthening and even to the overstressing of military trends in several societies, for instance, among the *Mbayá* of the Chaco, the Chilean *Araucanians*, and, to a certain extent, the *Carib* of the Guianas.

Motives for Indian warfare.—In analyzing the underlying motivations and the characteristics of South American Indian warfare, a distinction must be made between the feuds that affected small communities or extended families and actual intertribal wars. In the former, hostilities often ceased when the attacking group considered that it had exacted just retribution for the wrongs that led them to overt hostilities. Intertribal wars, on the contrary, could be far more severe, and the attackers might even aim to exterminate the enemy (*Jívaro*).

The term "warfare" is perhaps unsuitable to describe the perpetual vendettas between small communities. Observers agree, for example, that warfare as such never existed among the *Yahgan*. Yet when a popular member of the tribe had been killed, his kin felt bound to challenge the family of the murderer; the ensuing fight often ceased before further fatalities occurred. The same kind of mutual murder,

one might say, characterized the relations between the small groups of the upper Amazon and its tributaries.

Hostilities between groups were prompted not only by real wrongs, such as murders, the kidnapping of women (*Carajá*, *Jívaro*, and tribes of the Orinoco), and taunts during drinking bouts, but also by imaginary grievances like the suspicion of witchcraft. Indeed in some regions, notably on the tributaries of the upper Amazon, revenge for sorcery appears to have been the principal cause of the feuds between communities. Whenever the death of a member of a settlement could not otherwise be explained, shamans were ready to attribute it to a witch in a neighboring group. The kin then felt obliged to take revenge. This situation has been aptly described by Whiffen, who writes about the Putumayo River Indians in general:

This state of endless warfare is based not on avarice but on fear. They fight because they are afraid of each other, and see no protection but in the extermination of their neighbors. Every ill that befalls a man they set down to the evil intent of an enemy. Death, from whatsoever cause, is invariably considered to be murder, and as murder it has to be revenged on some suspected person or persons. Hence it follows that blood feuds innumerable are carried on relentlessly. Any and every excuse serves for a fight. If a thunderstorm should wreck a house it is more than sufficient reason for that household to attack another in reprisal of the damage done; for it is to them quite evident that the catastrophe was caused by the magic of some malicious dweller in the vicinity. [Whiffen, 1915, p. 61.]

In certain groups the alleged reasons for hostilities and the enemies themselves were less important than the system of values connected with warfare. Warfare was the principal means of acquiring prestige and high social status; consequently, pretext for wars were eagerly sought, and expeditions and raids were part of the normal functioning of the society. *Tupinamba* men waged war in order to obtain victims for the ritual sacrifices and cannibalism by which they gained prestige in the community. Because of the magico-religious and social factors involved, it was necessary that warfare be maintained with some regularity. When Villegaignon forbade the *Tupinamba* to sacrifice war prisoners, they complained that war had lost its meaning. As a substitute, they disinterred their enemies' skulls and broke them in a symbolic sacrifice so that they might still acquire the new names that were their badges of social distinction.

Even today the greatest aspiration of a *Jívaro* is to become a renowned warrior, for "his reputation increases in proportion to the number of heads he has succeeded in securing during his career" (Stirling, 1938, p. 50).

Wars were also fought for economic reasons. Trespassing on hunting grounds (*Chaco*, *Ona*), violations of fishing rights, and, in post-Columbian times, the theft of cattle or horses were among the most

common reasons for raids. Sometimes wars or feuds resulted from unsuccessful trade relations. Among the *Nambicuará*, whose bands customarily exchanged goods with one another, no bargaining or discussion of the transactions were permitted; nevertheless, those who felt they had been worsted bore grudges that some times led to fights.

Looting was a primary motive for Indian warfare only in those regions where a poor and primitive group was in occasional contact with richer people, whose goods they coveted. Nomadic tribes always were ready to plunder the crops of their agricultural neighbors. The *Guaraní* and the Indians of the Montaña warred against the peoples of the *Inca* Empire to obtain loot. Many Indians who were in contact with Whites and who acquired goods from them were exposed to constant raids by tribes who could not otherwise satisfy their desire for iron tools and other European articles. Some tribes attacked White settlements for the same reasons. For 200 years an important motive of *Araucanian* warfare was the theft of cattle herds and the sacking of European settlements. The sons of *Araucanian* chiefs of Chile went to the Pampas to get rich quickly by this means, after which they returned home to marry.

The desire to capture women and children also gave rise to warfare. Although slavery was poorly developed in pre-Columbian times and war prisoners rarely were exploited, captives nevertheless were a welcome addition to the population of a tribe. Tocantins (1877, p. 93) says that the sole aim of the *Mundurucú* wars was to bring back young women and children. When a warrior was ready to set out on an expedition, a woman relative would ask him to "bring a child for her son." Slave taking became an important factor in Indian wars only in Colonial times when certain tribes found a ready market for their captives in the White settlements. It was primarily the desire for iron tools and other European goods that launched the *Carib*, the *Mojo*, the *Omagua*, and, in a certain measure, the *Mbayá* on their slave raids. Many Indians who lacked commodities which they could exchange for European tools and clothes turned into slavers and made an industry of warfare.

The motives underlying the wars of the *Inca* probably were complex and cannot easily be ascertained from our sources. Many economic advantages resulted from the conquest of a new territory, for part of the resources of the vanquished tribe was assigned to the *Inca* Emperor, whose power increased proportionately. The considerable number of nobles who surrounded the Emperor were also eager for lands and favors that could be forthcoming only as long as the Empire continued to expand. Revolts among conquered peoples, threats of invasions, and even actual invasions were the causes of many wars waged by the *Inca*. It has also been suggested that the practice of

keeping the army in the field was a means of preventing armed rebellion at home. Some chroniclers have described the *Inca* wars as sacred expeditions undertaken to spread the cult of the Sun, but even though the *Inca* Emperor may have derived some satisfaction from the asserted supremacy of his gods, it seems doubtful that he was prompted by proselytizing zeal. A psychological factor that should not be entirely overlooked was the tradition and pride that induced a new emperor to strive to emulate his ancestors in the acquisition of glory through force of arms.

The war summons.—The chief of a community usually took the initiative for a war expedition, but, before making a final decision, he endeavored to gather as many recruits as possible. Messengers were sent to invite the men in nearby friendly communities to join in the enterprise. In the Guianas and among the *Araucanians*, the heralds carried symbolic arrows which they gave to those whose assistance was desired, together with a knotted string that indicated the exact date of the meeting. Among the ancient *Cumanagoto*, the messenger shot an arrow onto the plaza of the villages he visited. By picking up the arrow and shooting it back the chief signified his willingness to join the projected expedition.

In the Guianas, the Amazon Basin, and the Chaco the plans for a war expedition were decided upon during a solemn drinking bout in which the warriors caroused, danced, and made boastful speeches about their own and their ancestors' exploits. These alcoholic and verbal orgies were supposed to inflame everyone's courage and to dispel the reluctance that some might have felt about joining the undertaking. During the celebrations which preceded any war expedition among the *Island Carib*, an old woman would enter the gathering and recite the list of wrongs, real or invented, that her people had suffered at the hands of their hereditary foes.

Among the *Mundurucú*, when a war expedition was being planned a pledge stick was circulated among the warriors by the war chief. A man pledged himself to take part by cutting a notch in the stick.

When all the *Araucanian* chiefs who had been invited to participate had assembled, a black llama was killed and the arrows and spears were dipped in or anointed with its blood; the chiefs ate a bit of the animal's heart as a pledge of unified purpose.

Magico-religious rites performed at the outset of an expedition.—Before setting out on a campaign, civilized and more primitive tribes alike consulted omens and performed some kind of magico-religious ceremony to ensure the success of the expedition and to safeguard the lives of the warriors.

The *Chibcha* spent a whole week making ceremonial preparations. During this time they implored their gods to protect them, sang songs

in which they enumerated the reasons for the campaign, and sacrificed children to the deities.

On the eve of a war, the *Inca* performed several rites, which were partly magic and partly religious, for the double purpose of weakening the enemy and their gods and of seeking guidance from omens. While they sacrificed llamas which had been starved for several days, they recited charms which expressed the hope that their foes' hearts would grow as faint as those of the llamas. During the campaign they repeatedly consulted oracles and made new sacrifices to keep the protection of the gods.

Among the tribes of the Guianas, the Amazon, and the Chaco, war dances were performed before a war expedition. The *Jivaro* dances, which were executed for a week at dawn, were a combination of a posture dance and a dialogue carried on by two rows of warriors. The ancient *Carib* of Surinam performed the "Jaguar" and "Snake" dances in order to absorb the fierceness of the one and the silent power of the other.

When a war party was ready to set out, great importance was attached to fortuitous omens as well as those that were sought. If on the night before his departure a *Tupinamba* dreamed about a babracot holding enemy flesh, this was a sure sign of victory; if, however, he had a similar dream about the corpses of his own people, the whole party lost heart and stayed home. The *Cashinawa* insisted that everyone keep awake the night before an expedition because the bad dream of any member of a war party could force the chief to call off his plans.

Shamans also were asked to consult their familiar spirits about the prospects for the planned expedition. The *Chébero* and probably also their neighbors believed that the outcome of a raid depended on the strictness with which their shamans observed several months of confinement and fasting. Defeat was attributed to the shamans' remissness; after a successful raid the shamans were rewarded with a share of the spoils.

The *Nambicuara* never went to war without consulting the auguries through a chief or a shaman. First, the warriors sang and performed a war dance in which they shot arrows at symbolic posts. The shaman hid an arrow in the bush; on the following day it had to show blood spots if the expedition were to be successful.

Before going to war *Araucanian* warriors observed strict chastity. They also drew magic symbols on their weapons and put them in contact with certain animals or animal bones. Some men inoculated themselves with magic powders to make themselves invulnerable. They rubbed their horses with feathers, skins, or vicuña bezoars to make them swift. Shamans blew tobacco toward the enemy's land

and recited charms; they also examined a vessel full of water to learn about the future.

While on the march, warriors were constantly alert for omens. To come upon some inauspicious animal or to hear the cry of certain birds so disheartened the *Tupinamba* and *Araucanians* that they hastily turned toward home. Warriors on the march also observed food taboos; for instance, the *Pilagá* never ate the head or legs of game animals.

The fate of the warriors depended in part on the behavior of the women at home. Consequently, the women had to take certain precautions during the men's absence. *Pilagá* women could not spin or twist strands on their thighs, and menstruating girls could not sit on the ground. Among the *Jivaro* of the Pastaza River, the women gathered nightly during the absence of their men to perform a special dance with snail shell rattles and to chant conjurations (Karsten, 1935, p. 287).

Declaration of war.—Because most tribes relied for success on a surprise attack, they seldom declared war formally. There are, however, some exceptions. The *Chibcha* sent heralds to the enemy to announce the beginning of hostilities, and these emissaries remained with the enemy during the war. When the *Jivaro* decided to attack a group with which they had been at war previously, the shaman dug up the spear which had been buried during the peace ceremony. An emissary was sent to notify the enemy, and war etiquette required that the enemy also send a messenger to announce their readiness to fight (Stirling, 1938, p. 52).

Before attacking, the *Amahuaca* sent messengers to scatter grain on the enemy's paths. The Surinam *Carib* dispatched a few macaw feathers ahead of the war party. According to Martius (1867, p. 97) the *Juri* of the Yaoura River declared war by planting an arrow or a spear in enemy territory. A *Cashinawa* chief who was about to storm a village told the enemy to flee at the very moment when his warriors rushed in to cut off their retreat. As a threat and a symbol of hostility, the *Sherente* impaled an arrow in a piece of birití rachis, which they laid in the path of the enemy. If the foe declined the challenge and sought a peaceable settlement, they shot an arrow with a broken head over toward the attackers (Nimuendajú, 1942, p. 76).

The populations which the *Inca* intended to subjugate were first invited to submit peacefully; ambassadors sent by the Emperor took great pains to point out the advantages of becoming incorporated into the Tuhuantisuyu. Supposedly, it was only after such offers had been spurned that the *Inca* attacked.

The march against the enemy.—A regular commissariat existed only among the *Inca* armies; within the limits of the Empire, store-

houses (tambos) located at regular intervals provided the army with abundant supplies. Abroad porters or herds of llamas followed the army to keep it supplied.

In the Tropical Forest region, warriors carried roasted manioc flour (*farinha de guerra*), cassava cakes, and, on the upper Amazon, a half fermented yuca mass. Elsewhere, the warriors relied on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild fruits. The members of a Chaco war party would scatter each day to hunt, or they would stop near a lagoon or river to fish. In the evening they reassembled at a prearranged place to camp. Each *Araucanian* warrior carried a small bag of parched meal, salt, and ají. The *Island Carib*, whose expeditions were mainly by sea, were provisioned with manioc flour, smoked fish, and green bananas; they also visited small plantations which they maintained on uninhabited islets (Rochefort, 1658, p. 472).

Mundurucú warriors often were accompanied by their wives or sisters, who carried their equipment, prepared their meals, strung their hammocks, aided them when they were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women took no part in actual combat, although Martius reports that they collected the arrows shot by the enemy and delivered them to their own warriors. He even asserts that they "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823-28).

The early writers praised the order and discipline which prevailed among the *Inca* armies on the march; by contrast, they represented the war parties of forest Indians as loose bands that observed neither order nor discipline. A closer scrutiny of the situation necessitates a modification of this judgment. Among the *Sherente*, for example, a group of youths known as the *akemha* formed the vanguard both on the march and in the attack. When several *Jívaro* groups joined in a common expedition, they mixed freely during the day but at night camped separately.

The *Araucanians* adopted to a large extent the army divisions of the Spaniards. Their infantry and cavalry were divided into companies of about 100 men who were commanded by captains as well as by officers of lower ranks (Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, p. 329). They often marched to martial music played on drums and trumpets.

Chaco warrior bands did not observe any definite order of march, but the site of camps was selected with care so that some natural protection, such as a river, lake, or wood prevented any surprise attack. No sentries were posted, but during the night the *Abipón* scouted the nearby plains, sometimes blowing horns and trumpets to make sure that there was no danger lurking. The *Araucanians* posted guards at night and protected their camps with trenches, thorn hedges, and pitfalls.

Before invading enemy territory, the *Inca* always sent spies, who were generally members of the imperial family, to reconnoiter. Most tribes sent scouts to observe the number and movements of the enemy and, when a surprise attack was planned, to ascertain whether or not the enemy had been alerted. The scattered *Abipón* scouts kept in touch with one another by imitating bird and animal calls.

On the night before a battle, a great many Amazonian and Chaco tribes brewed mead or cashiri and celebrated a drinking bout during which they performed ceremonial dances, shook their rattles (*Tupinamba*), and boasted of the glorious deeds which they intended to perform (*Jívaro*).

Before starting the battle the warriors put on their best ornaments. According to Cieza de León (1932, pp. 55, 63), the Indians of the Cauca Valley went to war wearing all their gold ornaments. Similarly, the tropical Indians wore their most brilliant feather decorations and their most elaborate war paint. Although there can be little doubt that magic properties were assigned to the paint, it also served as a means of identifying the warriors in the heat of battle (*Taulipáng*).

Strategy and tactics.—Surprisingly little information is available about *Inca* strategy and tactics. All that is known is that they liked to divide their forces into several armies so that when the enemy had spent his strength on one army, reserves could be thrown into the attack. The order of battle among the Highland tribes seems to have been very similar from Colombia to Perú. The engagement opened by discharges of sling stones and volleys of darts, and then it continued with hand to hand fighting. The *Páez* and *Mogues* of southern Colombia first hurled their javelins, then cast stones with their slings, and, finally, attacked the enemy with their spears. They formed closed squadrons in which men with clubs alternated with spearmen; the former would step forward to wield their clubs and then would withdraw for protection. It is, however, doubtful that much discipline was observed in pitched battles; even the *Inca* troupes broke ranks and each man fought individually. (See Cases, B. de las, 1939, p. 27.)

The equestrian tribes of the Chaco and the Pampas were forced to adopt various tactical devices in order to fight the Spaniards on equal footing. The *Mbayá* battle line was crescent-shape with trumpet and clarinet players in the center. The *Abipón* put archers in the middle and spearmen on the flanks of their lines. They rarely fought on horseback, but left their mounts at some distance to the rear under the protection of special troupes of young men. Yet on rare occasions they did attack on horseback and charged in several parties to harass the enemy's flanks. *Mocoví* cavalry was supported by foot soldiers, and, while the main body fought, small groups raided the enemy's horses

and cattle. A common ruse which the *Abipón* used against the Spaniards was to disband as if to flee and then rush back as soon as the Spaniards had broken ranks to pursue them.

In their long wars with the Spaniards the *Araucanians* developed many tactical expedients. All *Araucanian* warriors went to battle on horseback, but those who formed the center of the line dismounted and fought as infantry while other Indians took care of their horses a short distance to the rear. Men armed with spears alternated with those who carried clubs. The cavalry was disposed in two lines on each wing. The toqui, or war chief, took personal command of the right wing and one of his lieutenants of the left one. During the battle the toqui ran along the line giving orders, encouraging his men, and punishing cowards. Before the attack he always made a speech reminding the warriors of the great deeds of their ancestors. The attackers taunted their enemies, often shouting their names in bravado. They attacked "doing all kinds of clownish things, jumping, throwing themselves on the ground, rising suddenly, dodging with their body, advancing and retreating" (Rosales, 1877-78). At the same time the air was filled with shouts and the sound of flutes and drums. If a line broke or was cut down, another took its place. The Spaniards could not help admiring the good order kept by the *Araucanians*, even when they had to beat a hasty retreat (Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, pp. 328-333). Piñeda y Bascunan tells of an ambush laid by the *Araucanians*: The Spaniards were attacked by cavalry that disbanded and withdrew into a valley, the slopes of which were covered with infantry. Yet, despite their military abilities, the *Araucanians* wherever possible avoided pitched battles, preferring to harass and ambush the enemy.

Battles in open fields were rare, but when they did occur they were preceded by mutual challenges and insults (*Tupinamba* and *Carib*), war dances (*Carib*), and by discharges of arrows. The defenders sought to dodge the missiles by weaving and bending their bodies. When the *Sherente* met their enemies in the open, they staked everything on holding out and preserving their supply of arrows until the enemy had exhausted his, thus either compelling them to break off the combat or to advance under a volley of arrows which resulted in heavy losses (Nimuendajú, 1942, p. 77). Such battles were seldom very bloody, however, because the Indians fled as soon as they had suffered a few losses. Even the bellicose *Abipón* and *Mbayá* would not hold their ground when they had seen some of their comrades fall.

Surprise was the main strategem employed by all primitive tribes of South America in attacking an enemy village or camp; the main intent was to kill as many men as possible before being forced to beat a hasty retreat. The *Island Carib* were convinced that a battle begun openly could not end in success for the attackers. If one of their

raiding parties was discovered or even if a dog barked in warning, they retired to their canoes and departed.

Of the Indians of the Orinoco, Gumilla (1791, 2:99) writes that their "warfare could be summed up as ambushes, false retreats, night attacks and other inventions."

The Guiana Indians were expert at camouflaging their canoes with branches and pieces of bark to make them look like drifting trees. On one occasion the *Acawai* threw a massive log across a river under the water and sent canoes as decoys to attract the *Carib*, who, intent upon the pursuit, capsized against the hidden barrier. Guiana Indians were very skillful at confusing their enemies by multiplying their tracks or by walking backward or on tiptoe.

A war party usually tried to storm an unsuspecting village or camp before dawn when the inhabitants were still asleep. If the attackers learned that the enemies were celebrating a drinking bout, they timed their onslaught to coincide with the end of the feast, when they were certain to find the people overcome with drunkenness.

Preparations for the attack were made very carefully, because on them depended the entire success of the enterprise. A *Cashinawa* chief once gave his men the following instructions before the assault upon a village, "Don't scatter, some of you go to the left, some to the right, the others to the center. I shall stay in the middle. If you are afraid and stand, they will see you and run away. When I am talking to them, prepare your arrows and run ahead. Hide, and when you are ready, whistle. They are whistling. Let's go."

During the fight the war leader of the *Mundurucú* stood behind his warriors directing their movements. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets.

The attack was always preceded with war whoops and the sound of whistles or trumpets. Like many North American Indians, the *Toba* and *Araucanians* charged their enemies shouting and striking their mouth rhythmically with the palm of the hand.

The attackers, armed with spears or clubs, would rush into the village to massacre everyone in sight, sparing only the children and sometimes the young women, whom they captured. The surprised victims would try to resist long enough to allow the women and children to escape into the bush, where they scattered to avoid mass capture. But if they met strong resistance the attackers usually did not insist for long; very soon they retreated lest the enemy rally and ambush them before they could reach their boats or extricate themselves from the situation. They felt that they had achieved a victory if they had taken some prisoners (*Tupinamba* and *Carib*) or had cut off some heads (*Jivaro*, *Chébero*, *Mundurucú*, *Cocamilla*, etc.)

Gas and flame attacks.—In order to dislodge an enemy from a strongly held position, several Indian tribes used to burn red pepper (*Capsicum crassum*). This plant contains a substance (capsaicin) highly irritating to the mucous membrane, that scatters in the air in the form of a very fine powder when set afire (Nordenskiöld, 1919 b, p. 224). The device was used by the ancient *Tupinamba* and *Carib*¹ (Staden, 1928, pt. 2, ch. 26) when they besieged a village, and by some Indians of the Orinoco to disorganize the enemy. In an encounter with the Spaniards under Diego de Ordaz (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851–55, bk. 24, ch. 3, p. 219) some of the warriors advanced holding a pan of embers into which they threw red pepper when the wind was favorable. The *Oyampí* told Crévaux (1883, p. 271) that they repelled an attack on their village by burning red pepper to provoke sneezing fits among their enemies.

A common method of spreading terror and of forcing the enemy to abandon their village was to set fire to the thatched roofs by shooting arrows tipped with burning cotton pads. The use of flaming arrows is reported among a great many tribes, including the *Tupinamba*, *Guaraní*, *Abipón*, *Mataco*, *Carib*, *Chavante*, and *Mundurucú*.

Palisades.—For protection against sudden raids, many tribes in South America surrounded their villages with palisades. There is little doubt that Nordenskiöld (1919 b) is right in assuming that palisades were known to the Indians before the Conquest and that only in a few cases did they borrow the idea from the Europeans. Indian fortifications differed from those constructed by the Whites in at least one significant feature: the outer wall with its moats was intended to delay and hamper the attack while the defenders shot through loopholes in the compact inner wall.

Tupinamba villages located near enemy territory were defended by an outer wall consisting of stakes set up sufficiently close together to prevent a man from creeping between them and by a compact inner stockade provided with loopholes. The walls were from 5 to 10 feet high and often had salients from which shots could be fired along the wall.

Guaraní villages also were fortified with double or triple stockades made of heavy posts and a series of moats and pits bristling with half-buried spears. The Indians of the Chiquitos region surrounded their villages with thorny hedges. Palisades enclosed the *Bauré* villages. Nordenskiöld (1919 b, p. 230) found the remains of moats at Matucare on the Guaporé River.

¹ "Ils [the *Carib*] poussèrent même, à la faveur de la nuit, un pot rempli de braise ardente, sur laquelle ils avaient jeté une poignée de grains de piment, en la cabane que les Français avaient dressée de leur arrivée en l'île, afin de les étouffer, s'ils eussent pu, par la fumée dangereuse et la vapeur étourdissante du piment." (Rocheport, 1658, p. 479.)

Carvajal (Medina, 1934) mentions a fortified village which Orellana tried to storm near the mouth of the Rio Negro. Our 16th-century sources mention palisades (palenques) among the *Agerano* of the upper Amazon (Rel. geogr., Ind., 1881-97, 4: cxliii). In the 18th century, the *Guyupunavi* of the Orinoco had palisades which were described as follows: "The posts were a foot thick, and were placed close together. Between every other one was a loophole 3 feet above the ground. About 5 yards above the ground ran an inner terrace from which one could shoot over the wall. Round the palisade ran a deep ditch in which had been placed poisoned stakes." A *Maipure* fort on the Tuapu River was protected by a stockade of tree trunks and was approached by a drawbridge that could be raised.

In the early days the villages of the Guiana coast were fortified with a double stockade. The use of this protective device was abandoned by the Guiana Indians, although in the 19th century Appun (1871, p. 368) saw an unfinished *Macushí* palisade.

There are many early descriptions of Indian palisades in the Cuman region of the Venezuelan coast. Some palisades were formed of uprooted trees that had been replanted close together around the village, forming a double wall with only a narrow space between (Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55, 2: 254). The branches and trunks of these trees, bristled with thorns and spiny plants, were interlaced around the trunks to form a kind of natural barbed wire. (For citation, see Nordenskiöld, 1919 b, p. 232.) Other palisades of Venezuelan villages consisted of stakes driven into the ground. Outside the palisade of a village besieged by Van Speier on the Meta River there was a ditch full of sharp stakes carefully hidden under a thin earth-covered platform. The Indians of the Meta River were so well fortified behind their palisades and moats that they could resist even the attacks of the Spaniards (Nordenskiöld, 1919 b, p. 233).

The *Timote* constructed fortifications on inaccessible hills with trenches and walls provided with loopholes. Palisades also were built by the *Chibcha* of the region of Bogotá. The *Pozo* and *Arma* in the Cauca Valley fortified their villages with rows of transplanted bamboos. Inside there were platforms for the sentries (Cieza del León, 1932, pp. 55, 61).²

² "Tienen grandes fortalezas de las cañas gordas que he dicho, arrancadas con sus raíces y cepas, las cuales tornan a plantar en hileras de veinte en veinte por su orden y compas, como calles; en mitad desta fuerza tienen, a tenían cuando yo los ví, un tablado alto y bien labrado de las mismas cañas, con su escalera, para hacer sus sacrificios" (Cieza de León, 1932, p. 55).

Indians of Pozo: "A las puertas dellas hay grandes palizadas y fortalezas hechas de las cañas gordas, y en medio destas fuerzas habia muy grandes tablados entoldados de esteras, las cañas tan espesas que ningún espanol de los de a caballo podía entrar por ellas; desde lo alto del tablado atalayaban todas los caminos, para ver lo que por ellos venia" (Cieza de León, 1932, p. 61).

Araucanian palisades also were double. The first enclosure, which formed the real redoubt, [was] arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside the ground was honey-combed with pitfalls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. [Latham, 1909, p. 363.]

Some Indian villages of Northwest Argentina were defended with enclosures made of cactus and spiny trees. Hedges of spiny bushes surrounded villages of the Chiquitos region (Schmidel, 1938) and of the *Chiriguano* and Guaporé River tribes (Nordenskiöld, 1919 b, p. 232).

The insecurity that prevailed in the *Jívaro* region prompted the invention of a great many ingenious protective devices. When an attack was expected, either a palisade was built around the house or else the walls of the house were reinforced, and deadfalls with pointed chonta sticks were dug around the dwellings. Traps, spears, and even loaded guns with automatic triggers were set along the paths.

Sometimes houses which were built near a river bank had concealed tunnels leading from inside the house through the bank to the edge of the river. Thus they could escape or send out messengers if badly pressed. [Stirling, 1938, p. 59.]

Moreover, in some villages (*jibarías*), the natives built crude towers of wood and stone where women and children could take refuge in case of attack.

Most Tropical Forest Indians prepared caltrops and pitfalls along the paths which the enemy would be likely to follow. They themselves used obscure, winding paths.

The best military structures of South America were the fortresses built by the *Inca* on hilltops at strategic points or close to cities and towns, where they served as places of refuge in time of war. These fortresses were guarded by a series of terraces, and their walls had a succession of salients from which the defenders assailed their attackers' flanks. The *Inca* built chains of fortresses along their threatened borders, notably in the mountains bordering the Chaco and the Province of Santa Cruz.

Return of a war party and victory feasts.—After a successful attack on an enemy village, the victors hastened to bury their dead and to cut or mutilate the bodies of the slain enemies. The *Tupinamba* and *Guaraní* broiled the corpses of their enemies and ate them on the spot or carried them home. Having satisfied their desire for vengeance, the war party beat a hasty retreat, before their opponents could recover from their surprise. The *Jívaro* and *Mundurucú* halted at a safe distance to prepare the head trophies with which they celebrated their victory feast. As a rule, messengers were sent ahead to announce the outcome of the expedition to the waiting people at home.

When a *Tupinamba* war party brought back prisoners, they become the objects of wild manifestations of hatred and scorn by the women. A similar reception was given the scalps and head trophies among the Indians of the Chaco.

The return of the victorious party was celebrated with dances, songs, and drinking bouts, which were preceded or accompanied by numerous magic rites the purpose of which was to protect the warriors against the vengeance of their victims' ghosts. *Jivaro* warriors with blood-smearing chests and legs danced around the shrunken heads (*tsantsas*) of their enemies, brandishing their lances and dramatizing the killing. During the dance, the captive women stood by weeping; if no female captives had been taken, proxies were appointed from among their own women to mourn for each *tsantsa* (Stirling, 1938, p. 59). At a *Mundurucú* victory feast, the mummified heads of the enemies were worn suspended from the necks of the widows and sisters of the dead. The *Tupinamba* gathered in a hut to drink *chicha*, to dance and sing in honor of the *maraca* that had brought them victory. *Pilagá* warriors were received festively by their women, who danced holding tufts of red feathers. The scalps were handed to the women, particularly to those who had lost a husband in the expedition. The women danced and played with the trophies, derisively pretending that they were husbands and lovers, and they improvised comic dialogues with the scalps. Masked warriors performed a special dance around a tall post from which hung the scalps.

Taulipáng warriors, after dancing and singing their victory song, were purified by the same ordeals as those undergone at puberty. They sat on ants, flogged one another with whips, and passed a cord covered with poisonous ants, through their mouth and nose. Then they abandoned their village and settled in another site.

A man who had slain an enemy was thought to be dangerous both to himself and to others, and he was expected to observe several taboos. Most commonly he observed a diet, which, among the *Jivaro*, lasted for about 6 months. As a rule, he also remained strictly continent. *Sherente* warriors refrained from bathing for a period of time. *Tupinamba* and *Sherente* braves incised themselves with a sharp instrument and rubbed the wounds with ashes and *genipa*. *Apinayé* and *Cashinawa* killers ate large quantities of pepper. In addition, the *Apinayé* killer was not allowed to speak to anyone for a time, and no one could drink out of his cup. Even while the party was returning from the raid, he remained segregated from his companions both on the march and in camp. (See Stirling, 1938, p. 59; Abreu, 1914, p. 65; Nimuendajú, 1939, 1942, p. 78.)

When a *Mundurucú* warrior had been wounded, his name was not

spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. A feast finally reinstated him in the community.

Peace making.—European travelers were evidently less interested in the procedure by which peace was restored than in warfare, for they very seldom give details about its mechanisms and rituals.

When two *Ona* bands wished to end hostilities, each man handed one of his opponents five blunt arrows and subsequently walked toward him, exposing himself to the shots though trying to dodge them as well as he could. According to Bridges (1938), after the opponents had reciprocated, the bands fraternized for a few days.

Among the *Araucanians*, the party that wished to sue for peace sent a herald to the victors without a weapon and carrying a branch of canelo. The chiefs of the two parties then met at a designated place, and each sacrificed a llama. The hearts were cut into pieces, the blood was sprinkled on the canelo branch, and the bits were exchanged by the opponents. The chiefs also exchanged the blood-smeared canelo branches and often put all their commanding staves together in a bundle with them. These symbolic acts were followed by long speeches in which peace terms were discussed and assurances of good will were given. In some cases the warriors buried their toquis, arrows, and war instruments in a hole over which they planted a canelo tree.

Among the Pilcomayo River Indians, peace was reestablished when every family that had lost a member received wergeld in the form of sheep, horses, and other gifts. Sometimes kidnaped children were exchanged (Nordenskiöld, 1912 a, p. 135).

The *Jívaro* peace ceremony consisted in burying a spear. The lance was supposed "to carry with it the animosity of the feud" (Stirling, 1938, p. 51).

The Guiana *Carib* sent an emissary to notify their enemy of their desire for peace.

The two nations then ranged themselves in order of battle, just as if they wanted to fight. They flung abuses and reproaches at each other for all the outrages committed. Finally they threw their arms to the ground and then proceeded to the drinking hall where they feasted all together for several days. [Barrère, p. 1743, p. 174.]

Our Peruvian sources do not indicate how peace was made after a campaign. Like the *Aymara*, the *Inca* probably insisted on demonstrations of submission. The *Aymara* expected the defeated enemies to present themselves in their oldest clothes, barefoot, and with their hands tied behind their backs.

Treatment of prisoners.—Even in areas with an otherwise rather uniform culture, the fate of prisoners taken in war depended on the existence or absence of such institutions as cannibalism and slavery.

In some areas, for example Perú and Colombia, the type of war and the religious practices of the victors determined the attitude toward the conquered foe.

The Europeans' desire for slaves also modified the treatment meted out to defeated enemies in many tribes. The *Tupinamba*, *Carib*, and *Omagua* abandoned cannibalism for the more profitable slave trade; other groups, which previously had captured only women and children, began to hunt adults of both sexes. Many 18th-century Europeans justified their purchase of captives from the Indians on the grounds that it saved the prisoners from the cruel treatment they had formerly received, but they never recognized the havoc wrought among the native populations by the constant state of war that grew out of the slave trade.

The introduction of the horse into the Pampas and the Chaco gave the *Araucanians* and the *Guaicuruan* tribes considerable military superiority over other tribes. It permitted them to capture more prisoners than they could readily assimilate and the captives, therefore, formed a servile class, which among the *Mbayá*, became hereditary.

The *Macushí* and other tribes of the Guianas and the *Conibo* of the Ucayali River kept their war prisoners in bondage and forced them to work in the fields. The lot of such captives was not harsh; very often they married into their masters' families. In some *Carib* dialects the word "peito" applies both to captive and to son-in-law. (For slavery among the *Conibo*, see Amich, 1854, p. 90.)

East of the Andes, most Indians, unless they practiced cannibalism or kept slaves, killed the adults on the spot and captured only young girls, whom they married or took as concubines, and children, who became full fledged members of the tribe. Later in life such children even accompanied their adoptive families on expeditions against their former tribal kinsmen (*Jivaro*, *Mura*, *Toba-Pilagá*, *Mataco*). When the *Mura* were pacified, one of their most important chiefs was a man who had been captured as a child. The *Carajá* were exceptional in that they did not marry their female captives, but obliged them to become village prostitutes; however, a man could acquire permanent rights over a captive woman by making payment to the owner.

Except when the *Inca* waged a war of extermination, captives were permitted to return to their country, though sometimes a whole population was shifted to another region as mitimae, and their territory was given to more reliable groups. The Spaniards may have somewhat idealized *Inca* warfare, for now and then there are examples of great cruelty practiced against defeated enemies. Enemy chiefs often were tortured to death; some were flayed alive. The *Inca* paraded the prisoners during triumphal entries into the Cuzco; as a symbol of his victory and of their humiliation, he trod on their necks. When the

captives were dedicated to the Sun, a statue of the God or a high priest performed the same rite.

War captives were sacrificed to the gods in Perú, and Central Colombia, the only two regions south of México where blood sacrifices were a prominent aspect of the religious system of the people. The *Araucanians* sacrificed the first prisoner taken in battle and extracted his heart in the same fashion as among the civilized peoples of the Andes.

The torturing of prisoners was not common in South America, except among the *Carib* of the Guianas, the Indians of the Cauca Valley, the *Araucanians*, and, to a certain extent, the *Tupinamba* and *Guaraní*. The *Chibcha* blinded, maltreated, and derided their prisoners during victory feasts. The *Carib* burned and tormented their victims before eating them. The horrors perpetrated by the *Araucanians* upon their war captives were perhaps in part the result of their deep-seated hatred of the Spaniards. Living prisoners were torn to pieces, burned, or crucified. Some were forced to run the gauntlet; others were knocked down or speared after they had performed a magic ceremony to harm their own tribe.

Neither the *Abipón* nor the *Mbayá* treated their war prisoners harshly.

CANNIBALISM

In an analysis of cannibalism, a distinction should be made between the custom of eating dead enemies (exocannibalism) and that of devouring one's own dead relatives (endocannibalism). Although practiced by many South American tribes, cannibalism was less prevalent than some sources would seem to indicate. The Spaniards and Portuguese accused the Indians of cannibalism on the vaguest evidence, often with the deliberate intent of justifying their enslavement. This survey will discuss only those tribes for which there is irrefutable evidence of exocannibalism.

Cannibalism was an important aspect of the culture of *Tupí-Guaraní* and *Carib* tribes; indeed, the word itself is derived from the name of the latter. In both groups ceremonial cannibalism was closely linked to warfare and was a manifestation of the basic religious and social concepts.

The lengthy and complicated ritual of the *Tupinamba* is well known from numerous descriptions furnished by 16th- and 17th-century travelers who had witnessed and been considerably impressed by the ceremonies. The prisoners taken by a *Tupinamba* war party were received with manifestations of anger, scorn, and derision, but after the first hostile outburst, they were not hampered in their movements nor were they unkindly treated. Their captors, whose quarters

they shared, treated them as relatives. The prisoners generally married village girls, very often the sisters or daughters of their masters, or, in certain cases, the widow of a dead warrior whose hammock and ornaments they used. They received fields for their maintenance, they were free to hunt and fish, and they were reminded of their servile condition by few restrictions and humiliations.

The period of captivity lasted from a few months to several years. When, finally, the date for the execution had been set by the village council, invitations were sent to nearby villages to join in the celebration. The ritual for the slaughter of a captive was worked out to the most minute detail. The club and cord which figured prominently in the ceremony were carefully painted and decorated in accordance with strict rules. For 3 days before the event, the village women danced, sang, and tormented the victim with descriptions of his impending fate. On the eve of his execution a mock repetition of his capture took place, during which the prisoner was allowed to escape but was immediately retaken; the man who overpowered him in a wrestling match adopted a new name, as did the ceremonial executioner.

The prisoner spent his last night dancing, pelting his tormentors, and singing songs which foretold their ruin and proclaimed his pride at dying as a warrior. In the morning he was dragged to the plaza by old women amidst shouts, songs, and music. The ceremonial rope was removed from his neck and tied around his waist, and it was held at both ends by two or more men. The victim was once more permitted to give vent to his feelings by throwing fruit or potsherds at his enemies. The executioner, who appeared painted and dressed in a long feather cloak, derided the victim, who boasted of his past deeds and predicted that his relatives would avenge him.

The actual execution was a cruel game. The prisoner was allowed sufficient freedom of movement to dodge the blows aimed at him; sometimes a club was put in his hands so that he could parry the blows without being able to strike back. When at last he fell, his skull shattered, everyone shouted and whistled. Old women rushed in to drink the warm blood, children were invited to dip their hands in it, and mothers smeared their nipples so that even infants could have a taste. While the quartered body was being roasted on a babracot the old women, who were the most eager to taste human flesh, licked the grease running from the sticks. Certain delicate or sacred portions, such as the fingers and the grease around the liver, were given to distinguished guests.

Afterwards the executioner was obliged to observe a series of taboos. He remained in his hut until the hair on his shaved forehead had grown again. During his retreat he reclined in his hammock and

spent his time shooting miniature arrows at a wax figure that represented the ghost of his victim. His return to normal life was celebrated with a drinking bout during which he scarified himself by slashing his body in various patterns with an agouti tooth. The more tattoo marks a man could exhibit, the higher was his prestige, for in *Tupinamba* society a man's social standing rested on the number of captives he had executed on the plaza and served to his fellow villagers.

Ceremonial cannibalism has been reported among the following *Tupí-Guaraní* tribes: *Guaraní*, *Chiriguano*, *Guarayú*, *Yuruna*, *Shipaya*, *Apiacá*, *Parintintin*, and *Oyampi*. Although the *Omagua* and *Cocama* have been vigorously defended by the missionaries against accusations of cannibalism, their treatment of prisoners suggests that in former times their practices differed little from those of the *Tupinamba*. Among the *Omagua* and *Cocama* prisoners were well treated, but those who were particularly brave were executed and their heads stuck on sticks during certain feasts. The corpses were not eaten, but the whole ceremony is reminiscent of the *Tupinamba* sacrifices.

The sacrifice of war prisoners among the ancient *Guaraní* followed very closely the *Tupinamba* pattern. The victim, who had shared the life of the community for a long time and had even married a daughter of his captor, was finally dragged by women to the plaza where he threw missiles at his tormentors until he was knocked down with a club. Children were encouraged to bathe their hands in his blood so as to become valiant and "avenge their relatives." The ceremony invariably was the occasion for drinking and dancing.

The *Chiriguano* are said to have delivered their *Chané* captives to their children, who shot arrows at them. The corpses were eaten by the whole community. During the first century after their conquest of the western Chaco, the *Chiriguano* are said to have devoured about 60,000 *Chané*.

The *Itatin*, the ancestors of the *Guarayú*, killed their captives in the same manner as the *Guaraní*; even in the 19th century the *Guarayú* recalled their cannibalistic feasts on the *Chiquito*.

Among the *Shipaya*, cannibalism took the form of sacrifices to the demon Kumaphari. The god, through the medium of a shaman, asked his people for a meal of human flesh. An expedition was then planned. Before the warriors' departure, one man was selected by chance to take a prisoner. If successful, he tied the victim with a special rope and brought him back. The prisoner was well treated until he was delivered to the men of the tribe who shot him with arrows. Part of the corpse was eaten; the rest was offered to the god. The head was kept as a trophy and was supposed to announce the approach of enemies.

Even in quite recent times *Parintintin* ate the eyes, tongue, and leg and arm muscles of their dead enemies to prevent their ghosts from waking, seeing, talking, and shooting. The trophy skull was used in several ceremonies with which the Indians received a visitor. On these occasions the killer danced with the skull and pantomined the death of his enemy. After he had chanted and served mead to his guests, he laid the skull on the ground so that everyone could shoot at it. Other men then danced with the skull and extolled their own deeds. The *Parintintin* remembered a time when they had massacred their prisoners on the village plaza with a feather-decorated lance (probably a club).

Ever since Columbus' voyage, the *Carib* have been so famous as passionate man eaters that their very name has become synonymous with anthropophagy. Evidence of their cannibalistic practices was found by Columbus on Guadaloupe, where the Spaniards discovered half-cooked human flesh. Liberated *Arawakan* captives told them that the *Carib* raised children to be eaten, and that they even devoured the progeny of captive women. According to Peter Martyr (Anghiera, 1907, p. 12), these children were castrated in order to improve the flavor of their flesh, but one may doubt the accuracy of this statement. Later authors, who were better informed about *Carib* customs, mention neither the castration of boys nor the killing and eating of captive women's children.

Rochefort has written an excellent account of cannibalism among the *Island Carib*. An *Arawakan* prisoner was kept in the home of his captor, and at night he was tied to his hammock. On the day set for his sacrifice the victim was taken to the plaza accompanied by taunts and insults. There he delivered a speech in which he boasted of his courage and threatened the crowd with the vengeance of his people. He was slowly tortured to death, the people burning him with torches, slashing his skin, tossing red pepper into his wounds, and shooting at him with arrows. He tried his best not to betray his suffering. Finally, his skull was crushed with a club. The corpse was immediately cut into pieces, roasted, and eaten. Rochefort denies that the children of captive women were eaten (Rochefort, 1658, pp. 480-488).

There are several descriptions of the cannibalism of the mainland *Carib*. The *Norague* killed their prisoners by shooting at them. Even in Schombergk's time, the Pomeroon *Carib* remembered that their ancestors had been cannibals.

Originally, the *Arawakan* tribes of the West Indies and the Guianas seem not to have been cannibals, but some tribes may have adopted the practice as a form of revenge against their *Carib* enemies.

The *Arawak* of Puerto Rico are said to have treated their *Carib* captives as they themselves were treated. A Dutch author of the

17th century has given an eyewitness account of the treatment inflicted by *Arawak* on some *Carib* prisoners. The captives were well guarded but were not mistreated until the time for their death drew near, when they were insulted, beaten, and tormented with descriptions of their coming death. In the same manner as *Tupinamba* warriors under similar circumstances, the victims challenged their captors and tormentors and predicted that their death would be avenged. The people burned them with torches until finally a "captain" crushed their skull with a club. The people all rushed on the corpses to cut off slices of the flesh, which they put in the pepper pot.

According to Gumilla (1791), the *Arawakan Caberre* of the Orinoco River feasted on the corpses of their hereditary enemies, the *Carib*.

Martius (1867) and Marcoy (see bibliog. Hdk., vol. 3) are our main authorities on the cannibalism of the *Miranya* and their bitter enemies, the *Omagua*. A cynical *Miranya* chief was said to have remarked to Martius that a dead enemy was no better than game. The *Miranya* not only ate fallen enemies, but also killed their *Omagua* prisoners for this purpose. Captives taken from other tribes they preferred to sell.

Omagua practices recall those of the *Tupinamba*. The captives were not tied up and, although under constant supervision, could move around freely. They married women in the tribe, who saw to it that they were well fed. At last, on a night when the moon was full, they were taken to the forest to collect firewood. Then their captors would mark with red paint the parts of the body which they intended to eat. The rest of the night was passed in dancing; even the prisoners joined in the rejoicing. In the morning they were killed with clubs as they emerged from their huts. The corpses were entirely eaten, but those who partook in the meal made themselves vomit lest they retain any morsel of the human flesh.

Cannibalism was rampant among the tribes of the Putumayo River, especially among the *Witoto*, the *Andoke*, and the *Resigero*. Prisoners were executed during a drinking bout which lasted for 8 days. The head and limbs were eaten, but the brains and entrails were not. The male genital organs were presented to the wife of the chief, the only woman who shared in the feast. Each man boiled his share in a large pot, retrieving the flesh with a string (Whiffen, 1915, pp. 119-125). Crévaux visited a *Witoto* village during a cannibalistic meal and saw a head boiling in a pot. The victim was a *Carijona* Indian, a tribe whom the *Witoto* accused of having killed and eaten members of their own group.

The *Cubeo* also ate their enemies at a dance held to celebrate victory. The penis and scrotum, which were cut off and dried in smoke, were worn by a dancing warrior over his own genitals. At the end of the dance, the *Cubeo* warrior's wife ate the penis to become fertile. Men

are said to have preferred the loins, although the arms and ribs also were eaten (Goldman, Handbook, vol. 3, p. 786).

According to Figueroa (1904, pp. 150, 155), the *Gaye*, *Roamayna*, and *Zapa* were cannibals, who feasted on the bodies of their slain enemies. The *Amniapá* and *Guaratagaja* of the Guaporé River basin readily admitted their cannibalism. They ate not only the barbecued bodies of their enemies but also the corpses of tribesmen whom they put to death for certain crimes.

Cannibalism assumed almost monstrous proportions among the *Chibchan* tribes of the Cauca Valley from Popayán to Antioquia. With the exception of the *Porce*, the *Aburra*, and the *Coconuco*, all the Indians of this region were branded by the Spaniards as passionate cannibals, but they particularly singled out for denunciation the *Carrapa*, *Picara*, *Pozo*, *Arma*, *Cenufana*, *Evéjico*, and *Antiochia*. Outside of the Cauca Valley itself, the *Guambia*, *Malvasa*, *Polindara*, *Puracé*, *Tembia*, and *Colaza* were specifically mentioned as cannibals. The Spaniards obviously exaggerated when they claimed that tribes devoured their own close relatives or carried on markets for the sale of human flesh. Actually, only war captives were eaten. The Indians went to battle carrying ropes with which to tie up prisoners not eaten on the scene. The *Pozo* are said to have devoured 100 captives under Cieza de León's eyes; on another occasion the 4,000 *Picara* auxiliaries of the Spaniards are supposed to have eaten 300 dead enemies. The victims were killed with a blow on the back of the neck, which they received kneeling with an air of stoical resignation. In some tribes (*Arma*, *Caramanta*, *Iraca*, *Guacuceco*) the victims were torn to pieces. In several accounts the Indians are said to have eaten raw flesh, especially the heart and entrails; but as a rule, the flesh was boiled. The *Arma* and *Paucura* shut their prisoners in bamboo cages to fatten them. The *Arma* killed the victims when they sacrificed to the gods by tearing out their hearts. These Indians ate prisoners of either sex and of any age. Our sources report that they ate their female prisoners together with their progeny. Cieza de León³ states that some of these Indians forced their male slaves to have intercourse with women of their own tribe in order to beget children for cannibalistic feasts. The *Quimbaya* ate human flesh only

³ Cieza de León, 1932, p. 59: "Dentro de las casas de los señores tienen de las cañas gordas que de suso he dicho, las cuales, despues de secas, en extremo son recias, y hacen un cercado como jaula, ancha y corta y no muy alta, tan recliamente atadas que por ninguna manera los que meten dentro se pueden salir; cuando van a la guerra, los que prenden pónelos allí y mándanles day muy bien de comer, y de que están gordos sácanlos a sus plazas, que están junto á las casas, y en los días que hacen fiesta los matan con grand crueldad y los comen; yo ví algunas destas jaulas o cárceles en la provincia de Arma; y es de notar que cuando quieren matar algunos de aquellos malaventurados para comerlos los hacen hincar de rodillas en tierra, y abajando la cabeza le dan junto al corodrillo un golpe, del cual queda atordido y no habla ni se queja, ni dice mal ni bien."

on special occasions. (For the tribes of Colombia, see Handbook, vol. 4, pp. 297-338.)

Partial cannibalism.—Cannibalism may be restricted to the eating of certain parts of the human body which for magico-religious reasons are regarded as the seats of special virtues. For example, the ancient *Chébero* of the *Huallaga* River ate only the liver, heart, and entrails of their dead enemies (Maroni, 1889-92, 28: 389).

The cannibalism of the *Araucanians* belonged to the same category. The heart of the sacrificed captive was either bitten and sucked by the chief and others or was cut into small pieces which were distributed among the warriors. In some cases, the *Araucanians* broiled and ate pieces of flesh torn from the living captives or drank their powdered bones in chicha.

Doubtful cases of cannibalism.—The *Botocudo* repeatedly have been branded as ferocious cannibals, but the evidence, generally obtained at second-hand, is doubtful. The same may be said about the *Purí-Coroado*, although Eschwege reports that during their victory celebrations the *Coroado* licked the arm of a slain enemy which had been dipped in chicha.

HUMAN TROPHIES

The practice of preserving as a trophy the head or some other bodily part of an enemy killed on the field of battle or executed at home is very widespread in South America. Moreover, since the subject of trophies has seldom failed to interest ancient and modern travelers, there is ample documentation for the practice. A great variety of motives of a psychological, social, and religious order underlie the taking and preparation of such trophies. Unfortunately, our sources seldom allude to the reasons for the practice, and it is only in the case of the *Jívaro* that we may discern some of the implications of head hunting. Though many South American Indian tribes celebrated the taking of heads with great rejoicing and honored those who obtained them, no tribe, not even the *Jívaro*, seem to have developed the institution to the same extent as have some Malayan and Papuan tribes. Among the *Jívaro*, the possession of a trophy head seems to have ensured good luck to the owner, first because it contained *tsarutama* or magic power and secondly, because it secured the good will of the ancestors whose desire for revenge was gratified (Stirling, 1938, p. 75). Before its preparation, however, the head was considered to be inert and impotent; it assumed its magic powers only after it had been shrunk in accordance with strict rules.

Head trophies.—Head trophies in South America may be classified into four main types: (1) skulls, (2) mummified heads, (3) shrunken heads, or *tsantsas*, and (4) skull cups.

The number of head trophies which the Spaniards found in the Indian villages of the Cauca Valley is eloquent proof of the ferocity and the bloody character of the wars waged by these Indians. The heads hung in rows from the bamboo palisades and from the walls of temples and houses and lay in heaps on platforms on the plazas. Some heads probably were mummified because with their hair and paintings they had a lifelike appearance. The bamboo supports were pierced so that the wind blew through the holes with a mournful sound.

The tribes of Veragua, Darién and Panamá also kept their villages well stocked with human heads. Even though most of the skulls which Columbus found in the huts of the *Taino* in the West Indies clearly were the remains of ancestors, these Indians seem to have taken the heads of their enemies. There are few references to head trophies in the Guianas, but there is little doubt that here, too, the practice was general.

Early and recent accounts alike mention head trophies among the Amazonian tribes. Among the *Tupinamba*, *Guaraní*, and *Omagua*, the skulls of enemies were stuck on posts in front of the huts or on the palisades. The *Shipaya* greatly valued the skulls of their enemies and hung them in nets from the roof of the huts. The trophy heads of the *Mundurucú* are famous because of the skill with which they were prepared. After the brain and soft parts had been removed, they were plunged in oil and then exposed to the sun and to smoke. The empty sockets were filled with artificial eyes made of wax and cutia teeth. A carrying cord was laced through the lips.

A parallel may be established between the *Mundurucú* trophy heads and several specimens found by Tello at Nazca, but the method of preparation was somewhat different. In Perú the skin was peeled from the skull, which was cleansed of all organic matter, and, when the skin was perfectly cured, it was again stretched over the skull. Like the shrunken heads of the *Jívaro*, the Nazca trophies have skewers through the lips.

Scenes represented on the ceramics and textiles of the Nazca, Ica, and Tiahuanaco Periods bear ample evidence of the importance given by these early civilizations to trophy heads. Some details suggest that the heads were perhaps shrunken like the *Jívaro* tsantsas.

The *Inca* celebrated their victories by parading the heads of their enemies on the tips of lances or by bringing the trophies to Cuzco.

From historical sources as well as from rock paintings and vase decorations, we know that the bellicose *Diaguita* took the heads of their victims. Some of the skulls have been found in tombs in the valley of Humahuaca.

The *Araucanians* kept only the heads of famous enemies and of the prisoners whom they killed after a victory.

Shrunken heads.—The *Jívaro* owe their fame to the shrunken heads, or tsantsas, which they still prepared in modern times and which have been eagerly sought after by collectors. (Their technique has been described in the Handbook, vol. 3, p. 625. See also Stirling, 1938, pp. 56–59.)

In pre-Columbian times the art of shrinking heads was widespread in the Andean area. Early chroniclers have given us excellent descriptions of shrunken heads and of the methods of their preparation among the Indians of the Ecuadorian Coast. Vases in the shape of shrunken heads and representations of heads reminiscent of the tsantsas may be assigned to the Nazca, Ica, and Tiahuanaco Periods, but shrunken heads themselves have not been found in Perú. It is a moot question whether the countless heads with skewered lips painted on Nazca vases actually were reduced or were prepared like the specimens described by Tello.

In the 17th century, the neighbors of the *Jívaro*, the *Maina*, *Chébero*, and *Cocama*, also prepared tsantsas from the heads of their enemies.

Skull cups.—Following an ancient custom, the *Araucanians* made a cup from the skull of the famous conquistador Valdivia. The same method of scorning the enemy occurred in Perú, where the skull vessels were often mounted on silver. It was also found among many tribes of the Chaco, Brazil, and the Guianas.

Stuffed corpses.—The most spectacular trophies displayed by South American Indians were the stuffed bodies of their enemies. The Indians of the Cauca Valley seem to have carried this practice to extremes. Cieza de León (1932, p. 84) writes that he saw in Cali on a platform, "corpses which had been opened and flayed with a flint knife and eaten. The skins were then stuffed with ashes, the faces remodeled with wax; they were set up in lifelike position." These Indians also preserved the feet and hands of their enemies and even their ash-filled intestines. The *Huanca* Indians of the Valley of Xauxa similarly placed the stuffed skins of war captives in their temples. Even the *Inca* stuffed the corpses of war captives with ashes or straw, and made their stomachs into drums. To add to the insult, the hands of the corpse were so arranged that he seemed to be drumming on his own stomach and a flute was placed in his mouth.

The flaying of enemy corpses has been reported for the *Arara*, a *Carib* tribe of the lower Xingú River.

The ancient *Quechua* made drum heads of the skin of their enemies. The *Araucanians* made rattles from the dried skin of their enemies' hands, and at dances they wore masks made from the dried and molded

facial skin of dead captives. Occasionally, they stuffed the bodies with straw. Some of the *Abipón* made arrow quivers from the cured skin of their enemies' hands. Stuffed hands were seen by Sotelo de Narváez among the Indians of Santiago del Estero in the Argentine.

Scalping.—Scalping has been reported only in two regions of South America: in the Chaco, where it was practiced by several tribes (*Mataco, Toba, Pilagá, Mocoví, Abipón, Mbayá*) and in the Guianas, where it is ascribed to the *Carib* by several usually reliable sources. The occurrence of the custom in the Guianas is most disconcerting. Friederici (1929) tries to ascribe it to the influence of escaped North American Indians brought to the Guianas as slaves; but this hypothesis is not acceptable to Roth (1924), who believes scalping to be an indigenous practice. The Chaco Indians made cups out of the dry skin from the scalp and a portion of the face. The *Toba* and *Ashluslay* mounted their scalps on a wooden hoop. When a war party returned with scalps, festivities were organized and masked dancers jumped and ran around the poles from which the trophies were hung. Scalping also is reported among the *Arara*, a little-known tribe of the lower Xingú River. They took not only the scalp, but also the ears and mounted the trophy on a hoop (Nimuendajú, 1924).

Bone trophies.—In countless South American tribes from the Guianas to Chile, the bones of dead enemies were made into arrow heads or flutes. The *Araucanians* cut off the arms and legs of dead war prisoners and made flutes of the long bones to celebrate their triumph. The *Yuruna* made trumpet bells out of skulls. The trophies most commonly mentioned among the Indians of Santa Marta, Colombia, Venezuela, the Guianas, Brazil, and Paraguay are tooth necklaces. These ornaments have been reported also in the Pampas, but not in Perú; perforated human teeth, however, were found archeologically on the Coast. Among the ancient *Guaraní*, old women made necklaces out of the teeth of the victims of cannibalistic feasts. *Mundurucú* warriors who had fought bravely but, because of a wound, had failed to obtain a head, were compensated with the gift of a cotton belt from which hung the teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle; its possession entitled her to community support.

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