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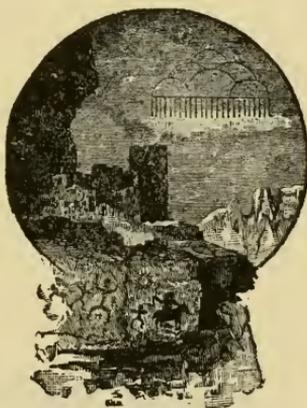
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Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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TRIBES OF EASTERN BOLIVIA AND THE MADEIRA HEADWATERS

By ALFRED MÉTRAUX

THE CHIQUITOANS AND OTHER TRIBES OF THE PROVINCE OF CHIQUITOS

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND LANGUAGES

It is extremely difficult to obtain a clear picture of the linguistic affiliations or even of the exact locations of the tribes of the region known as the Province of Chiquitos, bordered on the south by the Chaco desert, on the east by the Paraguay River and by the marshes of its upper course, on the west by the Rio Grande (Guapay River), and on the north by a line more or less corresponding to lat. 15° W. (map 1, *No. 2*; map 4).

The chronicles of the Conquest, the official documents and reports of local authorities, and later the letters and accounts of the Jesuits teem with names of tribes and subtribes, but seldom mention their linguistic affiliation and even their location. From the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians of the area just defined have been called *Chiquito*, "the small ones," irrespective of their linguistic family or culture. There is one language, still isolated, called *Chiquitoan*, which is spoken today in that region, but, because several tribes of other linguistic families adopted *Chiquitoan* as a common language when they were collected in the Jesuit missions, it has become impossible to establish the former distribution of the *Chiquitoan* language. Hervás (1800-05, 1:160) lists the following tribes which spoke languages different from *Chiquitoan*: *Bataje*, *Corabé*, *Cuberé*, *Curucané*, *Curomina*, *Ecoboré*, *Otuque*, *Paicone*, *Parabá*, *Pauná*, *Puizoca*, *Quiteme*, *Tapii*, *Tapuri*, *Jarabe*, and *Bauré*. We know, thanks to vocabularies collected by D'Orbigny, that the *Saraveca* (lat. 15° S., long. 60° W.), *Paunaca* (*Pauna*) (lat. 16° S., long. 60° W.), and *Paiconeca* (*Paicone*) (lat. 15° S., long. 62° W.) were *Arawakan* (see p. 396), perhaps subtribes of the *Chané*, who are repeatedly mentioned in that area; and that the *Otuke* (*Otuque*) (lat. 18° S., long. 60° W.), *Coraveca* (lat. 17° S., long. 60° W.), and *Curuminaca* (lat. 16° S., long. 60°-62° W.) formed an isolated linguistic group called *Otukean* (see p. 395), perhaps related to *Bororo*. In 1831, when D'Orbigny visited the Province of Chiquitos, the Indians still remembered that in the past the *Curavé* (*Corabé*), the *Tapii* (lat. 18° S., long. 60° W.), the *Curucaneca*

In the south of the Province of Chiquitos, the missionaries had to deal with the *Zamuco* and *Ugareño*, who were closely related to two modern Chaco tribes, the *Chamacoco* and *Tumerehã*.

THE CHIQUITOAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

Hervás (1800–05, 1:158–159) classifies the *Chiquitoan*-speaking tribes into four subgroups, according to their respective dialects.

(1) Tribes speaking the *Tao* dialect: *Arupareca*, *Bazoroca*, *Booca*, *Boro*, *Pequica*, *Piococa*, *Puntagica*, *Quibiquica*, *Tañopica*, *Tabüca*, *Tao*, *Tubacica*, *Xuberesea*, and *Zamanuca*. The *Tao* dialect was spoken in the Missions of Santa Ana, San Rafael, San Miguel, San Ignacio, San Juan, Santiago, Santo Corazón, and Concepción.

(2) Tribes speaking the *Piñoco* dialect: *Guapaca*, *Motaquica*, *Piococa* (in Xavier and not to be confused with the *Piococa* of San Ignacio and Santa Ana, who spoke the *Tao* dialect), *Pogisoca*, *Quimeca*, *Quitagica*, *Taunoca*, and *Zemuquica*. The *Piñoco* dialect was spoken in San Xavier, San José de Chiquitos, and in San José de Buenavista (Desposorios) in Mojos.

(3) Tribes speaking the *Manasí* dialect: *Cucica*, *Manasí* (*Manacica*), *Quimomeca*, *Sibaca*, *Tapacuraca* (?), *Yiritua*, and *Yuracareca* (*Yuracare*?). The *Manasí* dialect, spoken in the Mission of Concepción, was soon discarded in favor of the *Tao* dialect.

(4) The *Peñoqui* dialect was spoken by a single tribe, which was settled in the Mission of San José, where it soon adopted the *Piñoco* dialect. *Peñoqui* was the most differentiated of the four dialects and Father Felipe Suarez, the author of a *Chiquitoan* grammar, was obliged to write a special dictionary for this language and to translate the catechism into it.

According to D'Orbigny (1839, 2:155), the *Cuciquia*, who were split into *Cuciquia*, *Tapacuraca*, and *Yurucaritia*, used a dialect full of foreign words, mainly *Paiconeca*. The *Cuciquia* came from the northernmost part of the region of Chiquitos, where the *Boxo*, *Penoto*, *Tabica*, and *Xamaro* occupied the south of the same province.

HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF CHIQUITOS

The first knowledge of the Indians of the region of Chiquitos was brought back by Domingo Martinez de Irala and Nuflo de Chaves, when they ascended the Paraguay River in 1542 as far as lat. 17° S. and discovered the *Surucusi*, the *Orejón*, the *Arenococi*, the *Xaraye* (lat. 18° S., long. 58° W.), and several other tribes. The party journeyed 4 days to the west of the Paraguay River and returned with information given to them by *Guaraní* migrating toward the Andes.

The following year, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca organized his big expedition to discover El Dorado and the land of the Amazons, actually the *Inca* Empire as described by the Indians of the upper Paraguay River. From Puerto de los Reyes (lat. 17°57' S.), Cabeza de Vaca sent an expedition toward the west with *Guaraní* guides. One of his lieutenants, Rivera, arrived at a country where the Indians wore silver disks in their lower lips and gold earrings. They had many metal objects: plates, hatchets, and bracelets of silver. Like the modern *Chiriguano*, they stored their belongings and their provisions of maize in large vessels. These Indians, called *Tarapecosi*, did not understand *Guaraní* and were probably *Chiquito*, as can be surmised from their location and from their use of poisonous arrows, a distinctive weapon of the *Chiquito*. They received the metal objects found among

them from the *Payzuno*, who in turn traded them from the *Chané*, *Chimeno*, *Caracara*, and *Candire*. *Caracara* and *Candire* were names used by the *Guarani* of Paraguay to designate the mountain people of the west.

Another reconnoitering party under Hernando de Rivera was sent upstream to the *Xarayé*. They traveled many miles westward until stopped by a flood, and they passed through the land of the *Urtu* (*Urtues*) and *Aburuñe*, who had metal plates.

The names of a great many tribes of Chiquitos are listed in the brief accounts of the expedition of Domingo Martinez de Irala, who in 1548 left the region of Cerro San Fernando (lat. 21°30' S.) and marched west, crossing the northern plains of the Chaco and later the southern part of the Province of Chiquitos. He ended his journey on the Guapay River among the *Tamacoci*. The Conquest of Chiquitos was achieved between 1557 and 1560 by Nufflo de Chaves, who, starting from the marshes of Xarayes, also reached the *Tamacoci*. In 1560, Nufflo de Chaves subjugated the *Tamacoci* and *Gorgotoqui* and, in the heart of the Province of Chiquitos, near the San José Range, founded the first city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in the territory of the *Quibaracoa*, *Penoqui*, *Quicme*, *Parani*, who undoubtedly were *Chiquitoan*, the *Subereca* (probably *Saraveca*), and a few *Chané* who were *Arawakan*. The *Paicono*, also an *Arawakan* tribe, lived 20 leagues from the city.

In 1595, Santa Cruz was transferred to the plains of Grigotá, near the present city of that name. The remaining *Chiquito*, who had been under Spanish influence for 40 years, reverted to their primitive ways and often raided the new Spanish settlements to steal iron tools which had become indispensable to them.

In 1690, the *Zumbiqui*, *Cozo*, *Pacara*, and *Pinoco*, defeated by a punitive expedition, sued for peace and consented to receive the Jesuit missionaries. The first mission among the *Chiquito* was that of San Francisco Xavier, founded in 1691 by Father José de Arce among the *Pinoco*. At that time, the *Chiquito* were constantly harassed by the Paulista slavers or *mamelucos*; entire tribes were exterminated or taken as slaves to the Brazilian coast. The Jesuits, aided by a small Spanish contingent, averted the total destruction of the *Chiquito* by defeating a party of slavers who had occupied the mission.

Between 1691 and 1755, the Jesuits founded 8 missions in the Province of Chiquitos, concentrating representatives of various tribes and subtribes in each. In 1767, the Jesuits were expelled, and soon the populous missions of the Province of Chiquitos slipped back into the half barbarous condition in which they have remained up to the present. A census of the native population in 10 Jesuit missions made in 1766 gave for the region of Chiquitos a total population of 23,788. In 1831, there were 14,925 Indians who spoke *Chiquitoan* (D'Orbigny, 1839, 2:130).

During the three centuries after the Conquest, the Spanish and Portuguese slavers, as well as several epidemics, took a heavy toll of *Chiquito*.

THE CULTURE OF THE CHIQUITO PROPER

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Cultivated plants were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, peanuts, gourds, pumpkins, pineapples, tobacco, and, after the Conquest, rice and cacao trees. The staple seems to have been sweet manioc (*yuca*). Fields were tilled by men with hardwood digging sticks. After the harvest, small groups of men scattered through the bush to fish and hunt. Methods employed in these activities are not described, except for vague references

to taking fish by drugging, shooting, and by means of traps. Game was broiled on a babracot in order to preserve it for a few days. At the end of the hunting and fishing season in August, the Indians started work in the fields. In some parts of the province, the Indians dug wells during the dry season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Houses were small, thatched beehive huts with a low entrance as a protection against mosquitoes. Young men slept in large men's houses described as open sheds, where visitors were received and feasts celebrated. Men slept in cotton hammocks, women on mats or on branches.

Villages were protected by thorny hedges and by poisoned caltrops. During the Conquest, the Spaniards had to storm villages defended by strong palisades.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Except for chiefs and persons of wealth, who wore tunics (cushma), men went naked. Before the missionary era, women wore loincloths, later sleeveless shirts (tipoy). Men inserted labrets in their lower lips (after the Conquest, these were made of tin) and feathers in their ear lobes. Their other ornaments were seed and fruit-shell necklaces and anklets, belts of bright feathers and tufts of feathers, and tails of game animals, which they hung on their person. Both sexes let their hair fall down the back and tied it at the nape.

WEAPONS

The principal *Chiquito* weapon was the bow and arrow. Their poisoned arrows were greatly dreaded by both Indians and Spaniards. At close range, the *Chiquito* fought with paddlelike, sharp-edged clubs of hardwood.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Chiefs were selected from distinguished warriors and were assisted by a council of old men. War prisoners were well treated and married within their captors' tribe. Polygyny is said to have been a necessity for chiefs, who, without the help of several wives, could not have organized the feasts which they were obliged to give. Sororal polygyny is indicated.

LIFE CYCLE

Before childbirth, the father refrained from hunting certain animals, mainly serpents. After the birth, he remained idle for a few days. A woman resumed her sexual life after the child was weaned.

Adolescent boys lived in the men's house. A young man who wanted to marry had to prove his skill as a hunter. Custom allowed husbands

to relinquish their wives to other men in circumstances which are not specified.

The dead were buried with food and with their favorite weapons. Widows remarried after a short time.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—Flutes (with one or two stops), panpipes, and fruit-shell jingles, attached to the ankles, gourd rattles, and whistles (fig. 49, *a*) are the only musical instruments mentioned in our sources. In the pagan era, the *Chiquito* started their daily work by playing their flutes at dawn.

Dances.—In an ancient dance, the boys formed an outer and the girls an inner circle which revolved around two flute players. The mission dances may be survivals of the past. In the “apanaococh” dance, the women dancers placed themselves in two lines and sang while alternately turning from one side to the other. Women danced also in a circle holding each others’ hands and making turns to one side and the other. Another dance consisted of a mock fight between two women, one of whom protected a group of dancers behind her from the other woman. The texts of the songs collected by D’Orbigny (1835–47, 3:59–60) are short sentences without special meaning.

Games.—The favorite sport of the *Chiquito* was a ball game played with a complex ceremonialism. Dances and mutual taunts preceded the game itself. A rubber ball was struck back and forth with the head until someone let it fall, thus losing a point to the other team. Scores were kept with maize cobs. The victors were privileged to deride their opponents and to drink all the beer that had been brewed.

Beverages.—The *Chiquito* prepared chicha of manioc, maize, and fruits. The drinking bouts, to which they invited the neighboring communities, lasted for several days and were often the occasions for settling old quarrels.

RELIGION

The moon was regarded as a female deity but was not worshiped. Thunder and lightning were construed as the manifestations of the wrath of spirits. During an eclipse, the people shouted and threw arrows to drive away a celestial “dog” (probably jaguar), which was thought to attack the moon, causing her to bleed.

The *Chiquito* attached great importance to omens and auguries derived from the observation of animals, birds, and plants.

SHAMANISM

Shamans were tribal or community chiefs. Diseases were attributed to witchcraft, to the violation of a taboo, such as that against spilling

chicha, or to feeding game flesh to a dog. In the last case, the game's soul entered the person's body. The shaman sucked the patient and vomited a blackish substance. He also beat the ground around the patient with a club to scare away the intruding soul.

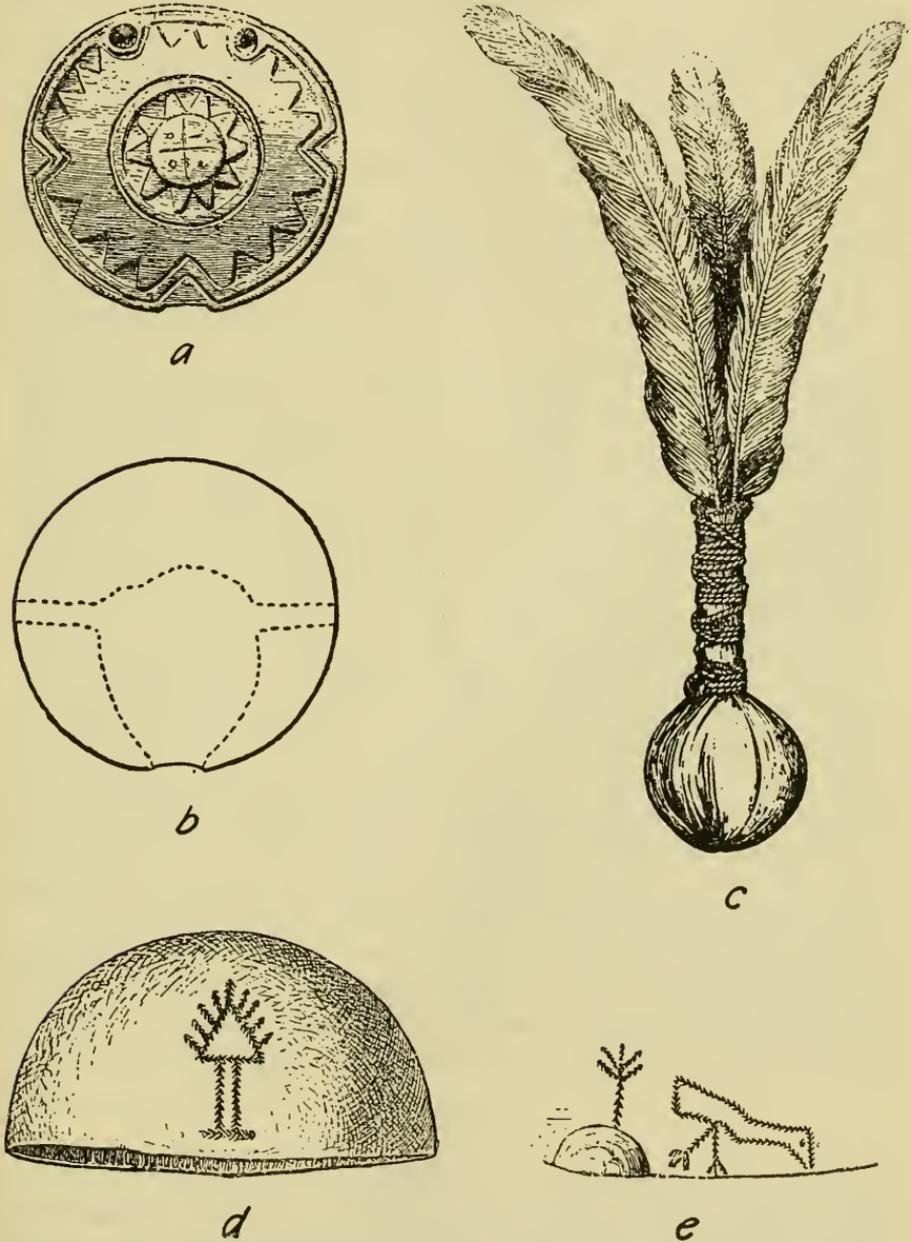


FIGURE 49.—Artifacts from Chiquitos, *Churapa* Indians. *a*, Wooden whistle; *b*, cross section of whistle; *c*, ball of cornhusks and feather for "shuttlecock" game; *d*, incised gourd; *e*, design from other side of *d*. (After Nordenskiöld, 1922, figs. 3-6.)

The shaman was expected to reveal the name of the witch, whom the patient's family tried to punish. Revengeful feelings were also turned against any woman about whom the patient had dreamed and whom, therefore, he suspected of witchcraft.

At each new moon, the shamans went into seclusion and had long talks with spirits.

THE MANASÍ

LANGUAGE AND HABITAT

The *Manasí* (*Manasica*) (lat. 16° S., long. 62° W.), probably a *Chiquitoan* tribe, were situated in the northwest of the Province of Chiquitos "a two days' walk from the Mission of San Francisco Xavier" (Fernández, 1895, 1:260). Father Lucas Caballero, who discovered the *Manasí* in 1704, considered them a nation formed of *Tapacura* and *Quimemoca*. These two tribes, he adds, spoke the same language with insignificant dialectical differences. The informants, from whom he obtained cultural data on the *Manasí*, came from these two tribes. In his account of the *Manasí*, Caballero always refers to the *Tapacura* and *Quimemoca*. Fernández (1895, 1:265-266), who lists about 50 *Manasí* villages, mentions the *Tapacura* and the *Quimemoca* as the western and eastern neighbors of the *Manasí*. Hervás (1800-05, vol. 1) classifies the *Manasí* among the *Chiquitoan*-speaking Indians of the Jesuit missions and makes of the *Tapacura* a *Manasí* subgroup. The question is important, because if Caballero is right, the *Manasí* did not belong to the *Chiquitoan* family, but to the *Chapacuran* family, represented by the *Chapacura* and *Quitemoca*. Hervás and Fernández, however, both state that *Manasí* was a dialect of *Chiquito*. Comparisons between the few *Manasí* words recorded by Caballero and the *Chapacuran* and *Mojo* vocabularies did not show any analogies. On the other hand, two *Manasí* words are distinctly *Chiquitoan*: *poori* (house) and *tuu* (river).

The habitat of the *Manasí* was crossed by rivers of the Mamoré Basin, probably tributaries of the Río Blanco and Guaporé River. The two names of rivers cited are the San Unalo and the Luquibiqui.

CULTURE

MATERIAL CULTURE

The *Manasí* were proficient horticulturists, hunters, and fishermen. Fishing was especially profitable when the rivers were low. The women were skillful weavers and their pottery was remarkably good, "ringing like metal to the touch."

The bows were long and thick. Some *Manasí* used poisoned arrows obtained from the *Chiquito*.

The *Manasí* made objects of stone, including stone pendants, carving them with stone tools. They cut and carved wood with piranha teeth.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each *Manasí* community was under a high chief and a few "captains," probably lesser chiefs, who were the heads of extended families or households. The "captains," however, seem to have had less prestige than priests, if the disposition of the different groups at public meetings in the communal halls actually reflected the social ranking. Immediately behind the supreme chief (cacique) sat the "priests" (sacerdotes de sus dioses) and the medicine men (hechiceros y chupadores); the "captains" (capitanes) took their places behind these. The remaining space was occupied by the common people.

The chief maintained order in the community and represented it in dealing with outsiders. Personally or through his subordinates, he administered sound thrashings to troublemakers and to those who disobeyed him. He had several wives, one of whom ruled over the women of the community. One of his sons, the heir apparent, dominated the youths, and, like his father, chastised delinquents with a stick. When the heir apparent was old enough to attend to public business, power was transferred to him "with many ceremonies and rites," after he had demonstrated his worth by leading a war party. It seems, however, that his father lost neither his prestige nor the respect of his subjects.

Hunters and fishermen had to ask the chief for permission to leave the village. Young people never sat in his presence but stood respectfully at a distance. Commoners addressed him in a very formal manner. The subordination to the chief diminished with the age of the subject. When a boy was old enough to serve the cacique, his father was liberated from many duties. Drinking bouts were organized by the chief, who sent special messengers to neighboring villages to invite the guests.

The main chief lived in a huge house built by the people in the middle of the plaza; this house served also as a community hall and as a temple. Each chief had two large fields, which were tilled by his subjects. He received the first fruits of the crops and a share of all game and fish brought into the village. Dead chiefs were buried with special ceremonies amid general laments.

RELIGION

There is little doubt that the *Manasí* worshiped real gods with distinct personalities. The main deity was (O)mequituriqui, known also as Uracozorizo, though perhaps this latter name may apply to some other divinity or may be an epithet. With the goddess Quipozi, he procreated the god Urasaña. These three deities were closely associated with Urapo

Stiquitetu, the Thunder God, and altogether these constituted the *tini-maa(ka)*, or major gods. This name was not applied to lesser spirits, among whom were the souls of the dead, who did not sit in the temple "but stood in front" of the gods in a humble position. The River God Ysituu (*tuu* means "river" in *Chiquitoan*) appears as an independent god, master of fish and water animals, who was worshiped in the sanctuary of the chief's house, but in the description of the afterworld the Ysituu are mentioned merely as river spirits.

(O)mequituriqui (God Father), who spoke in a high-pitched voice, fulfilled the function of judge and avenger of the people. Diseases and deaths were attributed to him, and he appeared to sick people to scourge and torment them. But Urasaña, Urapo Stiquitetu, and especially the goddess Quipozi interceded for mankind.

The goddess Quipozi seems to have enjoyed great popularity. She was ordinarily addressed as "Our mother," and was visualized as a huge woman, clothed in a white floating garment, who protected people against the anger or vengeance of the other gods.

Cult.—Sanctuaries (*pooriri*) were the large huts which served as chief's residences as well as halls for public assemblies and banquets. When a religious ceremony was celebrated in honor of the gods, part of the hall was curtained off with mats for their reception.

The gods or spirits came down with a sound which filled the air, made the roof of the building shake, and agitated the mats. The people and the priests who were feasting or dancing there bade the god welcome. The oldest man and woman of the community offered the god *chicha* in a small decorated vase. Only a "high priest" could enter the compartment reserved to the major gods, and lesser shamans were warned that the deities would kill them if they insisted on seeing them face to face. At first, some music was heard. The people accredited it to the god Urasaña, and accompanied it with loud songs. Then, during a long conversation, the "high priest" consulted the gods about future events, such as seasonable rains, bountiful harvests, successful hunting and fishing expeditions, and the issue of prospective war raids. These interviews were carried on aloud. After the consultation, game—but never monkeys—and fish were offered to the gods.

When the ceremony neared its end, the gods fled through the air carrying the shaman with them and shaking the whole building as they ascended. After a while, the goddess Quipozi brought him back to the temple in her arms and held him there sleeping, while she sang in a sweet voice. *Chicha* and food were presented to the goddess, who then returned to her celestial abode.

The River God, Ysituu (*Ssituu*), visited the temple if invited to receive food and *chicha* from the faithful. Before a fishing party, priests went to the river and blew tobacco smoke over the water, reciting charms.

When a new chief's house or sanctuary was inaugurated, no one was allowed to eat meat for 4 days. The diet consisted of fish, fruit, and tubers. People did not sing or dance, and they observed strict silence when entering the temple. Their sole occupation was weaving mats for the sanctuary.

On the fifth day, an old "priestess" received a carved white stone from the chief and gently struck his forehead with it. The priest then performed several ceremonies, which were followed by a banquet and a drinking spree during which the people extolled their prowess in songs.

Priesthood.—Caballero distinguishes the "priests" (mapono) from the "witches" or "suckers" (chupadores). The latter had a lower status. The difference was based on the specialized activities of the shaman rather than on his training. Priests and shamans underwent the same education and observed the same taboos. Moreover, the whole method used by the mapono to approach the gods followed the shamanistic pattern: The god descended into the tabernacle in the same way as the spirit entered the lodge of the shaman. The cult was essentially a direct and personal interview between the mapono and the gods rather than prayers and sacrifices to an unseen god. The ascent of the "priest" was an old shamanistic trick.

One of the main purposes of a cure was to extract from the patient a blackish substance, like rubber, which some sorcerer or god had injected into his body. Every shaman had some of the same substance in his stomach and used it as a weapon.

During the initiation of the mapono, an old priest became intoxicated and vomited a blackish substance into a calabash. He rubbed the arms and shoulders of the candidate with this substance, and the youth trembled as it penetrated his body. The initiate then drank what was left of the magic stuff.

The training of the young shaman aimed principally to teach him how to fly to the gods.

Among other rites, candidates were exposed to the waning moon while the initiator pulled their fingers to make the joints crack. They were not allowed to cut their finger nails. Their first visits to the gods, whose aspect was awe inspiring, were fraught with anxiety and fear.

Full-fledged priests avoided eating various kinds of game and fish, especially granadilla fruit, so as not to lose the faculty of flying and other shamanistic powers. They enjoyed an exalted status within the society and many economic advantages. Like the chiefs, they received part of the crops and game, and they could consume the offerings which were strictly taboo to the rest of the population. The community built their houses, which occasionally were converted into temples or assembly halls. Some priests lived in isolation outside the village. Their property was guarded against theft by the gods, who would have killed anyone who touched their servants' crops.

To address the gods, shamans employed a special language, which according to Caballero, played the same role as Latin did in the Catholic Church. Almost everyone understood it, however, for it was taught to the young people. Several words of their language were transcribed by Caballero (1933, p. 27), who adds: "Thus, in each village there are three tongues: one for the men, another for the women, and a third for the devil."

In each village there were from two to four *mapono* who served alternately in the "temple." Besides the formal visits of the gods, when they appeared before the whole community, the *mapono* had private consultations with the deities in his house, which was temporarily evacuated by the women. If no game were found during a hunt, the shaman retired to a small palm-leaf cabin to ask for divine advice, often ascending to the sky to speak face to face with the gods. Many shamans kept serpents in their huts and took them along when strolling around the village.

Treatment of diseases.—Diseases were sent by the gods as a punishment for some transgression, or were caused by an animal spirit that entered the body, or by a witch who mysteriously cast some of his lethal blackish substance into the victim. The treatment consisted mainly in sucking out this substance or some object, such as a small serpent which later grew to larger proportions.

A religious element was combined with the purely magic cure. The sick man could invoke the goddess *Quipozi*, who came to his bedside and upbraided the gods for afflicting him with illness. She would order the shaman to treat the patient in the usual manner, and, as she departed, she would comfort the invalid with reassuring words.

Funerary rites and the hereafter.—After the funeral, the relatives gathered in the temple where the priests evoked the soul of the dead man. He purified it, and carried it on his back up to the land of the gods. A soul that was not carried by a shaman risked losing its way, and shamans used this fear as a threat against their enemies. The path to the Land of the Dead was alternately rugged and marshy and was crossed by many rivers. The soul finally arrived at a cross road and a bridge guarded by the God *Tatusio*, who showed it the way to the land of the Gods. *Tatusio* asked the soul to stop and groom his long disheveled and scabby hair. If the soul refused, he seized it by the leg and threw it into the river, causing rain and floods on earth. The Land of the Dead was an agreeable country abounding with honey, fish, and certain large trees that exuded a rosin which the souls ate. There were also big black monkeys and an eagle, which constantly soared in the sky. The land was divided into different regions to which the souls went according to the place where they had died. Each category of souls had a different name. The *Asinecca* were those who had perished near a river and who had gone to the land of the water gods (*Ysituuca*), which teemed with fish, bananas,

parrots, and other birds. The Yirituca were those who had died in the bush, and the Posirabca those who had died in their own homes.

Mythology.—The culture hero was miraculously conceived by a virgin. He cured the sick, resuscitated the dead, and performed other difficult things. Finally, to show his superior nature, he ascended to the sky, where he was transformed into the sun.

The sun was a resplendent man and the moon was his sister. Eclipses were caused by celestial serpents which attacked these luminaries, threatening mankind with darkness. This catastrophe was to be followed by the transformation of men into hairy animals and by their mutual extermination. People did everything they could to assist the moon: They shot incendiary arrows into the sky and made all kinds of noises with their musical instruments. They called the sun to the rescue, shouting, "Sun, why don't you protect the moon, your sister? Why don't you help her in her trouble?"

THE MODERN CHURAPA

HISTORY

The acculturated *Churapa* are the only *Chiquitoan* Indians who have been described by a modern anthropologist. In 1908, Nordenskiöld (1922, p. 21) found 500 to 1,000 of them in the Province of Sara, north of the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The ancestors of the *Churapa* had been captured by the Spaniards about 1690, east of the Río Grande (Guapay River) and put under the Jesuit control. Their mission was shifted several times before it was transferred to the town of Buenavista in 1723, where their descendants still live. At the end of the 18th century, their number was 2,017.

CULTURE

Forty years ago very little remained of aboriginal *Churapa* culture. The Indians were good tropical farmers, and they still hunted and fished with the bow and arrow. Their arrows had a cemented feathering, butts reinforced by wooden plugs, and wooden knob and wooden rod tips. They poisoned fish with barbasco (*Lonchocarpus nicou*) and ochohó (*Hura crepitans*).

Houses were of the Mestizo type: A thatched gabled roof rested on walls of palm leaves or of wattle-and-daub. Furniture consisted of palm-leaf mats, hammocks, and platform beds.

The *Churapa* were expert basket makers, and they manufactured Panama hats for sale. Formerly, they made artistically painted pots, but more recently their ware had become plain and crude. They carved wooden bowls and incised realistic motifs on their calabashes (fig. 49, *d, e*).

During Christian feasts, they danced with their faces hidden by cloth masks and their bodies covered with ostrich feathers. Certain masked dancers impersonated the sun. In these festivities, they shot at each other with arrows tipped with a wax lump.

They had wooden whistles similar to those of the *Chiriguano* and of the Chaco tribes: The round, resonator whistle with a blowhole, two stops, and two incised, concentric, toothed circles on one surface (fig. 49, *a, b*); and the serere whistles, a long piece of wood with a diamond-shaped cross section perforated from end to end.

They played a ball game with rubber balls, but its rules are unknown. Another game consisted in throwing potsherds at white stones, each man trying to cover the target before his competitor. "Papamkosh" was a kind of bowling game played with palm nuts piled by fours into small heaps, which the players had to knock down with a ball. Children amused themselves by swinging bull-roarers and throwing shuttlecocks made of maize leaves and feathers (fig. 49, *c*).

THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE CHIQUITOS REGION

The *Xaraye* Indians, who lived around the modern Laguna Maniore (lat. 18° S., long. 58° W.), must have been fairly numerous if one of their villages actually had 1,000 inhabitants.

The *Xaraye* were good agriculturists reaping maize, potatoes, manioc, and peanuts twice a year. Fishing and hunting were important. These Indians raised hens and ducks.

The huts, housing a single family, were grouped around a plaza. The furniture consisted of hammocks and benches.

Men went naked, women wore a tipoy. On festive occasions, they wore cotton mantles with naturalistic paintings. Their main ornaments were stone labrets, wooden "rings" (plugs?) in the ear lobes. They had silver and gold ornaments obtained from tribes near the Andes.

Weapons were the bow and arrow; musical instruments, drums and trumpets.

The chief of the *Xaraye* ruled over four villages.

In his expedition west of the *Xaraye*, Hernando de Ribera met the *Siberi*, who were linguistically and culturally related to the *Xaraye*. He also encountered the *Ortu* and *Aburune*. These Indians wore gold plates on their foreheads and silver bracelets around their arms.

Ethnological data on the western tribes are few: The *Simeno* and *Mayagueno*, mentioned by Schmidel (1903), protected their villages with thorny hedges. The *Siberi* prepared manioc chicha and obtained water from deep wells.

Gorgotoqui men and women wore a stone disk in the lower lip. Their cultivated plants were maize and several kinds of tubers. Weapons were the bow and arrow and tapir-hide shields.

The few data on these tribes are contained in Schmidel (1903), in the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Hernández, 1852), in Lozano (1873-75) and in the documents published by Mujía (1914).

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THE OTUKEAN TRIBES

The *Otuke*, *Covareca*, and the *Curuminaca* spoke dialects belonging to an isolated linguistic group, *Otukean*, which shows, according to Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1913 e), striking lexicographic affinities with *Bororo*.

The *Otuke* (*Otuque*, *Otuqui*) proper lived in the northwestern part of the Province of Chiquitos, not far from the Bolivian-Brazilian border (lat. 17°-18° S., long. 60° W.; map 1, No. 2; map 2). Remnants of the tribe were established in the Mission of Santo Corazón.

The *Covareca*, who formed part of the Mission of Santa Ana de Chiquitos, came from a region near lat. 17° S. and long. 60° W. In D'Orbigny's time, only 50 of these Indians remained in the mission, the other 100 having gone to live in the bush.

The *Curuminaca* were located in the northwestern part of the Province of Chiquitos, around lat. 16° S. and long. 62° W. In 1831, 100 were settled at Santa Ana and 50 at Casalvasco.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bach, 1838, 1929; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1912, 1913 e.

TRIBES OF UNIDENTIFIED LANGUAGE, PRESUMABLY OTUKEAN

D'Orbigny (1839, 2:183-186) gives some scanty information on four Indian tribes of the Province of Chiquitos who, although speaking a *Chiquito* dialect, had, according to their own and their neighbors' testimony, once spoken a language of their own. From their geographical position, it may be surmised that they belonged to the *Otukean* linguistic group.

These hypothetical members of the *Otukean* family included: 150 *Curave* in the Mission of Santo Corazón, who had come from the banks of the Tucabaca River, a left tributary of the Otuquis River, and 50 *Tapii* of the Mission of Santiago de Chiquitos, whose former habitat lay

between lat. 17° and 18° S. and between long. 59° and 60° W. The *Tapii* might also have been *Zamucoan*. Finally, the *Curucaneca* and *Coraveca*, who numbered respectively 50 and 100 in 1831, had been collected by the Jesuits in the Mission of San Rafael. The *Curucaneca* came from about lat. 16° S. and long. 60° W., and the *Coraveca* from a region farther south, at about lat. 18° S.

THE ARAWAKAN TRIBES OF CHIQUITOS¹

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Saraveca* were an *Arawakan* tribe, split into small groups living in the forests near the Chiquito Mission of Santa Ana and along the hills on the northeastern border of the Province of Chiquitos (lat. 15° S., long 60° W.). In 1831, the number of *Saraveca* at Santa Ana was 250 and at Casalvasco, 100. In about 1886, the bulk of the *Saraveca* tribe, which had remained independent, occupied the course of the Verde River, a tributary of the Guaporé River. The *Saraveca* language is related to *Paressí* and shows close affinities with the *Arawakan* dialects of the Xingú and the Amazon. This relationship may be regarded as evidence that both the *Paressí* and *Saraveca* migrated to their present habitat later than the *Mojo* and *Bauré*, whose *Arawakan* dialect is more differentiated (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913 f, p. 530).

The original home of the *Paiconeca* (*Paicone*) and of their subtribe, the *Paunaca* (*Pauná*), was the region north of Concepción de Chiquitos between the headwaters of the Río Blanco and the Verde River (between long. 61° and 62° W.). Their *Arawakan* dialect seems to belong to a different subgroup than that of the *Saraveca*.

The *Paunaca* were visited in 1707 by Brother Lucas Caballero and agreed to settle with *Unape* and *Carababa* in the Mission of Concepción. In 1831, 360 *Paiconeca* and 250 *Paunaca* remained in that mission, though some 300 *Paiconeca* had returned to their native forests. During the past century, all the *Paiconeca* retired near the headwaters of the Río Blanco, 20 leagues from Concepción, away from the Whites.

There were isolated *Chané* groups in the western part of the Province of Chiquitos, as stated in several official documents. *Chané* were included among the Indians given as serfs to the first settlers of Santa Cruz, near San José de Chiquitos. (See also Volume 1, pp. 238-241, and this volume, p. 381.)

CULTURE

The *Arawakan* Indians of Chiquitos were undistinguishable in costume and manners from the *Chiquito*, with whom they were in close contact in the missions and whose language most of them adopted. Aboriginally,

¹ Map 1, No. 2; map 2.

men went naked, but women wore sleeveless shirts (tipoy). The *Paunaca* made a beer of flour of carbonized maize grains. They worshiped idols. They placed their dead in shelters made of branches and surrounded by a net to prevent access to the corpse by anyone but the priest and the nearest relatives. Two posts in this hut represented deities to whom they made offerings. Another tribe of the same region burned its dead on pyres and collected the ashes in funerary urns.

THE CHAPACURAN TRIBES

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Chapacuran* linguistic family includes the following tribes: *Chapacura* proper, *Quitemoca*, *Rocorona*, *Moré (Itene)*, *Huanyam*, *Matama (Mataua)*, *Cujuna*, *Urunamacan*, *Cumana*, *Urupá*, *Jarú*, and *Torá*.²

Most of these Indians live on the lower and middle Guaporé River, on both the Bolivian and Brazilian sides of the frontier (map 1, No. 2; map 2; map 4). Until the end of the last century, there were a few isolated *Chapacuran* groups, probably extinct today, who lived on the eastern tributaries of the upper Madeira River. (See also p. 371.)

The culture of the various tribes of this family is very imperfectly known. There are no published cultural data on *Torá*, *Jarú*, and *Urupá*. The cultural summary presented in this chapter refers exclusively to the *Moré*, *Cumaná*, and *Huanyam*.

In 1794, the Governor of the Province of Mojos, Miguel Zamora, formed the new Mission of Nuestra Señora del Carmen with *Bauré* Indians and with a group of 185 wild Indians who had been taken from the forests of the upper Río Blanco. The *Bauré* converts, who actively helped to round up and transfer these Indians, called them *Guarayo*, a general term given by civilized Indians and Mestizos to all independent and warlike Indians. These *Guarayo* (also called *Carmelitas*) were later designated as *Chapacura* by the local authorities. A powerful *Tapacura* nation had existed in the 17th century in the region from which these Indians came. The name *Tapacura* occurs in most accounts of Gonzalo de Solís Holguín's journey. They were neighbors of the *Toro (Mojo)*, and were friendly to the Spaniards. Some of them took part in the ill-fated Mojos expedition. When in 1630 Gonzalo de Solís Holguín entered the Province of the *Tapacura*, he was accompanied by a priest, who hoped to continue the missionary work among the *Tapacura* started by another priest (Maurtua, V., 1906, 9:193-94). Some *Tapacura* were already yanacona, i.e., serfs of the Spaniards. From these statements, it appears clearly that European contacts with these Indians go as far back as the beginning of the 17th century. The *Tapacuraca* Indians of the Mission of Concepción de Chiquitos, were *Chapacuran* (the ending *ca* is the plural suffix in *Chiquitoan*), though Hervás (1800-05, 1:157) lists them among the *Chiquitoan* tribes. The *Chapacura* from the upper Río Blanco, taken to the Mission of Carmen, spoke the same language as the *Quitemoca* and *Napeca* Indians of the Mission of Concepción de Chiquitos.

² *Chapacuran Cabishí* are mentioned near the *Huanyam*.

The original home of the *Chapacura* (*Tapacura*, *Huachi*, *Guarayos*) was the middle and upper course of the Río Blanco (Bauré), the area around Lake Chitiopa, and that north of Concepción de Chiquitos. The *Quitemoca* and *Napeca* were two subtribes who had been persuaded by the Jesuits to settle with *Chiquito* and other Indians at the Mission of Concepción de Chiquitos. In 1831, *Chapacura* and *Quitemoca* together numbered about 1,350 individuals.

The Indians whom D'Obrigny called *Itene* or *Ite* were those with whom Heinrich Snethlage (1937 a) established friendly contacts in 1935 and to whom he restored the ancient name *Moré* (in 18th century, *Muri*). According to Rydén (1942), these Indians applied to themselves the name *Itoreauhip*, which Snethlage thought designated a distinct tribe near the *Bauré*. They were known among the Mestizos and civilized Indians as *Guarayo*. The *Moré* live in the large triangle formed by the Mamoré and Guaporé Rivers and on the Machupo and Itonama Rivers and the Río Blanco (lat. 12°–13° S., long. 63°–64° W.). On the Mamoré River, the *Moré* reach the vicinity of the Mission of Exaltación. In 1884, a few families had crossed to the left side of that river, where they joined the *Chacobo* and *Sinabo* groups. In 1940, Rydén (1942, p. 84) defines their territory as follows: The confluence of the Guaporé with the Río Blanco, and up this river to a point known as Altura de Nueva Brema, thence in a straight line to the northern edge of Lago Oceano—also called Crespa—and then to the settlement on the Mamoré known as Warnes. Within this area, *Moré* huts are scattered, although many of them are only periodically occupied. Now there are more *Moré* on the Brazilian side of the Guaporé River than in Bolivia. An educational center (Nucleo indigenal *Moré*) was established in 1938, at about a mile (2 km.) from Puerto Komarek, to pacify the Indians.

In the 18th century, a great many *Moré* resided in the missions of San Simón, San Judas, and San Miguel, which were later destroyed. The 4,000 Indians of the Mission of San Miguel, near the junction of the Guaporé River with the Río Blanco, were mainly *Moré* (Gonçalves de Fonseca, 1826, p. 108). Some of the Indians of the Mission of Santa Rosa de Itenes, destroyed in 1742, were also *Moré* Indians. Snethlage estimates the number of modern *Moré* or *Itene* to be between 3,000 and 5,000.

The *Huanyam* (*Abitona-Huanyam* or *Parwumwa*) had their villages on the San Miguel River, a right tributary of the Guaporé River (lat. 12° 30' S., long. 64° W.). In 1914, they numbered about 300. The *Cumaná* live on the right side of the Guaporé River, near the ancient fort Principe da Beira (lat. 12° S., long. 64° W.).

The Indians living at the foot of the Serrania de San Simón, and often called *San Simonianos*, are probably *Chapacuran*-speaking Indians who, in the 18th century, were concentrated in the missions near the San Simón River, a tributary of the Río Blanco (Bauré River). There were also two isolated groups of *Chapacuran*-speaking Indians, one (*Moré* and *Ocorono*) in the Mission of San Ignacio, on the Tijamuchi River, a left tributary of the Mamoré River, and the other (*Herisabocono*) in the Mission of San Borja, near the headwaters of the Rapulo River, also a tributary of the Mamoré River. The presence of these *Chapacuran* enclaves in *Mojo* territory may be explained by the shifting of tribes which took place when the Jesuits concentrated the Indians of eastern Bolivia in their missions.

The *Torá* (*Tura*, *Toraz*) originally lived on the Capaná River and later on the Maicy River, a little below the Machado River (lat. 8° S., long. 63° W.). About 1716, they sent war parties down the Madeira River to attack boats carrying cacao from Solimões to Pará. In 1719, a Portuguese expedition under João de Barros da Guerra destroyed a large number of *Torá*. Many Indians of this tribe were settled at Abacaxi and others were transported to Porto de Moz, at the mouth of the Xingú River, but many remained in or returned to the bush.

These inhabited the Maicy River, the Machado River, the headwaters of the Marmellos River, and the Río Negro, a tributary of the Paricá River.

Their isolation did not protect the *Torá* from the rubber gatherers, who captured them as crews for the navigation of the Madeira River. It was only about 1870 that they, together with the *Arará* and other Indians, were put in the Mission of São Francisco of the Preto River, which flows into the Madeira River near the Machado River. The *Torá* of the Marmellos joined their tribesmen in the Mission but returned to their original home after the mission was abandoned. There they were decimated by various epidemics of smallpox, measles, and influenza and by harsh treatment in the rubber gatherers' camps. In 1923, there were only 12 *Torá* left. (See Nimuendajú, 1925.)

A distinguishing feature of the *Torá* was a tattooed strip running from the corners of the mouth to the ears.

The *Urupá* (*Urupazes*) should not be confused with the *Urupaya* (*Arupái*) of the upper Xingú River and the *Urupá* (*Uarupá*, *Ituarupa*, *Arupá*, *Gurupá*, *Urupuya*) of the Tapajóz River. The *Urupá* of the Madeira River (lat. 11° S., long. 62° W.) contributed elements to the population of Borba and Itacoatira, and a few families formed part of the Mission of São Francisco. Toward the end of the 19th century, they lived on the headwaters of the Canaan River, an eastern tributary of the Jamary River. At the beginning of the 19th century, they moved to Bom Futuro and, after they had been decimated by a smallpox epidemic, to the Pardo River. Today the *Urupá* do not exist as a tribe, but a few of them still lived about 1925 at Colonia Rodolfo de Miranda on the upper Jamary.

The now extinct *Jarú* were closely related to the *Urupá*. Their former habitat was west of the Machado River, between its tributaries, the *Jarú* and *Anary* Rivers (lat. 10°–10° 30' S., long. 61°–64° W.). About 1915, a few *Jarú* still lived in the Colonia Rodolfo de Miranda.

The language of the *Urupá* and *Jarú* is known through two short vocabularies collected by Nimuendajú (1925, pp. 148–159).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming is practiced by all the members of the family on the Guaporé River and has greater importance than collecting or hunting, though wild Brazil nuts are almost a staple in certain periods of the year. Each *Moré* family owns and tills a field which nominally belongs to the family head. As fields continuously yield one crop or another, there are only short periods of scarcity. The cultivated plants are: Maize, sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, cara (yams), pineapples, gourds, bananas, papayas, cotton, and cayenne pepper. Peanuts were probably grown by most of these Indians, though they do appear in our lists.

Wild-plant foods include Brazil nuts, mangaba, wild cacao, and the fruits of various palms. Turtle eggs are also an important food item in September and October; caiman eggs also are eaten. When on a collecting expedition, the *Moré* live in small triangular shelters.

Little information is available on hunting. Peccaries are a favorite game. Deer meat is taboo to both the *Moré* and *Huanyam*. The *Moré*

shoot waterfowl from beehivelike shelters built on the flooded plains and constructed so that they could be entered only by diving.

Fish are shot with bows and arrows, caught in conical baskets placed in palm-leaf dams, or drugged with a poisonous creeper.

The staple food is sweet manioc. The tubers are peeled with a bamboo-splinter knife, washed, and grated on the thorny roots of the assahy palm. The pulp is boiled, carefully skimmed with a plaited spoon, strained through a mat made of thin sticks, and roasted on a fire pan. Manioc flour is either consumed at once or kept in a bark-cloth bag. Wafers of manioc are roasted in a pan; manioc buns are baked in ashes. The starchy manioc juice is boiled many times and drunk cold. Maize is ground on the flattened upper side of a horizontal log about 16 feet (3 m.) long, with an oval, flat stone which, with one edge resting on the log, is rocked backward and forward among the grains. The flour is sifted through a special mat. It is baked into thin cakes on a fire pan. (See Rydén, 1942, p. 104.)

Brazil nuts are cracked with a cylindrical stone and the shelled kernels eaten raw, but they are considered a special delicacy when grated to a pulp against the rough inner side of a piece of bark.

Game and fish are broiled on a pyramidal babracot.

These Indians keep many pets, especially birds, for which they make small cages. The *Moré* pluck their tame ara to obtain feathers for arrows.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Moré and *Itoreauhip* huts are generally located near the plantations. They are large lean-tos, 15 to 40 feet (about 5 to 14 m.) high supported by two rows of wooden posts. Mats of motacu palm fronds, which form the roof itself, are lashed with liana on poles leaning against the rafters. The open side of the hut is closed in with upright palm leaves as the occasion requires. Some huts are formed by placing two sloping shelters against each other. As many as eight families may live in one hut. (See Rydén, 1942, p. 90.)

The *Moré* and *Huanyam* take refuge from mosquitoes in small conical cabins tightly thatched with pataju leaves. They also build small shelters to be used as workshops and as men's clubs. The temporary shelters erected in the forest consist of a few palm leaves placed horizontally on three perpendicular poles.

Hammocks are usually made of cotton threads, but sometimes also of fibers. To hang them, a loop is attached to a post and passed over a stick that runs through each end of the hammock. *Moré* wooden benches are mainly ceremonial accessories.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

The dress of both sexes is a long bark-cloth shirt, which, however, is often discarded if it interferes with one's activities or is likely to be

damaged by water. The shirts are decorated with sewn or glued strips of bark cloth or are dyed with urucú. Over the shirt, *Huanyam* men often wear a bark-cloth jacket, open in front. Outside their shirts, *Moré* men use a belt of bark cloth adorned with narrow strips of black or brown bark cloth sewn on it. *Huanyam* men tied up the foreskin of the penis with a cotton thread and tucked it under a string belt.

Both sexes among the *Moré* and women only among the *Huanyam* tied plaited cotton ligatures around the fleshy parts of their limbs. Among the *Moré*, both the upper and lower lips are pierced for the insertion of small wooden pegs, feathers, small grass blades, *Astrocaryum* thorns, and sometimes a resin labret. Adult *Huanyam* women thrust large conical quartz labrets in the lower lip and smaller ones in the upper lip; girls used only resin spikes as labrets.

Both sexes among the *Moré* pass a stick through the nasal septum to serve, it is said, as a talisman against diseases. Sticks or feathers are inserted into the ear lobes. A typical *Huanyam* ornament is a fiber band with long hanging fringes, attached around each bicep. Around the upper arm, *Huanyam* women wear a row of triangular shell pendants strung with seeds.

The complete festive attire of these Indians consists of feather head-dresses, monkey- or sloth-skin caps, bark-cloth frontlets, feather bracelets, and ear sticks trimmed with feathers and *Astrocaryum* or feather rings. Necklaces were strung with seeds or animal teeth.

Men and women part their hair in the middle and clip it at shoulder level. Some *Moré* tie their hair up in a topknot with a bark-cloth band. Combs are made of bamboo splinters (composite type). These Indians remove all body hair.

Tattooing is not mentioned. Body paintings consisted of various geometrical motifs: Reticulated surfaces, dots, zigzags, stripes, etc.

TRANSPORTATION

Moré dugouts are about 33 feet (10 m.) long, and are propelled with narrow paddles which, characteristically, lack a crutch or knob at the handle. Formerly, the *Huanyam* had bark canoes.

Babies are carried in a bark sling.

INDUSTRIES

Bark cloth.—The *Moré* obtain the bark for their cloth from several species of trees, each yielding a bark of a different color. The inner bark is beaten with the edge of a flat wooden mallet to detach it from the wooden layer; then it is cut to proper size. Patches of bark are hammered on a smooth log, wrung thoroughly, dried, and sewn together. Men are their own and their wives' tailors. Decorative effects are achieved

by glueing or sewing strips or patches of different colors on the surface. Sewing needles are made of bone or of *Astrocaryum* wood.

Spinning and weaving.—The *Moré* card cotton with small bows. Thin cotton threads are made with a drop spindle which has a fruit or a wooden disk for a whorl and a small hook at the proximal end. Thicker strings are manufactured by the roll method: Cotton is first twisted by hand, then attached to the toes, and twisted again by means of a spindle rolled up and down the left thigh.

Arm and leg bands are woven on a small loom formed by lashing two transverse cross bars to a frame made of a forked branch. The warp is wound around the two cross bars. The final pattern of the fabric is obtained by crossing the warp threads and holding them in place with wooden splinters which are removed as the weft is passed through in their place. Hammocks are made by wrapping the warp around two vertical posts and twining it at set intervals.

Pottery.—Potter's clay is mixed with the ashes of a kind of sponge that floats in flooded forests. The sponges contain calcium spiculae, which give unusual strength to the clay. Vessels are coiled, then scraped with shells, and polished with pebbles. After the clay has hardened, the pot is dried before a patoju-leaf screen that separates it from a fire. The dried pot is then covered with wood and fired in the open. Painted decoration is applied after firing. The inside is smeared with a black waxlike coating. The main vessel types are bowls, large jars which taper to a point so that they may be stuck into the sandy ground, and other forms, such as those in figure 50.

Basketry.—*Moré* basketry work includes mats, sieves, fire fans, knapsacks, and rectangular baskets.

A type of basket is constructed by intertwining the leaflets of a palm leaf on either side of the woody leaf-stalk, whereby something resembling a mat is produced. The woody portion running down the middle of the leaf stalk is then cut away and the mat doubled, whereupon, along the line where the edges meet, the leaflets are interwoven so that a cylindrical basket is formed. Around the bottom there is a raised ring. [Rydén, 1942, p. 106.]

Tools.—The *Moré* and *Huanyam* carve wood with agouti incisors hafted to a stick, with piranha teeth, or with bird bones and pierce holes with bone awls.

Weapons.—The *Moré* bow is made of strong palm wood. The back is flat, the belly convex. The ends have a shoulder for a string. A fine cotton yarn is wrapped about one third of the bow stave. The rest of the stave is wound with the surplus length of the bow string. A row of small red feathers are fastened in the cotton wrapping along both edges of the stave (Rydén, 1942, p. 97).

War arrows have large lanceolate bamboo heads, sometimes artistically jagged along the edges. The *Moré* often draw conventionalized

“serpent” designs on such heads. Hunting arrows are tipped with a bone splinter serving both as point and barb. Bird arrows consist of a reed with its bulbous root forming the head. Fish arrows have one to three points.

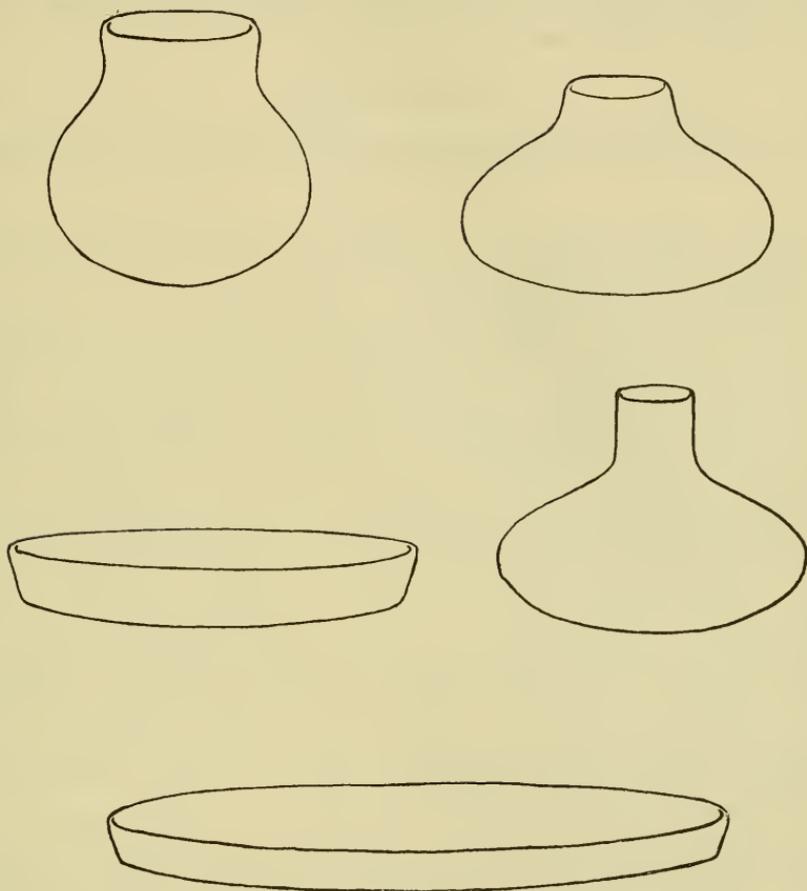


FIGURE 50.—*Huanyam* pottery forms.

The feathering is either of the wrapped (*Arara* feathering) or of the sewn type (*Xingú* feathering). The feathering of some arrows consists of three or even four feathers, an unusual number which the *Moré* explain as a device to increase the speed of the arrow. The whistling arrows are provided with a hollow nut near the tip.

The *Huanyam* poison their arrows with curare and carry them with the points in a bamboo sheath to prevent accidents.

The *Huanyam* hunt with simple blowguns made of a section of bamboo about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. Blowgun darts, usually made of thin palm splinters, are kept in a section of bamboo enclosed in a palm spathe. They are poisoned with curare.

For the release, the arrow is held between the index and the middle finger. *Moré* archers use a bark-cloth wrist guard.

The *Moré* and *Huanyam* produce fire by the drill method. Cotton or bark cloth is used as tinder. Basketry fire fans are rectangular in all tribes except among the *Cumaná*, who make them hexagonal. For torches, pieces of bark are dipped in wax.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

There are as many chiefs as family heads, and their authority is scant.

LIFE CYCLE

Puberty and marriage.—At puberty, girls' upper and lower lips are perforated by the shaman (*Huanyam*).

In some *Huanyam* settlements, the number of men so far exceeded that of women, that married women were permitted, it is said, to have extramarital intercourse. The *Moré* are, as a rule, monogamous. *Huanyam* parents and children-in-law turn their faces away when speaking to each other; the same avoidance exists between cross-cousins.

Funeral rites.—According to Snethlage (1937 a, p. 66), the *Moré* do not inter their dead, but simply cover them with a heap of leaves and grass. Rydén (1942) states that they are buried in the hut. Both authors agree that sometime after burial the bones are exhumed, but Snethlage says that the bones are kept in a basket suspended from the roof, while according to Rydén, they are burned. After the ashes have been kept for an unspecified period of time, the deceased's relatives prepare a generous supply of maize chicha, pound the calcinated bones into powder, mix them with the chicha, and drink it to the accompaniment of a song (Ryden, 1942, p. 116).

The *Moré* also make a cake of pounded Brazil nuts mixed with ground bones and hair, and the relatives and the guests eat it during a drinking bout. The funerary hut is abandoned, but not the deceased's fields. The *Cumaná* bury their dead in a circular grave over which they sometimes build a roof.

When death approaches, a *Huanyam* distributes his possessions among his heirs. After he has breathed his last, his past deeds are celebrated in a chant. He is then wrapped in his hammock and buried outside the house in a circular grave surrounded by a high fence.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Belts and bark-cloth frontlets are decorated with various geometric figures named after animals; for instance, the favorite pattern, a sinuous line, is a "snake." Designs are often traced or stamped with sticks or pieces of bamboo.

Music and musical instruments.—The *Moré* have an unusually large variety of musical instruments. (See Snethlage, 1937 a.) They are: (1) A drum made of a slit palm spathe beaten with a stick. (2) The “*tarán*,” an instrument used only for a special children’s dance, consisting of a gourd fitted on a stick. The gourd is allowed to drop so as to produce a thud when it hits the lower and thicker part of the stick. (3) A friction idiophone consisting of a calabash with a semicircular opening which emits sounds when the wax-coated edges of the slit are rubbed with the wet palm of the hand. (4) Gourd rattles. These often have a side patched with a fragment of calabash to modify their resonance. On most rattles, the handle passes through the gourd, but often the gourd is lashed to the end of the handle. (5) Jingles made of small gourds. (6) The musical bow, played by using the mouth as a resonator and striking the two strings with a bamboo splinter. (7) Simple trumpets consisting of a bamboo or soft-wood tube, and composite trumpets made of a tube and a gourd bell. Some *Huanyam* trumpets have a bell modeled of wax and affixed to a long tube of human bone; other trumpets of the same tribe are globular in shape and made of clay; and still others combine a wide bamboo resonator, a slender bamboo tube, and a separate mouth piece. (8) Clarinet mouth pieces provided with a vibrating tongue. (9) Reed tubes with longitudinal slits. (10) Transverse flutes without stops, in which one or both ends of the tube may be open. Several notes are obtained by opening or closing the open end with a finger; if both ends are open, they are alternately opened and closed with the fingers. (11) End flutes. These are sometimes simple tubes with or without notches around the mouth. Others, more complex, have three stops, a sound orifice, and a wax deflector near the proximal end. (12) Panpipes, exceptional in the number of tubes, some having as many as 20. The pipes are held together either by winding a cotton thread around them (simple ligature) or by binding them between two sticks (*Uaupés* ligature). The *Moré* tie long and short whistles together, thus making an aberrant type of panpipes.

When a group of *Moré* make music, each tends to play for himself without heeding his fellow musicians.

The *Moré* songs heard by Rydén (1942) had as themes the maize crops and the hunting of wild pigs and other game, or they celebrated the Morning Star. Some songs are also dedicated to the dead and to chiefs of early times, whom they call *Guá-niám*.

Narcotics and beverages.—The *Chapacura* prepare beer by fermenting manioc juice with chewed manioc flour.

SHAMANISM

Cumaná shamans claim to be able to climb to the sky on an arrow chain made by shooting each arrow into the butt of the one previously

shot. Upon reaching the sky, they are welcomed by Namakon, the lord of the sky.

Moré shamans treat sick people by blowing on the ailing regions, by making gestures as if they are driving away some obnoxious substance, and by massaging their patients with herbs. They also scarify them with snake fangs attached to a wooden handle.

When effecting a cure, the *Huanyam* shaman reaches a state of trance by smoking a great many cigarettes containing fine powder made of an unidentified substance, and resin fragments. Most of the treatment consists of blowing smoke on the patient.

MYTHOLOGY

A large stone once fell from the sky killing all but two people, a man and a woman. From this couple, all the *Moré* trace their descent (*Moré*).

Aijimo, the first *Cumaná*, had a wife called Zaré and a son called Kumana. Driven by the *Tapoaya* from a mountainous region, they arrived at a large river (the Guaporé), but were driven from its banks by the *Moré*. They settled on the spurs of the Serra do Norte, on the headwaters of the San Domingues River. Zaré was finally killed and eaten by her husband, or, according to another version (*Cumaná*), by her mother-in-law.

The *Cumaná* regard the rainbow as a celestial serpent who, when people looked at him, became angry and threw stones at them.

The *Moré* fear a monster with a big head and bulging eyes. Pains in the side are ascribed to arrows which this monster shoots at people during their sleep (Rydén, 1942, p. 119).

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LITTLE-KNOWN TRIBES OF THE UPPER MADEIRA RIVER

The Arikêm.—The *Arikêm* have been erroneously classified as *Chapacuran*. Nimuendajú (1925), however, has proved that they belong to the *Tupí-Guaranian* family, even if their dialect contains many foreign elements.

The *Arikêm* (*Ahopovo*) were, until a few years ago, masters of the headwaters of the Jamary and Candeias Rivers and of the Massangana River, a tributary of the former, all of which are right tributaries of the upper Madeira River (lat. 10° S., long. 63° W.). When visited by Rondón, the last 60 *Arikêm* who survived were distributed in four villages.

They cultivated manioc, which they grated on a rough piece of paxiubinha bark. They ground maize in an elongated wooden trough with a semicircular wooden slab.

Each *Arikê*m village consisted of two dwelling houses and an ossuary hut or temple. Huts were constructed in the shape of a low vault, the curve of the ridge pole and of the walls being obtained by bending poles across a central rectangular framework.

Men wore feathers and wooden plugs in their ear lobes and cotton bands around their ankles. They tied fibers on the end of their long hair. Necklaces were strung with river shells and were trimmed with feather tassels.

These Indians spun cotton and manufactured hammocks. Their bows had a semicircular cross section and were decorated at the grip with an artistic cotton wrapping. Arrow feathering was of the wrapped (*Arara*) type.³

The *Arikê*m buried their dead in the hut under hammocks. They kept the bones of famous chiefs in a special hut; the skeleton was enclosed in a bark-cloth bag and the skull in a special three-legged, feather-trimmed basket. These relics were decorated with feathers and shells and were hung in a hammock under a jaguar skin. Gourd dippers with trimmed handles, polished stones, stone axes with a hole through the butt, and labrets made of resin—the last probably war trophies—were stored near the roof of the temple. Bundles of arrows, captured from other tribes, were leaned against the walls. Other baskets contained charred human bones.

Itogapuk (*Ntogapíd*, *Intogapíd*) and **Ramarama**.—The *Itogapuk* lived on the upper reaches of the Madeirinha River, a tributary of the Roosevelt River (lat. 10° S., long. 61° W.). They were closely related to the *Ramarama*, an almost extinct tribe of the Machadinho River, a left tributary of the Machado River (lat. 9° S., long. 61° W.). Both tribes belonged to the *Tupí-Guaraní* linguistic family.

Matanawí (*Matanaués*, *Matanauí*, *Matanau*, *Mitan(d)ues*).—The *Matanawí* are mentioned for the first time in 1768, near Salto Augusto, on the São Thomé River (lat. 7° S., long. 61° W.). In 1884, they are listed as a tribe of the Rio dos Marmelos and Aripuanã River. At the beginning of the 19th century, the *Matanawí* were attacked by the *Mundurucú* and forced to migrate toward the west, where they joined forces with the *Torá* of the Marmelos. In 1922, there were only 3 *Matanawí* left, from whom Nimuendajú obtained a short vocabulary. Their language is still isolated. Some unknown Indians who live south of the Machadinho River may be remnants of the same tribe.

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³ Two halved feathers fastened against the shaft by a cotton thread wrapped at regular intervals.

THE MOJO AND BAURE

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Most of the early literature concerning the Indians of the ancient Province of Mojos, which extended from the Guaporé River to the foot of the Andes, does not always distinguish between the *Arawakan*-speaking *Mojo* and the numerous tribes of other linguistic families, so that the original habitat of the *Mojo* proper cannot be bounded with exactness.

The Mojo.—The bulk of the *Mojo* tribe seems to have been concentrated on the banks of the Mamoré River from its junction with the Río Grande (Guapay River) to about the mouth of the Yacuma River (lat. 9°–12° S., long. 63°–66° W.; map 1, No. 2; map 2; map 4).

The *Mojo* were split into small independent groups, which were carefully listed by José Castillo (1906). The southernmost *Mojo* were the *Suberiono*, who had 5 villages on the Río Grande (Guapay), north of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, near the mouth of the Piray River. These *Suberiono*, who numbered 350, were probably an offshoot of another *Suberiono* group of about 300 who lived in the savannas, west of the Mamoré River. A strong group of *Mojo*, including around 500 people, inhabited 10 villages scattered on the Mamoré near its confluence with the Río Grande. The 6 villages of the *Casaboyono* were located at the mouth of the Río Grande. The *Guanapeano* inhabited 1 village and the *Aperucono* 2 villages somewhat east of the river. The *Sebaquereono* lived in 3 villages along the Mamoré River. Seventy people who formed the whole *Moremomo* subtribe were gathered into a single village. Other subtribes along the Mamoré River from north to south were: The *Satirnono*, *Apereano*, *Mayuncano*, *Siyobocono*, *Cubiquiano*, *Boseono*, *Mubocono*, and the *Mopereano*. The *Mariquiono* had 3 villages, 1 on the lower Securé River and 2 in the nearby plains. The *Punuhuana* were the largest subtribe of the *Mojo* and inhabited the region west of the *Mayuncano*. Between the *Punuhuana* and the *Mariquiono* were 3 villages of *Arebocono*.

The Jesuits imposed the *Mojo* language on various small tribes who belonged to different linguistic families. Thus, in 1696, the *Myriana* and other Indians of the Mission of Trinidad had adopted the *Mojo* language. Likewise, *Mojo* became the tongue of the tribes collected in San Ignacio de Loyola and San Francisco Xavier, of the *Churima* of San José de los Maharenos, and of the *Moporoubocono* of San Francisco de Borja.

In 1767, *Mojo* was spoken in the following missions: Loreto (1,200 Indians), Trinidad (100), San Ignacio (1,200), San Xavier (1,500). It also had been spoken in the Missions of San Luis and San José, which had been destroyed before the expulsion of the Jesuits. *Mojo* was still used in the same missions in D'Orbigny's time.

According to D'Orbigny (1839, 2:226), the *Muchojeones* of Carmen de Mojos were a subtribe of the *Mojo* proper.

Hervás (1800-05, 1:248) regards the *Ticomeri* language as a *Mojo* dialect, but elsewhere states that the "majena or maxiena" language of these *Ticomeri* was an isolated language used at San Francisco de Borja.

The Bauré.—The *Bauré* (*Mauré*, *Chiquimitica*) occupied a fertile country along the Río Blanco, where a village bears their name (Baurés), lat. 13°-15° S., long. 62°-63° W. They also lived along the Itonama (San Miguel) River, along the San Simón River, and in the region between the latter and the Guaporé River. The *Bauré* dialect was in use in the Mission of San Nicolas, San Joaquín, and Concepción (Hervás, 1800-05 1:247-248). There is still a group of presumably wild *Bauré* which lives within two leagues to the southeast of the village of Bauré on Lake Victoria.

Missionaries described the *Bauré* as even more civilized than the other *Mojo* tribes. They lived in large villages, protected by palisades, dressed in cotton garments, and had a well-organized chieftainship (Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, 1780-83, 8:112-113).

Population.—In 1680 the whole *Mojo* nation numbered about 6,000 people distributed among 70 villages, each with an average population of 60 to 80; some contained 100 inhabitants, and 2 or 3 had more than 200. A census taken in 1715 reckons 18,000 inhabitants for the whole province.

HISTORY

Andean influences may have reached the *Mojo* through the channel of the *Mosetene*, who lived between them and the *Aymara*. *Mojo* merchants visited the former primarily to trade cotton cloth and feathers for metal tools and ornaments. Thus, many Peruvian objects found their way to the plains of Mojos and there, passing from hand to hand, reached the Paraguay River and the Río de la Plata. With these objects traveled tales of the *Inca* Empire and of its wealth. The conquistadors heard them in the marshes of Xarayes at the gate of the Provinces of Chiquitos and Mojos and imagined a fabulous kingdom, the Realm of the Gran *Mojo* or Paititi, which they located at the source of the rumors, that is, in the plains of Mojos. From 1539 to 1630, countless explorers fought their way across the jungle both from the Andes and Paraguay. In 1580, Lorenzo de Figueroa seems to have reached the land of the *Mojo*, whom he calls *Timbú*. His lieutenant, Juan Torres de Palomino, descended the Guapay River in 1595 and arrived at the country of the *Motilonos* or *Torococi*, who undoubtedly were the *Mojo*. A settlement was founded in 1612 in *Mojo* territory. Gonzalo de Solís Holguín attempted in 1617 and 1624 to conquer the *Mojo*, whom he calls *Toro*, but abandoned the undertaking because the land did not correspond to his expectations.

During the first part of the 17th century, the *Mojo* often ascended the Guapay River to obtain from the *Chiriguano* iron tools for which they traded cotton cloth. They formed friendly relations with the Spaniards, which paved the way for the Jesuit missionaries. In 1668, three Jesuit missionaries entered the *Mojo* region but without any great success. In 1675, Fathers José Castillo, Cipriano Barrace, and Pedro Marbán stayed with the *Mojo* for several years, learning their language

and planting the first seeds of Christianity. The first mission, Loreto, was founded in 1684, Trinidad in 1687, and San Ignacio in 1689. Father Barrace was murdered by the *Bauré* in 1702. By 1715, there were 15 *Mojo* missions: Loreto, Santa Rosa del Chapare, Trinidad, San Xavier, San Pedro, Exaltación, San Ignacio, San José, San Luis, San Borja, San Pablo, Reyes, Concepción de Baurés, San Juan Bautista de Guarayos, and San Joaquín.

Thanks to the industry of the missionaries and the good disposition of the Indians, the settlements became very prosperous. In 50 years, the Jesuits brought about great changes in the native culture, giving the Indians horses and cattle and teaching them numerous new arts. The silver altars and beautiful carving made by the Indians for the churches still bear witness to the prosperity of the missions.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the missions were given to curates and civil administrators. Thereafter their decadence was rapid. However, the Indians have retained their Christian faith and many of the arts taught to them by the Jesuits. Thanks to their missionaries, the *Mojo* have been able to cope with White civilization.

During the two last centuries, the *Mojo*, ruthlessly exploited and mistreated by the religious and lay authorities, rose on several occasions against the Whites. In 1881, they rebelled at the instigation of a messiah, Andres Guachoco.

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the *Mojo* were in great demand as boatmen and peons for the rubber companies. A great many were taken into virtual slavery; others died as a result of the mistreatments to which they were subjected.

SOURCES

Our main sources of information on the *Mojo* are the letters and reports of Jesuit missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries written to their superiors and published in recent years in South American collections or journals, where they have remained buried. Fathers Marbán (1898) and José Castillo (1906) were among the first Whites to settle with the *Mojo*, and they described the culture when it was hardly impaired. Eder's classic work on the *Mojo* ("Descriptio provinciae Mojitorum in regno Peruano," Budapest, 1791) refers to a later period when the *Mojo* were already Christians; yet it contains invaluable material which deserves greater attention. D'Orbigny (1835-47) is our main authority for the postmissionary era.

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE MOJO REGION

The archeology of the *Mojo* region is known mainly through Norden-skiöld's (1913, 1917 b; see also Bennett, 1936) excavations in three mounds (Velarde, Hernmarck, Masicito) near the town of Trinidad, between the Mamoré and Ivari Rivers. In Mound Velarde two stratified layers were discovered. The culture represented by the lower level is characterized by four-footed vessels, modeled rim ornaments, clay ladles and grinders, and absence of handles. The dead were buried in an extended position. A clay seated female figure was also discovered in this stratum. The painted decorations consist mainly of combinations of short spirals, sometimes associated with triangles. The short spiral

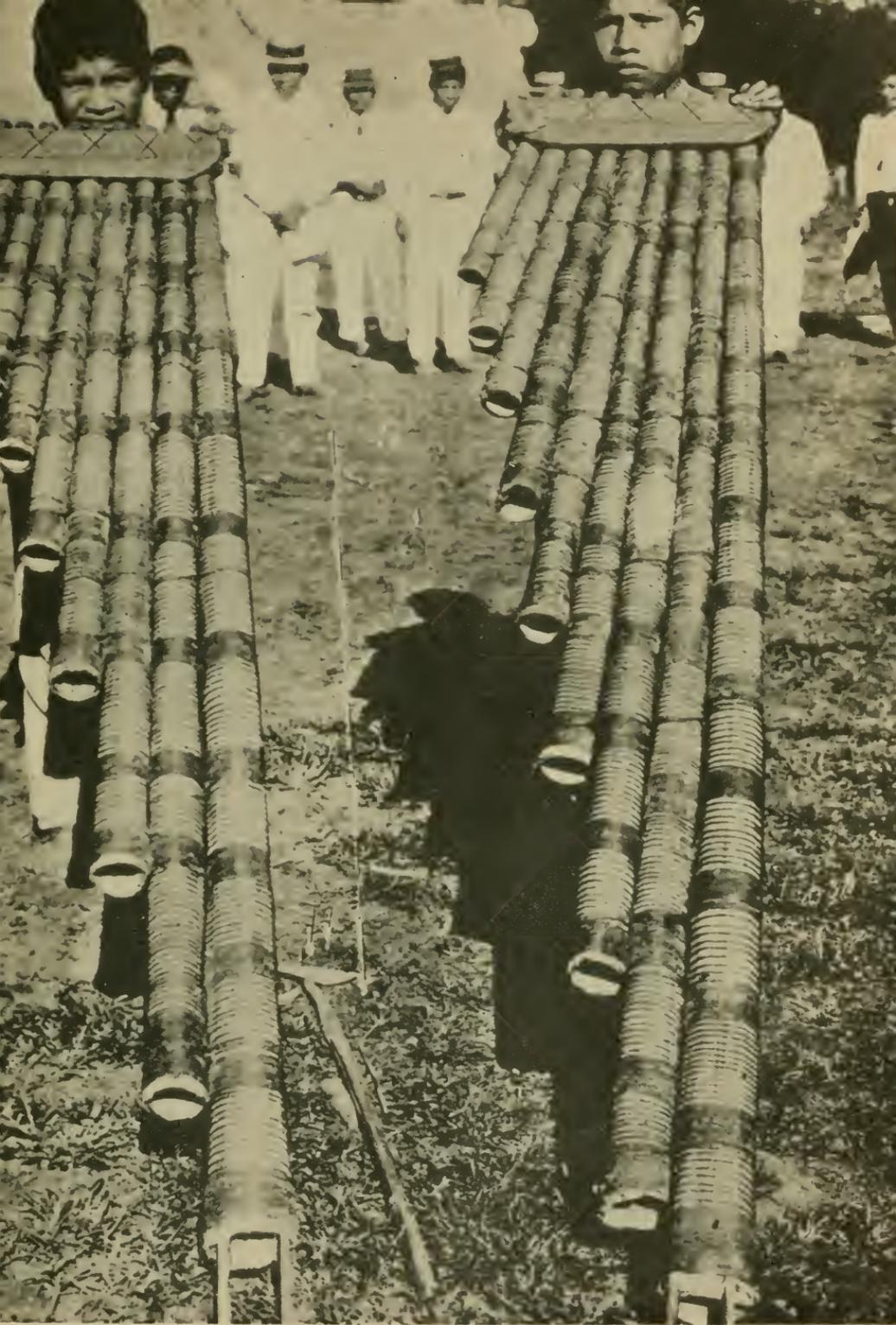


PLATE 39.—Huge trumpets of the Mojos region. Photographed in La Paz, Bolivia. (Courtesy Grace Line.)



PLATE 40.—Tiboita and Mojo Indians. *Top:* Tiboita man using spear thrower, region of Mojos. Note cranial deformation. (After Eder, 1791.) *Bottom:* Costumes of Mojo. (After D'Orbigny, 1839)

bears a slight resemblance to the Tiahuanaco Period of Cochabamba and Mizque (Bennett, 1936, p. 396). It is possible, as Nordenskiöld suggests (1917 b), that these cultures were coetaneous.

The material found in the upper layer of Mound Velarde and in Mound Hernmarck, despite great differences in design detail, seems to belong to one culture. It consists mainly of tripod urns, which were used for secondary interment; they were often covered by plain urns or by shallow tripod vessels. In upper Velarde the painted designs are largely geometric, but in Hernmarck there are curvilinear designs which represent stylized faces. Also typical of both are cylindrical clay grinders, ribbed clay grinding platters, three-legged clay stools, clay figurines, and some bone and stone artifacts (Bennett, 1936, p. 405). Some perforated vessels establish a link with the historical *Mojo*, who are known to have used such vessels for preparing chicha.

The culture presented by the finds at Mound Masicito differs somewhat from the other *Mojo* sites.

The pottery is unpainted and decorated by incision stamping, appliqué, pellets and strips, and some modeling. Tripod vessels are again typical. [Bennett, 1936, p. 398.]

The feet are stylized animal feet and possibly heads.

According to Bennett, the chronological sequence is as follows: Lower Velarde (roughly contemporaneous with Mizque-Tiahuanaco, derived Tiahuanaco), upper Velarde, Hernmarck (with Hernmarck possibly somewhat older than upper Velarde), Masicito.

The Masicito pottery resembles somewhat the incised ware decorated with appliqué strips and with modeled rims found by Nordenskiöld at Chimay, below Covendo (Nordenskiöld, 1924 b, pp. 229-234). North of Covendo, at Rurrenabaque, were found three- and four-legged ware, painted and incised, appliqué modeled vessels, and a large effigy urn.

Some light is thrown on the ancient cultures of the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra by Nordenskiöld's discovery on the Palacios River (Province of Sará) of two groups of urn burials for adults and children. The eight urns unearthed in one cemetery have a conical or ovoid body and a collar decorated with corrugations. They are often covered by urns of the same type. One urn which comes from another site has a conical body, a high collar with corrugations and four quarter-moon side lugs. The mortuary ware consists mainly of bowls with solid bulging tripod legs and with a decoration of appliqué strips. With the exception of the corrugations on the rims, neither the urns nor the bowls show the slightest resemblance to any type of *Guaraní* ware. Direct urn burial is not in itself sufficient proof of the *Guaraní* origin of the finds. A few specimens of pottery discovered at Guayabas, South of Santa Cruz (Métraux, 1933), suggest with their appliqué decoration and their tripod feet the material of Masicito and of Chimay. (See figure, Handbook, vol. 5.)

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—The *Mojo* were proficient farmers who cultivated sweet manioc (yuca), maize, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, beans, peanuts, arracacha, pepper, papayas, bananas, sugarcane, tobacco, and cotton. Eder (1791, p. 99) mentions the use of poisonous manioc for food in the Province of Mojos, but his statement is not verified by other sources.

The *Mojo* cleared their fields in forests which were not flooded during the rainy season. The Spaniards who penetrated the country with Solís Holguín were amazed at the size of the plantations and by the wide roads that crossed them. Peanuts were sown preferably along the sandy beaches.

The *Bauré* are said to have cultivated on communal ground the plants from which they made their drinks.

The *Mojo* and the *Bauré* supplemented their vegetable diet with wild fruits, especially those of palms.

Hunting.—Two types of hunting were practiced by the *Mojo*; one was characteristic of the jungle, the other of the open plains. In the first, individual hunters stalked monkeys and birds in the gallery forests along the rivers. In the second, large groups of men led by the cacique, whose authority was absolute for the occasion, hunted deer herds communally. They pursued the animals with dogs trained to obey the command of the hunters, or drove them toward ambushes by means of grass fires.

During the flood season, a very profitable hunting method was to surround an island on which game had taken refuge. Some of the party took vantage positions on high places, others remained in their canoes, and still others invaded the island from all sides making as much noise as possible with trumpets, drums, and packs of dogs. The panic-stricken animals, especially the deer, ran to the shore, where they were killed by the boatmen, who struck them with sticks, lassoed them, stabbed them, or jumped on their backs and drowned them.

Hunters who stalked deer wore white shirts and headdresses shaped like a bird common in the plains; when they were sufficiently close they shot them with bows and arrows.

The *Mojo* attacked jaguars either with two spears or with bows and arrows. However, it was considered safest to lure them to the river bank or into the water by imitating their call with a calabash and then to shower them with arrows from a canoe. They also treed jaguars with dogs and shot them with blowguns. The *Bauré* also caught jaguars in pitfalls. It was the chief's privilege to shoot them. The killing of a jaguar brought unusual honors to the hunter, and the event was celebrated with dancing, drum beating, and other ceremonies.

Traps and snares are mentioned, but not described.

After the *Mojo* had acquired horses, they began to use the lasso to hunt game, even jaguars. They dragged the animal behind their horses and then dismounted to tie it up.

All of those who had participated in a hunting expedition received an equal share of the game.

Bird hunting.—The *Mojo* shot birds, especially ducks, with blowguns from blinds built where the birds roosted. They also threw gourds on a lagoon so that when the ducks had grown accustomed to their presence, the fowler could cover his head with a gourd and approach the birds, seize them by the feet, and twist their necks underwater.

Fishing.—Fishing was one of the most rewarding activities. Annually, the receding floods left millions of fish stranded on the land or concentrated in small pools where the Indians killed them at leisure with cudgels and spears. More commonly, fish were shot with bows and arrows. Fish were also attracted at night by torches fixed to the prows of canoes and were speared with tridents.

The *Mojo* drugged fish with a creeper (*Paullinia pinnata*). Another creeper, even more powerful, was used only after a period of fasting.

Nets were introduced by the missionaries, but the Indians found them of little use, for the rivers were full of branches and trees which tore the meshes. In pre-Columbian times, the Indians made a barrier of weeds in a lagoon and pushed it against the shore, where they caught the trapped fish with their bare hands.

They also attached a cow skin perpendicularly to the gunwale of a canoe, and, by striking the water with poles, they made the fish jump against the hide so that they fell into the canoe.

When a swarm of small fish migrated, the *Mojo* caught them with conical baskets, open at both ends, which they threw over the fish.

The *Mojo* also built weirs across the outlets of lagoons and placed a fish trap in each opening of the weir.

Cooking.—Manioc tubers were boiled or roasted in ashes. Bitter manioc tubers were sliced thin and dried in the sun, or they were grated, dried, and roasted in a clay pan. Large game was roasted.

Eder states that the Indians relished certain worms which they collected during May and June. They crushed them with their fingers, dried them in front of their houses, and boiled them until they formed a blackish mush.

The only condiment was the ash of certain plants mixed with cayenne pepper. Mineral salt was traded from the *Mosetene*.

At meals, the *Mojo* sat on the ground around a single large dish. Meat was served on mats.

Domestication.—At the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mojo* reared native ducks, but had not yet obtained the chickens which later were so numerous in their villages. They ate ducks or chickens only on

such special occasions as the end of drinking bouts, or when a man wanted to treat friends who had helped him till his field.

Like many tropical Indians, the *Mojo* changed to bright red the natural color of the wings and tail feathers of the tame parrots by plucking them and filling the wounds with the blood of a frog (*Dendrobates tinctorius*) and then coating the bird's skin with wax (tapirage process) (Eder, 1791, p. 152).

The dog was found by the Jesuits among the *Mojo*. Its resemblance to the Spanish greyhound suggests that it had been obtained from the inhabitants of Santa Cruz, with whom the *Mojo* had active trade relations, or from Indians in closer contact with the Spaniards. These dogs were extremely well trained for hunting and, though they had individual masters to whom they were attached, they obeyed any person during the collective hunting expedition.

Cattle were introduced among the *Mojo* by Father Cipriano Barrace at the end of the 17th century; horses were brought soon afterward. Within 50 years, the *Mojo* became excellent horsemen, as skillful as the gauchos with the lasso. They rode bareback, without a bridle and bit, guiding their horses by a thong attached around the animal's lower jaw. Cattle increased to immense herds and roamed in thousands through the plains and in the forests. Yet, in spite of favorable conditions, the *Mojo* did not become herdsmen as did the *Goajiro*, and even now they do not drink milk. Wild cattle became a favorite game animal.

HOUSES

Some *Mojo* villages must have been unusually large, even allowing for exaggeration in the Spanish claims that some of them contained up to 400 houses. Perhaps kitchens and drinking houses or temples, which were separate buildings, were enumerated with dwellings. Marbán (1898, p. 132) estimated that each village had only 30 to 100 people, only a few having as many as 200.

Floods, which cover the Mojos plains during 4 months, often forced the Indians to build villages on elevated land. These mounds, now covered with potsherds and studded with burials, were not made artificially, although refuse increased their height. If, as was usually the case, *Mojo* settlements were built along river banks, when flood waters invaded their houses, the Indians erected platforms and covered them with soil on which to build cooking fires. Some villages were near lagoons, a considerable distance from the rivers. The houses were grouped around a central plaza.

The villages were connected by large causeways about 9 feet (2.7 m.) wide and about 2 feet (0.6 m.) high, the remains of which Nordenskiöld (1913, p. 225) and Allan Holmberg discovered near Mound Velarde and

Mound Hernmarck and between Baurés and the Rio Blanco and near Mound Ibiato (near Trinidad).

Bauré villages were surrounded by palisades with loopholes for archers and by a ditch; for further protection pitfalls were concealed in the paths.

Mojo dwellings were round; their cook houses were rectangular sheds. The dwellings were about 15 feet (4.5 m.) in diameter and of the same height. The walls were of wattle-and-daub, about 3 feet (1 m.) in height; the conical, thatched roof was supported by a center post. The doorway, which was so low that one had to crawl in, was closed by a skin or by reeds fastened between parallel sticks.

In each hut there were six or seven cotton hammocks, wooden benches, mats on which women sat, and large jars for storage of small objects.

Under Jesuit influence, the *Mojo* adopted gabled houses, with a thatched roof of motacu palms and walls of reeds. Today, only children sleep in hammocks; adults use ox skins as beds.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Long cotton or bark-cloth shirts (cushma), often elaborately decorated, were used by *Mojo* men in the premissionary era (pl. 40, *bottom*), but apparently this garment became longer and was more consistently worn after the Fathers insisted on modesty. Men fastened their shirts around the waist with a string and, in more recent times, with a cotton belt woven with red, blue, or yellow stripes.

Men wore a short silver tube through the septum of the nose, two small silver or tin nails through the alae, a silver labret in the lower lip, and two round tin nails in the ear lobes. They also hung three or four strings of beads from the ears. Before European contact, *Mojo* labrets probably were made of rock crystal like those of the *Bauré*.

Men tied up their long hair with cotton strings which they hid under strips of bark; between the threads, they fixed parrot feathers. Feather headdresses varied from a few feathers attached over the forehead to gigantic diadems of bright tail feathers trimmed with small feathers of various colors, mounted on a basketry frame covered with a mosaic of short feathers. One of these headdresses, used a few years ago, consisted of 300 tail feathers, plucked from 85 birds, mainly *Ostinops decumanus*, ara, and other kinds of parrots. These feathers, to which were attached the wing-shells of multicolored beetles, were fixed to a basketry hat and to a row of bamboo splinters to form a large semicircular screen over the nape. The ends of the long tail feathers were covered with pieces of bird skin.

Men also wore silver circlets and bracelets. Heavy necklaces of small shell disks, seeds, and jaguar or monkey teeth were worn around the neck or over the shoulders. A silver, tin, or shell plate was suspended over the chest. The *Mojo* girded themselves with belts fringed with strings of

beads and silver tubes. When dancing they covered their buttocks with a large net to which deer hoofs and shells were attached.

A woman's costume consisted only of a narrow loincloth, similar to that of the *Paressí*. Young girls went naked until puberty. Later, under missionary influence, women adopted the men's shirt, but it was longer and without slits along the legs. Women wore thick necklaces, bracelets, and ear pendants of beads, and, during festivals, covered their shoulders with a netlike shawl or collar made of metal tubes and beads, from which hung bells, medals, and crosses.

Women tied their long hair with cotton thread and trimmed it with ribbons.

Both sexes painted themselves with urucú and genipa. The women traced on their male relatives' bodies elaborate designs in the same style as those decorating their pottery.

Eder (1791, p. 217) reports that some Indians of Mojos tattooed themselves with thorns or fish teeth, using genipa as a pigment. The tattooed patterns, he writes, represented "caimans, monkeys, and fish."

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Some of the wide causeways connecting the *Mojo* villages remained above water level during the annual floods. In the dry season, the ditches from which the soil had been taken to make the embankments formed canals which the natives navigated in canoes, especially at harvest time when they brought home their crops. One of these canals, 2 km. (1¼ mi.) long and 6 to 7 m. (20 to 24 ft.) wide, connects the Mamoré River with the Urupuru River. Another canal 5 km. (3 mi.) long and 2 m. (6 ft.) wide unites the Chumano and the San Juan River, from which another canal leads to the Itonama River.

Ancient dugouts are not described. Modern craft have a sharp bow and a flat stern. Paddles are 5 feet (1.3 m.) long and have a crotch at the proximal end.

Eder (1791, p. 75) also describes balsas or reed rafts with an upturned prow and stern, on which the Indians—he does not say which ones—took long trips. The pelota or bull-boat was also known to the *Mojo*—at least in the 18th century. An ox hide was stretched over a frame of reeds or rods and the sides were folded to stand out of the water.

They built bridges over narrow streams by lassoing bamboos or slender palm trees and bending them until they touched the ground on the opposite side. The arch was then covered with transverse sticks so that the women and children could climb to the other shore.

MANUFACTURES

Bark cloth.—Bark cloth was fabricated from large pieces of bibosi bark measuring 3 by 12 feet (1 by 4 m.) which were beaten with a wooden

grooved mallet. The bark strips were then washed, wrung out, and dried in the sun.

Basketry.—The *Mojo* made boxes of reeds twined together with cotton. The modern *Mojo* make flat circular trays and round baskets with overlapping lids in twilled basketry. They also have large carrying baskets with a hexagonal weave (lattice type).

Spinning.—To spin cotton, the woman sat on the ground, rested the distal end of the spindle between the large and second toe of her left foot, and rolled the spindle with her right hand along her right leg. The skein was held with the left hand.

Weaving.—*Mojo* textiles were of cotton. They used a variety of cotton, naturally reddish, to produce patterns on their fabrics. Modern *Mojo* and *Bauré* weave on the vertical loom.

Wood carving.—Wood carving was probably practiced by the *Mojo* before their contact with Europeans, for it is improbable that they could have developed so suddenly the skill for which the Jesuits praised them.

Featherwork.—Featherwork seems to have been the *Mojo's* greatest artistic accomplishment. Down was plucked from the breast and from under the wings of brightly colored birds and was sewed on cloth so skillfully that it resembled natural plumage. The feather mosaics represented animals and people. When dancing, they held these feather pictures in their hands and shook them as if they were small shields.

Pottery.—Early sources highly praise *Mojo* pottery. It included jars, bowls, dishes, and cooking pots. There is little doubt that the ware found by Nordenskiöld (1913) near Trinidad belongs to the historical *Mojo*.

Clay was tempered with the ashes of sponges (*Parmula batesii*) containing small spiculae, which gave the material a remarkable resistance.

Weapons.—*Mojo* bows made of chonta wood were about 5 feet (1.5 m.) long. They were often trimmed with feathers and wrappings of cotton threads. Arrows were tipped with a lanceolate bamboo blade or with a rod to which a bone head or the spike of a stingray was fastened with wax. War arrows were sometimes provided with a hollow nut which made them whistle when flying. Feathering seems to have been of the cemented type.

The *Mojo* used the spear thrower for hunting and war (pl. 40, *top*). It consisted of a narrow board with a hook to engage the butt of the dart.

The *Mojo* blowgun was, like that of the *Huari*, a long bamboo tube straightened by heating it over a fire. The darts, made of palm splinters, were kept in a bamboo quiver. The poison, undoubtedly curare, was extracted from the coropi creeper. The creeper was shredded, the fibers sprinkled with hot water, and the decoction was slowly filtered through cotton and then boiled on a slow fire until it became quite thick. The mass was dried in the sun. To use the poison, it was moistened with tobacco juice.

Spears seem to have been adopted after European contact, but slings and bolas appear to have been used long before the Conquest. The *Mojo* attacked the first Spanish expeditions with spear throwers, slings, and bolas. By the end of the 18th century, the *Mojo* used bolas of lead. Clay pellets bristling with poisoned thorns are said to have been used as missiles for slings.

In battle, the *Mojo* and *Bauré* carried a shield made of reeds firmly twined together with cotton threads and trimmed with feathers.

Tools.—A few stone axes were found by Nordenskiöld in his excavations.

Metallurgy.—The silver or tin ornaments—diadems, bracelets, disks, and tubes—were made of pieces of metal cut from bowls and dishes traded from the Spaniards. The only tools of the smiths were knives, scissors, and stone hammers. They did not smelt ores, but occasionally melted down the purchased silver or tin. All metal objects were painstakingly polished.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The village community was the basic social unit, though subtribes sometimes consisted of two to three villages. Each village had a chief whose authority did not transcend its limits. Nothing is known about other social groups. A tendency toward class stratification is revealed in the existence of war captives who, though well treated and allowed to marry the daughters of their captors, were regarded with some contempt. The importance of this incipient servile class was perhaps enhanced by the slave trade, one of the first consequences of the establishment of the Spaniards in eastern Bolivia. The colonists of Santa Cruz, who were in need of labor for their fields and for the mines of the Highlands, not only raided the neighboring tribes for that purpose, but also induced Indians beyond their reach to provide them with captives for whom they paid iron tools and glass beads. So great was the desire for metal, which eased the daily struggle for life, that the Indians, lacking other commodities acceptable to the Whites, soon turned into slavers and thus had new incentives for their intertribal warfare.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chieftainship was probably hereditary, though this has been doubted by some of our early sources.

The authority of the *Mojo* chief (*achiaco*) depended greatly on his personality. Respect shown to the chief was very conspicuous: "They respect their chiefs," says Castillo (1906, p. 337), "as good children do their fathers, even if the 'cacique' is a young man, as he sometimes is." If he came on a visit with other men, he was immediately offered a bench or a hammock to sit on. Respect did not always imply actual power, and, among the *Mojo*, chiefs could interfere with the activities of the rest of

the people only in certain instances. Those chiefs who were at the same time shamans had a far stronger position.

The enforcement of internal peace was one of the main functions of the chief. On one occasion Father Castillo saw the village chief "boxing and kicking" two individuals who, in a drinking spree, had killed a man. The decision to shift the village rested with the chief, who frequently decided to move to another place when some personal misfortune had befallen him.

The chief had greater power during war and communal hunting parties. When the men of the village cooperated in a game drive, the chief assumed complete control and required immediate obedience. He had to insure the success of a war expedition not only by his skill and courage, but also by his strict observance of several taboos. Thus, he had to fast in behalf of the community and could not comb or even cut his hair.

The *Bauré* chief, called "arama," bequeathed his title to his eldest son if he had been born of a noble woman, that is, if his mother were a chief's daughter. His subjects provided him everything he needed, and if he wanted to get rid of somebody, his wish was complied with immediately. To curtail his power, an old man was selected every year, at harvest time, to remind him of his duties and to warn him against excesses.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Pregnant women, shortly before delivery, were confined in special huts outside the village, a precaution supposed to prevent miscarriage (Castillo, 1906, p. 360; Marbán, 1898, p. 155). Those who suffered a miscarriage were immediately drowned lest dysentery epidemics spread through the village (Orellana, 1906, p. 12). If a mother died during or after childbirth, the baby was buried alive, for a child might be nursed only by its own mother. If the delivery was difficult, relatives implored the assistance of a spirit by playing the flute and singing. Normal deliveries were always accompanied by the recital of charms and the sacrifice of ducks.

Of twins, only the first to be born was regarded as the child of a man, and the paternity of the second was attributed to a spirit. The mother of twins was held in such respect that her husband left the house and treated her with the greatest consideration. Twins had to marry other twins or remain single (Eder, 1791, pp. 245–246).

Marriage.—Marriages do not seem to have been celebrated with any ceremony. Residence was patrilocal; according to a single source, it was matrilineal. Polygyny existed but was rare. Infant betrothal is reported for a few unspecified tribes of the region. Marriage with a woman and her daughter is also mentioned.

In committing adultery a woman endangered her husband's luck in hunting and even his life; she was, therefore, severely punished by her

husband or even by her own relatives. The lover, however, was unmolested until the offended husband in the turmoil of a drinking bout could pick a fight with him, tear off his ornaments, and thrash him.

Conjugalities were brittle.

Funeral customs.—Little is known about this subject. The *Mojo* buried their dead in shallow graves on which they placed bows, arrows, maize, and beer. Secondary burial in urns occurs in the upper levels of Velarde, Hernmarck and Masicito Mounds (p. 411).

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Dances.—Dances performed in the missions in the 18th century still followed the pre-Hispanic pattern. The male dancers, wearing spectacular feather headdresses or disguised with monkey or bird skins, formed two facing lines, but each man danced according to his own fancy, moving to and fro with slow steps, which corresponded to movements of his hands. Some dancers accompanied themselves with flutes and gourd rattles and turned their heads from side to side. At times they stamped on the ground to make their anklets of nuts jingle. The women danced apart in a house. Holding each other's hands, they turned in a circle, singing a monotonous song and stooping almost to the ground after each stanza. Extravagantly dressed clowns, each with a drum slung over his shoulder, danced at one side.

Modern *Mojo* still execute ancient dances at church festivals. The most famous of these is that of the macheteros, or sword men, who brandish their wooden weapons in front of the altar before laying them down with their feather diadems at the foot of the crucifix.

Musical instruments.—Native *Mojo* instruments as listed by the ancient sources were: Fruit-shell jingles attached to the ankles, jingle rattles of deer hoofs, shells hanging from the lower edge of nets worn around the waist, gourd rattles, a large drum (probably the hollow-log drum) beaten with a single stick, panpipes consisting of a single row of reeds held between two sticks, a trumpet or clarinet composed of an elongated gourd and a "flute," and long funnel-shaped bark trumpets.

The large trumpets, the gourds, and a wind instrument described as "a big hollow nut into which they blew" were sacred instruments taboo to women, and they were played in a ceremonial parade, "The jumping of the caiman."

Modern *Mojo* have transformed their bark trumpets into gigantic panpipes by joining together 11 bark trumpets of various lengths (pl. 39). Their small skin-headed drums belong probably to the postmissionary period.

Games and sports.—The favorite sport was a ball game. The rubber ball was made by coating a clay core with a thick layer of rubber, removing

the clay through a hole, inflating the ball with air, and adding several other layers of liquid rubber.

The ball was struck either with the head or the feet. When the feet were used, the two contesting teams were 25 feet (7.6 m.) apart, but when they butted the ball with the head the interval was about 42 feet (about 13 m.). Players protected their legs with bandages.

Drinking bouts.—Chicha was made of roasted maize pounded and partly chewed. For making manioc beer, the Indians crushed the tubers, sifted them, and allowed the mass to ferment. This beer was sifted through perforated vessels, many of which were discovered by Norden-skiöld (1913) in his excavations at Mound Velarde and Mound Hernmarck.

Fermented drinks were also brewed with all kinds of fruits, especially pineapples. Chicha was served in gourds which, on festive occasions, were trimmed with feathers and decorated with figures. On a long journey, the *Mojo* always took a provision of fermented manioc mass which they mixed with water to prepare a stimulating and nourishing beverage.

Most religious ceremonies were followed by drinking bouts. Each community gave 10 or 12 feasts a year, but its members were frequently invited to those organized by other villages in the region.

A feast, religious or secular, was announced the day before by the beating of a large and a small drum. The guests gathered in the drinking house and sat on wooden benches and on hammocks between rows of large maize chicha jars, buried to the neck. During the party, the intoxicated men boasted about their past deeds or challenged their enemies. Disputes were often settled by a conventional wrestling match. The wronged person grabbed the hair or the ear of the offender and did his best to throw him to the ground; if he succeeded, the quarrel ended and harmony was restored.

Female singers and dancers were admitted in the hall, and married women were allowed to drink beer. When the rejoicing had reached a high pitch, the guests, as a mark of courtesy, seized the host's wife and married daughters, wrapped them entirely in skirts, covered their heads with hoods, and took them to the temple, where these women made their entrance singing and dancing. There they were offered chicha and were allowed to dance for a while with the men.

RELIGION

Mojo religion is imperfectly known except for a few aspects, such as the Jaguar cult and shamanism.

According to the missionaries, "gods"—perhaps spirits—presided over water, fish, clouds, lightning, crops, war, and jaguars, but there is some indication that the *Mojo* had functioning nature gods. The tutelary deity of the village of the *Moremono* was the Star god, Arayriqui. The Rain goddess was the Rainbow and the Sun's wife, and to her tall trees

were dedicated. Shamans consulted the moon, who appeared to them in the shape of a woman. Some gods or spirits were closely associated with the territory of a subtribe or a village. The *Saturiano* had a divine protector who lived in a lagoon near their village. The Indians were disinclined to abandon their native district because their ancestors were supposed to have come from some place located within their territory, a belief which was and still is common among the mountain Indians of Perú.

In daily life, the *Mojo* were more concerned with the swarm of spirits (acsane) who pervaded the world than with the higher gods. To these invisible spirits was offered every morsel of food that fell to the ground.

Cult.—In every village there was what the Spaniards called a “bevedero,” a drinking hut in which religious ceremonies and drinking bouts were held. There were kept such trophies as the skulls of enemies and jaguar heads and paws. Very likely, the sacred musical instruments were deposited in this hut, as among the *Paressí* and other *Arawakan* tribes.

The building of a feast hall was surrounded with many rites and taboos. The workers fasted for several months; during the construction no woman could enter the building; and certain foods could not be eaten within the structure.

Castillo (1906, p. 353) regards the offering of chicha to the gods or spirits, who were thought to appear in person and to drink, as the main feature of the cult. The priests or shamans uttered long prayers or charms.

The appearance of the new moon was considered to be a propitious time for religious ceremonies. The crowd assembled in the sacred hall at dawn where they uttered “loud cries to soften the invisible powers.” They spent the whole day fasting. At night the priests cut their hair and adorned themselves with red and yellow feathers. Jars of liquor were brought as offerings to the gods; the priests drank and gave the rest to the people who sang and danced through the night.

The jaguar cult.—Jaguars were regarded with religious awe and were the object of a cult. Men who had been wounded by a jaguar formed a special group of shamans called *camacoy* and performed the rites connected with jaguar spirits. For a year or two before assuming their new status, they observed chastity and various food taboos, particularly those against eating fish and cayenne pepper. Any violation of these rules was punished by the jaguars.

If a jaguar-shaman learned by supernatural means that a jaguar might prey on a community, he warned the people to bring offerings of food and chicha to his hut at night. The jaguar-shaman entered the house alone playing a special type of flute. He pretended to have an interview with the jaguar from which he would come bleeding and with his clothes torn off as if he had been clawed by the beast. Some shamans

were credited with the power of changing themselves into jaguars when offerings were not brought to them.

The belongings of a person killed by a jaguar were consecrated to the animal, and it became the rightful owner of them. Whoever kept for himself even a small part of these possessions was sooner or later doomed to be devoured by a jaguar (Eder, 1791, p. 247). The killing of a jaguar gave great prestige to the successful hunter and was followed by elaborate ceremonies. The Indians danced and beat a drum around the slain animal for a whole night and ate its flesh. The paws and cleaned skull trimmed with cotton ornaments were deposited in the drinking hall among other trophies.

The hunter himself retired for several days to the temple, where he observed many taboos. The jaguar-shaman offered libations on his behalf to the Jaguar god and revealed to him the secret name of the jaguar, which the hunter was to bear henceforward. A drinking bout, during which the hunter trimmed his hair, ended the feast and the seclusion.

Priests and shamans.—According to Castillo (1906, p. 352), the *Mojo* had both ceremonial priests and shamans. Actually, it is more likely that individuals with the same training performed different functions in which they might specialize according to their own inclination or the occasion.

The generic term for "shaman" was *tiharauqui*, a word more aptly translated by "clairvoyant." These *tiharauqui*, men or women, entered their profession under supernatural compulsion, manifested by some accident which deprived them momentarily of their senses or brought them near death. Unequivocal references to such persons offering beer to the gods or taking the initiative in religious ceremonies makes it more evident that the so-called "priests" were actually shamans. Nevertheless, it is difficult to reconcile the important role of women in religion with the strict prohibition against their seeing the caiman dance or the sacred musical instruments.

Fasting on behalf of the community was one of their functions. During their fasting periods, they had to refrain from eating fish, drinking *chicha*, and smoking, and they had to observe chastity.

To interview the spirits, shamans drank a decoction prepared from a plant called "marari," similar to our verbena, which caused for 24 hours a general condition of excitement characterized by insomnia and pains.

Besides their function at the temples, shamans had to discover thieves, disclose the whereabouts of stolen objects and reveal secrets (Eder, 1791, pp. 246-247). The consultation of the shaman with the spirits was often conceived of as a fight in which the shaman forced the spirit to answer his question.

Treatment of diseases.—Diseases were ascribed to spirits without whose collaboration they could not be cured. The shaman, when con-

sulted, drank marari in order to discuss the matter with his familiar spirit. Usually the spirit asked for presents before he would reveal the cause of the illness and the appropriate treatment.

A common treatment, if the drugs suggested by the spirits failed to relieve the sick man, was to extract the disease by repeated massages, by tying the body, and by sucking out the pathogenic objects (worms, feathers, tobacco leaves). Blowing tobacco smoke over the patient was also part of the cure (Eder, 1791, pp. 254-255).

Serpents, visible only to shamans—hence their name “clairvoyants”—also were responsible for many diseases, which, if our sources are correct, were treated by rubbing the foam of a root against the chest, shoulders, and stomach of the patient (Castillo, 1906, p. 353; Marbán, 1898, p. 153). Patients who complained of heart trouble received from the shaman a stone to replace the ailing organ (Eder, 1791, p. 255).

MYTHOLOGY

A myth recorded among the *Mojo* a few years ago probably contains references to the Creator and perhaps also has elements of the Trickster cycle. The gluttonous Moconomoco, father of men, ate all the seeds and then drowned in a river. When the eagle told the famished men where Moconomoco's body was, they pulled it out of the water and the “hornero” bird opened its stomach, where all the seeds were found and recovered (Pauly, 1928, p. 160).

In the creation myths of the *Mojo*, the ancestors of each subtribe originated in some spot located within the limits of their own district.

Partial eclipses were interpreted as ailments of the Sun or the Moon, and the total disappearance of these luminaries as their temporary death. The *Mojo* also believed in a celestial Jaguar, father of all the terrestrial jaguars, who ate the moon. Constellations were named after animals: jaguar, deer, alligator, bear, and so on. The *Mojo* had stories in which the celestial Jaguar pursued and attacked the celestial deer. In one of their stellar myths, the rhea, greedy for food on the earth, lost its tail feathers when these were pulled out by another animal at the very moment it was about to jump through a hole in the sky. Ordinary stars were the children of the Sun and the Moon (Eder, 1791, pp. 56-57; Castillo 1906, p. 349).

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THE CANICHANA, MÓVIMA, CAYUVAVA, AND ITONAMA

THE CANICHANA

TERRITORY AND HISTORY

The *Canichana* (*Canisi*, *Canechi*, *Kanisiana*) formed by themselves an independent linguistic group. Before the Jesuits collected them in the Mission of San Pedro on the upper Machupo River, the *Canichana* had lived along the Mamoré River and around the headwaters of the Machupo River and along its lower course down to the mission of San Joaquín (map 1, No. 2; map 2; map 4). They had about 70 villages in the region between lat. 13° and 14° S. and long. 64° and 65° W.

The *Canichana* were visited in 1693 by Father Agustín Zapata, who estimated their number at 4,000 to 5,000. In 1695, they expressed their willingness to be gathered in a mission, which was founded two years later with about 1,200 Indians (Arlet, 1781). Even after 100 years of disciplined mission life, the *Canichana* retained their warlike disposition. They rose against the Spanish authorities in 1801 and 1820, and in the last rebellion burned the building containing the Jesuit archives.

A census taken in 1780 put the population of San Pedro at 1,860; another census of 1797, at 2,544. According to D'Orbigny (1839, 2:244), in 1831 there were still 1,939 *Canichana*. Their present number is unknown.

CULTURE

Farming was less important in *Canichana* economy than hunting and fishing. The tribe caught caimans, which they relished, by passing a noose around their necks and dragging them to the shore, where other Indians killed them with axes, or else a man crawled toward the caiman holding a stick sharpened at both ends which he thrustured into the animal's gaping mouth. The prey was dragged ashore by means of a cord attached to the stick.

Villages were protected by palisades.

When first visited by missionaries, both sexes went naked, but in the missionary era they were forced to wear cotton or bark-cloth shirts. The *Canichana* were armed with bows and arrows and spears. In all probability, they were acquainted with the spear thrower.

Girls fasted 8 days upon reaching puberty, which was celebrated by a drinking bout. Polygyny was widely spread.

The *Canichana* were feared as a warlike tribe and were the scourge of their neighbors, the *Moré*, *Cayuvava*, and *Itonama*. Missionaries always refer to the *Canichana* as fierce cannibals.

Drinking bouts were arranged as a reward for those who had helped a man clear a field. Fermented beverages were prepared with various fruits.

Among the *Canichana*, Father Zapata (1906, p. 26) heard a version of the wide-spread myth of the Amazons and of the pygmies.

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THE MÓVIMA

TERRITORY AND HISTORY

Linguistically, the *Móvima* represent an isolated family. Their primitive home was on the left side of the Mamoré River and along the Yacuma River (map 1, No. 2; map 2). They were settled by the Jesuits in the missions of San Luis and Borja on the upper Maniquí River, a tributary of the Mamoré River (lat. 13°–15° S., long. 65°–66° W.). The Mission of Santa Ana, near the junction of the Yacuma and Rapulo Rivers, consisted also of *Móvima*. In one of the early 17th-century accounts of eastern Bolivia, written by Gregorio de Bolívar (1906, p. 218), the *Móvima* (spelled *Moyma*) are placed down the Himana River (Mamoré River). In 1709, they killed Father Baltazar de Espinosa. In the second half of the last century, a few *Móvima* families who had escaped from Santa Ana dwelled on the Aperé (Mato) River. It seems that as late as 1908 a few independent *Móvima* still lived on the upper Rapulo River (Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 76).

In 1749, there were 1,630 *Móvima* in the Mission of San Luis and 1,300 in the Mission of San Borja. In 1767, the population of Santa Ana was about 2,000; that of San Borja, 1,200; and that of Santos Reyes, 1,200. In 1831, there remained 1,238 *Móvima*.

CULTURE

The *Móvima* were fishermen, hunters, and farmers. In recent times, those of the Yacuma River went in the dry season to the Mamoré River to sow beans and peanuts on the sandy beaches. They traveled in dugouts 30 feet (about 10 m.) long, by 16 to 18 inches (40 to 45 cm.) wide. Their weapons were bows and arrows. The feathering of their arrows was of the wrapped (Arara) type, and the butt of the shaft was strengthened with a wooden plug. Formerly, the *Móvima* seem to have used the spear thrower.

The last *Móvima* seen by Nordenskiöld (1922, p. 76) were well-to-do agriculturists and stock raisers. They had abandoned most of their native culture except for a few items, such as clay pans supported over the fire on three clay stumps, and bows and arrows.

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THE CAYUVAVA

TERRITORY AND HISTORY

The former habitat of the *Cayuvava* was the western side of the Mamoré River, 15 leagues above its junction with the Guaporé River (map 1, No. 2; map 2). These Indians were scattered in small settlements along the main course of the Mamoré River and along several of its small left tributaries from lat. 12° to 13° S. and long. 65° to 67° W.

The *Cayuvava* were discovered in 1693 by the Jesuit Missionary, Father Augustín Zapata. They then lived in large villages, each with a population which is said to have varied from 1,800 to 2,000 inhabitants. Father Zapata saw seven such villages. The *Cayuvava* were concentrated by the Jesuits in the Mission of Exaltación, on the Mamoré River, below its junction with the Yacuma River. In 1749, there were about 3,000 *Cayuvava*; in 1831, some 2,073; and in 1909, only 100.

CULTURE

The ancient *Cayuvava* are described as good farmers who raised peanuts, sweet manioc, maize, and other plants. Their weapons were bows and arrows and chonta wood spears, the latter tipped with a sharp bone and trimmed with feathers. At the beginning of the present century, little of the original culture remained, but they still wore bark-cloth tunics and still fished with open-top conical baskets which were thrown over the fish in shallow places. *Cayuvava* men filed their incisor teeth, a custom rare in South America and perhaps of African origin.

In the 17th century, the seven *Cayuvava* villages were apparently under the rule of a single chief. In the Mission of Exaltación, the *Cayuvava* were divided into eight groups, corresponding perhaps to former tribes.

In 1695, Father Zapata found in the region occupied by the *Cayuvava* a large village with streets and a central plaza where the inhabitants, dressed in luxurious cloaks and covered with feathers, were gathered in front of a temple to make a sacrifice to the gods. The offerings consisted of rabbit, rhea, and deer meat placed on trays around a fire which was never extinguished (Eguiluz, 1884).

Only a few fragments of their religion are known. The *Cayuvava* called their good spirit or spirits *Idaapa* and the bad one *Maínaje*. They closed the mouth and nose of dying people to prevent the escape of death, that is to say, of the evil spirit which had attacked the patient. Men refrained from working when their wives menstruated.

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THE ITONAMA

TERRITORY AND HISTORY

Like the *Cayuvava*, the *Itonama* speak an isolated language. In the 17th century, their villages were scattered along both sides of the Itonama River from the great lagoon, Laguna Itonama or Cármen, to the Machupo River (lat. 13°–15° S., long. 63° W.; map 1, No. 2; map 2).

About 1720, the *Itonama* were attacked by a party of Mestizos from Santa Cruz, and 2,000 of them were taken as slaves (Maurtua, V., 1906, 10:43–48). The Jesuits collected the *Itonama* in the Mission of Santa Magdalena, on the Itonama River, but in 1792 part of them were moved to the village of San Ramón on the Machupo River. In 1767, there were 4,000 *Itonama* at Magdalena and a few families in the missions of Loreto and Trinidad in the Province of Mojos. In 1831, those of Magdalena numbered 2,831 and those of San Ramón, 1,984. In 1914, Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 188) found only 300 of these Indians in the region of San Ramón.

CULTURE

Modern *Itonama*, with a background of 200 years of Christianity, retain little of their aboriginal culture. They live in large villages near the rivers and are agriculturists, hunters, and fishermen. They roast maize meal in large flat-bottomed pans with raised edges.

Both sexes dress in large cotton or bark-cloth shirts, often painted black, but originally women wore a loincloth. Until puberty, children went naked, wearing nothing, but bands below the knees and above the ankles. Little girls wore besides a string of beads around their waists (D'Orbigny, 1839, vol. 2, p. 241).

The *Itonama* spin cotton (fig. 51) by inserting the distal end of the spindle in a notched stick and rolling the proximal end on a log. They are the most famous weavers in the Mojos area. They make circular baskets, some with an hexagonal weave (lattice type); other baskets are twilled.

Their weapons were bows and arrows and the double-edged club. The *Itonama* had slings and bolas long before European contacts, but the lasso was introduced in the 18th century.

Child betrothal was a deep-rooted custom which survived into the Christian era. Children were engaged to each other soon after birth.

The feet of a newly born baby are tied lest it follow its father. The latter observes several taboos, e.g., that on swimming in deep water. The strength of marital ties grows with the number of children that a woman bears her husband; childless women cannot expect much support.

At festivals, the *Itonama* blow a sort of huge panpipes, which actually consist of 11 bark trumpets, varying from 2 to 5 feet (0.6 to 1.5 m.) in



FIGURE 51.—*Itonama* woman spinning. (After Nordenskiöld, 1924 a.)

length and joined together in the same manner as the tubes of true panpipes.

Forty years ago the *Itonama* still preserved some of their old beliefs. They did not till the land of a deceased person and did not exploit trees which had belonged to an ancestor.

They believed that ghosts turned into hummingbirds, butterflies, and serpents, and that they caused death.

Shamans were of both sexes. A shaman summoned his familiar spirit and asked it about a patient's fate. Disease was usually ascribed to a vengeful ghost that had captured the soul.⁴ The soul had to be rescued in order to heal the patient. When a shaman wanted to send his soul out of his body to discover hidden things, he took a narcotic, nowadays opium, which put him in a trance. Witches changed themselves into jaguars to kill their enemies.

Every animal was believed to maintain a mystical relationship to a plant which bore a slight resemblance to one of the animal's features. Plants associated with dangerous animals should not be touched. Medicinal plants were thought to be related to men by mystic ties.

⁴ According to D'Orbigny (1839, vol. 2, p. 241), the *Itonama* were so afraid that death, which overtook a person, might pass into another person's body that they stopped the nose, the mouth, and the eyes of those who were about to breathe their last, so that many sick people died of suffocation.

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THE GUARAYU AND PAÚSERNA

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The *Guarayú* and *Pauserna* (*Itatin*, *Carabere*, *Araibayba*, *Moterequoa*) formed a single tribe, but separated when the ancestors of modern *Guarayú* were collected in missions. The *Pauserna* are the descendants of the *Guarayú* who remained independent (map 1, No. 2; map 2).

Originally, the *Guarayú* probably lived mainly along the upper San Miguel (Itonama) River and between it and the Río Blanco (approximately lat. 15°-16° S., and long. 63°-64° W.). Most of the *Guarayú* were later distributed among five Franciscan missions: Yotau, Ascensión, Urubichá, Yaguarú, and San Paulo.

The *Pauserna* (*Guarayú-tá*) live on the left side of the upper Guaporé River (lat. 14° S., long. 61° W.), where the pao cerne is abundant; hence their name. Formerly, when they were more numerous, they reached the lower Paraguay River and its tributaries. In 1935, only two groups of *Pauserna* numbering some 50 persons remained, one at Bella Vista and the other on the lower Paraguay River. They had lost most of their ancient culture and lived precariously. Severiano da Fonseca (1880-81, pp. 168-171) found *Pauserna* along the left side of the Guaporé River, from a little north of the Paraguay River to the Rio da Pedra. Their main villages were Pao Cerne, Las Flexas, Jangada, Veados, and Acarisal.

HISTORY

The *Guarayú*, like the *Chiriguano*, are descendants of the *Guarani* of Paraguay, who, at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, crossed the Chaco and the Province of Chiquitos in several groups to raid the borders of the *Inca* empire, and finally settled along or near the Cordillera.

The *Guarani* migrations took place in several successive waves, the first perhaps during the reign of Inca Yupanqui (1476). Another must have occurred about 1513 to 1518, but apparently met with disaster. According to Felipe de Alcaya (Maurtua, V., 1906, vol. 6), it started from the region of the Xarayes marshes and ended in the plains of Grigotá near the present city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. A party of the same *Guarani* stayed in the Province of Itati of Chiquitos (which is not to be confused with the Province of Itati north of the Apa River).

In 1564, Nuflo de Chaves, returning to Chiquitos from Paraguay, brought 2,000 to 3,000 *Itatin* of the Province of Itati, who settled in the new country. Were the *Itatin* of Chiquitos, so often mentioned in the second half of the 16th century, those who migrated in 1513 or were they the followers of Nuflo de Chaves in 1564? The answer will remain undecided, though the second hypothesis seems the more likely.

Early documents often use the name *Guarayú* for all the *Guarani* Indians (both the *Chiriguano* and *Guarayú* proper) who had migrated from Paraguay. (See Métraux, 1927, 1928 c, 1942; Schmidt, M., 1936.)

There are several references to the *Guarayú*, under the name of *Chiriguano*, *Moperecoa*, *Pirataguari*, in the accounts of the Spanish expeditions which undertook the conquest of eastern Bolivia at the beginning of the 17th century.

The Jesuits visited the *Guarayú* in the late 16th century. In 1695, Father Cipriano Barrace reestablished contact with them, and a few *Guarayú* were taken to the Jesuit mission of San Xavier. The Mission of Juan Bautista de Guarayos was founded for the *Guarayú*, some of whom were also taken to San José de Buenavista.

In 1793, some *Guarayú* were placed in San Pablo, on the San Miguel River, but they soon returned to the bush at the instigation of a messiah, Luis, who announced that they would soon join Tamoi, the Great Ancestor. In 1822, the *Guarayú* were entrusted to Franciscan missionaries from Tarata. After the independence of Bolivia, the missions were abandoned and the Indians resumed their old ways. In 1840, the Franciscans regained control of the region and founded the missions which exist today.

In 1884, there were 4,439 Indians in the four missions of Yotau, Ascención, Yaguarú, and Urubichá. In 1915, there were 6,364 Indians; in 1919, after the influenza epidemic, only 5,607.

At the end of the 16th century, *Guarayú* culture was still very similar to that of the *Guarani* of Paraguay: They had large communal houses, went naked, tattooed themselves by incision, practiced ceremonial cannibalism, buried their dead in urns, and remembered such mythological characters as Pai Zumé and Pai Tacure and Pai Amandre. (See Métraux, 1928 c.)

When it was observed in 1831 by D'Orbigny, *Guarayú* culture had been modified in many respects under the influence of their neighbors, the *Chiquito* and *Mojo*. The culture of the *Guarayú* visited by Nordenskiöld in 1908 had undergone even greater changes after almost a century of missionary life.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Modern *Guarayú* subsistence is more or less aboriginal. Crops are still those of their ancestors, except that they have given up bitter manioc and have adopted rice and other new plants, such as caripo (*Disocorea*) and hualusa (*Colocasia* sp.). Hunting methods conform to the general pattern of the area. (See *Guarayú* fig. 52.) They shoot fish with single or multiprong arrows, drug them with the sap of the *Hura crepitans*, spear them with gigs, and catch them in baskets set in dams, in small dip nets, and in basket sieves. They take eels with spears and baskets.

Cooking methods and utensils differ little from those of their neighbors, but they are the only Indians in the area who use the cylindrical wooden mortar and the long pestle, both survivals of their old *Guarani* culture. (See fig. 53, a, *Guarayú* fire drill.)

Fields are cleared and tilled collectively. Men sow maize; women plant sweet manioc and carry the crops from the fields.

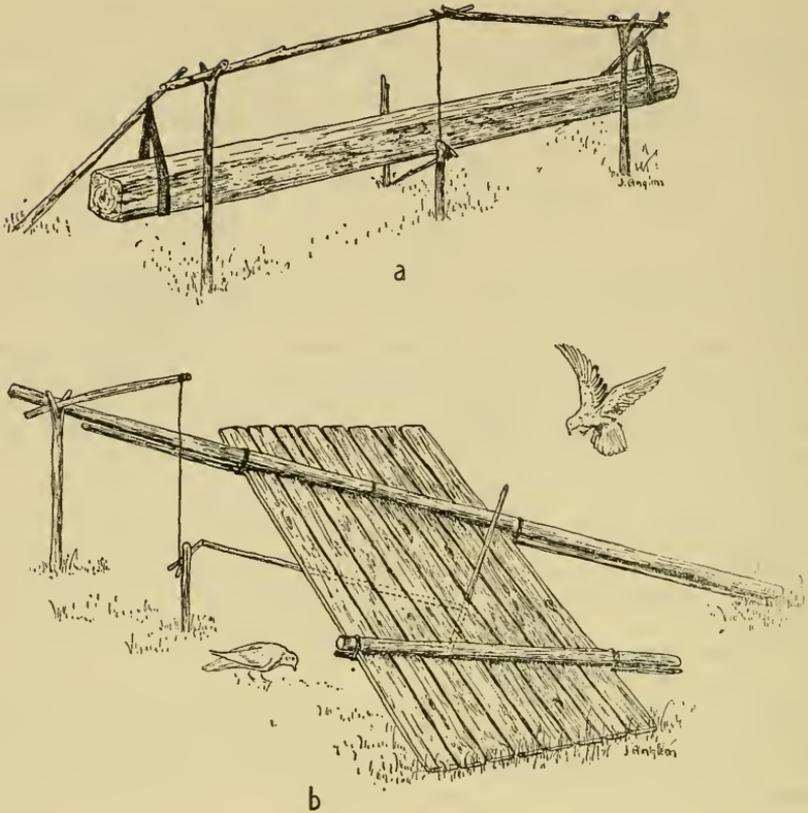


FIGURE 52.—*Guarayú* traps. *a*, For large rodents and armadillos; *b*, for pigeons. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1924 b, figs. 19, *a*, *b*.)

HOUSES

The ancient *Guaraní* multiple-family house, which was still used in the 16th century, has been replaced among the modern *Guarayú* by a single-family dwelling with an octagonal ground plan and wattle-and-daub walls and among the *Pauserna* by open sheds. The main pieces of furniture are platforms on which food is stored, cotton hammocks, benches for men, and mats for women.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Guarayú men adopted the long, bark-cloth tunic, characteristic of the *Mojo* area, but women wore only a skirt. In religious ceremonies, people went naked, as formerly. The ornaments were: Feather diadems, feather frontlets, labrets, feather-trimmed sticks passed through the nasal septum, tufts of feathers in the ear lobes, necklaces, and bracelets of aguai fruits. The ancient *Guarayú* also glued feathers to their bodies.

They painted themselves with genipa and urucú. Among the ancient *Guarayú*, women incised their faces, arms, and legs, and rubbed genipa

juice or charcoal in the wounds. The *Guaraní* tonsure was still common in the 16th century, but later both sexes wore their hair long. In D'Orbigny's time, *Guarayú* men wore long beards, an unusual feature in South America.

MANUFACTURES

Bark Cloth.—They make cloth of the bark of the bibosi tree (*Ficus* sp.), beaten with grooved wooden mallets.

Basketry.—Basketry (fig. 53) is of the twilled, wicker, hexagonal, or lattice varieties. In the hexagonal weave, the weft passes alternately over a strand of one and under a strand of another of two series of warp elements crossed diagonally. Rectangular baskets made of *Gynerium* stalks,

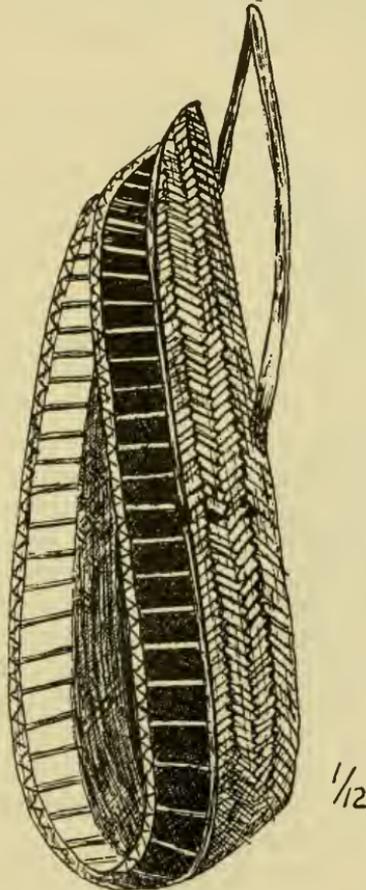


FIGURE 53.—*Guarayú* carrying basket. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1924 b, map 21.)

bound together by cotton twine, are used to store personal possessions. The *Guarayú* carry crops and heavy loads in elongated shoulder baskets which are entirely open on top and on the outer side, with only the lateral sides to support the burden.

Pottery.—*Guarayú* pottery was comparatively crude. It consisted of cooking pots, water bottles, and jars, some of them of considerable size. The *Pauserna* tempered the potter's clay with pulverized potsherds. The finished vessel was dried in the sun and heated over a fire before it was exposed to a higher temperature.

Spinning and weaving.—While the *Pauserna* have retained the drop spindle which turns by itself once set in motion, the *Guarayú* have adopted the long spindle which is rolled along the thigh. The distal end of the spindle rests on a lump of clay which keeps it on a level with the thigh. Both the *Guarayú* and the *Pauserna* weave on the vertical loom. The *Pauserna* plait cotton bands on a small loom, the frame of which is a forked branch with two transverse sticks attached to it. The warp threads are crossed by sticks which are removed and substituted by the weft.

Gourds.—Unlike most tribes of eastern Bolivia, the *Guarayú* use gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) more readily than calabashes (*Crescentia cujete*) as containers. The gourds of the *Pauserna* are decorated with simple geometric designs which stand out against a red background. To obtain this ornamentation, the outer surface of the gourd is scratched except for the desired patterns. Then the whole surface is smeared with urucú paste, and the epidermis on the unscratched portions is removed. The interior of these containers is painted in black.

Fire making.—The *Guarayú* often use the shaft of their arrows as a drill and the bamboo head as a hearth. The bamboo blade is perforated throughout and the ignited dust falls on a tinder placed underneath it.

Weapons.—The main features of the *Guarayú* bow are: a cross section externally convex, flat on the belly; a central basketry sheath; and a cotton string. Arrows are tipped with (1) lanceolate bamboo blades (2) wooden rods with serrated edges and sometimes with a bone barb, and (3) conical wooden knobs (bird arrows). Fishing arrows, as a rule, are provided with two barbed prongs. The feathering is of the arched, or eastern Brazilian type. The arrow shafts are of *Gynerium* stems, with a small peg inserted in the butt to strengthen it. *Guarayú* and *Pauserna* arrows bear a striking likeness to those of the *Guarani* Indians of Paraguay.

The ancient *Guarayú* had long double-edged wooden clubs, which widened from the handle to the distal end.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Prenatal food taboos were aimed at preventing the child from acquiring unpleasant features pertaining to some game animals or plants. Women were delivered in a squatting position. Some relative, usually the grandmother, tied cotton threads around the newborn infant's wrists, elbows, knees, and ankles, and, if it were a girl, around her waist.

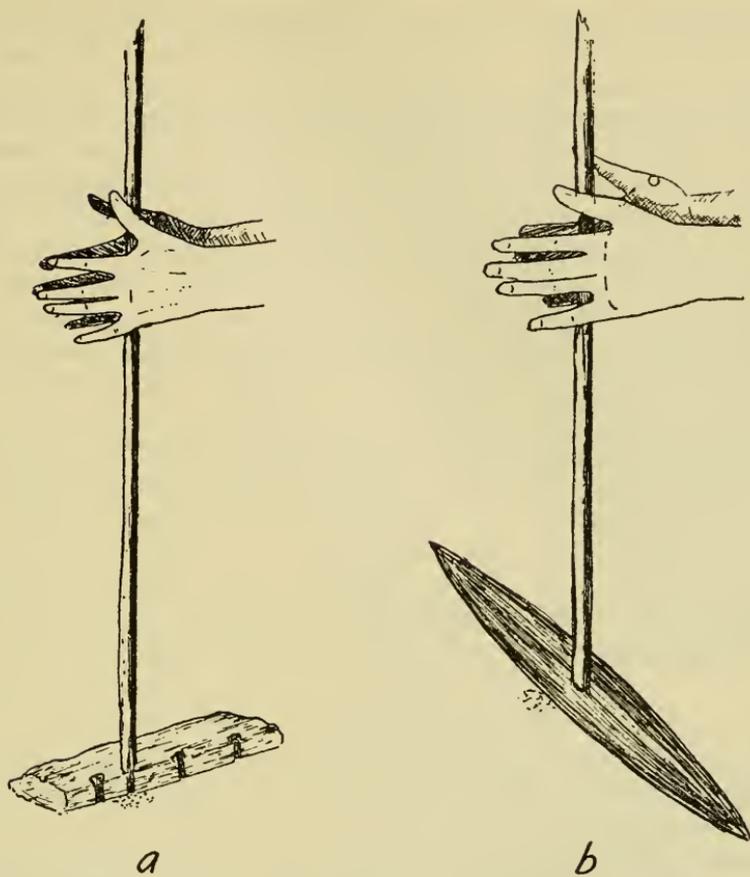


FIGURE 54.—*Guarayú* and *Chacobó* fire drills. *a*, *Guarayú*; *b*, *Chacobó*. (Redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1924 b, map 13.)

The father slashed himself with an aguti tooth, smeared his body with genipa, and lay idle in his hammock for 3 days, eating only small fish. It was a common belief among these Indians that the infant's soul followed its father everywhere, and that it might come to harm if the latter exerted himself too violently.

Among the 16th-century *Guarayú*, a boy was named by his grandfather or another male relative, who handed him a miniature bow. (See Métraux, 1928 c, p. 922.)

During childhood boys were often scarified or bled with a miniature bow and arrow in order to make them strong.

Girls' puberty.—At puberty, girls were secluded for a month in a corner of the hut and were restricted to a diet of sweet manioc, mush, and bananas. Afterward their arms and breasts were slashed with an aguti tooth and charcoal powder rubbed into the wounds. The scars remained as permanent tattoo marks.

Marriage.—The preferred form of marriage was between a girl and her maternal uncle or her cross-cousin. Among the ancient *Guarayú*, girls were often betrothed in early childhood.

The consent of the girl's father, and more especially, of her brother, was absolutely necessary for marriage. The suitor declared himself by leaving a bundle of firewood at the girl's door. (See Métraux, 1928 c, p. 922.) In more recent times, the prospective husband had to walk in front of the girl's hut for a few days, naked and painted with urucú. The wedding was celebrated with a drinking bout. The bridegroom was obliged to work for his father- or brother-in-law or to make them substantial presents. Residence was matrilineal, but sooner or later the new couple went to live in a separate hut. Polygyny was common. The levirate is mentioned in ancient documents.

Death.—At a death, the ancient *Guarayú* expressed their grief by throwing themselves on the ground and by other violent manifestations.

The dead, painted and wearing all their ornaments, were buried inside the hut. The *Pauserna* built a miniature hut on the grave. The body formerly was placed in a large jar, but in more recent times it was wrapped in several mats and interred with the face turned west. After the burial, the mourners slashed their bodies with aguti teeth.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Games.—In the 16th century, the ancestors of the modern *Guarayú*, the *Itatin*, played a rubber-ball game in which they struck the ball with the head and elbows.

Musical instruments.—Stamping tubes and gourd rattles played a significant part in religion. The *Pauserna* wear bracelets and belts hung with fruit-shell jingles.

Dances.—Men formed a line and marched forward and backward, thumping their bamboo tubes on the ground.

Narcotics and beverages.—The *Guarayú* smoke tobacco in pipes, the *Pauserna* in the form of cigars.

They made chicha of maize or of sweet manioc fermented with chewed maize.

RELIGION

The *Guarayú* retained many ancient *Guarani* religious features. They seem to have rendered a cult to Tamoi, the Great Ancestor. The data on their religion concern mainly a strong messianic movement which took place at the beginning of the 19th century. Men gathered in their large dancing houses and danced and sung to the rhythm of stamping tubes and rattles, hoping that Tamoi, the Ancestor, would reward their persistence by taking them to his celestial abode. These religious crises offer surprising resemblances to the revivalistic and messianic movements which

occurred among the *Guarani* and *Tupinamba* from the 16th to the 19th century.

Journey to the land of Tamoi.—Soon after burial, the soul starts a long dangerous journey to the land of Tamoi, which is located in the west. The soul is ferried across a river on the back of a caiman, jumps on a tree trunk which floats at great speed back and forth between two river banks, passes by the Grandfather of the worms, whose colossal size diminishes as the soul approaches him, then crosses a dark region where it is threatened by huge bats, and runs between two clashing rocks. Finally, it is examined by a gallinazo bird that sees whether its lips and ears have been perforated as is befitting a *Guarayú*. Before reaching the abode of Tamoi, the soul must endure the ordeal of being tickled by a monkey without laughing, must walk past a magic tree without heeding the voices issuing from it, and must look at colored grasses without being blinded by them. After all these ordeals, the soul is received by Tamoi, who washes it and restores its youth and good looks.

MYTHOLOGY

Guarayú mythology presents a strange mixture of confused elements. Its contradictions and obscurities are probably to be attributed to its collector, Father Cors. (See Cardús, 1886, pp. 76-78.)

In the beginning there was only water and bullrushes over which a worm, Mbir, crawled. After assuming human shape, Mbir created the world. He later was known as Miracucha, a name suspiciously suggestive of that of the *Inca* supreme god and culture hero, Viracocha. Next to Miracucha appear two other creators: Zaguaguayu, the god with the brilliant headdress who still lives in the west (the Sun?), and his brother Abaangui. The latter is also a creator and transformer, who changed his shape so often while endeavoring to take human form that he acquired a colossal nose that he had to knock off (the Moon?).

Our mythological text mentions also Candir, a name which in some 16th-century chronicles was applied by the *Guarani* to the Peruvian ruler. Candir probably was a culture hero who later became identified with the *Inca* Emperor. In the first document concerning the *Guarayú*, Candir is presented as a deity. (See Métraux, 1928 c.) Some people fasted and lived in seclusion for his sake and were seized by fits of frenzy which led them to run across the bush indifferent to pain and discomfort. The 16th-century Candir is perhaps the equivalent of Tamoi, or the Great Ancestor.

According to Cardús (1886), Tamoi taught men agriculture and the preparation of chicha. He was also a transformer, for he changed his wife and baby into rocks. Later he departed to a celestial abode in the west.

The two sons of Tamoi (the mythical twins) shot arrows into the sky so that each arrow penetrated into the butt of the other. Thus they formed

a chain by which the Brothers reached the sky, where they remained as Sun and Moon.

The spots on the Moon were caused by a girl who had sexual intercourse with the Moon at night. To discover her lover's identity, she smeared his face with genipa juice.

At the end of the 16th century, the *Guarayú* who had left Paraguay a generation before, still remembered Pai Zume, the great culture hero of the *Tupinamba* and *Guaraní*. (See *Annuae litterae*, 1589; Métraux, 1928 c.)

They retained also a tradition about a Flood from which a few people (probably children) were saved in a pot. In the same *Annuae litterae* of 1589, there is a passing reference to two mythical characters, Pai Tacur and Pai Amandre, who were undoubtedly Twin heroes. They disappeared after a cataclysm (Métraux, 1928 c.).

According to modern *Guarayú* mythology, fire was stolen from the vultures by a hero who, in order to lure the birds, pretended to be dead and snatched a firebrand when they alighted on him. He was assisted by a frog, who swallowed the firebrand to hide it from the vultures.

The *Guarayú* attributed eclipses to a celestial jaguar who attacked the Moon. They came to the rescue of the Moon by yelling and shooting burning arrows into the air.

LITERATURE

The text of a *Guarayú* song was transcribed by D'Orbigny (1839, vol. 2, p. 330). The Indians ask in it that nature don her most beautiful attire, that flowers blossom, that birds appear in radiant plumage and sing joyfully, that trees cover themselves with green foliage, and that everything help attract the attention of Tamoi, who was never supplicated in vain.

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THE TACANAN TRIBES

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The *Tacanan* tribes and subtribes occupy a continuous territory (map 1, No. 2; map 2) which includes the upper course of the Tahuamanú (Orton), Abuná, and Acre (Capechene) Rivers, the Madre de Dios River between long. 67° and 68°35' W., its tributaries, the Tambopata and Heath Rivers, and the Beni River from lat. 12°-15° S. and its tribu-

taries, especially the Madidi and Tuichi Rivers. The little-known *Tacanan* dialects have been grouped into a single linguistic family by Créqui-Montfort (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1921-22, 13:91-100) on the basis of the available linguistic material. Later, Rivet (1924) proposed the inclusion of the *Tacanan* family within the *Arawakan* linguistic family as a subgroup. Additional material on this linguistic group is to be found in Schuller (1922).

The *Araona* live on both sides of the Manuripe, not far from the Madre de Dios River, and on both banks of the latter, above the Genchiquia River (lat. 13° S., long. 68° W.), which separates them from the *Pacaguara* (lat. 11°-13° S., long. 65°-67° W.). Other *Araona* groups are settled at the headwaters of the Tahuamanu (Orton), Dati-manú, and Abuná, on the Karamanu River, a tributary of the Abuná River, and on the Jua River. The bulk of the tribe was on the Tahuamanu (Orton) River. The main *Araona* subtribes are listed by Armentia (1887-88, pp. 53-54) as follows: *Beyuma*, *Buda*, *Cahoco*, *Cama*, *Camaya*, *Camoavi*, *Canamary*, *Caça*, *Capanary*, *Capu*, *Chumu*, *Cuesi*, *Curupi*, *Dejabai*, *Ecuary*, *Eno*, *Giry*, *Guajima*, *Habuwi*, *Hamapu*, *Huary*, *Huarymodo*, *Ino*, *Isebene*, *Jicho*, *Machuvi*, *Manipo*, *Mapumary*, *Marani*, *Maru*, *Masatibu*, *Mayupi*, *Moyana*, *Odoary*, *Sabatini*, *Sara*, *Tade*, *Taranu*, *Tuama*, *Tuno*, *Uauí*, *Uranico*, and *Yuma*.

The *Capechene* (*Capaheni*) of the Acre and lower Irriapé Rivers (lat. 11°-13° S., long. 12°-14° W.) and the *Machui* must also be included among the *Araona* subtribes. In the last part of the 19th century, there were about 1,500 *Araona* and 800 to 1,000 *Capechene*.

The *Caviña* (*Cavineño*) (lat. 14° S., long. 67° W.) were moved in 1770 (or 1785) by missionaries from the left side of the Madre de Dios River to the ancient Mission of Cavinás on the Madidi River. Later, the *Caviña* were settled in the new Mission of Cavinás on the Beni River. In 1832, there were 1,000 *Caviña* at Cavinás, but only 153 in 1886. The 218 *Caviña* whom Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 266) saw in 1913 in the Mission of Jesús de Caviña on the Beni River had given up all their native culture except for a few isolated objects and customs. A few cultural details suggest that the *Caviña* might formerly have belonged to a different linguistic family and adopted a *Tacanan* dialect in more or less recent times.

The *Guacanhua*⁶ on the upper Madidi and Undumo Rivers, the *Chama*, and the *Tiatinagua* are perhaps subtribes of a single large tribe which will be designated here as *Tiatinagua*, following the nomenclature of the early missionaries.

The *Chama* visited by Nordenskiöld on the left side of the Madidi River are a subtribe of the *Guacanhua*.

⁶ They formed part of the Mission of Santiago de Pacazuaras, abandoned in 1840.

The *Tiatinagua* (*Tambopata-Guarayo*, *Huanayo*, *Baguaja*, *Baguajairi*, *Quinaqui*, *Mohino*, *Chuncho*, *Echoja*) were to be found on the upper Tambopata River above the mouth of the Távara River between Astillero and Marte (lat. 13°–15° S., long. 69° W.). There are *Tiatinagua* groups between the Inambari and Tambopata Rivers. The so-called *Guarayo* of the Heath River and the *Echoja* at the headwaters of the Heath River are subtribes of the *Tiatinagua*. Labré (1889, p. 499) mentions "*Guarayú*," related to the *Araona*, on the upper Abuná River.

In 1905, the number of *Tiatinagua* on the Malinowsky River was about 400 to 500. Those of the Tambopata River, from the La Torre River to Echainapa on the Távara River, were estimated at about 300 to 400.

The *Maropa* originally inhabited the banks of the Beni River (lat. 14°–15° S., long. 67° S.), south and west of the *Tacanan* tribes and east of the *Cayuvava*. Later they were transferred to the Mission of Reyes. They probably were closely related to the *Chirigua* (*Chiriba*, *Chiribi*) of the Mission of Santa Buenaventura, who came from the country adjacent to Reyes and Borja.

The *Tacana* proper are a tribe or subtribe living north of the Tuichi River (lat. 14° S., long. 68° W.), a tributary of the Beni River, but this name is given also to several other groups which are closely related to them and inhabit the same area. These other groups are the *Yubamona*, *Pamaino*, *Yabaypura*, *Pasaramona*, *Babayana*, *Chiliuvo*, *Toromona*, *Uchupiamona*, *Saparuna*, *Siliama*, *Tumupasa* (whose dialect is also known as *Marakani*), and *Ydiama*, spoken at Ixiamas. Most of these groups were scattered along the Tuichi River. Almost all the Indians settled in the missions of Buenavista, San José de Uchupiamonas, Tumupasa, and Ixiamas came from that region and belonged to these various groups.

The *Toromona*, who occupy the plains of the Carabaya Mountains and the territory between the Beni, the Madidi, and the Madre de Días Rivers (lat. 13° S., long. 68° W.) are listed by D'Orbigny among the "wild Tacana." It has been impossible to locate exactly the *Guariza* and *Sapibocona*. The first formed part of the Mission of San Antonio de Ixiamas and the second of the Mission of Santos Reyes. The *Sapibocona* probably must be identified with the *Maropa* who lived in the same area. The *Mabenaro* inhabited the forests north of the Madre de Días River about the headwaters of the southern tributaries of the Manuripe River (lat. 12° 15' S., long. 68° W.).

POPULATION

When the Mission of San José de Uchupiamonas was founded in 1716, it had 600 Indians. There were 2,500 Indians in the Mission of Ixiamas in 1721. In 1832, 1,028 Indians remained in Ixiamas, 73 in San José, and 1,170 in Tumupasa. In 1886 there were 1,200 Indians in Ixiamas,

1,200 in the Mission of Tumupasa, and 150 in San José. According to D'Orbigny (1839, 1:375), the *Toromona* numbered about 1,000. The same author classifies the 2,033 Indians of the Mission of Atén as *Tacana*, but some might have been *Leco* or from some other tribes. He also puts the total number of *Tacana* in 1831 at 6,304. In the same year, the *Maropa* of the Mission of Reyes numbered 900, but Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 160) states that there were approximately 1,500. Hassel (1905, p. 40) undoubtedly exaggerates when he puts the *Tiatinagua* at 3,000.

HISTORY

The first contacts between the *Tacanan*-speaking Indians and the Spaniards go back to the 16th century. In 1539, Pedro Anzules de Campo-redondo entered the territory of the *Tacana* from Ayaviri and Carabaya, and reached the Beni River. The Maldonado expedition in 1567 came in touch with various *Tacana* groups; a Spanish town was founded in *Toromona* territory. In 1593, Miguel Cabello de Balboa went as far as Ixiamas and Tumupasa. In 1621, Fray Gregorio de Bolívar visited the country of the *Tacana* and mentions them under the names of *Uchupiamona*, *Ayaychuna*, and *Chivamona*.

The natives of the ancient Province of Apolobamba were, with the exception of the *Aguachile* (*Apolista*) and the *Leco*, mostly *Tacanan* tribes. The first town in that area was Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, founded in 1615. At the end of the 17th century, the Franciscans founded in the region of Apolobamba the following missions:

- San Juan Bautista de Buenavista or La Plata, 1680 (*Siliana* and *Pamaino*).
- La Concepción de Apolobamba, 1690 (*Leco*, *Aguachile*, and *Pamaino*).
- La Trinidad de Iariapu or Tumupasa, 1713 (*Tacana*, *Marcani*, *Saparuna*, *Paimano*, *Chilivwo*, *Toromona*, and *Araona*).
- San José de Uchupiamonas, 1713 (*Tunupasa*, *Isiama*, and *Apolista*).
- San Antonio de Ixiamas, 1721 (*Tacana*, *Araona*, *Marcani*, *Toromona*, *Huawayana*, and *Guarisa*).
- San Antonio de Atén, 1736 (*Leco* and later *Tacanan*-speaking Indians).

In the region of Carabaya, missionary work started in 1654, but many baptized Indians when left to their own devices returned to paganism. In 1678, the Franciscan missionaries came in touch with *Isiama*, *Sariona*, and *Pasiona*, and with the *Araona*.

The work of the Franciscans among the *Tacanans* continued with few interruptions up to the present. The best known of their missionaries is Father Nicolas Armentia (1887-88), who explored the Madre de Dios Basin, and is one of the main authorities on the *Araona* ethnography.

Quechua was already spoken in the 17th century by many *Tacanans* who came to Carabaya. In the missions of Apolobamba, the Franciscans favored its adoption, and it has replaced the *Tacanan* dialects spoken in that region.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Collecting wild foods.—The *Araona*—and probably all the other *Tacanan*-speaking groups—depend greatly on wild foods, such as the fruits of several palm trees (*Euterpe oleracea*, *Jessenia bataua*, *Attalea humboldtiana*, *Attalea spectabilis*, *Bactris maraja*) and Brazil nuts. The last are mentioned in the 16th-century sources as the most important food of the *Tacanan*-groups, especially of the *Toromona*, who not only consumed enormous quantities themselves but traded them to the Indians in the mountains. The *Araona* were also great honey gatherers. During the dry season, the *Tiatinagua* and *Capchene* collected turtle eggs. All the Indians of that area greatly relish the fat abdomens of the cuqui ants.

Farming.—All the *Tacanan*-speaking Indians practice agriculture *Araona* and *Tiatinagua* fields, which average 164 by 66 feet (50 by 20 m.), are scattered, and their owners constantly travel from one to another. In addition to regular plantations, these Indians have plots of bananas and plantains along the rivers, where they hunt and fish during certain seasons.

Tiatinagua plantations have rows of banana and plantain trees, between which grow sweet manioc (yuca), maize, sweet potatoes, hualsua (*Colocasia esculentia*), gourds, tobacco, cotton, cayenne pepper, and sugarcane. The same plants are probably cultivated by all members of the family. The *Araona* raised, in addition to the plants listed above, papayas and two kinds of tubers. Beans and peanuts, though not specifically ascribed to any tribe, are common native foods of the region.

Hunting.—The *Tiatinagua* hunt in large groups, encircling a large area and driving the game toward a center where they kill it with bows and arrows. Dogs are trained to flush various game.

Caviña spring-hole traps have a nose attached to a bent pole and stretched within an enclosure. When a bird alights on a tranverse rod or when a rodent finishes nibbling a tuber fastened to a trigger, the pole flies upward. In another type, the noose is placed in front of an opening into the enclosure, so that the pole springs up when the rodent steps on a peg.

The *Caviña* rub their eyes with *visisapa* leaves before hunting. The *Tiatinagua* keep pieces of skin of the slain animals as trophies. Game is shared equally by all members of a *Tiatinagua* community.

Fishing.—The *Tacanan* tribes rely considerably on fishing. At the beginning of the dry season, they capture with their bare hands thousands of fish left stranded by the receding flood. They shoot fish with bows and arrows or capture them (*Araona* and *Tiatinagua*) in rectangular enclosures placed across streams. To catch huge siluroid fish, the *Tiatinagua* use a wooden hook that is unique in South America and consists of a shank with two wooden barbs resembling an anchor. The *Tacanan*

tribes also drug fish with the milky sap of the soliman tree (*Hura crepitans*).

Domesticated animals.—The dog was not introduced to the *Tacana* before the 19th century. The wild *Tiatinagua* have chickens and dogs. Present-day *Maroña* are good horsemen and cattle herders.

Food preparation.—Bananas and plantains, the staple foods of most *Tacana* with the exception of the *Araona*, are usually roasted. Maize is ground between two stones or in a wooden trough with a big semicircular wooden slab (fig. 55). As the *Tiatinagua* and *Chama* have little or no

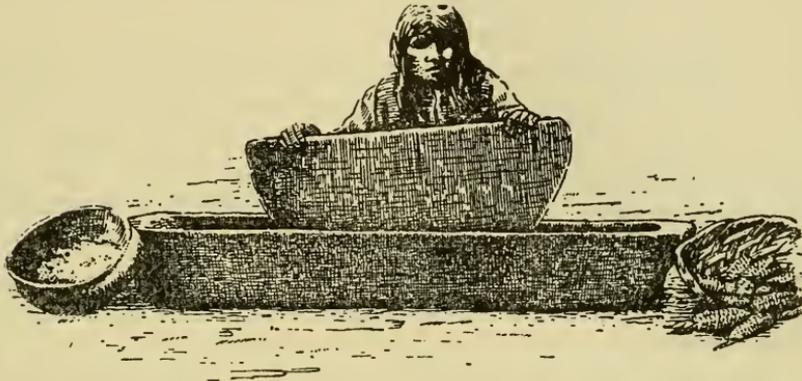


FIGURE 55.—*Tiatinagua* woman making cornmeal. (After Farabee, 1922.)

pottery, they roast or steam food, especially fish, in green bamboo tubes placed on the fire; the food is cooked before the vessel burns through. The 17th-century Indians of Apolobamba baked game and fish in earth ovens. Any surplus of meat is roasted and smoked on a rectangular babracot. Instead of salt, the *Araona* add the ashes of maize stalks to food. When they travel, the *Araona* eat maize flour mixed with roasted and ground Brazil nuts. They grind dry fish into a flour which they store for the rainy season.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The *Araona* live in large communal huts, which average 60 feet (18.2 m.) in length and 20 feet (6.1 m.) in width, and shelter as many as 20 families. Such dwellings, covered with skilfully imbricated leaves, endure for many years. These Indians, however, spend their nights in small conical cabins which are tightly closed to keep out mosquitoes and vampire bats.

In the 17th century, the *Maroña* huts accommodated from 100 to 200 people.

Tiatinagua and *Chama* huts are simple windbreaks, made of a single row of large leaves stuck into the ground, or they are flimsy vaulted structures made of stalks of *Gynerium sagittatum* and covered with

leaves and branches. The size of the hut depends on the number of families using it.

The *Araona*, *Chama*, and *Tiatinagua* sleep on the bare ground, which they sometimes cover with soft sand. A stone or log serves as a pillow. The *Araona* use pieces of bark as beds and seats.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

If the occasion requires it, men dress in long sleeveless shirts made either of bark cloth or of cotton and generally dyed with urucú. Women wrap a bark or cotton loincloth around their waists and often throw a square shawl over their shoulders.

The *Araona* and *Tiatinagua* of both sexes wear shell nose ornaments, crescent-shaped among the latter. Feathers or small teeth inserted in the perforated nasal septum are common ornaments in these tribes. Some *Tiatinagua* wear a little wooden plug in each corner of the mouth. Necklaces are strung with seeds, nuts (which are often trimmed with feathers), snails, and animal claws and bones. All these Indians array themselves in beautiful feather headdresses.

The *Araona* wear their hair in a queue. They wash it with a soapy fruit of the susuyo.

Deformation.—Farabee (1922, p. 156) states that the *Tiatinagua* flatten their children's heads by tying a board on their foreheads.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Tacana* travel on water either in dugouts or on rafts. *Tiatinagua* dugouts are 33 to 50 feet (10 to 15 m.) long and 15 to 28 inches (38 to 70 cm.) wide. The same Indians have small balsas consisting of two logs fastened together by chonta-palm pins driven through them.

Mothers carry babies straddling on their hip, supported by a sling of bark cloth.

MANUFACTURES

Bark cloth.—Bark cloth was made of the bark of various trees, mainly *Ficus* sp. The hammered patches were soaked in water several times, thoroughly wrung, dried, and sewn together with a needle. *Araona* needles were of bone, with large eyes.

Spinning.—*Tiatinagua* and *Chama* spindles are of the drop type. The whorls are of potsherds or of stone (*Chama*).

Weaving.—A loom collected by Nordenskiöld (1924 b, map 26) at Tumupasa consists of two horizontal sticks around which a thread is wound in such a way that the separate strands are crossed around a series of mesh sticks. The fabric is obtained by recrossing and tightening the threads with the fingers.

Basketry.—Twilled baskets and fans and ovoid wicker baskets are illustrated by Nordenskiöld (1905, figs. 26–30). The *Tiatinagua* have rectangular baskets of *Gynerium sagittatum* stalks bound together with fine threads.

Pottery.—The *Tiatinagua* and *Chama* have little pottery, in contrast to the *Caviña* who, though decadent, still manufacture beautiful painted, resin-glazed vessels. The *Araona* make many kinds of pottery ranging from huge jars to small vases, which they carry on journeys.

The *Tacanans* use both gourd (*Lagencria siceraria*) and calabash (*Crescentia cujete*) cups and containers.

Tools.—Stone axes were deeply notched near the butt end and lashed to a wooden shaft. Two wooden splinters reinforced the binding. *Araona* stone axes were glued with rosin as well as lashed.

Weapons.—*Tiatinagua* bows are of palm wood, 6½ feet (2 m.) long. The cross section is flat and rectangular, the string of vegetal fiber. Hunting arrows have lanceolate bamboo heads or sharp chonta tips, one side of which has one or two rows of barbs. Fishing arrows have either a simple jagged point or three plain prongs. Arrow feathering consists of two twisted half feathers set spirally against the *Gynerium* shaft and bound tightly with cotton thread smeared with wax (cemented feathering). The arrow is held between the thumb and the index finger, and the string pulled with the other three fingers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Each *Tiatinagua* group consists of from two to eight families, who live together in a communal hut under a chief. Any *Araona* man with a strong personality and many relatives may become a chief and find ready followers among destitute families. People are the more submissive as their leader is also the high priest of the community. His subjects are obliged to work for him. A chief is succeeded by his favorite son, but often the group splits if a brother of the new chief refuses to recognize his leadership.

One of the *Araona* villages visited by Labré (1889, p. 499) was ruled by two chiefs, each of whom had several families under his orders. Among these Indians, descent was patrilineal.

Work requiring cooperation is undertaken for a man by his relatives and friends, who are rewarded with food.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—*Tiatinagua* women are delivered in the forest, assisted by two other women. The *Araona* have traditional names which they give to their children some time after birth. The couvade is reported among the *Maropa* and *Araona*.

Puberty.—At puberty, *Tiatinagua* boys have the frenum of the penis cut with a bamboo knife; girls, the hymen slit by a woman using the same instrument. At about the age of 15, *Araona* boys go through an ordeal which strongly suggests a specific complex of initiation rites. The priests temporarily blind them by rubbing a powder, made of a poisonous creeper, into their eyes. The initiates are then taken to the local sanctuary, where their sight returns as soon as their eyes have been washed with the priest's saliva.

Tiatinagua groups are said to be exogamous. It is reported also that *Araona* men could marry only *Caviña* women and vice versa. *Caviña* marry at a very tender age; girls are sometimes wed to a boy or a man before puberty. Mothers are said to deflower their daughters by artificial means to prepare them for married life. *Araona* children are married at the age of 9 or 10, but the marriage is consummated only after puberty. Polygyny is a chief's privilege among the *Araona* and *Tiatinagua*. Among the *Tiatinagua*, marriages are easily dissolved by mutual consent.

Funeral rites.—The *Araona* in their eagerness to get rid of the corpses began the funerals before the ailing person had breathed his last. They interred the dead in their huts in a squatting position with a rope round the neck.

The *Tiatinagua* bury their dead in an extended position with all their belongings, somewhere in the bush.

After a death has occurred, the *Caviña* change the place of the house door to confuse the returning soul. It is reported that among these Indians a widower could marry only a widow, and vice versa.

The *Tiatinagua* believe that of the three souls of men, one remains on the earth as a ghost, the second goes to the Great Ancestor, and the third joins other souls in a country crossed by a big river where fish and game may be caught without effort and where fields are covered with big crops (Alvarez, 1941).

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Araona* women during religious ceremonies played bone *quenas*, or end-flutes with three stops.

Caviña panpipes are composed of a double row of seven or eight tubes fastened together by a strip of bamboo wound like a band a couple of times around the entire instrument; each pipe is further attached by a thread. The same type of ligature is found also on *Aymara* and *Yuracare* panpipes (Izikowitz, 1935, p. 388). Huge bark trumpets, joined together like the tubes of panpipes, and similar to those of the Christianized *Mojo* and *Itonama*, are in use in the mission of *Caviña*.

Games.—In their ball games, the *Araona* butt the ball with their stomachs, which are protected with bark belts.

Stimulants.—None of the *Tacanan* tribes is known to brew any fermented drink, though they prepare mush which may easily ferment. This lack of true alcoholic beverages is a curious exception in an area where most tribes enjoy several kinds of beer.

The *Araona* chew coca mixed with motacu palm (*Attalea humboldtiana*) or chameiro (a creeper) ashes. They keep the mixture in special wooden bowls. Several *Tacanan* groups raise tobacco but do not smoke it.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

Gods and spirits.—When they were visited by Armentia, the main god of the *Araona* was Baba-buada, a wind god invested with the dignity of the creator. He was the master of the seasons, and he set the time for sowing or harvesting crops. Next to him were many inferior gods and spirits: Itzeti Mara Edutzi, the Sun God; Baba Tsutu, the Jaguar God; the God of Health; the Maize God, the Fire God, the God of Houses, the Peccary God, the Thunder God, the God who protects against Caimans, and the Death God. These deities were represented by material symbols, such as carved pieces of wood decorated with feather mosaics (Wind, Sun, and Moon Gods), and manufactured objects, including spears with wooden heads, arrows and axes, pots, or small black pebbles (deities of food: Maize, Yuca, and Banana). These idols were placed in square temples located in the middle of the forest. The interior of the temple was divided into two compartments, one for the symbols of the gods, and the other for the dance paraphernalia. Women and children were not allowed to view the sacred objects and were barred from ceremonies.

Each god had a yanacona or special servant to take care of his image. Priests were obliged to observe chastity. The head of a village was often a priest.

Great feasts were celebrated for the gods at sowing time and before harvest. The members of each family chanted prayers almost every night to ask the deities for favors. The ancient *Pamaino* and *Saparuna* placed in their temples the largest maize ears which they harvested and left them in the sanctuaries for a whole year.

That *Araona* religion has received Andean influences is evidenced by the *Quechua* names of some of the gods of their pantheon. Seventeenth-century explorers found actual Peruvian idols and objects in the sanctuaries of the *Tacana* Indians.

The spirits of the *Tiatinagua* seem to have specialized functions: one is feared because he inflicts diseases, another resides in the rivers and causes shipwrecks. The Sun, the Moon, and the Stars are also personified and in human form come to this earth to harm people. Like the other *Tacanan* Indians, the *Tiatinagua* assign spirits (shahua) to all the plants (Alvarez, 1941, p. 159).

The religious beliefs of the *Caviña* and *Tumupasa* are reflected in their myths and tales, collected by Nordenskiöld (1924 a, pp. 288-305). These Indians distinguish two different kinds of spirits: the ishausu, or nature spirits, and the chokihua, or ordinary ghosts. Every animal species is represented by a special spirit that acts as its protector. These spirits have the appearance of men or of huge animals of the species which they represent. The Caiman spirit has a double tail; the Turtle spirit is a gigantic turtle; and the Frog spirit, a huge frog. The Peccary spirit is fond of kidnapping people to enjoy their company; the Monkey spirit prevents hunters from destroying too many of his people. The Master-of-the-partridges is a serpent who once made a bargain with a hunter stipulating that the latter should be allowed to kill as much game as he wished if he spared the partridges. It was only after the serpent had been killed by mistake that game became elusive.

Some spirits reside in trees, which consequently cannot be felled without danger. There are also river spirits who kidnap and eat women. Rubber trees are inhabited by spirits who punish those who tap their sap unless they are under duress. Meteorological phenomena are caused by spirits. For instance, the wind is a small boy who throws a rubber ball and also causes thunder.

According to *Caviña* mythology, the sun is a man who is married to a jaguar woman but took a spirit woman as his second wife. She bore him a baby so hot that nobody could hold it. The sun also had sexual intercourse with the moon, who had come to steal his vegetables. Fire is a woman, who became insulted because a woman had urinated on her. She withdrew her services to mankind until she found a person whom she liked.

The *Caviña* had a myth based on the motif of the flying heads which, after killing animals and men, go to the sky.

In *Tumupasa* mythology, the former owner of fire was a frog spirit. The first time fire was stolen from him by an old man and woman, the frog succeeded in putting it out. The second time it was stolen, the frog was killed, but was resurrected in various disguises: a woman, a fish, and many other forms. Each time the fire was stolen, the frog spirit was killed again. Finally, the frog poisoned the beer of his adversaries, who died.

Eclipses occur when the sun, in sign of mourning, smears his face with genipa. The spots on the moon are genipa marks put on her face by Venus at a beer party.

The only recorded tale of the *Maropa* is the story of a boy who married a doe, who transformed herself into a woman.

A few *Tiatinagua* myths have been recorded recently by a Franciscan missionary (Alvarez, 1941). According to these stories, the first *Tia-*

tinagua descended from the sky by means of a rope which broke and thus forced many other people to remain in the sky. The other Indian tribes of the region came from holes in the ground. Many animals are transformed people who have suffered various accidents or have been punished for their cruelty. (The jaguar was a man who murdered his wife and children, the peccary was a cruel father, etc.) The motif of the Tree of Life, so characteristic of the Guianas and northwestern South America, occurs among these Indians also.

A great flood was caused by a sudden rise of the rivers, and a huge fish added to the terror by eating people until a young boy killed it. Only one couple succeeded in escaping the disaster by climbing a high mountain.

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THE SOUTHEASTERN PANOAN TRIBES

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The *Pacaguará* (*Pacavara*) live on both sides of the Beni, lower Madre de Dios, Mamoré, upper Madeira, and lower Abuná Rivers (lat. 11°-13° S., long. 65°-67° W., map 1, No. 2; maps 2, 4). Formerly, they extended farther to the south; the Mission of Santiago de Pacaguaras on the Madidi River, above its junction with the Chuini River, consisted of *Pacaguará*. According to Armentia (1887-88, p. 42), there were groups of *Pacaguará* at Sinusinu, San Lorenzo, Biata, Mamorbey Jenechiquia, and Jenesuaya. At Orton, there were three subgroups, two of which were exterminated by the *Araona* in 1885. The southernmost *Pacaguará* were pushed toward the north by the *Tacanan* tribes.

Créqui-Montfort and Rivet (1913 b, p. 21) consider the *Chacobo*, *Sinabo*, *Capuibo*, and *Caripuná* as subtribes of the *Pacaguará*. The *Capuibo* reside along the Biata River, a tributary of the Beni River (lat. 13° S., long. 67° W.). The *Chacobo* are split into small units scattered 3 days' walking distance northwest of Exaltación, between Lake Rogoaguado and the Mamoré River (lat. 13°-14° S., long. 65°-66° W.). In 1908, Nordenskiöld visited one of their villages north of Lake Rogoaguado. In 1887 there were two groups of *Chacobo* on the Ivon River, one comprising six families and the other, four. The *Sinabo* (*Gritones*) inhabit the region called Los Armendrales, near the first rapids of the Mamoré

River and along the Bolivian side of the Guaporé River (lat. 11°–13° S., long. 65°–66° W.). The *Caripuná* (*Jaun-avo*) figure among the Amazonian tribes listed by Acuña (1891, p. 45),⁶ who places them with the *Zurina* on the Purús River (lat. 10°–11° S., long. 64°–66° W.). Natterer encountered a *Caripuná* subgroup, the *Jacariá* (*Jacaré-Tapuujá*), on the Abuná River, and another subgroup, the *Shenabu* (probably the *Sinabo*) on the Madeira River above the Cachoeira do Pão. The *Caripuná* had also a settlement near the Caldeirão do Inferno. At the beginning of the 20th century, the few surviving *Caripuná* retired along the Mutum Paraná, a right tributary of the Madeira River. Giglioli (1906, p. 219), on the authority of an Italian colonist, Landi, lists the *Pamá* and *Pamaná* Indians as a subgroup of the *Caripuná*. Their habitat was the Caldeirão and São Lorenzo Rivers, both small tributaries of the Madeira River, and the banks of the Madeira River between the rapids of Caldeirão do Inferno and Girão.

D'Orbigny (1839, 2:262) estimates the number of *Pacaguará* at 1,000; Hassel (1905, p. 49) at 2,000.

CULTURE

Subsistence.—The *Pacaguará* and *Chacobo* are agriculturists who grow the usual crops of the region with sweet manioc, bananas, and maize as staples. They grind the maize in huge wooden troughs with heavy wooden slabs of semicircular shape. They grate the manioc tubers on thorny palm roots and roast the mass in flat clay pans. The *Caripuná* prepare farinha from bitter manioc. The manioc roots are placed in a kind of semicircular trough, made of the split stem of a mirití palm, and are crushed into a pulp. The imperfectly kneaded flour is next put through a sieve made of fiber strings, reduced to a fine dough, and formed into cakes. These are sometimes left for a few hours to ferment. The dough, with water added to it, is placed in a manioc press to eject both the water and the prussic acid. The flour is then put into a pan and moved about with a stick until it is roasted (Domville-Fife, 1924, p. 106).

The *Caripuná* have often been described as inveterate geophagists, a habit which may be attributed to the presence of salty earth in their country.

Houses.—*Chacobo* communal huts are rectangular, with gabled roof and side walls. The clubhouse, where men store their weapons, drink, and sleep, especially if they are unmarried, has an octagonal ground plan with a roof resting on eight wall plates surrounding the central ridge pole, which is supported by two vertical posts. As the sides are entirely open, nothing in the clubhouse can be kept secret, though access to it is forbidden to women. The *Caripuná* have also a men's house,

⁶ The *Caripuná* mentioned by Acuña may well have been a tribe entirely different from the modern Indians of the same name.

which is an open sunshade. *Pacaguará* huts are tentlike, with no end walls.

The use of cotton hammocks is general among all these groups. Acuña (1891, p. 145) praises the *Caripuná* of the Purús River for their artistically carved benches in animal form. *Chacobo* benches are made of palm stalks nailed on tree stumps.

Clothing and adornment.—*Chacobo* and *Caripuná* men go naked with the penis fastened against the stomach under a cotton belt. A distinctive ornament of the *Chacobo* is a solid, flat broad collar, made of countless monkey incisors and trimmed with toucan feathers. *Chacobo* men also wear a feather tuft or reed with feathers through the nasal septum, pieces of bone or wooden sticks in the ear lobes, and wrappings of long bast strips around the arms and legs. Men cut their hair across the forehead and wrap it with a cotton band into a queue.

Chacobo women cover their pubis with a *Heliconia* leaf attached to a cotton or fiber string; *Pacaguará* and *Caripuná* women wear a small front flap or apron. *Chacobo* women bore the nasal septum and ears to insert feather tufts. Their other ornaments are seed necklaces, chonta finger rings, armlets of feathers and shells or wrappings of bark around arms and legs, and, occasionally, one or two feathers glued to their long, loose hair.

Transportation.—The *Pacaguará* travel in bark canoes or in dugouts which may accommodate about eight people.

Manufactures.—Industries are the same as those of the neighboring tribes: Twilled baskets, rectangular boxes of *Gynerium* stalks sewn together, and bags of bark cloth for storage of their possessions.

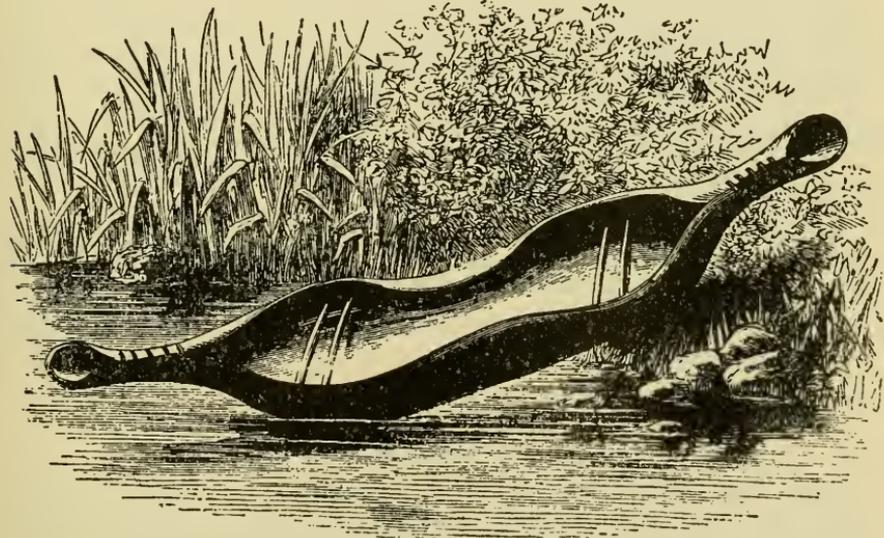


FIGURE 56.—A "Casara," or bark canoe of the *Caripuná*. (After Mathews, 1879.)

Pottery is plain; some vessels collected by Nordenskiöld bear imprints of the banana leaves on which they rested during the modeling process.

Cotton is carded with a small bow and spun with a spindle rolled on the thigh.

Their bows, made of chonta palm, have shoulders cut for the fiber string; arrowheads are of the lanceolate and rod types; the feathering is cemented with resin (Peruvian feathering). The *Caripuná* of the Purús River, mentioned by Acuña (1891, p. 145), used beautifully carved spear throwers.

According to Giglioli (1906, p. 225), *Pacaguará* and *Caripuná* stone axes are glued directly to the handle, without any socket or lashing, by means of the rosin of the massaranduba tree, which when it dries, hardens like cement.

The most common tools are bamboo and shell knives, piranha teeth, and planes made of peccary jaws.

Esthetic and recreational activities.—The only *Chacobo* musical instrument described in the literature is a panpipe consisting of five disconnected pipes held in the hand. *Caripuná* drums are said to be made of a pot with a rubber membrane stretched over its mouth.

Chacobo dancers walk in a line to and fro holding short ceremonial clubs.

Chicha is prepared of manioc fermented with the addition of saliva. Tobacco is not grown for smoking, but to kill *Dermatobia* larvae. The *Caripuná* provoke a state of trance by taking parica (*Piptadenia* sp.) in the form of clysters which they administer to each other with rubber syringes provided with a bone tube.

Religion.—According to Armentia (1887-88, p. 43), the *Pacaguará* worshiped their deities in the guise of a jaguar's, a peccary's or some other animal's head. They celebrated magicoreligious ceremonies, which unfortunately are not described, before sowing and harvesting. Acuña (1891) states that the *Caripuná* of the Purús River had wooden idols.

Among the *Chacobo*, practitioners of both sexes use massage and blowing as the basic cure in the treatment of the sick.

The dead are buried in a sitting position in the hut, which is then burned down. Female relatives lament and temporarily discard their ornaments in sign of grief. According to Keller-Leuzinger (1874, p. 124), the *Caripuná* bury their dead in large urns within the huts. Bull-roarers are whirled during the funerary ceremonies. (Among the *Chacobo*, bull-roarers are used as toys by children.)

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THE SOUTHWESTERN PANOAN TRIBES

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

On the upper reaches of the Madre de Díos River, there are a few *Panoan* groups (map 1, No. 2; map 2) which are separated from those of the lower Beni River by *Tacanan* tribes. The *Atsahuaca*, of whom only 20 survived in 1904, lived along the Carama (*Atsahuaca*) and the Malinowski Rivers, both tributaries of the Tambopata River, and along the Chaspa River, tributary of the Inambari River (lat. 13°–15° S., long. 70°–71° W.). The *Yamiaca*, who live on the Yaguarmayo River, near its junction with the Inambari River, are a branch of the *Atsahuaca*. The *Arasa* (*Arazaire*) were found on the Marcapata or Arasa River, a left tributary of the Inambari River (lat. 14° S., long. 71° W.). They also belong to the *Panoan* family, though some of them may also speak a *Tacanan* dialect. According to Hassel (1905), their total number was from 500 to 800; according to Cipriani (1902, p. 175), only 20 to 25.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Yamiaca* collect fruits in the bush and turtle eggs from the sandy beaches. Both the *Yamiaca* and *Atsahuaca* cultivate fields widely scattered along the rivers. They grow bananas, sweet manioc (yuca), sweet potatoes, gourds, cotton, sugarcane, cayenne pepper, and maize. The *Yamiaca* also raise pineapples and papaya. All crops except sugarcane are communally owned. Staples are bananas and, to a less extent, manioc and maize.

The *Yamiaca* are good fishermen, but the *Atsahuaca* live in a region with only small streams and few fish. The former have harpoon arrows with two removable elements, a head and an intermediate piece of wood between it and the shaft. Both tribes drug fish with poison.

The *Atsahuaca* are skillful hunters with a remarkable knowledge of animal habits and sounds. They hunt with well-trained dogs.

The *Yamiaca* grate bananas on prickly roots. Both tribes cook in clay pots and in bamboo joints and broil game on rectangular babracots. The *Atsahuaca* prepare a sour mead of honey. The *Yamiaca* brew banana and manioc beer.

HOUSES

Atsahuaca huts are simple lean-tos covered with imbricated palm leaves, split along the midrib. Sometimes two opposite lean-tos are brought together so as to form a gabled roof. Each hut accommodated a single biological family. The *Yamiaca* have large communal huts. Originally, the *Yamiaca* slept on the ground, but in more recent times they have adopted platform beds and fiber hammocks.

DRESS AND ADORNMENTS

Men wear a sleeveless shirt of cotton or bark cloth, women a bark cloth or cotton skirt and often a square shawl on their shoulders. The *Atsahuaca* paint concentric circles with dots on their garments.

The *Yamiaca* and *Atsahuaca* put feathers or a stick through the nasal septum or hang shells or other pendants from the nose. Some *Atsahuaca* men insert wooden sticks through the corners of their mouths. A few *Atsahuaca* women thrust sticks or feathers in their ear lobes. All women wear monkey-tooth necklaces. The *Atsahuaca* had beautiful parrot-feather headdresses and cotton frontlets with fringes and feather tassels. Pigments for body paint are urucú and genipa. Combs are of the composite type.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Yamiaca* use both dugout canoes and rafts. The *Atsahuaca* lack any craft, as their territory has no navigable streams.

Contrary to the custom of most Indians of the region, the *Atsahuaca* support ordinary burdens on the back with a band passing across the chest. Children, however, are carried on the shoulders in a baby sling held by a tumpine.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry is little developed. These tribes manufacture boxes and mats, made by sewing *Gynerium* stalks together, and weave a few oval wicker baskets. Spindles are of the drop type.

Clay for pottery is tempered with pulverized potsherds. The finished pots are unornamented.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Both Southwestern *Panoan* tribes have chiefs who enjoy certain authority. The *Atsahuaca* show great respect for their chief, even whispering in his presence.

ILLNESS AND DEATH

Among the *Atsahuaca*, flogging with a nettle and other harsh measures are used in the treatment of the sick.

The *Yamiaca* destroy part of the crops of a deceased person and bury his possessions with him.

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