TRIBES OF THE MONTANA: AN INTRODUCTION

By Julian H. Steward

INTRODUCTION

The Chuncho (Andean name of the peoples of the eastern slopes of the Highlands) occupy the Montana (the eastern side of the Andes of Ecuador and Perú) and the Yunga (the comparable region in Bolivia) (map 1, No. 3; map 5; also map 4). Though by no means homogeneous environmentally or culturally, the Chuncho area has sufficient unity and distinctiveness to warrant separate treatment.

Geographically, the Montana and Yunga are selva or tropical rain forest, but unlike the Amazon Basin have rugged topography and many rapid streams. The environment has isolated the tribes from one another, restricted inhabitable areas, and limited navigation and fishing in the rivers.

Culturally, the Chuncho belong with the Tropical Forest peoples. They appear to represent a series of migratory waves that had spent their force against the barrier of the Andes, where representatives of many widely distributed linguistic families—Arawakan, Tupian, Cariban, Tucanoan—and members of isolated linguistic families—Cofán, Ivaroan, Záparoan, Cahuya, Panoan, Hibitoan, Cholonan, Tacanan, Lecoan, Chimanean, Yuracarean, and others—subsided into comparative isolation. No other area of South America has greater linguistic diversity. The Chuncho families remained in their valleys, little influenced by the Andean civilizations on the cold heights immediately to their west or even by some of the characteristic Amazonian developments which had spread along waterways of the Amazon Basin.

The contrast between the Chuncho and the Andean Quechua is as great as that between the environments to which they were conditioned. These cultures correlate to an extraordinary degree with altitude and topography. The jungle culture had spread westward to end abruptly at the sharp escarpment of the Andes and rarely occurred at altitudes of more than 3,000 or 4,000 feet (1,000 or 1,200 m.). But it had penetrated the deep, canyonlike valleys which thrust long prongs into the mountains,
for example, the upper Napo, Santiago, Marañón, Huallaga, Pachitea, Perené, and Ené Rivers, and the tributaries of the Madeira River. It was halted only where the mountains rise precipitously above 5,000 or 6,000 feet (1,800 or 2,000 m.) into zones of thick clouds and heavy rains. The Highland cultures clung to the tops of the drier, cooler mountain masses and spread eastward around the deep valleys, sometimes nearly engulfing the lowland peoples, for example, the Patagón and their neighbors of the upper Marañón River, but never descending into the low valleys. There seems, in fact, to have been an effective barrier between the Highland and jungle peoples—the Ceja de la Montaña, a rugged, cloud-buried, excessively rainy, precipitous strip between the Puna and the lower hills of the Montaña. This strip was largely unpopulated. Salinas Loyola, for instance, wrote in 1571 (1897) that traveling east into the Montaña of Ecuador, he found the rough mountains entirely without Indians for 20 leagues.

The extraordinarily limited influence of the Highland on the Montaña is intelligible mainly in terms of unlike environmental conditioning of these cultures. Highland civilization rested on intensive agriculture on land that did not need clearing. A dense population underlay elaborate sociopolitical organization; economic surplus permitted religious, artistic, and industrial refinements. The Tropical Forest culture was adapted to an extremely warm, humid, and densely forested region. The hunting, fishing, and slash-and-burn economy produced a low population density and small communities. A Highland economy with its social and political concomitants could not have been introduced. Similarities between Highland and Montaña are largely in items such as clothes and ornaments, which are not functionally part of the socio-economic patterns. Such similarities are actually fewer than has generally been supposed.

The Chuncho as a whole also lack common Amazonian traits, such as bitter manioc, the tipiti, the vertical loom, trumpets, masks, and clans. Other elements, such as hammocks, fish traps, nets, and large communal houses, have a limited occurrence in the Montaña.

But Montaña culture was not uniform. The Western Tucanoan tribes are transitional between the Witotoan peoples to the north and the more typical Chuncho to the south. The Quijo and Cofán are little known. The Jivaro are treated separately because of the relative abundance of information about them. Of the Záparoan tribes, we have only fragmentary knowledge. The Cahuapan linguistic group is only slightly better known. Most tribes of the upper Marañón, middle Huallaga, and upper Huallaga groups were assimilated soon after the Conquest. The Panoan tribes of the Ucayali River are comparatively well known through Tessimann’s research. The Chiriguanos of Bolivia have been fully described by Giannechini, Nino, Nordenskiöld, and Métraux. The Arawakan and Pehuen peoples and the Panoan Mayoruna seem, on the basis of scant in-
Map 5.—The native tribes of the Montafia and the western Amazon Basin. Locations areas of first contact with Europeans. Compiled by J. H. Setward from original sources, but Jurua-Purus area after Rivet, 1924, and Uaupés-Caquetá region based on information from Irving Goldman.)
formation, to possess some distinctive features. The Arawakan, Panoan, and Catukinan peoples of the Juruá and Purús Rivers were similar to many of the Chuncho but are described elsewhere (this volume, pp. 657–686).

HISTORY AND SOURCES

The mountainous terrain, deep jungles, and swift rivers with their many rapids (pongos) make the Montana difficult of access. Efforts to penetrate the area from the Andes began in prehistoric times, but were rebuffed by geographical as well as cultural and military factors. White soldiers, missionaries, and colonists have encountered such great difficulties that, although the tribes along the main waterways are now greatly ac-culturated or assimilated, those in the hinterland of the rivers retain more aboriginal culture than is found among most South American Indians. Some of these tribes, like the Jivaro and the Campa, still present excellent opportunities for studies of functioning aboriginal cultures. Others afford fields for acculturation studies.

Inadequacy of archeological information from the Montana leaves the question of cultural origins in obscurity and provides no evidence bearing on Tello’s (1922, 1942) suggestion that the early Andean peoples came from the Tropical Forests. In Ecuador and Perú, Highland type ruins stop abruptly at the Montana. In Bolivia, a “Derived Tiahuanaco” influence, seen mainly in pottery, is evident east to the Llanos of Mojos. This is followed by periods with Arawak, and then Inca influence, the latter manifest in forts built along the historic territory of the Yuracare, Chané, and Chiriguano (Bennett, 1936, pp. 400–412).

Ethnographic data and Inca tradition corroborate archeological evidence. Arawakan penetration from the east evidently separated the Northern Panoan and Southern Panoan groups, perhaps at the time it left an impress on Bolivian archeology. Prehistoric Inca conquests, though extending 2,000 miles along the Andes, were halted by the Montana jungles. Tupac Yupanqui (ca. 1448–82) conquered the Highland Cañari but failed against the Jivaro, while his expedition to the Musu (Mojos) and Chiriguano did little more than stimulate trade (Means, 1931).

Despite the failure of their expeditions, the Inca doubtless had some influence on the Chuncho. Metal and other trade objects had reached these people. The Canelo, Lama, Chasutino, and Quijo probably adopted the Quechua language in prehistoric times. Similarly in Bolivia, some of the Chimane and Mosetene already spoke Aymara when first described in 1677 (Meléndez, 1682). The influence, however, was surprisingly slight. The Campa, for example, who adjoined the Quechua in the region of Cuzco, have few culture elements—the cushma, feather fire fan, satchel, coca chewing—that are indisputably attributable to Highland influence.
In Bolivia, Andean influence extended farther east than in Perú and Ecuador. Mojo and Bauré pottery from the mounds of Mojos (Nordenckiöld, 1913, 1917 b) are Highland (Tiahuanaco) influenced. The culture of the historic Mojo (p. 412) has Andean features, and that of the Chané of the Andean foothills was even more deeply influenced. The Guarani (p. 69), who invaded Chané territory in waves at the end of the 15th century and raided the Inca frontier, absorbed many Highland traits. Still farther south in Northwestern Argentina, the cultures had become basically Andean; these are described in Volume 2 of this Handbook.

The post-Contact history brought considerable culture change, even among tribes which today retain a predominantly aboriginal culture (map 6). The 400 years since the Conquest is tentatively divided into three acculturation periods. The dates differ somewhat for the various regions. Future utilization of archival and manuscript material will correct these periods and fill in cultural detail.

(1) Exploration and Conquest, 1532-1643. During this period Spanish contacts had little lasting influence on the Indian. Exploration, 1532-60, seeking El Dorado, brought no settlers. The Conquest, 1560-1600, established towns on the western fringe of the Montaña but these were abandoned by 1600. An interim of comparative inactivity followed to about 1630.

(2) Mission or Colonial Period, 1630-1830. Two subperiods are roughly that of (a) Jesuit success, 1640 to 1767, and (b) a period of decadence after the Jesuit expulsion.

(3) National Period, 1830-present. After national independence from Spain there was gradual penetration by Whites but no systematic policy. The period brought more regular exploration as well as settlement. The abrupt shock of the rubber boom came about 1890 and lasted to 1915 and, subsequently, the area has been gradually opened to more permanent settlement.

(1) Exploration and Conquest. The first explorations were carried out mainly from the west by adventurers seeking the legendary empire of fabulous wealth thought to lie east of Perú and variously called El Dorado, Mojo, Sevilla del Oro, Gran Pará, Beni, the Kingdom of the Omaguas, and Paititi. In 1532, Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda reached the juncture of the Coca and Maspia Rivers. From 1539-42, Gonzalo Pizarro explored the region of the Coca and Napo Rivers and Orellana continued on down the Amazon to the Atlantic Ocean. About the same time, Pedro de Candia with Pedro Anzules reached the Beni River, and Almagro visited the Caravaya region. Between 1539 and 1570, nine expeditions from Perú sought El Dorado in vain. Outstanding among these was that of Ursúa, 1560, which passed down the Huallaga and Marañón Rivers to the Ucayali River, and Maldonado's, 1567, which reached the upper Madre de Dios River. As the adventurers found neither vast cities, wealth, nor important quantities of gold, the vision of El Dorado faded during the following century. These explorers and con-
querors had had little influence on the Indians and left no important ethnographic sources.

The Conquest began with the establishment of three short-lived towns in the Carabaya region in 1542. By 1560, small towns had been founded in the territory of the Quijo, Cofán, Canelo, Jivaró, and tribes of the Huallaga and upper Marañón Rivers. The Quijo and their neighbors then numbered 30,000. Indians were enslaved on encomiendas in great numbers. In the Quijo region in 1576, for example, Baez had 5,013 Indians; Avila, 2,613; and Archidona, 2,377. Excessive labor in fields, households, and mines, ravages of diseases, especially smallpox, and maltreatment, including use of dogs to track down fugitives, brought a rebellion and abandonment of virtually all these towns by the end of the century, before any lasting influence had been made on the Indians. Because of language difficulties, the missionaries had made slight impression. During the next 30 or 40 years, little was done in the Montaña, though the foundation of Borja, 1619, opened the region for subsequent missionary penetration. The most important source for this period is the journal of Juan de Salinas Loyola (1897), describing his trip in 1556 through Jivaró territory, the Province of Mainas, and the Ucayali River.

(2) Mission Period, 1630-1830.—Missionary work, carried out from both Ecuador and Perú, was mainly in the hands of the Franciscans and Jesuits, the Dominicans playing a more restricted role. The Franciscans directed their efforts toward the Montaña after the foundation of Huánuco, 1542, but it was not until 1631 that missions were established among the Tingan, Panatahua, Carapacho, and other tribes of the upper Huallaga River, and 1632 that the Ceño (Sunw?), Becaba, Encabellado, and Omaga were converted. Missions among the latter group of tribes, however, were abandoned in 1649 and were not renewed until 1686, when efforts were concentrated on the Putumayo and Caquetá regions. Success here was slight, and many converts were lost through slavery and rebellion.

In southern Perú, the Franciscans founded their famous Cerro de la Sal missions among the Canipa and Amuesha, 1635. Later, they reached the Cholón, and in 1661 missionized the Panoan tribes of the Ucayali River. The foundation of the Colegio de Santa Rosa de Ocopa in 1732 gave great impetus to their work and from 1733 to 1742 they penetrated the Gran Pajonal. At the peak of their success, 1742, when they claimed 10,000 converts in 10 missions, the insurrection led by Santos Atahualpa brought a serious setback to their work. The Franciscans still have missions on the Ucayali today, but other events have overshadowed their influence on the Indians.

The Dominicans restricted their activities to the Canelo, where their missions remained many years.

The Jesuits, with a more vigorous policy than either of the rival brotherhoods, enjoyed 130 years of considerable success until they were expelled in 1767. The foundation of the town of Borja, 1619, on the Marañón River below the Pongo of Manseriche, had provided a springboard for penetration of the more remote areas. About 1638, the Jesuits entered the territory of the Jivaró, Yameo, Cahuapanos, Záparanos, and Cocama in Ecuador and Perú.

The total converted population of the regions of Mainas and of the Huallaga and Pastaza Rivers in 1660 was estimated at 70,000 (Chantre y Herrera, 1901, p. 202) and in 1663 at 56,000 (by Figueroa), doubtless considerable exaggerations. By 1666, the Jesuits had 13 large missions on the upper Marañón River near the mouth of the Pastaza, Huallaga, and Ucayali Rivers. They missionized the Tocanan tribes in 1680, the Mojo in 1683, the Apolista in 1690, the Cayuawa and Móvima in 1693, the Canichama in 1695, and the Chiquito about the same time.

The Indians were profoundly influenced by the missions, even when they did not remain permanently in them. Formerly isolated in extended family groups
which frequently moved their homes, they were assembled in large permanent
villages. The latter did not wholly allay intercommunity and intertribal hostility,
but they created contacts which were a condition for diffusion of native as well
as Spanish culture elements. To meet the food problem in these villages, new
plants, including bananas, rice, sugarcane, and other Old World species were
grown. Steel tools so greatly facilitated farming and technology that they were
a major inducement for the Indians to enter the missions. To meet the language
difficulty, Quechua was made the Lengua Geral, and Highland Indians were even
brought in to introduce it (map 6). A Quechua school was also founded in Borja
to train boys and girls from native tribes.

But the missionary work entailed great difficulties, and the missionarics, with
their fanatical zeal, met these with little success. When disease periodically took
its devastating toll and created panic among the converts, the Fathers strove to
baptize as many as they could of the dying Indians. When the Indians resented being
brought into the missions by force of arms and being required to observe Spanish
social customs, disciplinary measures were tightened or the Indians were bribed
through presents of iron tools. The ban on polygyny, for example, was espe-
cially intolerable. The importation of Highland Indians and the presence of
Mestizos also served to incite theft and insubordination. The policy of uniting
members of different and hostile tribes caused a perpetual unrest and accounted
for many desertions. Portuguese slave raids, starting in 1694, and efforts of local
colonists to seize Indians for encomiendas continually menaced the missions, al-
though they also tended to force the Indians to seek refuge under the Fathers'
protection.

The success of the missions was at best tenuous. Death so reduced the native
population that Figueroa (1904, p. 182) thought that two-thirds had died by 1665.
Some estimates claim that smallpox took 44,000 in 1660, another 20,000 in 1669,
and such numbers in 1680, 1749, 1756, and 1762 that survivors fled the missions
into the bush. Converts were also continually lost through desertion. Open re-
bellion and massacre of the Fathers punctuated the history of every mission. In
the Ucayali region, hostility had long hindered the missionaries, and revolts of
1686, 1695, 1704, 1742, and 1767 had made conversion nearly impossible.

The uprising of 1742, led by a remarkable messiah, swept the missions from the
area and brought death to 70 or 80 Fathers. The instigator was a Cuzco Indian
who had been to Spain and returned calling himself Juan Santos Atahualpa Apo-
Inca and claiming to be the son of God as well as a descendant of the Inca Emperor
Atahualpa. Pretending to have the wisdom of Solomon and the ability to make
mountains fall, he declared that God had sent him to restore His kingdom. (See
also Handbook, vol. 2, p. 385.) There was also a series of revolts in 1660 and
1667 in the lower Marañon-Napo area and among the Chimane and Canichana.
The Jivaros had never been successfully converted. Other tribes, such as the Campa,
resisted so continuously that they became a haven for refugee Indians and a con-
stant menace to the Spaniards. The most serious blow to mission activity was
the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Their missions were either secularized or
taken over by the Franciscans in the capacity of curates, which greatly handi-
capped them. The missions declined so rapidly that few survived in the first part
of the last century when the wars of independence occurred. The effect on the
Indians was directly proportionate to the duration of their missions. In the
Huallaga-Ucayali area, there were some 160 Catholic missions in the 18th century,
but only 9 remained in 1875. In the Province of Mainas, there had been 12,909
Indians in 24 villages in 1746, and 9,111 in 22 villages in 1787, but only 4,455
remained in these same villages in 1798 (González Suárez, 1890-1903, vol. 6).
In 1806, the lower Marañon and Huallaga had 6,525 Mission Indians; Mainas
had 3,329 (Izaguirre, 1922-29, 9:1-9). Indians that had been converted earliest, for example the Patagón, Cofán, Chuache, Cahumari, Quijo, Callíseo, and Maparina, have vanished as tribes. Others, who remained more or less continuously under mission influence, such as the Mosetene, Itonana, Cayuwava, Múvima, Leco, and Apolista, not only became nearly extinct by the present century, but had lost virtually all trace of their native culture. Some tribes, such as the Jivaró, Campa, Piro, Combo, Shipibo, Záparo, Cahuapana, Chebero, and Chayawita, maintained a spirit of independence—revolts occurred as late as 1921—and survive today in some numbers. These especially would still reward investigation of aboriginal ethnology.

The most important sources for the Mission Period are Diego de Córdoba y Salinas (1651); Rodriguez (1684); Figueroa (1904); Laureano de la Cruz (1900); Acuña (1891); “Noticias auténticas del Gran Río Amazonas,” compiled by Father Maroni and published by Jiménez de la Espada (1889-92); Escobar y Mendoza, 1637 to 1767 (1769); Fritz, 1686-1723 (1922); Veigl to 1768 (1785); Chantre y Herrera, 1637-1767 (1901); and Amich (1854), written in 1768. Many original accounts and letters by Franciscan missionaries written up to the present century have been reproduced by Izaguirre (1922-29) in his monumental “Misiones franciscanas ... del Perú.” Franciscan and Jesuit reports are also included in V. Mauruta’s collection of documents (1906). The first scientific exploration was made by Lacondamine, 1743.

(3) National Period, 1830-present.—Absorbed in internal affairs, the new nations paid less attention to their undeveloped oriente. The missions passed from the Franciscans to the secular clergy, which was poorly trained and which maltreated and exploited the Indians, then back to the Franciscans. Settlers gradually penetrated the main waterways—the Marañón, Huallaga, Ucayali, Napo, and Putumayo Rivers—reducing the more accessible Indians to virtual serfdom on their plantations. Of the Awishira, Omurana, Amuesha, Chamicuro, Yamo, and Záparo, only acculturated fragments survive today under their patrones. As the settlers came mainly from the Highland and spoke Quechua, they served to spread this language even farther into the Montaña. (See map 6.) In general, the tribes living between the main rivers escaped continuous mission influence and best survived White settlement.

Tribes on the fringe of the area suffered the violent shock of the rubber boom after 1890. The lower Marañón, Napo, Putumayo, and Madeira Rivers and all the Juruá-Purus drainage were most affected, but the Ucayali, Pastaza, Curaray, and Huallaga River peoples felt it only indirectly through the dislocation of tribes to their east.

The present century has brought a renewal of missionary activity by both Catholics and Protestants.

The surviving Montaña tribes now appear to be on the threshold of rapid assimilation. Improved travel, especially roads and use of the airplane, and many new and potential commercial developments in the jungles are already bringing Whites in increasing numbers.

The National Period has been one of scientific exploration. The more important traveler’s journals are Maw (1829), Pöppig (1835-36), Smyth and Lowe (1836), Herndon and Gibbon (1853-54, vol. 1), D’Orbigny (1839), Armentia (1887-88), Galt (ms. of 1870-74), Castelnau (1851), and Keller-Leuzinger (1874).

Ethnographic monographs date from the present century. Nordenskiöld’s collections and studies of the material culture of Bolivia started about 1900. Rivet and Créqui-Montfort classified linguistic families of eastern Perú and Bolivia. The Jivaró were studied by Karsten, Up de Graaf, and Stirling. The Tribes of eastern Perú and Ecuador were surveyed by Farabee. The Masco and Yagua have been
studied by Fejos. The most monumental and important work is by Tessmann (1930) on the same tribes. Its value to studies of material culture is outstanding, but its findings on social and religious culture can only be accepted with skepticism because Tessmann often did not make first-hand observations, relying on poor informants, and because he lacked interest in modern techniques for social analysis and was prepossessed with the theory that the Indians had no High God concept.
Important recorded changes in Montana culture during the historic period underline the fallacy of compressing ethnological observations covering four centuries in a single, two-dimensional picture. Post-Contact developments may, in fact, be greater than is known, for without fairly definite records it is difficult to ascertain whether many Indian elements diffused in pre- or post-Columbian times.

Some elements obviously came directly from Europeans: Iron tools and other manufactured objects; new domesticated plants; more complete garments and some European styles of clothing; occasional art styles; some technological processes, such as the roller sugarcane press and the iron smelter; and certain Christian marriage practices, death customs, religious beliefs, and mythology. Other changes probably resulted indirectly from post-European innovations: Greater facility in making canoes, houses, household furniture, weapons, fishing gear, and the like with iron tools; improved agriculture with the iron ax and machete for clearing land; intensification of warfare and slaving expeditions; larger villages and amalgamation of individual families into extended patrilineal families; and decreased isolationism and consequently increased intertribal contacts which furthered trade and diffusion of various cultural elements. Many native elements diffused in the post-Contact period: the blowgun replaced the bow; various aboriginal narcotics and drugs, especially tobacco and cayapi, became more widespread and general; and cushmas, shirts, skirts, hammocks, platform beds, and canoes spread after as well as before the Conquest. Doubtless other features, which cannot be identified with certainty, also diffused or were modified after the Conquest.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The Indians of the Montana [wrote Skinner (1805, pp. 283-284)] find some difficulty in subsisting without implements of husbandry, which is not owing to any deficiency of soil and rivers, since these are most fertile in fruits, birds, quadrupeds, and fishes; but they cannot dispense with certain roots which require culture. Of these, the principal is the yuca [manioc], with which they made the masato [chicha], their only comfort and drink. They seldom taste water, which, in consequence of the heat and of the innumerable morasses, is of a very noxious quality . . . Their attention is, however, so little occupied by agriculture and manufactures, that it may be asserted that their sole occupations are hunting, fishing, and war.

Although all tribes were horticulturists, the relative importance of hunting, fishing, and collecting wild foods varied with local habitat and with devices used. Thus, fishing outweighed hunting among the Jivaro because of scarcity of game, among the Aivilshira because they used only spears to hunt, and among many other tribes such as the Aguano, Cando-
shi, Yameo, and Yamiaca because of local abundance of fish. Hunting, on the other hand, was a pursuit of prestige to the Yamiaca. Chébero farming was handicapped by infertile soil, and the Mayoruna’s swampy habitat made it easier to rely on wild fruits than on farming. June, when shoals of fish swarmed up the Marañón and its tributaries, was a time of intensive fishing for many tribes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plant</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweet manioc or yuca</td>
<td>Quiço</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Manihot utilissima aypii)</td>
<td>W. Tucano</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitter manioc</td>
<td>Z Evaneto</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Manihot utilissima)</td>
<td>Jiraro</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize (Zea mays)</td>
<td>Pobana</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet potato (Ipomoea</td>
<td>Cahuanas</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bataatas)</td>
<td>Upper Marañón</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peanut, mani</td>
<td>Middle Huallaga</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Arachis hypogaea)</td>
<td>Upper Huallaga</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bean (tuber)</td>
<td>Pananes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chonta palm</td>
<td>Mayornas</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potato (Solanum)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam beans (Po-</td>
<td>Yamanas</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chyrhizus)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper (Capsicum)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papaya (Carica papaya)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maçaba (Xantho sp.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicaná (Sicana odorífera)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumpkin (Cucurbita)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantain</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banana</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugarcane</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yam (Dioscorea)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taro</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco (Nicotiana)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbasco</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bixa (Bixa ore-</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llana)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coca</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reeds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 X, presence; O, known absence; R, rare; blank, no data.
The native staple was sweet manioc, the bitter variety not having spread south of the Quijo and Encabellado, though it was recently introduced to some Záparoan and Cahuapanan tribes. Other native crops of general distribution were sweet potatoes, peanuts, pumpkins, beans, the jicama or yam bean, papayas, macabo, pepino and several palms, especially chonta. Maize was grown more for making chicha than bread in 1664 (Figueroa, 1904, p. 206.). Potatoes were restricted to high altitudes—Quijo, upper Marañón, and some Arawakans.

New crops and implements introduced during the historic period profoundly affected the subsistence pattern through facilitating horticulture. The iron ax made slash-and-burn farming immeasurably easier. The plantain (possibly aboriginal, see Sauer, Handbook, vol. 6), banana, yam, and sugarcane, all well adapted to the Tropical Forests, became more important than most native species and seem to have relegated manioc to use primarily for making chicha. Humboldt calculated that the yield of plantains compared with wheat is 133 to 1 and compared with potatoes 44 to 1. Other introduced plants which attained a more limited distribution are watermelons (Bolivia), pineapples (Bolivia), papaya (Jívaro, Chébero), taro (Peruvian Panoans, Arawakans, and Iquito), and orange, lemon, lime, and fig trees. Rice, though introduced by the missionaries, was not liked by the Indians. Like the Highland Indians, the Chuncho apparently adopted no garden vegetables, such as carrots, beets, lettuce, and the like, at least for their own use. Other special plants are mentioned under tribal headings.

The farming pattern seems to be the same everywhere. Families cultivate and harvest their own plots, though men assist one another in felling trees and are rewarded with chicha.

Game animals in the ancient Province of Mainas included 10 kinds of monkeys, punchanas, armadillos, land turtles, lomuchas (burrowing animals caught with nets), peccaries, and birds of all kinds, but neither iguanas, capivaras, nor anteaters. Deer seem generally not to have been eaten, probably because of some notion that they were reincarnated people.

The principal aboriginal devices for hunting had been the bow and spear, but during the historic period most tribes abandoned the bow in favor of the blowgun for hunting small game and birds. Other methods seem to have had a spotty distribution, owing to the incomplete nature of our sources; traps and snares (fig. 72), pitfalls (Záparoans, Pebans, Panoans, Jívaro), nets (Záparoans, upper Marañón, Arawak, Panoans), blinds (Pebans, Panoans, Cahuapanans, Arawak), slings (Cashibo), deadfalls (Encabellado), and sloping sharp stakes planted in game trails (Arawakans). The hunting dog was generally used but seems not to have been native.

The main reserves of meat came from manatee, which are huge river mammals, and large water turtles. The former were killed with a harpoon.
to which a wooden float was attached, then dragged to the shore, maneuvered into the canoe, and taken home, where the meat was roasted and placed in a large pot covered with manatee oil, which prescribed it for half a year. Salting meat is a post-Columbian practice. Turtles were caught at any time with harpoons or arrows (pl. 48, bottom); or, in October when laying their eggs, they were captured in large numbers by turning them on their backs after which they were taken to the village and kept in penned pools. The meat supply was considerable, for 6 men could take 500 turtles in a short time and each turtle sufficed 30 people for one meal. The eggs were salted, soaked, or the oil extracted by smashing the yolks in a canoe so that it rose to the surface. The oil was preserved in jars for cooking and illumination. Later, it became an important item of trade with the White man (Veigl, 1785 a, pp. 194–198).

The rivers also supplied caimans, dolphins, electric eels, yacu puma or water wolves, and numerous varieties of fish. Fishing methods showed much local variation and some historic change. Nets were of little value in streams filled with driftwood, especially in Bolivia, and were little used despite missionary attempts to introduce them. Hooks evidently had a limited pre-Columbian distribution, but became more general when iron hooks were introduced. Drugging was general, *Tephrosia toxicaria* and *Cibadium vagasii* being used in Ecuador and Perú and the solinan or manuna tree (*Hura crepitans*) in Bolivia. Barbasco (*Lonchocarpus nicou*) was widely cultivated in Perú and Ecuador; *Tephrosia* was sometimes cultivated. The poisonous plant was pounded and put into a lake
or into a stream above a wythe fence. People in canoes or wading then gathered up the stupefied fish (Veigl, 1785 a, p. 274). The fish spear was widely used, but the harpoon, thrown usually with an atlatl, had been used mainly by the Tupi, Záparoan, Quijo, and Cahuapanan tribes. It could be thrown as far as a bow would shoot and was preferred in that it required but one hand, the other being used to manipulate the canoe (Veigl, 1785 a, p. 274). But the bow, which had been used among the Bolivian tribes and the Peruvian Panoans, Arawak, and Tupi, replaced the atlatl among many of these tribes and was used with harpoon arrows. Arrows, harpoons, and spears were greatly improved with iron points, and the adoption of canoes by many tribes was an aid to fishing.

Among wild foods, palm fruits and terminal shoots predominate. The more important species utilized are chonta (Guilielma ciliata and G. palma), achua (Mauritia flexuosa), Jessenia balaua, Iriartea ventricosa, I. deltoidea, Scheelea tessmannii, S. bassleriana, Astrocaryum huicungo, A. vulgare, and Attalea tessmannii. Only the Arawakan peoples use the climbing ring. Honey, palm beetle larvae, and ants are greatly relished.

The only domesticated animals were the llamas and alpacas on the upper Marañón River, llamas and guinea pigs kept by the Jívaro, a few guinea pigs in the Province of Mainas (probably Záparoan tribes), and probably the Muscovy duck. The acquisition of pigs and chickens greatly augmented the food supply. By the 17th century, the hunting dog was used by many tribes, but Veigl denies that it was native in the Province of Mainas and it may be post-Columbian everywhere. All tribes kept many tame monkeys, parrots, and other birds and mammals.

Food is most commonly ground in a wooden trough or on a flat wooden grinder with a wooden rocker. Wooden mortars are recorded only from the Jívaro, Panoans, and Tupi; stone grinders from the Panoans and upper Marañón tribes. The babracot is generally used to smoke meat so that it will last a few days, but the pottery stove, which, like the tipiti, is used in making farinha of bitter manioc, is unknown. Cooking pots ordinarily rest on three supports.

HOUSES AND FURNISHINGS

House types varied from the single or double lean-to of the Atsahuaca, Yuracare, Mosetén, Chimane, and Pacaguara to large and complicated structures. Some Tacanan and Arawakan houses are round. Most eastern Peruvian and Ecuadorian dwellings are rectangular, with and without center posts (pl. 49, top). More commodious houses were introduced during the post-Columbian period to accommodate the enlarged social groups. Special clubhouses were built only by the Chacobo and Yuracare. The Canelo palisaded village was unique in the area.
All tribes use a men's seat which, in contrast to the well-made product in most of the Amazon, varies from a rough-hewn half log to a stool crudely carved from a single piece of wood. Women sit on mats on the ground. The platform bed was aboriginally used by the tribes nearest the Andes—Quijo, Canelo, Cansoshi, Andoa, Cahuapanan, upper Marañón, Huallaga, Yuracare, Chiriguano, and Chané. It subsequently spread eastward to some of the Panoan peoples and to the Yameo, Leco, Mestene, and Chimane. In native times, the hammock had spread to the western Tucanoans and some of the Záparoans, the Mayoruna, the peripheral Panoans, and perhaps the Southern Panoans, the Guarayú and Pauserna. It was later adopted by several Záparoans, Pebans, Panoans, and Bolivian tribes.

A tightly-woven mosquito tent or net is used by the Western Tucano, Záparoans, Yameo, Panoans, Tupí, Yuracare, Araona, and perhaps Middle Huallaga peoples.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Complete lack of wearing apparel in native times was not common, though many tribes used only some genital cover. The narrow breechclout, although old in the Highland civilization (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 59), was used only by Chiriguano and Chané men and Tacanan women. Elsewhere, the penis was tied (pl. 50) or held up with a string, or men wore a broad breechclout, poncho, or shirt. The broad breechclout, which hung over the belt and virtually surrounded the body like a skirt, was used by the Quijo, Itucal, Záparoans, Omurana, and Cocama. A wrap-around skirt occurred among the Jivaro, Panobo, and some Záparoan tribes. The poncho was restricted to the Western Tucano, Jivaro, Chané, and Chiriguano.

Women used a small apron, shirts, or a skirt that pulled over the head (pl. 50, left), the last more characteristic of the Ucayali Panoans.

Adoption of a shirt was furthered by missionary precepts of modesty. Some are waist length, but the typical form is a long robe, known as the cushma, or tunic (pl. 50, top, right). This is typically a man's garment, though worn in some tribes by women. Poncho-like in construction, it is made of a single piece of bark cloth or woven cotton and has a slit for the head. Some Chama tribes make it of two pieces. The cushma differs from the Andean woman's mantel in that the latter is wrapped around the body and from the eastern Bolivian and northern Chaco tipoy, which is a single, tubular piece of cloth worn with the warp running horizontally around the body and pinned over the shoulder. The tipoy occurs only among the Chiriguano and Chané. The Jivaro woman's dress supported over one shoulder may be related to the Highland mantel.
Seemingly all the tribes of Perú and Ecuador stain their teeth black by chewing certain herbs and ashes, which produces a stain that lasts several days (Chantre y Herrera, 1901, p. 63).

Two types of head deformation were once practiced. The Quijo, Pecan, Ucayali Panoans, and Tupi compressed the forehead against the cradle. The Awishira and probably some of the other Záparoan tribes lengthened the head by pressing laterally on the temples. The Pecans also removed a child's nose cartilage, and the Iquito pressed the face and nose to make the face flat.

Tooth filing, perhaps of Negro origin in South America, is restricted to the modern Aguano, Tupi, and Quijo.

Other mutilations formerly had a wide distribution but seem not to have characterized cultural areas except that the Western Tucano and Pecans were famous for their large ear disks (whence the name ‘Ore-jones), the Arawak for nose ornaments, and the Remo and Mayoruna for the great number of labrets a person wore (pl. 51).

Tattooing had a wide distribution but seems to have spread farther in post-Contact times.

All tribes formerly painted their faces and bodies, often as much for protection against insects as for ornamentation, but only the Jivaro and Tupi used a stamp. Chagua juice was used to allay itching.

Hairdress takes many forms, characteristic styles being the Coronado tonsure and the custom of shaving the head on the upper Marañón and among the Iquito. Depilation is general; the Záparoans, Pecans, and Panobo pull out hair with melted resin. Composite combs are used to groom the hair; the Western Tucano and Záparoans also use rosin mirrors.

Ornaments consist of necklaces, arm and leg bands, bands of beads crossing on the chest, and feather crowns. In aboriginal times, a few metal ornaments had come from the Highlands, especially to the Quijo and Tupi.

TRANSPORTATION

Insufficient data make comparative analysis of carrying devices impossible. Baskets, infant carrying bands, and men's bags seem to have a wide distribution. Nets are reported only on the middle Huallaga River and among the Arawak.

In modern times, all the Chuncho make canoes except those on small streams, like the peripheral Panoans, the Arawakans and the middle Huallaga people, who make only rafts. But aboriginal use of canoes is certain only for the Ucayali River Panoans and the Tupi. It is probable for the Jivaro and possible for the Cahuapanans. Other tribes learned
canoe building and maneuvering from the *Panoans* and *Tupi* under mission influence: the *Western Tucanoans*, *Záparaos*, *Mayoruna*, and *Pebans*.

For rafts, the preferred material is *palo de balsa* (*Ochroma* sp.).

**MANUFACTURES**

Complete absence of stone everywhere except in the higher altitudes requires use mainly of vegetable and animal products for manufactures.

**Baskets.** — Baskets seem to conform to the usual Tropical Forest styles, a hexagonal weave being mentioned most frequently. The *Zápara* and *Cahuapanans* make a double-walled vessel. The long “telescope” basketry container is ascribed only to the *Arawak*.

**Textiles.** — Textiles are made of various fibers, some preference being given even by missionaries to wild-plant fibers over cotton because they lasted better in this hot, humid climate. An excellent cloth called *cachibanco* is made of *achua* palm fibers (*Mauritia flexuosa*), especially by the *Záparaon* tribes. *Chambira* palm is also widely used, being the main fiber of the *Western Tucanoans*, *Pebans*, and *Mayoruna*. The *Quijo* uniquely used agave and the upper Marañón tribes llama and alpaca wool. Use of *Cecropia* characterizes the upper Ucayali. The *Tupi*, *Cahuapanan*, *Panoan*, upper Marañón, and middle Huallaga Indians emphasize weaving in cotton. The *Western Tucanoans* use a little cotton, and the *Quijo* adopted it recently.

A horizontal loom, probably of Highland origin, is used by the *Záparaon*, *Cahuapanans*, middle Huallaga, Ucayali, and *Arawakan* tribes. A vertical loom is restricted to the *Jivaro* and *Campa*. The peculiar “Ucayali” loom occurs among some of the *Panoans* and *Arawakans*.

**Bark cloth.** — Bark cloth, made preferably of trees of *Ficus* and *Couratari*, occurs among the *Western Tucano*, *Záparaon*, *Jivaro*, and *Arawak*.

**Pottery.** — All Montaña tribes make pottery, though Spanish wares seem to have been introduced on the upper Marañón and Huallaga Rivers. Tessmann’s data (1930) permit only a tentative classification of native wares. Vessel forms of general distribution are large cooking pots, water and chicha jars, and bowls. The first are always unpainted and are ornamented, if at all, only with incised, fingernail impressed or punched geometric figures, usually in bands around the neck. Jars and bowls carry several art styles, some of them coexisting in the same tribe.

The most striking style is a fine geometric polychrome (pl. 52, a–c; figs. 73, 74) that is best developed among the Ucayali River *Panoans* but also occurs among tribes bordering the Marañón River (*Cocama*, *O magna*, *Yameo*, *Aguano*, *Urarina*, *Munichi*, and *Jivaro*). The style seems definitely related to that of *Marajó* and the lower Amazon, having geometric designs formed of widely spaced, heavy lines which are outlined by one
Figure 73.—Montaña pottery types. a, b, Chama; c, d, Cashibo; e, Panobo; f, Piro; g, h, Chama. (f, Redrawn from Farabee, 1922, pl. 6; a, b, g, h, redrawn from Tessmann, 1928, pls. 4 and 5; c-e, redrawn from Tessmann, 1930, color pl. 4.)
or more fine lines. The Montaña style employs red and black on a cream background, and it lacks the incised lines, the occasional zoomorphic motives, and the modeled decoration of Marajó. A few examples of the style are white-on-red (Cocama, Panobo, fig. 79).

A second polychrome style, perhaps a modification of the last among the Marañón River tribes (Jivaro, Chebero, Aguano), uses a large number of closely spaced parallel lines of equal width to form geometric figures (pl. 52, d, fig. 75).

A simpler and cruder geometric style employs white-on-red (Yameo, Chaywita, Omagua, pl. 52, e, f) or red-on-cream (Yameo, Coto, Cocama, Jivaro, pl. 52, g, h). This style differs from the first two in having bolder geometric elements and more uncertain brush work as well as in the color combination.

Jars with the lower half red, the upper white, occur also on the Marañón (Yameo, Chebero, Yamarai, Chaywita, Lama).

Tribes living away from the main rivers usually had simpler wares (pl. 55). The Itucale, Yagua, Záparo, Roamaina, and Mayoruna seemingly used no painted designs; their bowls were red outside, smoke-blackened inside. The Western Tucanoans, however, were accredited with an elaborately painted ware (fig. 75, a, b).

Use of a genipa wash for red and of a copal (payuru) varnish is common in the Montaña.

**Calabashes.**—Calabashes are painted (Záparoans), varnished (Záparoans), and incised (Tupi).
Metals.—Metallurgy was known in native times only to the Quijo, who smelted gold (González Suárez, 1890-1903, 6:59). Post-Contact placer mining in Jivaro territory started no important native use of metals, though the Záparo collected some gold. Through missionary influence, the Arawak adopted iron smelting.

Fire making.—The fire drill was probably used everywhere, although the Yagua, Cahuapanans, Urarina, Campa, and Záparoans are accredited with use of two stones. The missionaries introduced flint and steel.
Weapons.—At the time of discovery, these tribes used the spear thrown with the atlatl and the bow and arrow in both hunting and warfare. Subsequently, the blowgun and poisoned dart widely replaced the bow and arrow for hunting small game, while the bow and harpoon arrow took the place of the atlatl and harpoon in fishing. The spear is still used in hunting large game and in warfare, but is thrown without the atlatl.

The earliest mention of the blowgun in the area is Saabedra's account of the Maina (Stirling, 1938), but it may have been used earlier, for Cieza de León saw it in Colombia in 1540. The number of tribes then using the bow is not known, but several have since abandoned it in favor of the blowgun for hunting: the Jivaro during the 17th century; the Western Tucano, who once used it with poisoned arrows but now use it only to shoot harpoon arrows at turtles; and perhaps the middle Huallaga tribes, the Ucayali Panoans, and the Mayoruna, who use it only in fishing; and the Cahuapanans among whom it is now a toy. The Tupi and Ucayali River Panoan tribes, contrary to the general trend, recently adopted the bow for warfare. The Pebans never had it.

The blowgun, on the other hand, has become universal among all groups except the Arawakans, and peripheral Panoans, who continue to use the bow for both hunting and warfare.

The basis for the shift from the bow to the blowgun is unquestionably availability of poison, without which the blowgun is worthless. It is true that some arrows had formerly been poisoned, for example among the Western Tucanoans, but it is unlikely that the deadly curare was used. In recent times, in fact, the Záparoans, Western Tucanoans, Cahuapanans, and perhaps others imported their poison. The Lama, Canelo, and the Pebans were main sources; and the last evidently never used the bow. Most of these tribes had a much livelier trade in the historic period, when canoes and mission influence brought about greater intertribal contacts. It seems very possible, therefore, that availability of poison, together with what seems manifest superiority of the blowgun over the hunting bow, brought about the change.

The abandonment of the bow for warfare is more difficult to understand, for the blowgun was never used to kill anything but game. Perhaps a spear for fighting and a blowgun for hunting were all a warrior could carry.

The atlatl was once used by the Maina, the Cahuapanans, and the upper Marañón tribes for warfare and by the Jivaro and the Panoans for both warfare and hunting, but all these tribes have given it up. It is now restricted to the Pebans and the Tupi, who use it only to throw fish harpoons.

All tribes except the Arawakans used shields of various materials—wood, basketry, tapir hide. The club once had a wide distribution, but seems to have been used less frequently in recent times. Pitfalls and
trenches with sharpened stakes were used everywhere to protect villages; the Quijo palisades are unique.

Other weapons attained a more limited distribution. The sling, doubtless of Highland origin, has been reported only among the Lama, Cashibo, Arawakans, and Tupi. Bone daggers occurred on the upper Marañón River; caltrops are Arawakan; weapons planted in the bush with automatic release are limited to the Jivarro; and automatic alarm drums are Tupi.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The aboriginal Montaña community typically consisted of one to a few families—15 to 30 persons—each family living in a small house (upper Marañón and Huallaga Rivers, Western Tucanoans, Pebans, Arawakans, Southern Panoans, and Tacanans). Houses were scattered at intervals of a few hundred yards to a few miles along water courses, or, as among the hinterland Panoans, Western Tucanoans, and others, were isolated in the bush for protection from war and slave raids. They were moved every 2 or 3 years. Occasionally, clusters of 5 or 10 houses made small villages. A few tribes, however, had much larger communities: Tupi villages numbered several hundred persons; Cayuvava settlements averaged 540 per village in 1696; Mosetene communities averaged 166 in 1682. These sizes seem to be native, but it is uncertain whether they depended upon greater local resources and an unusually dense population or upon a more developed political sense.

A tendency toward increase in community size occurred in the historic period, though it is remarkable that the mission villages of several hundred to a thousand persons each disintegrated at the close of the mission period when the people tended to resume their native separatism. The Chébero, who remained in a single village, and the Aguno, Chasutina, Chacobo, and Aroona are exceptions. Other tribes, such as the Western Tucanoans, the Pebans, and some of the Arawakans began to live in large communities and adopted communal houses. In addition to direct mission influence, it is likely that adoption of canoes, better agriculture, and improved intercommunity relations were factors in the trend toward larger villages.

The social structure of these communities can be described only in general terms. The single-family house contained the elementary family consisting of father, mother, and children. When several families lived together in the molaca, a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, despite bride service, made the community an extended patrilineal family, with the family head as chief. Tessmann (1930) speaks of many of these as "kins," but there is no evidence that they were sibs, nor are there grounds for postulating that they ever had been sibs. In fact, a better case could be made that they represent a condition from which sibs might develop.
They resulted from congregation of patrilineally related families under a single roof. The *Lama*, however, may have had patrilineal moieties. The Ucayali River *Panoans*, in contrast to other Montaña peoples and to the hinterland *Panoans*, were matrilineal and had a hint of totemism which opens the possibility that they had clans.

These communities normally lacked any groupings, such as classes, castes, or societies, although some *Pebans* were alleged to have had some kind of nobles. Until trade with the Whites made slave traffic profitable, captives taken in warfare were incorporated into the local group, except among the *Quijo* and *Tupí*, who aboriginally had kept them in slave status.

Political authority centered in the family head, who controlled travel, warfare, and farm clearing. Chieftainship of greater consequence occurred only during temporary war alliances and in very recent times, when it seems clearly to be an institution imposed by the White man. Shamans often assumed leadership but only the *Quijo* regularly made them chiefs.

**WARFARE**

The pattern of warfare was very similar among all tribes, differences being found in emphasis and in details of weapons, cannibalism, and trophies. The *Jivaro* are distinctive in their absorbing interest in warfare which, however, may be a post-Contact intensification of a widespread aboriginal pattern.

The "Noticias Autenticas" (Maroni, 1889–92, 27:254–265) described the early war complex of the upper Amazon area in some detail. The motive for warfare was head hunting, and, though the occasion for a war expedition was presumably revenge of some wrong, usually witchcraft, it did not matter whether the foe had perpetrated the supposed crime. The decision to fight was made in a council. To insure victory, the shaman fasted and was chaste and silent; after a victory, he was rewarded with loot. Defeat was attributed to breaking a taboo. Warriors attired themselves in all their ornaments, and the chief whipped their legs to give them courage and put red pepper juice in their eyes to enable them better to see and dodge arrows and to shoot. The main stratagem was surprise attack, though villages were protected by trenches with stakes, by cal-trops, and by automatic alarms. Warriors were killed and their heads taken to be shrunken and kept as trophies. Later, the heads were decor-ated with colored feathers and used in a dance during which the victors boasted and taunted them. Women and children were taken captive and incorporated in the conquering tribe.

Trophy skulls are recorded among the *Quijo*, Western *Tucano*, *Zápara-ons*, *Cahuapanians* and *Tupí*. The *Jivaro*, *Chébero*, *Panoans*, and *Itucale (?) made shrunken heads (pl. 63). Cannibalism was less widespread: *Encabellado*, *Zápara-ons*, *Cahuapanans*, and *Mayoruna*. The
Peban peoples, who wore human-tooth necklaces, may also have used other trophies. Scalping is attributed only to the Chama.

LIFE CYCLE

The life cycle has little of interest. Abortion and infanticide were once fairly common, probably resulting from disturbances of the Contact Period. The couvade has a spotty distribution. The Western Tucanoans killed both twins; the Záparoans and Tupí killed one, probably because one of twins was thought to be a spirit's child. Záparoans and Cashibo practiced some kind of girl's circumcision soon after birth, and the Záparoans also ceremonially flogged girls and put pepper in their eyes.

Girls' puberty observances seem to have been limited to the first menses, when the Arawakans isolated a girl for 6 months. Special observances include Arawakan and Chama circumcision, deflowering, and whipping, Tupí removal of the clitoris, the Jivaro tobacco festival for strength, and Awishira and Chebero flogging and putting pepper in the eyes for strength.

No boys' initiation is known, though the Jivaro held a cayapi festival for youths.

Homicide of the aged and infirm was formerly practiced by the Panoans and Záparoans. Disposal of the corpse has taken many forms: Leaving it in the house (Jivaro, Záparoans); burial in the house (Pebans, sometimes with reburial; Panoans, sometimes in a canoe; Western Tucanoans, in a hammock); burial outside the house (some Panoans); urn burial (Aguaruna, Tupí, and Chebero, the last both primary and secondary; formerly some Panoans); endocannibalism of the cooked corpse (Panoans, Záparoans); cremation of the corpse and drinking the ashes with chicha (Western Tucanoans and some Panoans); mummification of chiefs (Quijo). Mission influence increased the use of cemetery burial.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Chicha (masato) is a beerlike drink made from manioc or other fruits or vegetables fermented with the aid of a chewed mash and prepared in a wooden trough, e.g., the bulging trunk of paxiuba palm (Iriartea ventricosa), or in huge pottery jars. It is consumed by all tribes, and often occasions drunken brawls. The Canelo uniquely distilled a hard liquor by means of a pot and bamboo tubes, undoubtedly a post-Conquest innovation.

Several plant narcotics and stimulants were used aboriginally, but gained wider distribution and more general use when culture patterns began to change in historic times. These are of two general classes: intoxicants taken, usually by shamans, to produce visions or a sense of supernatural power; stimulants, taken by anyone, for their effect in
anesthetizing or allaying fatigue and hunger. The first class includes cayapi and *Datura*, the second, yoco, coca, and guayusa. Tobacco served both purposes. A species of *Cyperus* is widely used by shamans but its virtue is evidently more magical than physiological.

The use of guayusa, yoco, *Datura*, and perhaps other wild species is less widespread than their natural occurrence.

Tobacco (*Nicotiana* sp.) formerly was largely restricted to shamans but later came into general use. The tribes of eastern Ecuador take it in the form of juice or cigars, several tribes also chewing it. The Ucayali River Panoans and Arawakans and the Tupi smoke pipes and snuff powder. The Tupi also smoke cigarettes.

Cayapi (also called yagé, huni, hayac-huasca, and ayahuasca) is probably used throughout the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Montaña except among the Panoans. It is mainly a shaman's drink, though its consumption became more general during the historic period. Three very similar species occur in the region: *Banisteriopsis inebrians*, *B. caapi*, and *B. quitensis*. All are used and all produce the same effect: First, somewhat violent behavior; then deep sleep with vivid visual hallucinations, which among these tribes are usually of animals; and finally, a sense of losing one's body and of seeing distant things. Some people become addicts (Morton, 1931; Reinburg, 1921). Huanto (*Datura arborea*), also called floripondia, campana, and borrachera, is used by the Zaparo, Canelo, and Jivaro to foretell the future. It produces strong intoxication which lasts several days and is so dangerous that anyone taking it is guarded by a friend (Reinburg, 1921).

Guayusa (*Ilex* sp.), anesthetizing and sustaining rather than exhilarating but serving also as an emetic, is used only by the Quijo, Zaparo, and Jivaro. Yoco (*Paullinia yoco*) is also sustaining in its effect, though strong doses serve an emetic (Simson, 1879 a, p. 213). This and related species of the creeper occur widely, but are used only by the Sioni, Correguaje, Cofán, and Highland Quechua of Ecuador. The Indians make an infusion of the bark and drink it (Schultes, 1942). Coca is limited to the Quijo, the middle Huallaga tribes, the Arawakans, and some Panoans. It is chewed with lime, and is intended only to allay fatigue, except for some ritual use of it among the Quijo.

There is considerable uniformity in musical instruments. Transverse and longitudinal flutes and panpipes are used everywhere. The signal drum occurs among all tribes north of the Marañón River except the Pehans. Two-headed monkey-skin drums, though probably of Spanish origin, had reached all tribes. Gourd or other hand-shaken rattles are unknown; instead, jingles on the belt and legs are characteristic. The musical bow is fairly general. Trumpets, though of minor importance, are made of a variety of materials: Armadillo shells (Zaparoans), snail shells (Jivaro and Mayoruna), wood (upper Marañón), cane (Panoans),
bark (Mayoruna), and human skulls (Arawakans). None are sacred or associated with secret men's rites.

Amusements are also comparatively uniform. Maize-leaf ball games, wrestling, and humming tops occur everywhere; rubber balls are restricted to the Tupi. Slings of various kinds are used in the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Montaña. A ring-and-pin game is recorded only from the Panoans.

**RELIGION**

Montaña beliefs about supernatural beings are not adequately recorded but seem to be a minor consideration in daily affairs. Most supernatural beings are animistic nature spirits, the most prominent of which are the monstrous water snake (Záporans, Jivaro, Pebans, Tupi) and bush demons, often thought to be anthropomorphic and generally somewhat dangerous (Záparoans, Pebans, Middle Huallaga tribes, Panoans). Concepts other than simple animism are clarified only in the case of the Jivaro, who believe in an impersonal supernatural power that resides in certain plants and animals.

The only community religious rites are the puberty observances previously mentioned, certain rites to strengthen warriors, shamanistic performances, and the Peban feast of the dead. But various Christian rites were adopted in the historic period (pl. 48, center). There are many magical practices, especially the use of Cyperus for curing, for increasing fertility, for obtaining hunting and fishing luck and for other purposes. The Quijo are unique in divining with zoomorphic images made of coca. Beliefs about life after death are variable and confused, but a few facts seem to stand out. The Jivaro, Záparoans, Arawakans, Tupi, and some Panoans believe that souls are reincarnated as animals, the Arawakans and possibly the Panoan naming the deer. This may explain a very widespread taboo on killing and eating deer. The Quijo and Yameo believe that souls become guardian spirits; the Pebans and Cahuapanans that souls merely wander in the bush.

**SHAMANISM**

The principal function of the shaman is to cause and cure sickness, but among the Jivaro and probably other neighboring tribes, he also performs magic for war parties, makes rain, gives love potions, and predicts the future. During a period of instruction, he learns to control a magical substance. Spirit helpers, though indicated for only a few tribes, are probably widespread. The Jivaro spirit helper is a blowgun, snake, door, bird, or insect; Maina, a bird; Canelo, a python; Pebans, birds and animals; Cahuapanans, birds; Lama, plants including Brunsfelsia grandiflora; Iquito, a Cyperus root. The Panoan shaman obtained help from a bird, the Arawakan from tobacco and cayapi, and the Tupi from the spirit of a deceased shaman in a virola or cottonwood tree and from a bird.
The narcotic or stimulant, particularly tobacco, taken by the shaman seems generally intended to enhance his sense of power, but *Datura* and ayahuasca more specifically produce second sight. Chantre y Herrera (1901, pp. 80-83) said that in the Marañón region the shaman induced spirits to come by fasting or by drinking ayahuasca. In a large hut where people had gathered, he first led singing, then drank ayahuasca to coax the spirit. Another dose of ayahuasca made him first violent, then comatose, when his soul departed and the spirit spoke through him. Later, the shaman revealed what he had learned. A similar account by Jiménez de la Espada (1892, p. 55) states that the shaman and perhaps other members of the community take both *Datura* and ayahuasca to acquire visions of the future or of the identity of a murderer. Words of the intoxicated person are carefully noted.

Sickness is generally attributed to a sorcerer, who injects a magic substance into his victim. This substance is conceived to be a magical “thorn” or “dart” which the shaman keeps inside his body and which returns to him after his victim dies, but the *Western Tucanoans* believe it to be *Cyperus* and the *Cahuapanans* a magic “mass” acquired from an owl.

The *Jivaro* attribute sickness also to the water monster, the *Tupi* to a river dolphin, the *Canelo* to ghosts, and the *Lama* to bush demons. There is a widespread idea that shamans control snakes, jaguars, and other dangerous animals, and the *Jivaro* and *Arawakan* hold the were-jaguar concept.

The soul-loss concept of disease is recorded only from the *Coto* and *Tupi*.

To cure, the shaman takes a narcotic, blows smoke on the patient, and sucks out the “thorn” or other substance. The narcotic helps reveal the sorcerer.

Many substances, including herbs, are accredited with magical properties. *Cyperus*, the most important, is variously thought to cure, to increase female and plant fertility, to serve as love magic, to cause thunderstorms, and to accomplish other desired ends. Tobacco and pepper are common ingredients of magic. Pepper rubbed in the eyes is widely thought to give strength. A deer horn is prepared as an antidote to poison and snake-bite; wearing a crocodile tooth is thought to protect against poisons.

**Mythology**

Myth features of comparative interest are legends of the flood (*Záparoans, Pebans*), the theft of fire (*Jivaro, Panoans*), the twins and the jaguars (*Tupi, Záparoans, Jivaro*), and the trickster element in the twin tale (*Záparoans*). There is no clear-cut culture hero, except that certain birds in a *Panoan* myth introduce some customs to mankind; other-
wise, the origin of plants and other useful things is variously explained. Creation tales tend to have celestial characters.

There is some indication that myths and folk tales are being forgotten. Biblical themes and other evidence of Christian influence are, however, scarcely discernible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acuña, 1891; Amich, 1854; Armentia, 1887-88; Bennett, 1936; Castelnaud, 1851; Chante y Herrera, 1901; Cordova y Salinas, 1651; Cruz, 1900; Escobar y Mendoza, 1769; Farabee, 1922; Figueroa, 1904; Fritz, 1892, 1922; Galt, n.d.; González Suárez, 1890-1903; Herndon and Gibbon, 1853-54, vol. 1; Izaguirre, 1922-29; Jiménez de la Espada, 1892; Keller-Leuzinger, 1874; Maroni, 1889-92; Maurtua, V., 1906; Maw, 1829; Means, 1931; Meléndez, 1682; Morton, 1931; Nordenskiöld, 1913, 1917 b, 1920; Noticias auténticas . . . (see Maroni, 1889-92); D’Orbigny, 1839; Pöppig, 1835-36; Reinburg, 1921; Rodriguez, 1684; Salinas Loyola, 1897; Schultes, 1942; Simson, 1879 a; Skinner, 1805; Smyth and Lowe, 1836; Stirling, 1938; Tello, 1922, 1942; Tessmann, 1928, 1930; Veigl, 1785 a.

See also pages 509-514.