# *The Life and Times of* Grandfather Alonso

## CULTURE AND HISTORY IN THE UPPER AMAZON

*Blanca Muratorio*

# *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso*

*Hegemony and Experience: Critical Studies in Anthropology and History*
A series edited by William Roseberry and Hermann Rebel

# *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso*

## CULTURE AND HISTORY IN THE UPPER AMAZON

Blanca Muratorio

*Rutgers University Press*

New Brunswick, New Jersey

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

*Muratorio, Blanca.*
*[Rucuyaya Alonso y la historia social y económica del Alto Napo, 1850–1950. English]*
*The life and times of Grandfather Alonso: culture and history in the upper Amazon / Blanca Muratorio.*
*p. cm.—(Hegemony and experience : critical studies in anthropology and history)*
*Translation of: Rucuyaya Alonso y la historia social y económica del Alto Napo, 1850–1950.*
*Includes bibliographical references (p. ) and index.*
*ISBN 0-8135-1684-6 (cloth) ISBN 0-8135-1685-4 (pbk.)*
*1. Indians of South America—Ecuador—Napo (Province)—Social conditions. 2. Andi, Alonso. 3. Quechua Indians—Biography. 4. Quechua Indians—Social conditions. 5. Indians of South America—Ecuador—Napo (Province)—Economic conditions. 6. Quechua Indians—Economic conditions. I. Title. II. Series.*
*F3721.1.N3M8613 1991*
*305.898'PR3—dc20* *90-21012*
*CIP*

*Copyright © 1991 by Blanca Muratorio*
*All Rights Reserved*
*Manufactured in the United States of America*

*In Memory of Rucuyaya Alonso*

# Contents


List of Illustrations ix
Acknowledgments xi
Introduction 1

1. The Forest Travelers 18
2. Ethnicity, Language, Culture 36
3. *Family and Youth* 50
4. *The Forest and the River* 64
5. The State, Missionaries, and Native Consciousness, 1767–1896 72
6. *Christianity and the Missions* 94
7. Liberalism and Rubber: The Early Twentieth Century in the Oriente 99
8. *The Days of the Varas, the Apu, and the Patrons* 122
9. *The Company and the Auca* 133
10. Gold, Oil, and Cattle: The Twentieth Century in Tena-Archidona 141
11. *My Friends the Yachaj* 181
12. *Dreams and Death* 191
13. *Reflections* 196
14. The Cultural Bases of Resistance 202

Epilogue 230
Appendix 1. Employment Contract of a Rubber Laborer, 1909 (AGN) 237
Appendix 2. Settlement of Peon's Account, Marking the Articles in Dispute, 1930 (AGN) 239
Notes 243
Glossary 259
References 269
Index 283


*The chapter titles of Grandfather Alonso's narratives are in italics.*

# Illustrations

FIGURES

1. Rucuyaya Alonso, 1985
2. Crossing a ford of the Cosanga River
3. Osculati abandoned by his Indian guides
4. Napo Runa carrying a whiteman
5. Traveler arriving at Archidona in 1847
6. Gathering of Indians in Tena
7. Rucumama Rebeca Cerda, Rucuyaya Alonso's wife, 1985
8. Families in the Andi muntun living with Rucuyaya Alonso and Rucumama Rebeca
9. Pano River
10. Aerial view of Tena, 1985

MAPS

1. Northern Oriente area, showing Tena-Archidona region in Napo Province 3
2. Tena-Archidona 19

# Acknowledgments

My first debt of gratitude is, of course, to Rucuyaya Alonso Andi (Bandio) who, because of this project, was made to lose so many hours of his nights full of interesting dreams. He is in many ways the co-author of this book, which I hope will meet his wish of leaving a legacy of his experiences and advice to younger generations of Napo Runa. I also thank his wife Rucumama Rebeca who always received me in her house with the proverbial Quichua hospitality. This book owes much to Dolores Intriago, a friend, wonderful research assistant, and fellow adventurer, as well as to Francisco Andi (Guamundi) from whom I learned much about his culture in many long and often heated after-dinner conversations. I am also grateful to all the other members of the Andi *muntun* for their patience and kindness, and especially to Juanita, tireless storyteller, and to the children for their wonderful drawings, of which we can only show Marlon's due to space considerations. Many more Napo Runa from the Pano area offered me their friendship and helped me to understand their culture. I particularly wish to mention Francisca Andi Cerda who, through her own experiences and the memories left to her by her father, a famous rebel named Basilio Andi, provided me with some of the most interesting quotes in this book. I am especially thankful to all the elders of Rucuyaya Alonso's generation who shared with me important moments of their life stories: Domingo Cerda Grefa (Milicuchi), Vicente Andi (Mishquilogro), Bartolo Shiguango Andi (Logro), Venancio Andi Shiguango (Paqui), Domingo Cerda (Cua), Domingo Andi (Plutarco), Ventura Licuy from Talag, and the shaman Pablo López and his family for allowing me to attend the moving ritual narrated in the Epilogue. I also thank Bolívar Tapuy for facilitating my initial collaboration with the Federation of Indian Organizations of the Napo (FOIN). I hope that this book reflects my debt of gratitude and answers some of the concerns held by the members of those organizations regarding their own cultural history. Among the authorities of Napo province, I am especially indebted to former Governor Segundo Cordero for allowing me free access to the Government House Archive. I remain, of course, responsible for any errors in fact or in my understanding of their culture.

Since 1981, my institutional affiliation in Ecuador has been with the Latin American School of Social Sciences (FLACSO). I am deeply grateful to its former directors Gonzalo Abad and Jaime Durán, and to its present director Amparo Carrión for the interest they always showed for my research and for the many ways in which they facilitated it. I thank

Ambassador José Manuel Jijón Caamaño y Flores for allowing me to photograph from his private collection two paintings that appear in the book, and Matthias Abram for providing me with the 1850 edition of Gaetano Osculati's book, from which several illustrations appear. I am also grateful to Susan Matson for her fine drawings of the maps.

All the fieldwork and the archival research for this book were made possible by two generous grants received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) to whom I am most grateful. I also want to acknowledge the support of the University of British Columbia for granting me the two sabbatical leaves (1981–1982 and 1986–1987) that allowed me the time to undertake the research and to write the Spanish version of this book in the field. For the preliminary translation of parts of that version of the book into English I thank Mercedes Reyes in Ecuador. I have, however, revised that translation and rewritten parts of several chapters. I am, therefore, wholly responsible for all translations included in the text. Suggestions from the anonymous reviewers have been extremely helpful, although for different reasons I chose not to comply with all of their requests.

I thank Cristina Farga and Carmen Dueñas in Ecuador and Jill Fitzell and Annette Reynolds in Vancouver for the competence with which they carried out the search for some of the archival and bibliographic sources used here. Many other friends and colleagues who share my intellectual interests and, at least in part, my love for Ecuador have helped me work through some of the ideas developed in this book. Special thanks to Anne Christine Taylor, Philippe Descola, Kim Clark, and Laura Rival. I have also benefited from discussions with my colleagues Pat Marchak and Martin Silverman who read chapters of earlier versions of this manuscript. In personal conversations and through his analysis of the life history of a Hopi Indian (1951), David Aberle sensitized me to the methodological problems in the use of life histories in anthropology. My intellectual debts to other anthropologists and social historians are many, as I hope will be clear to the reader who follows the theoretical lines of this book. In connection with the Ecuadorian Amazon, my knowledge of the area was expanded greatly through the publications of Udo Oberem on ethnohistory and of Norman and Dorothea Whitten on the Canelos Quichua, physical and cultural neighbors of the Napo Quichua. Above all, I am thankful to Ricardo Muratorio for always providing an interesting mix of intellectual stimulation and sharp criticism.

Finally, this manuscript owes much more than I can ever acknowledge to the efficiency, diligence, and friendly assistance of Kelly Littlewood.

# *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso*

# Introduction

> I am sending twenty-seven Indians, as appears on the attached list. I had difficulties in subjecting those from the Pano district, since these people are totally insubordinate.
> (Letter from a Tena authority to the head of the regional government in Archidona, June 27, 1904, AGN)

Of the many myths generated by white men regarding the Ecuadorian Oriente, one of the oldest depicts the Upper Napo Quichua as the prototype of the tropical forest Indians who were almost completely acculturated and evangelized in the early Colonial period, and as apathetic and submissive throughout the heyday of white domination in the Oriente. In sum, it is a portrait of the "Indian" who, unlike the "infidel," was finally subjected to white civilization. The major objective of this book is to demystify the official history on which that image is based. No attempt is made, however, to create a counterimage of the "rebellious noble savage." Therefore, this study includes the life history of Grandfather Alonso, a native Quichua of the Tena-Archidona area in the Upper Napo just as he narrated it. It thus combines two historical traditions, oral and written, to interpret a century of socioeconomic and cultural life in the Upper Ecuadorian Amazon.

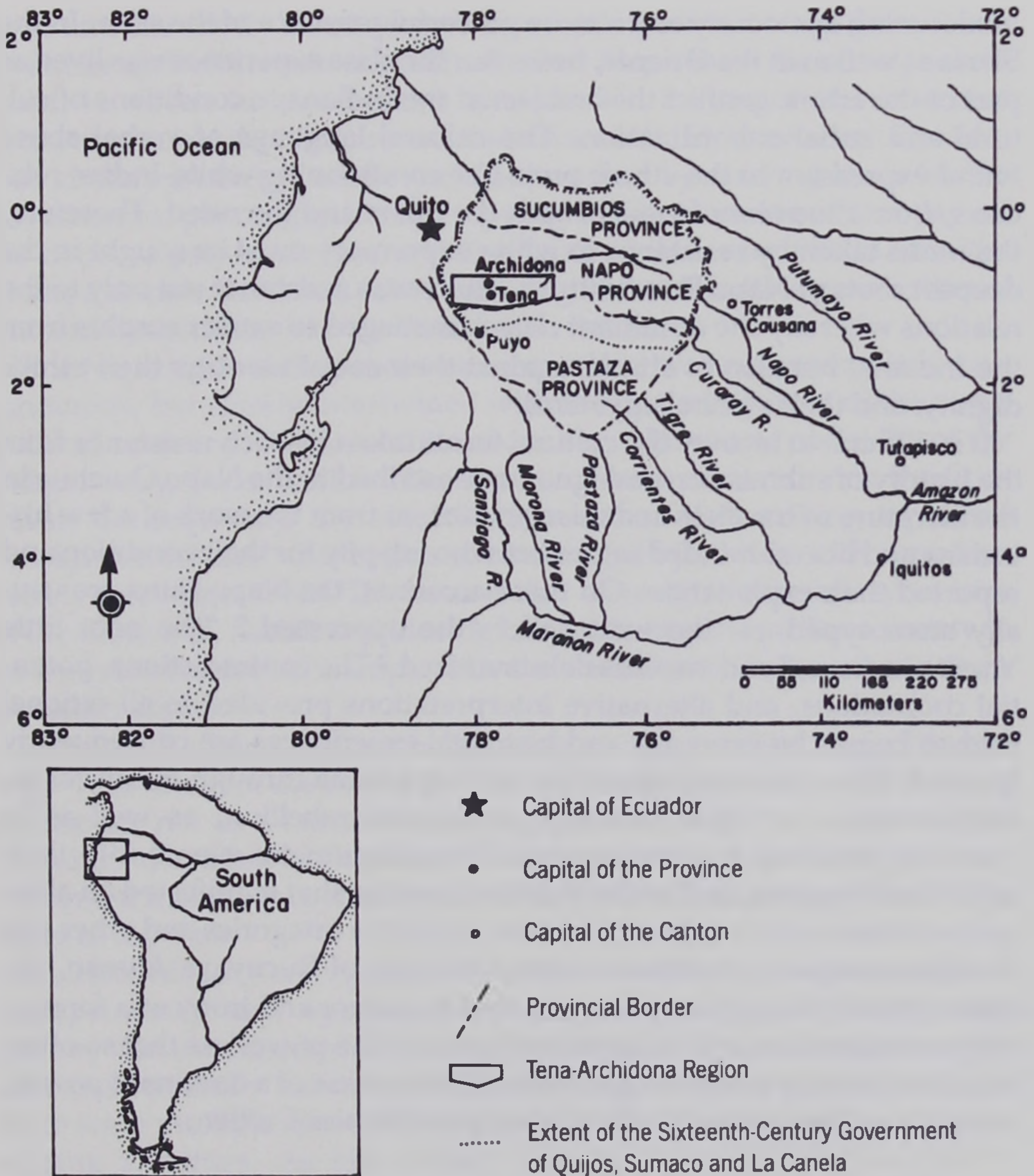
Grandfather Alonso, or in Quichua Rucuyaya Alonso as I prefer to call him, was a Pano Runa, that is, an indigenous person belonging to the Panos *muntun*, the group of Quichua speakers that originally settled on the banks of the Pano River and, more recently, in the town of the same name located eight kilometers west of Tena, capital of Napo province. He shared a common origin with the other numerous Quichua inhabiting the upper Napo area, which I have here designated as "Tena-Archidona" taking the names of the two seats of the Tena and Archidona cantons. Rucuyaya Alonso also identified with other groups of Napo Quichua living along the Napo river and its tributaries, extending down to the area of Iquitos in Peru, where the Napo joins the mighty Amazon. All the Quichua speakers of the Oriente refer to themselves as *Runa*—the Quichua term for human being—and all those of the Napo as Napo Runa. Internally, the Napo Runa further differentiate themselves by place-names such as that of the village or river area they come from. Thus, the Panos, Tenas, Archidonas, Talags, Shandias, and many others are

recognized as different subgroups with some distinct characteristics. I have adopted their terms to refer to them throughout the book.

Ecuador is divided by the Andean cordilleras into three distinct regions: the Costa or Littoral, the Sierra or Highlands where the capital Quito is located, and the Oriente, as the Amazonian lowlands are called. The Spaniards conquered Quito with the defeat of Rumiñahui, general of the Inca army in 1533. Shortly after, and obsessed by their own myths of finding El Dorado and The Land of Cinnamon, the Spaniards organized several expeditions to the Oriente, which they entered through the Los Quijos region. Gonzalo Díaz de Pinera, the first to venture forth, was pushed back by the Quijos Indians. In 1541 Gonzalo Pizarro, leading thousands of forcefully recruited highland Indians, penetrated into the Oriente, followed by Francisco de Orellana, who pressed on until he discovered the great Amazon River for Spanish America in 1542.

Between 1559 and 1563, the conquistadores established four important towns in this area of the Oriente: Baeza, Avila, Archidona, and San Juan de los Dos Ríos de Tena. From these newly founded towns the Spaniards began the process of colonial administration in what was known as the Governorship of Quijos, Sumaco and La Canela (see Map 1). Spanish dominance over the various Indian groups living in that region was established through the system of *encomiendas*. These grants, by which the Spaniards were rewarded for service to the crown, gave them access to Indian labor and to tribute that the Indians paid mainly in gold and cotton. Conversion of the Indians was undertaken by means of *doctrinas*, early religious strategies followed by the missionaries, along with *reducciones*, where the converted Indians were congregated and settled. This process of spiritual and economic conquest was not easily accomplished, because in 1562 and 1578–1579 the Spaniards faced two major native rebellions that, compounded by epidemics, severely depopulated the region. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits established an important mission in Maynas in the upper Amazon area of what is now Peru. Since the route through Archidona offered the best entrance into Maynas, the Jesuits established a mission in Archidona and maintained a certain amount of control in the Napo, interrupted by their continuous conflicts with the *encomenderos*, and contested by the secular clergy until 1768, when the Jesuits were banished from the Americas. They returned in the nineteenth century and this time established a mission in the Napo that lasted for approximately thirty years (see chapter 5). In 1879, when Ecuador had already been an independent republic for almost fifty years, the National Assembly created the Oriente province.[1]

Until well into the twentieth century, the social and political history of the northern Oriente reflected the life of a frontier area, characterized by an extractive economy and a society of gold seekers and rubber tappers, of adventurers, soldiers of fortune, and missionaries protected by the




MAP 1. *Northern Oriente area, showing Tena-Archidona region in Napo Province.*

weak presence of the state, which only intervened to foil the exploitation of the natives when the latter threatened the peace of civilian society or the church. The forms taken by social relations in this area must be understood, on the one hand, within the framework of these predominant power structures and processes, and on the other, within the particular conditions of the tropical forest ecology and the economic and social organization of the Napo Runa. Both enabled these Indians to escape oppression and to confront it under arrangements significantly different from those used by the highland Indians, who were faced with a

landowning aristocracy and a more powerful presence of the state. In the Sierra as well as in the Oriente, however, the class experience was lived as part of the ethnic conflict that subjected the Indians to conditions of cultural and social subordination. The cultural language of verbal abuse found expression in the ethnic prejudice conditioning white-Indian relations, from the point of view of both the rulers and the ruled. Therefore, the forms taken by resistance to white supremacy must be sought in the deepest roots of Napo Runa culture. There was resistance not only to the relations whereby the dominant classes managed to extract surplus from the Indians, but also to attacks against their social identity, their ethnic dignity, and their symbolic systems.

It is difficult to recover the cultural forms taken by such resistance from the history of submission and ignorance ascribed to the Napo Quichua in the literature of travelers and missionaries, or from the work of a few historians and liberal-minded reformers who felt pity for their condition and reported their exploitation. On these accounts, the Napo Runa are usually stereotyped as "the wretched," "the oppressed," "the poor little Yumbo Indians," and are thus dehumanized.[2] The contradictions, potential cooptations, and alternative interpretations provided to all rational human beings by everyday and historical experiences are consequently ignored. These were expressed by the Napo Runa through actions of resistance such as flight, sabotage, and open rebellion, as well as in symbolic practices that incorporated those traumatic events into their myths and legends, and in the shamanic system that manifested an alternative coherence to confront Christian cognitive categories and other acts of white conquest. As shown in the life story of Rucuyaya Alonso, the subordinate ethnic group often resorted to humor and irony as a form of self-protection; it was the defensive humor of the powerless that so often becomes the only weapon against the arbitrariness of a dominant power, as it is so well expressed by the Cuban poet Nicolas Guillén:

> Others cry while I laugh
> because my laughter is good;
> the spear of my might
> the shield of my truth.
> Others cry while I laugh
> because my laughter is good.
> (*Cuando yo vine a este mundo*)

The story told by Rucuyaya Alonso covers a time period of approximately one century. When I met him he was around eighty-eight years old; in addition to his own experiences he incorporated the oral tradition of his father and grandfather, thus taking us back to at least the mid-nineteenth century. His life was that of a hunter who produced for his

own and his family's subsistence in a society of hunter-gatherers and swidden agriculturalists. As with all other Napo Runa from early adulthood, however, he also became immersed in the larger economic and social structures that dominated that area of the Oriente when Ecuador was already an independent state. He worked by carrying loads for the government, panning gold, and tapping rubber trees in order to pay off his debts to patron-traders, and finally as a laborer for Shell Oil in the 1940s, a decade that marks the beginning of the definitive penetration of industrial capitalism into the Ecuadorian Amazon.

The Napo Runa society that concerns us here was never completely autonomous, but closely intertwined with the ups and downs of the area's political economy. We know little about the cultural and social life of the indigenous groups that lived there prior to early contact during the Conquest. Consequently, my objective is not that of describing a pristine "traditional culture" that begins to be changed by contact with a modern society (see Mintz 1982). The issue is that of analyzing the idiosyncrasies of the economic, social, and ideological practices of Napo Runa society in its complex interrelationships with the dominant structures, and their transformations.

Through Rucuyaya Alonso's life story and by constructing a life history,[3] I searched for the coherence, the inner logic of a culture of everyday resistance, not as a harmonious integrated whole but as a structure of meanings that allowed the Napo Runa to maintain cultural integrity and prevented their easy cooptation into the dominant economic and cultural order of the time.

Cultural identity emerges and is transformed through a process of interdependency and opposition among groups. Consequently, class identity was examined within this cultural specificity, because in the complex and ethnically fissioned society existing in the Oriente at that time there were multiple and contradictory forms of consciousness and overlapping identities. As has already been pointed out in a number of historically sensitive anthropological studies (see Mintz 1979, 1985; Wolf 1982; Scott 1985), symbolic structures are the result of social processes and also have their own histories. This is why I have tried to understand Napo Runa consciousness and ethnic identity as a set of group memories and practices, both material and symbolic, that are reinterpreted under different historical situations. These memories and practices are part of an alternative discourse to that of the dominant ethnic group and dominating class, manifested in the various forms of resistance and affirmation of Napo Runa identity. As pointed out by Scott (1985:235), to defend cultural forms by promoting a world view and a different normative framework is a form of resistance or, at least, a barrier precluding another discourse that would give legitimacy to assimilationist and ethnocidal practices.

In the historical period under consideration, such forms of consciousness and identity were maintained through the flow of oral tradition and cannot be identified as a systematic ideological corpus. In the current discourse of several indigenous leaders and other intellectuals, the 1578–1579 Indian rebellion has become part of a more formal ideology for the vindication of native claims, as it is embodied in the monument to its leader Jumandi that greets everyone who enters Tena. On the contrary, among the elders of our story, the everyday relationships with the patrons, the missionaries, and the authorities, and the verbal skills used by the Napo Runa to confront them, are what is best remembered as an assertion of their rights to subsistence and of their ethnic pride.

## The Ethnographic Endeavor

> "One only understands the things that one tames," said the fox. "Men have no more time to understand anything. They buy things already made at the shops. But there is no shop anywhere where one can buy friendship, and so men have no friends any more. If you want a friend, tame me . . . "
>
> "What must I do to tame you?" asked the little prince.
>
> "You must be very patient," replied the fox. "First you will sit down at a little distance from me—like that—in the grass. I shall look at you out of the corner of my eye, and you will say nothing. Words are the source of misunderstandings. But you will sit a little closer to me, every day . . . " (Saint Exupéry, *The Little Prince*)

### *The Life Story*

My work in the Upper Napo and in the Tena-Archidona area began in September 1981 and has continued since then. Overall, I have lived in a small house of my own by the Pano River for a period of approximately three years, during two sabbatical leaves and annual stays of three to four months during the Canadian summers. A few months after I became established there I met Rucuyaya Alonso through his eldest son, Francisco Andi (Guamundi), husband of Dolores Intriago, who became my research assistant and constant companion. On the first visits to Rucuyaya Alonso, when I was timidly trying to explain the purpose of my being there, he expressed his interest in telling stories about old times, in explaining various aspects of his culture and, generally, in conveying his knowledge and experience. His main concern was that young people no longer wished to listen. There was a sense of urgency in his words, which

were not directed to me personally, but to his son as if reproaching him that now that he was educated and had a town job, he too was becoming deaf to the old ways.

Discussing this issue with Dolores and Francisco, I suggested the idea of recording Rucuyaya Alonso's life story, and we decided to undertake this project. Since the old man had already stated his wish to transmit his knowledge to his eldest son, it was obvious to me that the traditional ethnographic model for recording life stories would not work in this case. As an ethnographer I had to play a secondary role. But of course, as a woman that was precisely the culturally appropriate role for me to play. In Napo Runa culture men talk about themselves primarily to other men, although women may be present. This cultural characteristic put me in the position of a twofold stranger, as a woman and as a nonnative. The version of the life story I might have secured directly at that time would quite likely have been "expurgated for women ethnographers," possibly losing its spontaneity and richness of detail. And certainly from Rucuyaya's point of view, there would be no reason to think, for instance, that a woman would be interested in the subtleties of hunting stories. Throughout all the conversations, Dolores and I were present, although trying to remain in the background while Rucuyaya told his story directly to his son Francisco. It was possible for us to be unobtrusive because during 1982 and 1983, when most of the interviews were conducted, the house had no electricity and we sat by candlelight. Even though Rucuyaya always knew a tape recorder was being used, he soon forgot it, carried away by his own storytelling.

The time for conducting the interviews posed a practical problem because Dolores and Francisco worked during the day, limiting our time to evening sessions or weekends. The traditional storytelling time in Napo Runa culture is the *huayusa*-drinking hour, which starts at three or four in the morning. In the old days the family would get up then to drink huayusa (a tea-like brew) and get ready for their daily chores: the men off to hunt, and the women to tend their swidden plots. Sitting around the fire, they would recall ancient myths, relate interesting experiences, and discuss the night's dreams. The main difficulty in making use of that traditional time today, is that the conditions that made it possible no longer exist in the Tena-Archidona area. Children cannot get up that early because they have to go to school, the men do not hunt regularly, and in Rucuyaya Alonso's household, the sons living with him have public-service jobs and must, therefore, keep a "more conventional" schedule. Furthermore, at present, both radio stations—Catholic and Protestant—begin to broadcast their programs in Quichua very early in the morning, competing with the huayusa-drinking hour. Trying to replicate (on hindsight rather naïvely) as closely as possible the cultural

environment in which the oral tradition was transmitted, we decided to conduct most of the interviews at night, beginning around nine when Rucuyaya Alonso had already enjoyed a few hours sleep.

Rereading my fieldnotes for that first period of the life-story project, I realized that at the start I was worried about the methodological correctness of this practical compromise for the interview situation. As time went on, however, the routine—which seemed a bit contrived at first—acquired a life of its own and the authenticity or traditional character of each occasion was no longer particularly relevant. Now a bit wiser thanks to the work of other scholars who have written about this particular issue, I can vindicate my decision to continue with the project despite my preliminary misgivings. There are parallels, for instance, between my predicament and the one analyzed by Tedlock (see 1983:chapter 1) when he thought he was confronting (without his tape recorder) a "near perfect" and "spontaneous" performance of Zuni storytelling evoked when a couple of children asked their grandfather to tell a story. Tedlock was asked to choose a story himself, and realized that the fact that "he was there" helped in modifying the text of the story told (in comparison with a previously recorded one) and the storyteller's interaction with the audience. Tedlock's reflection upon the significance of that event for the interpretation of storytelling is relevant for life stories as well. He claims that if the ethnographer—or mythographer as the case may be—takes performances and interaction rather than textual end-products as his or her objects, the grounds for authenticity shift from the exact wording of the text to the status of the resulting situation as a unique intersubjective occurrence in a particular time and place, and that this fact cannot be explained away (Tedlock 1983:299–300).

The irrevocable fact that I also was "there"—luckily with my then new tape recorder running—cannot be ignored either. Some of the effects of my presence upon the life-story text were quite obvious to me at the time, and should, I hope, be equally so to the reader. On some occasions (for instance, when talking about marriage or ritual friendship), Rucuyaya leaves his role of autobiographer and turns into an ethnographer of his culture for my benefit. In others, the evidence that he noticed me is more subtle, as when he discusses the apprenticeship of shamans and—rightly or wrongly—compares their continuous and long-suffering acquisition of knowledge with the learning process of a university-educated person. More distinct in the text is the result of our interaction when I asked a specific question about work, the only one I allowed myself as a direct intervention in the life story per se. Having done a great part of the ethnographic research in the company of women, I was intrigued about men's thoughts about work. Rucuyaya Alonso gave me a straight and highly intelligent answer to what might have seemed to him a rather foolish question (see chapter 13). But in addition, the warmth in his voice

and the ironic look in his eyes conveyed to me a far more significant meaning. Rucuyaya was establishing for us what would be the mark of our relationship: one of mutual respect and negotiated power between one who worked with his hands and another who works with her head.

The life story has to be seen then primarily as a document of the interaction between father and eldest son. It is the depth of that relationship not only in this particular case, but also in Napo Runa culture in general, that may be used to judge at least one side of the "truth" of that document. As Michael Angrosino suggests: "verifiable truth in the autobiography rests not in the historical facts of the life account but in the degree to which the autobiographer's chosen metaphors of self communicate to and link up with his or her intended audience" (Angrosino 1989:9). According to Francisco, the telling of his father's life experiences as it unfolded over many nights strengthened the already existing bond between them. As such, the life story cannot be confirmed in any independent way by an alleged objective witness, as Vincent Crapanzano (1984:955) argues; nor I would add does it need to be. The sense of self, the persona that emerges from the text is Rucuyaya Alonso's own independent and deliberate social construction as a gift to someone who was for him a significant other.

No matter how selective real memory is, as opposed to the relatively unlimited imagination of a novelist, which Rucuyaya was not, it has to select and construct an identity from a limited series of lived experiences, beliefs, and knowledge that are culturally patterned (Aberle 1951). That is another side of the life story's "truth," since I would agree with Sidney Mintz when he claims that "anthropology assumes that *any* individual, in some fundamental and inalterable ways, gives expression to, incarnates, the culture, and cannot do otherwise" (Mintz 1984:308, emphasis in the original).

In our case, of course, I do not intend that statement to mean that Rucuyaya Alonso was a typical member of his culture as a whole and for all times. First, as a man he certainly did not represent women's experiences. Although he rarely allowed his wife Rucumama Rebeca to leave him alone, and she also was often a silent presence when he spoke about his life, Rucuyaya Alonso did not show much interest when the issue of women was subtly suggested to him by Francisco—adequately prompted by me and Dolores. This in itself gives us interesting information about Napo Runa culture. For men, women are not a topic of conversation and, in that regard, women are not like dreams, although they are the first to whom husbands tell their dreams. Similarly, among women, men are not an interesting nor a frequent topic of conversation. Respecting this cultural reality, I decided not to incorporate here as an addendum a discussion on the productive, social, and symbolic world of women, although their voices are quoted because several of them conveyed to me a marvelous sense of history. Napo Runa women deserve a separate study,

which I have already begun. Rucuyaya Alonso's life story is, I think, a rich although incomplete ethnographic document, because it basically reflects an image of his culture from the male point of view.

Second, Rucuyaya Alonso is not typical of his culture because there is no single homogeneous Napo Runa culture but, as I will argue throughout the book, that culture as any other has to be regarded as historically constituted and historically bound. The question I asked myself at the time was: Can I say that Rucuyaya Alonso is at least representative of his contemporaries, of the Napo Runa culture of his time? In a first attempt to answer this question I collected shorter life stories—often focused on particular time periods—of almost all the other elders of Rucuyaya's generation who were still living in the Tena-Archidona area. Furthermore, I also interviewed the son and especially the daughter, of another elder who had left to his descendants the oral tradition of his life experiences. Finally, in other historical sources I found evidence of ideological practices, attitudes, and behavior of other individual Napo Runa of Rucuyaya Alonso's generation. Results of that research are incorporated throughout the analytical chapters of the book.

In relation to the questions being discussed, the evidence shows that for the period between 1850 and 1950, Napo Runa society remained internally egalitarian, although their members as a whole constituted a class subordinate to the whites. The Indian hierarchy of authorities known as *varas* or the *varayuj* system was an imposition of the colonial administration and used by the whites mainly to ensure access to Indian labor, but it failed to produce significant changes in Napo Runa's internal social or political organization. Like many of his contemporaries and his father and grandfather before him, Rucuyaya Alonso occupied one of these offices, but he shared with all Napo Runa of his time the same symbolic universe to interpret nature and the behavior of other human beings; he was socialized and married with the same social practices and had to suffer the same subjugation and resolve the same conflicts in his relationships with white missionaries and patrons. Rucuyaya Alonso's rebellious and unbreakable spirit in the face of oppression and injustice, a characteristic of his personality that so endeared him to me and to others who knew him well, is deeply rooted in Napo Runa culture, as I try to show in this book.

Through the personal record of his life Rucuyaya Alonso conveys the collective experiences of his people who, on the basis of shared meanings, responded with dignity and courage, and often with cunning and irony, to the difficult circumstances of the historical period in which they lived. Furthermore, his urgency in recounting that history was based on the feeling that the spirit and cultural skills embedded in it were still relevant for younger generations to make sense of the wider world in which they live. Like the descendants of escaped slaves in Suriname, so beautifully portrayed by Richard Price (1983), Rucuyaya Alonso conveys in his reflections the true historian's understanding that the past is important

for the future of a people, and that a strong historical consciousness is critical to Napo Runa identity and the people's continuing resistance to outside powers. This is a challenge that today's younger Quichua men and women are confronting within a different set of constraints, armed with their own cultural skills. How much Rucuyaya Alonso's hopes will become a reality is not for me to judge.

For the life-story project, the nightly sessions of interviewing went on two or three times a week for a period of approximately six months. The tapes recorded in Quichua (including the ones of the shamanic session in the Epilogue) were transcribed into Spanish by Dolores and myself, usually working during weekends. In those sessions Dolores, who lived with her husband's family for several years, was able to elucidate many events in her father-in-law's life, to locate for me place-names on the map, and to explain important aspects of gender relations in Napo Runa culture, which I later confirmed with other women. Our interpretations were checked with Francisco and, if doubts remained, he was asked to clarify them with his father. Because Francisco—at that time a man in his fifties—had accompanied his father on many hunting trips and shared several of his experiences, he also suggested topics of conversation on a few occasions. In a way they remembered together; but Francisco was aware that I preferred no direct questions be put to Rucuyaya especially when, as often happened, he spoke for hours almost without interruption. For all the reasons given so far, and many more that have to do with the friendship I established with Dolores and Francisco, the life story was a collaborative project. The life history and the way this book is put together, however, are my own responsibility, and they need further explanation.

## *The Life History*

As Renato Rosaldo (1986:108) points out, in nonliterate small-scale societies, storytellers speak to audiences who share with them a profound cultural knowledge and even a wealth of past experiences. In contrast, while writing their monographs, ethnographers have to create their own contexts for themselves and to situate their readers because, unlike storytellers, they cannot safely assume they know the rules of the game. In this article Rosaldo is primarily making a case against what he and others (see Marcus and Cushman 1982) call ethnographic realism. According to Rosaldo (1986:103–108), the rules of the game followed by that type of ethnography are unable to account for the lived experience as reflected in the way people tell themselves stories about themselves. But, of course, ethnographic realism is not the only avenue open to the ethnographer, as Rosaldo's own work (1980) and several recent experiments in ethnographic writing using life stories testify (see especially, Shostack 1981; Crapanzano 1980; and Marcus and Fisher 1986 for a critical analysis).

The context I chose to create in the making of this book is historical within an ethnographic framework. In that sense I see it as anchored in the tradition of Sidney Mintz's *Worker in the Cane* (1960) and most recently represented by Richard Price's *First Time* (1983), rather than in experimental works that over-privilege a dialogue between the ethnographer and subject. The life-history project as reflected in this book is an attempt to present an interplay between the ethnographic and the historical records in which each one interrogates the other.

In the course of the three years (1983 to 1985) after the life story was finished, while residing in Tena for a period of nine months, I continued to investigate and to participate in Napo Runa culture. This understanding enabled me to situate the life story in its own cultural context. By this time I had already read the published ethnohistorical and historical sources for the Tena-Archidona area, consisting mainly of the records left by missionaries, colonial officials, and nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travelers. The most exciting time in all this period of my fieldwork was, however, when I discovered (through the cleaning boy) that in the Napo Government House in Tena there was an "archive," although my previous inquiries to the proper authorities had suggested there was none. Obviously I had overstated my case, since the so-called archive turned out to be a room no larger than a closet where all documents from the nineteenth century to the very present were kept in unordered piles, full of dust, and periodically visited by several species of the prodigious Amazonian fauna.

The work to create some order in the existing chaos was onerous, but the rewards made it all worthwhile, as many historians have testified in similar situations. The documents presented a record of the almost daily administration of the Oriente province as related by the high and minor officials who governed that "small world" for the time period that interested me. I started to look at those records with the ethnographic eye for individual lives, and for the practices of everyday life. Soon a few characters began to emerge: strong personalities such as that of the lady patron so often quoted in chapter 10, and the utopian governor whose attempt to establish his own bureaucratic order in the chaos created by the rubber boom is portrayed in chapter 7, or the malaria-ridden official desperately trying to administer, and keep, for Ecuador the most remote frontier post between his country and Peru. His regular reports to his superiors, like those of his colleagues, constitute one of the richest historical-ethnographic records for the Oriente of the earliest decades of the twentieth century. And finally, through patient examination, the voices of individual Napo Runa also began to emerge, several of whom were those of Rucuyaya Alonso's contemporaries. Now I had the knowledge (and the gossip) that I knew would interest Rucuyaya and the other elders with whom I had established contact. From that point on, my conversations

with Rucuyaya became more than polite or friendly exchanges, or the coaching of a novice by a native expert. I think I was able to discover for him a larger world he had experienced daily, but of which he knew little, simply because he was not empowered to do so; and I began to understand more fully the structural and cultural reasons why this was so. The progress through the archival materials and the other historical documents made me reevaluate the oral tradition where myths, legends, and other forms of indigenous consciousness embody unique historical events in their own cultural language. My findings in this regard are similar to those of other ethnographers of indigenous Quichua speakers of the Ecuadorian Oriente. Norman Whitten (see esp. 1985) for the Canelos Quichua and Mary-Elizabeth Reeve (1985) for the Curaray Quichua have analyzed these complex interrelationships between indigenous narratives of myth, ritual practices, and history, for understanding the processes by which these Quichua speakers cope with a dominant society and with traumatic economic and political developments. The force of that analysis is demonstrated carefully for native South American peoples of both the Amazon and the Andes in a recent volume edited by Jonathan Hill (1988).

But if historical contextualization is crucial to understanding agency—indigenous forms of consciousness and practices—it also is important to understand the structures that set the limits and the constraints, the parameters within which these subjectivities were constituted. Therefore, I locate the Napo Runa communities in the larger history of Spanish colonialism, of missionary evangelization, of Ecuadorian state formation and consolidation, and in relation to regional and world economic and political processes. The Napo Runa had no knowledge of, or control over, the philosophical basis of Jesuit evangelization ideology, the rubber boom, the world-wide crisis of the 1930s, or the ups and downs of the international oil market. In all their unevenness and contradictions, however, these ideas and processes gave rise to the structures, opportunities, pressures, and oppressions that shaped the life experiences of several Napo Runa generations and are an integral part of their cultural history.

The combined examination of the oral narratives and the ethnographic and archival records allowed me to understand how the Napo Runa became actors of their own histories as these converged with global developments. The choice of that unit of analysis where local and world histories intersect was, of course, not just the result of my fortuitous find of a local archive; it was a choice that has a long tradition in the anthropological political economy of Latin America from the work of Wolf and Mintz in Julian Steward's project in Puerto Rico (Steward et al. 1956), to the more recent study by June Nash (1979) of the miners in Bolivia (for a review of this tradition and his position in it, see Roseberry 1988 and 1989). And, furthermore, as Comaroff rightly has argued the "fields

of enquiry are never naturally given; they always reflect substantive assumptions about the constitution of the 'real' world" (Comaroff 1982:144).

Those larger forces, however, are not a unitary whole, not an ecumenical Colonial empire, a disembodied world system, or capitalism in the abstract. At the local level they have their own agents who often, but not always, exercise their domination as a class; they are the missionaries, the foreign travelers, the white patrons, the traders, the soldiers and policemen, and other state officials. All of them not only enact in the field the practices of domination, but carry with them and give expression to what Raymond Williams (1977) has called "dominant culture," and following Gramsci, Lears (1985) reformulates as "cultural hegemony." He argues, "by clarifying the political functions of cultural symbols, the concept of cultural hegemony can aid intellectual historians trying to understand how ideas reinforce or undermine existing social structures and social historians seeking to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the power wielded by dominant groups and the relative cultural autonomy of subordinate groups whom they victimize" (Lears 1985:568).

In each of the historical analytical chapters I make room for the multiple voices of those in power through quotes from primary and secondary sources, trying whenever possible to establish a dialogue with the voices of the Napo Runa that were never given legitimacy in public discourse; and to explore the changing and often paradoxical and contradictory character of that dialogue in the different time periods under consideration. The counterpoint is intended to show how culture in its material practices and symbolic expressions was used by each individual Napo Runa, and by the group as a whole as a strategy for survival. Their active resistance and their consent and accommodation imposed limits on the power of the dominant classes. The exploration of this dialogue between dominant and subordinate ideologies has concerned me for some time (see Muratorio 1980, 1984), and I still think it reveals—better than a self-centered dialogue between ethnographer and subject—the structures of power that have real political consequences for the lives of the people involved. This does not mean that the ethnographer can relinquish responsibility for the presence of his or her own voice. In a now influential article Clifford argues that even when the ethnographer wants to show the collaboration involved in the production of a monograph by quoting extensively from informants, he still cannot totally break up his "monophonic authority" because "quotations are always staged by the quoter and tend to serve merely as examples or confirming testimonies" (Clifford 1988:50). I cannot deny the fact that I "staged" the quotations of each properly named individual, selecting from a wealth of possible quotes from the ethnographic and archival records. The meaning of those quotes, however, cannot be read as isolated facts, but only in relationship

to other facts and as a sequence of observations and interpretations that follow accepted standards of evidence and may be subjected to some form of corroboration (see Mintz 1989:794; Polier and Roseberry 1989:251). That is, my "monophonic authority" should still allow others to challenge it. Like many scribes in ancient history who dare to go beyond mere transcribing, we run the risk of being beheaded—symbolically, I hope—by our colleagues and other readers.

The issue of how this book was put together also needs to be addressed. When we finished the life-story project I had five thick notebooks filled with handwritten transcriptions in Spanish of the tapes in Quichua. The organization of that material into topical chapters and chronological order involved some decisions about editing. Several ethical and practical considerations set the guidelines followed in accomplishing that difficult task. To comply with Rucuyaya Alonso's urgent wish that the story of his life and the history of his generation be made available in writing to younger Napo Runa, most of whom are literate and bilingual, I decided to first publish the book in Spanish in 1987, leaving a copy of the original tapes with Francisco to be put in a proper archive whenever that becomes practically possible. Furthermore, because Rucuyaya Alonso was explicit about his intention of "speaking the truth about his own times," I kept the real names of all the persons and places he mentioned. The same rule was followed in dealing with the public archival documents and with the fieldwork interviews, except in one instance where the names of individuals were omitted at the express request of those involved.

For the reasons given above, and although Rucuyaya Alonso did not always recount his past experiences in chronological order, I interpreted his intention to be that it be read that way. This meant a certain reorganization of time periods as they appeared in his account. For example, some of the stories about his youth were only told at the end, and not immediately after the few anecdotes about his childhood; however, when he incorporates as his own, stories obviously conveyed to him by his father and grandfather (for example about the Jesuits in the nineteenth century), I left them in his own sequence. I must also mention here that although the very first paragraph of the life story beginning with the name of his great-grandfather and listing his ancestry was Rucuyaya Alonso's own idea, it may reflect more accurately the formality of the first interview rather than his own conception of time.

The organization into topics involved some editing for repetition of the same stories about one specific event or experience, and the grouping of several stories on the same subject into one chapter, even though some of those stories were not told in the same session or in consecutive order (for instance, the stories told in chapter 9 about his adventures while working for the Shell Oil Company in the 1940s). In all these cases, however, I

respected the internal sequence of each story, keeping the natural breaks between each narrative and never mixing parts of similar stories to form a more complete one.

All these editing decisions involved substantial risks of accurate representation, as the recent general literature on oral narratives specifies in considerable detail (see Dunaway and Baum 1984; Vansina 1985; Watson and Watson-Franke 1985; Angrosino 1989). If all those guidelines are followed to the letter, the ethnographer could be easily paralyzed into not publishing at all, a decision that in my case would have betrayed an explicit request of the subject. I want to comment on two of the arguments more recently made by David Brumble (1988) in his work on North American Indian autobiographies as he specifically refers to the issues of editing for chronological order and for repetition. Brumble (1988: 11, 16) warns that the editors' decision to order their materials chronologically may distort the sense of time implicit in some indigenous narratives. In essence I agree with that statement, but one should also consider the problem that in a single narrative such as a life story often there is more than one sense of time expressed by the subject, including that of the editor who, by the way, does not necessarily need to have only one sense of time (just consider the importance of the "original sin" story in Christian western culture). In his life story, Rucuyaya Alonso uses different styles of narrative, each one with its own sense of time. Sometimes he tells hunting stories to which many of the excellent observations made by Rosaldo (1986) on the use of time in Ilongot hunting stories would apply; there are other stories where he evokes mythical time to account for historical facts, and still others where two conceptions of time are used by him simultaneously to explain a present event. Similarly, for other Quichua speakers of the Oriente, the works of Norman Whitten (esp., 1976) and Dorothea and Norman Whitten (1988) as well as those of Reeve (1985, 1988) have shown the complexities involved in understanding the concept of time-space not only in Canelos Quichua narratives, but in their other aesthetic expressions such as ceramics. In addition, a recent book by Regina Harrison (1989) on women's narratives demonstrates the unique conceptions of time evoked in Oriente Quichua women's songs. The same observations would apply to different conceptions of space cross-culturally and historically (see Mary Helms 1988). Unless one is writing a specialized paper or a whole book on the rhetorical features of indigenous oral narrative one cannot even begin to do justice to its richness.

About editing for repetition, Brumble (1988:11) argues that it could distort what in many tribes is a rhetorical feature of oral narrative. That again may be the case, but one should also take into consideration the more human fact that the memory of an old man may fail, and that he might repeat a story just because he forgot he had already told it. Rucuyaya Alonso warned us that his memory was not as good as it used to be, a statement I

found hard to believe at the time, but came to accept as true after listening to several women's longer and more richly detailed stories. Sometimes one has to agree with Roger Keesing's (1987) concern about anthropologists' predisposition toward depicting other peoples' cultures as totally different from our own, and consequently reading too much into other peoples' ways of talking about their experiences.

The final organization of the manuscript so that the chapters of the life story follow or precede the chapters of social history with which they are most closely associated responds to my two main concerns in writing this book. In order to understand and I hope make others appreciate the world of an individual Napo Runa and his people in all its cogent force, I tried systematically to explore their practices and world view in the context of the larger hegemonic culture they had to confront. Out of my deep respect for Rucuyaya Alonso's own historical consciousness and lived experience, his life story is given equivalent and independent status. To all those who may still be concerned about "how she could have known the Other," I can only echo the advice given by the fox to the little prince, although I am fully aware that I might be accused of epistemological naïveté.

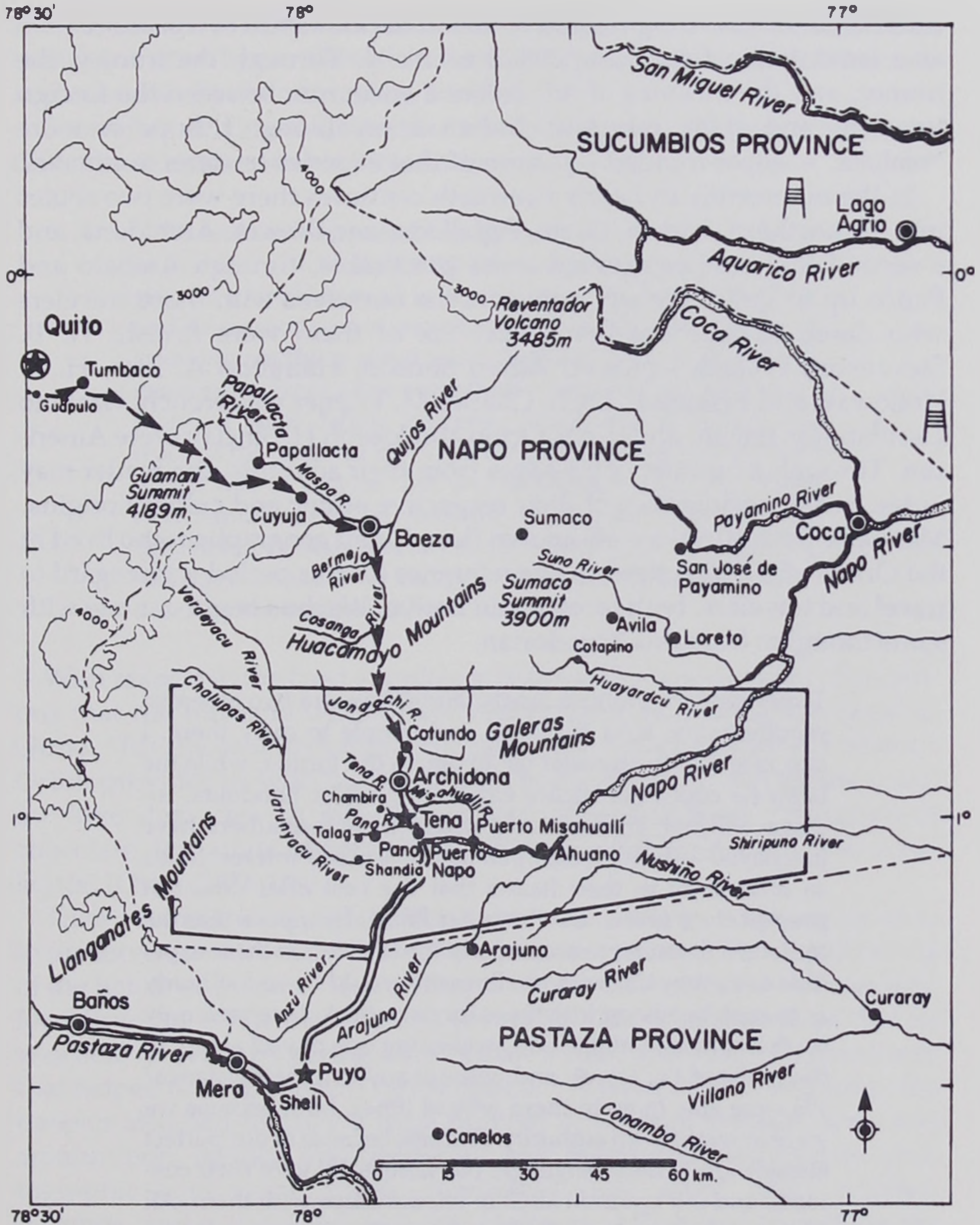
I now invite the reader to walk into the Tena-Archidona region in the company of some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century travelers.

# 1

# The Forest Travelers

The Napo Runa of Tena-Archidona were untiring forest travelers, famous bearers of goods, baggage, people and correspondence in the difficult route from Quito to Archidona. Primarily the Tenas, Panos, and Archidonas made possible and kept alive public administration and trade in the northern Oriente, until well into the twentieth century. The elders who made those trips to Quito generally remember them with certain nostalgia for those times past, which they call *varajuj tiempu*, or the times when they were made to serve the whites through a system of Indian authorities (varayuj). Their reminiscences express pride in the strength, ability, and skill exercised by the *runa* to overcome the innumerable obstacles found on the way, satisfaction in the prestige afforded them by seeing the capital of the Republic, and a certain amusement at the peculiarities and strange habits of the travelers whom they had to accompany or carry on their backs. But their memories also are burdened with the sorrow for the physical sufferings entailed by a barefooted journey, crossing both huge swollen rivers and cold, desolate *páramos* (high plateaus) until reaching their destination.

Listening to their stories, it is impossible to find a parallel with the "official history" that depicts the Napo Runa of this area as an ignorant, oppressed, and submissive Indian, whose symbol of oppression is precisely that of being a cargo bearer. In an attempt to unravel the mystery of such contradiction between these two histories, we now make the famous trip from Quito to Archidona in the company of some foreign travelers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who left us detailed accounts of their journeys (see Map 2). I also include accounts of the Napo Runa who made this trip—not once but many times over—as narrated by them or by their descendants to whom they transmitted this oral




MAP 2. *Tena-Archidona*

tradition, more as an expression of their tenacious spirit of resistance than as a lamentation for a vanquished ethnicity. Through the ironies, the humor, and the miseries of this colonial encounter between the foreign travelers and their reluctant Indian companions, I hope a more "realistic"—sober-minded—picture of that experience starts to unravel.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were two routes into the northern Oriente: Quito, Papallacta, and Baeza to Archidona, and a second that was considered more practicable, through Ambato and Baños up to Puyo. We will now concern ourselves with those travelers who dared to take the first route. Six of them were British: W. B. Stevenson, William Jameson, Alfred Simson, Hamilton A. Rice, H. L. Holloway, and Erskine E. Loch. Charles M. Wiener was French, Gaetano Osculati was Italian, and James Orton and Joseph H. Sinclair were American. Through a number of passages from their accounts, the reader may judge on the peculiarities of their respective ethnic and cultural origins. Manuel Villavicencio, a well-known Ecuadorian geographer who lived in the Oriente for a long time, is our reference for this period with regard to travel and travelers, both foreign and native. We thus begin our tale with some thoughts from this Ecuadorian.

> To penetrate into those lonely lands there are two essential requirements: food supplies, and people to carry them. I suppose that the traveler could obtain the former, while the latter he could not secure either by force or handouts. Indians will not journey, save where their forefathers have journeyed—through the open road—and self-interest holds so little sway in their hearts that the best offer does not prompt their greed. On the other hand, I suppose that the Indians will tender to accompany the traveler on these expeditions as they did with us. But who would be so foolhardy as to rush headlong into these forelorn thickets relying only on them, to find himself on awakening one day all alone, in the midst of the forest, and without any help or assistance? We were able to go in there several times, both because we were invested with authority, and also because of our perfect knowledge of their language, our familiarity with their customs, and our spiritual kinship relationships with them. All of these things cannot be found together in one explorer. (Villavicencio 1984:407)

Despite their failure to meet all of these favorable conditions, several of these "foolhardy" individuals ventured through this road from Quito to Archidona, often on their way towards the Marañón and Amazon rivers. They were looking for gold, exotic plant and animal species, new markets for goods from their own countries, or, in this century, for oil. They all had the hardy exploring spirit—half-romantic and half-scientific—so typical

of the nineteenth century. I narrate here only the first and most difficult stretch traversed by our travelers—from Quito to Archidona—accompanied, and occasionally abandoned by, the Indians.

Soon after arriving at Quito, the traveler began to anticipate some of the difficulties involved in his future odyssey.

> We were as long preparing for our journey to the Amazon as in making it. In the first place, not a man in Quito could give us a single item of information on the most important and dangerous part of our route. Quitonians are not guilty of knowing anything about trans-Andine affairs or "Oriental" geography. From a few petty traders who had, to the amazement of their fellow citizens, traversed the forest and reached the banks of the Napo we gleaned some information which was of service. But on the passage down the Napo from Santa Rosa to the Marañón, a distance of over five hundred miles, nobody had anything to say except the delightful intelligence that, if we escaped the fever, we would be murdered by the savages. (Orton 1876:173)

With respect to the food supplies mentioned by Villavicencio, it is obvious that the travelers would have had no trouble in obtaining them in Quito. "For the benefit of future travelers, and for the curiosity of others," Orton provides us with the bill of fare for his forty-two-day journey, and for "five stomachs." It included, among other delicacies, 25 pounds of chocolate, 9 pounds of tamarinds, 170 eggs, and 5 pints of sweet anise liquor. (Orton 1876:174)

Their provisions were packed into kerosene drums, soldered up so as to preserve them from the humidity of the climate, and "to keep them out of the hands of Indians." According to Orton (1876:175), the Indians stole food from the white man leaving him to his fate, a circumstance that he was able to avoid by giving each Indian a daily measure of aguardiente that helped to keep them in "good spirits." To complete his outfitting, the traveler also had to carry a large number of cooking utensils, arms and ammunition, medical and taxidermic kits, measuring instruments, photographic equipment, ropes, machetes, axes, saws, nails, candles, matches, and a thousand and one etceteras, which had to include the indispensable official letter of introduction issued by the ministry of the interior, so as to secure cooperation from the different local authorities (Orton 1876:176). But even then, and at times with a letter from the president of the Republic himself, the traveler was virtually in the hands and on the backs of his native guides.

After preparing his equipment, the traveler faced the arduous task of finding beasts of burden, *bestias de silla* (riding mules), and the mule drivers that would take him to the Indian village of Papallacta, from

where he had to continue on foot until Archidona. Let us hear what one of the North American travelers has to say about this:

> Through the intervention of the curate of Papallacta, who has great influence over his wild people, but who has wit enough to reside in Quito instead of his parish, we engaged the Indian governor to send over thirteen beasts and three peons to carry our party and baggage to Papallacta. Wednesday morning the quadrupeds were at the door of our hotel, five of them *bestias de silla*. These horses, judging by size, color, shape, and bony prominences, were of five different species. The saddles likewise, differed from one another and from anything we had ever seen or desired to see. One of them was so narrow and deep none of us could get into it; so, filling up the cavity with blankets, we took turns in riding on the summit. (Orton 1876:177)

In the best of circumstances, the party consisted of the chief explorer, accompanied, as in Rice's case, by his black servant (Rice 1903:401), a guide, a translator, and an experienced hunter, although the boldest and most impatient, such as the unfortunate Osculati, decided to venture forth escorted only by their Indian guides. The party's departure from Quito was attended by an attractive and sometimes solemn ceremony. At that time, Quitonians practiced the charming custom of accompanying travelers for one or two leagues, forming a "brilliant entourage of gentlemen" who, before leaving, toasted to the health of the intrepid explorers. Certain travelers, aware of the importance and seriousness of their enterprise, refused to turn their initiation into a great spectacle, and silently stole away at dawn (Wiener 1883:227). Others, however, tried to relish, with all pomp and circumstance, the magnitude of their boldness: "So, mounting our jades, we defiled across the Grand Plaza and through the street of Saint Agustin, and down the Carniceria to the Alameda, amid the *vivas* and *adeos* [sic] of our Quitonian friends, who turned out to see the largest expedition that ever left the city for the wild Napo country since the days of Pizarro. Few there were who expected to hear of our safe arrival on the shores of the Atlantic." (Orton 1876:177)

Once on the move, the traveler crossed the splendid plains of Iñaquito to arrive, after one hour, at the "romantic and picturesque" little town of Guapulo, and to continue on to Tumbaco. The latter was a village of some 800 souls, and a warm and unhealthy climate, with contaminated waters that—in all probability—were the cause of the typhoid fever epidemic in 1879, despite which Tumbaco "exported" to Quito an excellent *chicha* (here, corn beer) (Wiener 1883:227). Osculati had the ill luck of trying to find bearers in Tumbaco, precisely during the Corpus Christi festivities. All of his potential bearers were busily acting as *priostes* (fiesta sponsors), dancers, and musicians in the procession, or just delighting in the famous

chicha prepared for the feast, which was "a real bacchanalia" in Osculati's opinion. It was not immediately obvious to Osculati, however, why the bearers were not readily inclined to a prompt departure (Osculati 1854:70–71).

Some travelers had to spend the first night in the "Itulcachi" hacienda, which by 1857 was almost abandoned, and where they had no choice but to sleep all curled up in old wooden dough boxes (Orton 1876:178). Those with better social contacts had the pleasure of being the guests and enjoying the entertaining company of Mr. Paul Chiriboga in his hacienda "La Cocha," defined as a "breadbasket" producing wheat, corn, and broad beans. A traveler speaks thus of his host: "Mr. Chiriboga, who was brought up in France, has brought to his country ideas of progress for which he has been treated as an odd character, but this has not discouraged him from acting in the French manner" (Wiener 1883:228).

From this point, the traveler went on to climb the peak of Mount Huamaní—4,800 meters high—where an imposing cross rose to "bless and guide" the wayfarer; which cross lent itself to these romantic thoughts: "It seems to me that all of these melancholic peoples of the Highlands suffer on this cross stuck in the most gigantic of Golgothas" (Wiener 1883:281).

To reach the summit required crossing the desolate *páramo* "of sad and cold beauty," also known as the "graveyard of the Yumbos" (Osculati 1854:108). The plateau earned this name because both these Indians and the Napo Runa would walk through it barefoot, wearing nothing more than short trousers and a light *cushma* (short poncho), suffering from the intense cold, sometimes only to carry half a dozen letters for the official postal service (Orton 1876:180). In 1987, Rucuyaya Alonso had this to say regarding that mountain pass: "We crossed the ice-covered Huamaní barefoot; shirts were not like today's, but made of unbleached linen, tied on both sides. If one fell asleep, one could die right then and there. That's why we were afraid of that mountain."

While the Indians crossed Mount Huamaní with these thoughts in mind, one of the travelers filled several pages of his travel log with a lengthy and baroque eulogy in honor of the "exquisite" mule that allowed him to skirt the dangers of the uphill climb: "this small beast, with its hooves as fine as the heel of a Parisian boot" (Wiener 1883:228–229). Coming down from Mount Huamaní, lovely Lake Papallacta was already within sight, and after crossing swamps, and walking over slippery rocks, the traveler arrived at the village of Papallacta. The hamlet had just a few huts, but the traveler could find accommodation at the home of the Indian governor, and rest while preparing to complete the journey on foot. There, he would also have to bargain with the governor for the services of the bearers from Papallacta who would take him to Baeza, where they would likely be replaced by Archidonas or the few Yumbo Indians

living in that ancient town. The number of Indian bearers depended on the amount of baggage to be carried, since each Indian carried three arrobas (1 arroba is equal to about 25 pounds), and insisted on being paid their five sucres in coins because "they absolutely scorned paper money" (Rice 1903:404). To secure their services, the traveler would sometimes attempt a seduction strategy such as loosening the governor's and his followers' tongues with a little liquor, after which, one by one and as if by magic, the Indians would begin to emerge from their huts (Wiener 1883:230–231).

From Papallacta to the Maspa River, the road continued uphill and then downhill along the Western Cordillera slopes, a narrow and mud-slippery path cut across by rapids, on account of which the traveler was often knee-deep in mud. One of the North American adventurers said: "How devoutly we did wish that the Ecuadorian Congress was compelled to travel this horrible road once a year" (Orton 1876:186). Meanwhile the Englishman Jameson (1858:338) bewailed that, to compound his woes, several of his Indian bearers had run away, taking with them all the fresh supplies he purchased in Papallacta. In this part of the road we also have the first sudden and allegedly almost ghostly appearance of the Napo Runa. "In the course of the day's journey, eight Indians from Archidona glided silently past, more after the manner of spectres than human beings, disappearing in the forest gloom as suddenly as they had come" (Rice 1903:405).

After crossing these mountains, "combating at every turn all obstacles that it seems possible Nature can throw in the way of his advance" (Rice 1903:405), the traveler was henceforth forced to spend the night in the small camps that the Indians were able to set up in the forest in a matter of minutes. "The camp [called *sacha huasi* or forest-dwelling by the Indians] is a sort of lean-to, the front of which is supported by two forked branches serving as props on which a pole is placed, the latter supporting the other poles stuck in the ground. This framework is covered with forest leaves" (Villavicencio 1984:393; see also Rice 1903:405; and Wiener 1883:232).

At sunset, well protected by the watertight cover of his shelter, the traveler changed his rain- and river-soaked clothes and, if sufficiently disciplined, he would write down his impressions of the day's events before going to bed, using his camp bed as a table, and thinking about the enchantments of this trip, where action and contemplation alternated with surprising regularity (Wiener 1883:233–234). The next difficulty faced by the traveler consisted in crossing the large, flowing Maspa River, by negotiating a primitive wooden bridge made of two poles joined in the middle, with only a liana to grasp for balance. The slipperiness of the poles was an immediate danger for the bearers (Villavicencio 1984:139). This is why one of our travelers exclaimed, "The raucous cataracts falling over cliffs washed portions of the path away, leaving no foothold, yet the

manner in which the Indians threaded, picked, fought their way, cumbered as they were with their heavy packs, excited deepest admiration" (Rice 1903:405).

Leaving the Maspa and Quijos rivers behind, the traveler finally arrived at Baeza, approximately halfway to his destination. By then the old town of Baeza had been reduced to only three huts where the Indians provided some fresh food and lodgings, acting also as guides—in the likely event that the traveler was abandoned by those who had come with him (Villavicencio 1984:140). While he rested, a naturalist such as Jameson could make up a good collection of beetles, particularly the smaller species in the genus *Coccinela*, some *Trochilidae*, and a good specimen of *Andingena hypoglaucus* (Jameson 1858:338). In fact, there was nothing much more to do, because this was "a place more isolated that the Juan Fernandez Island" (Orton 1876:187). After Baeza towards Archidona, the traveler would find a road "the predominant feature of which was mud," even in 1931 when the British geologist Holloway (1932:410) took the route. Despite the mud, the most romantic travelers of the nineteenth century were fascinated by the dense tropical forest extending towards the east, covered by a perpetual mist that seemed to hang from the tree branches, without a breeze to disturb the atmosphere, "as if nature saw no need to awaken" (Wiener 1883:238). The most pragmatic, however, had a chance to complain that this same persistent mist stalled their watches for the rest of the journey (Orton 1876:187–188).

The major obstacle in this stretch of the road and, in fact, throughout the trip to Napo, was crossing the Cosanga River, where the Indian bearers displayed awesome feats of strength and courage (Wiener 1883:236). Villavicencio has this to say regarding the Cosanga:

> The Cosanga is the most fearful river, both for those entering the Napo and for those leaving it. It is not unusual for travelers to stop over on its banks forced to stay there up to twenty days, waiting for its floodtides to cease so as to ford it; and, at times, they have been forced to walk back for lack of food supplies. At other times, they have been left in very dangerous straits, abandoned by the Indian bearers who tend to flee at night, both on the way in and on the way out. Under such circumstances it is impossible to continue ahead, nor to retrace one's steps, as in these lonely sites there is no help to be gotten, and one cannot travel without taking the required food supplies for subsistence. (Villavicencio 1984:140; see Fig. 2)

The above is precisely what happened to Osculati, "the distinguished naturalist and intrepid explorer" (Villavicencio, 1984:140), who, all in all, seems to have had the most disastrous trip on record. It would be

appropriate to have Osculati himself tell us his story, but so as not to try the reader's patience with the Italian's irate rhetoric, I have summarized the most relevant events of his hardships. Because of an argument with the leader of the Indians who accompanied him over the future use to be made of the skin and skull of a bear they had killed on the road, Osculati was abandoned in the Cosanga by all his cargo bearers (Fig. 3). They left him completely alone and unable to ford the river, which was extremely swollen. Unaccompanied and without food supplies (the Indians had taken with them everything except the coffee), exposed to bears and jaguars, Osculati spent fourteen days there, sheltering himself from the rain with the bear skin, but carefully preserving the skull, which he later deposited with the Civic Museum of Milan. When nothing was left save a few grains of maize, which he was forced to eat though they were part of his collection, Osculati, nearly dead of hunger, decided to return to Baeza. From there, after a much deserved rest at Villavicencio's house to recover from his wounds (Villavicencio, 1984:140), he courageously re-embarked on his journey to Archidona. (Osculati 1854:81–97).

Once the Cosanga River had been crossed, and after having the inevitable encounter with some snake from which the traveler was of course always saved by the cool-headed and skillful intervention of an Indian (Wiener 1883:238) the climb began, along a steep, deep, and narrow trail towards the summit of Mount Huacamayos (Sinclair 1929:208). Its slopes were covered by a thick forest growth, intersected by continuous landslides (Rice 1903:408). Although annoying because of the mud they precipitated, these landslides were not the only, or the most serious, problem the travelers faced at Huacamayos. In the words of Osculati, "the superstitious Indians [were] quite terrified of this mountain, believing it to be a center where the spirits gathered. An Indian would not dare to make this trip alone for any urgent reason because of the spells involved, or because of the wild animals that abound in its caves" (Osculati 1854:99). It seems to be true that the jaguars troubled the traveler from the Huacamayos to Archidona. Villavicencio suggests, not very convincingly, that from there on, the camp also should be outfitted with a palisade that could act as a barrier against the jaguars: "which barrier is torn down by the jaguar as one would push aside leaves from the road; its only usefulness for the traveler being the wakening noise, which allows him to take up his spear." He also recommends that everyone should sleep by candlelight, at least to be able to see the jaguar and prepare for the defense (Villavicencio 1984:393).

In order to explain the origins of the "spirits" and "spells" of which Osculati speaks, we must draw on the Indians' rich oral traditon. In the body of myths of the Napo Runa, just as in that of other Amazon Indians, both the morning and evening stars are the twin children resulting from the incestuous relationship between the male, adult moon (*pucushca*

*quilla*), and his sister. Being unable to accompany her brother on his journey to heaven, the woman turned into a bird called "*jilucu*," who sings at night when the moon is new. The infant twins, called Cuillur and Duceru, were brought up by the jaguars' grandmother (*puma apamama*), and within one month, they became young stars. Before going to heaven they acted in this world, devoting most of their time to mythical mischief involving men and animals. However, their major concern was to kill off all the jaguars that wanted to devour people. From here on we can follow the legend just as it was told by Rucuyaya Alonso in 1981 (see also a similar version for Mount Galeras in Orr and Hudelson 1971:25–27).

> To kill off the "great jaguar of the world" which would eat people, the twins dug a hole in Mount Galeras. They painted it to look like a bedroom, filled it with beautiful music, and told the jaguar: "we can't fix things up well in there, but you can, so do go in." The jaguar answered: "I'm old and won't be able to." The twins went round and round until they made him go in. Once he was inside, they plugged up the hole and the jaguar got terribly mad. He is still living there today and will stay there until Judgment Day. That is why, when a stranger goes by, the jaguar roars. When we traveled to Quito we heard the Huacamayos roar because the twins put in there other smaller jaguars that did not fit in Mount Galeras. Both mountains roar and in Papallacta we used to pause, waiting until the Huacamayos stopped roaring.

Several of the elders have explained to me to this day the jaguars locked up against their will in the Huacamayos are responsible for the landslides and mudflows that continue to be the major obstacle and the cause of lengthy delays on the present-day road.

Travelers had to follow the long and precipitous downslope of the Huacamayos, which took them four hours, until arriving at a place called Urcusiqui. There, the vegetation definitely became more tropical, to Jameson's delight. He was able to observe new birds and pick up curious ferns and a lovely narcissus, with "flowers as white as snow" (Jameson 1858:339). From that point until reaching the trail leading to Archidona, there were only a few rivers to cross, of which the Jondachi was the only one that, when it overflowed, could hold back the traveler (Villavicencio 1984:141). It was there that, on the return trip, the Archidonas abandoned the naturalist Jameson "in a very embarrassing situation," as he himself explains:

> One half of the Indians who carried my baggage deserted during the night and returned to Archidona, while another Indian, in whom I had some confidence, threw away my

> collection of plants and insects and proceeded in an opposite direction. . . . [After four days of waiting in vain for the Indians to come back from Archidona, Jameson decided to return there by himself, and writes in his diary:] I begin to distrust these people, and shall write to Quito for Indians of the interior to accompany me to my home. (Jameson 1858:346–347)

For his part, Osculati, after reaching the banks of the Jondachi River, could not get back on his feet, and "so as not to lose time," the Indians were forced to build a *cajón*, a wooden chair (Fig. 4), to carry him to Archidona. According to Osculati (1854:99–100), that "means of transportation was [for me] a continued martyrdom." The ethnographer Villavicencio explains why:

> Women and delicate people who are unable to travel on foot, have themselves carried by Indians. This requires four so-called *estriveros* (footmen) to relieve each other at each rest point. The traveler sits on a narrow chair on which he rests his back, and this very chair is carried on the Indian's back so that he rides looking back at the road that is left behind. He [the traveler] can neither avoid being hit and scratched by tree branches in these thick forests, nor the discomfort of the heat and of the Indians sweatiness. One must get off the chair when coming to bridges and difficult crossings, because it is impossible for the Indian to pass with such a load. On crossing bridgeless rivers, the footmen gather together so as to brace the load-bearing one and to lessen the impact of the water, which is suffered by one of the non-bearers: all carry long walking-sticks. (Villavicencio 1984:394)

Stevenson (1829:357), who entered the Napo in 1808 as an official delegate of the president of the Real Audicencia de Quito (the Supreme Royal Tribunal) to report on the status of the gold mines, used this chair more frequently than Osculati, and had it made to order by a Yumbo Indian. As the elders humorously recall, by the second decade of the present century when the Evangelical "gringos" [British, Swedish, and American missionaries] entered the Tena-Archidona area, they found it difficult to settle their long legs so as not to leave them dragging when being carried on the backs of the Napo Runa (see Rucuyaya Alonso's narrative in chapter 6, pp. 96–97). In 1983, Bartolo Shinguango (Logro) a cargo bearer, described the problems of carrying missionaries' wives who had trouble because "they were usually very, very fat, and needed to have a double-sized chair built." According to Rucuyaya Alonso, only when the traveling missionaries or authorities fell ill or died, and only on inland roads, were they carried on litters or *guandus* (see also Villavicencio 1984:395), borne on the shoulders of four Indians. Wiener (1883:245) says

that those made by the Tena Indians were of excellent quality (see Taussig 1987:293–304 for the feats of other Indian cargo bearers).

Having spent the last night in a place the Indians called Curiurcu (gold hill), the traveler set out on the last stretch of his trip to Archidona (Fig. 5), arriving in the following condition: "Thence, after a short day's journey of ten miles, we arrived at Archidona, by a path, however, that was slippery with a soft yellow clay. We were a sorry-looking company, soaked by incessant rains, exhausted by perspiration, plastered with mud, tattered and torn; but we were kindly met by the Jesuit bishop, who took us to his habitation, where one Indian washed our feet and another prepared a most refreshing drink of *guayusa* tea" (Orton 1876:191).

Archidona, a small hamlet consisting of a few bamboo and palm-thatched houses, was located on a sightly plain on the northern bank of the Misahuallí River, on a spacious forest opening, covered by bright emerald-green grasslands, and enjoying a regular and wonderful climate. This view is shared by a number of travelers, who breathed a sigh of relief on seeing an open horizon after fifteen or more days of plodding along in the cloistering density of the forest (Jameson 1858:339; Orton 1876:192).

On balance, travelers have left us a relatively positive image of the physical—if not the psychological—characteristics of the Archidonas of that period:

> The Indians of Archidona are taller and of a more symmetrical configuration than those of the cold table-lands of the interior. The colour is of a deeper bronze, or red, the latter tint being probably communicated by the constant and liberal use of annotto (*bexa*), with which they paint their faces and extremities (Jameson 1858:340).
>
> The prevailing style being three lines drawn obliquely from a point just below the inner canthus across the cheeks, sometimes a line carried over the nose, and the grotesque effect further elaborated by a great daub all around the mouth. (Rice 1903:409)

Although Orton (1876:169) asserts that the Napos "maintain a passive dignity in their bearing not seen in the proudest pope or emperor," Rice goes as far as invoking the "Greek idea of physical beauty as regards [the Archidonas] torso and limbs." He also refers to some "male dandies [who] had sticks of bamboo inserted in their ears," although he is more restrained about the women, whom he describes as "small, round-shouldered, shy creatures" and, from their general demeanor, as occupying an "inferior position" (Rice 1903:409).

The considered opinions expressed by the travelers regarding the nature and personality of the Indians are obviously influenced by European nineteenth-century concepts about "the savages," but reflect as well the

peculiarities pertaining to the "national character" of each traveler, in addition to the distinct personal experiences they had with the Indians, especially during their trips. Orton recognizes that the Napos are not "savages," but thinks that this is accounted for more by the absence of "active bad qualities," than by the presence of virtues. He finds them to be "apathetic" and "lacking in imagination," mainly because they are not particularly excited about the scientific marvels he shows them, other than expressing their surprise by briefly clacking their tongues. This latter gesture is of interest to Orton because, according to him, it coincides with Charles Darwin's similar "ethnographic finding" among the Fuegians, who allegedly "have the habit of making that noise when pleased," and with the famous naturalist Bates' discovery of this same exotic idiosyncrasy among the Mundurucús in the Brazilian Amazon (Orton 1876:210). When I questioned Rucuyaya Alonso about this "peculiar" gesture, he remarked, smilingly, that this is precisely the noise made by certain forest spirits to mock the hunter who fails to find his prey, either because he is incompetent, or because he is "a driveling slop," that is, ritually unclean. The reader may draw his or her own conclusions about these two culturally distinct ethnographic characterizations of the same mannerism.

Remarking on Orton's opinion about the Napo Runa, Rice assures us that any impression of their being apathetic or laconic was dispelled when he witnessed a "verbal war" between them and the white governor, which he describes as follows: "Any doubts as to whether these Indians are capable of speaking long sentences were completely dispelled, and they showed themselves capable of powerful and forcible argument intonating in a loud, stammering, guttural way" (Rice 1903:409). In this century, Holloway (1932:411) agreed with Rice regarding the vivacity of the Napo Runa and affirmed—with a certain degree of common sense—that they are well disposed to freely discuss with anyone able to understand the Quichua language, and that they broke out into loud laughter at the least provocation.

In part, the more personal cultural shock suffered by the travelers, particularly the British and the Americans, was caused by their having had to confront diametrically different "concepts of privacy," a problem that certain anthropologists have also had to face with like stoicism. The great curiosity of the Indians was intolerable to the travelers, as explained by Rice. "They [the Indians] also at times exhibited great curiosity, a camera, a watch, or a gun exciting their intense interest. Everyone in Archidona is curious. The whites would never let me dress alone and daily rummaged through my packs and effects, being ably seconded by the Indians. Any attempt to do writing was entirely futile" (Rice 1903:409).

On the other hand, if we are to believe Rice's secondhand opinion, the Napo Runa also had their reasons to suffer a certain cultural shock due to

the presence of the northern blond men. Rice states that the Jesuits, who by 1901 were no longer in Archidona, had taught the Indians that "the typical wicked white man" was "the blue-eyed Englishman." Apparently, taking this advice literally, the Napo Runa looked askance and disgustedly at all individuals with blue eyes, and showed tremendous curiosity about them. Rice (1903:416) believes that attitude of the Indians to have been "confirmed" by his own experience.

After all the misadventures he related during his trip, Osculati's negative opinion of the Napo Runa should not come as a surprise: "These Indians are brute in their ways and customs; they ask the traveler to hand out to them whatever they wish, without even a thank-you. They thus intend for every visitor to proffer gifts in compensation for their having put up with them; they neither apologize nor show any fear, even if caught stealing and opening the very same boxes they were entrusted to carry" (Osculati 1854:102–103).

Even the foreigners who had the worst travel experiences with the Indians acknowledged at least their great agility and dexterity. Villavicencio himself stressed the reputation of the Indians of the Governorship of Quijos as good bearers, and their nimbleness and swiftness, since unloaded, they could complete the trip from Quito to Archidona within two and a half to three days. But he also cautions the potential traveler that these Indians are more disobedient and riotous than the Papallactas (Villavicencio 1984:394). This independence and rebellious characteristic of the Napo Runa were experienced by all travelers who ventured on this route towards the Napo. Not a single one fails to complain—as we already heard—about the difficulties involved in securing bearers, or of having been abandoned in the deep of the forest, or on the banks of a swollen river. Villavicencio (1984:389) notes that it is not surprising for the Indians to act in this manner with private individuals, since they sometimes do likewise "with the governors and priests, people whom they fear and respect."

It is evident that, despite the oppressive system of domination then in force, and of the power aspirations of the little Pizarros of the nineteenth century, the Napo Runa bearers were in a position to impose many of the conditions for the journeys they would make. Whenever they wished to avoid traveling, they would pretend to be sick (Osculati 1854:103), or allege "family troubles," as explained by Loch: "Picking twenty-one willing Indians, we prepared to get under way. But before they could leave they underwent a change of heart. All the wives got sick the same day, and what was a man to do!" (Loch 1938:101).

Neither were the Napo Runa readily available to accompany voyagers on explorations considered dangerous or merely *upa* (in Quichua, "foolish," "utterly silly"), as Sinclair and Loch were able to experience in their attempts to secure Indian guides to climb Mount Sumaco and the

Llanganates Mountains. Once on the way, it was the traveler who generally had to conform to the Indians' pace, as described by Holloway.

> The Indians dislike departing from custom as regards routes and the time to be taken on it. . . . From each settlement they have an identified point to which they will journey; beyond they will not go, and someone has to secure a new set of carriers or canoemen every few days, a matter which at best is difficult, and at the worst, practically impossible. They object to time being spent on the way in excess of the usual amount necessary, and their method of showing dissatisfaction is to disappear in the night, leaving the traveler stranded with his equipment. (Holloway 1932:415)

Even when the traveler was finally able to engage his bearers, he had to wait until they fitted themselves out appropriately for the trip. For the most part, this operation consisted of preparing the *asua maitu* or packages of fermented manioc wrapped up in special leaves (*maitu panga*), which the Napo Runa would leave hidden along the way, at already estimated spacing of days' journeys, to be used, above all, during the return trip as the only way to palliate hunger. To the Britisher Simson, this custom suggests a rather sympathetic comparative observation on cultural food habits:

> The food on the voyage consists principally of *chicha*, of which a large supply is taken in baskets, having first been enveloped in plantain leaves. A portion of the supply is buried on the way down the river, for use on the return journey, when the *chicha* is dug out of its hiding place, only too often to be found in a state of decomposition, like some of our fargone Stilton cheeses; nevertheless the food, as with us, is not disdained on that account. In the one case, our feelings are of repulsion, but in the other of fondness for the musty decomposing cheese. *Such is the perfect balance of the unprejudiced and civilized sense*! (Simson 1886:160; emphasis added)

According to Villavicencio, the hunger experienced by the Napo Runa on the return journey justified the pilfering of food supplies or the abandonment of the baggage. "When they are reprimanded for stealing foodstuffs, they curtly answer, 'I was hungry,' and it is a waste of time to get into a discussion with them" (Villavicencio 1984:391).

With respect to payment conditions, the bearers insisted on being paid in advance and by journey, instead of by the number of days involved (Holloway 1932:415). The amount depended on the distance to be trav-

eled and the size of the loads. Most of the Indians were paid in rough cotton cloth manufactured in the Sierra. According to Orton (1876:176), this kind of cloth (*liencillo*), was currency, more valued than gold and silver for the Indians of the Napo. Even in the nineteenth century, however, the Archidonas demanded to be paid in cash. As explained by Rucuyaya Alonso, "Only those who carried their load had money and clothing, the others were called 'lazy' and 'idle'," a social stigma among the Napo Runa of that time. Villavicencio (1984:390) mentions that from Quito they were paid at the rate of eight reales (1 real = 10 cents) per arroba of load, and that with this money they purchased rough cotton cloth, tools, bread, and especially liquor.

For the longest trips to the Marañón, from Puerto Napo to Santa Rosa, the canoeists and bearers were paid in cotton cloth. Orton (1876:200) states that in 1867 the price of that trip was 25 varas (1 vara = between 31 and 34 inches) of rough cotton cloth per Indian; and Simson (1886:161) said that, in 1875, the same trip cost from 30 to 40 varas of that material. Villavicencio (1984:396) mentions 40 varas for a round trip to the Marañón, and suggests that it was unnecessary to take any provisions, because fishing and hunting were abundant on the Napo River, and the Indians were under the obligation of providing fish and game. But the provisions thus acquired also had an exchange price. Simson (1886:118) mentions, for example, that four large fishes were exchanged for one small fishhook, eight eggs or half a peccary for two small balls of sewing thread, and one tapir for two varas of cloth.

It is evident, contrary to what several other sources assure us, that possibly in the nineteenth century, but certainly by the early twentieth century, the Napo Runa had a clear awareness of the prices and shifts in exchange values, and demanded that these be strictly met. The sources presented here also confirm that, despite any excesses or abuses that may have taken place, the Napo Runa had a certain degree of control over the fairness of their labor conditions during those trips. Moreover, they usually obtained further advantages from such trips, including important social and economic exchanges with other Napo Runa or members of several other Indian groups (see Oberem 1974).

Generally speaking, and as we already have been able to establish with respect to foreign travelers, the trip from Quito to Archidona was hard, taxing, and often, dangerous. It was even more so for the bearers. Cáceres, a Jesuit priest who visited the Oriente in 1891, tells us that the continued trips sapped the strength of the Archidonas, "since robust youths return to their *tambus* as bony as skeletons and have to rest for several weeks" (Cáceres 1892:27). The bearer almost never went alone, but was accompanied by his wife or, more frequently, by a son, to lighten his burden. According to Rucuyaya Alonso this helper was called *"alquilón"*

(literally, hireling). In 1985, Vicente Andi (Mishquilogro) described to me his experiences as a bearer.

> We went to Quito only on foot. Already as a small child, I was taken to Quito and spent three days there. I also came back on foot. My legs hurt very much and I cried a lot, because they were numb, and my father beat them with a nettle plant so that I would go on. When I came home I spent two days ill in bed, and after one month, when I got better, I went off again. There was a "gringo" who lived in Dos Ríos; we took him to Quito. Once, since I couldn't go on any longer, I dropped him off in Quijos. Now that there are roads, I don't travel any more.

All these sufferings notwithstanding, it is obvious that the elders who worked as bearers are able to establish what—in paraphrasing Simson (1886)—we could say is the perfect balance of an unprejudiced and civilized judgment, regarding the interesting adventures and fruitful experiences accumulated in their innumerable journeys. To conclude these observations on the forest travelers, I quote a statement made in 1986 by Francisca Andi, the daughter of a famous Indian bearer, who compared those old time Napo Runa (*rucuyayas*) with the present generation:

> The rucuyayas were intelligent and wore their pants strongly fastened with a strap, not like men now. Nowadays, they are so ordinary that they make me laugh. The old folks travelled to Quito. Those were strong men; not like men now, who wear their pants fastened with a little button: these are worth nothing, they are weak. The old folks bravely suffered the punishment with red peppers; they bathed at dawn in freezing waters; even when they returned from Quito carrying heavy loads, they entered town playing the flute and singing, announcing their arrival to the women. This is how they sang:
>
> > Woman, I'm coming
> > I'm coming to my children,
> > right now, I'm coming to town
> > I come conquering Mount Huamaní,
> > I come conquering the frozen lands,
> > The whites will never conquer me.
>
> Today everyone travels by car. When I go through those places, I remember my father. He traversed rivers and hills, without shoes, without warm clothes, and in short pants.

> When my grandfather died, my father replaced him. He would always go to the Government House where he talked about our problems. Everytime the authorities did something bad here, the rucuyayas went to complain there. I think that they must have been swift like deer and strong as pumas.

Such are the Napo Runa whom this book addresses.

# 2

# Ethnicity, Language, Culture

In the ethnohistorical and ethnographic literature, all the Indians of Tena-Archidona, along with those who currently live in the areas around the towns of Avila, Loreto, and San José de Payamino have been referred to as "Quijos Quichua" (see Oberem 1963; Whitten 1975; Macdonald 1979, among others). This denomination is used primarily to distinguish all the Napo Quichua from the Canelos Quichua who live in what is now Pastaza Province. Although they share many cultural characteristics with other Oriente Quichua, the Canelos are distinct in the sense that they also participate in significant ways—including marriage and bilingualism—in Achuar Jivaroan and various Zaparoan cultures (Whitten 1976:3–8, 1981b:128–129, 1985:75–78). All the groups speak the Quichua of the Ecuadorian Oriente, which has been classified by Carolyn Orr and Betsy Wrisley (1965:iii) into three main dialects: "Bobonaza," spoken along the Puyo and Bobonaza rivers; "Tena," spoken in the upper Napo region centered around Tena, Arajuno and Ahuano; and "Limoncocha," spoken by the people of the middle and lower Napo. According to this classification, all the indigenous people of the Tena-Archidona area speak the Tena dialect, but make some minor distinctions among subgroups. Thus, the Panos like to differentiate their own manner of speaking—in intonation and vocabulary—from that of the Archidonas whom they call "Archiruna," while, according to Irvine (1987:52), all speakers of the Tena dialect are referred to by other Quichua-speakers as "Archiruna."

The sixteenth-century chronicles and other ethnohistorical documentation provide ample evidence of the existence of a multitude of different ethnic and language groups in the Tena-Archidona and Quijos area prior to the Spanish conquest. As the language of Inca imperial expansion, Quichua spread from Cuzco into what is now Ecuador although, as

Whitten has argued consistently (1976:3–8, 1981a:126–128; see also Whitten and Whitten 1988:14), Quichua probably was already spreading in the Ecuadorian Oriente before the Inca conquest. In a recent article, Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer (1988:297), arguing against the "one-language-one-culture" hypothesis, and specifically against the assumption that Quichua spread through the highlands with Inca conquest, state that Quichua may have begun its spread much earlier, around A.D. 800, from a locus in southern Peru. Louisa Stark (1985:181) agrees that Quichua was spoken in the Ecuadorian Oriente long before the arrival of the Spaniards, and adds that beyond this, there were probably migrations by highland Quichua speakers who fled to the lowlands to escape from exploitation in highland haciendas. The Incas themselves entered the region east of the Andes on several occasions, although they never incorporated it into their empire (Oberem 1980:50–54). Toribio de Ortiguera (1909) mentions that in one of those expeditions, the Inca Huaina Capac took with him to Quito and then to Cuzco eight Indian caciques and at least thirty members of their retinue so that they would learn Quichua. From Ortiguera's description of the manner and dress of these Indians, Oberem (1980:53, 1981b) argues that the majority of them were probably Omaguas living along the Napo, but that there also were some Quijos Indians among them. The original language of the Quijos is unrecorded (Loutkotka 1968:249; Sweet 1969) and Ortiguera (1909) only mentions the word *pende* as a Quijos term for shaman. But all the evidence shows that the Quijos language was only one among many others spoken in that area. Besides, Oberem (1974) has documented the intense trade relations that existed between the Indians of the northern Quijos region and the Sierra. Based on that evidence he argues for the existence of Quichua as a trade language prior to the Spanish conquest, so that at least several Quijos traders might have conducted their commercial transactions in Quichua (Oberem 1980:314).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Quichua was already the lingua franca among the various groups inhabiting this area, but various original languages were still spoken. In his description of the Province of Quijos in 1608, Lemus y de Andrade (1965:78) states, "The general language of the Inga is current in this Province, and other different mother tongues are spoken, in one of which *conceto* is the term for heart." Nearly one and a half centuries later, in 1754, the governor of Quijos, Juan Basabe y Urquieta said in reference to this region: "Everyone speaks the general language of the Inga, in which they are taught the Christian doctrine, although they have other several languages according to the nation whence then came, but those are only spoken amongst themselves" (Basabe y Urquieta 1905:106). Concerning the ethnic groups of the Tena-Archidona area, Oberem (1980:313) cites Hervas' *Catalogo delle Lingue . . .* of 1784, in which he mentions an already extinct "Archidona language" and another

called Napotoa, still spoken at that time, although, of course, the identification of this group as "Archidonas" does not tell us anything specific about their proper ethnic origin.

Throughout the period of their first missionary efforts from 1660 to 1768, the Jesuits were instrumental in establishing Quichua as a lingua franca among the different indigenous groups under their influence. They not only brought highland Quicha speakers (see Steward 1963:512), but, faced with the "multitude and diversity of languages," they also brought to their most important missionary centers young men of different ethnic groups. There, they trained them as interpreters in their own language or in Quichua, and later used them to evangelize other groups (Jouanen 1941–1943:404–405). One of these schools was located in Archidona, which also comprised the dependent districts of Tena and Puerto Napo (Jouanen 1941–1943:348, 450); and it is possible that some of the native interpreters brought to this zone stayed there (see Oberem 1980:41). Jouanen notes that around 1660, the groups living near Archidona were the Oas, Zaparo, Encabellados (Siona-Secoya), and others whose origin he does not mention. Some of them, as was the case with the Oas, were moved by the Jesuits to Ansupi and Santa Rosa (Jouanen 1941–1943:436, 438). From Francisco de Figueroa (1986:236, 238) we learn that seven families of Coronados took refuge from their enemies, the Gayes, with their Oas "kinsmen," also known as Oaquis or Decaguas, who were living "in peace" in the jurisdiction of Archidona and Quijos. Moreover, towards the late eighteenth century, the shortage of native labor led the *encomenderos* to take alien Indians to the Quijos region. Sometimes, there were entire families of "savage Indians" enslaved during raids, carried there by the Spaniards or by other Indians (Oberem 1980:99–100). All this evidence on language corroborates for the Tena-Archidona region what has already been demonstrated for other areas of the Northwest Amazon (see Sorensen 1967; Jackson 1974): their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic complexity.

In the last fifteen years, a significant number of ethnographies have provided ample evidence of the richness, sophistication, and current dynamism of Oriente Quichua culture: for the Canelos (Whitten 1976, 1985), for the Quichua of the Arajuno (Macdonald 1979), of Avila and Loreto (Hudelson 1981), of the Curaray (Reeve 1985), and of San José de Payamino (Irvine 1987). Oberem's ethnohistorical and ethnographic work (1980) includes the Quichua from Avila, Loreto, Tena, and Archidona in one single group that he calls Quijos. The findings of that extensive research show that all Oriente Quichua share a substantial number of cultural features, the most important of which is their early and complex adaptation to the tropical forest environment. The early ethnohistorical documentation and Napo Runa oral tradition also give testimony of their unquestionable Amazonian identity.

## Two Histories

### *The Written Record*

Diego de Ortegón's report on his visit to Baeza, Avila, and Archidona in 1557 is the only ethnographic description of this region that we have as yet for that early period. In that report, Ortegón clearly established a difference between the Avila and Baeza Indians and those living in a territory known as Los Algodonales, located southeast of those towns, and where Archidona had been founded in "very warm" cotton-growing lands. The natives of Archidona are described as follows:

> and the natives who live there go about stark naked, wearing no clothes of any kind, excepting for the women who wrap around their waists a piece of cloth hanging down to their knees, with which they cover themselves, while the men tie a string around their virile members to their bodies as a sword belt and sleep on the ground on top of a few tree leaves. The houses are like those of Baeza, except that the roofing is palm leaved and is long lasting. (Ortegón 1973:23)

The report also tells us that they ate tapirs, birds, monkeys, and other jungle animals without salt; that they hunted with blowguns, and fished with *barbasco* (fish poison); that they ate roasted manioc with which they prepared a wine and also manioc bread, called *cacabi*; that they washed for gold and had foundries—hidden from the Spaniards—where they made jewels to adorn their breasts, arms, and noses (Ortegón 1973:24). Furthermore, according to Ortegon's description, the Indians of the Avila and Baeza regions shared a number of cultural traits more typical of the Sierra, such as the use and growing of potatoes, the preparation of corn chicha, the chewing of coca leaves and their use for divination, the wearing of wraparounds (*mantas*) by women and men, marketplaces at the major villages, a sort of currency made of bone beads, slaves, and chieftains who exercised great political power (Ortegón 1973:13–16).

On the basis of this evidence, Steward and Metraux (1963:652–653) suggest that the Indians sharing this culture, that is, the Quijos, may have been a Chibcha tribe of highland origin who emigrated to the rain forest and adapted certain of their cultural traits to the jungle particularly in the economic aspects.[1] The problem is that, except for the preparation of manioc *chicha* and the fact that they ate tapir and monkey, very few of the cultural features described by Ortegón for the Avila and Baeza Indians actually pertain to a jungle environment. The characteristics considered by Steward and Metraux (1963:652) to be "typically jungle" ones for the

Quijos in general, appear in Ortegón's account, but are more clearly related to the Archidona Indians.

What may be concluded from Ortegón's report is that, in the sixteenth century, the Indians of the Baeza and Avila regions showed a clear economic and cultural orientation toward the Highlands. As suggested by Hudelson (1981:238), they probably made use of several ecological layers, because manioc does not grow in the climate and altitude of Baeza (2,000 meters) and it would hardly be possible to grow potatoes in Avila (elevation 500 meters). Besides, with their trading and markets, these Indians could have had access to other products that they did not produce (see Oberem 1974).[2] In contrast, the Indians of the Archidona area seem to have had a much more clearly defined tropical forest culture. It is difficult to accept that Indians who at that time had different material culres, clothing,[3] and social organizations, and possibly spoke different languages, could have belonged to the same ethnic group or "tribe" (Fig. 6). All references seem to indicate that the Archidonas were an ethnic group separate from that of Baeza and Avila—who should properly be considered Quijos.

Even so, with currently available information, it is difficult to accurately define the Archidonas' ethnic origin. Magnin (1940:160–161), who described the Archidonas as one of the "principal nations," together with the Maynas, Cocamas, Xeberos, Andoas, Xíbaros, and others, also mentions that these nations were divided into *parcialidades* (parties or subgroups) "subject to their chieftains or curacas." Among these parcialidades from the Napo to the Putumayo, he mentions the Yarusunos of Archidona, the Tenas and the Napos. Figueroa (1986:238) also mentions the "Yarusunes" as one of the Napo groups.

It must be clarified, however, that although the Quijos and Archidonas may have belonged to different ethnolinguistic groups, this was not in itself an impediment to their joining together in warrior confederations against common enemies, as they did on several occasions against the Spaniards. Of those, the 1578–1579 rebellion was the most extensive. It included alliances not only between Quijos and Archidonas, but also incorporated more distant groups such as the Omaguas—a group living east of the Quijos region (Oberem 1981b:361–63)—and important Indian leaders from the Province of Quito. We learn from the chronicles of Toribio de Ortiguera that this rebellion was started by two powerful shamans or *pendes*, who controlled a large number of Indians, including those subject to encomiendas. The shaman known as Beto was part of the encomienda of Diego de Montalbán, an inhabitant of Archidona, and Guami was from the encomienda of Díaz de Pinera, a resident of Avila. They were joined by another shaman named Imbate, of whom it was said that he "could give life and take it from anyone he wished." After contending for leadership by "casting lots according to the order which they

usually follow in their witchcraft," these shamans sent messengers to Jumandi, a powerful chief of the Sumaco valley region, asking him to join the rebellion with his people (Ortiguera 1909:407–409). It is impossible to infer from Ortiguera's description further cultural distinctions among the Indians who took part in the rebellion, but we may conclude that they all shared at least one very significant cultural characteristic: the social and symbolic leadership of shamans, who competed with each other for political power, using shamanic means and strategies, and who could exercise control and command over "their" groups in critical situations. This is a characteristic that prevailed among these groups for several centuries.

## *Centuries of Simplification*

After the harsh repression that followed the 1578–1579 rebellion, the conditions of the Indians deteriorated substantially. Flight into the forest became the only form of effective resistance, and many Indians took this road.[4] This, plus the deaths caused by the insurrections, epidemics, or mistreatment at the hands of the encomenderos, were instrumental in significantly reducing the native population in the Tena-Archidona area. In 1577, Ortegon (1973:26) mentions a total population of 2,376 for Archidona: 871 were tributary Indians distributed among ten encomenderos; 815 were young men and women; and 690 were married women. By 1608, that population had dwindled to 237 Indians within the city's jurisdiction, distributed among seven encomenderos (Lemus 1965:83). Lemus (1965:77–78) estimates that, for the entire Governorship of Quijos, the population had decreased from the original 30,000 in 1559, to 2,829 persons in 1608.[5]

In the eighteenth century, the situation continued to worsen. In 1724, mention is made of the existence of ten encomenderos with from ten to thirty Indians for the entire governorship of Quijos (Oberem 1980:43, 105), while one and a half centuries before there had been ten encomenderos in Archidona alone. It is clear that the decreasing numbers of tributaries led many encomenderos to abandon the region. The already impoverished few who stayed further abused the Indians under their control, thus becoming a strong obstacle to the protectionist strategies of the Jesuit missionaries who took charge of the Archidona parish from 1660–1661 until 1674, and from 1708 until their expulsion in 1768, a total of seventy-three years (see Muratorio 1982:43–69).

The reducciones, which were organized for the purpose of Christian indoctrination, concentrated large numbers of people, and became one of the major foci for the spread of diseases and epidemics and were, therefore, opposed by the Indians and also abandoned by them, since the missionaries often forced the Indians to live side by side with ethnic groups of different languages and customs (see Steward 1963:512).

For all of the reasons mentioned, the Indians of the Quijos area sought refuge in areas of the Oriente that were not as yet so beset by the Spaniards. Thus, in 1737, a group of Quichua went south, into the Canelos area on the banks of the Bobonaza River, while others fled to the north toward the San Miguel and Aguarico rivers, and still others ran to the west toward the Cosanga River (Oberem 1980:104). In his report to the Bishop of Quito in 1745, a priest reported a population of 1,104 Indians for Archidona, San Juan de Tena, and Puerto Napo (see table in Oberem 1980:44). Basabe y Urquieta (1905:102–103) reported a smaller number of 642 individuals for these same towns in 1754. In 1805, Governor Melo de Portugal (1905:167) recorded only 239 tributaries: 135 Archidonas, 6 Tenas, and 98 Napos. During his Holy General Visit in 1908, Sánchez Rangel, Bishop of Maynas, found the natives of the Quijos region, "in like or worse conditions of rusticity and abandonment as when they were conquered" (Sánchez Rangel 1905b:25), and in a census undertaken in 1814, he recorded a population of 1,040 Indians between Archidona and Puerto Napo (Sánchez Rangel 1905a:45).

In the early nineteenth century, Portuguese raids, Spanish abuses, and deadly epidemics, particularly of smallpox and measles, had already succeeded in wiping out many of the ethnic groups of the Upper Amazon, while others had been substantially diminished (see Sweet 1969). In conclusion, it may be said that the process of conquest and initial evangelization brought about an "ethnocidal simplification" of the Amazon's rich ethnic variety. The consequences of this process in the Tena-Archidona area, became evident in the widespread Christianization of the Indians—no matter how superficial it may have been—and in their complete Quichuanization. But the nineteenth century also marks the time when the Napo Runa recovered and increased their population, despite the continuing epidemics that afflicted the Oriente Indians well into the twentieth century.[6]

## *Callari Tiempu: The Oral Record*

The Napo Runa[7] locate the history of their own origins in *callari tiempu* (from the Quichua verb *callarina*, to begin), a time frame that covers historical events or facts, but also includes incidents or experiences occurring with the intervention of supernatural forces. Thus, historical time is intertwined with a mythical time, in which the Runa spoke the same language as the animals and had a closer relationship with nature that allowed human beings to turn into plants and animals, and the latter to participate actively in the world of the Runa.

Presented here is one of the most complete versions of this history, narrating the origin of the Runa and also of other groups that will be

identified below. It was told to me by Francisca Andi in 1985 (see also Rucuyaya Alonso's narrative in chapter 3, pp. 50–53).

> In callari tiempu there were several *muntun* with quite a large number of members who were continuously fighting and killing each other. One day, one of those muntun decided to accept baptism and eat salt and thus become "Runa"; a second muntun refused to eat salt, was converted into *auca* and hid in the forest. Lastly, a third muntun called "Curista" rejected baptism and escaped to a high hill. When they were being pursued, the Curista pushed large logs down from that hill so that they would not be caught. On one occasion, they themselves turned into logs and rolled down and down, killing the people who tried to capture them.[8] When the Runa made trips to Quito, the Curista left feather shafts filled with gold dust, well hidden in certain points of the road. In exchange, they wanted the Runa to buy for them the cotton cloth they used for male and female clothing. On returning to Quito, the Runa found *maitu* (bundles) of jungle game at the foot of a tree and they had to leave the cotton cloth right there. The Curista were never seen but were always heard whistling. All the rucuyayas [elders] talked about them because they were almost like the Runa. They lived at the source of the Pucayayu River and along the Quijos and Bermejo rivers. Downstream, on the Quijos River, the drums played by the Curista during their celebrations were heard all night long until dawn. The Zaparo were auca who knew Quichua, and further down, the Macas and Achuar were auca with different surnames, just as we are called Panos, Talags or Uchuculins. Now all the Auca [meaning the Huaorani] have become Christians and visit with the Runa.

Except for the Curista, all the other ethnic groups mentioned in this story exist today and are easily identifiable as Huaorani (Auca), Zaparo, Shuar (Macas), Achuar, and Runa (Quichua). It may quite certainly be said that the Curista (from the Quichua *curi*, gold) are the same group as the "Curizetas" mentioned by Maroni in 1738 (1889:113), as having fled from the encomiendas of Puerto Napo to the headwaters of the Cosanga River. Villavicencio notes the existence of an oral tradition of the Ansupi (Ansu) River Runa in 1850, referring to a "tribe of Indians" called "Crucitos," who lived in the headwaters of that river, and of whom it was said that: "the gold fishhooks found in the flowing streams are those lost by the Crucitos when they fish" (Villavicencio 1984:78).

In 1935, Erskine Loch, a British officer, explorer, and miner who went

on an expedition to the Oriente "in search of the Zaparo and Ssabela" (the latter one of the names by which the Huaorani Indians were known [Stark 1985:171; Whitten 1981a:136]), found that the Zaparo had almost disappeared, despite having been a "prosperous and large tribe," only a few years before. As is usual with them, the "Ssabela," "Auca," or Huaorani turned into "ghost Indians" for Loch: all of his informants told him of their existence, but he never managed to find them. For our purposes, it is more interesting that Loch writes in his travel log his recollections of having heard about a rather large "tribe" called "Crucitas," that had lived northeast on the Napo River only a few years before, but had already disappeared. According to Loch, the Crucitas wore cleverly designed ankle-long shirts; they were kindly and had no masters, and panned gold, which they regularly sold or exchanged for other goods in Puerto Napo, until they suddenly disappeared and were never seen again. When a mine prospector went through the area where they supposedly lived, he found only houses in ruins that were already overgrown by the jungle. Loch speculates that the Crucitas may have fled or perished owing to some epidemic, but also mentions that it was believed by some that these Indians had fled to the Highlands, to a large hacienda, east of the more populated páramos. According to this belief, the Crucitas, accused of being cattle rustlers, had been chased after again, but never found, though their trackers saw fresh meat still drying on grills of a kind used only in the Oriente, very different from that used by the Sierra Indians (Loch 1938:53–54).

Even though we find four versions of the names referring to these Indians—Curista, Curizetas, Crucitos, and Crucitas—all are sufficiently similar to suggest that the group is one and the same.[9] This assumption is further corroborated by the clear coincidences in the data about this group, provided by the various oral traditions throughout three centuries, especially regarding places of origin and migrations, the fact that they panned and exchanged gold, and that they had been unsuccessfully pursued by people alien to the group.

The region where the town of Archidona is presently located is the place of origin of all the native people now living in Tena, Pano, Shandia, Talag, Chambira, and other small settlements in the Tena-Archidona area. Overall evidence shows that the Archidona region was originally a site that concentrated large numbers of people, and where different muntun frequently came into conflict, very likely because of disputes over access to hunting, fishing, and areas for cultivation. Villavicencio (1984:387) reported that in 1854, hunting was scarce in the settlements of Archidona, Napo, Napotoa, and Santa Rosa, and that the natives raised chickens and pigs brought from Quito for fattening. We know, however, that at that time and at least one hundred years before, chickens were not raised for

self-consumption but rather to offer as *camaricos* (mandatory gifts) or for sale to the whites (see Basabe y Urquieta 1905:103). This demographic concentration over waning resources was an important reason for the factionalism within the muntun and for migrations, first to the sites of the present-day towns of Tena and Pano, and from there to the other settlements.

**PANORUNA: THE ORIGIN OF THE PANOS**

The origin of the Panos in the Archidona region was confirmed by all informants, including Rucuyaya Alonso (see chapter 3, pp. 50–53). Here is the most detailed version of this oral tradition, provided to me by Francisca Andi in 1985.

> The Panos came from a place called "Cedrosiqui" (the bottom part of the cedar), now known as "Rucullacta" (ancient village), while looking for animals and fish. In Cedrosiqui fighting was going on among brothers, most of all during the feasts. That is why some left and went to live in other places. Three Andi brothers from "Tabagu singa" *partihua* (party) went hunting one day taking their dogs with them. Because of the dogs that were following a *sachahuagra* (tapir), they came here from Archidona (the point where the Pano and Tena rivers meet; now in the city of Tena). The animal was stuck in the mud and they were worried about how they would pull it out once it was dead. Then, they defecated in the river, and as the excrement went floating down, so did the animal. They tied him to the bank, chopped him up, and filled an *ashanga* (basket). They later realized that there were many *bocachicos*, *cicles* and *shios* (types of fish) in the river. The fish were like *guadua* (a variety of bamboo) leaves in the water. There was also a lot of *pindo* (a type of reed), and seeing all this, the brothers said: "this is a nice land, it's all flat, we must come back here to look for food." Meanwhile, they built a little house and went to get the women; others from Archidona asked permission to follow them, and the brothers said: "Let's go." Then the women made small chagra and the men built better houses. This is how the Shiguango and Tapuys also came. Some came asking for women, and became sons-in-law after hearing from their future brothers-in-law that the hunting here was good. It was only later that they began to build the house for the Political Lieutenant, which was known before as "City Hall," and then the convent for the Fathers [missionaries]. My grandfather went off to carry back here those who were going to be the authorities. My father said that this was how the Runa began the town of Tena; it was founded by the Panoyaya. After that, the Runa began to live on the banks of

> the Pano River. We must remember that formerly, land was not taken individually. This is why entire families came, and some went as far away as the sources of the Pano.

To locate this narration with the accuracy required by our historical time, we must refer to nineteenth-century chroniclers and travelers. Cáceres, a Jesuit who visited this area in 1891, had this to say regarding the place of origin the Runa called Cedrosiqui: "Some four kilometers before Archidona lies Mundayacu, the site of the former Archidona, and two kilometers later a *bushy tree*, which the Indians point out as the site of the second Archidona (Rucullacta), until one fourth century ago. No traces of it remain." (Cáceres 1892:16, emphasis is mine). The first Archidona was moved further south in 1754, and built in a place called Rucullacta by the Jesuit Father Juan Narvaez; it was later transfered to the south by the Jesuits (Cáceres 1892:24).

With regard to Tena, Wiener, who visited it in 1880, noted that prior to being the seat of the second Jesuit Mission in 1870, Tena was a "village of savages" with its hamlets along the banks of the Tena River. He added with a certain touch of humor: "A Spaniard never would have chosen this very appropriate site" (Wiener 1883:244). Cáceres already described Tena as the seat "of the best Mission House," with a "very lovely altar" and a school, all of them built by the Indians. At that time, they made up some 200 families distributed into nine "parties" or "captaincies," on the margins of the Misahuallí, Pano, and Tena rivers and their small tributaries (Cáceres 1892:28).

The different muntun, or kinship groups, were sometimes known under the nickname of the eldest or most prestigious person in the group, for example, *Tabacu singa muntun*, or *Bandio muntun*. A group of families descending from the same muntun lived in houses located at relatively short distances from each other, forming a hamlet. We know that the Spaniards called the latter *parcialidades* (Lemus y de Andrade 1965:84) or parties, a name that the natives converted into *partihua*. There is some confusion in historical sources with respect to the size of these subdivisions, possibly because the "party" was always undergoing changes, owing to deaths caused by epidemics and to the number of Indians fleeing into the forest. In addition, the names of such parcialidades sometimes indicates the place or geographical position, the nickname or last name of the "chief" or "captain," or a characteristic of the group as such. The Indians themselves are not very clear either regarding the origin of the names of these parcialidades. We do know that they continued to be used as administrative units by the state since independence, however, and that native authorities were designated in each one to facilitate access to the labor of those who resided in that jurisdiction. The party system disappeared in the 1940s. At present, the term "muntun" is used to designate a kinship

group (e.g. Bandio muntun) as well as a subgroup of Runa (e.g. Pano muntun). The Tabacu-singa party mentioned in the history of the Panos' origin appears in several official documents dating back to the beginning of this century (AGN); and Rucullacta, the place which they claim to have come from, appears in these very documents as forming part of the Tabacu-singa party.

## Intergroup Relationships

It is evident that, on separating into different settlements along the Upper Napo and its tributaries, the different muntun came to acquire certain distinctive cultural and linguistic patterns, and began to develop stereotypes about themselves and about the psychosocial and cultural features of the other muntun. Competition and enmities emerged amongst them, some of which remain to the present day, although they never became violent in nature (see Rucuyaya Alonso, chapter 3, pp. 52–53). Villavicencio noted that in 1858 the Indians respected partihua boundaries, not only in their villages but also within the church, and that there were always rivalries among them. For example, if one of the partihua families failed to attend the compulsory doctrina they would keep the secret within it, but that same partihua would be willing to report it immediately to the priest if members of another partihua infringed the rules in a like manner. When the Jesuits returned to Tena in 1870, they found that the Indians there refused to form one village with those from Archidona, and Jouanen (1977:37, 105) remarked that this could have been implemented only by force.

Such hostilities among groups seems to have been the pattern throughout the region. Almagro, a member of a Spanish exploratory mission noted them among the Ahuanos and Loretos. Though the former were excellent oarsmen and the latter very good hunters, Almagro (1866:131–132) had to intimidate both of them with his weapon to succeed in having one Ahuano and one Loreto travel in the same canoe. Even though Wiener called both groups by the name "Yumbos," he observed that the Tenas were different from the Archidonas, and described the former as "more 'savage'; have better maintained their frank and natural presence. The women do not hasten to approach the whites and the men do not show that unpleasant humility of submissive natives. . . . They wear in their ears little reeds, the tips of which are richly adorned with toucan feathers. The rest of their attire is similar to that of the Archidona Yumbos" (Wiener 1883:244–245).

Back then, the Napo Runa made distinctions that were even more marked with respect to other native groups. In the mid-nineteenth century the Zaparo, for example, still comprised a large group and some of

them were neighbors of the Napo Quichua, since some of them were established from the southern banks of the Napo to the Pastaza River (Villavicencio 1984:359, 413). The Zaparo spoke a language different from Quichua, some of them wore shirts made of bark cloth (*llanchama*), used *chonta* (hard palm) spears (Jameson 1858:343–344), ate without salt, and practised polygyny (Dolby Tyler 1894:480), all features that the Runa considered to be distinctive of the auca. What Rucuyaya Alonso says to have heard from his forefathers, and what he relates from his own experience, is that not only the Zaparo but also the Puyu Runa (Quichua from the Puyo region) were considered auca, because according to him, "they had several wives and killed readily." As for the Huaorani, they were known only by the name of Auca and its variations, such as Puca chaqui Auca or Llushti Auca, alluding respectively to their red-painted feet or to their nakedness. That nakedness and the fact that they attacked the Runa turned them into the prototypical auca. The "bad reputation" of the Huaorani among the Quichua may find a partial explanation in that, unlike the Shuar's intragroup wars that took place on the basis of a shared culture and in a rigorous order of ranking vis-à-vis the adversaries (Taylor 1985a), the Huaorani attacks against the Quichua were, from the latter's point of view, completely uncalled for and culturally incomprehensible. At that time, the Quichua had neither social nor linguistic ties with the Huaorani and were unfamiliar with their culture, so they were unable to anticipate Huaorani behavior.

The whites frequently took personal advantage of the differences and hostilities existing among the groups, and helped to exacerbate them. Villavicencio reports on the use of the Zaparo—who reputedly were brave and had powerful shamans among them—by white patrons to terrorize and capture runaway Runa who, trying to escape from their masters' abusive treatment, had gone into the forest. Excluding this situation prompted by the whites, the Zaparo and Runa maintained relatively good mutual social relations and trade (Villavicencio 1984:375–376). On this same point, Lagerda, informant to Avendaño, remarks about his Oriente experiences in the mid-nineteenth century: "Strangely enough, when they are not authorized to do so by the few whites who go to the Napo, the Zaparo never mistreat them (the Quichua)" (Avendaño 1985:153). According to Simson (1886:169), whenever the Napos ran into the Zaparo, they ignored each other, and the Napos did not offer them chicha. That is, the Zaparo were denied the most important courtesy of social recognition among the Quichua.

Within the elders' memory, marriages in the Tena-Archidona area were endogamous, but there is evidence of marriages between natives of that area and Canelos Quichua as well as Zaparo from the Curaray (Whitten 1976:8, 135, 205; Reeve 1985:94; my field notes, 1982). It is understandable that the Napo Runa, who had fled from their region of origin for a number

of reasons, would have found refuge and established marriage alliances in zones already occupied by other Quichua-speaking peoples.

By the late nineteenth century, Cáceres found that the Tena Indians had improved from their former "ill temper," and were "more intelligent" and "likeable" than those of Archidona or Puerto Napo. He explained that these differences were accounted for by the fact that the latter two groups suffered more directly from the mistreatments and abuses inflicted on the Indians by the whites (Cáceres 1892:27–29). Later on in this century, these perceptive distinctions disappeared from the reports and narrations of foreign and Ecuadorian travelers passing through Tena-Archidona. Since the early 1900s, the Indians of this region were massively categorized with no subtlety as "semi-civilized and semi-Christianized Yumbos" to contrast them with the rest of the Oriente "savages." Indifferent to their being thus characterized by the whites, the Runa continued to expand along the Napo River, proudly distinguishing themselves from the Ahuallacta (Highlanders) and also from the Auca.

# 3

# *Family and Youth*

Cutuyaya was my great grandfather and then came grandfather Gabriel Andi, nicknamed Guarapu. The other sons were Merca, Calixto, and Ollachi, and the women were Iñuca, Ahuaco, and Sebastiana. Our family began with Gabriel Andi. All the first borns are males. Cutu's son is Gabriel Andi; Gabriel's son is Lucas Andi (Anguchaqui). I am Lucas's son and my name is Alonso Andi, nicknamed Bandio. My son is Francisco Andi (Guamundi), and Francisco's son is Arturo. All of Gabriel's sons are Lucas Andi (Anguchaqui), Robero, Nayupi, and Silverio (Shilvi); and the daughters are Teresa, Sebastiana, and Beatriz. All of Lucas Andi's children are first, Alonso, then Camilo, Enriqueta, Jacinta (Shashicu), Ventura, Angelina, and César. My children are first, Francisco, then some died, and later, Juanita, Camilo, Luis, Elvira, Pablo, and that's all (Figs. 7 and 8).

They all lived where the Pano mission is now. A long time ago Guarapu lived there, and then they wandered through many places. The elders are buried in Macpila. Cutu and Guarapu are also buried there. They all used to live in Solimayacu, which was a kind of station where they stayed to go on to work in Tena. I am sure that at the beginning they all came from Archidona to the Pano River, looking for fishing and hunting. I have forgotten their names, but they were all Andis. To get money they lived only by carrying loads. Working like this we made eight reales; we carried a large basket (*zaparo*) for eight reales, but it was chock-full. Our home, however, was on the land. We always ate only wild game and fish. During the day we took a dog and a shotgun and would find all kinds of wild animals.

Cedroyacu is the same thing as Rucullacta, the old Archidona; we came

from there. A man called Nicolás, Basilio Andi's father, would tell that there used to be a lot of game and fishing by the Pano River. The elders are the old folks who came from Archidona including my father's grandparents. I did know them, and they assured me that they had come from Archidona and that they spread out from there in all directions. After the Andis, others came bearing other surnames, but the first ones who came were the Andis. I remember that among them there was a small, very old man who couldn't walk any more, he fell and died in the forest; he was a *yachaj* (shaman). Nicolás was also a yachaj. Paqui, Venancio Andi's father, also came with them. In total, there was Nicolás, another who was called Umasapa and Anguchaqui's father, Guarapu. These three were brothers. There is also a group descended from Milicuchi's wife. The sons of these three brothers expanded to Shandia, Talag, and other places. Women began to be exchanged, from Pano to there and from there to here. They came looking for hunting and fishing. The first brothers-in-law of the Andi's were the Cerdas.

This is how the muntun were formed. When there is a family group it is called "muntun," or also when it is a group of families. For example, "Bandio muntun" is a family, the group from the oldest to the youngest, which we continue to increase and increase. In the case of "Archidona muntun," this is already a village uniting several groups of families. This is also true for the Panos. In the old days, the muntun also were divided according to the offices held: one group descended from the *alcalde* (mayor), another descended from the *teniente* (lieutenant). For example, those from Apayacu down were called *huinaro muntun* (governor's group), that is, they were distinguished by the staff of rule. Those who were under the governor, all of them were one muntun. Those who had the staff were selected men. Those from Pano were alcaldes; my father's grandfather was a teniente, and his grandfather before him; the huinaros lived down-stream towards Tena, and upstream there were the alcaldes, relatives of my grandfather.

The Curistas (or Curizetas) lived in Mount Huacamayos; they were from another group. They would go out to the road with a bottle of gold and ask to have the gold taken to Quito and to have cloth brought back for them. They would prepare wild game for those who came back and did them the favor. That's what the old folks told. We don't know where they came from, but they were runa; some people think they came from the river. What is known is that the Archiruna (indigenous people from Archidona) would walk far, along the river banks. We have found them in places where one does not expect to find anyone. Throughout the large forests we have found traces of fires and bones. It seems that they went with a runa called "Llama." Way up there is a place called Verdeurco by the headwaters of the Verdeyacu; much farther from there crossing an-

other hill, there is a large mountain. There we found them, panning gold in the rain. When I saw them I laughed and said, "Archiruna, they are Archiruna. Of course they are, only they would come this far!" This is as far as I went because I had no more food. Those who stayed panned gold to fill large bottles but we got nothing. On the way back we were joking that we must get back home quickly and spread the news that there was gold. On the way we found runa from Arajuno who were going to that place; many were going. My mother-in-law was one of them, and they made me go with them. Also whites from Archidona and Tena were going after the gold. I think this is how the Archiruna became a people, because everywhere I've gone I've found them. The only thing that is known for certain is that their origin is in Rucullacta. Maybe they came from the Sierra, but they never said so. It might be that they had been there [in Rucullacta] long before the Spaniards came, maybe since the time of Atahualpa, because everywhere there are marks on the rocks depicting frogs, snakes, and puma paws; even in the middle of the forest one can find rock marks, and also in Yanayacu. On the road to Puerto Napo there is a rock called Llatanrumi (naked rock) because it has no marks. There are other rocks along the Pumayacu and Chucapi rivers, but there the rocks are small.

I've always wondered about where we came from. The people from Loreto, for example, are from another group because of the differences in their surnames. The elders used to tell that the Loretos are from the time of the Jesuits and it is probably true because their surnames are like those of the whites. The way I see it, this is a separate group; the Panos have other surnames. It is also said that Loreto is one of the first villages. Sometimes I also think that the origin of the runa is the deluge. Since they say we descended from Adam and Eve, perhaps this is true. If they say that Adam was the first man, perhaps it is so.

The Archiruna are characteristically fearful; at least the women are timorous. That is why here [in Pano], when a woman is frightened, she is told: "are you by any chance an Archiruna's wife to be so afraid?" Nowadays they come and join with the others. Before they only lived in the forest and were very numerous. On one occasion when I was going to Quito I saw a large number of people from Archidona. They were identified by the places they came from: for example, those from the headwaters of the river were called from "*Alto parte*" (upper part), another group was "*Tostaro parte,*" another was "*Chaupi parte*" (middle part). Those from Cotundo got the name of "*alto parte.*" The Archiruna have been humble, but drunkards, and the liquor was sold to them by the Baqueros' mother. Sometimes when we went to Quito we would get drunk in a place where the convent of the nuns now stands, and the next day we had to continue carrying our loads. Although the Panos descend from the Archiruna, they are not drunkards, but fearless.

The natives from here have always been on the move looking for places

where there is good food, hunting, and fishing. This is why they have always looked for places where not many people live, for example, Arajuno. Arajuno was first inhabited by a settler called Rubio; later by a little man from Ahuano. Later still, my grandfather Merca went there, and also Ruben's father who was from Archidona but had a wife from Ahuano. When we went to their place we would always bring back plenty of wild game. After that Rubio came back and that place was abandoned. Those are the people who lived in Arajuno itself; others lived in Campo Arajuno, but they went off from this very place (Pano) looking for hunting and fishing. The grandfather of my *compadre* Ignacio Chimbo lived there with his family. I used to go and visit them and along the Nushiño River I was very afraid of the Auca. Even so, we used to go to the Curaray to fish with barbasco. Quilluma *amigu* (ritual friend) used to go to Arajuno a lot. They went around there so often that they stayed there. Ushpaquirucu also went but I don't even remember the others. Afterwards the Shell company went in there, the people began to work for it and stayed never to return. They established a village, and now that the Auca no longer bother them, more people are living there.

A group from Guineachimbana went to the Ahuano. Elías Andi's group went to Shandia. Those from the Quilluma group went to the Arajuno, one man called Pedro and also the Chimbos. Another group went to Atahualpa, around Puerto Napo; these were my mother's kinsmen. I spent a lot of time there, where I grew up, to a large extent. Mariano Tapuy went from here to Atahualpa with a group of Cerdas. A group of those who went from Pano to Atahualpa later went to the Tigre River, crossed the Curaray, the Conambo, and then went to Peru to live by the Tigre River where they died. A group went to Ongota, others to Atahualpa, Ahuano, Arajuno, Shandia, or Talag. The last immigrants who went to Lago Agrio when oil was discovered there are those from the Curimuyu group and from Asencio Andi's family. A group from Huainana Andi's family also went to Lago Agrio. It is only here where we are living now, that there are so few people; many left because of the *upa ungui* (meningitis), and another group died.

We generally build our houses on the river banks so as not to live in the middle of the forest. Here, for example, we lived very well on the banks of the river, but there was a large flood on the Pano River, and since we lived so close by, the river began to drag us away and even took our clothes. The people were saved only because we had canoes. Between myself and my compadres we had six canoes, two each. We first climbed a tree; if it fell all of us would have gone. We were up there until we almost fainted. The flood was terrible; it carried away all the houses it found, including the Pano school. It carried everything away; we saw suitcases, pots and pans, chickens, and many more things floating by. Only one *huahua* (baby) died during that flood; they put him on top of a branch, the branch broke and

he went downstream. Everybody lost everything and my family cried a lot. I didn't drown because of God's help: he held me. This is how we were saved. Having gone through that experience, I now try to live a little more inside the forest. First I went to live somewhere else, on a hill, where I cleared pasturelands and built a house in the middle. Now I've come to live here [near the road], but all the runa always live on the river banks. Only a few live on the hills.

I have always lived with my father, even after I married, and we have always traveled together. Only when I did something really bad he would punish me, especially when I was lazy. We always went hunting together, we slept side by side, and he always took care of me as he would a small child.

I used to go to Quito with my father. Although I was very young, I walked next to him, almost naked, wearing short trousers and the *cushma* (short poncho) on top. We made so many trips that little by little I learned to carry the loads, only to Quito, because the road to Puyo was built a long time later. My mother taught me to clear the land for a chagra. She always told us about how her parents and grandparents fed everyone well by catching fat birds. Besides, we always walked together with the Guarapuyaya [his grandfather], even to the *chapana* (a small hut built in the forest for hunting). At night we used to go to kill monkeys, and when I was a little older, I realized that my grandfather was terrific at killing birds. Besides being a hunter, Guarapuyaya was good at fistfighting, especially at festivities. That is why the *brujos* (Spanish for bewitching shamans, in the original) made him sick. A brujo from downriver made his back stiff, and he could no longer walk to the forest to hunt. Anguchaqui [his father] was the same; all the men from our muntun were like that, they were scrappers. They taught me a lot about fighting; I even fought with the brujos.

When I was young I used to drink a lot; I was terrific at fistfighting. Whenever my ears caught something bad, I was ready to fight, but it was not only for kicks. I had the *amarun quiru* (boa's tooth), which was very efficient and made me almost like mad. That's why I decided to throw it away. First I decided to give it to a cousin, but his mother did not let him keep it, so I took it and gave it to the dogs. When I drank I wasn't afraid of anything. I drank glass after glass and then, when drunk, I wasn't afraid to fight; I wasn't even afraid of the biggest men. My father had a brother who was very big, but I wasn't even afraid of him. One day after fighting with him, while I was going to the river to fish with barbasco, my uncle had gone off to report it to the police, and then and there, they arrested me.

But only once I got into a fist fight with my brothers. We brothers always loved each other. The youngest are Ventura, Camilo, and César; they were brought up by me with much affection. When we made our chagras, each one did his own, without arguing. Nowadays there are problems

among brothers. We planted manioc, plantain, and made *guarapu* (green plantain liquor), and when we made guarapu, the guards from the government monopoly would take it away from us. One day Lucas was about to go and ask for the hand of Curimullu's daughter, and as we were taking the liquor, the guards came and enforced the law. I was half drunk and as I was carrying a can of liquor, I didn't care and confronted the guards. One of them was Washington Spíndola; there were several, but I don't remember their names. The guards asked to smell the liquor, and then I told them: "Don't you ever drink, don't you realize that these bottles have the monopoly's label?" We were so angry that we took the bottles and threw them away. From then on, we never made liquor again.

What I remember is that as a boy I was always by the side of some nice old man, always ready to go anywhere. After all of these experiences I already began to carry loads. I've carried all kinds of loads. It's only the old-time *colonas* (women settlers) who I haven't taken to Quito, but I have done it here [in Tena-Archidona area]. I would take them from Tena to Pano.

My father lived with all of his children in one house; we were a large household. In each corner of the house there was a *caitu* (bed) and in the center a large hearth. This is how we all lived together. When it was time to eat, the food was put into one single large platter and we all ate together, the women in one group and the men in another. The small children were fed separately. When the brothers and brothers-in-law began to have children, they usually had fights, and then each one began to build his own house and they separated.

What I remember most from when I was a small child is that the old men would give us advice; they would teach us how to behave with the whites, how we should walk with our loads, and how to fight. We were taught this since we were very small. The old and strong men would blow *samai* into the crown of our heads, especially if we were kind of lazy and disobedient. *Samai* is like our breath, it is a way of conferring strength, of giving courage.

When other people came to visit my father, the children were not supposed to listen to the conversations or to look at the older people straight in the eye. Neither were we supposed to peep through the cracks. When the grown-ups were drinking we were to go baiting fish or killing birds. If we stayed there where the people were drinking, they asked the guests to punish us by blowing tobacco at us. I began to bait fish when I was more or less ten years old. At that age one begins to hunt and fish because one can handle the *pucuna* (blowgun) and the fishhook, which at that time was made from a sewing needle.

Since we were very young we were already taught to throw the weeds to one side; my mother would tear out those weeds by hand, when clearing the chagras and like that, little by little, we were made to love the land.

What I remember they never let me miss was the early-morning bathing in the river. After sleeping until four in the morning, more or less, one had to bathe in the river. The river had to be made to listen by beating it with the hand "tin, tin, tin." They would make us plunge into the river and breathe "fu, fu, fu." Then we went onto the beach and looked towards the top of the hills and of the trees and said to the river: "Take my weakness and give me your strength." All this would take quite a long time, and only then you would be allowed to light the fire. Then you would pick up some stones, strike them together and say the same thing: "Take my weakness and give me your strength," and then throw them into the river. Then you had to bathe again. This was done by all those who lived on the banks of the river. When going to the forest or going hunting, you heard this noise of people bathing along the river banks. This is why in the old days people were strong and did not die so soon. Nowadays, young people smoke tobacco and drink liquor and they do not bathe at dawn.

When I was small, lazy, and disrespectful of grown-ups, they would make any powerful person with a strong samai rub red pepper on me. Sometimes, the Serranos (people from the Highlands) who came to visit would rub the red pepper on me and give me advice. It was like a ceremony. They would sit me on a bench, scold me harshly, punish me by rubbing my eyes with red pepper and later blow their strength and power into me. The Serrano would rub the red pepper on the little boys, his wife on the little girls. The women had to go and bathe in the river at four in the morning, and could not go to warm up by the fire. The practice was that whenever strong and respected men came to visit, our parents would put us all in line to be punished. For example, there were some Papallactas who were very strong for carrying loads, and if they came to the house for a visit, we were never spared the red pepper.

I have been very good at counselling people and have given advice to anyone: children, those who used to hit women, and also old people. I have never been afraid at giving advice. If they did not listen to me, I would ask anyone who came from somewhere else to rub on them the red pepper as punishment. You take a tiger's tooth, rub it with the tip of three different red peppers that have to be grown in your own plot, and this is put on the eye. They would begin by blowing on the intended "victim" from the head down to the hands, which he had to join together as if praying. That happens when you don't know how to listen nicely and have to be advised in another way. The child who wants to listen, listens anyway. The one who doesn't want to listen must be punished with red pepper. Later on, when they have already grown-up, they think about what happened to them and they are not lazy. If they are sent to do a job, they will do it with no trouble.

I have advised anyone, even yachaj, wife beaters, or newlyweds, with-

out any fear. I have counselled them about how the wife has to be treated, and that she should not be beaten. I would tell them: "If you are always sleeping with the woman, she will become lazy. If you are hugging your wife all the time, how will you live?" The man must go hunting and fishing, and the woman must be made to get up; she has to be kept at home looking after the children and her in-laws. A man must go to the forest. If you do this you will be well off, giving food to your wife, to the children, to the in-laws, including all those who come to visit. They have always listened to what I've told them. But they used to say that from giving so much advice to others it could be catching, and that I myself would become lazy and beat my wife. However, I used to hit my wife very hard only when I was drunk. Once they had complained to the authorities. I don't know if it was the old lady (*apama* in Quichua, as the wife is fondly called) or my mother-in-law who complained. The authorities advised me by opening up a book of law. They told me that a wife should only be beaten on the buttocks with a bamboo, two times, four times, until the blood comes out. This is what the authorities taught me. My father instead, went looking for a very old man. Between them they picked up tobacco, the strongest and bitterest they could find, cut a piece and put it into a large bowl, crushed it well until it looked like coffee, and this they gave me to drink. I drank it, then I threw up and had diarrhea until I almost died. This is how they got me tight. According to the old people, this is the way to pull out the bad habit of wife beating. This is how it was done in the old days.

When I've been asked to, I've rubbed red pepper on anyone: young men, old men, and wife beaters. First of all, I advise, and then I put on the red pepper. For example, I would grab the brujos until I hit them, and they were never able to kill me. Rather, when I was sick they would revive me; now, all of them are dead and I am the only one remaining. They keep me suffering until now. I am old already, now I have no strength compared with what I had before. Before I could mark trees, now I really can't. Before two of us scrappers would pull each other's hair; I would grab the other's hand and throw him on the ground.

At weddings I would advise the parents, the bride and groom, the best man and the *cumpaña* (escort). I would even give advice to the oldest ones by making them sit down. Now that I am a believer (converted to Protestantism), I can't even teach the word of God because I'm too old. People want me to preach to them, but I no longer want to. I have advised my children by telling them that to wear clothes one has to work, plant coffee, cacao, corn, plantain, manioc, tomatoes, and raise chickens, because nowadays each egg costs three sucres and one can make some money, while before, twelve eggs were sold for only one sucre. This is how I've lived all my life, counselling people.

When I was young, at night we slept only a little; then we got up and

went hunting in the forest. At that time, there were no flashlights. We would leave around five and walk the whole day. Sometimes we would bring back *lumucuchi* (peccary), *yutu* (partridge), *munditi* (guan, a bird) and *taruga* (deer). We brought back a lot of animals in a *huangu* (a bundle), and when they were large, in a *shigra* (bag). I killed a peccary one day; I brought him home and they didn't give me any to eat. Once it was cooked, they all began to eat around the fire. I thought that I would be given at least the nice broth, and the next day a little meat; but they hadn't remembered me. I was still very young then.

Later on when I was a young boy, I also went to the Shell Company where we worked until sunset and walked around in the dark without a flashlight, in the very land of the Auca. On one occasion, when I was around thirteen years old, I went to the forest with some older boys, up there by the Hatunyacu and the Illucullin. I shot a *cushillu* (spider monkey) with the ammunition I loaded in my shotgun, but I couldn't kill it. One of those who accompanied me killed it and gave me half. I felt very happy because it was like having grown up.

When I was still a boy, I would go fishing with barbasco in the rivers. I have walked as far as the headwaters of the Ansu River. Wherever I went in those days, I was pestered to be given a woman. I also went around the Napo River fishing with barbasco.

When I was young I also carried loads. Once in Archidona there was a man called Francisco Bahamonde who had us carry some very large parcels. One had to carry them from here without dropping any. He would not let us rest, we had to drink chicha with the cargo on our shoulders, and we began to be punished; but even then I paid no attention. I haven't been afraid of anything. There was a policeman called Riera, who confronted me face to face with the political chief one day. It took four people to bring me before this authority. But even then I was not afraid and I won over. They were big talkers, but I began to talk even more; so they decided to punish me. They only punished me for one single day; the next day I left the jail, and the following day I was back in Tena. At that time there was a white man called Washington Palacios and he always told me that I was a rascal. I would tell him: "I'm no rascal; the thing is that I'm just not afraid." He would laugh and touch my head and say "you wooly-haired rascal," while I worked in the *minga* (communal labor). One week later I didn't work anymore carrying loads. This is how it was when I was young, but now I'm getting old.

When we went where the auca (referring here to Quichua people from the Canelos area) live, we would take the drum and begin to play, the women on one side and we on the other. We danced alternating: the women went forwards first and the men later. I was always a friend of the auca, and always went hunting with them. When we went to bait fish, to fish with a net, or to the forest, we got along with the auca; also, when

I went to throw *biruti* (darts) with the blowgun to kill little birds. Sometimes I threw the darts but couldn't kill, but they always hit the target; on other occasions the opposite happened. Thus, as a young man I went everywhere.

Some young men would come to me so that I could help them to ask for a wife. We young men always went together to ask for wives. During the day we looked for the woman, and at nighttime we went to ask for her. No woman I asked ever refused; I always got yes for an answer. Once we had asked her and she was willing, we would begin to dance, and right then and there they would make me best man. After they had given us something to drink we would insist that the couple get married. We never stopped until they were joined as husband and wife.

Finally, they began to try to get me a wife although at that time I still didn't want a wife. Around Puyupungo in Pastaza, there was a family who had a marriageable daughter, and the father and mother would tell me: "Come and ask for our daughter." They would take me along with them because they wanted me to marry their daughter. They took me to make canoes and also to get chonta (palm) for palm hearts. I had no experience in felling trees, but when they had to be felled to make canoes—if I was sent to do it—I did it quickly and pretended I had always made canoes. Once they sent me to cut down some *pushihua* (palm trees) in the forest, and since I didn't have much experience, the palm branches fell on top of the canoe that the old folks were making. When they saw them falling, they said, "You are doing this to fall into our daughter's hands." When I came near them, the old folks laughed and told me to stay there with the daughter. I thought they were just joking, but her brothers were already singing very happily; they thought it was a serious thing, and shouted that I should come and ask for their sister. I answered that I was going around alone and didn't want a wife yet. In Talag there is still a man called Vicente Andi. This man asked me if instead of giving the woman to me, they would give her to him, but the family answered, "We won't give her to that lazy man." This is how they treated him, and they kept on insisting that they would give their daughter to the son of Anguchaqui, Alonso. That was when I was single, and I had to hear too much about that woman. She later died, but I had behaved well. I was always like that: I would take *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis*) and drink chicha anywhere, and I always behaved correctly. One day Basilio's brother Tili had stolen Sabela, the sister of Mariaco and wife of Basilio, and they sent me and Roberto to take the woman away from him. We left Talag early, but didn't find Tili because he had taken the woman to Indillama [in Pastaza], and then we had to follow him. They had been there at Acevedo's house, but an old woman had informed them, and when we got there they were hidden in the house of an auca called Imbiquieta, known as a terrible killer. Old Acevedo wasn't there, and Tili had fled to Puyupungo to find him. We

went to Imbiquieta's house and brought the woman to Acevedo's house. Our women put her in there and I was made to sleep by the door to keep guard. Finally the man came, and we had to pay him to rescue the woman. Since I was young I always went to do the asking of women for marriage and never feared the spears, machetes, or shotguns. I don't know why I liked to go around doing that.

To ask for a wife, a best man was chosen and he was sent to do the asking. The groom didn't want to, but it was the mother, the father, and the groom's sisters who insisted on the asking. If the first time the hand was refused, the best man had to go again until they gave in. Sometimes, even if they wanted to, they wouldn't give their consent the first time. We used to go with two or three bottles of liquor to ask for the woman, and the engagement was made. Afterward, the bride's parents would begin to ask for something specific: liquor for when one asks for the bride's hand, then to drink in honor of the best man, and so on. Once this was settled, a time had still to be arranged to drink with everyone. In other places they do this with a lot of food. When the father says yes, the *tapushcamanda upichina* is done (a ceremony in which there is drinking when the formal request is made), which requires a *quisa* of liquor (around ten liters). The best man and the bride's closest relatives get together. Then the old folks, mainly the bride's father, ask for whatever they want to drink. After that it takes some time until they get the liquor together and the best man goes to talk with the bride's father. He informs the other closest relatives and the baptism godparents.

Formerly, the sisters-in-law or the old women looked for a man who was strong at carrying loads, or one who was a good hunter or fisherman. That was important because the food of the whites wasn't eaten then. Since they saw those qualities in me, they wanted to give me the prettiest women. The women's parents were very mean; they would insult those who went to ask for their daughters. My wife's parents lived where I live now. One day my father went to ask for her. He was pushed against a pot of boiling manioc and got so angry that he took the canoe at midnight and went back home all alone. I told him: "You yourself go around pestering people, and that's why you got yourself burned." So we left it at that for a while, for more or less a year. My best men were my mother's brothers. One was known as Imbi, but his name was Luis. Another was Bartolo Tapuy's godfather, another was a yachaj. They were the ones who went to ask for my wife.

Later the *pactachina* (a ceremony preceeding the actual wedding) began. Meanwhile my mother prepared a pot of chicha and liquor and we danced in my house with my best man. Then they went to my future wife's house and they danced at the doorway of the house as if forming a cross against the door. They went into the house; the best man asked for permission and they danced inside the house. The father, the mother, and the whole family were made to stand up and dance. Then the *chasquina* or accep-

tance began; the idea is to agree that formally everything is arranged and that they can't back down. In the chasquina the groom's best man embraces the bride's father crossing his arms around him on both sides, and the groom's relatives do likewise. The same is done among the women, and a small speech is given saying, "We give her, we are not mean, but you must take care of her." The *tucaru* (the violin player) and the *versiaru* (the drum player and reciter) are there, and they tell whatever has to be done. You have to pay attention, because they give instructions on how to begin and when. There are verse reciters who make things turn out nice. Later, all go on a drunk. No food of any type is given; only drink for one whole day. In the old days, in order to be the groom's best man, the person had to be his baptism godfather and he could not be a widower. To go and announce the pactachina, he had to take five bottles of liquor and the fighting would begin. The best man for the wedding, the bride's baptism godparents, the parents, and many more people would be invited, such as the violin and drum players. Once the best men have danced, then others begin to dance until they get tired, and when they are very drunk they start a fistfight. No wedding that I know of has been without fistfighting. When all this is over, the parents from both sides have a talk and set the date for the wedding. Then the groom's parents begin to look for food and they go fishing and hunting. All the expenses are paid by the groom's father. If he is lucky someone will help him, sometimes with one hundred sucres, sometimes with hens. Formerly, the groom contributed nothing, it was only the father who spent; the son didn't have to spend a nickel.

They have to make good arrangements to set the date because some family members live or work far away. For the *bura* (wedding), we started by preparing the liquor, then we went hunting and fishing. We began by pulling out barbasco and then we would take on two or three men to smoke the meat. We liked to fish with barbasco at the headwaters of the Puno and Nushiño rivers; we always tried to go to Auca territory to get fish. Hunting was also important; each person had to bring a basket of lumucuchi meat. After all this had been collected, the best man for the wedding or the bride's father had to come. He was given a *maitu* (bundle of food) and liquor, and the wedding date was agreed upon. They were always given food; some went back home feeling very grateful. By then, there was already quite a lot of chicha prepared for them to drink.

A pair of trousers of the kind worn at the wedding, were made for the groom; he also had to put on a cushma and tie on a *dunbiqui* (toucan) feather. The woman wore a red skirt. She wore a hat with ribbons on her head, and her eyes were blindfolded with a red kerchief. Both danced dressed like that on the bura day. Once they had danced, they were made to marry, one of those days. Until the relatives come to the bura, the best man and the cumpaña have to keep on dancing, including the violin player and the singer, they all have to dance. The best man cannot be sitting down, not even for a moment. When the bride's family comes, it has

to be met a long way off from where the bura is taking place. They must be offered a pot of chicha and liquor. The persons designated to give them the drinks must go and meet them, and if they feel like it, they get drunk right then and there and come drunk to the wedding. When they are reasonable they will come in with a greeting. Both parties greet each other and begin to ask for food. Then the groom's parents have to ask the bride's father, mother, brothers, and sisters for permission to dress her with the clothes prepared by the groom's parents. They will say: "Give us permission to dress your daughter," and the answer is, "this is just as you wanted, what are we to do, just take her, that's why we've brought her, do go and dress her." Everybody goes to that ceremony. In the old days they would put many necklaces on the bride, all types of *muyu* (necklace beads), yellow and white, the *maquicutun* (blouse), the *pampanilla* (skirt) and also the *chumbi* (sash).

After she has been dressed, they begin to give advice to the bride. The maid of honor or the sisters tell her, "We are giving away a lazy daughter, perhaps by living with a man she will improve her life. You have been scolding and insulting the other daughters-in-law." This is what they say to those who had spoken harshly to the other daughters-in-law. The two families talk to each other on an equal footing. On the woman's part, they say: "We have given nothing, never, not even a dog," and they take the bride inside, and then they lead her to the center of the place where she will dance. The groom is there waiting for her. Both ask for permission to dance, saying, "Now, we will make a demonstration." And those who are sitting answer, "You should know." The one who suffers the most during the dancing is the best man; he can't stop dancing, not even for a moment. The maid of honor, the cumpaña's wife, and the bride dance on one side; on the groom's side are the best man, the cumpaña and the groom himself. After having some drinks, when they are just about to finish, they ask for the *chasquichina* (the act of receiving). Then the groom's father says: "We have received," and he makes the bride's party sit down, the best man first of all. There are times when the best man is even made to kneel. They come, they talk, they embrace, they hold each other's hands and say these words: "Here in this world and in the other world we will be joined together." After this the co-parents-in-law say, "We have now become co-parents-in-law." After dancing they eat a lot. The food is given out like this: first, the bride's father and mother are given plenty to eat, and also the sisters and the brothers-in-law. Later they must be given a maitu of meat and a large maitu of fish. After eating, they dance again, and then they are really free. Then all the people who are in the house begin to dance. All of them dance shouting, already drunk. That is when they start to get downright drunk. In the old days, the liquor offered was the one we made. Even women on the bride's side of the family would bring little cans of liquor for the groom's relatives to drink.

The bura began at noon, and the people would get drunk all night until the next day. When the roosters crowed it was necessary to get up and fix some food for all of them. Once the liquor, the chicha and the food run out they will say: "We've only made this much," and show the empty cans. If there was more chicha, they could stay there up to two days drinking. After the bura is over, some brides go away with their father and mother. Sometimes, the best man will ask for the bride to stay and get married during that same trip. But others will let her leave anyway, saying that after they marry [in a civil and church ceremony] they will bring her again. Some bring her two or three days later so that they can be married by the authorities, and the father and mother give her over to the groom. The drum player sings whatever he feels like, and the violin player accompanies him very nicely. My compadre Ñajcha always plays at weddings. He also used to play the *pingullu* (flute). The pingullu used to be played often at all festivities. This custom of the wedding dates way back, and people would get married when they were already mature, around twenty years old. That's how I got married. The singers say many things about the bride and the groom, everything they remember. Sometimes they will say, "Do receive the new daughter-in-law; don't scold her."

The groom and the bride did not see each other before the wedding. Only during the wedding they could peek at each other a little. They could not be together without getting married; they had to get married come what may. After they were married the woman had to go back to her parents. After one week the parents would take her to the groom's house with a *pilchi* (gourd bowl) prepared for the drinking of huayusa and chicha. It is only nowadays that they get married as they like, looking for a woman anywhere. The custom is that the woman has to be afraid to sleep with the husband for one week, pretending to evade him. She will give the husband food and drink but they would not sleep together. The woman sleeps somewhere else, among the other women. In my case for more than one year I was without my wife, and that is why they teased me saying that I had only one testicle. The old men would ask me why I didn't make a baby because, according to custom, we plant a plantain the day of the wedding. When the plantain tree is about to bear fruit the woman is about to have a baby, because it takes the plantain one year to grow. This is how the old folks calculated it. In my case the plantain bore fruit, and that was that, we had no baby. I would answer that it is not necessary to sleep immediately with the wife, since we are going to live together all our lives, and will separate only with death. All the days of my life I will be with her, so why would I make her suffer so much. My wife was quite young when she married. I was around twenty-five, and we are still together now that we are old.

# 4

# The Forest and the River

From so much walking in the forest the body seems to get used to it, and then a man can hunt because the animals aren't afraid of him. The body acquires the smell of the forest; man becomes the forest and animals don't flee. Hunting by day and night, that's how the hunter lives. Some hunters obtain a kind of earth called *aya allpa* (earth of the deceased's soul, or of the *supai*, a jungle spirit), which is found in the forest in an upside-down pot. In it there is black earth kept rolled up in a little leaf. This earth takes you where the animals are. It's usually carried in the *eslagón* (bag to carry ammunition and gun powder). Some feed this earth to the dogs so that they'll become good hunters. Those who do so eat plenty of game.

One day I opened Baltazar's *matiri* (quiver where darts are carried), which was hanging in the house. I found that earth, smelled and tasted it. The smell was very pleasant; it smelled like meat. The earth was wrapped in a corn leaf and it was sort of greenish. That is supai's earth from auca times, from many years ago. I touched that earth only that one time, but I keep on worrying. The forest welcomes the good hunter, it protects him, but he must know it well. Suddenly a storm might rise provoked by a person; that's the *huaira paju* (magical danger in the form of a strong wind). For example, when a turtle's shell is burned, right away a violent storm rises and the river swells. There are certain places in the virgin forest where a storm will rise if someone comes close, as it happens in the Llanganatis. That's also called paju (magical danger). The jungle is wary of strangers. Whenever I've gone hunting in the forest, I never got lost. Only once, walking in the forest at night with Pontachi my brother-in-law, we started to go round in circles. Pontachi said that we were all right, but we were already lost, and very deep inside. We ended up spending one whole night there. One of us got out a *churu* (conch shell) and blew on it;

then we climbed the trees and shouted for someone to hear, but nobody did. The following day we continued to blow on the churu, each one to one side, but to no avail. We went around for so long with the churu and the shotgun, that we finally got out, but I don't know how. We slept by the foot of a tree, but there were terrible *sanguru* (mosquitoes). We had killed four *paushi* (guan), and I went around carrying those birds until they made my hands blister and I had to throw them away. We had gone to the Payamino to fish with barbasco, and had a shotgun and ammunition to hunt on the way, but we had to go back because we got lost. We had also killed a *huangana* (white-lipped peccary); we removed its guts and left it, going back for it the next day. As far as I can remember, since then I never again got lost. That's why we always went to the deep forest in pairs. If we got lost, each one would contribute his ideas.

The people down the lower Napo River used to say that there were several classes of *amarun* (anaconda). One of them was called garabatu amarun. The anaconda catches the hunters like a pitchfork, like a hook, and makes them get lost. That's why you have to open a wide trail, not walk around and around and go off track. The belief is that the amarun clutches and hugs you and won't let you leave the forest. Perhaps the amarun wants the runa to be part of the forest. That's what the downriver people say. Hunting is our life but it's also work, because when going hunting we must go through so much suffering. You can't imagine what a lot of work it is to hunt a nice animal. Sometimes you have to dig down three or four meters. When your stomach is sticking to the spine you manage to hunt and bring the game home. If it's night hunting, you have to spend the whole night at it. All animals such as *lumuchu* (paca), *sicu* (agouti), *armallu* (armadillo) and *tutacushillo* (a variety of night monkey) are hunted when it's already dawn, after having walked all night. There's also a bird like an *ingupava* (turkey hen) which is hunted at dawn. Nowadays it's difficult to hunt it; we can hear it, but we can't kill it. There are two types of hunting, one with a shotgun, and the other by digging holes. Hunting with a rifle isn't very difficult, but it is, when you have to dig all day to find an animal and, even after all this, it still can run away. This is why we men eat the animal's legs, because of the suffering we go through when we hunt.

First of all we'll talk about forest hunting. We would go to the forest and hunt sicu with a shotgun, bring it back home and give it to the women, because they're the ones who cook and distribute the food. We also hunted for *lumucuchi* (collared peccary) and small animals like the lumuchu. At night we slept only a short while and got up around 11 o'clock; then we drank huayusa tea and went to the forest to kill monkeys. Sometimes if we found lumuchu walking around at night, we also killed it. At that time of night we would also find a small monkey called tuta cushillo. If we found nothing, we went out hunting during the day to

catch little birds and any other small animals, such as partridges, *munditi* (guan) and *sicu*. We hunted with a dog; we showed him the hole and he would begin to dig. This is how we ate before, and this is how we still live. That way, we don't spend much money on food. The huangana is a type of jungle boar. Before it could be hunted around here; but when we travelled far, for example to Arajuno, we killed *sachahuagra* (tapir). We smoked them and brought them back here to eat. We used to eat all kinds of forest animals. Formerly we didn't eat white people's food. We didn't want to eat beef or onions and if we ate them, we did it in fear. We wouldn't eat that for anything; but now we do because the forest game is finished. Rather, we have started to eat town food, such as potatoes, rice, beef and chicken, if we can raise them. Nowadays, we don't eat as much wild meat as we would like.

Birds have to be killed with a shotgun, walking stealthily. But large animals like huangana have to be chased very hard. You have to shoot as soon as you find it. Usually you run around three times very quickly, and the third time you shoot because those animals go around in groups of up to one hundred. They're never alone. If the hunter is agile, he can kill them one by one. You have to run after them, and they're killed only by good hunters who know how to kill. However, to hunt tapir you also have to go slowly, following the tracks, and once you've found it, you shoot. If you have a hunting dog, you have the dog pursue it. The dog follows the animal until it's made to go down to a small river, and that's when you have to shoot. I could only kill two at the most, and that was it. Besides, they're not abundant here; they're found far away, around Arajuno. Of the animals that live in the tree tops, we eat the large monkey. We also shoot it stealthily, until it falls to the ground. I've killed all these types of animals since I was young. In the old days we were taught that we had to kill in order to eat and feed the wife and children. "If you don't go hunting, what will you give your wife to eat?"; this is what the old folks taught us. When the old ones die, the young ones follow. I'm already old. After the dog has followed an animal to a hole, a trap is made. If the dog has made a large animal go into the hole, there's a lot of digging to do and then the shooting. When the animal is small, you have to dig and go hard after it, or you make a trap to kill it later.

This is how all of us runa eat, from hunting. We've always eaten like this. Since they have money, the whites eat white people's food. However, the runa has to buy gunpowder, and if there isn't any, he makes a trap at night on the path where the animal goes. Nowadays you can even light your way with flashlights. But now there are many young people who don't go hunting anymore, they only eat town food. The hunter has to carry with him the tooth of an amarun so that the forest animals will come close. It can also be the tooth of a *bufeo* (river dolphin), which in addition, may be used to attract women, like the *simayuca* (a potion). If you

take those teeth with you to the hunt, the munditi, for example, will soon be on the ground. All the animals, even the *chanzha* (small agouti) and the *huachi* (badger) approach you, and the partridge is telling you with its wings that it wants to fly but can't. If you have the amarun tooth you can't eat salt or red pepper, because if you don't take those precautions, it can be harmful. After I gave my amarun tooth away to my cousin, I was sorry and asked to have it back to give to my dogs. They became good hunters. In the old times it was always carried in the hunting bag. It may be true or not, but they say that when the person who had one dies, his body dries up, and when someone gets close to it, the dry body leaves to become a supai. I haven't seen this happen, but this is what they used to say.

When I was young, I went around with Robero and with another youth called Pulluchupa. We would go hunting in the forest. We once found a *churungu* (woolly monkey). They both went ahead and caught two monkeys, but I had nothing. Suddenly, one came out from the bottom of the gorge; he climbed the slope, went down and came up again. I shot and killed the monkey, but Pulluchupa took it for himself. I only went through the suffering. Right then and there a huge storm came and it rained. We found another monkey, shot at it with shotguns and a blowgun, and split it in half. This is how we shared the game. They gave me a leg of the other monkey. This happened around the headwaters of the Hatunyacu River. We followed late Diego's narrow path and reached the mountain area until we came to a quite cold place with plants like those of the Highlands. I have not only gone around there, but also along Arajuno. But I didn't go alone. I walked with my compadres Pablo and Santiago Calapucha (Batia). We killed sachahuagra, huangana, and lumucuchi. One day I shot at a tapir but didn't hit the mark, and it ran off wounded for some two-hundred meters. It went into a ford, and there Pablo and Batia finished it off.

I've been around the hills of Tarugaurcu and Huamajurcu. There we killed a monkey called cushillu. We roasted it in the forest and right there we ate the offal. One of those nights, a tempest rose with much lightning and it brought a very fierce ant called *auca añangu*. Because of those animals, that night I was sorry to have been born. First, we heard a terrible noise like dynamite; so terrible that we thought it was the company looking for oil. It got dark very early and we had to sleep there. At night part of the hill crumbled. Batia and Pablo started screaming that they would die. I tried to give them courage by saying that if our time had come, we would die, but if not we wouldn't. They began praying to God, but I told them that God should have been prayed to before and not now, because it seemed that He was sending us this. We talked about all this in the midst of a pouring rain and an electrical storm. The elders had taught me that you should stand beside a large tree for safety. Anyway, we almost died. It's one thing to talk now about it, and quite another to have been there

then. Both of them insisted that we should pray to God, but I say that you have to think about God before hand. We were almost buried in that hill. I don't know how we resisted the ant bites. That hill, Gastanisurcu [by Arajuno] is known for those kinds of animals and other fierce ants called *yuturi* and *tamia añangu*. That hill has a sort of paju that haunts whoever dares to go there. For example, at night there is something that sings "cheeky, cheeky, cheeky, cheeky, cheeky," and then you know there'll be a storm. So people grab a liana and climb to the top because the ants can't get up there. This can happen by day or by night. If you hear the song, then for sure there is going to be a storm. This happens in the headwaters of the Curaray, in Gastanisurcu, and in another two mountains whose names I don't recall.

We once crossed the headwaters of the Curaray River, following a sachahuagra. We killed it, went to a rock where the sachahuagra eat salt, and there the dog began to chase another one. Batia and Pablo followed behind since they were familiar with the hills, and I stayed there with my son-in-law Mariano and with Cristóbal, now deceased. Batia couldn't kill it because the shotgun was not working well. The animal came back along the same path and we found ourselves face-to-face with it. It was in a ravine, and since he was coming straight at us with great speed, I got frightened and shouted "hey . . . hey . . . hey!" Although afraid I chased after it, but the animal was like a rolling ball. The dogs chased it to the river and killed it in a *cucha* (lagoon). I then dived in and brought it out dead. They gave me a piece, and got together a good amount of meat with what I'd already caught. I took it and brought it home.

When the hunter comes back with his prey, he has to leave it outside the house so that the people inside the house won't know about it. The wife has to go out and look for it. However, the others do notice because the man's head bears the marks of sweat for having carried the load. That's how people realize that he has hunted and, if they're not given that meat to eat, they will speak ill of the hunter. Some have the habit of hiding the pot if people come when they're cooking. But people know anyhow, because the fire is burning strongly.

The man who is a hunter is agile and wise. That's why when the men are not agile and beat their wives, their fathers-in-law will scold them saying, "Why do you beat her if you don't feed her, if you don't even know how to hunt?" Even now you can hear the same thing. The men will answer scornfully that they beat their wives because they have brought the game and the wives will not cook it. Hunters can be harmed when certain people eat what they have hunted. A man who was a yachaj was once given lumucuchi to eat, and he peed on top of the bones. The dog of the man who gave him that to eat never hunted again. This can also happen with other people.

The animal is first cut up along the four limbs, legs, and arms, all of which are eaten by the men. The rest of the body is divided up for the

women and other people to eat. The head and the offal are also eaten by the women. The women fix the entrails and eat them. Before eating those parts, the *huicsacara* (a piece of the animal's chest and stomach) is boiled and eaten. The women prepare that part and the men share it out. It's always been done like this; it seems to me that the hunter gets to eat the leg because of his suffering. On one occasion my daughters-in-law ate the legs and arms. This was in Juanita's house. The women were alone; they found an armadillo and killed it, fixed it and with their very own hands they cut and ate it, saying, "We will now eat the legs and arms ourselves to see what the men feel when they eat those parts." Since they were alone, I'm sure they ate thinking of their husbands.

The good hunter can be harmed for many reasons. For example, it's bad to eat outside the house or to hit the animal bones against a stone. If somebody does this, at that very instant, the hunter is harmed. You can't give the leftover bones to the chickens either. This is especially bad for the good hunting dogs. Or it can ruin a shotgun placed on the trap while waiting for the animal; the shotgun won't go off, or the hunter might miss his mark. Men are not supposed to eat the animal's brains, though nowadays they do. This is because when hunting for small birds with the blowgun and aiming upwards to kill the bird, it could give the person who'd eaten the brains an eyeful of shit. That's why brains are not given to the men. Formerly there was very strict compliance with this. Man was not to eat the entrails either. I eat them nowadays, no matter what. They're not to be eaten because when you are going after the animals in the forest, and the dog barks, your feet will get tangled up in the liana, you'll fall and the animal will run off. It's not good to even pick up food from the plate with a spoon, because you'll twist your ankle when running after the game, and won't be able to go on.

Now that I'm old, it's more difficult for me to hunt. I get enthusiastic, but I don't have the strength any more. One day, a little while ago when accompanying my wife, I had the shotgun and was saying to myself: "Perhaps I could kill a little bird." Suddenly I saw some movement in the *guadua* (a variety of bamboo) and thought that it was a *cucupitsu* (rodent similar to a large mouse), which always eats guadua leaves, and I thought: "that's what the shameless cucupitsu must be doing." The dog barked, but I didn't realize what it was telling me. I still went on thinking that it was the cucupitso, and Captain [the dog] barked desperately towards the river. "How can I get there?," I thought to myself. To get where the dog was I had to cross a thorny bush that made me itchy. Anyway, I began to clear it off a little with the machete and tried to get across. It took a while. I got to the river and, instead of taking my clothes off, I got in just as I was because I was feeling lazy. As if someone was watching, instead of crossing naked, I got in wearing all my clothes. The animal crossed in front of me; I was happy and began to shout to my wife. She came and crossed the river painfully, with the water up to her waist. I saw that she

was crossing holding a stick to keep herself up. The dog was barking and following the animal. Since I had no strength I couldn't run as fast as they did. I walked slowly behind them and when the animal went by a tree, I killed it with a stick. It was a paca I killed, and that's how I brought it home. I was able to hunt with my wife's help; had I been alone I couldn't have. I went with the idea of accompanying my wife to the chagra to see if I could kill some little birds, thinking that I hadn't gone hunting in the forest for a very long time. Since I'm weak now, I can't go often anymore. And just think, it's so sad that the young people of today who have the strength, don't have the will.

The river is also our life, but there is less and less fish. It must be because the *yacu supai* (one of the river spirits) doesn't like the dynamite so many people are using now for fishing. There are still some small fish we call *shiquitu* or *carachama*, and others which we fish with fishhooks. Many kill the *bocachicos* (type of fish) with dynamite, but the runa have always fished with barbasco. When we fish for small fish we close off a river arm. An *ishinga* (fishing net) is placed there after throwing in the barbasco, so that many fish will die and fill the shigra. When the river is small, the fish to the surface and a *huami* (fish trap) is placed in the river as an obstacle. Then, when the little fish floats downriver, it stays there in the huami. There is another form of fishing done with *panga ambi* (a variety of fish poison). The women beat it with a stone and throw it into the river, or the men dive in and put it into a hole in a rock. In this way, many little fish die.

The river has its tricks: it gives us food, but it can also devour us when it rises (Fig. 9). Once, the waters of the Pano River rose so much that it came up to our chests. I cried for everybody when the river flooded, and remembered my father and mother and all my brothers and sisters. My brother Camilo came to my house crossing the river branches to help us. I was left crying without anything, naked; everything was taken by the flood. The house was left without even a wall. Later on, by working hard, I was able to get what I have now. Before the river flooded there used to be a man called Llama amigu. He lived at the headwaters of the Pano River and one day he told me: "Amigu, don't live so near to the river bank because the *mayuhua* (palisade) at the source is about to collapse and will drag away all those who live on the river banks. Make your house on the hill, amigu." I thought he was just saying so, but he insisted that some strange sounds were heard by the headwaters, and that a collapse would drag off everything. Although my heart told me he was just saying so, I began to make the house on the hill, but I didn't go to live there at once. Since the river won't tell you when it's going to rise, for not listening to the old man the river almost dragged me off.

First of all, before it rose much, a very large uprooted tree went floating by; we heard it coming, "hum . . . hum . . . hum," floating in very blackish water. It could have been the noise of the tree or of the supai

(river spirit) but it was a very strange noise. Everyone saw it, but thought it was only a torn-out tree. Since the flood wasn't very large yet, my sister-in-law started to fish with the ishinga. After a short while, how frightening! . . . the river rushed down on us.

My compadre Juana was in the room helping the yachaj cure her child. Batia says that when a *tilimbu* (firefly) is seen, it means the river will flood over. Then I asked them if they had seen or heard the stones in front crack—as they also make noise when the river floods over—but they told me they hadn't heard. I thought to myself, "It won't flood over then." My compadre Batia said he was afraid. In the first rising the water went through the shelves in the kitchen. Then we thought, "this is it, we are already safe." We tried to light the fire again and put the water to boil; we drank chicha, and I don't remember if we went to sleep or not. When we realized it, we were hearing the rushing water, "shoo . . . shoo . . . shoo," coming and coming. I ordered the canoes prepared. It was terrible to hear the water; it was frightening. What could we do! Anything we tried to do was no good. I wanted to begin crossing the river, but couldn't. I just went along, holding onto every bush of *toquilla* (palm), and got as far as the path on the chagra which was completely flooded over; we couldn't see the plants or anything. The following day, when the river had come down a little, we finally noticed the chagras. All of them, including one that my mother had, were destroyed. All the plantings were crushed by the palisades. For a moment I thought we'd die of hunger because the only thing we had to eat had been taken by the river. Luckily, on high grounds we had made a chagra and were able to survive on that. Since we had canoes, we also could use them, and did. We drank chicha made of *chonta* (fruit of a palm) and ate only manioc. If there were a flood like that one now, we would all die because we have nothing. I always tell my wife to make the chagra up high on the hill so that we can survive, but she goes on making it by the river bank and says, "What good is a chagra up there on the hill."

In the old flood a lot of people were saved: compadre Batia's son-in-law and his wife, Guillermo and his children, compadre Verde and his wife, the yachaj and his wife, and Mullu. If I had been alone I wouldn't have been saved. Since we were all together, I wasn't so afraid. Old man Miguel lived down by the river bank and had a canoe built that was just then being scorched. The little old man said that he had a "machine" (in the sense of magical power) with which he saw that the river would not rise, that his machine could tell that it wouldn't rain. I told him, "No compadre, as I see it, this canoe is going to be dragged off; tie it well to a tree, well fastened." He continued to insist that his machine wasn't just any machine and that it wasn't going to rain. I told him, "but the river isn't just anything either, and you are going to make it angry with your machine." And that's how it was, the river can trick any machine.

# 5

# The State, Missionaries, and Native Consciousness, 1767–1896

## A Century of Arbitrariness and Passive Resistance, 1767–1870

In 1830, Ecuador was proclaimed an independent republic, headed by Juan José Flores as its first president duly elected by a consitutent assembly. This significant event did not have important repercussions in the Oriente until several years later. In this vast province, the century that elapsed from the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 until their return to the region in 1870, may be considered as a unit, both politically and economically. Throughout this period, the Napo Runa were subject to a venal civil administration that coveted the natives' tribute, and to a few ignorant and corrupt priests who visited the area from time to time. This situation prevailed even after 1830, for the Republican government took no remedial steps. Instead, it created an administrative void in the Oriente because even the weak controls previously exercised by the royal bureaucracy vanished, and soldiers in search of fortune, traders, a few priests, and adventurers of all kinds "took over" the region. The state continued to draw surplus from the Indians in the form of tribute paid by them mainly in gold, equivalent to twelve pesos or six gold castellanos. Governors in the Oriente had relatively low salaries, which in Archidona they amply supplemented by the *repartos* (forced apportionments of goods to the Indians)

carried out at least twice a year. This practice consisted of forced sales of *tucuyo* (coarse cotton cloth made in the Sierra), thread, needles, and a large number of superfluous goods paid for with *pita* (agave) fiber and gold dust. Five varas (14 feet) of tucuyo were paid for with one gold castellano, or fourteen times their value. The Indians of Napotoa, Payamino, Aguano, Santa Rosa and Suno were considered primarily "gold producers," and those of Archidona "pita producers" (Osculati 1854:102, 107).

Jameson (1858:346) estimates that around the 1850s, on completing his term in office a governor could have amassed a sum equivalent to some 6,000 to 8,000 pounds sterling, which was a considerable fortune in Ecuador at that time. When Jameson (1858:343) visited Archidona, the governor was an army lieutenant-colonel who had been sentenced to death for murder, but whose penalty had been commuted by the president of the Republic to banishment in the Napo for ten years. Although he was but acting governor, at that time the position of governor of the Oriente was generally bestowed on the "government's military friends" (Avendaño 1985:251). According to Villavicencio (1984:344), the entire region served "as a penitentiary for political criminals." Osculati remarked that Quiteños did not venture to visit the Oriente, "not even during the good-weather season." He also argued that the major obstacle to the region's prosperity could be found in the government's disinterest, as it had awarded an economic monopoly to unscrupulous private interests (Osculati 1854:128). Posts in the Oriente were actually sinecures, with no differentiation in functions between authorities and tradesmen, thus depriving the Indians of all legal protection.

In 1847, Archidona was a small village where the governor was in residence. Ten years later, it had become a ghost town, and Tena (Fig. 10) was a new village where the Indians had just finished building the town hall (Jameson 1858:340–341). It is obvious that in the mid-nineteenth century, the juridical-political apparatus of government was absent from the Oriente. The few whites residing there could not survive without appropriating the Indians' surplus and without abusing their labor to extract gold and pita. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the typical Indian defense strategies was to vanish from a village immediately upon the white authorities' decision to settle there. This also explains the governors' frequent changes of residence between Santa Rosa, Archidona, and Tena, mentioned in historical sources (Villavicencio 1984:378). In certain cases, the Indians' flight was preceded by acts of violence, such as the murder of a priest in Archidona and a governor in Puerto Napo. These actions, however, were only localized uprisings easily quelled by the whites (Osculati 1854:102). One of the outcomes of 300 years of colonial domination was the destruction of the indigenous sociopolitical organization that had made possible the joint and coordinated action of the

different ethnic groups, as evidenced by the 1578 Indian rebellion discussed in chapter 2 (see also Muratorio 1982:66–67). Nevertheless, this protracted domination was never accepted as legitimate by the Napo Runa. According to Osculati (1854:107), the natives who stayed in Tena-Archidona became "unsociable, insubordinate and thieving." Efforts to punish them provoked the same reaction they were intended to prevent. The Indians fled to their tambus located a walking distance of three or four days from the villages, returning only after three or four months when pressed by the need to obtain manufactured goods.

Although the Indians still paid the priests in gold, tobacco, and pita for prayers and weddings, they exhibited "great disdain" for religion, did not attend church, and showed no special respect for the secular priests (Osculati 1854:103–104). The church tried to justify its participation in appropriating the Indians' surplus by alleging its social duty to "civilize" them, and its religious mission to "evangelize" them. From the Napo Runa's point of view, the merits of these two ventures were not self-evident, but revealed instead the irrationality of the process of white domination: to ensure its legitimacy by destroying the culture and religion of the dominated group.

Contrary to what most historical sources suggest, the absence of an open and joint resistance during that period does not mean that the Napo Runa were totally subdued, or that they were unaware of being exploited. One of the forms taken by this resistance is expressed, for example, in a song sung by an Indian when handing over his camarico to the priest: "Take this, we bring you our goods, the fruit of our labor and our sweat, stuff yourself, you crooked rascal" (quoted in Jiménez de la Espada 1927–1928:359–360).

Humor and irony in folk songs and dances as a form of protest against arbitrary power and authority are almost universal in peasant cultures, including the Andean.[1] This irreverence, which sometimes can be perceived only in the tone of voice and in the accompanying facial expressions, is a subtle form of resistance, quite significant also in Rucuyaya Alonso's story, particularly when he speaks of the authorities and patrons (see chapter 8).

Flight into the forest to attain freedom—called "emigration" by the whites in the mid-nineteenth century—and the Indians' lack of interest in being converted to Christianity were two of the forms taken by Napo Runa resistance. This resistance became a serious problem for the government and its representatives in the Oriente. In 1846, in an attempt to solve both problems, the National Congress was forced to exempt the Oriente Indians from the "personal contribution." The text of the law (see Rubio Orbe 1954:37) exhibits some of the then current misconceptions held by the national government regarding those Indians, in comparison with the highland Indian peasants with whom they were more familiar.[2] The law

assumes that, if only that particular tribute was removed, the Oriente Indians—including those not yet converted to Christianity—would be easily settled.

In the Sierra, the peasants' sedentary nature, a high population density, the expropriation of community lands by landowners, and the ready access to this region by state and church representatives, were the major constraints to highland Indian resistance, which took different forms from those in the Oriente.[3] The political and economic control mechanisms wielded by the state could not be extended there as easily as in the Sierra until well into the twentieth century. The Amazon region's inaccessibility and hostility to the white man were instrumental in the relative freedom enjoyed by the Oriente Indians. For them, the tropical forest was a familiar and safe environment, a refuge where they could ensure both their own material and spiritual existence, and the valued resources coveted by the whites to be exchanged for manufactured goods.

Only five months prior to the enactment of the exemption law, the Indian authorities of Napo and Archidona brought a complaint before the Minister of the Interior through the Fiscal Agent. In a document dated June 13, 1846, they reported a long list of abuses and humiliations to which they were subjected by the local political chiefs, including the obligation of providing maintenance for those same political chiefs and their dependents. They also demanded that the government take steps to put an end to all such abuses, threatening otherwise to "abandon our villages and seek safe asylum in the remotest sites of our vast and mountainous province" (cited in Costales and Costales 1964:617–620). Furthermore, there is evidence that they did not always pay the debts incurred through repartos, as suggested by Villavicencio (1984:358): "When creditors reprimanded them for their debts, they would answer: 'Don't be upset, no one will turn you out. I'll pay you when the boy who was born on top of this cotton cloth you gave me on credit, and who has aged it while growing up, is able to work. It is he who must work and pay.'"

Moreover, in the Tena-Archidona area, the missionaries were never able to consolidate their domination through the political and religious hierarchies associated with the fiesta system, comparable to that which developed in the Sierra. On one hand, the Oriente Indian communities were never established on a sufficiently permanent basis to keep up with a regular calendar of imposed religious festivities. On the other, the missionaries were unable to maintain either the necessary continuity of their presence in the region, or the spiritual control and native cooperation long enough to sustain a fiesta system. Although the Spaniards did impose on the Indians a form of native hierarchy of religious authorities, by the eighteenth century these had become amalgamated with the civil native officials (Oberem 1980:106). Neither the Napo Runa we questioned on the subject nor the archival material mentioned *priostes* (sponsor of

religious fiestas), or the rituals commonly associated with the fiesta system as having existed in the area since the mid-nineteenth century, the approximate time limit of the oral history tradition available to us.[4]

From the point of view of the authorities and traders, the problem was that, despite their coercive power, the very nature of the extractive economy allowed the Indians a degree of freedom and self-determination that guaranteed neither the regularity nor the discipline of their labor. More drastic solutions were required in order to ensure such qualities in the Oriente Indian labor force. One of these solutions was provided by the experiment of a "theocratic government" in the Napo, under the tutelage of a conservative government in alliance with the missionaries of the Society of Jesus.

## A Short-Lived Attempt at Oriental Theocracy, 1870–1875

In the 1870s, García Moreno, then conservative president of Ecuador, designed a relatively coherent government project to integrate the Oriente into a new national "order and progress" political regime. García Moreno's economic project aimed at modernizing the country by creating a communication infrastructure to mobilize the factors of production, do away with extreme economic regionalism, create the possibilities for expansion of the domestic market and the conditions to profit from the new opportunities offered by the international market. In order to train the necessary labor force, García Moreno advocated technical and scientific education, founded the Polytechnic School and hired European teachers, as well as doctors and lawyers to upgrade university education. This modernization was made possible by the government's rationalization and centralization of fiscal revenue, and by its efforts to stabilize the bureaucracy. But all this development took place within an autocratic political program intended to create the required social peace by way of an arbitrary repressive system and the asphyxiating ideological tutelage of the Catholic Church. The Concordat between the Vatican and the Government of Ecuador, ratified in 1863, was a political pact whereby the church provided an ideological superstructure to "moralize" the country, to create "political cohesion" (cited in Ayala 1982:140), to control education and culture, and even the most routine aspects of people's lives (Reyes 1966:146, 152–153).

The Oriente, which until then had remained almost beyond the reach of the government, plagued as it was by corrupt merchants and by Indian "paganism," provided García Moreno with an exemplary challenge to test his concept of economic development based on "moral regeneration." To this end, the president found his best allies in the Jesuits, and for

the five years until his death, he assigned to them the role of legitimate representatives of the state in the Napo region. He therefore awarded them full powers as governors with authority to "take the necessary measures to keep order and appropriate civil and ecclesiastic government in that Province" (Jouanen 1977:33–34). This implied instituting and removing authorities, punishing crimes, opening up schools, and decreeing laws. García Moreno's interests coincided with those of the Jesuit missions on two essential points: to blaze trails facilitating the entry of missionaries and nuns, and to evangelize and settle the Indian population so as to transform it through all possible means, into a "trustworthy" labor force.

By securing a Jesuit governance in the Oriente, García Moreno did not intend to prohibit extractive activities or trade, but rather to regulate, control and moralize them. The structural contradictions of this project, mainly in terms of the corrupt makeup of the merchant "bourgeoisie" in the Oriente and of its limited potential access to Indian labor, were evident soon after the Jesuits came into the area. The first decree issued by the Jesuit Vicar of the Oriente Province in 1879, stipulated the prohibition of selling on credit to the Indians, allowing them to pay their debts in cash, and the abolition of the liquor trade (Jouanen 1977:33–34). Both measures set off a conflict between the interests of the Jesuits as evangelizers and representatives of the state, and the interests of the traders and Indians, whose "alliance"—although occasional and precarious—turned out to be mutually advantageous at that point in time.

The major cause for the opposing interests between the merchants and the Jesuits lay in the conflicting demands of two different economies, one extractive and the other agricultural. Both economies confronted shortages of labor, which in the best of cases was reluctant and evasive. The merchants granted *licencias* or leaves to the Indians exempting them from the doctrinas so that they could engage in gold panning and scraping pita fiber. In addition, during that period the Tena-Archidona area was regularly visited by cinchona bark companies wanting to hire Indian families as labor (López San Vicente 1894:18–24). Osculati—as well as other historical sources—show that the Napo Runa were "infinitely jubilant" to accept these licencias (Osculati 1854:106). They preferred "paying" for their right to move freely into the forest, rather than submit to the permanent supervision of the white merchants. In sum, the social relations of production required by this extractive economy did not interfere with the social organization of the Napo Runa based on the muntun as a productive unit, nor with their land-use rights, or with their residential patterns (see Macdonald 1979:225–227). The Indians maintained control over their subsistence production based on shifting horticulture and on periodic hunting, fishing and gathering expeditions. Consequently, it was in defense of their own reproduction as a group that the Napo Runa made

temporary and reluctant alliances with the traders against the Jesuits. On the contrary, the missionaries wanted access to a "regular and disciplined" Indian labor force to build houses, convents, churches and schools. Their final objective was the establishment of agricultural and livestock settlements, a goal wholly incompatible with the prevailing economic organization and worldview of the Napo Runa. The Jesuits defined the licencias as "those routines characteristic of the Yumbos, whose passion for their idle and independent forest life borders on a savage fanaticism" (López San Vicente 1894:32). They also objected on the grounds that the abusive trade practiced by the whites against the interests of the Indians was "contrary to natural rights." Besides, the Indians' absences under the system of licencias deprived the mission of hands for work and of souls for indoctrination, reducing it to "uselessness." Further, in their ignorance and ideological repugnance of forest life, the Jesuits believed that the Napo Runa used their licencias only for "sprees," "drinking," and "mischief" (Jouanen 1977:129–300; López San Vicente 1894:33), for beyond their paternalistic tutelage, any freedom had by the Indians was considered profligacy.[5]

The final outcome of this conflict between the missionaries, the merchants, and the Indians—loss of power by the Jesuits and their second expulsion from the area in 1896—was strongly influenced by the Indians' resistance to settle more or less permanently in villages, and to become a peasant or semi-proletarianized labor force. The other decisive factor was the invasion of the entire Amazon by industrial capitalism in search of rubber, a raw material produced mainly in this region from the late nineteenth century until approximately the first two decades of the twentieth century (see chapter 7).

## *"Civilization" of the Labor Force*

### IDEOLOGICAL BASES

The ideological foundation of Jesuit economic strategy rested on three major premises: the "moralizing" nature of agriculture, the "civilizing" capacity of religion and, the concept that the Indians were "perpetual children" requiring the severe but paternalistic protection of the missionaries.

One of the Jesuits' favorite mottos was: "The sword and the plow behind the cross, not in front of it" (López San Vicente 1894:60). In Napo, as they had in Paraguay, the Jesuits opposed armed violence because, according to them, it only served to "frighten away or irritate the savages." Hence, they defended their pacifist theocratic experiment with the conviction that "civilization without religion is absurd, and religion without ministers to teach it, is senseless" (López San Vicente 1894:53). They

saw in agriculture the "civilized" future of the Oriente, since it entailed settlements and villages, work performed on a regular basis, and the possibility of monitoring a labor force disciplined by doctrinas, unlike the extractive economy that allowed almost untramelled Indian freedom.

The final aim of the Jesuits was to convert a hunting and gathering people into a European-style peasantry. Considering that the major obstacle against this purpose was the Indians' forest dwellings or tambus, the Jesuits tried to turn them into farms. The Indians could go every day to their tambus for their jobs of planting and harvesting only if they returned regularly to their village homes, as required to meet any political or religious obligations. According to the missionaries, this pattern would make the Indians conform to the way "all peasants live in Europe and in the interior of the Republic" (López San Vicente 1894:35). The majority of the Jesuits were of European origin, used to a society that had been a predominantly peasant one for hundreds of years, in which villages were the social core of the countryside and towns the hub of civilization. Consequently, it was almost impossible for them to understand the rationale of the Napo Runa's tropical forest economy and social organization. Xavier Albó argues that Jesuit "civilizing action" towards the Indians of Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was similar to that followed by them in the Napo mission, suffered from a fundamental contradiction. On the one hand, the Jesuits wanted to maintain a rigid separation between Spaniards and Indians, while on the other, they adopted a Spanish-oriented model to acculturate them. This model assumed an underlying idea of religion and political order similar to that existing "in the towns of Castille" (Albó 1966b:400, 407).

The strategies used by the Jesuits to discipline the Indians as a labor force must be considered an integral part of the evangelization process, insofar as the missionaries thought of regular work as the best way to combat the original sin of "idleness" (see Muratorio 1982:59). Supported by García Moreno, the Jesuits were determined to be, and actually acted as the "natural defenders" of the Indians against the "abuses and swindles" they suffered at the hands of the merchants. One important mistake the Jesuits made about the situation in the Napo, however, was to assume that the abuses against the Indians were in many ways comparable to the slave hunts suffered by the Guaraní Indians. Even in the nineteenth century, Paraguay continued to be their missionary model, but it was not applicable in Tena-Archidona, where that ethnocidal practice of "recruiting" labor did not exist until the rubber boom era, and where the subsistence interests of the Napo Runa, were at the time we are discussing, better "protected" by the traders.

Another of the Jesuits' main errors in judgment was to overestimate the "ignorance and frankness of the unfortunate Indians," and consequently to establish a harsh system of corporal punishment justified by the need

of the "fathers" to correct "perpetually child-like peoples" for their "laziness" (López San Vicente 1894:49). The misconception of the Indians as beings incapable of reasoning, for whom punishment was "the only thing that moves them and excites their sensitivity and imagination" (López San Vicente 1894:50–51), pervaded Jesuit evangelizing action, in both the first and second mission periods (see Albó 1966a:303–308). In Jesuit sources the Napo Runa are portrayed as "lost and ignorant children" who, "being irrational," submit to the merchants' exploitation (Jouanen 1977:130–131). The main assumption was that the submission stance sometimes taken by the Indians as a survival tactic was almost an innate form of behavior and an immutable consequence of a passive personality. However, those same sources may be read so as to substantiate a very different interpretation of native behavior. It is clear that the Napo Runa responded to those Jesuit strategies with a clear assessment of their economic position, rebelling against the missionaries' paternalistic attempts to decide on their way of life, and resisting punishment by resorting to the law, by force and even with considerable humor. This latter form of subtle resistance is particularly evident in the oral tradition about the Jesuits handed down to Rucuyaya Alonso by his parents and grandparents (see chapter 6). It is also evident that the Napo Runa understood quite well the bureaucracy of the local white government, the psychology of the merchants, and the prime cause of their conflict with the missionaries. They did use the licencias to manipulate all three powers on their behalf, of course, within the constraints of the economic structure with which they had to cope. On the one hand, they bribed the white authorities with gold to extend their licencias for longer time periods, thus flouting the missionaries. On the other, they sought the protection of the Jesuits against the ill treatments inflicted on them by the authorities, while at the same time pleading with the missionaries not to report these complaints to those same authorities (see Jouanen 1977:130–131).

### STRATEGIES TO DISCIPLINE THE LABOR FORCE

Just as the Spanish conquistadores in the preceding centuries, the only way the Jesuits could gain access to the native labor force was indirectly, through the Indian leaders, either natural or imposed, constituting what was known as "Runa government." This native government did not act as an autonomous body, however, and was almost nothing more than a political and productive arm of the whites. (For a full discussion by Rucuyaya Alonso of how the system worked, see chapter 8.) These authorities, who in Tena-Archidona were known as *justicias* (justices) or *varas* (staff-holders), were elected among the dominant families within the muntun, and a son could inherit the position of his father as was true in Rucuyaya Alonso's case. Sometimes powerful shamans would be internally selected to the highest office (see Macdonald 1979:220). The white authorities and the missionaries used the justicias to marshal native labor

for all kinds of jobs and services as well as for administering punishment to those who refused to comply.

Owing to his authority within the kinship group, a particular Indian official could successfully play that role. That very same authority however, allowed him also to use the labor force of his muntun to pan gold or to prepare pita for the white traders, or to simply organize his group for flight into the forest. Consequently, from the missionaries' point of view, the justicias were not entirely reliable and punishment inflicted on the other Indians was almost useless. As an alternative, some missionaries suggested instituting what they thought of as "incentives," such as installing blacksmith's or carpentry shops in an endeavor to govern the Indians by turning them into artisans. Efforts to make them settle down also required that they clear land for crops around the villages. The missionaries introduced cattle (Jouanen 1977:80) with the idea of "preparing a solid basis for the formation of community property and providing an allurement for the Indians so that they might be reduced to village life" (López San Vicente 1894:19). Another Jesuit report suggests that, given the "indolent nature" of the Napo Runa, it was impossible to secure forced labor from them and that they should therefore be appropriately remunerated (Cáceres 1892:47). The payment usually was made in cotton cloth, although in Tena-Archidona the Indians had to pay the missionaries for the masses and other religious ceremonies with four gold pesos or their equivalent in pita, or in food (López San Vicente 1894:43). The Napo Runa could obtain all these goods only near their tambus, far from their villages. Despite this obvious contradiction between their economic and ideological demands, the Jesuits did not alter their tactics of trying to "reduce" the Napo Runa into villagers.

In summary, native resistance, plus the traders' hostility to the missionaries and the smallpox epidemics that broke out in Tena-Archidona—resulting from the very attempts to establish villages—compounded to hamper and finally to prevent the success of the Jesuits' socioeconomic evangelizing strategies, which in themselves were ambiguous and contradictory.[6]

## Decadence of the Jesuit Missions

In the 1870s one of the most powerful traders opposed to Jesuit interests in the Napo was Faustino Rayo. He took undue advantage of his authority as governor to impose repartos on the Indians in exchange for gold and pita until he provoked a widespread revolt in Puerto Napo.[7] Soon after the Jesuits came into Tena-Archidona, a conflict arose between the Vicar of Napo, Father Guzmán, and Rayo, who had become the spokesman for the merchants' interests. Rayo refused to comply with the new trade legislation imposed by the missionaries. He used the discon-

tent pervasive among the Indians, caused by all the hardships they had to endure in building Archidona, to support an attempt against Father Guzmán's life, seemingly with the Tenas' active involvement (Jouanen 1977: 44–45). Jesuit sources acknowledge that the main cause of the uprising and of Father Guzmán's leaving the Napo mission were the tasks and punishments to which the missionary had subjected the Indians. On entering Archidona the new Vicar of Napo found it deserted; the natives had fled to the forest, taking with them "eight North-American machetes, a similar number of hoes, a little cotton cloth," and the dogs and other animals (Jouanen 1977:80). To reestablish missionary authority, the new vicar reimposed the custom of being carried on a litter by the Indians from town to town. He also punished those Indians allegedly guilty of the attempt against Father Guzmán's life who had sought refuge in Puerto Napo. Reversing previous Jesuit policy, the vicar entered into an agreement with the white traders whereby they were allowed to operate on credit, provided they charged fair prices, and to reside in Archidona, under the condition of submitting to Jesuit authority (Jouanen 1977:81).

Additional measures taken by the vicar were an even more direct and profound violation of deeply held Napo Runa cultural values and principles of social organization. What they found particularly offensive was to be forced to bury their dead in the Christian cemetery instead of in their houses, and to suffer interference in their marriage alliances (see Muratorio 1982:60–62). In addition to other Jesuit imposed obligations, these new measures further fueled the restlessness and discontent among all the Indians of that area, consisting of about 1,000 in Archidona and 500 in Tena at that time (Jouanen 1977:95). A smallpox epidemic in 1875 triggered the usual flight of the Indians. The most reluctant in returning to the villages were the Tenas, then considered by the Jesuits as the most rebellious. López San Vicente noted that "either because they had longer enjoyed the free forest life, or because they were more obstinate by nature than the rest, [the Tenas] refuse to return, brazenly replying that they will do so once the soldiers have already ousted the fathers" (López San Vicente 1894:28).

The conflict between the Jesuits and the traders worsened when the former used their influence with the president of the Republic to have Rayo removed from his official duties in Napo, and came to a head in 1875, when Rayo murdered President García Moreno in Quito. Other political interests also were involved in the president's assassination, but their explanation is not relevant here (see Reyes 1966:156–159). Following the death of García Moreno, a free-trade decree allowed the whites to again operate in the Napo without any restrictions, but the Indians persistently rejected being governed by the missionaries. In 1876 they once again took the legal course of resistance, by sending a delegation of Indian officials to Quito to demand that the Jesuits be expelled "because they punish greatly," and that the vicar be replaced by a single civil government for the

entire province (Jouanen 1977:107). The Indian official from Tena directly confronted the vicar to have him resign his office as civil governor (Jouanen 1977:109). These actions seem to have been successful, for shortly after, the new governor came to Napo accompanied by twelve soldiers and sixteen civilians. From that moment on, deprived of García Moreno's political and financial support and faced with the continued hostility of traders and Indians, the Jesuit mission's authority was weakened and its chances of expanding in the Oriente were seriously curtailed. According to the Jesuits, their personal circumstances became unbearable because even their most loyal Indians, such as the Ahuanos, turned against them (Jouanen 1977:113–114; López San Vicente 1894:30). A still weak state could not govern the Oriente without the missionaries' intermediary role, however, and soon the civilian government that succeeded García Moreno cooperated with the Jesuits, especially in their educational efforts. In 1891, the governor of Oriente declared, "Harmony now reigns among the missionary Fathers and the civil authority," and exhorted the whites living in town to obey the missionaries (AGN, March, 1891).

García Moreno's experiment in establishing a theocracy in the Napo under the paternalistic tutelage of the Jesuits lasted five years. Attempts at regularizing and moralizing the economy were thwarted by the makeup and composition of the merchant class: a combination of adventurers and former soldiers, many of them foreigners. These people never considered the Oriente as a permanent place to establish a well-organized civic society. This was not an instance of pioneer families opening up a frontier for colonization, which may account for the few references to white women or children in the historical sources of that period.[8] The "rough" nature of its extractive economy and the "hostility" of the forest environment were two important factors prevalent in the Oriente's initial attraction of men prepared to use violence and cunning in order to prevail against the Indians' unwillingness to work for them, and desirous of easy wealth and a quick exit from the area. In this respect, these "republican pioneers" were not very different from the first conquistadores of the Land of Gold and Cinnamon. For their part, the Napo Runa rejected the theocracy, not so much for ideological reasons, but because they felt that it was contrary to their material and cultural survival as an autonomous ethnic entity. Rationally choosing between two evils, they allied themselves with the traders against the Jesuits to resist a forced and ethnocidal acculturation.

## New Forms of Native Resistance

Even though the Jesuits remained in the Oriente, from 1877 political control in the region returned to the civil authorities which, in the missionaries' opinion, "made of their government a trading agency"

(Jouanen 1977:129) and reproduced "the obsolete system of licencias with more energy and frequency than before" (López San Vicente 1894:32). By the 1880s the mission went into its definitive crisis, and the Napo Runa employed other oppositional tactics exploiting the most vulnerable weaknesses that the missionaries shared with other whites in the Oriente: a loathing for manual labor and a consequent total dependency on the Indians for their day-to-day subsistence. The Napo Runa refused to chop wood, make fires, cook for the missionaries, or sell them food "until they die or go elsewhere" (Jouanen 1977:107). The effectiveness of this tactic toward achieving the Indians' goals and the actual pain it caused the Jesuits may be perceived in the following complaint: "Thus, our presence in the Napo was reduced to the very least, to having nothing to eat except a piece of manioc and plantain cooked as best we could. I repeat, manioc and plantain that we ourselves had to fetch and carry on our backs, with no little toil, from faraway chagras abandoned by the Indians" (López San Vicente 1894:27).

On other occasions the Napo Runa worked poorly or reluctantly with the aim of hindering mission constructions. All of these various forms of sabotage and their escapes to the forest, sometimes even under the false pretext of "being afraid of the smallpox" (Jouanen 1977:111), constituted effective resistance tactics. They undermined, actually and figuratively, the strength of the missionary system of domination. Besides, since these forms of passive resistance were not expressed as a public and open revolt, they were safer for the Indians to the extent that they did not provoke military intervention to keep them in check.

Notwithstanding the more than evident and persistent opposition of the Indians, the Jesuits were equally obdurate. In 1888 they brought the nuns of the "Good Shepherd" to Archidona to take charge of the girls' school. The nuns made the arduous one-day trip from Papallacta dangling from the backs of the Indians. The vicar remarked, "There was a certain Indian prejudice against them: it has disappeared; they are now called 'Huarmi Padres' (women fathers)" (Jouanen 1977:148).

Rather than being prejudiced against the nuns for having had to carry them on their backs, there was an underlying survival rationale in the Napo Runa's resistance against forced schooling and boarding schools for their children, given the importance children played in the productive process (see Muratorio 1982:65–66). This rationale is explained in a Jesuit source with the following quote: "They [the Indians] say: What do we want with the *quilca* [*sic*; paper, education]; does the *quilca* give us monkeys, does it give us *huangana* [peccary]; does it give us *pishco* [*sic*; bird]; does it give us *challua* [a type of fish]? It gives us none of this; therefore, why should we want the *quilca*?" (López San Vicente 1894:78). The next generation of Napo Runa also continued its opposition to education, considering it to be a form of forced, violent, and ethnocidal assimilation.

From Francisca Andi in 1985, I learned some of the reasons for that opposition: "The elders never wanted to put their children in boarding schools. They thought that if the boys learned to read, the white women would take them away as servants, and that if the girls learned to read they would go off with white men. They also thought that the whites taught them to read and write so as to draft them for war."

Although the central government continued to delegate to the Jesuits the task of educating the Indians, in 1884 it made a first attempt at integrating the Oriente into the nation's life through controlled colonization. To achieve this objective it sent a few whites to settle on the banks of the Napo. Deprived of all material support the hungry settlers began to steal from the Indians, and the experiment wound up in a costly failure for the state of 15,000 pesos. Something similar occurred during that same time period with the government's project of imposing a certain order in the Oriente through the army. The scantily supplied and undisciplined military detachment, rather than keep the peace, also took part in exploiting the Indians, especially by stealing food from them (Jouanen 1977:141–142). The regional authorities were compelled to send some abusive soldiers back to Quito, and when weapons were shipped to the Oriente, these were sometimes accompanied by a note warning the soldiers "not to waste ammunition on festivities" (AGN, July 1884).

As native resistance was hindering their educational and evangelizing efforts in the Tena-Archidona area, Jesuit zeal turned to attempts at pacifying the still "infidel" population of the vast Oriente province. But here their efforts were frustrated, not by the Indians, but by the economic forces and social tragedies unleashed by the rubber boom. For their part, the Tenas and Archidonas continued to denounce "the missionaries' punishments" throughout that period, as Rucuyaya Alonso so proudly argues (see chapter 6). In 1889 they brought their complaints before the minister of the treasury and the president of the Republic (AGN, letter from A. Llori to minister of the Treasury, Nov. 1889). The new activity of the rubber and cinchona dealers increased the demand for already scarce native labor, unleashing at the same time smallpox and measles epidemics that advanced from Iquitos to the upper Napo. The latter greatly aggravated the competition for labor, thus exacerbating the traditional conflicts among the traders, the Indians, and the Jesuits.

Father Rafael Cáceres, the superior of the Ecuadorian Mission, decided to visit the Napo mission in 1891, and after having toured all the villages under his jurisdiction, set down in a memorial a number of recommendations intended to save the mission from the crisis. Considering the causes of this crisis already discussed, Father Cáceres' proposals, which included moderation in punishments, more ceremonial songs during masses, elaborate processions, and emphasis on teaching children in Spanish rather than in Quichua (Jouanen 1977:175–176) proved to be entirely utopian.

In 1892 the Loreto Indians violently rebelled against the Jesuit missionaries, with the intent of driving them out, but only managing to destroy the mission. From evidence in Jesuit reports it is possible to infer that the Tena-Archidona Indians had previous knowledge and had even participated in planning the rebellion (López San Vicente 1894:70). Just before it happened, for instance, the Indians tried to distance themselves from the missionaries and to remove their children from the mission's boarding school (Jouanen 1977:188–189). Nonetheless, in Tena-Archidona the rebellion was aborted because the forewarned government responded within a few days by sending a military detachment to restore order, thus causing the rebels to flee (López San Vicente 1894:69). Though the Jesuits were always complaining about the hostility of the governments that came after García Moreno's, in situations of conflict the state continued to defend the missionaries and to exercise its repressive power against the Indians.

When addressing the Indian rebellions in the Oriente, historical sources rarely reveal the names of their leaders and even less so of their followers.[9] This is why it is particularly interesting that the López San Vicente report on the 1892 revolt mentions the Tena leader who took an active part in the resistance, an Indian teniente by the name of Gabriel Andi, grandfather of Rucuyaya Alonso. It was from him that Rucuyaya Alonso received the oral tradition explaining the Jesuits' exit as a result of the conscious and active resistance of the Napo Runa, as he tells us in his life history (see chapter 6, pp. 96–97). Furthermore, an account of a conversation that took place between a missionary, Gabriel Andi, and other Tena and Archidona Indians soon after the revolt, shows how also on that occasion the Indians were able to manipulate the conflict between the missionaries and the traders so as to clear themselves of their own involvement in the rebellion. Since they had actively participated in the very planning of the uprising, in this conversation the Tenas and Archidonas reveal themselves as great masters in the art of "irreverent submission." Once more this proved to be an excellent resistance tactic used by the Indians in their dealings with the whites. Below we quote that conversation as it was told to another Jesuit:

> Apologetically [the Tena Indians] said to one of the missionaries: 'Father, you are our father. . . . We are not to blame. . . . N.N. (one of the white men) has tricked us. He is the one who spoke to us against the fathers, and told us not to come to the village, to stay in the forest, and to pay no heed to the fathers. He threatened us if we came.' The Indian lieutenant of Tena said publicly that he was called upon three times by the white man and since he did not want to heed his summons, the owner of Sabata himself went to seek him and induce him to show up in Quito to complain against the mis-

> sionaries, as in fact he did, repeating what he had been suggested to say. And what is said by Gabriel Andi, such is his name, is repeated by the Indians of Archidona, likewise committed to the criminal revolt. (López San Vicente, 1894:70)

This obvious manipulation of the situation by the Napo Runa not only failed to be perceived as such by the Jesuits, but rather helped to confirm their conception of the Indians as "gullible," "easily seduced," and "mere instruments" of the white traders (López San Vicente 1894:69–71). This attitude may only be explained by the ideological veil that obscured the Jesuits' perception of the Indians until the very end. To accept the likelihood that they had rationally participated in a rebellion would have amounted also to accepting that they were "adults" instead of "children," thereby recognizing the failure of one of the major underpinnings of the Jesuits' pedagogical and evangelizing philosophy.

All the evidence points to the fact that the white traders played a significant role in the 1894 rebellion, defending their class interests and providing the Indians with the necessary political connections in the central government, although as we already mentioned, these connections did not turn out to be very effective at the decisive moment. Historical evidence and oral tradition reveal, however, that the Napo Runa were conscious players in the rebellion. Their participation originated in a reasoned decision to maintain the freedom and independence required for their own survival. Although the rebellion was quelled, the Napo Runa still remember it as being decisive in ousting the Jesuits; and the Loreto Indians remember it as their very own success (Oberem 1980:116). Myth and history are intertwined here to become part of a resistance culture, symbolically incorporated into the ethnic identity of the Napo Runa.

The difficulties experienced by the Jesuits in the Napo were certainly part of a broader economic, ideological, and political problem: the relationship between the church and the state in Ecuador, which is not my concern here. It is evident, though, that the joint action of the traders and the Indians in the Tena-Archidona area eventually precluded the mission's survival. After 1892, the fear of reprisals, plus further smallpox epidemics that broke out in 1894 and 1895, once again spurred the flight of the Napo Runa, and without their labor to repair them, the missionary houses went to ruin (Jouanen 1977:192–193). Finally in 1896, the Liberal government of Eloy Alfaro passed a decree expelling the Jesuits from the Oriente via Brazil or Iquitos, and prohibited them from returning either in a private capacity or as a corporation. The Jesuits abandoned the Napo mission in 1896; some of them left by way of Tiputini with the assistance of the civil authorities (AGN, Oct. 26, 1896). Officially, the Company of Jesus

relinquished the Napo mission before the Holy See in 1913, and it became the responsibility of the Archbishop's Curia until 1922, when the Josephine missionaries entered the area.

## Ideology, Consciousness, and Conflict

As many scholars have demonstrated, the core of the production process in the Sierra was the hacienda. It was also the center of confrontation between the Indian peasants and the landowners (see Espinosa 1984; Guerrero 1975; Arcos 1984, among others). For the period under discussion in the Oriente the missions were the equivalent of the hacienda in the Sierra. They came to be an arena for confrontations and class alliances that went beyond the evangelizing objectives of the Jesuit missionaries. Economic, cultural, and ideological reasons contributed to shaping the strategies and tactics used by each one of the parties involved in trying to control their opponents. Besides being one of the most powerful landowners in the Sierra, the church played an essential role in mediating and ideologically justifying the forms taken by peasant-landowner class relations. In contrast, in the Oriente, the Jesuits became direct parties to the class conflict as one of the two types of patrons competing for Napo Runa labor. At the ideological level, the white traders shared the Jesuit conception of the Indians as "lacking civilization and discipline." Unlike the highland landowners, however, the traders did not require the church to ensure such qualities of civilization and discipline in an Indian labor force used mainly in a gold and pita extraction economy. In the Oriente, it was precisely the Napo Runa's "savagery" and "unfettered freedom" that allowed them to go deep into the forest to secure those products. The traders, cum authorities, resorted to the missionaries as "educators and civilizers of the Indians" only when the latter rebelled against the traders' self-interests, and later on when the very economy of the region required a more settled and regular labor force, as will be discussed later.

From the Napo Runa's point of view, their alliance with the traders was basically a convenient strategy, insofar as it enabled them to evade Jesuit influence by means of the licencias or to confront the missionaries, either legally or violently. Furthermore, that alliance was never unconditional. When the traders, particularly the rubber dealers, threatened the Napo Runa's survival as a group, confrontation did take place within the constraints imposed by the new economic and social conditions prevailing in the first two decades of this century. Trapped in their ambiguous role as both evangelizers and patrons, the Jesuits failed to understand the nature of this alliance, or they ignored it, prefering to consider it one more evidence of the "blind and ignorant submission" of the Indians to the white man's power and incentives. Their conception of the Napo Runa was pri-

marily thought out in racial terms, and in this sense, the Jesuits did not differ from the other whites. Their holistic view of the Indians as an "innocent and wretched race," or as a "savage race," lacked the necessary subtleties to distinguish the autonomous interests and cultural features specific to Indian behavior. Conversely, the rationale of this behavior became evident precisely in the fact that the Indians did not see "the whites" as a homogeneous racial category. In situations of conflict they were able to differentiate those interests of the white priests that threatened Indian survival, and those of the white traders who, at that point in time, did not interfere with their own reproduction as a group.

Native resistance was generated mainly through the action of the elders, or rucuyayas. This is partly explained by the leadership position that they occupied within the kinship group. Moreover, in Napo Quichua culture, there are ideological elements and symbolic practices to which only age and experience can afford access and which provide the deepest context of meaning to understand the elder's resistance. Although I discuss these cultural bases later (see chapter 14), in order to decipher the form taken by class confrontation in the historical period under discussion, I now focus my analysis on other ideological aspects of this indigenous resistance and the whites' reaction to it. Then as well as now, the dynamics of class relations and conflicts in the Oriente—and also in a good part of Ecuador—must be explained by understanding the ideological overtones that condition ethnic confrontation in its complex interrelationship with the social relations of production.

The Jesuits' image of the Indians was fraught with ambiguities. It basically envisioned the Indians as irrational beings, who only reacted by instinct; beings with no culture to restrain those instinctive impulses, and consequently, as generic Indians devoid of a specific ethnic identity.[10] Xabier Albó, one of the few contemporary Jesuit social scientists to have thought out this problem, states it as follows: "The missionary mainly sought someone, not something. *The person rather than the culture*. The latter interested him only in terms of the former. He was directly interested in the Indian; and only indirectly in what was native, insofar as the cultural environment was the road to get to know, penetrate into, and respect the Indian as an individual" (Albó 1966a:295, emphasis added). This road was not traveled by the nineteenth-century Jesuits in the Napo, where no serious attempts were made to understand the deep roots of Napo Runa culture. Albó (1966a:295) concludes that the official attitude of the Jesuits when speaking of the Indian person was "in general, one of respect and esteem." One can argue, however, that the positive virtues ascribed to the Indians such as "docile and submissive nation," "eagerness to imitate," "submissive to extremes" (Albó 1966a:296) reveals the fact that the Jesuits took the mask for the person. José de Acosta, whom Albó says has been called "a moderate Las Casas," is the only one who

seems to have partially pierced this mask. In the mid-sixteenth century, de Acosta described the Peruvian Indians as "mostly subtle and sharp and with no small ability to pretend and feign anything," despite the fact that on another occasion, he refers to them as "those beasts" (Albó 1966a:295). Although this image may be considered positive from the Jesuits' point of view, it characterized Indian peasants who had already settled in villages and were disciplined by the political, social, and religious controls typical of hierarchical societies. Instead, in the Napo, the Jesuits confronted horticulturists, hunters and gatherers, the so-called savage Indians, whose social organization and values—as noted by Taylor in his discussion of the Jívaro—confronted the white man with an image representing "the exact antonym of the major values adopted by the dominant sectors of Western society" (Taylor 1985b:263).

On the one hand, the Napo Runa was considered "the good savage," submissive and peaceful, the child domesticated by hundreds of years of contact with the whites, and on the other, the "animal of instincts," "the auca" who might break out at any time through the superficial layer of domestication. The Napo Runa frequently expressed their resistance to exploitation and hid their hostility towards the whites with a protective and public disguise of docility and subordination. The gap created by these two ideological practices, superficially similar but in fact diametrically opposed, was an important factor conditioning both class relations and class conflict in the Tena-Archidona region. These evolved under the structural conditions created by the encounter of the three types of economies: extractive, agricultural, and hunting and shifting horticulture.

Because of their difficulties with Indian adults, the Jesuits emphasized the education of Indian children, considering them to be "the only positive hope for the Mission" (López San Vicente 1894:18). In the Napo, they followed the general guidelines of the educational policy characteristic of the Order. Even against their families' wishes the children could be kept with the missionaries for a considerable time, so as to "manage them with the regularity of a school in a civilized town" (López San Vicente 1894:18). Children were considered psychologically more transparent than adults and culturally immature, making it easier for the Jesuits to understand and shape them. In contrast, whenever possible the adults and elders physically put themselves beyond the Jesuits' reach. But even when they were face-to-face, ideological differences separated them more than the forest did. Blocked by European conceptions of savagery and by their own evangelizing philosophy, these nineteenth-century missionaries were incapable of penetrating into native thinking or of reading their behavior. For example, the following explanation of the Archidona rucuyayas' resistance was given by one of the Jesuits:

> [For this reason] it is necessary to see a complete difference of character among the Indians who have aged in their nomadic habits and the generations now emerging. Older people keep to themselves despite an external semblance of submission, and even when exhibiting an exaggerated servility. They are aloof, despite their politeness and their regaling of the missionaries in moments of pleasure amidst their festivities. If the case arises, they will display hidden thoughts and evil-intended instincts, and offer a calculated and very tenacious resistance to the F's [the priests] plans, for the sake of saving their independent and idle lives, giving ground only step by step. On the contrary, children are sincerely loving and innocent, and their education with the missionaries is the only one that could shape beings that will not be stupified, in turn, by their parents' savage instincts (López San Vicente 1894:18–19)

In comparison, this quotation confirms various aspects of an argument made by James Scott in his work on the everyday resistance of a peasant group in Malaysia: "That the poor should dissemble in the face of power is hardly an occasion for surprise. Dissimulation is the characteristic and necessary pose of subordinate classes everywhere most of the time—a fact that makes those rare and threatening moments when the pose is abandoned all the more remarkable" (Scott 1985:284).

When in addition—as was the case in Napo—a class society is ethnically stratified, that need for dissimulation among the subordinate groups seems to be more pressing because of the absence of a shared culture providing the basis for potential communication between the classes. When cultural codes differ the symbolic sanctions whereby one class can put pressure on the other in more culturally homogeneous societies are ineffective.[11] Even those whites who showed some sort of interest in the Indian as a person considered him a closed and hermetic individual and his world an almost inpenetrable one. When the dominant class learned Quichua, it used the language as an instrument to subject and evangelize the Indian, and rarely as a medium for understanding the deepest meanings of his culture. Besides, until a short time ago, the Indians, particularly the women, had no access to the subtleties of the Spanish language that might enable them to penetrate into the white man's world—a socially inaccessible world, in any case. Consequently, the seeming "external submission" and "exaggerated servility" were effective measures of self-preservation, reflecting the clear and realistic Indian assessment of the instruments of repression available to the whites. The ethnic barrier between whites and Indians conditioned class interdependence, since it intensified the distance already established by an unequal power relation

through several rituals of avoidance. The absence of a shared cultural language widened the social gap between the classes.

Going back to the quotation by the Jesuit priest, it can be understood why the "hidden thoughts," the "evil-intended instincts," or the "irrational desire for independence" are the only reasons the missionary found plausible to explain the rucuyayas' resistance. The "innocence," "sincerity," and "lovingness" of the children are for him opposed to the deliberate "evil intents" and "dissembling" practiced by the elders. This interpretation reveals the constant ambivalent approach the missionaries had towards the Napo Runa, shifting between the "good and the bad savage," and likewise, the actual fear that the auca might reemerge, "contaminating" the already civilized natives and unleashing violent conflicts. Although in that period of the nineteenth century the Napo Runa were considered the most docile and acculturated Indians of all the Oriente, even the Jesuits realized that this submission was precarious in nature, though they failed to understand its deeper causes.

To conclude this chapter on the history of the Napo Runa, it is interesting to compare the Jesuits' image of them with that of another nineteenth-century European who was not involved in the conflict. Charles Wiener, the French traveler who visited the Tena-Archidona area in 1880, was particularly perceptive of certain ethnographic aspects that went entirely unnoticed by other travelers of the same period. Though Wiener shares with the Jesuits various elements of European views of his time about the savages, he is exceptionally critical of the civilizing action taken until then by the Europeans in connection with the Amazon Indians. He notes, for example, that the production of manufactured goods had replaced native handicrafts; that panning gold in payment for trifles had become the most important job for the natives; and that the Europeans "had not only neglected opening up the intelligence [of the Indians] to more concrete ideas, but had even drowned them in liquor" (Wiener 1883:242).

In addition, Wiener is one of the few travelers of that period to transcribe his conversation with a Tena-Archidona Indian, who told him about his act of confession to a Jesuit priest. In this confession, the Indian uses sarcasm and humor as defensive weapons in the face of authoritarian irrationality. We already observed these same characteristics in the song sung by another Indian when handing over his camarico to the priest, and they are present in several of the stories told by Rucuyaya Alonso. The conversation reported by Wiener reads as follows:

> A great Yumbo devil, called Muro-Atalpa, was coming out of the church one day: 'You confessed yesterday,' I said. 'Yes (*Haré*),' he answered. 'And what did the father ask you?' The Yumbo broke out in laughter: 'He asked me if I had stolen. I

> said no. He asked me if I had gotten drunk, I answered: *Taita* [father], you know I'm drunk all year round, why do you ask me that?' Muro-Atalpa added: 'My grandfather was always drunk; I drink since I could barely walk, how can you want me not to drink now?' (Wiener 1883:243)

It is impossible not to read here Muro-Atalpa's ironical tone with respect to the missionary, especially when Wiener also let us know that the Father's penitence for Muro-Atalpa was the forceful donation of four pounds of pita to the convent. A few lines later, Wiener (1883:243) observes that the "Yumbos" are distinguished from the Sierra Indians by their humor: "They laugh at anything and nothing." That "nothing" might well be just what the Jesuits never understood.

# 6

# Christianity and the Missions

Our own wisdom always existed and will always exist, if we are left to ourselves. But as far as I can recall, they never let us have a belief that was purely our own. What I remember is that we lived with the Jesuits; they taught us religion. If just one day we didn't go to the mission they punished us. They made a two-branched whip using a dried bull's penis and with this they whipped us until blood came out. On the days we went to hear mass, a man whom they called "brother" would make us sing. When we knew we were going to be punished we would take some old clothes and put them over our bottoms, under the pants. We were beaten on top of this, "whap, whap, whap," but it hurt less. They made us strike each other on our naked buttocks until they became all red and blood came out. That's how angrily we were punished; they punished us hard!

At the beginning the Jesuits were good, they talked only about the word of God. They performed some good deeds, but they also made us work hard: cutting down trees, building houses and the church. At the beginning, if we cut down trees, they would give us five pieces of clothing. Later people decided not to put up with the punishments and started to denounce them. Our elders did a lot of denouncing; they didn't know Spanish, but they had their own talents. As soon as they went to the city to complain, the soldiers would be here in a minute. Then the Jesuits had to leave just as they were. I think this was in Alfaro's time. Since they left, the mission was abandoned. I think it was then that I was baptized, but before that I used to go to the Jesuits. Sometimes I stayed for two days to get people baptized or married.

I don't remember the names of all the Fathers. My mother's sisters might have known; they were old spinsters, wonderful at making us pray. My grandparents used to say that in one night they could make one

hundred bundles of pita, rolling them up on a leg, and they had to deliver them at the Jesuits'. The bundles were called *chirigotes*, but now they are called by another name. If the women didn't do this, they were given a terrible punishment; they were made to fast so many times they almost died. That's the time when they complained about the Jesuits and the priests were kicked out. There were some old women living in Talag, although they were really from Pano and their nickname was "Pilchi muntun." There were three of them and they might already be dead. They lived with the nuns as their servants and they were the ones who controlled the scraping of pita fiber. The women had to finish in one single night. Starting very early in the morning, they worked until midnight sleeping very little and working again till dawn. The bundle of pita had to be delivered very early the next morning. That's how the Jesuits didn't let us live in peace; they were a nuisance.

After a long time, the other priests [the Josephines] came from Quito. My father was among those who carried the nuns and priests here. The Evangélicos (Evangelical Protestant missionaries) came sometime after. Before the priests came we lived without any alien belief, and I remember there was a priest who came from Quito every year just to baptize and marry us. The mission was left abandoned since we were young until we were sort of middle-aged. These Josephine fathers are new, they came to where the hospital is now, and there they would baptize and marry people. I was married in that church. What I remember is that I was married by the priest I carried from Quito; he was one of the first to come. His name was Cecco. Had I been like the other young men, by the time I married I already should have had three or four children. As far as I know, I might have been around twenty-five years old when I got married. When I was able to carry loads, when I was a full-grown man, that's when I got married.

When the Josephines arrived, they settled just where they are now. Before that, this place was the hamlet of a Mr. Rubio. There was a large house that we made ourselves by dragging the logs. Father Emilio went to live there, in Huayrayacu, where some of us lived. There was also a man called Vega who wanted to install electricity for a sawmill in Pumayacu. We had to dig out a lot of earth there, especially those of us who owed points for not going to mass on Sundays. And since that man was a policeman and he had his house there, he had a canal made. Then the priests came to buy the canal that was already made. After that they brought electricity to Tena and also the sawmill. The truth is that they continue to live here in Tena, but because they fight with the Evangélicos, people are now moving away from the priests. The Josephines said they loved us, and would call the Indians only on Sundays to hear mass. If we heard mass every Sunday the priests would give us a little something, for example some beef, especially to those who had a lot of children. But there was also

a task to do, and when the work was over, that's when the gift was given out. The priests didn't bawl us out; they scolded us when we didn't pay the school tuition. At that time they charged five sucres. You also had to give them a basket full of manioc a month and a bunch of plantains. There was a group that loved the priests quite a lot, and another that paid no attention to them.

In Huagrayacu there was a father who taught us how to pray while he also had us build a hill-like thing so that the water could fall down. I was called to pray there. I already had a wife and went to learn to pray and get married by the fathers. We did this for one week, and after that they held a mass and married us. We were taught to pray in Spanish and then we were made to marry. During the day they made us work; the praying was for the evening or at meals, but the women had to stay with the nuns. Since the priests had a sawmill, they sent us to Pano and we had to bring back logs (tree trunks usually measuring two or three meters) with the help of the women. Then we made the logs go up the Tena River. Later, once the logs were all piled up, the priests began to build the canal to Tena. At that time there was a Brother Santi, a missionary who loved to work with machines. He would have us cut boards all day long, from morning till night. There was a father who used to scold us very harshly because he didn't like our work. I used to tell him that we Indians are also made by God, with bending knees, elbows, and joints. If God had made us all straight, then we couldn't walk. That's what I told him because the priest didn't want to receive any of the irregular logs we brought for him. In Huagrayacu, the first father was called Emilio Cecco, another was Father Jorge. He was made a monseigneur and died while fording the river. Some said he was drowned because he was friendly with the Evangélicos, but the truth is that he died right there in the river.

After these priests came the gringos (Evangelical Protestant missionaries). The first missionary in Pano was Jorge Tidmarsh who used to go around preaching the word of God. Then came another missionary called David Cooper. The land where the missionaries chose to live belonged to our grandparents. The settlement began with our family, and when the missionaries came, other people gathered there and the Pano village began. Those lands were sold to the mission by my compadre, the patron Baraona Ruiz.

At the beginning, the two missions [Catholic and Evangelical] used to fight each other a lot. Lately, they both keep at a distance. Each Evangélico came with his wife. The first one who came was Ruben Larson, then came one called Mr. John, whoever he was. Whenever a lot of them came, I carried the loads and the children, who were very big and heavy gringos. For one of the biggest children we had to make a double box (wooden chair on which people were carried on the Indians' backs) with a roof. That's how we brought him, by carrying that huge box. Although the children of the

gringos were young, they were as tall as can be. At the beginning, the Evangélicos only came to preach and they gave us some medicine, but later they started the schools. They would agree to baptize and marry people only after they had become believers. When the gringos arrived, the priests frightened us by saying that the gringos came from hell, and that if we listened to them, we would also become supai (here, meaning devils). Then we used to answer: "You are not from here either; you are from Italy, dominated by the Pope."

Both the fathers and the gringos were always preaching. The fathers told the Indians that the Evangélicos were devils, that they didn't believe in God, and that like the devil they lived in *ucupachama* (here meaning hell). I thought that the priests and the gringos came from different countries, but the priests actually thought the others really came from hell. We later realized that the gringos would also fight among themselves. Larson came at that time and he lived in Don Carlos' house. A preacher called Mejía used to come from Archidona with all his sisters. Because I would sing with them, they began to offer those women. They liked me very much, but as they were not very welcome here, they went to Dos Ríos where the land was part of Don Carlos' hacienda. He set up the Evangélicos there and had the Indian people build the houses for them. There they preached the word of God, and there they stayed. No matter how much the priests insisted that the Evangélicos were supais and married priests, the Indians of Dos Ríos got attached to them anyway. So there was a division: the people from the Tena River went with the fathers, and those from the Misahuallí went with Larson, and the indigenous people became divided.

According to the runa, however, the Jesuits were the best. When someone didn't want to hear mass the Jesuits first mentioned his name; and as the drops of wax fell like tears from the candles and he was mentioned with teary eyes, that person would get vomit and diarrhea, and drop dead right away. Because they were able to do that, the elders said that the Jesuits were like yachaj. I don't recall the name of that sickness, but these Josephines can't do that, they are less powerful priests. The Jesuits were stronger, the best, according to the peoples' opinions. Today's priests also teach the word of God, but they are weaker.

When the missions first came they did help the natives, but then more of them came and there was a hodgepodge. There were differences even in the greetings we were supposed to make. Some would greet by naming the supai; I myself would even insult them saying: "You haven't come to preach the word of God and you are really devils." I also fought quite a lot with Father Humberto until we didn't greet each other anymore, but now he calls me by my first name and says to me: "Bandiorucu, how are you?" Whenever he visited me here, he would tell me that I was living on very good land; maybe that's why he always used to visit me. Up there by the

headwaters of the Pano River the priests had a very large church where we would also go to hear mass. Since Father Jorge died, they don't have the mass and no one goes there anymore. The government was always for the priests. Priests and authorities formed one single group, and there was no way to settle anything without going through them. It was just when the Evangélicos came to Dos Ríos that we were able to become a little independent from that power.

At the beginning I was only just a bit close to the Evangélicos, but when my son Pablo was going to the Josephine Fathers' school, he had problems because of religion and they threw him out of the school. I went to protest and finally the priests told me that I should also go to the Evangélicos. I put my son in the Evangelical school and all my other children supported me. The priests made trouble for me because they said that I didn't pay some three hundred sucres I owed them. But I told them: "I always come to pay, I'm always paying," and when I got angry, they also threw me out of the convent. Then I approached the Evangélicos with all my heart. Now I have my own beliefs and those of the gringos, and I don't get angry.

# 7

# Liberalism and Rubber *The Early Twentieth Century in the Oriente*

## God and Liberty: A Secular State[1]

The Liberal political leader Eloy Alfaro took control of the government of Ecuador as supreme chief from 1895 to 1897, serving as constitutional president for two terms, from 1897 to 1901 and from 1907 to 1911. For the first time since the colonial period, Alfaro's administration instituted a clear break between the state and the religious missions for the purpose of governing and civilizing the Indians in the Oriente. The regime's radical liberalism[2] became law in the second Constitution of 1906 proclaiming the separation between church and state,[3] freedom of worship, protection of individual guarantees, and laicism in official education. As soon as they took office, the Liberals had to confront open political hostility from the church and its conservative allies. One dramatic result of this conflict was the expulsion from the country of foreign bishops and priests, including the Jesuits. Seeking to strengthen a new model of political domination, particularly under the 1899 Ley de Patronatos (contract between state and church), the state tried to rationalize and depoliticize the clergy, confining it to the performance of its specific duties, so as to be free of the church's ideological control (message from Eloy Alfaro, quoted in Pareja 1979:234). President Eloy Alfaro won the support of the indigenous populations of the Sierra and the Oriente mainly by issuing three decrees in 1895, 1898, and 1899, which together exempted the Indians from the territorial tax and from subsidiary work. These decrees also recognized the Indians' legal status as Ecuadorian citizens entitled to education and judicial protection (Rubio Orbe 1954:63–67). With respect to the Amazon Indians, the Special Law for the Oriente of 1899 also prohibited forced *repartos* of

goods, the transportation of loads without prior contract and payment of the appropriate wages and the direct sale of Indian children or their exchange for products (Cisneros Cisneros 1948:61–62).[4]

In theory then, the Liberal government opened up the doors to the free flow of goods in the Oriente and created the legal conditions for the Indians to freely sell their labor power. As is the case with any legislation, however, the Special Law for the Oriente was unable by itself to create the structural conditions for its implementation. From approximately 1880 until 1914, those conditions were generated and fueled by foreign industrial capitalist demand for Amazon rubber. In the 1880s, one hundred quintals of rubber and over one thousand of cinchona bark had been exported from the middle Napo town of La Coca, without duties paid (AGN, July 1883). By the 1890s, exports of Ecuadorian rubber to New York via the Peruvian port of Iquitos dictated the Oriente economy (AGN, Feb. 10, 1892). Traders of Colombian, Peruvian, French, and Italian origin established rubber stations on Ecuadorian soil. Early on, British trading companies started to operate from Iquitos; pound sterling and Peruvian soles became the currencies of everyday commercial transactions; and by 1911 Ecuador was sending samples of its best rubber to the London International Rubber Exhibition (AGN, Sep. 29, 1910). As numerous documents from that period testify (see Hardenburg 1912; Casement 1912; AGN documents, 1880s–early 1900s), throughout Amazonia rubber merchants resorted to all kinds of noncapitalist strategies, including torture and slavery, to ensure access to the Indian labor force.

No amount of well-meaning liberal bureaucrats—and there were not many in Ecuador at that time—could put a stop to the greed and violence generated by the rubber boom, nor enforce the new legislation with a moderate degree of efficiency. The documents in the Napo archive, however, provide ample evidence of the desperate attempts made by some of those officials to administer justice in the most forsaken corners of the Oriente, as well as of their frequent and pathetic failures to do so. In 1889, for example, the Ecuadorian Consul in Iquitos placed two individuals under arrest for selling "savages" in the Tiputini and Curaray rivers (AGN, Nov. 24, 1889). In 1891, however, there was no longer a consul in Iquitos to put a stop to the "continued outrages committed by the Peruvians against the natives of this province [Oriente] who go to Peru in search of salt" (AGN, June 9, 1891). In practice, then, some Indian groups remained out of reach of Liberal legislation, others entered into labor contracts guaranteed and supervised by law and still others were able to make some clever use of it. The latter constitute an interesting exception that also needs explanation. Early on, some Napo Runa began to protest to the authorities against those "new repartos" of merchandise to be paid with rubber. The tone of this protest shows that some of the Indian leaders were fully aware that this type of abuse was prohibited under an 1885 Law

of Congress (see AGN, complaint filed by Sebastian Tapuy, Aug. 31, 1887). Three years later, after filing a number of complaints, another Indian governor named Antonio Mamallacta managed to have the political chief of Archidona impose a fine of four sucres on the rubber dealer Nicolás Torres, who had slapped him (AGN, June 1890).

The Liberal government's interests in imposing its domination in the Oriente were in no way different from those pursued by preceding Conservative and Progresista administrations. The most important objective of any national government was to defend Ecuador's frontiers against the continuous inroads made by Peru, its neighbour to the south. The main strategy to accomplish this goal was to create a communications infrastructure. This would facilitate colonization and the establishment of stable population centers, thus ensuring the economic and political integration of this remote Oriental region into the rest of the country. In terms of economic policy, the Liberal government took a decisive stand in support of private enterprise. In the Oriente, this course of action translated into a greater number of mining concessions to foreign companies and a series of new regulations to facilitate corporate and individual access to the then most economically significant extractive resources of the tropical forest: rubber, cinchona bark, and *tagua* (ivory nut). Often those regulations—models of liberal economic rationality—were made a mockery by the social and economic irrationalities prevailing in the Oriente during the rubber boom years. The ironies of these confrontations will, I hope, become evident as we examine in detail the problems faced by the successive governors of this province in attempting to impose a certain degree of bureaucratic order in the existing chaos. Genaro García, one of the first of these dedicated Liberal governors, expressed his feelings on this matter in the typical turn of the century rhetoric about the Oriente by declaring in desperation: "Even the most elementary formulas of the Law evaporate and vanish into the savage loneliness of the jungle" (García 1909:4).

The major economic concern of the Ecuadorian merchant bourgeoisie on the Coast and of some commercially minded highland landowners was the building of the trans-Andean railway. It had been planned to join Quito and Guayaquil and to effectively facilitate trade relations between both regions, particularly during the period of the cacao boom on the Coast. Initiated by García Moreno, this railroad was finally inaugurated by Eloy Alfaro in 1908. None of the railroads planned for the Oriente met with the same success. Trying to secure effective rule over the Amazon region, President Leonidas Plaza (1901–1905) undertook the construction of the Ambato-Curaray railroad. In his second presidential term, Eloy Alfaro carried on with this project and negotiated a very unfavorable contract by which huge areas of land in the Oriente were awarded under concession to a foreign company. Popular resistance plus high-level

political pressures finally thwarted the contract with Count de Charnacé, and the railroad to Curaray, always beset by troubles, never materialized (see Jaramillo Alvarado 1936; Reyes 1966:233). The economic interests behind the construction of this route into the Oriente obviously were related to the exploitation of rubber. The committee promoting the railroad to the Curaray was composed of a few powerful highland landowners and businessmen. They were interested in obtaining concessions from the government to establish rubber plantations (see JMJCF, letter from Manuel Jijón to Walter G. Fox, Oct. 30, 1907), and in the transportation arrangements that would provide readier access to export centers. Both these goals became obsolete once the rubber boom collapsed in 1913–1914.

The national government was also interested in the railroad in order to expedite colonization, and especially to increase the physical presence of Ecuadorians along the borders with Peru at the time when an important convention for the arbitration of boundaries with that country was being negotiated in 1910 (see Pareja 1979:279–283). Armed Peruvian incursions into the Ecuadorian Oriente had been underway since the late nineteenth century. Some of them apparently were supported by the trading firm owned by Julio César Arana, the major and infamous Peruvian rubber baron who was always anxious for more territorial concessions in the Amazon (see Uribe 1955:555). According to Ignacio Pérez Borja, political chief of the Curaray, in 1903 the Peruvians had established themselves at the mouth of that river, dominated river transport, and prevented Napo merchants from conducting normal business in the area (AGN, annual report to governor 1903). Confrontations over rubber and mining concessions were a common occurrence between the Peruvian and the Ecuadorian merchants in the middle and lower Napo, the Aguarico, and the Curaray rivers (see Granja 1942:148–151). These disputes were exacerbated by the military clashes between forces of the two nations trying to settle the old boundary controversy. In 1904, for example, there was an armed incident in the town of Torres-Causana, located on the left bank of the Napo, where nineteen of the twenty soldiers of the Ecuadorian detachment were killed. Their commander, Carlos Rivadeneyra, was taken prisoner and sent to Iquitos (Pareja 1979:260–261; Reyes 1966:346). When released, the "hero of Torres-Causana," as he was later known, settled in Tena-Archidona, where he became one of the oldest and most powerful landowners.

## The Rubber Boom in the Oriente

The existing ethnographic and historical literature on the rubber boom has rightly emphasized its devastating effects on the different indigenous

groups of the Amazon basin and, most recently, has dealt with the fascinating issue of how the trauma of that tragic event has been incorporated into indigenous consciousness through myths and oral histories (see Foletti Castegnaro 1985; Reeve 1985; and chapters by Chernela, Hill and Wright, Reeve, and Roe in Hill 1988). A careful reading of that literature also shows that at least two areas should be given special attention in a comparative study of those complex experiences: the particular characteristics of the political economy of each region under study, and the specific cultural characteristics of the different indigenous groups affected.[5] In order to understand the distinctive properties of the Ecuadorian case, I will first examine the nature of the political economy of the Oriente during the period of the rubber boom, to then analyze the social relations of production between the white rubber traders or *caucheros*, and the indigenous labor force, taking into consideration the specific cultural meanings that contributed to shape this process.

A number of biannual reports written by the governors of the Oriente province for the national government authorities and numerous documents written by the political chiefs in charge of the cantons furthest removed from the Tena administrative center provide detailed ethnographic evidence of the everyday workings of that political economy. One of the earliest of these reports, written in 1906 by Vicente M. Bravo, political chief of the Curaray canton, discloses to the governor the main weaknesses of the Ecuadorian government administration in the Oriente versus its Peruvian counterpart. He stresses the total lack of resources and personnel to appropriately govern Ecuador's frontiers, and to prevent the "export" of its natural resources without any benefits for the country. The following were some of Bravo's most pressing complaints.

> At present [in 1906], the state does not even have a flag in the Curaray, nor canoes, oars or supply stores for this vast area. Nevertheless, just as if it were a simple matter of walking from the Presidential Palace to the Theater Square [five blocks away] in the capital city of Quito, the government orders us to send commissions, to travel from one canton to another, to have an authority or employee return [to Quito] without providing the necessary assistance, and so on, and so on. (Bravo 1920:150)

The costs incurred by Bravo in preparing his report, including mailings and commissions, transportation, per diem, and expenditures for the persecution and capture of criminals, were never paid to him by the Treasury (Bravo 1920:149). Furthermore, his report never received a reply from the central government.

The erratic character of the mail—including stealing, opening, and losing letters and parcels—was one of the main concerns of all government

officials in the Oriente. The farther away they were posted, the most desperate they got about the situation. For instance, the mail from Quito took eight months to get to Manuel Alomia, political lieutenant in charge of the Río Tigre parish. He described the functioning of the mail: it "stops at each river station along the way so people have a chance to write the return letters, and sometimes they [the mailmen] participate for days in drunken celebrations" (AGN; annual report to political chief, 1914). Even the military detachments in charge of "defending national sovereignty" were forsaken by the government. They usually spent long periods of time without medicines, food supplies, uniforms, transportation, salaries, or ammunition. According to Bravo (1920:149–150), the nonexistence of a bureaucratic infrastructure, plus the lack or inaccuracy of maps "turn[ed] public institutions into chaos" all over the Oriente. Throughout the first decades of this century, reports from other officials confirm Bravo's administrative assessment. They felt helpless to confront on the one hand, the proverbial negligence and ignorance of the central government regarding this region; and on the other, the hostilities of a more numerous and better equipped Peruvian civil and military administration. It is not surprising, then, that most of them moonlighted as traders. The governor of the Oriente realized the absurdity of this situation: the need to populate the Oriente with most vigilant employees who, in turn, would have to be closely watched (García 1909:11).

In view of the situation outlined above, one can more clearly appreciate the difficulties faced in the early 1900s by Genaro García, governor of the Oriente in trying to solve some of those countless problems, and in meeting the main policy objectives of the Liberal government for the immense province he was supposed to govern. The 1909 report García presented to the then Minister of Public Education and Oriente may be read as the governor's own utopian attempt to establish the bases of what Weber referred to as "a type of legal-rational domination with bureaucratic administration." His project aimed at encompassing under one administrative routine a number of settlements widely scattered in the vastness of the tropical forest, and only interrelated by "speculation and trade" (García 1909:3–4).

García's first scheme for establishing twelve agricultural colonists from Esmeraldas in the Napo canton soon failed, because he was forced to use those very same individuals as "guardians and watchmen" in Rocafuerte, a border town at the mouth of the Aguarico river. Their task was to control what he deemed to be the two most serious problems in the Oriente at that time: depopulation of the oldest native settlements, and smuggling. Both these problems were the direct outcome of the rubber trade, although during that period "black rubber" (*Castilloa elastica*) was already becoming scarce in the Napo.[6] Precisely for that reason, some Ecuadorian rubber merchants paid their debts to the Peruvian traders in Iquitos by

exchanging Ecuadorian Indians for the amounts due. Furthermore, once the trees closest to the settlements were depleted, the rubber traders took their laborers to increasingly distant sites within the country. The governor made the following discouraging remark: "rubber nowadays simply arouses everyone's greed, but no one in the Oriente pays any serious attention to it, so that forests believed to be inexhaustible, are now wiped out" (García 1909:9–10). Irrational exploitation consisted mainly in destroying the trees to extract the latex more quickly, thus depleting the source.[7] This once again provoked migrations toward the Amazon and its tributaries in Peru and Brazil where the best quality rubber was to be found. This rubber, also known as *jebe* or *shiringa*, was tapped through an incision on the tree, and fetched higher prices, although yields were lower in weight per tree (AGN, annual report Oriente governor to Ministry, 1909).

In the words of Governor García, the Indians were turned "into wandering masses" that never returned to their place of origin. All of this migratory movement and internal dislocation of the population made it impossible to maintain, much less to increase, the existence of populated centers, thereby preventing even the semblance of administrative continuity (García 1909:6).

Not only human beings but also rubber was smuggled to Peru. The lack of Ecuadorian ports to export rubber forced the traders to send it out legally or illegally by way of Iquitos. This town housed the headquarters of international exporters such as the "Iquitos Trading Company" and the "Israel Company"—both of London—and of other important Peruvian traders and financiers, leading among them the notorious Arana brothers. Rubber was transported in steamboats owned by Peruvians, who commanded the resources to control river navigation in the area. The Customs at Iquitos charged a duty of fifteen sucres per quintal to export rubber abroad, income that was lost to the Ecuadorian government. García (1909:20) estimated that in 1909, some 200,000 kilograms of rubber a year were extracted, with a loss of around 4,000 sucres in tax-income for the Treasury.

The Ecuadorian government was also unable to obtain revenue from imports into the Napo, Curaray, and Pastaza cantons. These comprised mainly foodstuffs, weapons, and other necessities without which the rubber traders could not survive. All of these goods came from Iquitos in an approximate amount of 400,000 sucres a year, fluctuating in direct ratio to rubber exports, while commerce with Quito was estimated at 5,000 sucres, paid in cash by the inhabitants of the upper Napo. Such loss of fiscal revenue and the contraband were of concern to governor García. His report suggested the solution of opening up a port in the Oriente to make the state competitive with the Peruvians by establishing a lower duty of five sucres per quintal, thereby stimulating the rubber traders to

export from Ecuador. A rubber extraction tax also was levied in 1909. None of these measures proved to be effective, however, first, because of the powerful economic interests tying the Ecuadorian rubber traders to Iquitos, and second, because the political chiefs and even the Customs Collector in the Oriente experienced serious difficulties in collecting these duties from the rubber traders. In the words of a political lieutenant of Cononaco, "the merchants are never to be found in this jurisdiction and do not even show up to report on what they are doing" (AGN, report by political lieutenant, Cononaco, May 31, 1913).

In addition to rubber, sugar cane and gold were the other important factors in the Oriente's economy during this period. In 1909, 80,000 liters of liquor were produced from the sugar cane, generating 12,000 sucres annually in state monopoly (*estanco*) sales, while imports of some 100,000 liters earned 15,000 for the Treasury (AGN, budget report 1909). According to Governor García's report, around twenty kilograms of gold a year were mined for an amount of 20,000 sucres, using mainly indigenous panning methods. Mention is made, however, of the fact that some foreigners regularly visited the Napo and its tributaries to industrially exploit the gold. In the first decade of this century, very little else of value to the state was being exported from Ecuador to the port of Iquitos (AGN, budget report 1909.[8]

## Social Relations of Production

The Ecuadorian coast was experiencing a profitable cacao boom while the distant Oriente was being revolutionized by the rubber boom. This boom did not generate for Ecuador even a minimum portion of the wealth produced by cacao, nor did it give rise to a powerful national bourgeoisie. It did, however, bring about the forced mobilization and exploitation of thousands of indigenous laborers by a small group of Ecuadorian and foreign adventurers and traders. Once the rubber boom was over, many of these minor rubber barons remained and became established in the Oriente. In the Tena-Archidona area they were incorporated into the local bourgeoisie. Their descendants still maintain some economic power and socially distance themselves from the Indian population. In other areas of the Oriente some descendants of the rubber traders intermarried with the indigenous Quichua, adopting their language and culture, and becoming commercial and political intermediaries (see Reeve 1988:24–25).

The rubber traders acted as intermediaries for the penetration of industrial capitalism into the Amazon. Above all, they controlled and provided the native labor to extract the rubber—a raw material then essential to the emerging automotive industry. The Indians of the Amazon and the workers of the automobile factories in Detroit became part of the same his-

torical moment in the development of capitalism, although they were not subject to the same social relations of production. Nevertheless, the Indians were the only and the cheapest source of labor available; they were also the most qualified. They had a masterful knowledge of the tropical forest environment and the expertise to locate the rubber trees; they could provide their own mobilization, either on foot or as oarsmen; and, most important, they could secure their own subsistence by hunting and fishing. They were the ideal workers, if only all of them wanted to work.

In the Oriente, rubber traders were not faced with absolute labor shortages, but with the rather baffling reality that some Indian groups were not at all interested in providing their labor to produce rubber. As a natural product, rubber still had some use value for them, but as a commodity it was a mystery manipulated by the hidden powers of an abstract capitalist market. This market had already reached some of the Indian groups directly through officials, traders, and missionaries, or indirectly through other Indians. Axes, machetes, and shotguns had become efficient tools in their own subsistence production, and textiles were by this time socially indispensable for Christianized Indians. Through the debt-peonage system, these indigenous groups provided the large majority of the regular labor force for rubber tapping. Unlike the situation in the Putumayo examined by Taussig (1987:esp. chap. 3) in relation to the Huitotos, these Ecuadorian indigenous groups understood and were accustomed to debt-peonage. Systematic use of terror was not needed to induce them to work, but in no way were they free from abuses or from the generalized anarchic violence that prevailed during this period. The thrust of this violence was felt primarily by the many other groups of unacculturated Indians who still inhabited the Oriente. They became the targets of white enslaving and punishing raids or were decimated by the many epidemics that periodically ravaged this area.

The history of their ethnocide is the worst legacy of the Ecuadorian rubber era.[9] In one way or another, all the Indians were affected and suffered the consequences of the process unleashed by the international demand for wild rubber. Their productive and exchange systems were disrupted and aspects of their social organization transformed forever. These were traumatic times and, as such, they were incorporated in distinct ways into indigenous consciousness of their own history.

For the purposes of getting access to that reluctant labor force, the white traders' own consciousness and practice classified the indigenous population into "available" and "unusable" labor. The groups categorized as *Indios* or *indígenas* ("Indians") were those who could be put to work under the legal, if misused, system of debt-peonage. In the Liberal jargon of the times, and even later, these Indians were referred to as *infeliz indio* (miserable Indian), almost as one word. All the other indigenous groups were labelled *infieles* or *bárbaros* ("infidels" or "barbarians"), and could be

enslaved and sold with certain degree of impunity. This distinction developed early in the colonial period to differentiate the highland Indians—the Christianized and relatively docile labor force—from those of the Oriente, not yet available as a Quichua or Spanish-speaking potential labor force. As soon as the Oriente started to be incorporated into the colonial administration, the indigenous people living in the Quijos-Tena-Archidona area were the first to suffer the ideological transformation from infieles into Indios. With the expansion of missionization by the Jesuits and Dominicans, a complexity of groups were brought together at the mission stations and, by a process of transculturation constituted emergent cultures (Whitten 1976; Reeve 1985). Those who became known as the Canelos Quichua were the next to fall into the category Indios, and labored under patrons, missionaries, and government officials.[10] By the middle of the nineteenth century, the large group of Zaparo Indians actually were divided into two categories. Some of them were under patrons, working in haciendas, engaging in trade for manufactured goods, wore clothing, and were generally considered docile and friendly—Indios. The rest of the Zaparo were lumped together with other infieles and subject to regular enslaving raids (see Osculati 1854; Jameson 1858; Villavicencio 1858; Orton 1876; Bravo 1920, Reeve 1985, among others).[11]

At this time, the prototype of the bárbaros were the Jívaro (Shuar and Achuar) because of their bellicosity and their stubborn resistance to missionization (see Bottasso 1982:14–22). In 1871, President García Moreno publicly characterized them as "perfidious," "assassins," and "anthropophagous" (message to Congress, 1871, cited in Miranda 1975:99–100). As Anne-Christine Taylor (1985b) has demonstrated, the image of the Jívaro and the rhetoric used to refer to them, suffered significant changes in different periods of Ecuadorian history, for reasons that had to do more with the needs of the imagemakers than with the cultural transformations of the Jívaro themselves. During the heyday of the rubber boom, the Jívaro were not as badly affected as other indigenous groups. Taylor (forthcoming), argues that their location in regions of low quality rubber (*balata*), and their reputation of "ferocity" served to protect them.[12] All other indigenous groups are referred to in the archival documents and in the missionaries and travelers' accounts as infieles. Some of the enslaving raids against them were conducted illegally, often using Zaparo or Quichua peons (e.g. AGN, Tiputini 1898; Tena, Feb. 4, 1909). Others, with legal government authorization, if they were considered justified responses to the infidels' attacks on Indian settlements or rubber stations (e.g. AGN, letter governor Oriente, April 10, 1907; Coronel Montófar, Dec. 20, 1924).

Most of these groups were thus totally wiped out and their specific names vanish from the official documents with the exception of the Huaorani. They continued to be a problem for settlers and Indians alike

and, once the Jívaro were pacified, replaced the latter as the prototypical *auca* or savage for years to come.[13] Consequently, as far as can be inferred from the available documentation, the different groups of Quichua speakers—Napo, Curaray, and Canelos—and the acculturated Zaparo, formed the core of the rubber traders' more regular labor force.

By law, rubber workers were to be hired under the already existing contract called the "day laborers' contract" or, more precisely, the "contract for rental of personal services" also known in the Oriente as the procedure of "registering the laborer" (AGN, March 15, 1911). In one of these contracts signed in 1909, for example, the day-worker freely undertook to work eight hours for 0.80 sucres a day, five days a week. If he worked as a rubber laborer, he undertook to hand over to his employer all the rubber at the price prevailing at the delivery site, but he was not to leave the territorial jurisdiction of the Republic. Both the wages and the price paid for the rubber were nominal, since they only served as values to be discounted from the laborer's debt. The debt-peonage contract had a two-year duration under Article 97 of the Police Code in force. It set forth the sum already advanced by the employer to the laborer in goods, the settlement of which was to be made before the competent authority. Besides, the day laborer undertook to pay off the debt with his work, and also acquired the right to request more goods from his employer for services to be provided in the future. The document was legalized before witnesses and an interpreter, who translated the proceedings and signed in representation of the Indian worker (see Appendix 1; and chapter 10 for a full discussion of the debt-peonage system).

The most common arrangement used by the employers in order to sidestep this bureaucratic procedure—in an environment of outright competition for labor between patrons—was that of directly hiring the laborers by alluring them with the advancement of goods and liquor. This method infringed the Law of the Oriente (effective as of 1907), and all the goods thus apportioned could be seized by the appropriate authorities, if and when they learned of the transaction before the patron took off with the laborers to extract rubber. This advanced knowledge was not easily obtained particularly in the most remote places (AGN, Oct. 18, 1907).

Save for a few cases of Ecuadorian nationals and Ecuadorian-resident rubber traders, who proved to be individuals of great cruelty showing utter contempt for the well-being and even the lives of the Indians, the worst criminal abuses in recruiting rubber laborers that we could confirm were caused primarily by the economic conditions surrounding the rubber operations in the Ecuadorian Oriente. Basically, Ecuador had less rubber and of an inferior quality compared with Peru, Colombia, or Brazil and also a smaller indigenous population. This situation spurred furious competition and continued disputes between the rubber traders for the trails under exploitation (AGN, letter from political chief of Curaray, to

governor of Oriente 1906) and for access to available labor. In addition, the search for better-quality rubber provoked the smuggling of laborers by the patrons to the Marañón and Madre de Dios rivers, where such rubber could be found in larger quantities. Finally, the poor financial standing of the Ecuadorian rubber traders caused by the early depletion of the rubber stock and its low prices made them incur heavy debts with the banks and trading firms at Iquitos. To repay these loans, several of those traders sold their own laborers and other Indians caught in raids to the Peruvian rubber companies. The discussion of a few specific cases will serve to illustrate these arguments.

In 1913, a lawsuit was filed against a rubber trader named Armando Llori for flagellating the Indian Hilario Canelos.[14] The document states that while in the Cononaco, Armando Llori sent two of his black foremen after Hilario Canelos and his son-in-law Dionisio Grefa, to have them tied up and brought back by force to his farm. Both men were working as rubber laborers to repay a debt to their patron José Antonio Garcés. Once the two men were on his farm and secured in the stocks, Llori got drunk and lashed Hilario forty times with a tapir-leather halter, after ordering that all his laborers beat their drums to stifle the sound of the victim's screams. The insults hurled by Llori at the Indian reveal the actual motive for his action. They were not addressed directly to the victim, but rather against his employer Garcés, whom Llori accused of cowardice and promised to kill together with all his people. By abusing Garcés's laborers and making death threats, Llori intended to intimidate Garcés into abandoning a ravine in Maranaco where the latter had been exploiting rubber for twenty-five years (AGN, Oct. 18, 1913). Another case of flagellation of a laborer, perpetrated by the Colombian rubber trader Luis Mejía, had the underlying motive of punishing the worker for being under contract to another employer and of dissuading him from doing it again (AGN, indictment for the crime of flagellation, 1909).

To a lesser or greater degree, almost all the rubber traders were involved in smuggling Ecuadorian Indian laborers into Peru and Brazil and in kidnapping and selling Indians in Iquitos. This fact is evident in the documents of a lawsuit against Luis Mejía's brother, Jaime D. Mejía, accusing him of selling three Indians—Casimiro Papa, Diego Alvarado, and Salvadora Coquinche—in Iquitos. Mejía's case became a scandal in the national press, because it was published in a document written by a priest Manuel A. Román (copy in AGN, trial of J. Mejía, Feb. 25, 1909). Locally in Tena there was a trial in April of 1909, in which several of the most important Ecuadorian caucheros were called to testify against Mejía. In between the lines of their depositions it is possible to read the real reasons behind their accusations against Mejía: he was a Colombian who did not respect the "rules" of the game by stealing peons from all the other patrons. He raided their homes, violated their mail, and, above all, tried to establish a

commercial monopoly with tactics that were a bit too ruthless even for the most seasoned Ecuadorian traders. They were not prepared to undertake a general criticism of the practices regarding Indian laborers. Thus, they accused the Jesuit missionaries, their old enemies, of the Indian emigration out of Loreto after 1895, and concurred that "progress in the area" started after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Because many of these rubber traders also were implicated in some of the crimes denounced in the trial, by accusing Mejía and the Jesuits they were trying to cover up their own illegal activities, of which there is independent evidence. Their depositions are summarized below as an example of other similar documents found in the Napo government archive.

- *Gabriel Izurieta* states that Jaime Mejía gave the Indian Salvadora Coquinche to Mrs. Dolores Quinteros, a Colombian living in Iquitos, that he pays his debts to Samuel Roggeroni with Indians, and that most Napo Indians migrated voluntarily after the insurrection against the Jesuits.
- *Samuel Roggeroni* states that Jaime Mejía sold four Indians to Izurieta, that he sold Casimiro Papa to Cecilio Bomediano in Iquitos, and Diego Otavalo to Andrade, a Peruvian; and that the Mejía brothers stole Indians from all the "respectful" *caucheros* in Ecuador.
- *Julio San Miguel* states that Javier Mejía offered him an Indian family for sale and that most Indians from Loreto left because of the abuses committed by the Jesuits.
- *Rafael Abarca* states that, in complicity with the ex-governor Fidel Alomía, Mejía negotiated Indian families in Iquitos.
- *Josefina Vega* states that she has heard it said that natives were sold by Jaime Mejía to Nicolás Torres and Samuel and Silverio Roggeroni. She knows that Mejía mistreats the Indians and robs them; she also knows that he took Salvadora Coquinche [from Loreto] and sold her in Iquitos for 250 sucres.
- *Isidoro Cifuentes* states that Mejía kidnaps Indians at gunpoint and that he paid eight pounds sterling for four Indian families.
- *Modesto Valdéz* declares that the same Mejía sold seven or eight Indians to Américo Casara for 1,100 sucres, and that Casara offered him eight Indians for 2,000 sucres. He also knows that Mejía sold eight or ten Loreto Indians to Abarca for forty-two arrobas of black rubber, but that the majority of the Indians who are sold "like animals" in Iquitos are the Huitotos from the Putumayo under Colombian and Peruvian jurisdiction. Further on he asks the government to prevent the entry into the Oriente of the "missionary plague."
- *Santiago Díaz* states to know for a fact that the Indians Toribio Paz and Domingo Díaz were taken to the Madre de Dios against their will by Américo Casara, and that the Huitoto Indians told him that Casara

murdered three Secoya Indians. (AGN, Tena, trial of Jaime Mejía, April 24, 1909).

The names of these rubber traders reappear in other legal documents of this period under accusation of kidnapping and smuggling rubber laborers out of the country. Some of these traders, such as Américo Casara, pursued by Ecuadorian authorities, ultimately fled at night to the Madre de Dios River, taking with him more than one hundred Indian families native from several places in Ecuador (AGN, letter from political chief to governor of Oriente, May 10, 1910). Others, such as Mr. Izurieta, continually took laborers to that same river, but he offered his farm "Negro" in Coca and other of his laborers, as a guarantee to the authorities that he would bring them back (AGN, La Coca, Aug. 15, 1909). This guarantee to cover not only the crossing to Iquitos but also the removal of Indians outside the country for sixty days, continued to be applied in areas such as the Aguarico until the 1920s. At that time, payment was generally made in heads of cattle (AGN, Roca fuerte, Oct. 16, 1925). Given the shortage of administrative and police personnel working for the government in these areas of the lower Napo, and how easily it was for the authorities to be "persuaded" into participating in the smuggling, it is understandable that the rubber traders boasted of how simple it was "to evade the authorities and take the natives to the Ucayali, Caquetá, Tigre, and Madre de Dios river areas" (AGN, letter from political lieutenant of Curaray, 1909). Many of the Indians thus taken away never returned to Ecuador (Bravo 1920:130). Some must have died in those yellow-fever, beri-beri, and malaria-infested regions. For others, it would have been impossible to come back, since the return fare to Iquitos cost between five and eight hundred sucres per person, an amount that could hardly be paid by an Indian family at that time (AGN, Aguarico, 1909).

Despite the enormous administrative difficulties to regulate and legislate an almost unmanageable economic situation in the Oriente region, the Liberal government tried—as the Jesuits had before—to settle and retain the native labor force. In order to accomplish this goal, it resorted to measures that, on the one hand, implied the same fallacies held by the missionaries about the "savagery" of the jungle Indians but expressed, on the other, the new economic and social ideology of liberalism. Behind all the solutions Governor García suggested in the 1909 report for the troubled Oriente province there is an effort to rationalize trade, to regulate labor relations, and to discipline indigenous labor through secular education. Thus, García proposes the establishment of Ecuadorian ports and customs, thinking that the commerce generated could occupy "a large number of Indians on a permanent basis." To achieve this same objective, he tried to impose the metric system as a mechanism that could lessen abuses and rationalize the weights and freights paid per load to the Indian bearers, so that they would neither abandon nor refuse to accept the loads. It further provided that employers register their laborers, pay-

ing from five to ten sucres for each one, in order to "formalize labor contracts," ensure labor "stability," and try to prevent the "stealing" of Indian laborers between patrons. In 1906, Bravo (1920:116, 123) had already noted that this robbery or "seduction" as it was called, was common practice at that time. It continued at the same rate until the 1940s, judging from the large number of legal cases of conflict between employers involving "seduction" that I found in the archive. Finally, in his report Governor García suggests that, "in order to prevent that sort of innate Indian tendency to pull up camp and abandon the tent to seek new asylum when his savage liberty so feels it, or upon the mere stimuli of his restless spirit," it is necessary to set clear boundaries for all the territorial divisions. He also recommended the establishment of cantonal authorities to help consolidate the already existing towns, where the traders were supposed to provide schools for their workers.

Carlos A. Rivadeneyra, political chief of the Napo canton in 1908, clearly put forward the idea of rationalizing native labor through education, as well as his own conception of the Indians with which he justified that need. In his annual report (1909), Rivadeneyra proposes "forced boarding" as the "only system" that will "civilize" the Indians. In his opinion, Indian children from ten to twelve years of age should be put into a boarding school and made to work in the construction of government buildings and the production of foodstuffs. They should remain there "until they have become civilized and acquired a trade and a rational knowledge of agriculture, and until they have forgotten the vices and superstitions that prevent the improvement of their race." This educational strategy for the Indians was only actually implemented in the Tena-Archidona area a few years later by the Josephine missionaries. They shared the political chief's concept of the Indians as "noncivilized" beings, although not his secular approach to education. At any rate, most of the economic and social measures proposed by Governor García became obsolete upon the collapse of the Amazonian rubber boom after 1913, because a large labor force was no longer needed. This collapse was caused above all by the competition of the rubber exploited by the British in their plantations in Malaysia, although in the Ecuadorian Oriente lower quality rubber continued to be traded until the middle or late 1920s.

In 1914, the political lieutenant residing in the Tigre River area informed the governor that Iquitos was undergoing a serious economic crisis affecting not only the Peruvians who could not maintain their military garrisons or pay their employees, but also the Ecuadorians "who have lived at the expense of Iquitos as unconscious dependents of Peru."[15] To prevent the emigration of the whites and their debtor laborers to the Marañón and to Brazil, this political lieutenant urged the governor to establish agricultural colonies and to speed up the construction of the Ambato-Curaray railroad to get out the products, but none of these actions materialized during that period (AGN, Río Tigre, Oct. 28, 1914). The 1920 Law

of the Oriente did help, however, to establish some administrative rationality by creating the general directorate of the Oriente and by dividing the region into two more manageable provinces: Napo-Pastaza and Santiago-Zamora, establishing Tena as the capital of the first province, and Zamora of the second. Each province was further subdivided into cantons and parishes. Once the rubber boom was over, the state was preparing itself better for the next economic adventure about to happen in the Oriente. The expansion and legalization of the state administration in this region was explained by the Minister of the Interior in a report to the nation in 1921: "The problem of roads [into the Oriente] seems now solved, as I will explain later, in relation to a contract already celebrated for the exploitation of oil in this territory. While these operations are underway, it is necessary to proceed with good judgment and diligence to organize the existing populations so that the inhabitants are favored with the protection of the law, and enjoy their rights and guarantees as citizens" (ABFL, report by Minister of the Interior, 1921; Oriente P., CXIV).

## The Tena-Archidona Region during the Rubber Era

In discussing the Ecuadorian case, I have suggested that the diverse economic and social situations prevailing in the different areas of the Amazon basin at the turn of the nineteenth century, conditioned the differential impact of the rubber boom and the forms taken by social relations of production in each of those areas. Within the Ecuadorian Amazon there also were regional differences that should be considered carefully in a more comprehensive study of the social history of the Province of Oriente. Here I discuss only those factors that can help to explain the participation of the Tena-Archidona region in the social process set off by the rubber boom and, particularly, the way in which this process affected the Napo Runa of that area, as compared to other Indians of the Ecuadorian Amazon for whom data are available at the present time.

The evidence from Napo Runa oral tradition, travelers' accounts and other historical sources tends to demonstrate that although the Tena-Archidona area was greatly influenced by the rubber trade, its negative impact was not as intensive there as in other areas of the Oriente. These sources also show that the Napo Runa who worked as rubber laborers were not subject to the same abuses suffered by other Oriente Indians throughout that period. When the Jesuit Father Cáceres made his 1891 visit to the riverine populations of the Napo from Puerto Napo downstream, he found that many rubber traders had become established in the village of La Coca, opposite the mouth of that river. From here down to the mouths of the Tiputini and Curaray rivers, he found Ecuadorian rub-

ber operators with families of Indian laborers (Cáceres 1892:32, 34). All evidence seems to confirm that the limits of the major rubber stations went as far upstream as the middle Napo to the town located on the mouths of the Coca and Suno rivers. It was in that area where the infamous rubber trader Mejía had "the best ranch in the Coca" (Bravo 1920:129) and where the hacienda "Armenia" was located. The latter belonged to Nicolás Torres, an Ecuadorian rubber operator locally known as "the king of the Napo," with good connections both in Quito and Iquitos. When Dyott (1926:233), an English traveler, visited him in 1923 he noted that, even then, from Armenia downstream, Iquitos and its commerce were more significant than Quito in the life of the riverside dwellers, and that they preferred the Peruvian currency to Ecuadorian money for all transactions. They also had standing business loans for thousands of pounds sterling with the British companies in Iquitos (Rice 1903:413). In the Tena-Archidona area instead, most of the trade was conducted in sucres. In a report written in 1908, Governor García estimates that trade conducted "on Indian back," along the Archidona-Papallacta-Quito route, amounts to some 20,000 sucres, and that no one "takes out rubber through this route." He also mentions that this area imported 200,000 sucres in goods from Iquitos, consisting mainly of weapons and foodstuffs, both of them essential for the whites' subsistence in Tena-Archidona. Imports also included several luxury items, such as silks, fine hats, cards, and liquors, and even a grand piano imported into Tena by a Governor of Oriente, in whose house Sinclair and Wasson (1923:197) found it being used in 1921.

There was rubber in the Tena-Archidona area, but it appears to have been mostly of the less valued species. In 1910, the political lieutenant of Archidona reported that the Indians "made incursions," but found no more than 3,000 or 4,000 "shiringa trees" already divided up among several patrons. Other, less valuable, latex species such as "weak *jebe*" and *balata* were more abundant, and those continued to be extracted in the area even after the boom was over. In the 1920s, balata came to command high prices, and its exploitation "brought new life to the Oriente, which was in real decay owing to the significant depreciation of rubber" (AGN, Curaray, report by political lieutenant, 1921).

Several Tena-Archidona patrons engaged in rubber trading and made regular expeditions along the Napo River and its tributaries, taking with them Napo Runa laborers from their own area. As recalled by Runa informants, this was short-term work and most of them returned to their homelands. By 1880, Wiener found Indians from the Upper Napo mission in Tutapishco (currently a territorial area below the dividing line with Peru traced by the Protocol of Río de Janeiro) exploiting rubber, *sarsaparrilla* (tropical vine), and *tagua* (ivory nut), and working under a rubber trader. According to Wiener, however, this patron fitted the concept of a good

turn-of-the-century liberal employer: "He has taught [the Indians] the principles of every civilization: the value of money and remunerated work. They have stopped painting their faces and bodies, and do not use necklaces or bracelets; they have adopted a reasonable attire for workers" (Wiener 1883:267–268).

The only evidence I have found of forced emigration from this area during the rubber era appears in a report (see MAG-ORSTOM 1978:16) referring to verbal statements by Putumayo white settlers. They assert that the thousand Indians presently living on the San Miguel River are the descendants of more than one hundred families taken from Tena to this area as "slaves," tattooed with a cross by a Mr. Londoño who originally came from Puerto Asís in Colombia. A recent publication (Foletti Castegnaro 1985) confirms this information only in part. In his narrative of the history of the San Miguel River people, an Indian from the region reports that all the ancestors of those living there came from Avila, Loreto, Concepción, and Cotapino. They were forced out of these villages, together with *twenty-five families brought from Archidona* by the Ecuadorian patron Daniel Peñafiel to tap rubber, which he sold in Iquitos. After more than ten years of working in this manner, the Colombian Londoño purchased these Indians' debts from another patron called Barregas, for whom they had panned gold after Peñafiel's death (Foletti Castegnaro 1985:165–175; emphasis added). No mention is made in this oral history of the Indians having been branded as slaves, and it shows that most of the inhabitants of the San Miguel River did not come from the Tena-Archidona area. It does, however, confirm the archival evidence to the effect that the abuses of kidnapping, forced migrations, and sales outside the country were intensely suffered by the Indians of Avila, San José, Concepción, Loreto, Payamino, and Cotapino, villages located northeast of Tena-Archidona. For example, in the marriage records of La Coca Indians for the years 1906 and 1907, the job description given by the large majority of the men is that of "rubber laborer," and they had come originally from Loreto, Avila, Concepción and from other haciendas on the middle Napo (AGN, La Coca, marriage records 1906–1907). Some of them had been taken there by the political lieutenant himself to tap rubber in his ranch "La Coca." The "raids" into these villages in search of laborers still went on in 1918 (AGN, letter from the Governor to political lieutenant of La Coca, 1918). The oral tradition of the people from Loreto preserves the memory of these tragedies. In the 1950s, they told Oberem that over 1,000 men were forced to emigrate from this area to be sold in Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia, and that only around forty returned (Oberem 1980:117). More than thirty years later, Hudelson points out that several septuagenarian Loreto Indians remembered that men and children were forced down-river and that they did not return after the rubber boom was over but stayed in Peru

or married Secoya, Witoto, Aushiri, or Yagua women, settling on the lower Napo (Hudelson 1981:215–216). The same stories are confirmed by Peruvian sources, which mention that Napo Runa from Concepción, Cotapino, and Loreto now live in Peru, after having been taken there by patrons during the rubber boom (Mercier 1979:243–246).

Several factors contribute to explain why the Tena-Archidona area was not so violently affected by the rubber boom. First of all, the area was difficult to reach from Iquitos, which limited the possibilities of the Peruvian rubber companies to make "lightning" raids in search of manpower (cf. Macdonald 1979:204–260). Another important factor was gold exploitation, which continued in the Tena-Archidona region throughout the entire rubber period. This explains why the Napo Runa spoke of returning from their rubber-tapping expeditions only to be used in panning gold. The claims for "gold mines" in the Napo, the Ansu and other gold-bearing rivers of the area are well documented in the archival material since the law required that they be published on billboards and in the official gazette for a thirty-day term. A 1910 report to the political chief of the Archidona canton states that: "gold exporters try to send it as covertly as possible, either to prevent thefts or out of habit. Meanwhile they have lost all interest in pita and in the other products formerly exported by them and, although the government has given them laborers, they have abandoned agriculture altogether" (AGN, Tena, 1910).

Finally a decisive factor in explaining why the abuses perpetrated against the Indians were less common in the Tena-Archidona area is its status as administrative center. Official control—no matter how weak—was always more effective there than in the more distant cantons, where even the mere reporting of crimes could take months. On the contrary, the Indian authorities of the villages near Tena often reported potential illegal "migrations" to the government officials, giving them the chance to take preventive action (AGN, letter from political chief of Pucahurcu, 1897). In 1909, for example, express orders were issued by the authorities to prevent anybody from taking Indians out of Archidona, Tena, and nearby hamlets. The explicit objective of this measure was "to avoid a situation like that of the inhabitants of Avila and Loreto, who exist only to be exploited by the two or three whites living there *and provide no service*" (AGN, Tena, May 1909, emphasis added). This last remark is decisive to understand the real reason for these measures. The Tena-Archidona authorities were not primarily concerned about the Indians' well-being per se, but rather about the rubber traders depriving them of the manpower essential to administer the province. The following is said about the Napo Runa in 1910: "In a few months, the Archidonas have built a church and two kitchens, have transported eighty bales of salt and cleared the road to Quito. This, plus the work done by the Tenas, has tired all of them and

they only want to work for private persons at 0.20 cents a day" (AGN, Tena, Nov., 1910). Although they were part of an unjust system of indigenous labor exploitation, ironically enough, all these jobs served to "protect" at least some Napo Runa from the greater evils of the rubber boom.

## Indian Resistance to Exploitation

First hand evidence of indigenous resistance to the harsh exploitation they suffered during the rubber boom is not easy to find. For the Putumayo, Taussig (1984, 1987:100–104) presents a picture that leaves no doubt that Indian rebellions and revenge killings of white traders and rubber station overseers happened on several occasions. At least one of these uprisings in 1917 was serious enough to require the intervention of Peruvian troops to put it down (Taussing 1987:101). Taussig concludes that the fear of Indian revolt was real enough to unleash terrible reprisals from whites. He also argues that, in the Putumayo, just the threat of revolt, widespread rumors, and the whites' "paranoid mythology" about Indian cannibalism, had strong effects on the consciousness and practices of the white traders and their underlings (Taussig 1987:100–126). Everyday forms of native resistance to such exploitation could have been widespread, but have thus far remained undocumented. Because Tena was an administrative center for the whole Oriente Province at that time, in the government archive I was able to find some evidence for specific cases of these forms of resistance in the Ecuadorian Amazon. I will begin by analyzing the situation in the Tena-Archidona area for which more data are available to date, and which also seems to have had its own distinctive features.

Living in the vicinity of that administrative center and working under its officials allowed the Tena, Archidona, Pano, and other Indians of the area to use the bureaucratic system in order to avoid—or at least lessen—their exploitation by continuously presenting grievances and laying claims before the authorities. As they had previously done against the Jesuits, during the rubber era the Napo Runa continued their resistance, now aiming it against their patrons. There also is evidence to show that they were quite aware of the change in political climate brought about by the Liberal administration, and that on several occasions they took advantage of the "new sympathy" expressed by Eloy Alfaro's government for the Indian cause. Thus in 1897, a political lieutenant of Archidona wrote to the governor of Oriente saying, "there are continuous complaints by the Indians for payment of what is owed them by their patron Santa Cruz, and they are pressuring me to the effect that *You, as a Liberal governor* must protect the Indians (AGN, Archidona, 1897, emphasis added). Although

not always successfully, the Napo Runa insisted on being paid in advance and in cash. Often this demand made life difficult for the local authorities who had to use Indian labor in the discharge of their administrative duties, as in the case of a governor in Tena who was forced to send the following urgent notice to the Ministry of Oriente: "If you have no money, send cotton cloth to pay the Indians because they will not move unless they are paid in advance" (AGN, Tena, 1913). Judging from a letter by an official residing in the parish of Sarayacu, this was also true of the Canelos Quichua Indians. He claims: "Here the Indians do not provide any service unless they receive advance payment . . . they are unyielding" (AGN, Sep. 15, 1909).

Even when working under a patron, the Panos always preferred to tap rubber in familiar places to which they moved with their families, wishing to work as far away as possible from the patrons' direct surveillance. The stubborn independence of the Panos, already noticed in the preceding century, continued to be defended by them within the conditions imposed by the new system of domination. Thus in 1910, the governor informed the political chief of Tena that "the [Indian] lieutenant of the Pano district [*partido*] complains that Carlos Sevilla [a powerful patron] is taking away from them the rubber trees that the people of that district have in Arajuno, and that he has beaten the Indians Flavio Andi and Dionisio Andi because they told him that the mentioned [trees] belong to them. They demand that he not be allowed to steal what they have had in their possession for many years, since their *caru tambos* are in that place" (AGN, Aug. 3, 1910). Another case found in the archive refers to two young men from the Pano district who were forcefully recruited by workers of Mr. Luis Mejía and taken to La Coca to tap rubber. They stayed there only for one week and escaped back to Tena. Using a Pano indigenous official (*justicia*) as an intermediary, they protested to the white authorities and returned the goods that Mr. Mejía had thrown at them "against their will and under threats" (AGN, Oct. 7, 1908).[16]

Indians from places as far away as Loreto would occasionally go all the way up to Tena to complain to the authorities about abuses committed against them by their patron—whom they call "Lazarus" [insult meaning "leprose"] (AGN, Tena, 1907). The cases in which the Indians made use of legal channels to protest about their labor conditions during the rubber boom are those that appear most frequently in the official documents through the statements of government employees acting as interpreters. Those same documents also reveal other forms of resistance that took place throughout the Oriente, ranging from flight, sabotage, and theft to assassination of rubber traders. Evidence of widespread Indian discontent and rebelliousness is clear, although on reading the many testimonies of that period, one can also infer that the authorities, and even the patrons themselves, often tried to conceal the instances of Indian

resistance or to overlook their seriousness, so that they might not spread further "by contagion" to other indigenous groups. Governor García's report (1909) mentions that very early on the whites were beset by fears of a general Indian uprising.

In terms of everyday resistance, several documents attest to the fact that the Indians sold rubber without their patrons' authorization (up to twenty quintals in one case) to exchange it for food supplies; or that they directly stole food so as not to have to pay it with rubber. In one particular case, a rubber laborer was accused of having exchanged pounds sterling for the amount of 340 sucres, the proceeds of several illegal rubber sales (AGN, Tena, Oct. 15, 1921). In another case in the Aguarico, the authorities confiscated a canoe where four Indians were smuggling 520 kilograms of rubber rolled into nineteen balls (AGN, Aguarico, Jan. 19, 1918). The most common form of resistance consisted in putting sticks or stones in the *andullos* (or balls) of rubber that they handed over to the trader, in order to increase their weight. For example, in 1909 a native woman tried to sell a dried-mud ball covered with rubber to a famous female trader in Tena (AGN, letter from Juana Arteaga to political chief, 1909). Apparently, this form of sabotage became something of a "folk joke" in this region. Several Indians from Tena who worked for patrons during the 1940s minor rubber boom told me in 1986 that they used to roll up the rubber around a stone to make it heavier, thereby forcing the patrons to take the additional trouble of cutting each ball in half so as not to be tricked in the weight. Everybody knew that sooner or later they would be discovered, but they did it just the same "to annoy the bastards."

In the lower Napo and along other rivers like the Conambo, Curaray, and Cononaco, where there was more severe exploitation of the Indians and almost nonexistent surveillance by the authorities, resistance was more violent and directly aimed against individual traders. Vicente Bravo argued that the Indians reacted to the assassination of their patrons as the only form of justice, as a collective act against so many abuses. He mentioned several patrons who had been victimized by their own peons, among them Abel Vaca and Pedro Arcos in the Curaray, and Agustín Guerrero and José Cabezas in the Napo (Bravo 1920:172). There is independent evidence for at least one of these cases. In the Palanda Yacu River, a tributary of the Corrientes in the Pastaza canton, four Indians (from Loreto, to judge by their surnames) convinced other laborers, "giving them gunpowder to swallow so that they might have courage," to murder their patron Agustín Guerrero.[17] They shot him, tied the corpse to an ammunition box and threw it in the river, all while vituperating against the dead man. In their deposition the laborers stated that they had committed the deed "believing that nothing would happen to them." In fact, they were acquitted "for lack of evidence," despite the fact that they had con-

fessed to the crime (AGN, La Coca, leter to Pastaza political chief, Jul. 24, 1908).

In the year 1909, a more widespread and potentially serious uprising was frustrated in the Curaray canton (AGN, Bolivar, Curaray, Aug. 18, 1909). It involved Indian laborers from nearly all the large rubber traders of the middle and lower Napo, including even some Indians from the upper Napo. The laborers had been able to plot a general uprising by means of secret messages exchanged during their regular trips to the rubber stations. According to the confession of Silverio Andi from Ahuano who was one of the leaders, the idea was to kill off the entire family of the trader Armando Llori and all other whites living in the Curaray canton, steal all their possessions, liberate their servants, and take all the people to the Tigre River, since in his own words: "It is better to kill off all whites than to pay our onerous standing debts with them." Further interrogation among the suspects by one official uncovered other more serious causes for the Indian uprising as follows: death by hunger of several family members while tapping rubber, rape of their wives and daughters by the overseers, and repeated lashings administered by the patrons themselves. The Indians had planned the assassinations well in advance going as far as "tapping rubber with the sole purpose of buying rifles, machetes, and spears" (AGN, letter from M. Rosales to Genaro García, March 9, 1909). Threatened by Indians so determined and well armed, the whites were frightened by what they perceived to be "the savagery of the larger numbers." Other than capturing their leaders, however, the local authorities recommended that "the crime be hashed up so that it wouldn't be known [by other Indians]." Mr. Llori, in connivance with the authorities, misrepresented the Indians' statements and had them set free, in part to hide his own crimes against the laborers and their families, and in part to "avoid inciting the other laborers" who were going with him to Iquitos. It is evident that the inadequacy of communications prevailing in the Oriente, plus the violence of the dislocation experienced by the large majority of Indians as a consequence of the rubber boom, enabled the whites to successfully conceal these rebellions. Stories of resistance are not common in the oral tradition of the lower Napo Quichua, although that same tradition does document in painful detail the abuses and mistreatment inflicted on them by the local rubber barons (see Foletti Castegnaro 1985; Mercier 1979; Reeve 1985, 1988).

# 8

# *The Days of the Varas, the Apu, and the Patrons*

We used to be free. After the whites came we had to live subject to their will, assuming responsibilities such as holding the vara (staff of office) as varas (also varayuj, or justicias, Indian office-holders) we served as alcaldes (mayors), tenientes (lieutenants), and other offices, and we had to work for them panning gold. Once the varayuj tiempu (times of Indian authorities) were over, the white man gave us things on credit and we became serfs. We had to pay our debts with gold. I was appointed *capitán* (captain) of the hacienda to supervise the task of panning gold. Also during Shell Company times, my father went to the camps taking a group to work with machetes, with axes, and transporting machinery. When the fathers became old, they often appointed their sons.

The varas began back in Jesuit times, and this responsibility changed every year. The offices were those of *huinaro* (governor), capitán, teniente, *alguacil* (marshal), and alcalde. For Pano there was a mayor, one governor, a captain, and a lieutenant. Every year, people who had verbal talent were the ones elected. There was a lady patron in Tena who always meddled in choosing the varas. She was a very fat woman called Mariana Montesdeoca. She would look to see who could hold the staff. He had to be responsible, reliable, dependable, a good worker, and a good cargo bearer. She would choose that person even if he was just a newlywed (young). In some cases, a man might lose the staff (be replaced) before he died. In my case, I got as far as captain because the varas disappeared with the coming of patron Ruiz. From then on we stopped working in town under the rule of the *apu* (white authorities).

The choosing of the varas was approved by the whites. The day when the staff was handed over many people got together; there was a great feast and lots of drinking. A very loud sounding of drums was heard, and

there also was dancing. The mayor, the governor, the lieutenant, and the captain had to be present with their groups, and the drum and the *pingullu* were played around the town. All this took place where the governor's office is now [in Tena's main square]. There, one of them was chosen to speak. He was the most self-confident, the best talker, one who had already held the staff for one year at least. Then he would speak in front of the whole town, holding the staff. So many people came that the whole square was full. People came down from Archidona, Dos Ríos, Tena, Pano, from everywhere; and the new officer, the one who was going to take over the staff also had to be there. Showing this new one to the crowd, the former officer would say: "This is the new authority and all of you have to obey." After this, the new officer had to speak. He would say something like this: "Just as you have obeyed this former officer, you have to obey me. Now I take the staff from him, and you must listen and comply. When I need to make you work, you will gather eggs, hens, manioc, and plantains and will come to work."

People came all prepared for the occasion. Everyone brought chicha and started passing it around. Then, they would ask the authorities for liquor to drink, and say, "If you want to eat hens, manioc, and plantains, you have to give us liquor," and they would offer it to us two or three times from a bottle. Each *ahuallacta* had to give one bottle. If the people were not given that, they wouldn't come down from their houses. In those times liquor did not cost very much; it was only worth from two to four reales. This is how the ceremony of the changing of the varas was done. The staff was a piece of wood, a cane called *puca caspi* (red stick). In the old days, Domingo Cerda, who was a yachaj, had a staff, and they buried him with that stick. The burial place is now a beach, and the staff must have gone down the river. The staff went with the holder to the grave, he couldn't lose it. I was made alguacil soon after I got married. This was the first rank, until you climbed to the very last one. Then, I was made captain. If you were influential, you would be re-elected over and over. The job was like being a mediator between the white man's authority and the people. The captain said: "You have to listen to what I say and obey what I order." The people replied: "Hear! Hear!" as a sign of acceptance.

Formerly, while we went hunting or worked on something else, the women raised hens. At that time, eggs cost little; we got one real for ten eggs. The women made the garden plots and planted plantains and manioc. After that, we planted beans and peanuts and sometimes we got five or six quintals. We lived like that for a long time, until we were sent to work in the town under the authority of an apu. The jobs we had to do were for the government, like cleaning the square. People came from every muntun with their own governor: they came from Misahuallí, from Pano, each with their own authority. That work was done for free. We

worked Sundays and Thursdays, every week. Those who didn't come had their names written down in the *padrón* (register), and the guards would go and bring them to work. Everybody had to work. If we didn't show up for several days, the apu would write down the points. When a person had points against him, the policemen would go and get him from his house and make him work for five days as a punishment. But even then, the people paid no heed. The *colonos* (white settlers) asked the political chief to give them Indian labor to build houses for them, or for any other jobs. The political chief would ask the teniente to make his men work in the settler's property, and the teniente took them there. We were made to clean the square and build the government houses. We worked on roads, digging the ground and clearing out stones. Sometimes we were paid a few sucres, and were free once the job was finished. Sometimes this would be only after we had built two or three kilometers of road.

When the whites wanted to go to Quito, they also asked for Indian labor to carry their loads. In my father's time, during Alfaro's time (early 1900's), payment was four reales as far as Quito and four reales from Quito up to here. As children we accompanied the old ones; we were called "*alquilones*" ("hirelings") and earned a total of four reales. Things were cheap then. With two reales we bought a very large blanket or even a rough-cotton shirt. For the women we bought blue cotton cloth, a *pacha* (woman's dress) and a *chumbi* (sash). We took loads from here and brought loads from there. The alcalde had to force people to go to Quito, or he would be punished. He chose the strongest men; and just two or three days after coming back, they had to go off again. If not they would be punished. The lady patron Mariana used to scold the slackers by saying: "What's the use of your living, what's the use of your having women; give women only to strong men." She wouldn't send those who were not good bearers.

My father brought the old women settlers—the ladies—on his shoulders, while I came with the loads. I was given a zaparo. They made me carry terribly heavy things. We would bring everything, even the food, and it was so very heavy! In three days, in Baeza [coming from Quito], we would run out of food and would come back only with the empty zaparo. The one I brought was called *cocina zaparo* (food basket). The first three days of the trip from here [Tena] to Quito were terrible because the basket was full. Others would carry another zaparo called *puñuna zaparo* (basket for bed-linen). They had to get back to Tena with that heavy load up to the very end. It must have weighed around one quintal. Sometimes I wanted to pick the lightest ones, but they wouldn't let me. First, from Tena we went to Archidona; there the travelers would drink all night. From Archidona we went on to Cotundo, to Ñachiyacu and Jondachi, and from there as far as Urcusiqui. By the time we climbed the hill it was already twelve

o'clock, and we had to cross a bridge that was always full of mud. We arrived to Cosanga at five. The next day we drank coffee or huayusa tea. This is all we got. We would get up at four in the morning, cook rice and huayusa, and then we would leave. We carried cargoes of coffee, peanuts, and cotton. They told us it was one quintal, but it was very heavy. The whole route was: Archidona, Ñachiyacu, Jondachi, Urcusiqui, Cosanga, Cuyuja, and Papallacta. Sometimes we slept in a farm. From there we went to Quito where we slept at Navarrete's place. Sometimes we would stay three days in Quito, spending most of our time at the Simón Bolívar square, and then at the house of some young ladies called Rodríguez, where we often slept.

I've been all over Quito. The whites we had carried on our backs went from house to house. I also know Santo Domingo square and the Government House square. Behind it there was also a place where we could sleep. We could spend the night in the home of some gringos called Larson and Johnson, in the square that has the clock, and anywhere we had friends. Besides, we also had to prepare for carrying loads back to Papallacta, and from there to Baeza and Urcusiqui. When we arrived to this last place we were already very hungry and held up by eating only bread soaked in water. At that time we could get five rolls of bread for one sucre. We bought bags of bread and ate them on the way. In the homes in Quito we were never given anything to eat. We ate with our money, and if not, we went to the army barracks where there was a lot of food: rice, soup, and porridge. Sometimes there was so much that those who had hats would bring them back brimful. At that time food was not very expensive. One dish would cost three or four reales. That's how we lived then.

I have gone to Quito very often carrying all sorts of cargo and mail. It was hard. For example, not everybody could get through the Huamaní páramo because it was so high that the heart would stop. Suddenly terrible frosts could start, and in the rainy season we had to walk barefoot. The brother of Huagruna's father also walked like that. I don't know why he walked with us because he didn't know how to talk or walk well. But he always wanted to go with my father. He walked just like a woman, chewing chonta (fruit of palm) to help make the chicha. He died there on Mt. Huamaní, and that's just where they left him. Many people from Archidona, Cotundo, and Tena have died on that páramo.

Since I was a little child, I would go to Quito carrying a basket of chicha. They first made me go like that, and later paid me two sucres. When I was a grown up, we went to talk to the government people in Quito. At that time Mr. Bejarano was in charge of the government. Since I knew the way, we just went without any problem. We went there to denounce that the authorities here [in Tena] committed injustices and made us work too much. We kept going to ask if they [the national government] had ordered

that we work with machetes [for the local authorities in Tena]. When the government itself had given the order, we were given machetes to work with; when they were only agents, they gave us ten sucres. Sometimes the government agents sent us with our complaints from one place to another, from one lawyer to another, until we ran out of money and then we just dropped the whole thing. We had to lay our claims to the [national] government and bring back the reply to the [provincial] governments. That's why we sometimes just had to let it go, because we were young, we had no money, and no one had sent us. We went just because we knew there were injustices. The elders went with express orders from our people and the government would tell them: "If they take reprisals [in Tena] come back again, because we have not sent [the authorities] to do you wrong. We have sent them to treat you kindly." Well, it seems it never worked that way! In Quito we never spoke Spanish, only Quichua. Basilio and Robero would go as delegates from here because they knew how to argue and were good at settling problems.

My father used to tell us that in his times the authorities were traders and some even criminals. There was one group of authorities known as *quillca* (paper, book); those were apu who shaved the heads of those who didn't do what they were told. One of those quillca was so rotten that he would pull his pants down and tell the runa to "get him with child," and since they couldn't, he punished them. They had to do that and more not to be punished. That's what my father used to tell me. The authorities bawled us out terribly. There was one they called Coronel (Colonel) who was a very fierce apu. He would send people off with three-month leaves [from government work] so that they would work for him. When those people returned because they had nothing to eat, he would catch them and punish them for not having finished the jobs. He often made them squat and tied two rifles to their bodies, one around the waist and the other on the legs. Then, he ordered the capitán to kick them, and made them roll around like a ball. After that, he usually would give them a good beating with a club. Only my father was not punished. Later people became aware of things and went to complain to the government. But the government sent official letters here [to Tena], and anyone who had gone to Quito to complain got punished. In the old times, the apu were very bullying. Among them there was one called Pedro Burbano, but they were always being changed, and didn't even learn to speak Quichua. It seems they were called quillca because, besides being authorities, they taught in school. When they shaved your head, you couldn't protest, only lower your head far down.

When Augusto Rueda was mayor, they took us to make the bridge at Tena. All the excavations were made by the runa and also the wall. Since we had to work with shovels, the work was not very productive. The foreman was a Mr. Landazuri who was a very fierce man and insulted the

workers. He made us work from seven to noon straight, and we couldn't even raise our eyes to look anywhere, we had to work all the time. If you were working picking up stones you had to go on and on, without raising your head. He insulted me by saying that I didn't make the others work well, and threatened to go and bring in people from Archidona, because he said they didn't raise their heads until noon. He used to say: "You Panos are no good."

I answered him: "Why do you treat us like this? What do you think we are? I am not an animal. It's only the donkey that has his face covered, and no matter how much effort he makes and how tired he is, no one cares. If the donkey is overloaded, he will also complain and begin to break wind. If he is overburdened, even if he walks on all fours, he dies; and we are not donkeys. We are runa, and *cristianos* (christians, here meaning rational). If we grab you and make you work from seven to noon, what would you do? We have a body, we have arms, knees and hips that hurt. Those organs are the ones that get tired." We spoke as equals. He wanted to win me over with his arguments, but I followed suit and went on saying: "Even if you bring in the Archiruna, do you think that they're also donkeys? I just spoke with the Archiruna who are here working with me; they are saying that they're going to quit, that they don't want to work anymore." The foreman asked me, "Where are the Archiruna?" I showed him, "Here, here, together with me. Right here in front of me I have an Archiruna who wasn't even given a chance to pee." Then they started to be mean about us using the bridge. I told them I had a right because I was working and sweating. They only paid us two sucres, and that was after a lot of discussion. When the workers began to leave, the foreman said: "Then, I won't let you cross the bridge," and I answered: "You haven't even paid us for the work; this bridge is made with government money, not with money earned with your sweat. Only if it was so, could you be so mean. We built the roads and we are also entitled to the river made by God. If it overflowed it would carry you away and the entire village, but I still could cross it by canoe." After I told him that, right then and there he got scared; he stopped insulting us and began begging us to work.

In the Archidona River crossing, there used to be nothing more than a horse trail before we built three kilometers of road. After that we went on to build the road towards the Napo. At that time I was living in Talag, and one day when I was going to pan gold, suddenly the army came in. They came to take away all those who were in the village of Uchuculín while they cut *toquilla* straw. All of us who were working there and in the town were taken away by the soldiers. The house whose roof we had been building was left abandoned. They took us away that very same day, but it was a patron, Esther Maldonado's husband, the one who finally made them leave us so that we could continue building the road. "That's how you have to work," he told me, and showed me with a pickaxe. "If you

work in another way, you will never finish." The soldiers were also put to work; we all cut down the trees that were bending down towards the road. I was captain of that job. When we finished we went back home and they didn't take us off to the army anymore.

We also built a bridge over the small river. In Venecia and Llushpi we built a very large bridge, putting the foundations from the bottom up, to get to Misahuallí. The contracts were long, up until the work was completed. In Llushpi we worked because our patron, compadre Ruiz, had asked us to do it. They wanted us to cross the river and make the road up to Camp Arajuno, but we left it after some two kilometers. Afterwards, Jorge Hurtado made us build two more kilometers and Pauker, another patron, ordered us to build another two kilometers. That's what I did at that time, and then I set myself free. I worked here in town, but I didn't want to go anywhere else. That work on roads and bridges was not paid to us directly. The patron gave the orders, and we worked for him so that he would discount our work against the debts we had with him for merchandise. I used to have long discussions about that problem with our late patron Ruiz. I still have the paper for three hundred sucres and something more that was my debt to him. He gave it back to me because he said that when he died his sons would want to charge me too much, but up to now his children haven't charged me anything.

All the Pano muntun are people whom I have put to work when I was capitán. For example, Estanico, Ignacio, and Cumbarrucu. All of them obeyed quietly without any laziness. If I said, "go and bring that," they would bring it without objections. Anything I ordered them to do, they did it until it was finished. In the times of the varas we would come to Tena to perform our responsibilities. We didn't know Spanish, but we had ideas to express our thoughts in our language. We confronted the whites. When the authorities didn't do us justice, we went to Quito and protested to have our local authorities kicked out. The elders used to protest a lot. When they got older and tired, only a few of us remained to carry on fighting for our community's progress.

The custom of the varas disappeared with the coming of the Evangelists. It first happened in Dos Ríos and in Misahuallí. Mr. Ruben Larson intervened to make it disappear. He was followed by the priests of the Josephine mission in Tena, and later the Panos themselves made it disappear. On the Napo River, lady patron Esther Sevilla liberated the people from that custom to make them work only for her. Patron Baraona Ruiz also freed us from that work. But then the patrons became all powerful; they confiscated everybody's staffs and became the bosses.

The town of Tena was started by runa; the whites came later. There were only a few houses. What I remember is that there was the apu's house, and others of some people who came as soldiers and later stayed as patrons. I will tell what the elders told me, since I didn't see it with my

own eyes. The old church was where the cathedral is now; the altar was at ground level, and the building only had a roof. What it did have was a lot of benches and a large bell which the authorities kept. I don't know what they did with it. It was used to call people together. The authorities were located where the main square is now. I don't remember the rest of the houses. I only remember the one of a very fierce apu whose last name was Vega. He classified the Indians into groups: the group led by the huinaro, and the group led by the capitán, and he made us clear off the weeds with our hands, even though they were all nettles. It's only now that a pretty town is being formed.

Only runa used to live in that whole block where the police station is now. Later on, came the authorities appointed by the government in Quito who joined the apu from Tena. All of them governed us. After that, army soldiers and policemen started to arrive, but the natives paid no attention to them. One day I was going around shouting drunkenly through the streets. A policeman shouted at me: "Alonso, Alonso, do you want to get arrested?" I answered him: "You are the ones who have to keep quiet because you are ahuallactas (here meaning "outsiders"). I'm shouting right here in my own town. When I go to Quito I don't go around shouting in the streets, and if you are the ones doing that, I don't say anything. When you have a reason you can put me in jail." The police station was in the same place it is now, and that's where I went to shout. The river crossing was there next to the station and, after shouting, I could cross it quickly to get home. The road was terribly muddy and since I was drunk, I walked without knowing where I was going. I used to arrive at my father's home in the Retiro at midnight, and from there I still had a long walk to get to my house in Pano.

The authorities were one thing, and the settlers quite another; and the latter were not such pests because at that time there was a lot of land. They would come and take possession of a piece of land almost anywhere. Mariana, a lady patron, had land extending from Tena to Guineachimbana [some four kilometers away]. Since the day she arrived, she settled there and no one could disturb her. Afterwards, my grandparents really had to move away and took land in Palandacocha where they planted a huge amount of plantains. The Rivadeneyra patrons lived somewhere else and didn't use to bother the runa. Mrs. Mariana lived where the missionaries are now. The Cevallos obtained land through other governments. I was at their wedding because at that time I was working for them as a *semanero* (weekly laborer). They used to come at dawn to take me to work. On the wedding day we all went together to the church and I was included as a family member. I cooked and prepared the *guarapu* (liquor). It wasn't a very large wedding.

The runa of the Tena river were under the power of Doña Mariana; also those from Archidona and Puerto Napo, and the ones who lived near the

headwaters of the Napo River. All of them were Doña Mariana's servants. Don Carlos had the Dos Ríos group, called "the hacienda group." Those from the Ansu River and the ones who lived downstream along the Napo River were under Esther Sevilla. She reached as far as Venecia. All the runa had to sell everything to her, including the gold; and they had to buy from her the Peruvian shotguns and the *muyu* (beads). For example, when there was a wedding or somebody asked for a woman's hand in marriage the very first thing to do was to buy the *huallca muyu* (bead necklaces). Sometimes the sale was on credit, others just in cash. At that time the bunch of beads was worth one hundred sucres. There was also Esther Sevilla's mother, called Eufemia Sevilla. There also was Carlos Sevilla, who lived on the other side of the Napo River in a very large house. Old lady Sevilla's husband grew old here. He was really very old, his hair was white. Later only his son Carlos remained, but the old man had two or three sons. The patrons didn't mind our going to church but only after we had worked for them. This is how the whites lived; they never worked. The salesmen and the merchants in the stores had better relations with the priests than with the runa. This is how the patrons got along together: Mrs. Mariana gave her group of men to her son; the authorities were very afraid of Ruiz, they said that he was the wealthiest and that's why they were afraid of him. He could settle any problem with the authorities; he could punish the police chief, the governor, or anybody else; whatever he wanted to do, he did. The Panos had no other patron but Ruiz, and there never was anyone else. All the debts were paid in gold, and all the varas and their people, everyone from the Pano River bought his freedom with gold.

Here, all the big ones have amassed their fortunes on the basis of gold. Doña Mariana is a good example. She would force each runa to get into debt. They would bring her gold and tell her to cross out the debt, and she would say that it was crossed out. Then after one month, or sometimes two weeks, she would start to say, "Pay me the debt." That's because she was adding onto the debt right there. Sometimes they paid her with one or two grams of gold; but even then she didn't cross out the debt and she would ask them to bring her even more gold. Especially Doña Mariana and Doña Juana were the ones who cheated that way. Doña Juana asked each runa for up to five grams in each trip. They would bring lots and lots of gold and fill bottles and bottles, and she gave them one month's leave only so that they could go and pan gold for her. The latecomers here may have gotten rich with cattle; some also had distilleries. At that time, I was capitán of the hacienda. Leaving other jobs I went to work in the hacienda. That was in my compadre Ruiz's time, when I became his peon. My father was still capitán, getting the men to work building roads, panning gold, and tapping rubber.

The first lady patron who came was Mrs. Mariana. She really was one terrible thief, and we took the gold to her. She would grab it with a spoon

and, "flash, flash, flash," measured the gold very quickly to confuse us. She put it in a large piece of paper and then, "puff, puff, puff," would blow on it and tell us that it was full of impurities and that some was still lacking. Those who had a debt with her always paid it in gold. I never took things from her store on credit. She used to charge for what she had already been paid; that's just what she would do. Since I earned my own money, I would buy my clothes with that. There was another woman called Rosalina; I think she is already dead. She used to say: "Take it, take it on credit anyhow, you can pay." I once took out some trousers and a rain poncho on credit. Later on I came to pay her, and paid every single penny. I brought her money and also gold. So my debt was crossed out. Two weeks later she had me called saying that I should come and pay the debt. Then, I really blew up, and asked her if she thought it was right to steal from everyone. I said: "No wonder you steal without compassion from the poor who don't know how to speak up. And who told you to put my name again on that piece of paper? Quick, quick, tell me who told you." And the old lady said: "Your own family told me" [throughout he mockingly imitates the old lady's voice]. I answered, "You liar! Why do you lie anyway?" She was a very fierce woman; everyone was afraid of her, but I wasn't afraid to stand in front of her and say: "I won't pay you half a penny. You erase my name from there, you liar. It's no use your lying, it wasn't my family, it was you yourself, you thief, who wrote that down there." She answered me: "They told me Alonso owes you, put him down on the list of debtors. No, I said, your thieving mind is what made you do that. The devil must have made you do that." I told her those things to her face. After our discussion, she erased everything. From then on, I never went back to her store again because she used to steal from poor people.

During the times when gold was big, people asked for three month's leave without coming back to town. You only had to come when the leave was over. The patron Ruiz made us work that way. He had us bring him two gold *patacones* (a measure equivalent to five grams). We went everywhere looking for gold, around Sacsayacu, in Talag and in Yusupino. Maybe in two months we were able to bring back that much. We also looked for gold in Verdeyacu. Once the gold was sold, sometimes people would buy a cow without thinking about it twice and they would run out of money quickly enough. One gold real was worth eight sucres; one half a real, four sucres, and the gold dust had to be delivered in little bottles. All the gold we got we sold to patron Ruiz, who made us get into more debt and then sent us to Verdeyacu (a place rich in gold) time and time again. He came to have lots of money, but he was a big smoker and drinker and lost it all. He would throw the sucres on the square and anyone who wanted to, even the whites, could pick them up. At the beginning he erased the debts, but later he didn't erase anything.

After that, they sent us for rubber. We worked getting rubber with the

same patron. Each family had to make twenty-five pounds, that is to say one arroba or one ball of rubber. The children also made little balls to earn something. On the other side of the Hatunyacu there was a lot of rubber that had been worked by our ancestors, so I also went around there. I was quite sick that time. After spending a long time lying down in bed, I felt weak like a little child. When I got a bit better I followed my mother to look for rubber. I had nothing to wear except the pants I had taken on credit, a shirt my father gave me, and another shirt that was a gift from my brother Camilo. My wife didn't have clothes either. We had spent everything on having the yachaj suck out my illness so that I could get well. As soon as I felt better I went to look for rubber, and though I wasn't in good spirits, I went on and on looking. While searching for rubber I found an armadillo. I saw it jumping from here to there and I quickly ran after it. It went into a thicket of thorns and I followed, but it ran away. Since I was sick, he won, and then I made a trap and left it there. Each person had a row in the forest, a place to look for rubber. In some of these rows there were ten trees, in others five, and in others only one. You had to tap the trees and let them drip without taking the rubber. The bottom of the tree was fixed nicely so that the rubber could drip there. After two or three days we would come to gather the rubber. Until it hardened, we had to look in other places. We made arroba after arroba. I don't recall how much it was worth, but I do recall that with what I earned I bought a cartridge shotgun from a man called Pauker. The Spanish shotguns were sold by Mrs. Esther [Sevilla]. We've lived like that from way back. With the patron Ruiz we planted rice; in the cacao season we planted cacao, and in the plantain season, plantain. He also had us plant peanuts. I don't remember any other patrons apart from him. The young people of today never knew patrons. When the gringos [Evangelicals] came from Dos Ríos, they taught us to live in freedom. This is how they made us lose that custom of working under patrons.

# 9

# *The Company and the Auca*

We have walked through many paths of death; that was in company (Shell Oil) times. We worked under three-month contracts and earned five sucres a day working from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon. I think that later on they paid up to ten sucres.

The company worked around Shiripuno and Tiputini and I've been around all those places. Some Napo Runa stayed there. I was also asked to stay. In the times of Galo Plaza (President of Ecuador 1948–1952) people used to say that when the engineers told him there was oil, he wanted to sell it to Peru because his wife was Peruvian. Knowing that there was oil, the Peruvians fired their weapons on the lower Napo (reference to the 1940's war with Peru). Now a road is being built from Coca, and apparently they're following the same narrow trail we opened then, when we worked for Shell. In some places it's flatland and is hilly in others. We were set several meters a day to do, and we had to drag large trees. It was just our luck that the trees were awfully big! We all worked with a machete, including the Archiruna and the whites. We had to make trench sheeting with logs (logs placed along the road for company vehicles). Some runa got blisters on their hands and pieces of their skin fell off. The next day they were fired since they couldn't even carry loads anymore. I was the first one sent ahead to lead the trail, and as an "engineer," I had to show where the road should go to put the log sheeting later. We did this in Auca (Huaorani Indians) land. I think God didn't want me to die then, but the engineer sent for me every morning even to go to the john; he was so frightened!

I would always come home after three months of working for the company. I never did meet the Auca face-to-face, though many of their houses were there. They never scared me, even though in the forest we often

found bundles of spears ready for shooting. I don't recognize them as Huaorani but as Auca. I know the llushti Auca (naked Auca) who live in Dayuno; others are called puca chaqui Auca (red-foot Auca). Along the narrow trails sometimes we found, hanging from the trees, the bones of those fools who dared play with the spears left by the Auca as a warning. In the Cononaco there was a lake where the hydroplane used to land bringing company people from the Tiputini to the Conaco. They suspected that there were Auca there, and everybody took their shotguns. The Auca got angry because they felt the same as we would feel if some outsider invaded our land. When some outsiders did violate their land, they wanted to kill them. Many ahuallactas have died because they were careless.

We call auca all those who are in the habit of killing people and those who used to have two wives. For example, we called auca those people from Macuma and Sucúa [Shuar]. We never spoke with them because they didn't understand Quichua. Once the company took us there on a plane and we found that the Macuma auca were suffering from a flu and smallpox epidemic, and they threatened to kill us because they believed we had brought them those sicknesses. Shell armed us with two-barrel shotguns, and later with rifles. The auca from there were: Macuma auca, Arapicos auca, and Macas auca. The most famous for killing people were the Arapicos. The Macuma wanted to wait for us on the road to kill us, but the company had its own soldiers. Some runa told us that near another camp the Auca spears had brushed their foreheads and since they were carrying loads, they fell backwards. When they got to the camp and reported this, they were given shotguns, but the Auca had already made the soldiers and the police run.

We only carried the company food, mostly rice and canned meat, which they gave us plenty of. In the forest we ate a lot of game that we hunted, but Shell sent us that other food, such as pig and lamb. They would tie up those poor animals in bundles on the helicopters throwing them down like parachutists, and the pigs squealed as they fell. The Taisha Auca (a Huaorani group converted to Protestantism) were living in the Shell camp; we lived together with them. All those Auca didn't kill anyone; they were good friends, but still you couldn't let go of the shotgun. The engineers slept with shotguns by the bedside and during the day, at work, they went around with us.

I think that at the beginning there were several groups of auca, such as the Panos, the Archirunas, and the Misahuallís. A long time ago none of them were Christians. According to the elders, the Archirunas used to kill: they were auca. The elders would say that at the time of the deluge, the Tigüeno auca went downriver on a balsa raft. They took the plants on one raft and the people on another; they took with them *chunchupu muyu* (a plant) and squash. Since there was nowhere they could run because the

river was so swollen, they climbed the Chiuta (a mountain). It may be true or not, but this is what the old folks told us. Others said that down the Napo River the Auca had met with rubber patrons, perhaps with Armando Llori's family (the infamous rubber baron). Then they got angry at these gentlemen and took to the forest. That's what the Napo River people think. It's also believed that other groups of auca are living in the Sumaco and Galeras (mountains), but nothing is really known about this. It's certainly known that they've gone as far as the Ahuano River to kill.

Mrs. Mariana (a late lady patron) told me that the Auca were Quichua that had gone into hiding so as not to work here during the rubber era. They established families there in the Huachiyacu because they went with their women and increased in numbers. Now they are living on the slopes of the Galeras mountain. They used to send *chahuamangu* (a bird) feathers stuck into plantain peels or corn cobs, to let us know they were there.

A man who was called Añango used to say that he would kill the Auca, but that they don't die when you shoot them. Even with their backs turned, they realize someone is coming. They run so fast that they can't be shot at, not even with a rifle. These legends have been told since remote times. In the rubber era many people died killed by the Auca. This happened around the headwaters of the Yasuní. Even many Serranos died there. In Shell Company times, all of us went through all those Auca places opening the narrow trails. Shell went in its helicopters and saw the Auca from up there. The company men wanted to throw fire down on them, so they would burn. At that time there was a tall, fat worker who made fun of the Auca and would say that if they attacked him, he was going to kill the men and keep the women. The natives told him not to talk like that, that the Auca are not like animals and that you can't laugh at them. He was the cook. One day he went to kill a *tutacushillu* (monkey) and it seems that the Auca threw the *aya allpa* (magic earth) at him. When they went to look for him the tutacushillu was still walking, but the cook had been dead for some time, killed by the Auca. There was also another man, a soldier, who went fishing with a hook, and when he felt the Auca were near him he tried to run and get his shotgun, but even before reaching for it, they speared him. That's why so many people came back, leaving the company jobs and all their things behind. That's why we say you shouldn't laugh at the Auca. The elders always advised us so.

But the Serranos would say there was no reason to be afraid of the Auca. Even before company times, they died [killed by Auca] for foolishly going around there in the forest. That's why Carlos Sevilla (a patron) occupied the Zaparo as workers. Those Indians always had their guns ready when they fished with barbasco in the rivers. I don't know where the Zaparo live; they've disappeared by now. I think they're Quichua, but from Puyo, and used to live along the Curaray. It seems that they received the name of the village where they came from, because in the old times

they were called Zaparo auca, but they spoke Puyo Quichua perfectly and we understood each other very well. Possibly they also knew Auca (meaning Huaorani language). There was a time when they came to the Ansu River and served under the patron Carlos Sevilla. They lived on the lower Curaray River. They mingled with the Auca, and I think they were the ones to pick up Dayuma (Huaorani woman used by Evangelical missionaries to convert other Huaorani). The first inhabitants of the Curaray seem to have been the Auca, but those living there now are really Quichua. The only thing I know is that they called them Zaparo auca; they dressed like us and spoke Quichua like the people from Puyo.

It seems that the Auca kill defending their lands. They don't like other people invading their territory. I have gone there since I was small, but I never found them. When the village they had in the Curaray disappeared, we used to go there to fish with barbasco. We were awfully frightened and didn't realize they could come back and kill us. When they really want to kill they come directly and confront you, but when they only want to frighten, they come to test you, to make noise, to whistle, just to see if they will be shot at or not. As they say, they make us sleep with aya allpa. By throwing us a little bit of that magic earth we get sleepy and dumb, and that's when they take advantage to kill. There are several groups of Auca: those from Tigüeno, Curaray, Tibacuno, Nushiño, and Shiripuno. They have chagras and chonta palm plantings in all these places. They also have earthen pots which are narrow at the bottom and then widen out and then narrow down again, and widen out again like *botijas* (pitchers).

We saw the Auca once when they had cut tree leaves and slept on them; they left pots all over the forest. They had gone to the Cononaco river and ended up where we were. Where they lived no one knows, but we saw the spears at the foot of the trees. We have walked through all those paths of death. If they would have thrown spears from behind, we would have been dead in a second, without even knowing. We thought that the Auca were hiding behind the trees and could kill us easily. There was an engineer who called me every afternoon and said: "Come with me, that's what men are for and we have four good testicles." The truth is that he was scared stiff, and that's why he called me. Anyway, even if there were many of us, we were still very scared. Some of us were sent ahead with machetes, while others were sent behind with guns. If they came to kill us, at least one of them would die.

Once I was with a group of people opening a narrow trail. As we came to a ridge there was a large tree trunk, the machete swerved, and I cut my toe and started bleeding. The others left me right there all by myself, but I was quick to follow despite all the blood that was coming out of my foot. The next day, the engineer gave me a leveling rod to use as a cane to lean on, and they finally cured me in Curaray. However, the following

day we had to travel through Auca land. Those who were on two feet ran like crazy along that scary path, but I walked like a turtle. Another time some men sent me to tell the engineer to give them food when they were working, and he did send them *pinol* (roasted barley or corn flour) and sugar, while the others laughed at that kind of gringo food. In the morning the engineer ordered me to light the fire, and once the smoke appeared, then the company planes bringing the food could land; the day they arrived there was a party. They dropped things on a parachute; a lot of cargo came, and what they didn't wrap up well would come in pieces; sometimes even the machetes and axes were broken. They sent huge bags that bounced as they were dropped. Later we were made to carry all that stuff.

Ever since I was a young man I went to fish with barbasco and to work for the company. I have always gone around Auca lands. At that time only paddle-canoes were used, but they were large and now motor boats navigate on those rivers. I used to go from Misahuallí down to the Arajuno and the Tiputini on those canoes. From here we took barrelsful of food, and from there we brought back the gasoline tanks. Another time, when I went with my father to work for the company, we only stayed for one month because he came down with a bad knee. We got to a place called Paparagua more or less at two in the morning. The foreman had given us two axes as a gift; this was in Villano, along the Curaray River. There were a lot of electric eels in this river, but nothing happened. When we got to Curaray my father couldn't go on, and we had to return home because they weren't going to let him work if he was feeling sick. In the company they gave us a [medical] checkup before accepting us for work. I was told to pull my pants down, and they examined me bit by bit all over my body. They weighed my testes and told me I was all right. There were men there who seemed healthy, but they weren't sent to work. Some more men were standing next to me, but the contractor said that they wouldn't do, and he got rid of them. To us they looked like healthy men, but for the company they were sick. Then a large plane came and we were carried off, while in the other camps they waited to see who would work. We were taken to a far-off place where there was a lot of hunting and fishing. Thanks to that checkup, I paid for my first plane trip.

We worked there for one year, but it was a place near the Auca, half a day's trip from their very own village. Later on we worked in a place between the Curaray and the Villano, exactly where the Auca always used to kill. Anyway, we all slept peacefully. Afterwards they examined us once more and said: "Those who have two testes are going to Lorocachi." Shilvi and the Archiruna were among them. All of us from Pano went in a motor boat. We were very sad, but after one month we bumped into the others going round and round the Cononaco. We got to a camp called Pavacachi; we never stopped opening the forest trails.

At that time we went on foot and were mortified by the thorns. We would walk like auca (here meaning naked), carrying heavy loads. At least I was never given a small bundle. They wrapped up two tents for me, and with that load, which was quite a large bundle, we had to swim crossing the rivers. Bending and bending I was able to cross the river while the gringos came behind me. After we had crossed, they gave us some rubber shoes they called *morlacos*, but they had the disadvantage of getting very hot. If we wanted to run we couldn't because they were very tight.

We always had to open narrow trails in the very territory of the Auca. Once, it was around the hill known as Tihuacuno, where the Tiputini River begins. When we finished the trail, at around six, the engineers, the foremen, and the chainman came. They gave us ammunition, matches, candles, and packets of tobacco. At ten we reached the camp screaming (so that the Auca knew they were coming). We slept there and on the next day we took off from Shiripuno with large loads. The engineer told us that we had to get there quickly. I was given a bundle with two tents that were very heavy, with a lot of poles and ropes. The others didn't want to carry that, but I said: "I can get there with this." It was like carrying rocks; when I got there I was beat; the others had left me behind. We had to sleep in a clearing, and travelled on the next day until six. There was a camp, San Juan, a little ways down from Cononaco. We stayed there for two days, precisely where the Auca were, and they would throw spears at us every single night. Those who slept further upridge almost got killed. We slept with lit candles and inside, but those poor devils slept outside and could not have saved themselves if the Auca had wanted to kill them. We put the tents inside the warehouse, and that's where we slept. Outside there were sentries who stood guard all night; the Auca were very close by. The spears were heard flying by, "zing, zing, zing," and while we worked they would walk around. That's what the Cononacos said, but I never saw them myself.

Sometimes we had to protest to the company foremen because they made us work too much or wouldn't let us leave when we wanted. The company employees asked me to stay on and work. I got very angry since I wanted to go home quickly. A motorman asked the company in Cononaco to send a plane and the plane was heard pretty soon, but three of us were not allowed to leave. We sneaked into a canoe in the middle of the waves made by the hydroplane and we left. We got out all right and reached the Shell camp in Pastaza. There, all of us had our shigras confiscated to check if we had stolen something! Only the following day, when we were being paid, the shigras were returned to us. The company paid many men from everywhere; that's why they took up to three days to pay. With that money there was tremendous drinking until they woke up without a penny. They bought watches, shoes, and pen knives. The

trader there was Regina Vega. There was also a Mr. Uquillas who would keep the money in his drawer, saying that we would lose it. We were given a piece of paper and with that we went to buy blankets and clothes. I used to fight with the foremen all the time, because they would bawl us out to work quickly.

The company plane took us as far as Villano. On another occasion, when I also wanted to get out the contractor told me it wasn't my time to go. My compadres Sicuma and Papel also had to stay. We were four in all. Others cried, wanting to go back home. Those of us who stayed, sat on the ridge to listen to the radio until four o'clock, when they gave the news that the plane had left Villano for Cononaco. Instead of taking us out, they made us board a balsa raft on the Cononaco River before the plane arrived. When they saw us on the rafts, they laughed, and told us that sitting there we would be easy targets for the Auca spears. While we were still there, the river waters rose terribly. It was awful, but we weren't afraid to die as long as we could get home. So, we grabbed the raft and hiding from the foreman, we came down the river, escaping. Since then, I never again went to work for the company.

One time I got three thousand sucres from the company, and sent you (his son) to Manta to study. The foreman advised me that it was the best I could do with that money, because once a son studies, he will earn money every month. Sometimes I would borrow to send you the money. I paid three hundred sucres in order to send you one thousand. With the rest we bought salt and blankets. With the company money I also bought a calf, and that's why I now scold my children who work, earn money, and have nothing. I still get animals from that cow I bought. I gave her to Juanita (his daughter), and she got as many as ten. Since the owner is fierce, the animals also turned out fierce, and that's why she had to sell them. Whenever I needed money, I sold a cow, though at that time I only got one thousand sucres for it; now they cost up to ten or twelve thousand. Those who are heavy in the butt (lazy) can't have animals, but those who are light can. Idle ones say that it's too much work, but on selling, you make money. Now that I'm old and can't work like that anymore, I've wanted to sell the cows, but somehow I can't because it makes me sad.

When we worked for Shell, the Auca still hadn't come in close contact with other people, and that's why we were so afraid. Now the Auca have become tame, they live just like us, and the Quichua visit and go hunting with them. Formerly, only those who were brave went around with them. They stole the wife of one of my compadres when he was hunting in the forest, but later the woman came back. Other times, they have killed on the Arajuno River and along the Cusano. One time, seeing that the Auca were coming, some runa jumped into the river and were killed in the middle of it. They're in the habit of killing anyone who is swimming in the river. A lot of people from the Tena River have died in Auca territory.

There used to be a gringo here called Cooper who came to teach (an Evangelical missionary). He used to tell that once when he was drifting silently on a raft along the Nushiño River, the Auca had thrown a spear at him from five meters away, but hadn't hit him. Camilo Calapucha who was accompanying him, saved him by shooting at the Auca who then ran off. The gringo told that story as if it were a feat of his, boasting of how he had almost died, and he also said that in other places like Brazil, there are fiercer groups than the Auca.

Later, there came another gringo who always fasted and only lived on pills. He was not a believer. He lived in a house, and one day the Auca came near him and he shot at them. Ever since then, the Auca got very angry. Shortly after, the other missionary gringos came. It seems that the Auca already were being tamed, but then a woman told them that the gringos would kill them. That's when the Auca killed the five missionaries, and I think they also killed that other gringo of the pills. They were becoming closer to the runa, but those gringos frightened them away again. Now the Auca say they killed because the woman lied to them. Dayuma, the Auca woman who escaped and went to live at patron Sevilla's house, talked with the loudspeaker from the gringo's plane and calmed down the Auca's anger. It's only recently, with Dayuma's help, that they've calmed down, but they have split into several groups such as the one headed by Zoila, another by Dayuma, and still another by Dayuma's son.

A Quichua teacher of the Auca told me that they have gotten fierce again and threatened to kill him because they believe he's a communist. They say they're going to kill all those who go around teaching communism. But I don't understand, because as this teacher explained to me, all he wanted to do was to inaugurate a community house. Now there is at least one marriage I know of between Auca and Quichua, and they shouldn't fight. The Auca boundary goes up to Huachiyacu, and if the people who go there only want to get chonta, they don't get angry. I've been told that a short time ago they made a trail to separate themselves from us, so that the runa from here will not enter into their territory, and they won't pass to this side. I laugh because the hunters, the game eaters, won't be able to go around easily anymore, but some pay no attention, they're stubborn and always go. That is bad. The Auca have the idea of killing because others come to take their land, their hunting, and their fishing away from them. It's just the same as if somebody came to invade my lands, I would also defend myself fiercely.

# 10

# Gold, Oil, and Cattle *The Twentieth Century in Tena-Archidona*

## Haciendas

When an English explorer, Hamilton Rice, arrived in Archidona in 1901, the Jesuits had already been gone for some years and the church building was abandoned and in ruins. Only twelve whites lived in the shabby government building, acting both as authorities and traders. They ran the daily affairs of the province under the tutelage of the governor, who also was responsible for the Indians' "religious well-being." On Sunday mornings the governor would gather the available Indian population, some five hundred of them, and set them to work, primarily clearing his own land for cultivation. The rest of the Indians had emigrated elsewhere. Tena was no longer mentioned, and Puerto Napo was a ghost town (Rice 1903:408–410). Nothing more than a legend remained of the famous American George Edwards, the "Yankee of the Napo," as Orton (1876:195) called him in 1867. After arriving in the area in 1854 as a gold seeker, Edwards became established in the Yusupino near Puerto Napo, where, according to Rice, he lived "in a true Crusoean style." In 1895 he was murdered by some Portuguese looking for the gold that he had allegedly accumulated during his many years in the Napo. Feeling slightly bewildered by his new experience in that "forsaken place," Rice complained in his writings that none of the whites living there spoke a single word of English! A Puerto Napo trader spent several days trying to find three Indians willing to accompany Rice on his journey down the Napo River. As most nineteenth-century travelers, Rice had to "persuade" his native guides by force of arms to accompany him on his journey. Even so, they abandoned him to his fate in the village of Ahuano (Rice 1903:411) until he was rescued by Silverio Roggeroni, one of the locally famous

rubber traders. After resting at Roggeroni's hacienda "Berna" on the Napo River near Coca, Rice (1903:412–413) was taken to the Tiputini River area, where the trader was going to look for rubber with forty of his Indians.

This is the only "touristic" description we could find of the Tena-Archidona area for the beginnings of this century. It does, however, appropriately reflect certain economic and social conditions that can only be inferred from the administrative documents of that period: depopulation and neglect due to the expulsion of the Jesuits, epidemics that continued to break out periodically, and the aftermath of the rubber boom. Once the boom was over, the traders, former soldiers, and rubber patrons with their peons returned to the Tena-Archidona area to settle there on a more permanent basis. Trade relations with Iquitos became more problematic for want of a valuable trading commodity. Consequently, the whites needed to ensure their subsistence by other means, which primarily entailed securing access to native lands and to the always scarce native labor. Thus, this period marks the beginning of the haciendas in this region and the white settlers' involvement in cattle raising and commercial farming on a more regular basis.

To understand the process of land occupation by the whites, we must go back in time to the Jesuit chronicles that partly document this process. Under an 1846 law, whites were forbidden to live in the "reducciones and Indian villages" (López San Vicente 1894:30–31). In 1875, another law prohibited logging in forests located within a radius of ten kilometers around the parish church in smaller settlements, or of fifteen kilometers in larger settlements (AGN, law mentioned in doc. June 9, 1891). Like many other laws enacted for the Oriente, neither of these was observed. Even the Jesuits allowed "trustworthy" whites to reside in Indian villages. In addition, under article 5 of the Law of the Oriente, in force in 1894, the government was entitled to adjudicate "vacant lands" (*terrenos baldíos*) to agricultural settlers, other than those lands already occupied by the Indians. "No sooner was this law known in the missions," says a Jesuit chronicler, "than all the traders and miners suddenly developed a strong vocation for ranching or farming. From September to December, the Governor was flooded with claims on 'vacant lands,' but the plots involved were precisely those belonging to the Indians and under cultivation by them from time immemorial" (Jouanen 1977:203).

Thus, the Napo Runa gradually started to lose their community lands in the villages, with the connivance of the civil authorities. For instance, by 1890 in Archidona, three-fourths of the lands around the town were in the private hands of four unidentified whites and the Governor's son (Jouanen 1877:203). From 1895 on, the Indians themselves were forced to request "vacant lands" in order to be able to clear their own gardens

(AGN, Tena, letter to political chief Archidona, 1895). In 1921, Pío Jaramillo Alvarado, General Director of the Oriente, reported that in the Tena-Archidona area, the state had lost ownership over "vacant lands" in the immediate vicinity of the towns to private interests thereby creating a "colonial situation." Some twelve long-established colonists monopolized lands to resell them; they were openly hostile to the coming of new settlers and, in the words of Jaramillo (1964:69–70), "they claimed to be the owners of everything within their sight in the forests."

So long as the Napo Quichua could still find virgin forest for hunting and clearing their swidden gardens, this process of land occupation by the whites did not trigger serious conflicts. But in the 1920s, official and spontaneous settlements (colonias) began to develop around Tena-Archidona, an area that was considered more favorable than the villages on the middle and lower Napo because of its better climate. A 1921 Legislative Decree further authorized the government to enter into colonization contracts with private foreign companies, a situation that lent itself to serious abuses. In 1926 for example, the Colonia Oriental Development Company awarded thousands of hectares to one patron for the settlement of fifty colonists. Actually, the patron settled his own Indian peons from Archidona, Tena, and Puerto Napo there, passing them off as colonists in order to gain access to the land and convert the colony into a hacienda (Pérez Guerrero 1954:147–148). Soon after, he became manager of that same company, which expanded to include a three-hacienda complex, all with "debtor peons" (AGN, letter to political chief Napo, Jul. 1931).

The process of land occupation proceeded by systematically turning what had previously been "Indian villages," into "white towns." In 1921 there were four haciendas in the very center of the town of Tena. Rucuyaya Alonso remembers in specific detail how little by little the whites took over Indian lands located in what is now the town core (see chapter 8).

Once the lands located closest to the most important population centers had been occupied, the hacienda owners began to expand further towards the outlying districts. By 1936, seven patrons were fighting over the Pano section, after having taken over lands already occupied by the Indians, despite the latter's continuous complaints to the authorities (AGN, letter from commander of 4th Department of War and Oriente, Jan. 31, 1938). The same was true of Puerto Napo, Archidona and of all other areas through which trails had already been opened; for example, on the Puerto Napo-Puyo road. Throughout this period, the Indians protested against this usurpation, as is evident in the words of the political lieutenant of Tena in 1938: "There are claims and conflicts between day laborers and patrons and between Indians and other white settlers, making of this

an endless row, and a headache for any authority that comes to perform its appropriate duties in this region" (AGN, letter from political chief to commander of the 4th Department, May 27, 1938).

For several decades, encroachment on Indian ancestral lands continued unabated, becoming even more intensive with the increasing expansion of cattle raising. As in the past, white patrons and other settlers continued to ignore Indian rights and the national legislation allegedly enacted to protect them. Furthermore, the old established ideology concerning the Indians' "savagery" was effectively manipulated to justify the land occupations, and continued to reflect the landowners' anxieties over Indian labor shortages. This concern is evident, for example, in the excuses given by a patron accused of turning Indian garden plots into pasturelands for his own use: "It is no crime—he says—to destroy the forests which up to now have served as nothing more than hideaways for the Indians, who thus make their kingdom under the shade of the trees" (AGN, Tena, Aug. 10, 1921).

When the extractive economy, and especially rubber, was their primary concern, the patrons' classificatory system of domination had included the Napo Runa into the category "Indians"; the domesticated ones whose labor was more easily available. Their seminomadic habits were then overlooked since they allowed the "Indians" access to the primary resources coveted. Suddenly, in the rhetoric of this patron with the aspirations of a new-born farmer, those same "Indians" are converted into "savages" who, like animals, live only under the trees and, conveniently, their horticultural practices are ignored. But the dynamics of social and economic change turned this rhetoric against itself, as will be shown below.

After securing access to land through legal or illegal means, the "old settlers" and others who came in the 1920s, took up cattle raising, the cultivation of certain cash crops, and the growing of manioc and plantain for their own subsistence. In the Tena-Archidona area the most important cash crops were cotton, coffee and rice. During the period of international prosperity, from 1924 until the 1929 world crisis, unit export prices for Ecuadorian products rose, as did the overall value of exports. For example, in 1924, 31,260 quintals of cotton were exported for a declared value of 474,934 U.S. dollars (Carbo 1978:113). Tena-Archidona hacienda owners took advantage of that economic bonanza. For instance, one and a half hours from Puerto Napo down the Napo River, the "Venecia" hacienda, which mostly produced cotton, sold it in Quito or Ambato at 80 or 90 sucres for a 100-pound bale (Sinclair 1929:211). At a transportation cost of 6 sucres for a 75-pound bale, the cotton was transported from Tena on the Indians' backs (*a lomo de indio*), in an eight-day trip.[1] For the most part coffee was grown in those haciendas that began to be established along the primitive roads between Archidona, Tena, and Puerto Napo. It was

sold in Quito at approximately 60 sucres per 100 pounds (Sinclair 1929:211), using the same means of transportation as cotton. To be considered economically feasible, a cattle ranch in this area had to have at least 170 hectares of pastureland for around 500 head of cattle. Live cattle were sold in the Aguarico and exported to Peru (Sinclair and Wasson 1923:193). But such trade with Peru was much more intensive in the haciendas located on the middle and lower Napo, which produced rice and cotton and raised cattle, solely for the Iquitos market.

The other important product in the Tena-Archidona economy was sugar cane, used to make liquor and molasses. A very small group of pioneer settlers controlled this industry with their large establishments in Tena-Archidona and in the Aguarico. They prospered despite government efforts to regulate them via distillation duties. They also survived the Dry Law that the government tried to implement in 1935 from Saturday to Monday, "to prevent the scandals and uproars that occur in the Oriente due to drunkenness" (AGN, letter from director of Oriente, to Tena political chief, 1935). Sinclair and Wasson (1923:196) mention the existence of only seven pioneer haciendas between Puerto Napo and the mouth of the Coca river in 1923. Other settlements along the Napo had to be abandoned due to attacks by the Huaorani Indians, whose traditional territories lay on the right bank of that river (Dyott 1926:232). Thus, a 1924 document institutes summary proceedings on the grounds of "an infidel attack on the houses of Indians belonging to the hacienda 'Huino' (La Coca), that left four people dead" (AGN, Dec. 18, 1924).

Throughout this period, the white settler population remained small, although estimates from various sources differ on the actual numbers. Sinclair and Wasson (1923) reported that in 1921, three or four families lived in Puerto Napo, around six in Tena and around four or five in Archidona, and that six years later, the numbers had not changed significantly (Sinclair 1929). For the same period, Jaramillo Alvarado (1964), Director General of the Oriente, noted that around one dozen whites and "very many Indians" were living in Tena, while a census in Archidona reported 80 whites and some 2,000 Indians (AGN, report, political lieutenant Archidona, 1925). It is interesting to note that, even within that small group of whites already settled as authorities and patrons, from the 1920s onward there was a relatively high percentage of women who became powerful patrons in their own right. Some of them took that responsibility on themselves when widowed, but others, such as Juana Arteaga, who we will come to know better later on, began from the bottom up.[2] She got to be a contractor for the Mail Service and Provincial Councillor, in addition to being a patron. As soon as state schools were established and the administrative bureaucracy expanded with Eloy Alfaro's Liberal government, female teachers and the wives of government employees began to arrive and settle on a more or less permanent basis. Several of these

women also became traders and managed to amass sufficient capital, land, and laborers to successfully compete with the men. Most of Rucuyaya Alonso's stories dealing with the evil-doings of patrons and his mocking comments about them refer to these women (see chapter 8).

## The Patrons, the Authorities, and Access to Indian Labor

When remembering this period, Rucuyaya Alonso says: When the times of the varas were over, "the white man gave us things on credit and we became serfs" (chapter 8, p. 122). Here he is referring to his own case, because in the Tena-Archidona area both systems of domination continued to coexist for a long time.[3] As a result of the Liberal legislation in the Tena-Archidona area, repartos and forced labor were replaced by the indebtedness system implemented by the patrons as an even more effective method to ensure for themselves Napo Runa labor and surplus. That mode of production was dominated by what Wolf (1982:86–87) calls "commodity peonage"; in this case, the exchange of goods highly valued on the domestic or foreign markets for goods that had only use value for the Indians, and whose prices were grossly inflated to keep them indebted. The patron did not purchase labor power on a market nor control the actual labor process. As Wolf (1982:87) notes for this productive system in general, "surplus was not extracted as surplus value but through unequal exchange within the framework of monopolistic and quasi-tributary relations." As will be shown in detail below, the main economic basis for exploitation was the difference in exchange prices. The abuses were peculiar to a system of domination that continued to operate within the premises of the hegemonic ideology by which access to labor depended on ethnic discrimination; and that was slightly modified only to make it more adaptable to the new economic and political conditions. On the one hand, the liberal laws and decrees under which the government tried to regulate the system, allowed the patrons to justify their labor arrangements with the Indians as a "free contract" to exchange goods for labor. On the other, that same legislation also intended to control the worst abuses in a situation of intense competition for scarce labor, such as the one we are discussing here. This system of production did, in fact, continue to be afflicted by the same problems and contradictions as the preceeding one, insofar as ready access to Indian labor was concerned.

In theory, and as explained by a report from a Tena-Archidona official to the national government, for work purposes the Indians were divided into "debtors" and "freemen." The former were dependent on patrons in one way or another, while the latter, organized under the varas system, and under orders of the white authorities, were used in the maintenance

of roads or for other public services, as mail runners, cargo bearers, or in any other jobs required by the government. For such jobs, the government paid them wages in cash and allowed them a two-month leave without pay per semester, the time period the Indians used to go to their tambus. The same report further mentions the existence of hundreds of Quichua *salvajizados* (those who had returned to savageness), meaning that they had eluded all control both of their patrons and of the authorities. There was one last category of "tribes named Avishiris and Shiripunos" who "in a true state of savagery, armed with chonta spears, wound and kill any and all human beings they may find" (AGN, report from Tena political chief to governor of Oriente, 1927).

In the official rhetoric of this report, one finds yet another contradictory shift in the language of domination. Those Napo Runa who have freed themselves from all control have returned—according to the political lieutenant—to an alleged previous state of savagery, while those who remain in control have become "freemen." The "true savages" or aucas include now the Avishiris, one of the many terms used at that time to refer to the Huaorani Indians. According to Pike (cited in Whitten 1981a:136), both these terms, auca and Avishiri, were locally used to refer to hostile groups.

In fact, and primarily due to labor shortages, the system based on these divisions between debtors and freemen, never operated as smoothly as reflected in the bureaucratic reports addressed to the national government. By examining many of these documents in the Napo governor's Office, however, it is possible to begin to elucidate the complexities of the use and abuse of Indian labor by patrons and authorities alike, as well as the dialectics between accommodation and resistance strategies that the Napo Runa had to follow to ensure their own survival.

There was another paradoxical result of the Liberal legislation that replaced forced repartos of goods by cash payments to the Indians "in the employ" of the government. They actually lost direct access to commodities such as salt, cotton cloth, and machetes, to which the Indians had grown accustomed and considered vital for their own subsistence. To get them, the Indians were then forced to resort to the patrons who controlled the sales of those goods in Tena-Archidona. That is why most of the so-called "free Indians" also were indebted to patrons. In order to pay for the commodities so provided, they had to work just as any other debtor Indian, panning gold, repairing those stretches of local roads that each patron was publicly responsible for, in agricultural tasks, or as *pongos* (servants) or *semaneros* (weekly laborers), serving in the patrons' private homes.

This situation was the major cause of the competition between the white authorities (apu) and the patrons for Indian labor; of the opposition shown by the patrons to the system of native authorities; and of the

abuses committed by the white authorities when they were simultaneously local patrons. This competition persisted until approximately the 1940s when better roads enabled the authorities to use other means of transportation for cargo and mail. To win the Indians to their side in this competition, the patrons had the commodities to exchange, while the authorities could offer the incentive of payment in cash and in advance, even though the wages were always insufficient to cover the Indians' needs. To oppose the patrons, the authorities used the full force of the law and of the army, whenever necessary. Those patrons who occupied public office from time to time, usually took undue advantage of their privileged positions. However, the Indians were not always mesmerized by these conflicts but, as they did in Jesuit times, often manipulated the system for their own benefit, thus also contributing to exacerbate the opposition between the patrons and the authorities.

The patrons were against their own laborers being nominated as justicias since this entailed losing their services for one year, given the fact that Indian officials working for the government were exempted from any other work during their term in office. For example, the Pano muntun was preferred for carrying loads, and for this reason, the patrons who "controlled" the Pano area frequently complained to the authorities about the "innumerable amounts of service that we have to render to the government." Or, still more defiantly, the Pano landowners just denied having laborers available for any type of public work. It also was quite common for the patrons to make use of the more aggressive tactic of "seducing" the Indians with goods while they were performing their services for the government so that they would either abandon their official cargo or carry additional private loads. As a last resort the patrons chose to "withdraw their peons from the market," by sending them to distant sites for lengthy periods (e.g., AGN, letter from M. Rosales to political chief, April 1st, 1934).

Faced with the patrons' unwillingness to comply with the provisions on "public service," the authorities' usual response was to apply fines or order that "the troops be sent to make the peons come out from wherever they may be" (e.g., AGN, letter from Tena political chief to B. Ruiz, Feb. 8, 1935). When a "serious" labor shortage was declared, as happened periodically, the authorities attempted to take more positive steps. In 1935, for instance, the cargo bearers' wages were increased from 4.30 to 6 sucres for heavy loads (light loads were paid less). But there were limits to how far the state would go regarding those "liberalizations." Thus, in a 1945 letter to the political lieutenants, the governor admonished them: "It is true that [you] cannot abuse Indian labor, but neither can you exaggerate and go to the opposite extremes, since it is vital to carry out public works (AGN 1944).

By late 1937, when the administration of the Oriente ceased to be a de-

pendency of the Ministry of the Interior and fell under the Ministry of Defense's 4th Department, the conflict between the now military authorities and the patrons reached a particularly acute phase. On the one hand, the army men who came from the Sierra to fill in local positions appeared to be more decisive in applying the law without taking into account: "personal connections, friendships and compadrazgos" (AGN letter from lieutenant Cadena to commander of 4th Department, 1938). On the other, they could, of course, rely more promptly on military action to enforce the law. Some measures adopted by the military administration consisted in combating liquor salesmen, because they "make them [the Indians] drink, preventing them from performing their duties"; forcing the patrons to pay the appropriate prices for the goods sold to them by the Indians; prohibiting that new accounts be opened between "superiors and inferiors"; and strictly ordering the patrons to come before the appropriate authorities for inspection of the settlement of their peons' accounts according to law (AGN, letter from lieutenant Cadena to commander of 4th Department, Jan. 11, 1938).

The patrons took immediate and ingenious reprisals against these repeated attacks. According to the military, the lady patrons were leading this "bourgeois resistance movement" using "their malicious gossiping." The slandering campaign attempted to discredit the military administration by depicting the soldiers as "a terror for the Indians," and as "Indian rousers." But above all, they told the Indians that "they would make soldiers of them and send them to the Aguarico" (AGN, letter by lieutenant Cadena to commander of 4th Department, Jan. 31, 1938; see also Sarmiento 1958:106). This threat was considered one of the worst punishments by the Napo Runa, but it seems the Indians were not impressed; and they "read" the measures taken by the military as a possibility to improve their own labor conditions, both with the patrons and with the authorities. Evidence to that effect permeates a considerable number of legal documents of that period dealing with corrective measures taken upon complaints of abuses filed by the Indians themselves. To better understand what those abuses entailed, we must first analyze in greater detail the relationships between the patrons and the debtor peons in the Oriente.

## Patrons and Debtors

To characterize the system of domination exercised by the patrons in the Tena-Archidona area it is first necessary to discard European models based on the "feudal lord-serf" relationship, as well as easy analogies with the forms of social relations of production prevailing in the haciendas of the Ecuadorian Sierra. It is misleading to establish the existence

of abuses and exploitation in the system operating in the Oriente on the basis of comparisons borrowed from European history that ignore the cultural features specific to the Oriente Indians, and the structural conditions of the economy in that region.[4] The documents of the Provincial Administration relative to the patrons' heyday from about 1915 to 1950 that detail the daily operation of the system, as well as Rucuyaya Alonso's life history, allow an interpretation that more accurately reflects a more complex and paradoxical picture.

In the first place, unlike the feudal lords or the Sierra landlords, for the Tena-Archidona patrons, agriculture was neither the most important source of income nor a major concern. Their interests lay in trading and in extractive industries, particularly the panning of gold. Second, their haciendas never comprised very large areas, and even if the patrons kept on dislodging Indians from their ancestral domains, they were never able to fully dispossess them of their lands or to control their exploitation rights, as occurred with many highland Indian communities. Lastly, these patrons never succeeded in settling a large majority of Napo Runa as permanent laborers in their haciendas. In the Oriente there never was a situation comparable to the highland *huasipungo*, a system by which resident laborers were given use rights to a plot of land in exchange for labor.

By definition, a "patron" was whoever possessed "debtor peons," to whom he would advance commodities to be repaid in labor. Even in the case of powerful Tena-Archidona patrons, the number of peons so indebted per patron in a given period of time seems never to have exceeded fifty families.[5] Only a small number of patrons had peons residing in their haciendas. All the Napo Runa interviewed in this area agreed that the number of Indians thus "attached" to masters under more or less permanent service arrangements was quite low, not more than four or five muntun, or extended kin groups. These Indians were forced into service because their lands had become incorporated into the haciendas against their will. They were employed in agricultural and extractive activities, and as *pongos* in household work. Within the hacienda they were subject to daily supervision regarding task allocations.[6] The rest of the Napo Runa also entered into working relationships with patrons covering all the same productive and service activities. They did so on a sporadic basis, however, always retaining a legal status of personal freedom.

Just as in the period of the rubber boom, the patrons had to establish work contracts with the laborers under the provisions relating to "rental for services of servants and laborers" ("*arrendamiento de servicios de criados y trabajadores*"), commonly known as *concertaje*, and under the contractual obligations arising from the debt.[7] That form of labor relationship was used to hire domestic servants and to have access to resident and nonresident labor. These three labor forms were similarly based on indebted-

ness and differed only in the time period of the contract—usually not exceeding two years—and in the stipulation that the peon be a resident or a nonresident in the property, from which he could be absent only with the patron's consent (e.g., AGN, indenture contract of a resident peon, Aug, 11, 1927). On the one hand, because of the requirements of a primarily extractive economy, the patron was not interested in keeping the peon on the hacienda once his work was completed. If he did so, it was probably to ensure repayment of the debt and to have better legal grounds to punish the laborer in case of flight.[8] On the other, unlike the Sierra Indian, the Oriente Indian had no interest in becoming part of the hacienda, for he had managed to preserve other economic alternatives of his own that had not been blocked by the overall economic system (see Marchán cited in Espinosa 1984:136). Finally, it should be pointed out, that the legal arrangements for the "recruitment" of labor mentioned above, were not always followed. There were laborers who became indebted to patrons without benefit of contract, but even those could have recourse to the authorities for the settlement of their accounts, and could appeal against the patrons' abuses, as many did.

Since during the patrons' heyday the Napo Runa were not yet pressured by a problem of land scarcity, indebtedness in the Oriente has been explained merely as a coercive mechanism. It generally is believed that the Napo Runa were often forced into indebtedness, only after having been plied with liquor by the patrons, and completely unaware of the prices of the goods advanced (see Oberem 1980:117–118; Beghin 1964:119). Without disregarding the fact that those abuses actually took place, they can in no way characterize the day-to-day situation of indebtedness of most of the Napo Runa.[9] They got into debt voluntarily in order to obtain access to the commodities monopolized by the patrons such as salt, cotton cloth, machetes, knives, and axes, all of which had by then become essential for the reproduction of their own subsistence. It is true that the market may create demand, but culture also has its ways. Certainly the tools helped the Indians to save time and to increase productivity in agriculture. In the case of salt and cotton cloth, the need was based more on status, religion, taste, aesthetics, or simply habit. According to the mythical conception of their own origin, the Napo Runa made use of salt to "differentiate themselves from the auca" (see chapter 2). In 1867 Orton (1876:172) noted that the Jívaro, who did not use salt at that time, identified the "Napo tribes" as "the Indians who use salt." Clothing, although imposed by the missionaries, was also perceived as a custom that set the Napo Runa apart from the *lluchu auca* (naked savages; lit. bare savages). These incentives for consumerism do not seem to be very different from the urge to "keep up with the Joneses."

In order to have access to laborers, each one of the most important patrons aimed at "dominating" a sector of native settlements around the

location of his property, the area of which was smaller than that sector. The Indians living there, for example in the Pano sector, were organized into their own muntun and usually established relations with a specific patron in that sector. Consequently, for an Indian family, relationships with a given patron depended on its affiliation to the muntun and on its residential sector. An Indian could change patrons when becoming related to another muntun by marriage. This was not frequent, however, for among the Napo Runa residence is patrilocal and the man responsible for the debt generally continued to reside in his original muntun after marriage. When the new couple moved out of their muntun to establish a new residence, or migrated for any other reason, they could establish relations with another patron (cf., Macdonald 1979:217–218). There were cases of independent women debtors but they were mostly widows or household servants. Usually, men took out cotton cloth, necklace beads, and other wearing apparel for their women, and this was noted down on their debt, which also included the wages received on account of their wives' labor, customarily almost 40 percent lower than male wages.

Whenever an Indian who was still indebted to a patron wanted to change to another for whatever reason, he had to get the latter to purchase his debt from the original patron. Given the strong competition among patrons for the scarce native labor, there always was someone prepared to undertake this transaction, which under law, was to be conducted before the appropriate authorities (e.g., AGN, document of purchase of a peon's debt by a new employer, March 16, 1933).[10] The difficulty for the peon was that of having the first patron accept the sale of the debt, since his economic interest lay in maintaining the largest number of laborers at his disposal, even if it was legally forbidden to retain them by force. All patrons usually were reluctant to have their laborers definitely settle their debts and attempted to prevent this either by peaceful or violent means. If the Indians reported an act of violence, the patrons could be liable to a fine or risked forfeiting the laborers' debts. It is difficult to determine how many peons were able to invoke the law to avoid being retained in the haciendas by force. Napo Runa oral tradition and other documents attest to many abuses committed by the patrons, but also confirm that the Indians exercised their right to settle their debts with a patron and to become "free," that is, to earn a living by rendering services to the government against payment of wages (e.g. AGN, document of settlement of accounts, Jan. 2, 1926).

In his discussion of the debt problem, Macdonald (1979:217) asserts that the Indians seldom paid their outstanding debts when they move on to another patron. According to all the documents of transfers of peons from one patron to another found in the archive, Macdonald's argument can only be interpreted to mean that the peon did not pay his debt to the particular patron he was leaving, but had to pay it in labor to the new pa-

tron who was buying it. This new patron bought the debt. Furthermore, archival evidence contradicts Beghin's opinion (1964:116) that the Indian himself was a "commodity" to be bought and sold as the owner saw fit." As shown in chapter 7, during the rubber boom sales of Indians did take place, although they did not affect the Napo Runa of Tena-Archidona. These were cases of outright slavery, and represented the abuses of a system in a particular type period, not the pattern. In the majority of the cases in the "commodity peonage" system as practiced in the Tena-Archidona area, it was the debt that was bought, not the Indian (see Taussig 1987:69–73 for a different discussion of the debt among the Huitotos). The freedom of most of the Napo Runa did not rest so much in the fact that they could or could not change patrons but rather in the characteristics of their productive relationship with the patrons. As Macdonald (1979:226–228) aptly points out, as part of an extractive economy, "commodity peonage" did not substantially alter the Napo Runa's own mode of production, which was perfectly compatible with gold panning, with rubber tapping, and even with temporary work in the haciendas.

## The Debt

Through a report by Charles Dickey, the agent of a North American mining company who resided for a time in Tena in the 1920s, we can begin to have a closer look at the system of "commodity peonage" by which the patrons were able to exploit Indian labor. Dickey notes that at the time when rubber still produced profits, the patrons paid 8.8 sucres (equivalent to 2 dollars) for a pound of rubber. The Indian brought approximately twenty-five pounds on each trip, worth up to 220 sucres in the market. For 20 sucres less than that amount, a white family could build a two-floor, five-room house in Tena, whereas the Indians were charged that very same sum for a shotgun, 44 sucres for five yards of cotton cloth, 22 sucres for a small two-ounce bottle of "*Agua Florida*" (cologne) (Dickey 1924:598–599), and 100 sucres for a bunch of necklace beads (see chapter 8, pp. 129–130).

These trading price differentials only partly explain why the Napo Runa could never finish paying off their debts. The debt books and the documents dealing with the official inspection of debt settlements (*liquidaciones de cuentas*) make it possible to calculate more accurately the degree of exploitation, which was also dependent on the nominal rates paid for labor. For example, one of those documents shows a peon belonging to the lady patron Juana Arteaga who owed her 281.70 sucres for a period between 1926 and 1931. During these six years the peon had taken out 360.70 sucres in goods from Juana Arteaga but had managed to earn only 79 sucres, working mainly as her household servant for 35 sucres a month

and as cargo bearer from Tena to the Aguarico, paid at 10 sucres per trip, on behalf of Juana Arteaga's contract as postmistress. In 1930 the peon had taken out one "Peicher" shotgun, for which he was to pay 120 sucres, that is to say, more than three years' wages as a servant or precisely twelve trips to the Aguarico (AGN, settlement of accounts of indigenous personnel, Dec. 19, 1931). In this particular case, and as it was true throughout the system, the wage was a mere formality serving as a unit of account for the debt.

Referring to similar cases in the plantations of the Coast in the late nineteenth century, Espinosa (1984:194) argues that "the debt was the basis of this form of wage," and that "remuneration was a fiction," since a laborer who "received" it, was never able to actually pay back with his work the inflated prices of the goods he took out. The end result was that of "attaching" the peons to a particular patron for a period longer than that stipulated under the contract, for they were subject to the law which guaranteed compulsory payment.[11] This difficulty in working off the debt in a more or less reasonable period of time was the origin of the "inheritance" of debts by the peons' wives and children. Well documented for the Sierra, this "inheritance practice" was also prevalent in the Oriente (see Macdonald 1979: 233 fn 7), despite being prohibited by law since 1833 (see Oberem 1981:315). Notwithstanding, some Napo Runa, being fully aware of the illegality of this practice, protested to the authorities so as to be relieved from paying their fathers' or husbands' debts (e.g. AGN, Tena, settlement of accounts of Mr. C. Sevilla's peons, 1933).

When the prices were familiar to them, such as those for goods in greatest demand (cotton cloth, salt, and clothing), the Napo Runa also were able to complain to the authorities against the specific markups and have them deducted from their accounts. They also refused to acknowledge sums for goods that they had not taken out but which appeared on their accounts; added on by the patrons themselves. In all these instances, the inspector signaled the items under dispute with a "2X" mark in the debt settlement document (see Appendix 2). The frequency of such conflicts in the documents of inspection for outstanding debts, as well as the specificity in numerical calculations those same documents reveal, dispel any doubts about the Napo Runa's awareness of the market value of goods they received from the patrons. To this day, rucuyayas remember with precision the prices they paid for those items, which shows that popular memory of exploitation is not only encoded in myth.

The social and economic relationship prompted by the debt was not determined by the alleged "ignorance" of the Indians, but by the extent of coercive power that the patrons were able to wield under legal protection and by their monopoly of the market for goods. Although it is true that liquor might have been used as an "incentive" to Napo Runa indebtedness, the origin of the most significant debts was not the liquor given by

FIGURE 1. *Rucuyaya Alonso, 1985 (photo by author).*

FIGURE 2. *Crossing a ford of the Cosanga River (from a drawing by Alexander de Bar, based on a sketch by Wiener; in Wiener 1883).*

FIGURE 3. *Osculati abandoned by his Indian guides (in Osculati 1850; courtesy of Matthias Abram).*

FIGURE 4. *Napo Runa carrying a whiteman, detail (painting by unknown artist; courtesy of José Manuel Jijón Caamaño y Flores).*

FIGURE 5. *Traveler arriving at Archidona in 1847 (in Osculati 1850; courtesy of Matthias Abram).*

FIGURE 6. *Gathering of Indians in Tena (from a drawing by Vignal based on a photograph by Wiener; in Wiener 1883).*

FIGURE 7. *Rucumama Rebeca Cerda, Rucuyaya Alonso's wife, 1985 (photo by author).*

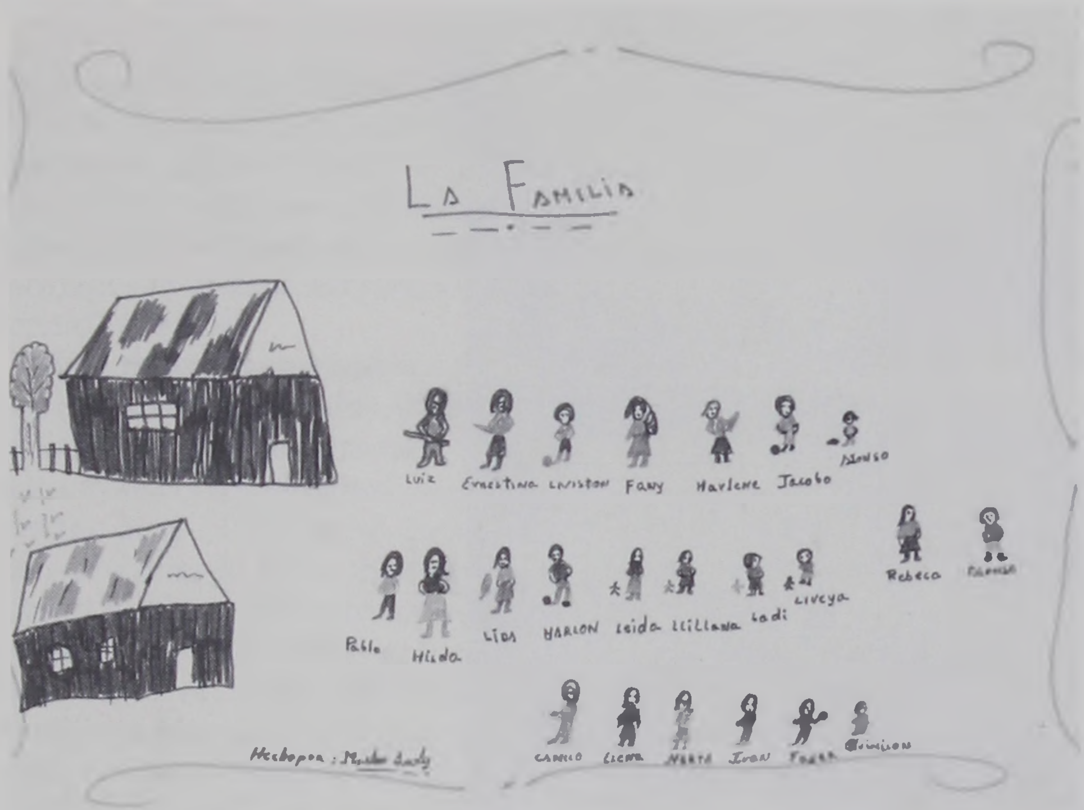



FIGURE 8. *Families in the Andi muntun living with Rucuyaya Alonso and Rucumama Rebeca (drawing by Marlon Andi, 1987).*

FIGURE 9. *Pano River (photo by author).*

FIGURE 10. *Aerial view of Tena, 1985 (photo by author).*

the patrons, but the Indians' own social obligations. The most important of these was marriage, a ceremonial occasion that today still demands substantial expenditures from the groom's family. This is why new marriages were "very much welcomed" by the Tena-Archidona patrons, and there is some evidence that, occasionally, they were able to arrange Indian marriages so that the new couple would immediately incur debt (see Macdonald 1979:219).

When the debts reached amounts far exceeding the peons' ability to repay them, different subterfuges were developed by the peons to avoid payment, or at least to reduce the amounts involved. But the only effective way out of the situation, was the Napo Runa's traditional "migration" into the deep of the forest. For otherwise, if they failed to appear before the authorities to settle their debts, they were declared "in default" and subject to persecution. In reprisal, the patron could preventively detain the peons on his property or have them imprisoned. In the Oriente, however, none of these solutions made sense in economic terms. The conditions of the extractive economy required labor mobility, and because of the frequent, absolute shortages of labor, it was not convenient to immobilize it in jail.[12] At most, the delinquent laborer would be put in the stocks, and if he escaped he would be charged the expenses incurred to recapture him.[13]

Having to confront these constraints on their coercive power, some resourceful patrons were quite imaginative in seeking other ways to collect debts. The most original among those measures was practiced by a patron in Loreto, but the Indian belief system on which it was based was common throughout the Oriente. In short, the patron used the professional assistance of two powerful witch doctors (brujos in the original) from Tena-Archidona to intimidate his peons in Loreto to pay their debts. This practice had the additional advantage of deterring the peons from reporting to the proper authorities the abuses perpetrated by their cunning patron, for fear of his powerful debt collectors. The effectiveness of this measure, by which the patrons also proved they could use culture for economic gain, is revealed in a letter from the political lieutenant of Loreto to the governor of Napo-Pastaza in 1944, part of which is worth quoting:

> The patrons have brought two Indians from Tena, who are made to act as debt collectors. These are two famous witch doctors. Abuses are committed because the natives fear these witch doctors. Goods are sold at very high prices; for example, one spoon worth 6 sucres at "The Rubber" [company] is sold for two pounds of pita, while pita is valued at eight sucres on the average. But since they have the witch doctors as collectors, and the Indians are in dread of them, they will take the goods out of fear, and this is also the reason why they do not bring to this authority's attention the

> exploitation of which they are victims (AGN letter from the political lieutenant of Loreto to governor of Napo-Pastaza, 1944).

## The Living Standard of the Whites

In relation to the rest of Ecuador, the Oriente was always considered a "frontier society," requiring from its white residents a certain pioneering and adventurous spirit, still celebrated in local folklore about the "old-time residents."[14] But contrary to other pioneering societies of the early twentieth century, the white man's or woman's life in Tena-Archidona did not require a great dedication to manual labor. Except for clothing, all their other needs were met by Indian labor. From a foreigner's point of view, Dickey (1924:598) described the prevailing situation as follows: "It is the Indian who pays and pays. This reference pertains solely to the Yumbo Indians; bad Indians don't pay." The Indians brought their produce from the areas all around Tena, Archidona, and Puerto Napo, and the whites often paid them one yard of cotton cloth, worth 0.26 sucres, for "a quantity of food that [could] feed their families [the whites'] for one week" (Dickey 1924:598). In the 1930s a comfortable house in Tena could be bought for 500 sucres since, for 100 sucres, ten Indians could be made to cut the lumber required to build it (AGN, May 5, 1939). The remaining items consumed by the local bourgeoisie—consisting mainly of textiles of all kinds, threads, needles, chinaware, spices and medicines—were imported from Quito or Iquitos, and often paid in gold (e.g. AGN, book of accounts of trader Samuel Torres, Nov. 1924). Part of the poorer quality textiles were used to pay for native labor. For example, even in 1933, the payroll of a rice-growing hacienda in the Lower Napo belonging to a Tena patron, shows that of a total of 124 laborers, 122 received their wages in different types of textiles (AGN, settlement of accounts, Nueva Armenia, Oct. 14, 1933). In Tena-Archidona, the patrons actually did not need cash to pay their peons for the "currency" in circulation was the "knot." To ensure payment, either the patrons or the Indians would make a knot on a pita string for each day of work, paid for with commodities from the stores, usually owned by the patrons themselves (AGN 1933).[15]

For white women, household work did not constitute a major problem. It was common practice for them to "adopt" or become the "guardians" of native boys or girls from their early childhood, raise them, and keep them as servants until they came of age. If the children ran away before that time, as often happened, their natural parents were to pay all expenses incurred by the patrons (AGN, guardianship contract, 1939). To secure domestic labor from adults, legal contracts were drawn up before the political lieutenant, similar to those for "resident indentured laborers"

(*peones conciertos residentes*). Even as late as 1940, a woman could offer a salary of eight sucres a month to her twenty-five year old servant, totally payable in clothes (AGN, domestic servant contract, 1940). As we already mentioned, in addition to these two types of services, the whites also used their debtor peons for housework, as servants (*pongos*) or weekly workers (*semaneros*), despite its being prohibited by law.[16]

In view of such high demand for native labor to perform all the manual jobs that helped to maintain the whites' living standards it was understandable that the patrons would be continually quarrelling among each other to secure it. The methods employed in this "domestic competition" ranged from "robbery of laborers" to patriotic appeals before the authorities demanding "justice for the self-sacrificing pioneers." To illustrate this point we will again resort to the famous (or infamous) lady patron, Juana Arteaga. In a letter to the political chief of Tena she complains that an Indian couple in her domestic service had run away to work with the Evangelical missionaries, who at that time paid cash wages to their laborers. Part of her letter reads as follows: "It is outrageous Mr. Political Chief, for those foreign missionaries [Evangelical Protestant] to take advantage of the work done by the sons of this country, who with such sacrifice seek our bread, while they take justice on their own hands and mock the authorities. And even more so, in a case like mine, where justice should protect me and bring back the Indians to perform their duties. It's justice I'm demanding" (AGN, July 26, 1934).

Complaints such as this were frequent throughout the decades of the 1930s and 1940s. They reveal a subtle shift in the ideology of the local dominant class undergoing a process of consolidation. In the new image they are forging for themselves, the whites no longer purport to be conquerors—"little Pizarros"—civilizing the Indians, but self-sacrificing pioneers opening up the Oriente to colonization, and devoted nationalists providing the economic foundations for the state's consolidation of its presence in the frontier. The Indian is now regarded as an instrument enabling the whites to achieve those "noble tasks."

## The Golden "Great Depression"

From 1929 to 1933, the world crisis and recession had a very serious impact on the Ecuadorian economy, which was already weakened by decreasing exports of cacao from the coastal lowlands (Drake 1984:231–241, 268). The prices of all the major export commodities had begun to drop since 1928 (Carbo 1978:159). For example, in 1930, a quintal of coffee was exported at twenty-five sucres, while the export price had been seventy sucres in 1928 (Carbo 1978:173). However, the Great Depression also brought about a worldwide increase in the commercial price of gold. In

1932 Ecuador abandoned the gold standard, granted duty exemptions on sales of the main export commodities, and authorized the Central Bank to be the only buyer and seller of gold (Carbo 1978:216–218). The Tena-Archidona patrons were quick to respond to the economic rationale of this situation. They neglected agricultural exports while alloting as much of their laborers' time as they could afford to gold panning. The same thing happened in the southern Oriente, especially in Gualaquiza and Mendez, where thousands of settlers from Azuay went to work as small-scale miners and had to suffer food shortages because agriculture was neglected (Granja 1942:41; Salazar 1986:53; Uquillas 1984:266). During the golden thirties, the Shuar Indians sporadically engaged in panning gold on their own account (Salazar 1986:54) and occasionally the Napo Runa would also pan some gold for themselves on the side. Several of them took advantage of their regular cargo-bearing trips to Quito to sell their own gold in the city, where prices were better than in Tena. Then as now, Indian women were the best gold panners, and also the most knowledgeable about prices.

The fact is that, during this period, the Oriente as a whole turned to gold trading as it formerly had obsessively turned to rubber. The powerful traders at Iquitos lent their capital and formed partnerships with the hacienda owners on the Napo River to operate in gold. In 1932 one of those hacienda owners advised his partner "not to lose sight of the gold business because at this time it is more real and positive than cinchona" (AGN, private correspondence J.R. to N.T., June 15, 1932). During this decade there was also a substantial increase in claims for "gold-panning mines," filed not only by Ecuadorians but also by foreign companies, mainly English and North American.[17] In addition to the traditional gold-bearing rivers that are tributaries of the upper Napo, these claims covered less well-known rivers and even the more inaccessible ones flowing down from the Llanganates Mountains (e.g., AGN, July, 1932). In turn, the state tried to control the invasion of gold-seeking foreigners by charging a 125 U.S. dollar tax for the right of entry into the Oriente; a tax that apparently had not existed before.

As a result of the gold rush, competition for native labor among patrons and between the latter and the authorities increased significantly. The authorities continuously complained that the patrons kept their workers at the panning sites most of the time, thus neglecting road maintenance, the mail, and other public services. Patrons whose traditional areas of influence were around the middle Napo started to go to Tena-Archidona in order to "recruit" (*enganchar*) laborers and put them to work on the local rivers or on the Payamino. In 1935, a new settler who attempted to bring in new machinery and highland mining workers, soon lost all hope of mechanization and wealth, when the old established settler, Juana Arteaga, "grabbed" his laborers for her own purposes (AGN, trial for the

devolution of peons, León vs. Arteaga Marín, 1935). Conflicts over panning sites and laborers reached such extremes that two patrons resorted to the already famous Indian witch doctors to gain some advantage in the competition. It was enough to station one witch doctor on each river bank to scare away the miners sent by other patrons (AGN, letter J. Marín to political chief, 1934).

Pano oral tradition confirms the fact that several patrons became "very rich with the gold" in the 1930s. Rucuyaya Alonso speaks of a famous lady patron who "kept huge bottles full of gold dust and nuggets at her bedside. She was always armed when collecting gold from the people who lived along the Napo, and when the runa took the gold to her for sale, she would blow away the finer dust (*curi ishpa*, or gold piss) to keep only the larger pieces" (see chapter 8, pp. 130–131). In 1984 a Napo Runa in Pano depicted that lady patron as "very sharp at stealing gold." In addition, settlements of laborers' accounts in the thirties, confirm this oral tradition. First, these accounts show an increasing number of payments in gold rather than in any other commodities or in labor. And second, they reveal larger price differentials in favor of the patrons. Although the gold was bought from the Indians at only two sucres per gram, other goods were sold to them at the rate of nine sucres per gram (e.g., AGN, document of settlement of account, Jan. 7, 1931).

The economic crisis and the gold rush were the major reasons for the decadence of agriculture in Tena-Archidona (Granja 1942:29, 31). In 1936, in his role as explorer and ethnologist, the Englishman Erskine Loch (1938:96) deplores "the damages caused by the high price of gold in the Napo, because it provides an easy way to make a living." This lament becomes ironic once we learn that the same Mr. Loch, as manager of Searloch Mines Inc., had in that very region a gold-mining concession covering 180 square kilometers (Sarmiento 1958:276). On visiting the once "splendid" hacienda house called "Venecia," Loch (1938:96) found it in ruins and inhabited only by a few Indians sick with yellow fever. Malaria appears to have been particularly acute during that period, causing the death of many Indians. Furthermore, Huaorani attacks also were responsible for the decadence and abandonment of certain haciendas and settlements in the upper Napo, such as Ahuano, Napotoa, and Santa Rosa, as was noted by another British mining prospector who toured the area (Holloway 1932:413; see also Spiller 1974:135–136). These attacks continued, and in 1941 they reached the left bank of the Napo "crossing to where it was believed the Aucas would never come." As a result of such raids, everyone from Santa Rosa to the Suno had abandoned their lands. On the lower Napo the crisis affecting the hacienda owners was aggravated by the flooding of the Amazon River in 1932, and by the closing down of agricultural and livestock credit in the banks of Iquitos (AGN, private correspondence, J.R. to N.T., June 15, 1932).

Toward the end of 1939 and in the early years of the following decade, despite the fact that the white population of Tena had grown to 1,000, commercial agriculture in the area continued to be neglected. It was still more profitable for the patrons to engage in buying and selling gold (Samaniego and Toro 1939:80). When the solution to the world crisis was already underway, and the price of gold began to fall, another export came once again to the rescue of the Tena-Archidona patrons and provided work for the Napo Runa. World War II generated a renewed high demand for rubber, now directly controlled by North American companies. This boom never reached the levels of the preceeding one, but it had a relatively significant economic impact in the Oriente for a limited time, until approximately 1945. Those five years, from 1940 to 1945, are remembered by Rucuyaya Alonso as the time when Pano men and women went to gather the rubber for their respective patrons (see chapter 8, pp. 131–132). They in turn, sold it to the Rubber Development Corporation, a United States Government agency, and to the Ecuadorian Development Corporation, both of which had stores in Tena, Archidona, Misahuallí, and Puerto Napo. The muleteers transported the rubber to the export ports on muleback. In the Tena-Archidona area the tapping method was the most widely used to extract rubber, but further down, on the Aguarico, the more rapid and destructive method of cutting the trees prevailed. In Puerto Napo, a pound of rubber was worth 3 sucres in 1943, and Napo Runa interviewed in 1987 said that there were some "gringo buckets" made of canvas, which they often exchanged for rubber. World War II also boosted cinchona bark demand throughout the Oriente, and brought a new demand for balsa wood (*Ochroma lagopus*, Swartz) used in the manufacturing of airplanes. Both demands continued only for a short time after the end of the war.

## Native Responses

Although class relations during these two decades of the 1930s and 1940s did not become openly antagonistic, they did grow more tense. The Napo Runa used old and new forms of opposition to the patrons as well as excuses to be exempted from obligatory work. This resistance may partly explain why serious abuses continued to be committed by the patrons and authorities as retaliation, or out of their own frustration over a social situation that was gradually getting out of their exclusive control. Nostalgia for a mythical golden age, when "the Indians were our obedient children," starts to be a dominant topic in the private correspondence of this period. Throughout it, there also were more than the usual number of complaints by political chiefs and their lieutenants about the "Indians' unwillingness to work." The authorities despaired at the fact that "the mail is at the Indians' mercy," and that "it is necessary to go and pull them out of

their huts to make them work." With increasing frequency, the indentured Indians (*conciertos*) ran away from the haciendas and from domestic service. In 1934, for instance, a hundred Napo Runa ran off to the Galeras mountains and did so, according to the political chief, "so as not to provide any kind of service whatsoever" (AGN, letter from president provincial council to political lieutenant, May, 1934). Evidence of the patrons' concern about this situation is found in several documents in which the patrons ask the authorities for help, especially requesting a search party be sent after their fugitive peons. Some Indian groups fled from their patrons and from malaria with the intention to settle permanently in forest areas away from Tena-Archidona.[18] In the case of one of these muntun that went to Arajuno, their patron made them return with the help of the political chief upon the following request: "Have them brought back from their hideouts so that they will serve me carrying mail. These Indians have rebelled and are now useless. In undertaking this service for me, they will once again be put in their place, in town, where they belong" (AGN, letter M. Rivadeneyra to political chief, Feb. 17, 1935). Just fifteen years later, the "savages" of the 1920s who were then "misusing" the urban land coveted by the whites, have now turned into "rebels" to be brought back to their proper place—the town.

Other Indians confronted the system more directly. Such is the case of a rucuyaya by the name of Basilio Andi, who not only refused arbitrary orders (he was forced to work as a boatman where there was no port), but also went to Quito to protest. He came back determined to encourage other Indians to do the same. We learn about his intentions indirectly through a letter written in 1932 by the political chief in Tena and addressed to the Ministry of War and Oriente. The relevant part of the letter says: "Basilio Andi is telling them [the Indians in Pano] not to fulfill their duties because it seems that the Minister [in Quito] has authorized him to tell the other Indians to pay no heed to the [local] authorities, and that they have no obligations whatsoever" (AGN, letter from political chief to the Ministry of War and Oriente, March 29, 1932). Further evidence was provided by his daughter Francisca Andi, who testified in 1985 about his fighting spirit on this and many other occasions throughout his life. She inherited this oral tradition from her father, as well as his fighting spirit. These are also the times about which Rucuyaya Alonso—a contemporary of Basilio—refers to in his colorful stories of confrontation with the lady patrons who wanted to cheat him out of his hard-earned sucres (see chapter 8).

The patrons consistently regarded the Indians' attempts to escape the system, and even their legal complaints to be "acts of rebellion" that threatened their own dominance. A patron explained this situation to the political chief in the following terms: "The Indians must be kept continuously indebted and they should never be raised above their own level, otherwise, the day may come when they will rise against the white

man" (cited in AGN, letter from political chief to commander of the 4th Department, Jan. 31, 1938). Despite these attitudes, the form and intensity of coercive reactions on the part of the dominant class continued to be conditioned by the constant scarcity and evasiveness of the Indian labor force. As an example of this ambiguity the patrons were forced to confront, I have reproduced part of a letter from Mrs. Juana Arteaga, complaining to the governor about the Archidona Indians. This letter is representative of others during that period, but it also illustrates the "strong temper" shown by some of the women who became powerful patrons. Mrs. Arteaga asked the capitán of the Archidonas to supply her with Indians to work as oarsmen, but he refused to do so unless she paid them their wages in advance. Outraged at the capitán's insubordination, Mrs. Arteaga wrote to the governor demanding his intervention, stating, "You must see to it that the Indians are fearful and obey what they are ordered to do. . . . I don't know where all this will lead to! The day they disobeyed me I would have smashed their jaws, but I have decided to appeal to the authorities instead, for otherwise I will be left with no personnel and will have to give up the mail contract after having gone through so much trouble" (AGN, Oct. 4, 1941).

In 1941 the Oriente became heavily involved in the war with Peru, which ended with the 1942 Protocol of Río de Janeiro whereby Ecuador was deprived of a large portion of its Amazonian territory. This loss directly affected several lower Napo hacienda owners, forcing them to abandon their properties and emigrate upriver. Even if access to the Peruvian markets became closed to them, they did not lose their power, becoming instead more closely connected with the Tena-Archidona economy. The patrons in this area successfully maintained their dominant status for a few more years, until both domestic and foreign developments beyond their control forced them to accept the resulting social and economic changes. Before addressing this period that marks the beginning of contemporary developments for the whole Oriente, it is necessary to go back in time and discuss the economic impact of both the Catholic and Protestant missions that entered into the Tena-Archidona area in the 1920s.

## God and Progress: The Twentieth-Century Religious Missions

Immediately upon the defeat of radical Liberalism ending with Eloy Alfaro's assassination in 1912, Ecuador had a succession of national governments, whose main support came from the financial bourgeoisie of the Coast (Reyes 1966:250–255). These governments were more moderate than the Liberals in their anticlericalism and, consequently were

prepared to reestablish collaboration with the missionaries in order to achieve the integration of the Oriente into the nation's economy. In the upper Napo, the task was entrusted to the Josephine mission, although the Evangelical Protestant missions also were allowed to enter the region and operate there freely. We will concentrate here on analyzing the missions' political and economic impact on the Tena-Archidona indigenous population, trying to understand how their rhetoric of control articulated with that of the state and the rest of the local dominant elite.

The Congregation of the Josephine Fathers of Murialdo was founded in Turin in 1873. It developed from an Arts and Crafts School dedicated to the education of working class and peasant children. The Congregation was approved by the Pope in 1904, and in that same year the Josephine Fathers established their first mission in Africa. In 1915 they moved to Brazil, and in 1922 they accepted the Apostolic Vicariate in the Napo (Pelliccia and Rocca 1975:1574–1584). Initially, the Napo mission encompassed 70,000 square kilometers, reaching as far as the mouth of the Aguarico River on the Napo, and came to fill the religious void left by the expulsion of the Jesuits.[19] But, unlike the Jesuits, the Josephines promoted an evangelizing ideology of Indian *integration* into regional and national economic development through productive labor. They did, however, attempt to attain this goal under the same paternalistic strategy towards the Indians that had been the hallmark of the Jesuits. The Josephines' rhetoric about themselves combines the progressive achievements of a nineteenth-century technological genius with the martyrdom of saints, to present a flowery image of indulgent self-glorification as pioneers of all civilization in that part of the Oriente since the 1920s (see Spiller 1974; Carletti n.d., Porras Garcés 1955, 1979:16).

In addition, the Josephines actively promoted non-Indian colonization and, with the support and blessing of the state, they became the bastion of nationalism and the defenders of the national frontiers in the Oriente. Their evangelization philosophy espoused a conception of progress based on technological development, and they were always keen to point out to the government the "immense riches" in timber, minerals, and petroleum existing in the Oriente, as well as the need for a communications infrastructure to expedite exploitation (see Spiller 1974:96). In short, the Josephines' systematic promotion of colonization and economic development based on white initiative and direction and their ideology of Indian integration coincided fully with the government's plans for the Oriente from the early beginnings of this century to the present. This concurrence of goals may be partly responsible for the continuity of the traditional role that the Josephine mission still plays in the Napo. While two decades ago other Amazon missions already started to question their evangelization ideology and development practices among the indigenous populations, the Josephines' have remained basically unchanged.

In addition to churches and convents, the Josephines established grammar and high schools, not only in Tena and Archidona, but also in small Indian villages throughout the vast area under their apostolic jurisdiction. Their efforts in expanding their educational and health services were consolidated by the coming of the Congregation of *Madres Doroteas* (Dorothean Sisters) in 1924, and of the *Madres Murialdinas* (Murialdian Sisters) in the 1960s (Spiller 1974:56, 265–266). The boarding schools became an essential factor in the indoctrination of the Napo Runa into white values and beliefs. By providing training in mechanics, carpentry, and other arts and crafts, the Josephine schools also contributed in preparing the labor force required to transform the region's economy. But that was in the future. In order to create that preliminary infrastructure consisting of electricity, potable water, and cattle ranches, the missionaries—like the patrons before them—encroached on Indian lands and used Indian labor.[20] Unlike the patrons, however, they had no debtor peons of their own, and consequently were forced to hire "free Indians" from the government. Rucuyaya Alonso worked in that capacity and gives us some interesting details of how the system worked (see chapter 6).

Starting in 1927, the Josephine mission was forced to compete with the Evangelical missions first established in Tena on the site known as Dos Ríos, in Shandia, and some years later, in Pano itself. "Liberal" patrons or just those who were opposed to the Catholic missions supported the Protestants by selling them part of their own haciendas, which also included Indian hunting and gold-panning areas. As Rucuyaya Alonso explains, the land in the Pano area belonged to his ancestors (see chapters 3 and 6). As was the usual practice in the region, the Protestant missionaries also bought the Indians' debts from the patrons to make them work for the mission, but paying them cash wages. Like the Josephines, the Evangelicals placed special emphasis on education and set up schools providing formal and religious instruction for Indian children, but they did not establish haciendas as a permanent economic bases for their missions. Their economic backing originated mainly in the United States from private contributions and different church funds. Furthermore, unlike the Josephines, the Protestant missions have finally reverted their educational establishments to the state, and their churches to Indian pastors. Although belonging to different denominations, the Evangelical missions worked in close and mutual collaboration, and the ones in Tena-Archidona shared a radio-communications infrastructure, air transport and health services with other Oriente missions. At the national level, they enjoyed the support of the powerful Evangelical radio station HCJB (Bless Us Today O Lord), known as "The Voice of the Andes," that broadcasts in Spanish and in several Indian languages for all of Ecuador.

Even though in terms of religious ideology, the Protestants were in constant and conflictual competition with the Josephines (see Spiller

1974:109), the missions shared certain elements of economic policy and evangelization strategy. Both wanted a modern technological infrastructure for the Oriente, and promoted economic development based on capitalist principles. They also shared a philosophy of education tending to integrate the Indian *individually* into the mestizo world and the capitalist economy. Despite their emphasis on individualism and competition, in their evangelical zeal, both missions used gifts, charities, and other "incentives" to gain converts and to persuade the Napo Runa to abandon some of the most fundamental principles of their cultural identity and complex worldview. The Indians' response to those attempts will be discussed in chapter 14.

The expansion of the Josephine mission was a significant factor, but not the only one that compelled the Napo Runa to abandon their traditional settlements. All rucuyayas have vivid, detailed, and respectful memories of their ancestors' burial grounds. When, as in interviews in Pano in 1982, the elders say: "my father is buried there, where the mission is now," or "my grandfather is buried exactly in the center of the town square," we can be sure that those were the original Indian settlements. If then one compares their own oral history in *callari tiempu*, regarding the origins of Tena as an Indian hunting and fishing area (as narrated in chapter 2), with the present location of all white settlement in missions and haciendas, one begins to understand the story of the Indians' land usurpation, and of their displacement toward other rivers and forest areas. Deprived of their ancestral lands, and constrained by an exploitative labor system, many Napo Runa were then ready to respond to the calls of capitalism when it appeared in the Oriente under the name of "Shell."[21]

## The Company: Shell Oil of Ecuador, Ltd.

In 1921 two North American geologists, Sinclair and Wasson, were engaged by the Leonard Exploration Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, to explore a 9,600 square-mile area in the Oriente. This was only part of the concession awarded to Leonard by the Ecuadorian government for the purpose of identifying its oil potential (Sinclair and Wasson 1923:190). Exploration was undertaken, but it did not substantially affect the lives of the Tena-Archidona Napo Runa at that time. As was customary, their labor was used mainly to blaze and maintain the foot and horse trail the company helped to open between Mera and the headwaters of the Ansu river, crossing through the "Mirador de Pastaza" (AGN, report from Tena political chief to governor of Oriente, June 10, 1925). A few years later, the Leonard Company left without conclusive results, but the Napo Runa continued to travel along that path carrying the mail. It was only in the 1940s that Shell Oil exploitation became a true

catalyst of early capitalist development and colonization in the Oriente, especially in the area of the current towns of Shell, Mera, and Puyo, in the Province of Pastaza, where Shell set up camp.

In 1937, the Federico Páez government terminated its contract with Leonard and granted Anglo-Saxon Petroleum, a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell, exclusive rights for five years of oil exploration and for forty years of oil exploitation in an area covering 10,000,000 hectares in the Oriente, including control over the Napo region (Galarza 1980:116–117). By 1938, Shell had already built a landing strip on the left bank of the Napo River, set up several camps, and drilled six wells. In addition, it brought in English, North American, Dutch, and Swiss technicians, as well as highland workers to begin its exploration and to build a communications infrastructure. These are the gringos and ahuallactas mentioned by Rucuyaya Alonso in his narration (see chapter 9). The government added military detachments to the police force maintained by the company.[22] It did so with a view to safeguarding this important national resource, and allegedly, to also protect the workers from attacks by Huaorani Indians, whose lands—to the Indians' misfortune—had become the source of a new and valuable commodity.

Ecuador, and the Oriente in particular, turned into the battleground of the two oil giants: Standard and Shell. After being rejected in Ecuador, Standard Oil backed its Peruvian subsidiary, International Petroleum, when Peru invaded Ecuador in 1941. The Protocol of Río de Janeiro put an end to the hostilities in 1942, and Ecuador lost 200,000 square kilometers of its territory to Peru. According to Galarza (1980:120–125), the boundaries drawn in the agreement coincided precisely with those of the oil concession given to Shell in 1937. Despite their differences, in 1948, Shell and Standard, under their subsidiary Esso, obtained a joint exploration contract in the Oriente. A year later, however, due to a glut in the international oil market, both companies agreed to discontinue exploration. Immediately after, they publicly declared the "nonexistence" of oil in the Oriente, to the surprise of Ecuadorian experts (Galarza 1980:143–145) and of the Indian workers—including Rucuyaya Alonso—who remembered very well the details of the operations. It was on that occasion that then President Galo Plaza made his famous and now somewhat ironic statement: "The Oriente is a myth," denying the presence of oil and the agricultural potential of the Amazon region.

Throughout this period of oil exploration, relations among the missionaries, the oil company, and the state were of mutual convenience and close cooperation. The Josephines came into the Napo in 1922 through the trail opened up by Leonard, and in 1942 Shell made use of the detailed and accurate maps drawn up by the Josephines in their many explorations over the area (Spiller 1974:66). Soon after Shell established its operation in the Oriente, a couple of North American missionaries resided in "Camp

Souder," one of the oil camps (Blomberg 1956:151). When Shell abandoned its camps in the towns of Shell and Arajuno, they were occupied by the Evangelical missions, serving as the take-off points for their attempts at "pacifying" the Huaorani Indians. Shortly afterward, in 1956, the Josephines established their own mission in Arajuno (Spiller 1974:251–252).

Both missions considered their collaboration with the oil company an important contribution to the modernization of the country and the Indians. They encouraged the Napo Runa to work for Shell, which a Josephine publication described as a model of "generosity and social justice" (Aventuras n.d.:13). In fact, compared with the social relations of production prevailing under the patrons, this assessment of the company turned out to be quite accurate. Simply, the type of production and service facilities installed by Shell in its own operating camps allowed it to provide native workers with better labor conditions in terms of food, housing, and transportation. In addition, according to existing law, the company was required to pay cash wages directly to each worker. These wages amounted to five sucres for an eight-hour working day. One cannot readily infer from this situation, however, that Shell brought about the definitive consolidation of capitalism in the area or the immediate "proletarization" of native labor. Certainly the oil company represented the prime symbol of thriving mid-twentieth-century capitalism, but in the Oriente it was forced to adapt to the prevailing precapitalist conditions in order to get access to a scarce labor force.

## Shell and the Indian Labor Force

Given the precarious conditions of the Oriente in the 1940s, Shell confronted several difficulties in its initial operations. It was slowed down primarily by the lack of accurate maps, and by the difficult task of transporting machinery and other heavy equipment through the dense tropical forest. Consequently, the company was in great need of native labor familiar with the forest and used to the hard work of clearing and carrying loads along dangerous and muddy trails. Many Indian groups from all over the Oriente voluntarily responded to this demand. Others, such as the Huaorani, became unwillingly involved in a conflict over their lands and their own survival, the consequences of which they are still suffering.

The type of labor contract the Napo Runa could expect from Shell from around 1938 to 1948 partly depended on whether or not they were attached to patrons, and on the latter's attitude vis-à-vis the oil company. Some Napo Runa were able to enter freely into three-month contracts with Shell and were paid by its agents, directly and in cash, at the various

camps according to law. This was the case of Rucuyaya Alonso and of the Pano muntun who accompanied him. Others were sent to work with the company by their own patrons, who hired themselves out as labor contractors and supervisors, receiving the peons' wages in payment for outstanding debts. From the available documentation it is difficult to determine precisely how many Indians were hired under the latter arrangement. The practice must have been common enough to strike the attention of the Congressman for the Province of Napo-Pastaza, who denounced it before the National Constitutional Assembly in 1946 (AGN, Oct. 29, 1946). The year before, the governor of Napo-Pastaza had presented a similar accusation to the Special Commission on the Oriente, part of which reads:

> At Shell I encountered a serious problem: all the patrons who claim to be owners of Indians, have turned to the comfortable occupation of renting out the Indians to Shell as if they were beasts of burden. They charge five sucres for each Indian recruit and on top, they get a daily wage as foreman. As a result, agriculture is abandoned and these white bosses are given to idleness and to the most vicious exploitation of the Indians. I believe that the Assembly should intervene decisively, order a general settlement of the Indians' accounts, and seek a way to set the Indians free. There is no room for slavery in our times. (AGN, Jan. 22, 1945).

Although certain patrons made a living by selling their peons' labor, others went to Shell with their goods to get the laborers into debt, which they would have to repay working for those same patrons. In turn, the Tena-Archidona authorities complained that certain "labor recruiters" were sending all the workers to the company, thus depriving the government of labor for road building (AGN letter from Governor to Minister of Defense, 1945). This competition must have caused considerable problems, for in 1945, Shell was invited by some patrons to a meeting, "aimed at reaching an agreement on labor recruitment" (AGN, letter from a patron to Shell superintendant, 1945).

Possibly despite itself, Shell became involved in the competition and the contradictions of a precapitalist system operating under labor shortages. It was able to operate with relative impunity because the state could not impose the same penalties on the company, nor generally deal with it as if it were just any other petty patron. Besides exploring for a valuable national resource, Shell put up capital to build roads and airports, and provided essential services such as transporting mail and official parcels in and out of the Oriente. The provincial authorities were willing to overlook any irregularities since, in the opinion of the governor, if successful, Shell was going to be "the country's salvation" (AGN, letter from governor to Shell superintendent, Feb. 10, 1942).

This same governor proposed a solution to "the Indian problem" that was representative of the liberal thinking of several state officials at that time. They saw Indian proletarization as a way to combat the "debt problem" (*deudorismo*) and to oppose traditional patrons. In a letter addressed to the Shell superintendent at "Camp Arajuno," the governor acknowledged that the Indians were performing "a patriotic task in working for Shell," although he thought they did it "unconsciously." He suggested that Shell could "itself free the natives" by paying their debts and turning them into permanent company workers. His opinion was that such proletarization could help to "settle the Indians down permanently," to "raise their living standard," and to "quiet them down politically." With this goal in mind, he requested that Shell build houses in the forest "according to Indian custom," so that after paying their accounts, "the Indians may die there, finally having a house, a bed, and medicines" (AGN, Feb. 10, 1945). Shell's reply to this suggestion displays a strict adherence to capitalist logic. It says, in part: "We cannot proceed to form Indian colonies around our camp, for until we discover oil we cannot consider it permanent" (AGN, Feb. 28, 1945). The governor's naivité concerning the type of labor force required by oil companies was understandable given the novelty of the industry in Ecuador at that time. But it was even more evident and ironic when Shell abandoned the camps despite the fact it had found the oil for which it was looking. Thirty years later when the Texaco-Gulf consortium began to exploit that same oil, it still did not make use of native labor on a permanent basis.

The Napo Runa's temporary proletarization in the oil industry had its own characteristics not readily comparable to the proletarization of urban workers. The former took place in the familiar forest environment where the Indians moved about more knowledgeably and at ease than the engineers and managers that served as their patrons, and where they could have a certain degree of control over their subsistence through hunting and fishing. Contrary to urban workers at the beginning of the industrial revolution, or to recent rural migrants in Quito, the Indians did not have to adapt to the time discipline marked by the machine. Productive units at Shell were organized in camps and the social division of labor, although rudimentary, had to take into account the Indians' specific cultural characteristics and skills. Like the Canelos, Quichua, and other Indian groups, the Napo Runa worked for Shell as guides, supplying forest game, clearing the forest, opening up trails, building landing strips, and carrying heavy equipment. As shown in the life history of Rucuyaya Alonso, they also were hired because they were somewhat familiar with the Huaorani Indians' attack tactics (see chapter 9). Huaorani territory was being invaded not only by oil exploration teams but also by workers building the roads. The Indians' reactions to those threats were immediate and violent, but were based on a lengthy history of abuses inflicted by the whites during the rubber boom.

During the first period of oil exploration, Huaorani attacks caused serious difficulties for Shell because they created "an atmosphere of uneasiness among the workers" (AGN, letter from governor to government minister, Jan. 20, 1945). The company agents' reports mention not only uneasiness but also panic among the oil workers. Desertion from the oil camps was common and primarily due to the evasive but certain presence of the Huaorani who, according to the workers, "regularly spy on us from the trees" (report cited in Blomberg 1956:185–190). The conflict was aggravated by regular company overflights to locate Huaorani settlements, and even by Shell workers' invasions of their homes and garden plots. The governor of Napo-Pastaza explained his impotence to control the situation in a letter to the government minister, part of which reads as follows:

> A commission of the "Patria" batallion, composed of ten men with two machine guns, went out under the command of an Officer, but I would venture to anticipate that they will have not much success. In order to look for the Auca it is necessary to be familiar with the forest, to take expert guides, and to explore assisted by planes that can signal the location by radio. Assuming that this commission encounters the infidels, which I doubt, it cannot capture them, for it will require the assistance of native Indians [Quichua] who are the only ones that can approach the Auca so as to catch them by surprise. These infidels have tamed cockatoos, and as soon as someone comes near, the birds start to screech, giving the voice of alarm (AGN, Jan. 10,. 1945).

As told by Rucuyaya Alonso (see chapter 9), after a series of skirmishes that produced several fatal casualties on both sides, some soldiers and other Serranos wept, asking to be returned home. The workers frequently found the famous Huaorani chonta spears across the trails;[23] and in the camps that were more exposed to attacks, they always had to sleep by candlelight inside the tents, guarded by watchmen. In all its humor, the tale told by Rucuyaya Alonso about his own working experience reveals that the working conditions prevailing in Shell, although very "modern," were rather "uncomfortable," to say the least. It is, therefore, interesting to examine the significance of this first proletarization experience from the Napo Runa's point of view.

What can be inferred from the experiences of Rucuyaya Alonso and of other Napo Runa working for Shell during this early period, is that they "sold" their *strength* to carry loads, their deep *knowledge* of the forest, their hunting and fishing *skills*, their *courage* to travel through Huaorani lands, and particularly their *cunning* and *talent* in detecting Huaorani tactics, in order to avoid confrontation. Their success in all these tasks contributed

to strengthening all the positive aspects of Napo Runa ethnic identity, as explained further in chapter 14. It also confirmed the Napo Runa's opinion of all Serranos as "clumsy" at surviving in the forest. Both the Serranos' fear and "foolish courage" made them the laughingstock of the runa working crews. Neither did gringo experts come off unscathed from this test, which, in its deepest sense, called into question the right of all foreigners to penetrate and partly destroy a natural and spiritual world, until then, controlled by the native peoples.

Furthermore, the plane trips paid for by Shell not only allowed the Napo Runa to see and "know" the tropical forest from the air in all its vastness, but also to live—for a time at least—in places where fishing and hunting were abundant. Many Napo Runa returned home with enough game to offer their future in-laws for a good wedding ceremony. With the money earned, most Indians bought consumer goods, mainly shotguns, blankets, and clothing. If some of them acquired heads of cattle it was not to become cattle ranchers but for consumption, as a prestige item, or as a form of "savings"; the cattle to be sold for cash in the case of any family emergency (see Rucuyaya Alonso, chapter 9, p. 139). Rucuyaya Alonso suggests that, at that time, Indians started to be considered "rich" or "poor," and that the term *pugri* (poor; Quichuanization of the Spanish word *pobre*) was used in reference to certain runa, when compared to others who had managed to accumulate some money by working for the company. But in general, this early proletarization experience did not produce a permanent or conflictual social differentiation among the Napo Runa.

## The Beginning of the End

Although Shell became at least partly involved in the pre-capitalist system that allowed the patrons to control the Indians' labor, the company was able to provide better working conditions, including an eight-hour working day, cash wages, and more egalitarian treatment. Certainly legal and economic reasons may account for such company policies, but in addition, the so-called "Shell gringos" being foreigners, did not have the same emotional involvement or economic investment in openly spousing the ideology of racial prejudice that shaped white-Indian relations in the region. In addition to the modernizing practices introduced by the company, the equally foreign Protestant missionaries, then acting in close collaboration with Shell, adopted a more democratic approach toward the Indians. Their attitude was justified in terms of the fundamentalist principles of Evangelical Protestantism, which openly preaches about the "brotherhood in Christ," and rejects the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church. According to a Napo Runa and two ex-patrons,

interviewed in 1987, in public everyday interaction, the Evangelical missionaries addressed the Indians as "brothers," even if privately they often referred to them as "our Indian boys."

This not very dramatic change in social relations provoked by the company and the Protestant missionaries began to be a serious worry for the patrons, as is evident in this statement of a veteran white settler in the Oriente: "Things are going to hell with these new methods. . . . I don't know what's spoiled the Indians more, if Shell or the Protestant missionaries. Shell with its high salaries, eight-hour working days, and all that foolishness, and the missionaries with their damn flattering ways. We're no longer the ones who dominate the Indians, they dominate us. Insolent and disrespectful, that's what they've become" (cited in Blomberg 1956:151).

Shell's economic and social impact was more enduring in what is now the Province of Pastaza, for it developed in conjunction with that of other expanding foreign companies engaged in the production of tea and sugar cane. Furthermore, Pastaza's development was facilitated by a road completed in 1947, which connected the towns of Shell and Mera with the Sierra. This road also served as the entrance gate for the colonists and merchants who migrated to take advantage of the economic growth unleashed by oil exploration (Whitten 1976:230–232, 237, 239; Mera and Montaño 1984:43–44). All these new developments in Pastaza led to the administrative separation of Napo from Pastaza in 1959, and the constitution of two independent provinces. The Tena-Archidona area remained more isolated until the late 1950s and 1960s, when a motor road was built from Puyo to Tena. Such isolation enabled the patrons to maintain their hegemony for about ten years longer, but not without difficulties. These originated mainly with the missionaries and the Indians themselves.

The emphasis given by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries to education began to have a significant influence on the Indian population as a whole, and for the younger generation, education became a form of liberation. The resistance shown by the elders in the past against schooling for their children slowly broke down. Even if eventually the elders turned out to be right in their assessment of missionary education as a source of acculturation, at that early stage the younger Indians were faced with few alternatives. Either they continued to suffer under the traditional patron system, or they sought independence through the opportunities offered by the mission schools, despite all their limitations. Thus, the Convent of the Dorothean Mothers became a sort of refuge for several Indian women wishing to escape from the humiliating and oppressive condition of household servants working under patrons. In turn, the Evangelical mission, still under the direction of foreign missionaries, provided for a small number of Indian youths an opportunity to follow a religious education outside the region and to later become pastors, responsible for their own

churches. Furthermore, in order to attract pupils to their schools and more converts to their church, the Evangelicals continued to purchase the debts of all the Indians who ran away from patrons looking for refuge in the different Protestant missionary centers.

The work experience at Shell, though temporary, served to familiarize the Indians with a free-market economy, thus making it possible for them to sell their labor for money in several areas of the Oriente, or in the country at large. This is how some Napo Runa came to seek temporary jobs, usually for a three-month period, on the coastal banana plantations (Hudelson 1981:222), or building the road from Santo Domingo to Quinindé (Macdonald 1983:42). According to a Napo Runa from Pano, the majority of those workers returned to the Tena-Archidona area; some with enough money to pay for the wedding ceremony, and others after having acquired symbolic power and wisdom from the famous Tsachila shamans living in the Santo Domingo de los Colorados region. All of them returned with a wealth of new experiences and the prestige of being more knowledgeable about the outside world.

Unlike previous economic booms, education and wage labor opened up possibilities for the Indians to participate in a sustained process of change. Yet it was to meet with stubborn, and sometimes violent, opposition on the part of all the patrons and local authorities continuing to hold on to the traditional system. To exemplify the patrons' ideological convictions regarding this incipient change, and the intensity of their feelings against it, I once again make use of a letter written by the lady patron Juana Arteaga, which vividly articulates the two aspects of the patrons' attitude. Other documents of that same period corroborate her thinking, although in less colorful language. Mrs. Arteaga's excuse for this letter is a complaint addressed to the then governor against the actions of Mr. Adelmo Rodríguez, a liberal-minded teacher who was working for the Evangelical mission. By attacking this teacher, she also launches her indignant offensive against the mission itself and against any potential liberalization of the Indian situation. The letter reads as follows:

> June 8, 1945
> Mr. Arturo Garcés
> Tena
>
> Honorable Sir:
>
> With cordial greetings.
>
> Admiring your benevolence and kindness towards us poor Settlers, who despite great sacrifices and sorrows have become established in these places, suffering great afflictions and sacrificing our existence from childhood. And in payment for all our cares we are now the victims of gratuitous enemies. I will tell you what has happened to

> me; you are a reasonable man and will speak with the hypocritical Mr. Rodríguez. Since it came here, that damned Mission has not ceased taking away from me entire [Indian] families who now will never pay their debts. For all those Indians the missionaries have taken away from me, I only have their debt books left. Finally, they have taken from me five young ones so far; Indian by Indian, with the excuse of sending them to school. This is already bad enough, but the last thing that happened, it's terrible. The Indian who left after a week-long drinking spree was a boy brought up by me since he was little, very Castillian [here, meaning acculturated] and skilful. As soon as I knew about it, I wrote to that Mr. Rodríguez begging him to send the Indian back to me—as if the boy were his!—that I need him, that I require him, that my servants are demoralized, that the others also will leave, and that I will be left with no one to serve me in fulfilling so many of my own important obligations. He writes to me deceivingly and after a speech about freedom and other such foolishness, he offered to send him last Saturday. . . . Consider, Mr. Garcés, how I find myself, with such disorder among the personnel, with threats from the servants who now cannot even be ordered around anymore; all because of this bad man's doings. No one has done me so much wrong. He doesn't even consider that I'm a woman; that I work at such great sacrifice for my family, and that no one has ever conquered one single Indian from me. Now I fear that even the mail Indians [mail carriers] will come and ask for schooling, that married Indian women will leave their husbands and go to school! You see, he [the liberal teacher] took the Indian girl and registered her in school as if she were a lady only to hurt me and take her away from me. This is the limit! [The letter continues on the same tone for two more pages.]
>
> (AGN, June 8, 1945)

This letter clearly reflects the patrons' strong fears that the new liberal ideas would spread to the whole Indian population in the region, including the women. Until then, Indian women had fewer opportunities than Indian men to be exposed to schooling and new working experiences.[24] Traditionally, white and Indian societies perceived the role of women as subordinate to that of men. That is why Mrs. Arteaga was particularly outraged at the fact that the Evangelical mission offered native women the same right to have an education as that enjoyed by white "young ladies." In a society that was basically organized and publicly led by men, both male and female white patrons regarded Indian women's education as the definitive symptom of disintegration of the traditional social order

they had dominated for so long. The existing attitude toward women in general also helps explain why, in her letter, Mrs. Arteaga felt the need to invoke her "condition as a defenseless woman," when all of her personal life attests to the contrary. As all other "liberated" white women of that period, Mrs. Arteaga's work outside her home as a trader, civil servant, and hacienda owner was made possible by the servitude, which subjected so many Indian women to domestic labor in white people's homes.

In a futile attempt to return to "the good old days," in 1946, the Tena-Archidona patrons pressured the authorities into reviving the already obsolete labor control system based on the Indian registration in *padrones* and on elected Indian authorities (AGN, Aug. 25, 1946). They even tried to restore in all its pomp the annual ritual of the *cambio de varas* (change of staffs) and, given the "uncertainties" of this new era, the patrons themselves became more than willing to make generous donations to reward the Indian officials and to buy liquor for distribution at the feast. Previously, the patrons had strongly opposed this system on purely economic grounds since it gave the authorities a slight competitive advantage over access to the Indian labor force. Now, the changing situation compelled the patrons' to demand its reinstatement, hoping that it could be used as a social control mechanism. But it did not work for the simple reason that most Napo Runa still refused to sell their labor power, at least locally. The governor of Napo complained that while the Cantonal Council of Puyo (Pastaza) had at its disposal a whole crew of laborers, "the pompous Municipality of Tena does not have one worker, not even a single peon to pick up the garbage from the town square, not even to repair the leaks in the roof" (AGN, letter from governor to minister of Government, April 23, 1945).

Compared with the situation in the 1930s, the following two decades enabled the Indians to contemplate other economic prospects besides "commodity peonage" or "government service." Although certain traditional Indian resistance tactics did persist, widespread economic and social change in the Oriente brought about other alternatives that encouraged the Napo Runa to leave the region. This form of "liberation" was more difficult for the patrons to control, and consequently, to repress. On the one hand, a more informed awareness regarding Indian rights began to develop at the national level. Certain important sectors of society exercised moderate pressures on the national government to terminate the abuses of the old patron system. To this purpose, the Executive created a series of local "Societies for the Protection of the Indians," set up in 1948, but which never operated effectively. On the other hand, the 1941 war with Peru, painfully and clearly revealed to the government the need to redouble its efforts at colonizing the frontiers in the Oriente, something that regional authorities had demanded for years (as it is clear in their annual reports to the governors since 1908). This new pressing national goal

nourished the local ideology glorifying the "pioneer colonist." He—almost never she—was portrayed in the national press as performing a patriotic mission in the Oriente and therefore deserving of state encouragement and support. The problem for the government was that, at that time, such support primarily consisted in providing the colonists with cheap Indian labor, the same Indians they wanted to "liberate" from the abuses of the patron system.

These two obviously contradictory ideological propositions and corresponding practices created serious difficulties for the Tena-Archidona administrative authorities. Depending on their political orientation, either liberal or conservative, these authorities tended to favor one or the other of the two parties in conflict: the Indians or the settlers. The tensions created on the local scene by this state of affairs, and the ideological dilemma the authorities had to face, are clear in the following letter sent by the governor to the president of the Municipal Council of Tena:

> Following traditional custom, on Sunday 27, the "change of staffs" of the justicias must take place. I must point out that, personally, I do not agree with the registration, for it means continuing with old systems which are not very compatible with the respect that is owed to the human person. But I also believe that certain customs in the Oriente must be respected, since one cannot suddenly grant his full rights to the yet irresponsible Indian. He has not yet adapted to civilization and, consequently, cannot make effective use of those rights. It is necessary to grant him his full rights but only when he is aware of what an obligation entails. Meanwhile, I think that certain moderately violent measures are required. Regarding the specific case of the registration, it should be preserved for the exclusive purpose of helping the settlers in their progress; especially those who have no Indians of their own and who, without these resources, would of course be devoid of all assistance. In sum, the registration must be preserved to help the people, the majority of whom the Authority is called upon to safeguard as its specific duty. (AGN, May 21, 1945)

As all colonial administrators who resist turning over power to the colonized, the governor adduces that the Indians are not yet prepared to receive such power. The rhetoric of domination comes to its last ironic turn: The Indians have full rights, but lack the responsibility to exercise them. Furthermore, as is common in all ethnically stratified societies, the governor uses a concept of "the people" that exclusively refers to the racially dominant group, in this case, the white settlers, even if at that time the Indian population constituted an overwhelming majority in the Oriente.

This contradiction exemplified by the governor was not solved at the ideological level. A more radical and permanent socioeconomic change was not introduced in the Tena-Archidona area by "indigenist" liberal legislation, nor by the state's usually demagogic pronouncements about creating "live frontiers " in the Oriente. It arrived, instead, literally and directly by road. Upon completion of the motor road between Puyo and Tena, the Serranos who occasionally came to the region on muleback with their cargo of goods, and the mule drivers themselves, started to settle down permanently in Tena as traders. They began very modestly setting up small vending booths on street corners, but soon managed to establish their own shops. They prospered by engaging in the retail business and buying and selling cacao, coffee, and of course, gold. This new merchant bourgeoisie was able to break up the monopoly on manufactured goods held until then by the patrons. Consequently, the latter actually lost the only effective incentive they had to hire Indian labor, and had to start paying for it in cash. Despite the occasional indignant, but by now futile, protest, the majority of patrons resigned themselves to the change. They reacted by stepping up their productive activities, particularly cattle raising, and since then, have always managed to find room for themselves in the regional administrative bureaucracy. Only a few patrons resisted abandoning their old ways and refused to "liberate" their peons until finally they were forced to do so by the courts, as in the case of Mrs. Esther Sevilla in 1973. The new roads, plus a better telephone and telegraph system, also contributed in making obsolete all the transport services provided by the Indians under the old justicias or varas administration. Moreover, the consolidation of a capitalist market for commodities, and the opening up of a labor market in the area rendered that same system useless as a mechanism of social control, and it finally disappeared completely.[25]

The disintegration of the old order that had dominated the Oriente for at least a century brought about an important transformation of the regional class structure. After an initial period of economic competition with former patrons, the new merchant bourgeoisie became well established and confident. In politics, it formed close alliances with the traditional bourgeoisie since both classes shared the ideology of the alleged social superiority of the whites over the Indians.[26] Most Indians in the region continued to resist total proletarization. Despite considerable reduction in the cultivable land area available to them, the Napo Runa managed to maintain subsistence horticulture. Increasingly now, they also engage in small scale agricultural production and cattle raising for the market. To obtain needed cash, many Indian families continue to pan gold independently of patrons, and they sell it to a small but powerful group of traders. Universal access to primary, secondary, and higher education has also enabled several Indians to become teachers in the region's

schools and to be employed in the public administration. An in-depth analysis of the current situation in the Oriente is outside the scope of this book, but to better understand the last reflections of Rucuyaya Alonso on how social change has affected his own people, I briefly describe the political and economic developments of the last three decades which have contributed to further transform peoples' lives in the Ecuadorian Oriente.

## Black Gold and Colonization

Eventually, joint missionary, state, and business efforts established the infrastructure of Christian civilization, the legal and military administration, and the roads and economic promises to open up the Amazon to mass colonization. Furthermore, droughts in the provinces of Loja and Manabí, land shortages due to population pressures in the Sierra, and an ineffective Land Reform, provided the motives for peasants' emigrations to the Oriente in the hope of materializing there their legitimate aspirations of land and work.

The state's colonization policy did not solve the land problem in the Sierra, shifting instead part of this conflict to the Oriente. The land issue led to confrontations between the settlers and the original inhabitants, in which the state acted—sometimes with questionable equanimity—as an "arbitrator of conflicts" through its own regional institutions. The new development of strategic resources such as oil plus the continuing boundary problems with Peru, forced the state to finally consolidate its hegemony over the territory, population, and resources of the whole Amazon region. To this end, the state built a more extensive system of access roads, it reorganized the civil administration and, above all, increased its military presence throughout the Oriente.

In the 1960s two decisive factors deepened government participation in the Oriente's economic development. First, under the auspices of the "Alliance for Progress," the governing Military Junta enacted the 1964 Law of Agrarian Reform and created the Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonization (IERAC) in an attempt to placate the social conflict among highland peasants. In the words of Mera and Montaño (1984:14), it was then that "the Oriente ceased to be a myth" because the state became actively involved in promoting controlled and semi-controlled colonization, and in trying to regulate spontaneous migrations. Second, this was the time when the multinationals "rediscovered" oil in the Amazon. The consortium Texaco-Gulf obtained an original concession in the North-Eastern zone of 1,431,450 hectares, later increased by the Coca concession (NACLA 1975:34). The oil boom began in 1967 and, with the creation of CEPE (Ecuadorian State Petroleum Corporation, now called Petroecuador), the government became directly involved in exploiting Oriente resources. New lines of communication were opened for more expeditious

and direct routes to the oil areas, which became the converging points for mass colonization. Land occupation generally was disorganized and mostly spontaneous, thus contributing to the systematic destruction of the fragile Amazon flora and fauna, and to stir up conflicts between the settlers and the indigenous groups who occupied those areas. Under the Law of Colonization of the Amazon Region issued in 1977 and with the establishment of INCRAE (Ecuadorian Institute of Colonization of the Ecuadorian Amazon Region), the state tried to definitively integrate the Oriente into the nation's industrial development and to consolidate state hegemony by further strengthening military participation, under the principles of the "National Security Doctrine" (see Mera and Montaño 1984:177–184). The establishment of a communications infrastructure and the development of colonization also were beneficial to agribusinesses and other industrial interests. Supported by domestic and foreign capital many companies started to exploit timber, mining resources, and more recently established plantations of African palm (*Elaeis guineensis*). Population growth in the region provided them ready access to a settled labor force, or to migrant labor from within and outside the Oriente region. Even now, the Tena-Archidona Napo Runa usually hire themselves out for a three-month period to "the company," whatever it may be. All this development is at present creating the same problems of deforestation, pollution of rivers, and conflicts between Indians, colonists, and the state as in other areas of Amazonia.

## Impact of New Economic Development

A more regular and numerous influx of highland settlers into the Tena-Archidona area aggravated the existing problem of land shortages. Consequently, the Napo Runa were quick to respond to the incentives of oil development by migrating to become permanent settlers outside their original place of residence. Estimates are that in the 1970s, approximately 4,500 Napo Runa permanently migrated to the oil region of Lago Agrio, and over 5,000—particularly from Archidona, Rucullacta and Pano—went to settle along the Napo River, between Puerto Misahuallí and the mouth of the Suno, and even as far as Coca (MAG-ORSTOM 1978:11–13). Beginning in 1980, the lower Napo area from Coca to Rocafuerte, turned into the new focus of immigration. This resulted from the government's renewed efforts at creating "live frontiers" in border areas, especially after the last 1981 armed conflict with Peru. Some Napo Runa are able to migrate as family groups, other migrants are young couples who join associations, cooperatives or pre-cooperatives organized for agricultural production and cattle raising. Such migrations also allow the Indians access to hunting and fishing that are presently very scarce around Tena-Archidona.

Despite emigration, the Tena-Archidona area remains second in population density after the oil region, with 43 inhabitants per square kilometer in 1973 (MAG-ORSTOM 1978:11). According to the data provided by the Ministry of Agriculture for 1985, the Province of Napo has a total of 151,745 inhabitants, with an estimated floating population of 30,000, and a population density of 3 inhabitants per square kilometer (Consejo Provincial del Napo 1987). The Napo Runa who choose to stay in Tena-Archidona are facing increasing land pressures. Their average cultivable plot is fourteen hectares, whereas the settlers are granted plots of forty to fifty hectares, and an average hacienda measures ninety-three hectares (MAG-ORSTOM 1978:26, 27). Given the small size of their plots, the Napo Runa have low productivity since they can no longer allow the land to lie fallow for the customary period (MAG-ORSTOM 1978:29, 39). In addition, an increasing number of Napo Runa are unable to maintain their system of secondary plots.

Since its creation, they have turned to the Institute of Agrarian Reform (IERAC) in order to consolidate their land titles, mostly as family property. They also used that organization to protest against the abuses committed by new settlers or old established landowners. The majority of their demands currently are channelled through the indigenous organizations, and particularly through the Federation of Organizations of Napo Indians (FOIN), created in 1969 with headquarters in Tena. An oppositional ideology based on a militant ethnicity originated and continues to develop within these indigenous organizations. Several Napo Runa have acquired considerable experience as community organizers, and have gone on to occupy political office in regional and national organizations, to be caught in the ups and downs of national politics.

Through its development agencies, the state has consolidated its presence in the Oriente. Recently, Development Fund for the Rural Underprivileged (FODERUMA) has made available to the Napo Runa, large loans for cattle raising and commercial crops. This development effort may be considered a new attempt at "settling down" the Napo Runa. Cattle, in particular, "tie down" families and create dependencies and committments that, given the difficult conditions in the Oriente, are not easy to meet. It is too soon to assess the results of this policy. At least among the Panos, the desire to hunt game, the need to pan gold, or their "nomadic spirit"—as they themselves refer to it, impel them to seek new frontiers, even for limited periods, and preferably during the school-holiday months. It is in no way certain that the incentives provided by the modern state will achieve what neither force, nor the persuasive strategies of the conquistadores and the missionaries were able to achieve: to settle the Napo Runa as peasants.

# 11

# My Friends the Yachaj

In the old times there used to be more yachaj around here; they were called brujos (witch doctors) by the whites. My godfather Fernando used to drink ayahuasca. When he got drunk [with ayahuasca], he would speak directly to whoever was going to die or be cured. When he wanted to heal, those who were going to live came back to life joyfully. That's how healing used to be done. There was one yachaj nicknamed "Quilluma," he was yachaj Pablo's father who is himself a *bancu* (a powerful yachaj) and lives in Arajuno. Quilluma would call the spirits and say that they showed him what he had to do; then he would start the *chupana* (to suck, to draw out the illness or alien objects from the sick person). For example, I myself would have died a long time ago if it weren't for the yachaj who still keep me alive.

Some yachaj learn by asking for the samai that is blown into the crown of their heads by another yachaj. They are also given tobacco to drink and must not sleep with their wives, eat red pepper, salt, or hot manioc. They have to keep on fasting for several days and eat what sick people eat, such as little birds, but no other type of food. After this, they are asked to suck someone who is ill to see if they have caught the power. Some can heal immediately, others take longer according to their own wisdom and to the teacher's power. Then, a fight begins between the teacher yachaj and the pupil, and if the pupil isn't quick and alert, he may be killed. In order to learn to be a yachaj one has to suffer much with all this fasting. It's like going to the university: the body and the mind suffer in learning, and learning never stops. That's why, when they take ayahuasca and they do the *pucuna* work (here meaning magical blowing with tobacco smoke) the yachaj charge a lot of money, like lawyers do. There are forest yachaj, rock yachaj, river yachaj. The forest yachaj can't take it for very long, they soon

die. To be a forest yachaj you have to go there after fasting to meet with the *sacha supai* (spirit of the forest). Supais can be found in the form of a turtle, a horse, a spirit child, a boa, a person and many other forms. They're only seen at night. A *supai huarmi* (female spirit) appears before a man when the wife is feeling weak, and sometimes a *supai runa* (male spirit) appears before a woman when her husband is sickly.

From the very beginning of time, before the Catholics or the Evangelicals came, we knew the supais. If a person is bewitched by a supai, he will not get well. Some yachaj say that the supais are in the hills; others say that they're in the *ucupachama* (underworld), while others say that they're everywhere—in the rivers and sea, all over. I've heard the supais singing near my house; they sounded like the radio. Sometimes when a good hunter, who has become spoiled and impure (ritually unclean for not having observed the prescriptions), goes to hunt in the forest, the supai will utter "tsk, tsk" (clacking the tongue) as a sound of mockery and disapproval. That supai may be a *sacha supai* (a master spirit of the forest), but sometimes the supai huarmi also fall in love with hunters. For example, Hilario Tapuy was taught by a supai huarmi, and Hilario's wife became pregnant with a child by the supai runa. Hilario became a yachaj with the help of those "dolls." On the road to Talag, on a boulder there was one of these "dolls," which made a noise like a rattle. That supai was the one which got Hilario's wife pregnant, and when the child was born, it was also a supai. Those mountain supai will only appear before you in that form if you are going to become a yachaj. If you are a man it will appear as a supai huarmi. For example, when the man is going hunting to the forest, the supai huarmi appears in the form of a *samai* (invisible force or power) and remains unseen. After the supai huarmi has appeared, the animals begin to come one after another. The supai huarmi leaves the hunter after blowing the samai into the crown of his head.

When the person meets with the sacha huarmi he faints, and then he has to have the samai blown into him again. This is the way the supai gives him a lot of game to hunt. The game the hunter brings back has to be cooked quickly. Sometimes the supai makes you hear something like music in the midst of the forest, and that's why many birds come to you. I used to go around with the now deceased Hilario who was a good yachaj for the forest, and when we were in the forest we could hear a lot of music. I asked him why we were hearing that, and the birds sang even more when they heard his voice. The *yacu supais* (water spirits) live in the ponds and rivers. When I used to live downriver, one dark night among several people we heard the yacu supai roaming around there trying to turn a woman into a yachaj, but we never saw it. One moonlit night we were able to see it like a sort of figure. Those who were living in my house left the next day. They were frightened and said: "now we won't be able to live long." It was a shape that walked like a horse, but it looked like a person. People thought it was looking for me to turn me into a yachaj.

Sometimes when I was fishing with a hook I would catch all kinds of fish. One day the canoe was moving up and down and making like waves, and the supai jumped from the canoe and went swimming in the pond. It went around like this for several nights, looking for me. What I couldn't see well was the body, but it was the body of a woman. If I had wanted to be a yachaj, I would have been a good one.

Some supais are famous. For example, Amasanga is powerful and controls both the river and the forest. The elders said that Ingaro supai is well known for his ugliness. He walks around without one leg and his heart hangs below his armpit. He will suddenly walk very quickly when going downslope because he clutches onto the trees so as not to fall, but people pursue him and when he gets to flatland he can't walk anymore. He chases people to get back the missing leg and take possession of a healthy and pure soul. In their cunning, some of the elders would hide with a knife in hand to cut off his genitals and turn them into supai allpa, which is this earth, very good for hunting.

Sometimes in the forest one can find supais who are alive. These are like "dolls" who teach the future yachaj and have the power to make babies. Once, very early in the morning, the yachaj Hilario was going to pan gold and encountered one of those "dolls" standing next to his house. He picked it up and it made a hoarse noise. He took it back home where his sisters Sabela and Virginia lived. These two women were very fearful of everything, and when confronted with any strange forest smell they would put live coals in an earthware pot, add dry red peppers and burn them saying that it was to drive away evil spirits. His sisters insulted Hilario and suggested that he throw the "doll" into the river, and he did. The "doll" was seen to be turning from side to side. I didn't see it myself, but I asked Hilario why he had taken the "doll" which I thought was destined for me. After a little while the "doll" disappeared into Peñasyacu, in Talag. After that the "doll" pestered Hilario's family, making noises like people. Whenever Hilario went hunting, the "doll" would appear and Hilario could kill many animals and birds.

That is the supai who got Hilario's wife pregnant. Almost immediately she learned to be a witch and gave birth to a "doll-like" child, with lovely eyes. As soon as the child was born it began to see everything but after a short while it died. They burned it with coals; it had six fingers and the feet were like a duck's. Only me and a man called Latico carried the body of the child. We picked up a basket with corn leaves, put the child inside, and took it to be buried; we dug a hole and stuck the whole thing in there. When the woman was giving birth the supai was clearly seen to be roaming around there; he showed up in the shape of a dog. The other women who were with Hilario's wife just abandoned her; only Venancio and I were left. After we had finished the burial we went to fish with barbasco in the Talag River and got a lot of fish.

I used to go hunting with Hilario. When we stood in the *chapana* the

toucans and partridges would come quickly. I would shoot and kill them without missing one; that was because Hilario was being helped by the supai. This was the only way Hilario got food. When Hilario's wife panned gold in Peñasyacu, she found large chunks of gold given to her by the supai. She showed them to me. Later on they went to look for gold further up from that ravine, on a hill that was all rock. There Hilario began to dig to find gold, and from beneath the ground there came hoarse noises, like snores. When I heard that noise I told him that it was his supai that was making those sounds. Hilario came and said: "No, that supai is yours," and then we went to look for gold in another place.

Around that time, Hilario's wife gave birth to yet another creature that looked like a dog, or a nutria or a *huagraucucha* (field mouse). Right away the people returned from Talag to Pano, leaving the coals burning with dry red pepper, because the strong smell makes the supai go away. Milicuchi amigu, Mililaticu, Shiquiturucu, and I put again this creature into a basket to bury it in the evening. The creature looked like a doll; it had a shiny head with yellowish hair. When the baby was born the women had seen it laugh, and they said that the child was only pretending to be dead because it was born live. They didn't know its sex, but it looked like a boy, and they buried it on a slope. Milicuchi amigu threw earth on top of it with his foot saying: "If you want to teach someone to be a yachaj, you must teach everyone." Hilario's wife had two or three deliveries like those. Other women from around here have also given birth to creatures that are supai children. All the members of Hilario's muntun have learned witchcraft that way.

There are other supais who don't only serve the yachaj but also other people. In the place that's below Pucachicta, now called Cachihuañushcarumi (rock where the salt died) there are salt rocks people used for cooking food. These rocks must have been there since Jesus' time. In the old days, as the legend goes, the Cachiruna (Saltman, a spirit) was a being that sometimes turned into a dog and went everywhere. Because he was being harassed by some people, he got angry and went as far as the Huallaga River to the Peruvian side. He left with the idea that if the Indians were not lazy, they would go and look for salt there. In that place there is a whirlpool, like the Latas whirlpool, and it's not easy to cross over there and get salt. You have to make an offering and throw it into the whirlpool so as to please Cachiruna, and then you can get the salt. The women who pan gold there would also get salt from a place called Amaruncachi. Both there and in the Hatunyacu, live some supais who help people to get salt.

When a yachaj studies and thinks for a long time, and after he has gone to some sort of meetings with other yachaj he can become a bancu. My late friend Quilluma, who was a bancu, knew how to cure well; he was the only one around here who knew. But over there, in Sarayacu, there

were a lot of bancus. In the act of witchcrafting itself, in curing, the bancu announces the coming of a supai called Yanarinri (Black ears) who comes with his daughter so that both of them will talk to the people and act like the yachaj himself. The supai takes possession of the yachaj, and those who want to, can consult him. This is the real supai. The supai takes possession of the individual. The soul created by God leaves the body and the supai comes into it. He speaks through the yachaj who has the *huairachina* (a bundle of leaves used by the yachaj to cleanse the sick person). The yachaj looks like he's dead, and the supai talks through him. The sick man has to be placed with his back to the bancu, whereas if he is treated by other ordinary yachaj he can be facing them. First, the yachaj cleanses the sick person with the huairachina, and then the supai asks those present what they want to know. They answer that they've called him to heal sicknesses; they beg him to remove the sickness and throw it at the ucupachama (underworld). The supai answers "yes, yes."

Another supai called Papatoa, who is considered by some to be a person, also may come. There are many other names of supais, but right now I can only remember Baltazar and Cucama. When the bancu calls them, they come right away; for him it's only a matter of calling. Bancu Pablo says he can talk with the supai huarmi. She puts a kind of foam in his mouth and says: "I wash myself with this soap," and sometimes the cry "he, he, he" is heard. When Pablo goes to meet her by the river, sometimes she appears like a red shadow or in other beautiful and shining colors. The place where the supais live is called *cielosiqui*, the end of the world. Not all the supais, only certain important ones, live in this *supai llacta* (land of the *supais*). I have always wondered what that town is like; I would really like to see it. It must be like our town, though some people think it's like hell, but that's a white man's idea.

I've always been a good friend of the yachaj, and have gone around with them a lot. People respected them, but they were also afraid of them. They thought the yachaj would heal their sicknesses, but it's dangerous to insult the yachaj or to get angry at them, especially when they're drunk. When they got like that, I would speak to them unafraid, otherwise all my children would have died bewitched. There are yachaj who don't know how to cure the sicknesses sent by a bancu, and that's dangerous. I've never been afraid of death caused by the yachaj. I have spoken without fear. When one of my children was sick, I went to the yachaj and asked them to come and drink ayahuasca to cure my child. They responded immediately because they knew what I was like and they respected me. With one single word from me they came to do the cures because they knew that I was fierce.

I also used to drink ayahuasca. When the yachaj were drinking, I drank like they did. They taught me and told me I had to see the same visions they saw. I drank not only one *pilchi* (calabash bowl) but as many as three,

because it wouldn't get me quickly, but once I got drunk, I really got drunk. I once drank [ayahuasca] with a yachaj called Anapo and with another nicknamed Seco. I got so drunk that I began to sing along with them. Then, I saw a *tutacushillu* coming out of the yachaj's mouth; it ran straight at me. I woke up and screamed for the yachaj to come and suck this thing from me, to revive me, since I was not some plaything of his, but the yachaj just broke out in laughter. I got angry and told him: "Quickly, quickly, come and do something, why are you laughing like this, am I then brujo (Sp. in the original). You can do that among brujos, but don't play with me!" He sucked me and they took me to bed. I was almost unconscious and was lying there beside the hearth where they kept me lying for a long time, but I don't remember anything. Then my wife prepared a large pot of huayusa tea for me cooking it in a strong fire, and since I was dreaming and waving my arms about, I struck the pot and got burned with huayusa. I burned myself terribly.

Since then I almost stopped drinking ayahuasca, but a little while back, when compadre Santiago was going down to live in Arajuno, I was called to his house to drink ayahuasca. I got up and took a pilchi. I drank it like it were food and compadre Santiago also drank. After that, he invited me to go and defecate. We went quite far into the forest. When we were there we heard a strange noise; I got frightened and told Santiago that we had drunk too much. We went back home and sat by the fire. Then we smoked tobacco, but it didn't revive us one bit. The woman who gave us the ayahuasca to drink told us that those who know how to drink it can stand it. Later, the women came and blew the samai into us starting from the crown of the head so that we wouldn't faint. They said that their samai would soon revive us. I could hear them, but that made me feel worse; no matter how hard they tried, they couldn't revive me. Santiago shouted for his wife to put hot water on top of his head. That time they gave us a lot of *supai yacu* (another name for ayahuasca). Had it been food, they wouldn't have given us so much! I could hear a little of what was happening, but I couldn't act. Then they went to get nettles; they gave me platano water to drink, blew into my crown, and beat my whole body with very thick nettle branches until they revived me. I saw something hanging from the woman's ears; it looked like the belt that is worn for the weddings, like two flags that were hanging. Once I was feeling well I asked her if she was a yachaj to appear in front of me like that. On hearing this, the following day people remarked that what I had seen was like a wedding where the woman was getting married, and that's why those bands were hanging from her ears. Since I almost died that time, I never drank ayahuasca again. Even if they were drinking it in my own house, I never came near it.

Ayahuasca makes us see everything and anything, even boas. The body sounds as if all the bones are broken, and that's what makes us sick. Those people who are going to die appear wrapped in something like a

shroud and looking very thin. If one sees them lying down, then for sure they're going to die. I have seen it myself. Sometimes from the hills you can hear people crying out loudly, and since in the old times the coffin was made of chonta (hardwood palm) boards, you could hear them knock, "tap, tap, tap"; you could hear that clearly. Only someone who knows can hear it; others can't. That's how the yachaj can tell if a person is going to live or die. Just a little while ago I saw someone; I saw that he had a wrinkled mouth and feet, and he died soon after. You can see clearly how the *biruti* (magical darts) go; they cross going "zing, zing."

Sometime ago I was with my compadre Genaro and we both saw how a man called Seco was going to die. We saw how a lot of blood was coming out of his nose. My hand got all bloody and he jerked all over until the yachaj began to suck his illness. I was told that what I had seen was nothing, but three years later a very strong flu came. Tapuy's mother, my grandmother, and many children died of that flu. It was a very strong epidemic against which nothing could be done. So they went to get the yachaj, and he said it was biruti, that it was their evil (evil sent by other yachaj). Even I got it; I spit up around one pot of blood and I realized that that's what I had seen before in the vision. We looked for the yachaj and he sucked my nose saying that I had been bewitched. At that time there was a powerful yachaj here in the village. He was terribly drunk, and he wrapped all my body from the neck down. He told me I was suffering from a "bad air," so I gave him a hen. He said that the yachaj had sent "him" [the bad air] to kill me, and picking up a shotgun he began to shoot whirling around to scare the other yachaj who had brought on the epidemic. There was another yachaj on the Tena River who wanted to kill me; however, it was he who died first.

That's how you can see with the ayahuasca. In Arajuno, yachaj Sicuma's son was sick one day. Sicuma said that the other supai were going to make him get well. When I came close to him, his mother had him in her arms wrapped in a little bundle. They asked me if, in my opinion, the child would live or not. I said yes, that he could be cured, and the yachaj said the same thing. I told them he would live because I felt sorry for the child's mother but, in reality, I had seen that he was going to die soon. Clarita's husband, Lorenzo, was also sick at that time. The son came to visit the sick father and soon we realized what was happening. The son was sharpening the machete to go after the yachaj who had made his father ill. Grabbing a machete and a shotgun he went after the yachaj. We saw him from afar going down the slope with the yachaj. When the yachaj turned and looked at Lorenzo's son, he got all pale, while the sick man who was already dying, immediately revived. That happened several times, he would agonize and then revive, until he finally got well. Meanwhile, the woman was begging me to look at her husband to see if he would die or not. I told her he wouldn't die, but he almost did. I was

seeing well and was finally proven right, while the yachaj were wrong because they said he was going to die. I have always taken the yachaj to the authorities. I have defended those who came to blows and freed those who were in prison. That's why they liked me a lot, because they thought that was how they could be saved.

I will begin by talking about my compadre Pablo. He is a bancu yachaj. When I'm very ill he is in charge of holding my soul through a supai called Papatoa. Pablo and his father Quilluma used to live with me before. Once Quilluma told me that my soul had remained for too long right here where I live, and that's why the yachaj were able to make me ill so often. That's why Quilluma wanted to send my soul to the village of the supai, so that it could be somewhere else for a time. He said he would bring it back once it was healed. I accepted the proposal. When my soul was about to be taken away, supai Papatoa himself came and told me: "Well then, come with me. I've come to ask for you because my name is Bancuchitu," that's like the king of the bancu. He then told me, "I'm taking the soul to teach it just like the government teaches in school." And he said that if I didn't ask to have it back soon, he would take it to their village where there are a lot of souls that are also learning in that way, and he repeated, "Just like the teachers teach children at school, that's how your soul will learn in that village." The supai Papatoa also told me that he came from Curimama (the mother of gold), from the city of gold. Then Quilluma, who had been in heaven and come back, told him, "You are responsible for my friend's soul; you will have to see that they take good care of it."

Quilluma used to say that he was from *docemundoi* (center of the earth) and that his son Pablo had been sent to the very village of the great supai, so that I shouldn't be afraid, since my soul was going to a smaller village of a less powerful supai. Quilluma also told me that I wouldn't die soon, but the people kept telling me that I would live in suffering. Later Quilluma explained to me that docemundoi is the place of wisdom that originates in the center of the earth and that he had sent my soul there, but had told me it was going to a smaller place so that I wouldn't be scared right away. Papatoa, who lives there, had taken my soul so that from the golden world, it would consider and speak, and stay there for safe keeping. Two or three years later I went to see Quilluma to ask him to come and cure my illness and he said: "I had your soul, and now I leave it in my son's hands for him to look after it." Quilluma had my soul for two or three years at least, and he left it with his son when he got old. That's how I've lived till now, and I have no fearful thoughts because I've plenty of respect for Pablo. Sometime after this, on thinking it out well enough, I went to Arajuno and asked to have my soul back, because when one wants to die and doesn't have a soul, then there is a lot of suffering. One dies turning everywhere looking for the soul. My soul had been changed; they had given me another soul and mine was in another body. If I wanted to die, I would have had to look for my soul in the crowd.

When I went to ask for my soul, about five years ago, Quilluma told me that he had to look for it among the other souls, but he brought it back to me. He blew into the crown of my head and gave me back my soul, saying, "I bring you your soul here." I went to look for it because I wasn't at peace, and if I came to die, I wouldn't have been able to die quickly, waiting until the lazy women went to look for my soul that was there, so very far away, among so many other strange souls. Quilluma told me then that my soul had reached the village it had to reach because he had helped it in heaven so that the supai would teach it well and wouldn't take it to ucupachama. He also said that he was living in heaven in the town of God and that he does whatever God tells him to do. God gives him permission to come here, except on Saturdays and Sundays. On those two days, when He is to be adored, God does not give him leave to come out. Quilluma actually said: "When the angels order me to come, I come." It's true that when he takes the soul away the owner is made to feel nothing. He is also in docemundoi teaching like other professors do.

This is what Quilluma would talk about everytime he drank ayahuasca or visited me. He would tell me that he made me into an amigu because he appreciated me so much for having helped him with the authorities. And this is what he told his son Pablo to do: "You have to look after the amigu and take care of him. If you make him angry, he will take you before the authorities." One day Pablo even came to my father's house with a large maitu full of game so that I would become his compadre by holding his child. I took him and went to Tena. At that time we still called each other by our first names, but then we drank together and he asked me to hold his child saying: "We're going to live loving each other as compadres." In those days he was not yet my amigu, but he offered me liquor to drink. He always talks to me about this. When Quilluma comes he always tells me that Pablo is his only son, and asks me to take care of him as I have done with others, and to cure him if he is sick. I've always thought, how am I to cure him? Perhaps by giving him medicine, because even though I think he believes I'm a yachaj, my soul didn't learn everything, as Quilluma didn't let it go any further so that it wouldn't have to suffer. That's why I'm not a yachaj. Quilluma taught me a lot but I can't cure Pablo; he's the one who has to come to my house and heal me.

The town in which Quilluma lives is like a very clear sunshine day. You can see everything, nothing escapes you. And the son is just like the father, but people insult him saying that he is *sargaj* (a witch doctor who does evil, who sends harmful magic darts). Quilluma says that Pablo is a supai, but not a sargaj; Pablo knows a lot, but only to cure. Pablo lives because Quilluma looks after him and advises him. If he should get sick, he's sure to get well right away. He has begged me to be his loving friend until we die. Pablo has no family, he has no brothers, nor mother or father now. It was because of Quilluma's advice that Pablo made me into an amigu. At that time, when Pablo took care of my soul, he was just a

yachaj's apprentice. He was like a sun that was just beginning to rise. Now I do have the soul given me by God. When the yachaj take the soul, they take it to teach it something, but if you die suddenly, then you have to go on and on looking for the soul. Thinking about this problem, I went to ask for my soul, if not the supai would still have it. Pablo said that he would come to see me one of these days, but I'm sad because he hasn't come yet. He said that I should call him whenever I needed him and that he would come very quickly. I can't go down the river to see him because I'm weak and it's a long trip to Arajuno. Now that there are believers [Evangelists] here in Pano, they say that there aren't any yachaj any more. The priests also taught us to trust only in God, but those people who believe in the yachaj want to be treated by them. I think that is good, because many people do get well. In the old days, when there were no doctors or medicine, only forest remedies were used and some tree barks. Later on, when the Fathers came, that's when they began to make war against the yachaj. They said that only God can cure and that's why we must believe in God. But before dying, I would like to talk to Quilluma, just to be sure.

# 12

# Dreams and Death

Dreams are good for talking about, for hunting, for seeing [into the future]. *Muscui* is the power to dream or to make someone else dream. A man who has strong and victorious dreams, that man can give muscui. For example, the first person who is going to come to your house will make you dream. After a dream in which I cross a great big river without difficulties, then the very first person who comes in the morning has *sinchi muscui* (powerful muscui), that is the person who made me dream. It is said that he who has powerful muscui has a strong soul and won't die soon.

When one dreams of hills or rushing rivers, it means that a rather strong person will come. For instance, last Sunday I dreamt of a huge river and that I was crossing it on a big canoe. The first person who came to see me was my daughter Juanita, and I forgot to tell her that she shouldn't think of dying, that her soul is tremendously safe. That's how they make you dream, sometimes with strong souls, sometimes with people who are going to die soon.

Dreams also announce that someone is going to get sick. That's why when a man whose days are counted comes to visit us, we dream of falling rotten trees. That means that our soul will fall right there. But when the visit is from a man who will live for many days, a strong man, we dream of large hills covered with reddish rocks. Old and very strong men make us dream of the sea, of rivers and whirlpools. That happens when we'll be visited by strong people, and you (to his son) always make me dream like this. My father also said the same thing about me. That's probably why I'm still living.

When one dreams of walking on a dark night and other sad things like walking on your knees, that's because it's going to rain. It is the same

when you dream that the house is falling, but this could also mean that a weak person will come to visit. In the old days, if that weak person came, she was given water instead of chicha to revive her, and was told about what had been dreamed. When you dream that you are stepping on excrement, it means that someone who hates the family will be coming. When you dream about peeling manioc and it has a lot of peel, then there will be good fishing. If you don't dream this, then you shouldn't expect much fish. Formerly, when you dreamed that you were eating peanuts, this meant that a forest animal would be killed; and when the dream was about a piece of bread, that also was related to the hunt. If you dream that you're eating bread, for sure a large animal will be caught. When we dream of a woman lying down with open and raised arms and her armpits are full of hair, that means that we'll hunt a sachahuagra. But if one dreams of a woman's vulva, it's a sign that we will suffer a wound, perhaps with the machete.

Before the fathers and gringos came, when you dreamed of death there was no fear. The belief was that the soul of the person about to die had left him and was going around announcing the death. That's why, so as to know what was going to happen, they always had the ayahuasca ready and consulted the yachaj. We had faith that what the yachaj said was the truth. Drinking the ayahuasca the yachaj would look at the sick one and say: "This one has to die." Some yachaj really spoke the truth. They would say: "No matter how much we suck [the sickness], he won't live." Sometimes after one month, two months at the most, those people would die. There was a very old yachaj, he knew good *taquina* (shaman's song). He sang a few words, and after listening to the supai in his vision, he would say, "The family members are crying because he is dying, they are playing the trumpet, cutting down a tree." This really came true. He was never wrong in his predictions; if he said someone was going to die, he died. If they got sick again, they wouldn't live long, they died. On his chest he used to wear a large old cross from the time of the Jesuits. If he entered the room and the sick one was able to see the cross, that meant he would die. Otherwise, if he didn't see it well, that meant he would live. His last name was Andi. He knew how to heal by drinking ayahuasca two or three times. Sometimes they [yachaj] frightened us saying that the spirit was roaming around, even if the owner of the soul was still alive.

When the forest is silent and suddenly a tree moves, they say that someone is going to die. If a family member has died far away, he can also make a tree move. In this way, and also in dreams, they realize that someone will die. When you dream of being in the middle of a very dark night, that's a sign of sadness to come. When you dream of climbing to a high place, that's also sadness. Sadness also comes when one dreams of crossing a bridge slowly, as if one would fall. Sometimes you are dreaming and the man who is going to die is right there in the dream. For sure when they die, even somewhere else, they let you know. Often they come to knock:

"knock, knock, knock," making it known that they will die or have already died. All this happened before when we didn't believe in the word of God. Now that we believe they say that there are no such problems, that we die without thinking about such things. Young people tell us that we shouldn't think like in the old days. Nowadays, we don't know anymore when we will die, or if someone who is going to die is beside us; we die suddenly, and that's it. It's sad because one is not prepared in advance.

There are sicknesses that are *paju*, a danger we don't know where it's coming from, like the *nanai paju* (unexplained sickness). There are many and of different kind: the *anguilla paju* for example, makes the body tremble terribly as if electricity was going through it. That's cured with a leaf called *anguilla panga*. In the old times people died of a sickness called *supai ungui*, that is, when the supai (in this case an evil spirit) touched us, we died. Also when the yachaj bewitched us, we felt pain all over our bodies; or when death was sudden, it meant that the soul would leave and wander around shouting. Can this be true, or is it false? I don't know, but that's what they said. When the souls roamed around like that, shouting, it was frightening. Those souls don't go to heaven, they become supai. Some died with vomit and diarrhea; that doesn't let them last long, they die quickly.

When a person dies, people get together to hold a wake. When there is liquor they drink all night. They make huayusa and kill a few hens to eat at night with the mourners; they see the dawn with food and drink. Formerly they used to play with the straw palm of the old roof of the house. When someone was about to fall asleep, they burned him a little with that burning leaf. Now that isn't done anymore; now they twist a sheet of paper, light it, and throw it at people. The idea is that they should remain alert during the wake. If they are *creyentes* (Evangelicals) they don't have to drink liquor, they just bring candles. The family comes and cries over the deceased: those who love him, cry forever, the others cry just a little. Those who cry say: "My son, my compadre, my mother," remembering everything they did in life. They say: "When you were alive, you were generous, and when we came, you fed us." They cry a lot that way. The wake lasts for two days and two nights, but then the corpse starts to smell very badly and you can't stay there. Then, even if the other members of the family don't come, he is buried underneath the house. Sometimes, when someone dies of a contagious disease, pieces of the plantain tree trunk are put over the tomb and the house is burned. The dead one is left all by himself. Nowadays they put cement over him; formerly, it used to be only wood. In the tomb they put everything the deceased had, for example, the machete, pots, and drinking bowls; if the tomb got full, then they left things out. Once a person is buried, the soul leaves, and this happens for a man as well as for a woman. I don't know if it leaves through the feet or the head, but after leaving the body it can become a supai.

Formerly, they used to think that the *aya* (souls of the deceased) came to take possession of anyone who was there. Some said that they became pumas; that right there, as the dead one was lying, he turned into a sort of cat, and when someone came close, the soul ran off. In the old times, when the woman had just given birth, she was given a drink made of a plant shoot called *pumayuyu*, with the idea that the strength would pass on to the baby through the mother's breast milk. They also did it at that particular time because that is when the woman is fasting and can't eat monkey and many other things. Once the mother drinks pumayuyu, it's only after the baby has grown up and dies, that his soul becomes a puma. My grandfather's mother used to drink pumayuyu. She lived a long time, until she got to be very tiny and died of a fall. She said she was a puma, and died when she was ever so tiny falling from a tree in the garden plot, but I never saw her. But I did see my mother and how she had shrunk, though they say that my great-great-grandmother was much smaller. She shrunk to the size of a cat, and later on she got bigger and went to the forest where, as they say, the person who has become a puma fights with the *sacha puma* (forest puma, master of pumas). When the sacha puma wants to frighten the family, the man or woman puma comes to their defense. My wife's brother, called Baltazar, dragged himself around slowly, until he suddenly disappeared. Nowadays they tell us that believers go to heaven and unbelievers to hell. But according to this belief, where will strong and intelligent nonbelievers go to?

Both in life and in death it's very important to have *amigu* who are very special. Here in our land there are persons who say: "I want to be your amigu." They'll say "amigu, amigu" for a long time, until one day they get down on their knees, embrace, and promise to defend each other in life, here in this world as well as in death. Nowadays this custom is lost, but I have a lot of amigu. Of all of them, one is still living, Milicuchi amigu. We become amigu with the people we love and respect. The yachaj were after me to be their amigu. The very first one I had was Quilluma amigu who lived in Apayacu. One day there was a fistfight and they were clobbering him, so I showed up there to defend him with all my strength—you know how I used to be. Beyond the Macpila River there was a small sand bank where Quilluma knelt and said to me: "Why should we just go on talking together all the time and calling each other by name only, let's be amigu." That's how we became amigu, with him kneeling, hugging me, and very drunk. Those who want to, become amigu in all soberness, those who don't, do it drunkenly. I also became an amigu of Quilluma's brother nick-named Tuquillo. One day at a feast we were circling around with the drum; everyone was drinking and I was only looking, when suddenly, Tuquillo came to me and said: "I want to be amigu with you." Phew . . . I have innumerable amigus. . . . Another is in Dos Ríos and he's a yachaj. He was very young, and while he was playing the drum, he came to ask

me for the samai. He sat at my side and begged me to be amigu, saying: "I need you to be my amigu." In Ichu, around Puerto Napo, I have another amigu, but I think he's already dead. In the old times we were taught that when we die, the first one who comes to greet us is the amigu who died before us. Those who've died and come back, they themselves have taught us that this is so. If we don't make amigus, who will we find there after death? To really become amigu, you always have to say some words of respect, to promise each other help in life and in death, and finally to take off your shirts and exchange them.

It seems that after death there is a place we go to be interrogated. This story is told by those who have been dead for two days and resurrected. And that's the place where our amigus are the very first ones to welcome us. In that town, neither our mother nor our father comes out first, the amigus do. They come and greet us; that's why it's good to have amigus. Not even the wife comes to give the first greeting; the amigu finds you right away. I didn't use to have amigus before, only Quilluma and Milicuchi. Later I was told that it was good to have them, and now I also have Tuquillo and many others: drinking amigus, and those who play the drum and the violin, so that in that heavenly town they'll welcome me with music.

# 13

# Reflections

I've known money for a long time, ever since I began to work. At that time there weren't as many jobs as today; there was only the job of carrying loads, and in town we built houses. Since it was varajuj tiempu, (times when the system of Indian office-holders prevailed), we had to go to town on Saturdays and Sundays; if not they put down points against us. We worked but weren't paid in money; we only did it to avoid the points. If we acted responsibly, they would allow us to work somewhere else to earn a little money. Sometimes they would let us work for two or three weeks. At that time we worked for almost nothing. Later on when the company came, we made a little more. For example, when pay was four reales (0.40 cents of 1 sucre), the company paid two sucres, and later we were paid five and even ten sucres. I know that now they earn up to 100 sucres and more.

Life at present is good, what's bad is that I'm sick. Right now I'm feeling quite weak, it seems my heart isn't working well and that's why I don't want to walk so much. Nowadays it seems quite problematic to have to eat only with money. In the old days we only ate game and fish, that was easier. We were not so worried about money. Now, however, if you don't sell something, you have no money and can't eat. Before, both men and women searched for food; the man did his share and the woman did her own, and we had abundant food. But it's true that we walked on terribly muddy lands, and it was a pitiful sight. Those who had canoes were better off. Compared with those times, now people go around in cars, taking something to sell and coming back with food. Before, clothes weren't very expensive, we could dress with eight reales because everything was very cheap. But nowadays, the 1,000 sucres one has just disappear in one pair of pants and one shirt. Before we didn't need so many clothes, and even

so, wearing very few clothes we went to Quito unafraid. My father, for example, was made to carry tremendous loads, and he crossed those cold páramos without much clothing. Before you could buy a lot with little money, although not much was earned by working. These times are more difficult, even when one goes to work in other places and brings back money, it's just not enough. In other words, today you earn well and everything is worth more. Formerly, when someone got sick, the yachaj was always consulted. Nowadays, there don't seem to be that many sicknesses. Before, some just died when they were young and medicines were lacking; we lived with forest remedies. Now, there are many different medicines but there's no money to buy them.

The times of my youth were better, we lived in the forest like auca (here meaning a forest, free life). After Tena was populated, we began to live a little more like whites. But we may say that now certain things are better; it's possible to cross the river over bridges and there are roads. Before we were stronger, we went on foot, and instead of umbrellas we used *capotes* (two *toquilla* palm leaves joined together for rain protection). Nowadays, to go somewhere they wait for a car. I also wait, but only because I'm old, otherwise I would walk. The old times were good and now it's not so bad, but young people don't seem to have hands to work. Before we had to fill the baskets and carry the loads on our shoulders, now they fill them and put them in the car. If at present they lack something, it's because they're lazy and idle. If in my time we would have had that many conveniences, it would have been much better. Now there's no hunting; before, you could even grab the game with your hands. I advise young people to be more like us, the elders, but they only think of eating rice. I think that if they're earning money and have a monthly pay, let them eat anyway. There's no problem, because now products are more costly, but efforts are less since you don't have to cross rivers on foot. Before you had to travel by canoe to sell produce, and there wasn't much money in it, but I remember that one hundred sucres was a lot of money. At the present time, what's lacking are the hands, but there are many chances to earn money.

Formerly and even now, when the runa have many children, they raise hens and cultivate the chagras in order to sell produce and earn money. If they don't do this, they live poorly. Since I can remember, I began to carry loads and make some money, and since then I haven't lacked for it. I myself would go and bring the chonta cut by my sisters, so that my wife could carry it with me, and we went all the way to Quito carrying those loads. Once, after working for some time I got a bit of money together, bought a pig, and ate it all by myself. Later I bought a cow and ate it, leg by leg. Those who don't have money long for these things, hoping that someone will give them credit. But those who are wealthy buy right away: they buy clothes, food, whatever they need. That's why those who have none of those things are called *tsuntsu* (lit., ragged). The idea is that husband and

wife always work together, for example, planting manioc, plantain, or peanuts. When the woman or man dies, there's only one person left to work. If she dies, the man is sorrowful and lazy and he doesn't go to the garden plot. Then he becomes *pugri* (poor) and naturally he turns into a tsuntsu (here, derelict). Tsuntsu is the worst. That's why the widower and the orphan who have no wife or mother to help them live are called *huaccha* (orphan) which is like pugri. There have always been some differences between poor runa and others who were rich, but I think they really started to be felt when Shell came; then some people could have up to twenty or fifty thousand sucres. In Pano there's a man who used to say that he had as much as ninety thousand sucres in a cooperative. He had it there in order to earn interest. When he left the company, he started to take out the money little by little. Many people can have a lot of money, but because they're drinkers, they lose it all.

Work is everything: what's done with the hands, with the machete, with an axe, sawing wood, everything on which strength and energy are spent. The more strength we use in working, all the more torment and energy we spend. If we don't work, we don't get the food or the money, not even two hundred sucres. From the forest one brings back animals by hunting; with money one buys food in town. Nowadays hunting is a business, because a pound of forest game costs a lot of money. If you are a professor you spend energy and suffer teaching, so that's also work. All men work: those who work with the mind and those who work with an axe, all suffer. One who works with the axe gets aches in his back and waist, one who works with his mind gets a headache. I'm working now; am I not suffering? Can't you see with what strength I'm talking? I need energy to talk; I'm losing hours of sleep. The only difference is that with the machete one sweats more. If I work with the machete I can cut myself and suffer; I suffer just as much by losing sleep. *The body and the head are the same thing.* He who works more has more money.

The runa doesn't have much money because he works half a day and then he has to have time to find food. On the other hand, the whites don't have to do that because they eat *mashca* (barley flour) and rice. They make their wives cook and they spend all day working. Around Arajuno the settlers have a lot of pastureland and that's why they have a little more money. The runa don't do that. The runa works the land little by little, while the settler works until he finishes it, until it dies. If we go to work for the settlers, our work also dies, it is lost. The settler is more ambitious. He makes the runa work, and with that money he continues to increase it; then, he puts it in the bank and lends it out. We are afraid of having debts, but the settler doesn't; the white man borrows money from anyone and buys from us one quintal of manioc for 100 sucres or a head of plantain for 50 or 60 sucres. I still think it's cheap compared with the work we have to do in order to produce them. There's an imbalance and that's bad. We

work only for our needs and the settlers buy our products very cheaply, but they sell it expensively, and that's not right. For example, a plantain tree has to be cared for during a whole year before it gives fruit. That's why we get discouraged, and also because the authorities demand that we sell cheaply. It's the same thing if we plant rice or cacao; there's no way out. They're going to use the same system with any product we grow.

Nowadays all young people say they're learned, they say they're white and don't even greet you. Formerly, young people respected the elders very much; now, they don't think about that. Besides, in these times, they pester the women and don't respect them; we never treated them like that. When guests came to a house, the young ones had to be quiet, and often we were sent off to kill little birds or to fish with hooks. Our parents taught us that when guests came only the grown-ups could be there. The same was true when they drank; the young ones couldn't watch. In these times, however, young people are the ones who drink. Now you see them in restaurants and dances.

Formerly, if we were afraid of the whites we were punished. They compared us to hens who would get frightened and cackle. That's why when we were little they fed us the heart of rabbits or hens, so that we wouldn't be fearful like those animals. Now, not even those who are teachers can confront the whites well, and if they have problems with the law, they don't do a thing. We instead used to say what we felt before the authorities, and they listened. Women also did likewise. It is clear that if we didn't know how to speak out loud and clear, no one would lend an ear. I can't understand why there is this difference: the elders didn't go to school, but they knew how to discuss things with the Jesuits. Those of today, even if they think they are learned, cannot get themselves out of a jam. My idea is that they should learn to confront the authorities, but in these days, young people can't. Formerly we were taught about everything. There was an old man called Nicolás who knew how to give advice. Compadre Basilio always remembered this old man's advice and also Cua's. When Pascual's wife and Milicuchi's stepfather got on with the talking, they were unbeatable. They would take up a matter from the beginning until the very end. The elders used to tell us that all those who are that intelligent may become pumas.

There was a man called Sabino who after talking for a long while would take his small drum and begin to play. He spoke nicely about the time of Veintimilla's government. Until a short while ago I remembered this as if he had taught me yesterday. Since now my hearing is no good anymore I'm kind of scared to speak; I only say what I more or less remember. I tell the children that I teach these things so that they can live well. I teach them that when advice is given, they should listen; that they shouldn't get angry when they're taught something. I tell them that we used to fight and insult each other, but after that we made up again. We recognized that

we did all that when drunk. That was true among compadres, among friends—with everyone. That way we lived in peace and quiet. Nowadays young people say: "we are like the whites," then they get angry and become enemies. I warn them that this way of living will make them cry, and all just because they didn't understand what they were advised to do. I had an aunt, my mother's sister, who was plump and small but knew how to advise me about everything. I don't know if it's true or not, but she said that lazy people have suffered since the beginning of time, and that ever since God made the earth, we have to work it. Our elders advised us about all this. They told us that once there was a woman in the forest and God asked her for something to drink; the woman gave him huayusa tea, and ever since then she became hard working and didn't feel laziness. No one likes lazy persons; they won't give them food or drink. Formerly, to punish a lazy one they would make a mark on the chicha pot before leaving the house, and if the mark was lower when they returned, they would scold him because it meant that he drunk the chicha without going to work.

I remember everything I was taught, but right now the bones in my head are weak. All the old men used to tell me: "You know how to talk," and that's why they advised me to teach others. You have to sit and think like an old man and say: "let's live well until the last day of our lives." When I say this to the children they tell me I'm insulting them; the mothers themselves don't want me to give advice. Nowadays, the men are *tacajllajlla* (like hens that pull back their wings and can't walk); they can't fly. They have life, but can't fly. If one day I'm beaten, then tomorrow I will rise, that was the old life.

The elders were organized, but it's also true that the whites only resorted to the Indian mayors and lieutenants so that they would make all the others work, while the whites kept all the money. Nowadays, the runa has already learned the lesson; now there are some runa authorities [in place of whites] and that's good. Formerly, no one ever thought of doing any public works, even minimum ones, for the runa. I don't know what they used to do, but they didn't even fix the town streets. At present we have water for example; formerly, just think if they were about to give us water! I always protested about this to Augusto Rueda (an old-time settler who was mayor). I have never feared anyone, and I have never been jailed for that. I was put in jail for other things; for example, for picking fights, but not for answering back to the authorities. Nowadays the runa have already been given jobs as authorities. Not only the whites earn money, and that's improvement! The only thing I see wrong is that there's a lot of [political] division. It seems to me that it would be better to have only two or three candidates. One says this candidate is good, the other one says he's bad, and since there are so many, it's a mess.

The elders of former times would say that in old age they became like children, and now I know it's true that it happens. When we are young, we are happy, we have strength to work, to carry loads, to mark trees, to pick up heavy sacks. At least I wasn't afraid of carrying loads. I would go deep into the forest; I would go hunting at night; I swam everyday in the river. All my life was a joyful one. Nowadays my strength is gone, I can't walk. Perhaps it is because of all the times I've taken *ambi* (here meaning toxic substances). Now I'm quite weak; I've lost my youth. My old lady is also like that, but we carry on. Formerly, the old folks were great talkers, we spoke what we felt. In our times no one asked for lawyers; we defended ourselves with our own thinking. In these times, when I speak to the young boys, they scold me and say that I'm talking about old-fashioned things, they even ask me when we old people would stop talking. I tell them they're mistaken, that they have to welcome what we say, they should organize and preserve what is told to them, they shouldn't forget it. They have to learn everything we did in the old times: about hunting in the forest, about hunting with dogs, about harpoon fishing. Was there something the elders didn't know? They knew everything! They even taught us how to fight. Now, not even the children pay attention to me when I tell them something. The young ones say I'm just talking about old-fashioned things. I reply that I'm speaking for their own good, that the things I say are good things. I still remember what I was taught. These days, because I'm feeling sick, I can't speak about everything I know. I would like to tell everything very nicely, but my head isn't in it anymore.

# 14

# The Cultural Bases of Resistance

## Ethnic Identity

Through the analysis of a century of their social and economic history, I have tried to demonstrate that Napo Runa resistance to white domination was deeply rooted in Quichua culture, and primarily aimed at defending their ethnic identity, their personal dignity, and the integrity of the group. Although often spearheaded by specific individuals such as the shamans or the justicias, Napo Runa resistance was nurtured by a force or power emanating from philosophical premises, meanings, and values shared by the social group. This form of power is acquired individually through a lengthy learning process, reinforced by an age-long oral tradition, and by the close family and group interaction characteristic of these type of societies. The elders then, the rucuyayas, are the ones who have been able to acquire the depth of knowledge, experience, and power distinctive of their culture. Throughout the centuries of Napo Runa history known to us, these rucuyayas became the heart and the spokesmen of violent and peaceful protests. They fought against the forces threatening their right to subsist in the Amazon rainforest and against whoever tried to obliterate or simplify the wealth of meanings of their symbolic world.

The ideology of that resistance was not publicly proclaimed in slogans or articulated in political discourses, but may be read clearly in the continuous story of Napo Runa interaction with white society. It constitutes a subtle thread running through ethnic and class relations in each of the different historical periods. I will argue that the internal coherence of those ideological practices is to be found in the symbolic bases of Napo Quichua culture. They provided the strength and power that enabled the Napo Runa to defend their identity, even though they faced perhaps one

of the most difficult objective conditions of any group in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The challenge they had to confront was the prolonged daily presence of a powerful white-dominated administration in Tena-Archidona, compounded by the persistent ideological pressure exercised by the missionaries who consistently attempted to undermine the symbolic strength of indigenous culture.

It is not my intention to offer here the most complete or definitive interpretation of Napo Runa ethnic identity; a task that would, furthermore refute my premise that this identity is expressed and changes in dialectical relation to different historical conditions. Consequently, the analysis presented here is just an effort to interpret the cultural roots of the instances of resistance already discussed in the historical chapters, and so forcefully evidenced in Rucuyaya Alonso's narrative. As a guiding thread to that analysis I suggest that this ethnic identity is integrated by a notion of the person as subject or self, and by a conception of the group as a set of social relationships, guided by the norms and values that justify and legitimize them.

## The Individual: Socialization in Power

In the times of the rucuyayas[1] that we have discussed here, taking Rucuyaya Alonso's life as a focal point, the ethnic identity of the Napo Runa develops and is maintained through a number of material and symbolic practices dominated by a process which, to simplify, one may call "the acquisition of power." Trying to interpret the manifestations or "tests" of such power through the history of the Napo Runa, one can see that it entails a delicately balanced combination of knowledge, verbal ability, technical skills, courage, and physical strength. Again, each one of these elements has to be qualified under specific situational contexts. Thus, courage may mean the power to be brave and daring in confronting forest spirits in the darkest night, or the power to show defiance or irreverence when facing the whites.

Power, thus understood, may be acquired from a wide variety of sources: from other Runa, from highland Indians, from other Amazon Indians, from certain whites, and from a large number of supais or spirits inhabiting different forest sites, the hills, and the rivers. Each one of these groups controls unique sources of power that they can exercise over their own dominions and territories. The acquisition and exercise of power implies intense interaction among persons and between persons and spirits which are usually personified and may participate in Runa social life in different ways.[2] All these social relationships imply varying degrees of intellectual and affective intimacy, accommodation, negotiation, and conflict. Consequently, the formation and transformation of Napo Runa

ethnic identity, and their interethnic and class relationships must be understood within the different historical contexts under which these "power encounters" take place.

The material basis of Napo Runa cultural identity has always been, and continues to be, their control over a territory in the tropical forest for hunting, fishing, and swidden agriculture. As far back as the Napo Runa can remember, acquiring power over this territory entailed their involvement in at least two different forms of social relationships. One, already discussed in the preceding chapters, led the Napo Runa to class confrontations with the missionaries, patrons, settlers, and agents of the state bureaucracy. This was a struggle to maintain access to their ancestral lands and some measure of control over their labor force, that is, the right to their self-subsistence. The leading argument of this book has been that, within the context of this confrontation, Napo Runa's ethnic identity—as defined here—has constituted a source of resistance to avoid their total incorporation into an economy and a cultural world always kept under white domination.

The other form of social relationship engages the Napo Runa in a series of positive and negative confrontations with the various spirits, who are the *amu* or "masters" of different forest animal species, fish, and plants within roughly delimited territories. Acting upon nature to satisfy material needs is perceived by the Runa as personal apprenticeship in the knowledge, technical skills and ritual practices that will enable them to propitiate or placate that hierarchy of spirits; that is to control what Descola (1983) refers to as the "symbolic pre-conditions of hunting and horticulture." If the Runa observe the appropriate rituals, especially sexual abstinence and other purification practices, both female and male spirits can become a continuing source of knowledge and other forms of power. Men's success as hunters, or women's productivity as horticulturists, depend on these relationships. Ridington (1982:417, emphasis added) observes that, unlike farmers, hunting-gathering societies focus their efforts on controlling *their relationships* with nature, instead of trying to control nature as such. It is the knowledge thus acquired that permits the Napo Runa to act intelligently upon their natural environment and provides them with a sense of control over the productive process. To put it in the words of Rucuyaya Alonso: "From so much walking in the forest the body seems to get used to it, and then a man can hunt because the animals aren't afraid of him. The body acquires the smell of the forest; man becomes the forest and animals don't flee" (see chapter 4, p. 64).

The proper socialization of children at different critical moments in their development involves a ritual transfer of part, or different aspects of that power, by adults or elders who, having accumulated knowledge and experience, are thus recognized as strong and powerful. Such power does in fact concentrate that strength, knowledge, experience, and skill, signifying excellence in a given practice; for example that of being a good

cargo bearer or a good hunter. As told by Rucuyaya Alonso (see chapter 3), in this ritual, a part of that internal force or samai of the donor is transferred into the body of the child or adolescent. The donor cups both hands around the crown of the samai recipient and breathes strongly through them. This part of the ritual is usually preceded by the action of the giver rubbing the edge of the youth's eye with red pepper. This is a very painful experience and is considered more a test of the young boy's inner strength than punishment for misconduct. Finally, the adult advises the boy firmly either in general terms about his future conduct, or on a specific matter, depending on the donor's particular powers and abilities. Knowledge and power are not seen as separate, and they are mainly transferred through the head, although sometimes the samai is blown into the hollow of the recipient's hands.

To transfer samai is to give the breath of life, to fortify the inner self of another person, or to "animate," literally meaning to transfer part of a person's powerful soul to someone else. These powerful souls may also convey their strength by making people dream. This power is known as muscui (from the Quichua *muscuna*, to dream). The image evoked in those dreams usually symbolizes a difficult obstacle, such as a flooding river, that is overcome by the dreamer. The vitality and clarity of the oneiric visions are considered proof that the person who provoked them will have a long life because he or she has a strong soul. According to Rucuyaya Alonso it is this force that safeguards and enhances the soul, helping it to grow.

In their study of the yachaj of Ilumán, in the Sierra, Sánchez-Parga and Pineda note that the idea of a force or *sinchi* is widespread in the Andean world, having connotations that go beyond physical reality to include a variety of meanings ranging from "power" to "courage." According to these authors, that notion dates back to ancient Andean myths. In the classical period, "*sinch[y]*" had the generic meaning of "power" and "authority," but anyone who had been able to overcome someone or something, was considered powerful and brave, and "sinch[y]" also meant "he who overcomes" (Sánchez-Parga and Pineda 1985:568). Similarly, among the Napo Runa, the powerful soul provokes dreams of victory and can itself overcome obstacles, including death, at least temporarily.

The transference and acquisition of samai is a process that continues throughout life, an interchange that reinforces and consolidates social relationships within the close family group (*quiquin ayllu*). It also serves to consolidate and strengthen other social relationships of ritual kinship, such as compadrazgo and ceremonial friendships (amigu). These relationships generally imply the asking for samai by one of the parties, followed by mutual ritual statements (see Rucuyaya Alonso's description of that ritual with his amigu Quilluma in chapter 11). In the rucuyayas' thinking, both the gaining of control over territories and subsistence

through a complex relationship with the spirits who control nature and the process of socialization within meaningful social relationships, provided a secure sense of self and a satisfying cultural identity. They were the vital center (*shungu*) of what it meant to be a Runa.

## The Gift of Expression

As it is evident throughout Rucuyaya Alonso's life, among the elders there was a clear identification of intelligence with the gift of verbal expression. Verbal ability is tested internally within the group by the wisdom in advising both young and old and by the skill to overcome an opponent by the power of speech. All these practices are signs of intellectual talent and of the capacity to convey knowledge to others, and consequently, of a powerful soul. Rucuyaya Alonso mentions some men and women whom no one could overpower once they started a discussion, and who showed a coherent discourse from beginning to end. The souls of these individuals were those who had the best chances of transforming themselves into jaguars after death. Ortíz de Villalba quotes the following "ancient belief" of the middle Napo Quichua: "the elders did not kill jaguars because they believed that upon dying, their own spirit would be reincarnated in the jaguar" (Ortíz de Villalba 1976:149). Porras Garcés cites an instance of a Cotapino Quichua Indian who did not want the whites to kill a jaguar that was stealing a pig every night, and gave the following explanation: "Don't kill it. . . . My grandfather's soul is living in the jaguar. . . . Let my 'rucuyaya', my old father . . . eat" (Porras Garcés 1955:151).

As it is shown by archaeological research and by mythology, the "shaman-jaguar" complex is common to many Indian cultures of the Americas since pre-Columbian times. Reichel-Dolmatoff has discussed this subject extensively, and he also points out that among certain groups of the Central Cordillera and the Colombian Amazon—Indians from Antioquia, Sionas, Coreguaje, Tama, and Inganos—the possibility that the soul might turn into a jaguar after death was not the exclusive privilege of the shamans or other important persons, but also of "certain individuals." The texts discussed by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975:46–47), however, do not specify the characteristics that such individuals were to possess in order to afford that privilege. The evidence shows that among the Napo Runa, individuals with extraordinary verbal skills, who spoke decisively, reasonably, and knowingly, were those most likely to become jaguars.

In most cases, the power to become a jaguar is acquired soon after birth, through the mother's milk. It is the mother who drinks a brew of pumayuyu shortly after giving birth, at the same time she is observing other purification practices. After the person's death the jaguar-soul

shuns all human contact, but does not abandon its kin, defending them in the forest from attacks by other jaguars. If it knows that its relatives are going hungry, it may kill animals, leaving them intact near the house. It is recognized that a jaguar-soul has made the kill because the animals it leaves behind are killed with its paws instead of its teeth. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975:131–132) interprets the soul-jaguar transformation among the Tukano Indians as an escape from society into nature in order to shed cultural constraints. Instead, among the Napo Runa, the jaguar-soul appears to symbolize an element of continuity in certain cultural values, particularly soul power and reciprocity.

Napo Runa mythology and legends also emphasize the value of intelligence, which is closely associated with verbal ability and the capacity to communicate thoughts.[3] The creation of the first man reproduces the transfer of samai, as we can see in the following segment of one version of that myth:

> (God) grabbed some earth, modelled a man of earth, whom he made to stand up, and blew into the crown of his head, puff . . . puff! On breathing, he gave him thought. The little man was alive; he walked, he talked. There was a *supai*. The *supai* took some earth: "I will also make my people," he said. But it came out *wangana* [white-lipped peccary]. Several times the *supai* tried to make *runa* but couldn't. He only made *sachavaca* [tapir], *sajino* [collared peccary], and all kinds of animals. (Mercier 1979:13)

In other stories told by the Napo Runa, it is evident that animals were given life, but not thought, since they were made by the supai (in the sense of devil, opposed to God) who does not possess sinchi samai or a powerful soul. Despite its obvious Christian influence, the following version of the creation of the first woman reveals the same Napo Quichua cultural principles, emphasizing that the sharing of thoughts is an important aspect of the relationship between both sexes in marriage. The elders say that:

> God made Adam. Then He asked him:
> "What are you thinking?"
> "Nothing"
> "Of course you think. Tell me, what do you want?"
> "Someone I can tell my thoughts to."
> That's how God made Eve, and she was also naked.
> (Ortíz de Villalba 1976:151)

An integral part of the symbolic life of the Napo Runa within the immediate family is that the first conversation to clarify the complex meaning of dreams takes place between husband and wife in the early morning

hours. This same practice is noted by Whitten (1976:67) for the Canelos Quichua.

In other myths about the origin of the Runa, less influenced by Christianity, there is an even more evident emphasis on the relationship between intelligence and the spoken word. Foletti Castegnaro presents a version of the "judgment by water," or the "flood," stating that God sent the waters precisely to prevent the proliferation of upa, or foolish people. These first people belonged to the generation of the Turtle, the Serpent, and the Dove. Their main characteristic was that "they almost didn't know how to talk, they were dumb, some said nothing at all, others didn't know how to work in order to eat. That's why God wanted them to disappear. Only a few of the more clever ones (*sabiru runa*) survived" (Foletti Castegnaro 1985:27–30); that is the first generation of today's Runa. Finally, another version of this myth collected by Mercier among the Peruvian Napo Quichua coincides with this conception of the first people: "The first people were not entirely like those of today; they were somewhat different. They were rational, but not too much. There were also some very stupid ones. They were good talkers but they didn't think very much" (Mercier 1979:106–107).

This version of the myth expresses the ideas held by Rucuyaya Alonso and others, that the strength of the spoken word must be given by thought; whereas speaking for the sake of speaking is *yanga rimaj* that is, empty discourse. Juanita, Rucuyaya Alonso's daughter, used the same terms to define television where, according to her, one sees foolish ahuallactas and *rancias* (highlanders and foreigners) who speak idly, just for the sake of speaking, without waiting for a reply. In her opinion—shared by a number of experts—television images turn us into upa. If dreams "make us think," as Rucuyaya Alonso says (see chapter 12), television implies intellectual passivity.

The close association between soul-power and language seems to be quite widespread among South American Indians. For example, Bartolomé (1979:111) finds that in various Guaraní groups of Paraguay, "language" (ñe é) and "soul of divine origin" (ang) are synonymous, and that the latter is identified as the "human voice" or "vital word." Sánchez-Parga and Pineda (1985:569) argue that for the Andean world, the texts of Huarochirí myths show that same identification between *sinchi* (strength) and *shimi* (word).

## Hospitality, Reciprocity, and Respect for the Elders

Myths also reveal other fundamental values that give meaning to Napo Runa ethnic identity, such as hospitality, reciprocity, and respect for the

elders. These normative practices are an integral part of productive activities, they facilitate smooth social relationships and contribute to cultural continuity. All ethnographic evidence indicates that these are pan-Andean values, and the widespread distribution of the myth we will briefly narrate below, among the Amazon and highland Quichua of Ecuador and Peru, further reinforces that evidence. This myth dates back to the god Viracocha of Cuzco (Mercier 1979:34; Foletti Castegnaro 1985:73) and refers to God as a culture hero who teaches the people to till the soil and grants them the basic products for their subsistence. In the Tena-Archidona Napo Runa version, which is similar to that of other Quichua groups from the Oriente, God visits the forest in the form of a ragged and ulcerous old man who walks leaning on a manioc stem. The old man approaches people and greets them to strike up a conversation, asking for food and lodging. Only those who do not mock him, who reply to his greetings, and provide him with hospitality, are rewarded with productive garden plots or with the multiplication of their domestic animals. The others are punished with sterility and disease (Francisca Andi's version, abbreviated; see also Foletti Castegnaro 1985:73–84; Duendes Canelos 1974:50–52; Mercier 1979:19–22).

In the syncretic version of the story of the multiplication of the fish told by some Napo Runa, the emphasis is not on the miracle per se, but rather on the values of reciprocity and gratefulness. Like Jesus, Rayu, a mythical character also multiplies the fish to feed all the family members of a Napo Quichua man, but he kills the ungrateful with a lightning storm and hurricanes (Francisca Andi's version, abbreviated; see also Orr and Hudelson 1971:92–93). According to Rucuyaya Alonso, Rayu has diverse manifestations: he plays with lightning aiming at the chonta palms (that is why the Napo Runa plant chonta palm trees near their houses to avoid being hit by lightning); he eats amarun or boas and is thereby related with the rainbow; and as supai runa, plays an important role in the learning process of some shamans (see also Mercier 1979:56–57; Orr and Hudelson 1971:94–95).

## The Value of "Work"

Among the Napo Runa, the idea of strength and power is associated with all productive efforts. It is, therefore, necessary to examine here the forms taken by the idea of "work." As it is common in other precapitalist societies, the Napo Runa have no conception of work carrying the same general meaning that term has in Western culture.[4] There is, however, a counterpart, a "work ethic" that condemns laziness. Idleness is synonymous with weakness, with lack of the strength and ability that make a man a good hunter, or a woman a diligent tender of the chagra and

preparer of huayusa. Consequently, an idle man or woman (*quilla runa* or *quilla huarmi*) is he or she who denies the values of hospitality and reciprocity by failing to provide food and drink, he or she cannot easily get a wife or husband: they are anti-Runa.

As explained by Rucuyaya Alonso (see chapter 3), bathing in the river at dawn is a socialization experience for every Napo Runa. Part of the ritual consists of lightly striking a stone against the body and invoking the river with these words: "Give me your strength, and take away my weakness," and then throwing the stone downriver so that the current will take away laziness. The lazy child is punished by smearing red pepper on a jaguar's tooth and rubbing it on the child's eyes to give him strength; he must also receive samai from someone who possesses the ability not shown by the child. In several myths, the idle runa turn into animals, that is, they leave Runa society. Separation of a married couple is justified when one of the spouses is accused of idleness. In one of these myths, the lazy daughter-in-law turns into an agouti (Mercier 1979:103); in another, according to Francisca Andi, the supai master of fire blinds those who do not keep the fire lit to protect the cargo bearers from the cold when crossing Mount Huamaní. Porras Garcés (1955:151) mentions that Napo Runa justification for not eating the flesh of the animal known as "*indillama*" (sloth) is that the soul of lazy Indians live in his body. In Quichua, the Tena-Archidona Runa use no single term to refer to "work" in general, but because they worked for the whites since colonial times, they use the Spanish word *trabajo* (work), Quinchuanized as *tarabana*. This term is generally used within the context of work undertaken for others, work demanding brute force. In the case of the cargo bearers, for instance, tarabana is used to refer to that type of work, but it is qualified by the pride in having overcome the coldness of the páramo and other obstacles along the way, as expressed in the cargo bearer's song in chapter 1. In the legend of "Doctor John Lazy," for example, a lazy man is abandoned by his wife and remains isolated, almost rotting away from filth. Drawing on the condor's wisdom and assuming the false identity of a shaman, he attains a fortune in "airplanes, horses, and cars." In being thus "reformed," however, he is not converted into an ordinary runa but into a patron, an exploiter of other runa's work (see the complete version in Foletti Castegnaro 1985:251–253).

When Rucuyaya Alonso discusses the concept of "work," he conceives it to be a spending and wasting of energy, but he makes no distinction between manual and intellectual work. "The body and the head are the same," he says. He only distinguishes—with a clarity that would have surprised Marx—the characteristics of alienating work in this statement: "The Runa works the land little by little, while the settlers work until they finish it, until it dies. If we go and work for the settlers, our work also dies, it is lost" (see chapter 13). Hunting is not conceived as "work" in the same sense, but the hunter's effort becomes a commodity when forest game is

sold in town for money instead of being distributed within the circle of family reciprocity; this is one of the few things about modern times that made Rucuyaya Alonso really sad.

## Identity and Inter-ethnic Relationships

In rucuyayas' times, this manner of seeing their own ethnic self, group cultural identity, and social relationships influenced Napo Runa contacts with other ethnic groups. Other Indians considered to be in possession of special powers and abilities could transfer part of these to the Napo Runa. The Papallactas, for example, a group of highland Indians settled in the town of Papallacta, were known as good and strong cargo bearers, and if they visited the Napo Runa, they were asked to give their samai to the young boys. Similarly, other Indians from the Oriente, especially admired for their ability as good hunters, could also transfer their samai. The Napo Runa were always peaceful and great travelers, establishing trade and ritual friendship relations with other Oriente groups. These have been the relationships most deeply affected and mediated by white intervention and expansionist strategies since colonial times to the present.

Within the framework of relationships with the patrons and white authorities of Tena-Archidona, that inner power of the rucuyayas' identity meant defiance and courage to verbally confront them when demanding justice. This was one of the important forms taken by resistance as evidenced in several episodes of Rucuyaya Alonso's life history. He summarizes that stance in these words: "Either sober or drunk I was never tongue-tied if there was a chance to confront the authorities."

Napo Runa established a distinction between the power of thought, and physical force such as that used by the military or the police to support the power of the whites. For a rucuyaya, the worst personal offense was being deceived by a patron, rather than receiving the occasional physical punishment. Rucuyaya Alonso speaks of the abusive patrons as being "thieves of the Runa's minds." In the same context he also used the term "*umachij runa*," meaning those who speak with cunning, who deceive by seducing with words. The whites were considered powerful in the sense that they possessed "blind and brute force," they could inflict punishment, or were literally a heavy burden to be carried during the trips. As already mentioned, this latter characteristic still evokes derogatory and jeering remarks among the rucuyayas, in contrast with their own agility and swiftness as cargo bearers.

Verbal ability—irony, mockery, humor, dissimulation, and protest—always played a fundamental role in confronting the whites. For the rucuyayas, the instances in which they were able to talk down the patrons or the authorities still symbolize the pride they felt in resisting—at least

with the power of words—the humiliation of submission. It is an integral part of their self-image. Among the Panos, for instance, a group of women proudly identify themselves by the expression "*pitalala shimi huarmiguna,*" that is women who, just as the true *pitalala* (the poisonous Equis snake) are always ready to counter-attack verbally, thus avoiding being tricked by devious authorities. The connotation of that expression differs significantly from the Spanish term *lengua de víbora*, evil tongue or backbiter, a negative characteristic so often attributed to women in Western cultures.

This stance of defiance continued when the Napo Runa worked for Shell. Rucuyaya Alonso mentions how he protested against the working conditions imposed by the foremen (see chapter 9). Furthermore, as I examined earlier, more than an alienating experience, temporary proletarization in an environment that they mastered allowed the Napo Runa to reaffirm the deepest components of their ethnic identity: knowledge, strength, courage, and skillfulness. Nonetheless, the social changes triggered during the Shell exploration period, and even more during the oil exploitation in the 1970s were instrumental in modifying Napo Runa-Huaorani relations. Colonizers, roads, and oil camps deprived the Huaorani of lands and aggravated the already precarious situation of the Napo Runa. Moreover, the Evangelical missionaries who managed to convert the Huaorani also helped to integrate them into white civilization, into the market economy and into schooling, very often using Napo Runa as penetration agents. The present-day relationship between both ethnic groups oscillates between conflict and the establishment of ritual kinship relationships. Land pressures continuously push the Napo Runa to enter Huaorani territory for hunting, and some of them have become teachers in the schools set up in Huaorani territories. The Huaorani establish kinship relations with the Napo Runa and more recently marriages as a way to enter the white world, but the reciprocity implied thereby in terms of access to lands, has brought about increasing tensions in these relations (see Yost 1985; my field notes 1989, Laura Rival per. com. 1989). Although the Napo Runa-Huaorani conflict may not have been originated by the whites, it was intensified by the influences of both the oil companies and the missionaries and the changes they contributed to unleash, thus altering traditional arrangements in inter-ethnic relations.

## Shamans and Ethnic Identity: The Identity Archetype

As in many other hunting-gathering and horticultural societies, the shamans—or yachaj—have occupied a central role in Napo Runa culture.

Their political and social meaning has changed in relation to the various forms of domination undergone by the Tena-Archidona Indians since colonial times. The yachaj's symbolic power has been able to persist—overtly or covertly—throughout the different historical periods. At certain critical moments it was even reinforced by the very same current of thought that were intended to eliminate it.

I will not attempt to undertake an in-depth analysis of all the aspects of the shamanic complex among the Napo Runa and will limit myself to examine it in the context of the previous discussion on the social and cultural bases of ethnic identity.[5] In this regard, I propose that among the Napo Runa the yachaj is looked upon as the embodiment of that cultural identity, and epitomizes that set of cultural characteristics, values, and social practices considered essential for its maintenance and defense. The argument is, of course, not new. This privileged role of shamanism encapsulating the most cherished values of a given cultural tradition, and as a catalyst for resistance against acculturation, has been well documented for several South American indigenous groups (for the Ecuadorian Oriente see Whitten 1976, 1985; Vickers 1976; Robinson 1979).

## Hierarchy among Professionals

Among the Napo Runa, the yachaj are the principal specialists, the mediators between the spiritual world and society. They can cure sicknesses, help to catch forest animals and fish, and defend or avenge other Runa whenever necessary. The yachaj come into close contact with supernatural powers, mostly by means of visions captured after drinking ayahuasca and, less regularly, *huanduj* (*Datura*). They also rely on their own dreams, whose analysis and interpretation is practised within the cultural group. The shamans obtain part of their power and knowledge from a hierarchy of spirits or supais contacted and invoked through these channels.

Somewhat parallel to the hierarchy of the spirits, there is also hierarchy among shamans. It depends on the one hand on the degree of knowledge, experience, and power of the yachaj and, on the other, on their effectiveness, which is less ambiguous to measure than that of the spirits. The term yachaj means "he who knows," deriving from the Quichua verb "*yachana*," to know, to learn. Only those who have the capacity to invoke the spirits and to put them at their service are known as sinchi yachaj (a wise and powerful person), the ideal type of Runa. The most powerful within this category receive the title of bancu, literally meaning the seat of the spirits, because they are the only yachaj through whom the spirits speak directly. The less powerful yachaj are usually those who studied when they were already adults. Most bancu study from early childhood

and begin by receiving samai from other shamans. Although being a yachaj is not always an hereditary occupation, it is still common to find sons and grandsons of yachaj who were famous in their time. This is especially true among the bancu who inherited and continue to acquire their power from their fathers. Such is the case of Pablo and his father Quilluma, two highly reputed bancu in an area larger than that of Tena-Archidona. All the yachaj mentioned up to now are *alli yachaj*, which means that their major function is to cure, to do good. However, the capacity and extent of their power may also be employed in aggressive shamanism, or witchcraft, which primarily implies death threats and "assassinations" by means of biruti (magic darts), directed either against other yachaj or against other Runa. Besides, the Napo Runa make another distinction between *dirichu yachaj*[6] to refer to someone who has the truth, knows how to control his killing power, and only uses it under very special circumstances, and the *sargaj*, one who is only devoted to doing evil. The Spanish term brujo is little used by the Napo Runa, but it is elicited in situations similar to those in which the term sargaj is used, that is to say, when an evil power is directed against the Runa.

Other categories of yachaj seem to be considered outside of this general hierarchy. For example, those known as *tsalamanga* are mainly consulted as diviners to find lost objects; they do not drink ayahuasca in their rituals, and their specific powers may be controlled by the bancu. The latter have the power to invoke the amu or master of the tsalamanga who, according to Rucuyaya Alonso, appears in visions playing various instruments such as the violin and the harp, displaying a form of wealth and privilege somewhat alien to the Runa world.

## The Intellectual of Runa Culture

The yachaj is, by definition, the one who acquaints himself more fully with the deepest meanings of the symbolic world; he is the intellectual of his culture, as stated by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975:107) with respect to the *payé*, or shaman, among the Tukano. Knowledge allows him to interpret and communicate the meaning of other worlds and to elaborate the ideological aspects of social relations.

Rucuyaya Alonso refers to his amigu, the bancu Pablo, when he was still an apprentice, as "a sun that just begins to rise," comparing him to his father Quilluma, whom he depicts as a "sun in all its splendor," living in docemundoi, the meridian—a place of wisdom where everything is seen with utmost clarity. In various cultures shamans are associated with light and the sun since they are the source of knowledge and enlighten the rest of society, clarifying ideas through the lucidity of their visions (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975:77). Among the Ava Chiripá, Kuahary, the sun, is

the first shaman, a cultural hero as well as the first ancestor of mankind (Bartolomé 1979:108–109). The yachaj of Ilumán are also known as *michita ricuc*, "those who see the light" (Sánchez-Parga and Pineda 1985:541). Many of the metaphors used by Rucuyaya Alonso in his conversation about the yachaj and the worlds in which they move refer to institutions of knowledge. He mentions, for instance, schools to which the bancu Quilluma takes Rucuyaya's soul for education and where there are teachers of souls responsible for resocializing them. Unlike Dr. Faustus's soul, Runa souls do not seem to be granted privileges by their spiritual teachers, but wisdom. Besides, the yachaj's learning process is comparable to the university where, according to Rucuyaya, "the body and the mind suffer while learning, and learning never ends." For the Napo Runa, the legitimacy of the yachaj as professionals is based on the power bestowed on them by their vast knowledge, acquired in many years of suffering. That is why Rucuyaya Alonso says that yachaj can charge a lot of money, "like lawyers do." According to another rucuyaya, Domingo Grefa (Milicuchi), who I interviewed in 1985, the *tsalamangas* have studied in the University of Salamanca. A decision to become a *yachaj* is not taken lightly. The future yachaj has to think it over carefully since his profession is a risky one, not only for him but also for his family. All of them can always be threatened by the competitions among yachaj, some of which have lasted for several generations. The more powerful the yachaj, the more exposed he will be to such attacks.

Among the Napo Runa, the future yachaj does not need to posses special psychological characteristics. Anyone can be "called," generally via "summons," or through different encounters with supais who make themselves felt by giving the person involved abundant fish or game. But this "gift" must be supplemented by the person's willingness to submit to the tests of the initiation and learning process. These tests are similar to those experienced by shamans in other cultures, and involve sexual abstinence, periods of fasting, and isolation in the forest. Female yachaj, who are not common, but do exist among the Napo Runa of this area, begin their apprenticeship through the compounded suffering of giving birth to "strange" children, and of losing them soon after birth so that they may be brought up by their supai father. In chapter 11, Rucuyaya Alonso gives an interesting description of several aspects of this female experience, from his own point of view.

Training under another shaman is also an important part of the novitiate. This is why bancu are said to be those who learned "with their mother's milk" from infancy, and from a powerful yachaj, perhaps their own fathers. In these cases, there may also be pressures on the father to keep up a family tradition of prestige and power. However, they will only be recognized as bancu once they have proven their power, both in healing and in "encounters" with other yachaj. In these competitions, one

yachaj sends his biruti against another in order to show his power (*camashca*),[7] and to make sure that his opponent is able to receive the biruti, namely, that his companion spirits have come to protect him by intercepting the magic darts. Sometimes, a tested yachaj is known as *curaga* meaning chief, or person with authority, a term also used to refer to the master or amu of the animals. These biruti are acquired in the relationship with supais, or by receiving the samai from other powerful yachaj. Also by means of the metaphor of institutions of learning, Francisca Andi explained to me in 1985 how these biruti are acquired in the Tena-Archidona area: "The yachaj from here go into the Colaurcu hill. They say that the hills are like schools with several rooms. In each department there are many things, such as razors, chonta (darts), and needles for injections; the divisions are made according to the type of biruti. When someone arrives, they ask him: "which one do you want?" and then, the student says: "I want that specialty," and from then on, they teach him well."

The novice is always under the control and guidance of his master, who has the capacity to intervene in his visions and to know what he is doing. This is the time when the novice's power is more vulnerable, and his master can correct it or ruin it (see Rucuyaya Alonso, chapter 11, pp. 181–182).

Another important aspect of the yachaj's power lies in his songs (*taquina*), which are distinctive to each yachaj. Upon analysis they provide a guideline to the original sources of his power, which manifest themselves in the songs "as the diploma" of his apprenticeship. A taquina may include invocations to Zaracay, a power that comes from the Tsachila shamans of the Santo Domingo de los Colorados area; to the Imbabura and Tungurahua mountains, to powers acquired directly from highland yachaj; to the female spirits of ayahuasca and huanduj; to the powers of modern machinery, and to any other source the shaman has mastered (see, for example bancu Pablo's songs, parts of which are transcribed in the Epilogue).

The taquina holds within it the yachaj's samai, and his strength is revealed in the tone of the yachaj's singing. That is why Sánchez-Parga and Pineda (1985:567) argue that in all the therapeutic process the song is not merely a vehicle for the yachaj's knowledge; but that the words themselves are powerful, conferring a certain force to the therapeutic discourse and meaning to the healing ritual. Furthermore, the realistic force of the yachaj's discourse is given by the peculiar manner in which he associates supernatural meanings with common-sense observations and reflections, maintaining them within the group's semantic universe. In his discussion of shamanism in the Putumayo, Taussig (1980:268) argues that its power in sustaining popular culture resides in its capacity to subtly combine the secular and the sacred, humor and solemnity; as can readily be detected in Rucuyaya Alonso's conversation with the spirit of his amigu Quilluma, narrated in the epilogue.

Other power objects exclusive to each shaman are his "stones" (*rumi*), described as having original shapes and as being mostly crystalline, but containing inside strange and suggestive figures. They are generally found in unusual places, such as in the middle of a forest trail, and by chance, but they are always interpreted as a "summons" or a "signal" for the yachaj. Specific spirits, such as "Rayu," may also send their stones to those yachaj who have learned from them. The stones are "cured" with tobacco, very carefully preserved, and kept hidden. The translucent nature of the stones and the figures suggested by them have a special significance for each shaman. Some "contain" figures of saints or horses,[8] while others "project light," symbolizing the luminous nature of the yachaj's knowledge. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1979:119) notes that among the Desana of the Colombian Amazon, the rock crystals are seen as condensations of solar energy and as created by the sun. The stones have life (*causai*), and the spirit contained in them may be released by the yachaj in the form of a bird and sent as a messenger to care for or to damage someone. In a 1987 interview with the daughter of a local yachaj, she claimed that her father's stones look after her "like soldiers." Discussing the meaning of stones among the Canelos Quichua, Whitten says: "Such stones are 'like soldiers' (*soldado shina*). The shaman with his phalanx of animated shaman's-class stones is like the center of a military formation" (Whitten 1985:109). Just like the yachaj, the stones have to "prove" their own power. To graphically explain this point, Rucuyaya Alonso told me a story about a crystal ball manufactured in the Sierra, which, when brought to Tena and "confronted" by a proper local stone from the Napo River, was found pulverized the very next morning of its arrival.

As is well documented in the ethnohistorical and ethnographic literature, stones in Andean culture always have had a magical-religious significance associated with mountains and hills. This is also true in the Ecuadorian Oriente, but there, given its humid climate, the stones primarily evoke the concept of permanence. As Juanita Andi explained in a 1987 interview: "Stones don't rot; that's why they are good places for spirits and souls." The same logic applies to the belief, common among the Napo Runa and the Canelos Quichua (see Whitten 1976:42–44; Whitten and Whitten 1984:215), that ancient souls enter the tree trunks of incorruptible wood. Furthermore, in the Tena-Archidona area there are a number of rocks with petroglyphs, which some Napo Runa consider a good topic of conversation. One of those rocks, called Pumarumi, is currently found a few meters from the Pano River, near Rucuyaya Alonso's *purina chagra*. The Pano Runa interpret one of the carvings in that rock as representing the tracks of a jaguar's paws. They also associate this large rock with those local shamans whose power is seen as more directly related to jaguars. In a visit to Pumarumi in 1985 with two Pano women, Francisca Andi and Juanita Andi, they engaged in a long conversation about the rock, of which the following are some of the highlights:

> Pumarumi is supai rumi, it's very much alive. That's why in the old days my father [Francisca's] fished there a lot. The rock was then in mid-river where there were a lot of fish. When people dived in, they saw some figures that were really alive. Once a man dived in, and a snake called *shio amarun* (master of the "*shio*" fish) killed him. Since then, the yachaj have tamed the rock. Right now the river has changed its course and chagras are made there; before we wouldn't even set foot in those places. To fish you had to go with someone who was familiar with the rock because if we made it angry it could kill us. In Pumayacu [a river near the rock] there is a hill where the Huagra puma (also supai puma) is closed in, and will rise on judgment day.

## The Yachaj and the Jaguar

The yachaj as an archetype of the powerful soul is often symbolized as a jaguar, using the term *puma,* the generic name used to refer to all felines. Some sinchi yachaj have directly learned from the mundoi puma or sacha puma, considered the master of all felines and generally depicted as a black jaguar. Certain spirit helpers of the yachaj are likewise depicted as pumas, and regularly appear in their visions. In them, the yachaj can transform himself into a puma (*puma sami tucuna*). Whitten (1976:148) mentions that, among the Canelos Quichua, the transformation of one's own body into that of the jaguar was considered an ability of the ancient shamans, and that they could acquire the soul power of deceased shamans by drinking pumayuyu. This is the same substance already mentioned in the jaguar-transformation of those Runa especially gifted with verbal skills and good judgment.

There is a consensus among the Napo Runa that the dream in which a puma appears is provoked by a yachaj who is trying to do evil. That is why in the oneiric vision the person visualizes himself as using a shotgun or a machete for self-defense against the yachaj's possible attack. After having such a dream, several people have reported their actual encounters with a yachaj on the following morning.

Mythology and legends of the entire Napo Quichua cultural area contain numerous references to jaguars, usually related to the mischievous twins Cuillur and Duceru before they went up to heaven. Here I reproduce portions of a different version of the myth about the jaguar locked in the Galeras Mountains, gathered by the Marquis de Wavrin in the 1920s. It clearly refers to the shaman-jaguar complex, but in addition, it seems to incorporate the historical tradition of the shaman's rebellion of 1578–1579, discussed in chapter 2. It shows the role of cultural resistance played by the shamans against the Spanish conquistadores, as well as the

internecine conflicts of Indian society in that period. Below I provide the most relevant sections of this version as told to Wavrin by a Napo Indian:

> When the Spaniards came, they enslaved and tormented the Indians. The shamans of those times met to discuss the problem. They resolved that all would go into hiding to the most isolated corners of the forest. To avoid being persecuted, they would transform themselves into huge jaguars of all colors. After that, all those who dared to go hunting in the forest were devoured. Even the villages were ravaged. The beasts did so much damage that other shamans in the villages decided to put an end to this slaughter. . . . They tried to find the place where the beasts were hiding. They penetrated into a large underground hall where many jaguar skins were seen hanging: black, spotted, yellow, etc. Intrigued by this they hid, and soon saw men arriving. Each one of these men took one jaguar skin and covered himself with it. Resorting then to cunning, they led them [the men-jaguars] towards the Galeras Mountains. Once all the jaguars were gathered together in a large cave, they closed the opening with a huge stone that closes off the exit and can be seen from afar (Wavrin 1927:328–329).

According to the historical facts of the 1578–1579 rebellion as told by Ortiguera (1909), when the leading shamans were planning the rebellion, there was a conflict over power among them. Soon after the fighting was over, the rebel shamans went into hiding in the forest after destroying the towns of Avila and Archidona. They were hunted down by the Spanish troops with the help of other Indians, and finally caught and taken to Quito, where they were tortured and killed in the presence of the Indians forced to witness that exemplary punishment. Once again, history and myth were amalgamated in the cultural tradition of Napo Runa cultural resistance.

## The Yachaj and Inter-ethnic Relations

The ritual of transferring the samai was used by the Napo Runa as a mechanism to establish closer ties with indigenous groups from the Sierra and the Oriente and to reinforce trade relations. Similarly, the yachaj in a way continue to be the node of an interethnic network of social relations, covering not only the Oriente, but also many other regions of Ecuador. The valued item of exchange in that network is knowledge (Langdon 1981:111). In the process of acquiring power from different sources, including shamans from other ethnic groups, yachaj have turned into true

"pluralists" in a national society still divided by regionalism and ethnic prejudice. Such communication among yachaj has been maintained over the centuries and has ignored the ethnic conflicts superimposed by the different systems of domination.

The yachaj of the Tena-Archidona area acquire knowledge, ritual techniques, and symbolic power from the Canelos Quichua, living to the South in the Province of Pastaza, from the Tsachila who live southeast of the Province of Pichincha, from the Chachi of Esmeraldas, from well-known yachaj of several regions in the Sierra, and from other Amazonian groups, including the Huaorani (see the taquina of bancu Pablo in the Epilogue). It is obvious that this is a process of mutual exchange for, generally speaking, the Oriente yachaj are reputed to be more powerful than their Sierra counterparts (Oberem 1974:35). This same prestige hierarchy between the highlands and the lowlands occurs in Colombia (see Langdon 1981:106–109); Taussig 1980:232–237 passim) and in Peru (see Lyon 1974:345).

Such professional exchange may consist of money paid to teach a yachaj's apprentice, or of the interchange of visions, songs, and other power objects, such as stones and feather crowns. This type of exchange has been in existence for several centuries, and forms part of a more extensive Oriente-Sierra trade dating back to pre-Columbian times. It included products such as coca, pita, gold, salt, cotton, cinnamon, tropical fruits, and feathers (Oberem 1974). By analyzing specific cases for the late Colonial period, Salomon (1983) shows the existence of more politically oriented variants in this interchange of symbolic power between the Ecuadorian Sierra and the Oriente. In particular he discusses an interesting case in which shamanism is used as a weapon in the interethnic conflict between Indians and whites (Salomon 1983:502–503).

The Napo Runa yachaj are called to the highland and coastal regions to take care of patients, thus locally increasing their power and prestige. This, in turn, attracts more clients from the Sierra and from elsewhere in the country, who will travel to Tena-Archidona with the sole purpose of consulting the local yachaj. I am not arguing here that, by itself, shamanism is a "solution" to interethnic problems, since many highland Indians and mestizos who consult Oriente yachaj still continue to think of Oriente Indians in general as uncivilized auca or "Yumbos." This image is reciprocated by the derogatory connotations of "ignorant" and "cunning" in the term ahuallacta, as it is used by the Napo Runa to refer to Serranos in general.

The apparent ambiguity between the admiration accorded to Oriente shamans for their knowledge and prestige, and the negative qualities of "inferiority" or "backwardness" attributed to Oriente Indians, must be understood within the framework of class relationships that mediate interethnic relations in this region of the Oriente. A social situation

developing in the towns of Tena and Archidona will serve to illustrate this point.

A group of Indian traders, originally from several communities of the Colta region in the Province of Chimborazo, have been living almost permanently in Tena for a few years. They are migrants who ran away from poverty and land scarcity in their own poor province. These Indians regularly consult Tena-Archidona yachaj, and in doing so, exhibit a supplicant attitude, thus acknowledging the yachaj's symbolic powers. But, only a few steps away, in the marketplace, and in their role as merchants, the highland Indians take on a "white" identity, frequently exploiting the Napo Runa in commercial transactions. Though still wearing the traditional dress that clearly identifies them as Colta Indians, in Tena they become "white merchants" and behave towards the Napo Runa just like the mestizo and white merchants from Chimborazo behaved towards them in the highland markets.

In contrast, relations between Napo Runa and the few blacks who currently live in the area are relatively egalitarian. The two groups have no work or trade relations, and the equality in their relationship has more to do with mutual avoidance than with ideological recognition on both sides. In their area of expertise, a few blacks are recognized as "good curers" and "diviners," and in certain rare cases, they are attributed powers deriving from European-style "black magic." In general, black curers are far removed from the yachaj's cognitive universe.

The issue of the whites' incorporation into the shamanic complex is not at all clear. It seems to depend on certain characteristics attributed to the whites, and on whether the ritual involves healing or "witchcraft." For the Sierra, Sánchez-Parga and Pineda (1985:574) argue that urban whites and mestizos seek the help of highland Indian shamans, but are considered to be more or less immune to the aggressive forms of shamanism or "witchcraft." Salomon (1983:424) seems to concur with this view when he affirms that "modern shamans will not readily attack a *blanco* [white person] whom they consider to be unconnected with the network of magical communication." When questioned on this subject, several Napo Runa could not agree on one interpretation. Some intimated that the whites were mostly "impure" or "dirty," implying that they had not observed certain food taboos (by eating garlic, for example); and that if they "smell bad," the spirits sent by the yachaj would refuse to go near them. Others thought that, even if there was some truth in that, the sinchi yachaj could easily overcome that drawback.

For the Tena-Archidona area, there is no evidence that we could confirm of whites having studied with local yachaj. Some mestizo settlers are clients of local yachaj, and seek their advice to cure illnesses not recognized as such by modern medicine. The white bourgeoisie, however, never consults local yachaj. Ethnic and social prejudices, compounded by

the negative attitude of the Josephine mission toward the yachaj, could explain this attitude. Other ideological facts do not seem to be involved, since it is known that whites from Tena-Archidona travel to Colombia to seek help from healers, among others from the women who maintain the cult of the popular saint (*Santón*) known as "Brother Gregorio," a famous Venezuelan surgeon who died in an accident over sixty years ago.

## Shamanism and the State

In their role as therapists, the yachaj are agents of social and cosmic order. Despite nearly a century of contact with modern medicine, the Napo Runa regard most illnesses as a rupture in interpersonal relations, either caused by tensions with other Runa and with supai runa, or brought about by other yachaj. They will use the hospitals in the Tena-Archidona area, but they still hold a long established belief that people go to the hospital mainly "to die." Once when I was accompanying a reluctant patient to the hospital, she said to me: "I prefer to cook the ayahuasca for the yachaj, than to receive those little pieces of paper, which is all they give me in the hospital."

The therapeutic social role of the yachaj is that of helping to reestablish order in those disturbed social relations. He has the capacity to effectively communicate with the supai runa, understands their language through visions, and can interpret their behavior while invoking the intervention of his own spirit helpers to counteract the actions of other spirits. The yachaj can help to solve conflicts among Runa, even if he never calls the two parties to confront each other personally, and seldom directly names the person considered responsible for the problem or illness. What is important is that, within the world of shared social meanings, he provides the signs and clues that can be easily read by others. Persons affected by an illness are convinced that if they violated the rules of cosmic order, the yachaj can restore them to health by means of his power. The inhabitants of that cosmic order are not alien to the practical pursuits of everyday life; the yachaj may also invoke them to solve routine problems of daily living. Men who regularly go to work for the oil companies, for instance, frequently return to Tena to have themselves "cleansed" by a yachaj of the stresses caused by the "evils of capitalism," for no modern medical practice is capable of curing the "ambiguities" of such symptoms.

When illness is diagnosed as resulting from the actions of another yachaj, the healing process may be transformed into a power confrontation between two yachaj. In this case, they take up the conflict at the level of mystic visions and magic darts. By assuming community conflicts as personal duels, the yachaj eased up tensions at their own risk, but help in restoring social and cultural order.

As an ideology and practice of healing, shamanism is a catalyst for group cohesion. As such, it keeps its distance from national institutions and goes unnoticed by the state, partly because it is in the Napo Runa's best interest that this be so. In contrast, aggressive shamanism or "witchcraft" creates social disorder and becomes a problem for the state. Paradoxically, the absence or weakness of the state as a regulatory agent in social conflicts is, to some extent, responsible for the persistence of witchcraft. I am not arguing here that this absence is the cause of witchcraft, for its existence is prior to that of the state, but rather that current Napo Runa society is still regulated by informal and personalized rules. Therefore, it is possible to explain any conflict as the intervention of malignant forces, or of other people's ill wishes or curses. Thus, negative outcomes of dispute over land among neighbors or family members, arguments between husband and wife over extramarital affairs, frictions over professional competence, or any other problem faced by an individual or a family may be attributed to the actions of other persons who have used a powerful yachaj to "bewitch" them.

Pressure for land in the Tena-Archidona area has intensified boundary disputes among families and neighbors, as well as migrations of many Napo Runa downriver. In this case, witchcraft could be used to accelerate migration.[9] The modernizing influence of education and of the mass media, including television, have contributed to liberalizing sexual mores among the young. They no longer strictly follow the traditional rules that governed marriage and marital infidelity. To deal with these situations, witchcraft may be used as punishment, as recently happened in the case of a powerful yachaj from the Tena River area, who intervened in a conflict between his granddaughter and an older woman with whose husband the girl had an affair. When the aggrieved wife publicly slapped the girl making her nose bleed, the yachaj sent word that, "This blood will not be spilled in vain; the same will happen to you [the wife]." Soon after, the older woman died of a hemorrhage. None of the parties involved considered going to the authorities in order to resolve the conflict.

Several elder women have explained to me that in earlier times, the supai runa would intervene more directly to "warn" the community about the infringement of rules, or to "embarrass" the guilty parties. The Cajón Supai, or Andacu, was one of those spirits mainly responsible for this task by howling whenever it confirmed extramarital affairs, or the relations of widows or widowers with younger and single men or women (the tradition is that the widowed can only marry other persons of that same status). The problem seems to be that, presently, screeching radios and television sets no longer allow the Napo Runa to hear the Cajón Supai well enough.

As may be observed every day in the appropriate government office, the Napo Runa seek institutional solutions for all these problems.

Nevertheless, it is also true that often conflicts are addressed and solved at another level. When one or several families suffer "some harmful consequence" attributed to the action of a yachaj, the first thing they may do is to consult with another yachaj; if possible, one more powerful than the alleged guilty one. The yachaj called upon for consultation will never make direct accusations against his counterpart, but instead will provide clues, hints, and suggestions to be construed by the victim's family as positive identification. At that point, the yachaj consulted may decide whether to act or not, depending on his relative power, the risk to his professional standing, and his own personal and family commitments. Should he decide to act, presumably his action will remain within the group. However, all this is dependent on the family's being able to find such a powerful professional (of late, Tena-Archidona has undergone a certain "brain drain"); and if he is found, on whether the family can afford his services.

After aggrieved families or communities have exhausted the traditional resources, they may still resort to government intervention. The procedure consists in going to the *intendente's* (peace justice's) office and report the witch doctor identified as the culprit. Accusations tend to be rather imprecise. Frequently, the witch doctor is blamed for having caused sicknesses, deaths, other misfortunes, or material damages (such as "finishing off" the hunting and fishing in a specific place) to one or more families, in a given district. The authorities are, of course, not given any tangible proof on which to base their action. At the first confrontation between the parties, the intendente admonishes the witch doctor to discontinue his threats, and a "peace bond" (*acta transaccional de mutuo respeto y consideración*) is signed by the parties concerned. If the accusations continue, as often happens, then the intendente uses his authority to accuse the witch doctor of having violated the protocol, in other words, of having disrupted the peace agreement, thereby disobeying the law.

The penalties most commonly applied to yachaj convicted of witchcraft are the confiscation of his magic stone and a jail term. The stone is frequently mentioned by the presumed victim, and the intendente has to send an officer to search the defendant's home in order to find it. In such cases, it is of course, impossible to determine if the stone found is "the stone" or some other one expressly left there to be found. For the alleged victim's peace of mind, if found, the stone is confiscated and pulverized in view of everyone at the intendente's office. Incarceration, even if it is only for a few days, is considered the worst possible punishment for a yachaj because it is believed that in jail he will be totally cut off from the world of spirits. In only one case could I confirm that a relapsing yachaj was punished with a light electric shock, considered an effective way in which a yachaj can be weakened and lose at least part of his power. This is not an easy decision for the intendente to make, however, because he can be accused of a "human rights" violation.

In dealing with witchcraft, then, the state is limited by several factors: lack of tangible proof of the "crime," the impossibility of prohibiting the Indian belief in the effectiveness of extraordinary forces, and the degree of knowledge the authorities may posses regarding the cultural mechanisms of the shamanic complex. They can only deal with it as one more case of social disorder. The Napo Runa turn to the state, seeking a source of power to counteract the yachaj's power not because they question the latter's effectiveness, but because they strongly believe in it, which may ultimately help to enhance the yachaj's prestige.

Restricted in its authority by the nature of the existing legislation, sometimes the government authorities leave aside the "justice seeking" aspects of their role, and resort to more "authoritative" measures. These are similar to those used by the yachaj, and therefore, obeyed. A case documented in the archives of the Napo governorship, which was confirmed by Rucuyaya Alonso, will serve as an example. In 1942, a number of Napo Runa put several complaints to the incumbent political lieutenant, Washington Palacios, stating that a yachaj called Manduro was "sowing terror" in the area with the intention of divesting them of their lands (e.g. AGN, Sep. 7, 1942). Unable to find the document whereby the conflict was settled, I asked Rucuyaya Alonso in 1987 if he knew about the case. He answered immediately: "Oh yes, Manduro was ordered by Washington Palacios to believe in God by special decree, and that was the end of his witchcrafting."

In his study of witchcraft trials from the Audiencia de Quito in the eighteenth century, Salomon (1983) shows that the colonial administration considered it normal to introduce into those trials references to its own beliefs in pacts with the devil, spells, darts, disease bundles, and other aspects of witchcraft. All of them were recognized as legitimate elements of proof in the legal discourse of that period. Unlike the colonial officials, the representatives of the modern and secular Ecuadorian state are forced to declare all those elements as falling outside their jurisdiction, and remain a weak alternative to the still strong power of aggressive shamans.

## The Yachaj and the Missionaries

Missionaries are, by definition, agents of ideological penetration by explicitly declaring their intent to transform the Indian symbolic universe to impose Christianity. All the historical evidence for this area of the Oriente demonstrates that, since colonial times to the present, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries have regarded shamanism as their most dangerous enemy. From the first Jesuit priest to the latest Evangelical sect, all missionaries have tried to combat the yachaj, whom they derogatorily call brujos.[10] They engage in regular campaigns to undermine the yachaj's prestige, trying to dissuade people from seeking their advice. In every

Evangelical Sunday service I observed for the period of two years, every sermon contained at least one reference against the brujos, though the preaching was in Quichua, and the preacher an Indian pastor. The prevailing view among the missionaries still active in Tena-Archidona is that shamanism and other related aspects of Napo Runa worldview constitute an oppressive system that maintains the Runa in a permanent "state of tension and terror," a whole array of "superstitions," and one of the major causes of their alleged backwardness and ignorance.

In contrast, the Napo Runa's image of the missionaries shows more subtlety and discrimination. The elders' memory of the Jesuits has at least two sides to it. One, which I will call the "reality image," visualizes those missionaries as an awesome temporal and secular power, if a defeated one. In this case, Napo Runa memories are of their own victory in helping to expel the Jesuits from the area. The second, is the "symbolic image" that represents the Jesuits as possessing certain powers similar to that of shamans; for example, the capacity to kill by magical means. Several elders mentioned that the death inflicted by the Jesuits came about through the ritual described by Rucuyaya Alonso in chapter 6: when the church candles began to melt, the Jesuits named a specific person who had failed to attend mass. Soon after, the alleged guilty party suffered vomit and diarrhea, with the fatal outcome that his body withered away until he died. This power is comparable to that of the yachaj's magic darts, and the symptoms are those frequently mentioned in death by witchcraft.[11] Upon their first entry into the Napo in the seventeenth century, the Jesuits emphasized the pomp of baroque ritual, and made use of their own "miracles" to gain a certain competitive advantage against the yachaj (see Muratorio 1982:62–63). According to an elder woman from Tena, the Jesuits made them sing by moonlight, and when they tolled the bells at the mass for the dead, all the *aya* or souls of the deceased came singing in the wind, as often happens when a powerful shaman sings. Finally, in Rucuyaya Alonso's narrative (see chapter 12, p. 192) there is an episode that suggests the yachaj of that period also perceived the Jesuits as contenders of considerable power, since one of them, at least, had attempted to incorporate this power into the form of a Jesuit cross worn around his neck, to be used in his shamanic rituals.

Unlike the Jesuits, the Josephines never exercised direct political power in the Tena-Archidona area, and had, in general, a more secular evangelization strategy than the Jesuits. Consequently, the Napo Runa's "symbolic image" of the Josephines depicts them as "weaker" than the Jesuits, even if the former also tried to use their own saints' relics to perform miraculous cures (see Porras Garcés 1955:282). In the words of one Josephine missionary, "when it was the case of an imaginary or bewitched patient, the Father simply acted as a more powerful witch doctor" (Carletti n.d.:46).

The weapons used by the Evangelical Protestant missionaries in their struggle against shamanism were primarily the sermons delivered in the Sunday services, the religious radio messages, and an insistence on the superior advantages of modern medicine. The Evangelical message is based on a strong fundamentalist tradition that rejects all sources and expressions of indigenous spiritual powers as manifestations of evil. This restrictive intellectual discourse never competed successfully with the subtleties of the shamanic cognitive world. Besides, some of the beliefs predicated by the Evangelicals were perceived to have negative practical consequences for the Napo Runa, as stated by this new convert: "I was a great fisher. The Evangelicals cured me of my belief in supais, and now I fish nothing, but the sacha huarmi gave me plentiful fish." Finally, as explained above, the Napo Runa think of modern medicine as an alternative or a supplement to traditional medicine, not a substitute. The conflict and competition that existed between the Evangelical missionaries and the Josephines during the first years after both missions were established in the Tena-Archidona area was perceived by some rucuyayas as a major battle between *yanga* yachaj, that is, between weak shamans. The common sense explanation given by Rucuyaya Alonso speaks for itself: "I thought that the priests and the gringos [Evangelical missionaries] came from different countries, but the priests actually thought the others came from hell. Afterwards we realized it was only a fight between gringos" (see chapter 6).

Historically, shamanism among the Napo Runa, as well as other aspects of their religious world view, have persisted and changed through a dialectical process of accommodation and resistance to the hegemony of the white ideological world embodied in the missionaries. The relation between Christianity and traditional beliefs is perceived as deeply conflictual by the missionaries, but much less so by the Napo Runa. They have been able to achieve a kind of ideological articulation between the two symbolic forms, which implies a highly selective restructuring and recreation of symbolic meanings.

If, as Rucuyaya Alonso so graphically describes, the religious practices required by the missionaries were regarded as an imposition, the symbols of Christianity did become sources of new powers to counteract the recognized influence or intervention of traditional spirits, such as praying to the Christian God to drive off supais who are heard knocking at the door. The syncretism established between Christianity and traditional beliefs is often strongly anchored in the latter. For instance, key figures of the Christian pantheon are often used to justify, and further legitimize, the traditional ones. Thus, the person of Jesus Christ as a healer and performer of miracles, is identified with a powerful yachaj. On leaving this world, this Jesus Christ-yachaj commanded all other future yachaj to heal as he did and to be the intermediaries with all the powerful supais who

made his miracles possible. Jesus Christ is then turned into a culture hero who, like the yachaj, is a mediator between the cosmic and the social order entrusted with their preservation, and a custodian of cultural continuity.

As I have tried to show throughout the previous chapters, both in their memories and their everyday practices, the Napo Runa have been aware of the most immediate historical forces that have shaped their lives under successive colonialisms. They have given different rational responses to those forces, balancing opposition and defiance in order to ensure their survival without becoming helpless victims of oppression.

The Napo Runa traditional world view, with shamanism as its central core, still seems to be able to provide the three kinds of "services," which according to Raymond Firth are the key to most religions.

> The religion of a people, both in belief and ritual, *can symbolize their group identity* irrespective of the particular structure of government and economy. A religious organization can also *provide a counterpose to the authority of the state*, a rallying point for people against unpopular decisions or stressful conditions imposed by those in control. And last, perhaps most vital, a religion can serve its adherents *in personal crisis*. It can form part of the explanation of the vagaries of human existence, from abstract opinions on theodicy to a rationale for individual concrete misfortune, suffering, and death. (Firth 1981:595, emphasis added)

Shamanism has kept alive the nucleus of ethnic identity and, consequently, the basis for a political discourse in defense of the ideological and material practices that would allow the Napo Runa to fight for the survival of their culture. I do not intend to argue here that shamanism is to be conceived as the "power of the weak," or as a form of refuge or escapism from the complex realities of present-day capitalist society. Quite the contrary; what I have tried to show is that Napo Runa shamanism, and the yachaj in particular, represented archetypes of a cultural tradition that nourished certain intellectual and ethical values. Given the material and social conditions of a specific historical period, those values allowed those who are now rucuyayas to give meaning to their own existence, to assert their group identity, and to resist the hegemonic forces of an homogenizing national society and culture.

At the close of the historical period discussed in this book, a new generation of Napo Runa, now forty to fifty years of age, began to emerge, and then another younger generation. All of them have received various levels of formal education and are now participating in the economic and political life of the country, both regionally and nationally. For them, ethnic and class identity is redefined in a historical context different from that

faced by the rucuyayas. It is beyond the scope of this book to analyze the differences between these generations. To conclude I will briefly comment on Rucuyaya's reflections about these modern times (see chapter 13).

In his concluding remarks about the present and future of his own culture and society, Rucuyaya Alonso makes a positive assessment of the material progress introduced by modernization. He is interested especially in the roads and bridges that have made productive activities less difficult, and above all, because they facilitate travel and help to expand the horizons of the Napo Runa world by incorporating new peoples and new experiences. He does not object to the monetarization of the economy, and even reproaches young people for not taking advantage of all the new opportunities it affords them. He also has a word of encouragement for indigenous organizations, and sees with positive eyes the Runa's active political participation in regional and national government. His greatest concern is not with the forms, but rather with the social and cultural contents of modern life.

His greatest anxiety is that, despite all the advantages modern society has provided young people, they have lost those cultural qualities that were able to sustain and to strengthen the ethnic identity of the Napo Runa in their confrontation with white society. In his opinion, the younger Runa know Spanish but do not know how to speak; they have an education, but require lawyers to fight against injustice; they hear, but do not listen; they have lost the power of thought, that is, the deepest significances that give meaning to words. His judgment is ironical but categorical: "The men of today are like hens, which have wings but cannot fly high."

Despite this unflattering verdict, the message of Rucuyaya Alonso, as well as that of the other rucuyayas whom we have introduced in this book, is that the tradition of resistance forged over the centuries through strategies ranging from subtle irony to open rebellion, should be incorporated into this unending history of redefinition and consolidation of Napo Runa cultural identity.

# Epilogue

Toward mid-August of 1985, Rucuyaya was feeling somewhat weak, and we could sense that he was worried. Together with Francisco and Dolores we decided to take him to Arajuno where he would visit his friend Pablo, the powerful shaman. After several days of waiting for an available flight, we rented a small aircraft and took off, along with Rucumama Rebeca, Alonso's wife and inseparable companion. It was a short trip, but one that, for different reasons, all of us will remember as a fascinating and moving experience.

At Pablo's house we were welcomed with the usual Quichua kindness and hospitality. Rucuyaya and Rucumama chatted with Pablo and his family until well into the night. They spoke about all the big and small things, both present and past; of a world of shared experiences that only old friends can appreciate. Rucuyaya seemed revived; his mischievious eyes were shining and he was, as in the best of times, talkative and full of good spirits. That day Pablo had just come back from a hunting trip, having been called back in haste to cure his daughter who lay in bed with a fever.

At midnight, after Pablo had taken the ayahuasca and the sick girl was prepared for healing, I was invited to take part in the ceremony. It was a cool evening, illuminated by a waning moon. In the dark room, only the small red circles of the lighted cigarettes marked the presence of Pablo and his assistants. As the ear became used to the million sounds of the forest night, the silence indoors seemed to deepen. Pablo began to call upon the spirits to start the shamanic session, and then all of us entered with him into that magical world of power and danger, of beauty and wisdom, of poetry and everyday experience.

Of this ceremony that lasted almost until dawn, I will only reproduce

those moments that are more relevant for the story told in this book. The first thing we heard was the soft, but increasingly intense sound of Pablo's whistling, followed by his own shamanic song, and then the song announcing the coming of the spirit of ayahuasca herself, part of which is provided here:

> I possess the power of all samai.
> They come forward from all the cities.
> A woman of ice is coming from the hills,
> she is a woman of the clouds,
> she is a woman of the winds.
> Prancing like a golden horse she comes,
> prancing and turning.
> She comes crossing all the hills,
> this woman of the ice.
> She comes from the mountains,
> she is a woman of the winds.
> She is coming, she is coming,
> and she is a beautiful woman.
>
> She comes from on high
> where she lives with other women;
> in the snow, in the clouds.
> If I called all of them,
> they would come shining like gold.
>
> I can call from any mountain,
> I can call from mount Sangay
> and from the fire spitting mountains.
> I can also call from all the rivers.
> This woman is radiant,
> she plays and plays.
> With music, and dancing, she comes.
> Although there may be a thousand worlds,
> none will be like this world of gold.
> She plays, and plays,
> and with music she is coming.

The spirit of ayahuasca arrived accompanied by another powerful spirit who took possession of Pablo and, speaking through him, greeted those present before starting a dialogue with the sick girl's mother. After diagnosing the illness, it assured the mother of her daughter's prompt recovery, and departed. Pablo's singing to call upon a spirit, the possession, and the dialogue were repeated several times with other spirits. This was always followed by the cleansing of the patient with a huairachina, the blowing of tobacco and the sucking of the sickness. When this process appeared to have been completed, Pablo decided to call upon the spirit of

his father Quilluma, who was also a bancu during his lifetime, and a ritual friend of Rucuyaya Alonso. What follows is the song sung by Pablo to call forth the spirit of his father Quilluma, and the latter's dialogue with Rucuyaya.

Pablo:

> Even if there are ten thousand spirits
> they will come from the top of the mountains;
> they will come from all over the world.
> All the amu (master spirits) will come;
> my *apaya* will come (his father who taught him to be a shaman).
> They will come from where all the *samai* exist;
> all those who are dead
> will come from the Huaorani.
> I am surrounded by all of them,
> by all the amu.
> From the summit where the *mericos* are, (Sp. *médicos*, physicians, here meaning shamans)
> all the supai will come around me;
> they will grant me all my wishes.
> They will come from the docemundoi;
> mericos of all kinds will come.

Pablo turns to Rucuyaya and says:

> PABLO: My father is coming closer and asks if you want to talk to him.
> RUCUYAYA: Yes, if he talks loudly, because I'm a little deaf.
> PABLO: You are rather old, that's why my father wants to give you advice.

Pablo's song continues:

> You will come from up there where you are,
> you must come from docemundoi,
> from where all the mericos are.
> You who can see
> all those who have the supai's power;
> You, who have travelled all the worlds;
> you who can make
> the amu of the mericos come;
> you who have more power than doctors and medicines;
> you who have the power
> to heal and give life.

The spirit of Quilluma arrived, took possession of Pablo and began a dialogue with Pablo's wife who, after consulting him about her daughter's

sickness, told him that his old friend Alonso had come to visit. Then, the following dialogue took place between the spirit of Quilluma and Rucuyaya Alonso.

QUILLUMA: Are you here amigu?
RUCUYAYA: Here I am amigu; I've come from my village, I've come to see my compadre Pablo. On this trip they've made me come by airplane.
QUILLUMA: That's fine amigu. And are you in good health? Are you still strong?
RUCUYAYA: I'm still a little strong, amigu.
QUILLUMA: How old are you?
RUCUYAYA: I don't know because I don't have my birth certificate.
QUILLUMA: Have you aged?
RUCUYAYA: Yes, I'm very old.
QUILLUMA: Can you still walk far?
RUCUYAYA: No, because my knees hurt badly; I'm weak ever since by mistake I drank a bit of poison for cow worms. One night I woke up with a strong cough, got up, took the bottle and drank from it thinking it was cough syrup. I almost died from that. I think I was already dead, but they brought me back to life.
QUILLUMA: Go on talking amigu. Have you already given up your old ways?
RUCUYAYA: Yes I've given up [drinking]. Besides, I can't hear well, that's why they brought me to visit my compadre Pablo.
QUILLUMA: It's a good thing you've come compadre. My son has also aged. During my life I loved my son, and now even more. And your children, are they already old?
RUCUYAYA: Here I am with my first son who is already old.
QUILLUMA: Listen carefully amigu to what I'm going to tell you. I used to live well, but was bitten by a snake, and that's how I died. Now I'm at the feet of Jesus Christ who has turned out to be a great god. He has written a huge book where he notes down points. When my last point caught up with me, I died; it was all over. When Jesus Christ makes us come to the very last point, even if we are given injections, even if the yachaj heals us, life ends. I was saved in docemundoi. Your day will also come amigu, your strength will be finished, your muscles, your blood, your samai, will get weak.
RUCUYAYA: That's so, amigu.
QUILLUMA: In this world I was strong, intelligent and powerful, but death always seeks a pretext. It turns into sickness, into a snake, it becomes like a river, like a tree, like fire, and finally catches up with us.

RUCUYAYA: I was strong like you amigu but the poison has weakened me, and old age is coming upon me. I am very fragile, my whole body is burning.

QUILLUMA: Your life is beginning to end. My son is also old; he isn't like you, he has another type of work [he is a shaman]. Some day his samai will be finished. That's all I will tell you amigu; it will be our last talk. We will be face to face with Jesus Christ and that's where we will meet, on judgment day (*taripana puntza*). Then we will talk at length. That day no one will be spared, all the blacks, all the gringos, all the snakes, and all the fish; everybody will have their skins changed [will be exposed for everything they did on this earth].

RUCUYAYA: Yes, we will live as long as God wishes.

QUILLUMA: Yes, until we run out of points.

RUCUYAYA: We all must die.

QUILLUMA: All—he who is fierce, and he who is generous, all of us may die one day, even if we keep drinking only water.

RUCUYAYA: Yes, we can die suddenly. I feel I'm very near the end of my days. I'm often sick, but even so I've come here amigu because my friend Blanca, my son, and my daughter-in-law have brought me.

QUILLUMA: I'm very happy to hear your voice.

RUCUYAYA: I used to believe in what the Fathers preached, but when my youngest son was in school they scolded me for a debt I had already paid. I told them that we're not thieves, I got mad and left. Just because of that, I became an Evangélico. Since then, I stopped drinking.

QUILLUMA: So then your former life, did you abandon it?

RUCUYAYA: Yes, I did leave it. You'll remember that I used to get drunk quite a lot.

QUILLUMA: What you say is true, amigu. You have a belief for this world and your life is good. Only once your blood and muscles are finished, you will die, because I will protect you [from potential attacks by other powerful shamans]. Then, on judgment day, we will help each other; and don't forget that it's over there where we will meet. I am in docemundoi, I am with my power. I can cure any sickness, but my son is also full of wisdom. This is all I will speak, and now I will say goodbye. I am going neither to heaven nor to hell. With you amigu we will get together soon. Take care of yourself, my son is still strong. Until tomorrow.

RUCUYAYA: See you soon, amigu.

On the following morning after breakfast, all the teenagers and children of Pablo's family who were living in the house came before

Rucuyaya and Rucumama one by one, to ask for their samai and to listen to their advice. Some approached reluctantly with fearful eyes, others openly crying, and still others with defiant expressions in their young and still sleepy faces. However, all of them very stoically submitted to the painful rubbing of their eyes with hot red pepper, listened with moving respect to the lengthy advice, and received the samai blown into the crown of their heads by Rucuyaya and Rucumama. That very same afternoon we returned to Tena, and at one point during the flight, Rucuyaya Alonso suddenly stopped marveling at the sight of the undulating rivers below; turned to us with a gentle smile and whispered in a low, almost conspiratorial tone: "I feel as if I already were in the docemundoi."

And now he is. Rucuyaya Alonso died a few months after my last visit to him in August 1989. I know that, as he hoped, all his friends, the musicians, were well prepared to welcome him.

*APPENDIX* 1

# Employment Contract of a Rubber Laborer, 1909 (AGN)

In Tena, jurisdiction of the Napo Canton, on April nineteen, nineteen hundred and nine, before me the political chief; before the Interpreter Mr. Luis Hurtado, who accepted and swore to faithfully discharge his commission; and before the Secretary and the witnesses stated below, appeared the Indian Francisco Tapuy (a) Angullo, of legal age and qualified to enter into a day-worker's contract, who said: that of his own free and spontaneous will he undertakes to be a day-worker for Mister Gabriel Izurieta, under the following conditions: That as a day-worker he will work for eighty cents a day in eight-hour days, under the contract beginning as of the 20th day of this month, having to work in the Napo five days a week. In case he works as a rubber laborer, he will hand over to his employer all the rubber he collects, at the price paid or current at the place of delivery. It is clarified that to work in rubber he shall not leave the jurisdiction of the territory of the Republic. This contract shall have a two-year duration, according to Article 97 of the Police Code now in effect.

After the settlement of accounts was made, it turned out that he owed the sum of sixty-eight sucres and sixty-five cents, which he acknowledged and said: that in addition to discharging the aforementioned debt, he is entitled to ask his employer for either money or goods, on account of the above listed services. Mister Gabriel Izurieta accepted the present contract and said that it fully complied with Paragraph 2 entitled "Day-workers" of the Police Code in force.

This was agreed to by the contracting parties and certified by the Interpreter and the Secretary who sign, together with the Authority, and by

the witnesses Luis Alfredo López and Reynaldo Nuñez who sign for he who does not know how to sign.

s. Carlos Rivadeneyra

| | |
|---|---|
| s. INTERPRETER<br>Luis Hurtado | WITNESS<br>s. Alfredo López |
| WITNESS<br>s. Reynaldo Nuñez | SECRETARY<br>s. Ricardo E. López |

*APPENDIX* 2

# Settlement of Peon's Account, Marking the Articles in Dispute, 1930 (AGN)

In folios 13 and 14, the account is listed as follows:

| 1926 & 1927 | | FRANCISCO AGUINDA (SHIO) | DEBIT | CREDIT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| September | 15 | One #128 machete | 11.00 | |
| | " | One pair of cotton-cloth pants | 4.00 | |
| | " | In cash | 1.20 | |
| | " | In salt | 0.20 | |
| November | 2 | Two pounds of salt | 1.00 | |
| | " | One printed *cotona* (blouse) for his wife | 3.00 | |
| | " | One handerchief given to him in Loreto | 1.00 | |
| December | 6 | In cash | 1.00 | xx |
| | " | " " | 6.80 | xx |
| March | 3 | " " | 1.30 | xx |
| | " | One cotton cloth shirt | 4.50 | |
| July | 20 | One and a half varas of rough cotton cloth | 2.25 | |
| | " | One female dog | 3.00 | |
| | 26 | One tin of large sardines and one can of salmon | 3.20 | |
| | " | In cash | 1.00 | xx |
| August | 25 | One *pampanilla* (skirt) for the wife | 3.00 | |
| | " | One *cotona* (blouse) for the wife | 3.00 | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1927 | | | | |
| October | 8 | One can of gun powder | 2.00 | |
| | " | One cotton cloth shirt | 4.50 | xx |
| | " | One pair of blue trousers | 4.50 | |
| November | 26 | One woolen blanket | 9.80 | |
| 1928 | | | | |
| January | 10 | One pair of *casinete* (cotton) trousers | 4.50 | |
| | " | One Ecuadorian cloth shirt | 4.50 | |
| | " | Two handkerchiefs | 1.00 | |
| | " | One can of gun powder | 2.00 | xx |
| | " | One box of matches | 0.10 | |
| | " | One half box of fulminating powder | 0.60 | |
| | " | One *guama* (bunch) of poison | 2.60 | |
| | " | One pound of ammunition | 1.50 | |
| | " | One can of gun powder | 2.00 | xx |
| | " | One pig | 7.00 | |
| September | 2 | One cotton cloth shirt | 4.00 | |
| | " | One woman's cotton cloth shirt | 2.50 | xx |
| | " | One woman's *cotona* (blouse) | 2.50 | |
| | " | One pound of salt | 1.00 | xx |
| | " | In cash | 1.00 | |
| 1929 | | | | |
| January | 2 | In cash | 1.00 | |
| | " | " " | 1.00 | xx |
| | " | One and a half varas of cotton cloth | 2.10 | |
| | " | One belt | 2.00 | |
| February | 15 | One machete for hoeing | 11.00 | |
| | " | One handerchief | 1.00 | |
| November | 21 | One shirt | 4.00 | |
| | " | One pair of pants | 5.00 | |
| | " | One handerchief | 1.00 | |
| | " | Two cats, at S/.3.00 each | 6.00 | x |
| | | | S/.138.15 | |
| 1930 | | | | |
| January | 3 | Items not acknowleged xx S/. | | S/. 23.10 |
| | " | Other claims x | | 1.50 |
| | | | S/.138.15 | S/. 24.60 |
| | | Balance | | S/.113.55 |

The nonacknowledged items are marked xx, and those against which the Indian Aguinda has any kind of claim are marked x. As may be observed, the above account appears in the mentioned book, without any partial payment having been made either for work or any other service to the Indian Aguinda as he claimed when he appeared to request the settlement of his account. This being the case, Vallejos submits a notebook, which he states to be that of the wages for the Indians working on his property, located in the Uli. This book is unappropriately maintained, and all entries are made in pencil only, and with erasures and corrections. In this book are the Indian Shio's wages in relation to which he has claims. There is a detailed list, and then it continues: The Indian Aguinda claims his payment as a *huasicama* (house worker) for nine weeks. When they act as huasicamas they have to tend to the pigs and feed them, look after the cattle, milk the cows, repairing the fences every time they break or are damaged by the cattle; they also serve at the house, bringing firewood and water as well as the food for the pigs. Vallejos says that for this service his usual payment has been one sucre in cash and a little bit of salt each week; but Aguinda says that he has not received any payment at all, but that they have only given him a little bit of salt telling him that it was a gift.

As may be seen in the account submitted by Vallejos, nothing of what Aguinda said was going to be charged to his account, appears in it, as he had been told by Vallejos or the latter's wife. Thus, he was to be paid only the wages for the time he remained working as a huasicama, that is, fifty four days.

Consequently, the balance of the account was verified, according to the claims brought by the Indian Francisco Aguinda, which this Authority takes into consideration, because they are just, with the following results:

| 1930 | FRANCISCO AGUINDA (SHIO) | DEBIT | CREDIT |
|---|---|---|---|
| January 3 | Value acknowledged in the account submitted by Vallejos | S/.113.55 | |
| | For 113 days' wages, at 0.50 per day | | S/. 56.50 |
| | For 54 says as huasicama, as claimed | | S/. 27.— |
| | For trip to Mera, bringing the mares | | 5.— |
| | | S/.113.55 | S/. 88.50 |
| | BALANCE | | S/. 25.05 |
| | TOTAL SUM | S/.113.55 | S/.113.55 |

The claim brought by the Indian Aguinda for a trip to Archidona guiding cattle is undue, since he himself confesses that he did not make such a trip. As for the complaints presented by Aguinda against Vallejos, the latter assures that it is untrue that he threatened him in any way.

This being the case, the undersigned political chief notifies Vallejos so that he may present the other debtor peons in his service to perform the settlement of accounts, under the Ministerial decision he is advised of. After reading the

present protocol of settlement, they affirm and ratify all of the above, with a witness signing on behalf of the Indian Shio, at the latters' request, together with the party concerned, the interpreters, the political chief and the ad hoc secretary who certifies.

The Political Chief
(signature not legible)

At the request of the Indian Francisco Aguinda
(Shio) and as a Witness
s. Luis Dávila

The Interpreter
Hipólito Díaz

s. Jose Antonio Vallejos

s. The Interpreter
Augusto Rueda

s. The Secretary
Segundo Osorio

# Notes

## Introduction

1. In 1920 the Oriente was divided into four separate provinces, and in 1989 the new province of Sucumbíos was carved out of Napo. The five provinces are: Napo (capital Tena), Sucumbíos (capital Lago Agrio/Santa Cecilia), Pastaza (capital Puyo), Morona Santiago (capital Macas), and Zamora Chinchipe (capital Zamora). As in the rest of the country, each province is headed by a governor appointed by the executive power. Each province is subdivided into *cantones* (cantons) headed by a *jefe político* (political chief), and each canton is further subdivided into *parroquias* (parishes) headed by a *teniente político* (political lieutenant).
2. The term "Yumbos" has been mistakenly used to refer to the Upper Napo Quichua since at least the eighteenth century (see Oberem 1980:31) and in recent times in none other than a 1979 document of the World Bank (quoted in Whitten 1981b editor's end note:33). Rucuyaya Alonso and other elders say that when they were children, already the whites used the word "Yumbo" derogatorily as synonymous with "Indian from the Oriente." Frank Salomon clarifies the confusion between the sixteenth century and the modern meaning of the term in the following terms: "The word 'Yumbo' in its modern acceptation is a generic, and more than slightly scornful, term for any member of any tropical forest tribe. It is most commonly used of the peoples of the western Amazonian Basin, particularly the Quijos. . . . In the sixteenth century, on the other hand, 'Yumbo' was not the name of a cultural archetype but a specific ethnological term, referring to the natives of Pichincha Volcano's western flanks" (Salomon 1986:66).
3. In here, I'm following loosely Daniel Bertaux's (1981:7) distinction between a *life story*, as an oral account of a person's own life, and a *life history* as a life story that has been augmented and interpreted with data from different sources.

## 2. Ethnicity, Language, Culture

1. Oberem (1980:113) questions the Chibcha linguistic affiliation for the Quijos, because only two words of the original language have been recorded, and the

affiliations proposed by Steward and Metraux are based solely on historical-cultural data. Mason (1948:184) suggests that the Quijo language may have been closely related to Chibcha.

2. Referring to two villages of the Quijos region, Villavicencio clearly shows that in the nineteenth century, the Indians of Loreto and San José made use of several ecological levels for their subsistence. They secured access to the different layers, either by exchange with kinsmen located in warm areas, or by having their own *caru tambus* (second swidden plots) in those places. Thus, the Loretos exchanged cotton cloth and tools for *pita* (agave cord) and smoked meat with another group of Loretos who had withdrawn to the Middle Napo, while the San José Indians grew cold-climate potatoes and vegetables that they sold in Concepción, Avila, and Loreto. However, they also had their small isolated dwellings and fields far away from there in which they grew pita for sale in Quito, and manioc, plantain, and sugar cane for their own use (Villavicencio 1984:400–402).
3. Wiener's travel chronicle (1883) includes a series of illustrations showing the apparel of several Oriente Indian groups. I showed these illustrations to Rucuyaya Alonso in 1987 without mentioning the names attributed to the different figures by Wiener. From the differences in the garments worn by the groups with which he was familiar, Rucuyaya Alonso clearly made distinctions among them, correcting Wiener's drawings in several instances. For example, in the drawing reproduced in Figure 6 of this book, he identified the first seated figure on the right as possibly being a Tena Indian, just because of the type of feather adornment he is wearing. He identified the rest as auca. Not only this experience, but all the evidence from the Amazon region, leads to the assumption that even minimal differences in apparel served as markers to distinguish among the diverse ethnic groups. Referring to such differences in apparel, Maroni notes for the eighteenth century: "Each nation has many other such regalia according to its bent and to the style of its elders, and this is the major distinguishing feature among them" (Maroni 1889:138).
4. Oberem (1980:82) cites a source provided by Alonso de Peñafiel, who reported on the Quijos Indians having fled to the Sierra already in the years previous to the uprising. It seems quite unlikely that these Indians were from the Tena-Archidona region, as all historical evidence and the oral tradition of the Napo Runa indicate that they always ran to the forest for safe refuge. On the other hand, we know that a Quijos chief was the brother-in-law of a principal cacique of the highland province of Latacunga. It is more likely that the Quijos did flee to the Sierra, in view of the kinship and trade relations that they had in that region.
5. All these population data must be viewed with caution, for it is difficult to say if old people and children were included in the estimates. It is also difficult to accurately estimate the ratios of "free Indians" and "Indians subject to the Spaniards."
6. A booklet prepared by Father Cáceres in 1892, gives the following data: 458 *families* for Archidona, 200 for Tena, and 135 for Puerto Napo (López San Vicente 1894:75), with an approximate total of 3,965 people. For the total population of the upper Napo as far as Coca, this same source provides a figure of 1,909 families, that is, around 9,545 individuals.

7. This history of their own origins refers only to the Tena-Archidona Napo Runa, and the informants belong to the Panos group. For different histories about the origins of other Oriente Quichua groups, see Whitten 1976; Reeve 1985; Foletti Castegnaro 1985; and Irvine 1987.
8. Like the Canelos Quichua, the Tena-Archidona Runa believe that the souls of dead ancestors (*huañushca aya*), can enter into rocks and into incorruptible tree trunks from which they are rescued by the shamans, usually in the form of a highly polished rock (see Whitten 1976:42–44, and Whitten and Whitten 1984:215).
9. Steward and Metraux (1963:638) classify the Curizetas as a tribe of uncertain affiliation, within the territory of the Zaparoan speaking tribes, or in the surrounding areas.

## 5. The State, Missionaries, and Native Consciousness

1. In Bolivia, for example, there are famous songs and dances in which the Indians, disguised with black jackets and top hats ridicule the *tinterillos* (pettifoggers), the small bureaucrats who seek to take advantage with impunity of the alleged "stupidity" of the peasantry (see Muratorio 1977). Analyzing the frustrating circumstances of the Ecuadorian Indians, further aggravated after Independence, Oberem noted, "A possibility of venting the feelings of hatred held back may be seen in the very widespread native custom of wearing the costume of a hacienda administrator or owner during their festivities, thus making fun of them by mimicking their attitudes and behavior" (Oberem 1981a:320–321). In Ecuador as well, the songs sung by the Chimborazo peasants during their *mingas* (shared community work) to harvest the crops in the patron's lands, often expressed protest at the percentage of the harvest claimed by the landlords, mockery at their physical or personality traits, and generally, a refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of the system of domination (my field notes, 1976–1979).
2. Espinosa (1984:167) suggests that the control and repressive apparatus employed by the Sierra landowner was not imposed in all its power until the early twentieth century but, relatively speaking, it was always more effective than in the Oriente.
3. Espinosa (1984:161–162) notes that indentured Indians (*conciertos*) of the highland estates moved over to "warm lands" for access to ecological strata of which they had been deprived by the dispossession of their community lands, and to avoid collection of the contributions. Nonetheless, these "warm lands" were located within the boundaries of the haciendas. This allowed the landowners to use their power to bring them back and settle them in temperate and cold climates, the centers of cereal and livestock production. On the contrary, in the nineteenth-century Oriente, the patrons frequently had to use the Zaparo Indians to try to bring out the Napo Quichua who escaped into the forest, regarded as no-man's land (see chapter 2). As in all peasant societies, sabotage, the bargaining over goods, and work-to-rule also were used in the Ecuadorian Sierra as forms of resistance against the landowners (see Espinosa 1984:167–168). With respect to the uprisings of the *conciertos*

and *huasipungueros* (attached peasants) in the Sierra, Oberem (1981a:320–321) suggests that these were more frequent from the early eighteenth century onwards. For a more detailed and complete discussion of the form taken by these and other native uprisings, see Moreno Yánez (1985, 1987).

4. The absence of an institutionalized and church-controlled fiesta system in this area of the Oriente deprived the patrons of the ideological and moral control provided by the church to the Sierra landowners, especially to ensure payment of debts and other commitments that native laborers incurred with the patron (see Espinosa 1984:169–175). Both Espinosa and Arcos (1984:110–111) point out, however, that in the fiestas of the highland Indians there also were elements of resistance, insofar as the masters had to hand over part of the harvest for consumption at the feast, and this could be considered at least a symbolic form of appropriation exercised by the Indians. In Tena-Archidona, the most important ritual that could cause Indian indebtedness was the marriage feast. But, it was held in the Indian settlements, and not in social and ideological areas controlled by the missionaries or by the patrons. On the basis of Jiménez de la Espada's evidence, Oberem (1980:252–254) describes fiestas with *priostes* (sponsors) and in connection with Christian celebrations, such as Corpus Christi in the Quijos region dating back to the sixteenth century, but the two cases cited refer to the Loreto and San José Indians in Jesuit times, and not to the Tena-Archidona area. Here there were other feasts besides the wedding, but these were neither subject to the Christian calendar nor under the church's administrative and ritual control. Whitten (1976:167) describes a similar situation for the *jista* (feast) that the Canelos Quichua organize twice a year.
5. This concept of freedom as licentiousness and the idea that towns were the focus of civilization and Christianity, were behind the policy of the reducciones introduced by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569–1630). According to Albó (1966a:252–253), he was the Viceroy that compelled the Jesuits to accept the *doctrina* system within their missions.
6. Albó (1966a:263) points out, for example, the contradiction that existed between the doctrinas as an evangelization strategy—implying the continued presence of the priests in a settlement and their economic dependency on the stipends received from the natives—and the New Missionary Spirit, established in the institute of the society, specifically prohibiting the missionaries from settling down in one place or from receiving Indian offerings. In addition, although they had to evangelize within the colonial government system, the Jesuits sought to maintain their independence vis-à-vis the civil and ecclesiastic Spanish authorities. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jesuits tried to find a compromise in dealing with these contradictions (Albó 1966a:270–289). It is likewise relevant to point out here, that among the evangelizing Jesuits in the nineteenth-century Napo, there was no equal to Father Bernabé Cobo, a historian and ethnographer of ancient Peru, nor was there an organizer of the stature of Father Diego Torres, who was the heart of the missions in Paraguay.
7. This attempted uprising was caused by a misunderstanding between the Indians and the authorities. One of Rayo's soldiers who did not understand Quichua thought that the Indians wanted to kill him, whereas they had no

intention of doing so. Rayo reacted by ordering that four Indians be punished with 200 lashes. In view of the unjust punishment, the Puerto Napo Indians tried to kill not only Rayo and Father Guzmán, but also Father Fonseca and the other whites living in the villages. Faced with such a dangerous situation, Father Fonseca gathered together the whites armed with shotguns (Jouanen 1977:35). This episode reveals that the alliance between the white traders and the Indians was precarious and strategic and that, threatened by an Indian rebellion, the whites sought an alliance with the Jesuits.

8. There are only infrequent references to white women for that period, and they do not give an idea that there was a stable family life. For example, an AGN document mentions a woman and her child abandoned by the husband; another records that a woman, mistreated by her husband, had to seek asylum in the Convent of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd (AGN, 1886, 1887). These references are in contrast to the importance acquired by white female settlers early in the twentieth century. Many of them became powerful patrons a few years after arriving in the Napo (see discussion in chapter 10).
9. The large-scale rebellion of 1578–1579 where the names of the leaders—Beto, Guami, Imbate, Jumandi and others—are prominently mentioned is, of course, an exception.
10. Darcy Ribeiro (1973) uses the term "generic Indian" with reference to the Indians who have lost their specific ethnic identity after a process of forced acculturation. In the case discussed here, the term is used to refer to the Jesuit perception of the Napo Runa. It differed, for example, from that which was held at that time regarding the Jívaro who, according to Taylor (1985b:255), were perceived as a separate "nation" with a whole set of distinctive features and a specific cultural style.
11. Such is the case, for instance, of a small village in Malaysia discussed by Scott (1985:282–283), which exhibits ethnic homogeneity between rich and poor. Scott observes that malicious gossip, nicknames, and rumors act as a sort of symbolic resistance that can be practised by the poor class against the rich to obtain certain advantages. These symbolic forms of resistance could not operate in Tena-Archidona, where language barriers prevented this type of verbal communication, and where it was unthinkable that the whites' prestige could be affected by any opinions the Indians might have had about them.

## 7. Liberalism and Rubber

1. "God and Liberty" was the motto used in all official communications during the Liberal administration, since August 18th, 1897.
2. Unlike the more academic and moderate trend, radical liberalism became the vanguard of the lower and middle classes, and its proponents chose armed struggle to come into power (Ayala 1982:235; Reyes 1966:193).
3. The first Constitution of the Liberal Government in 1897 did not establish the separation between church and state, nor did it express the most important principles of the Liberal social transformation policies (Reyes 1966:212–215; Pareja 1979:231).
4. This law ratifies a previous executive decree of 1885 delimiting the powers of

the Governor of Oriente to prevent and punish all those abuses (see ABFL, "Ley de la provincia Oriental. In Leyes y decretos de los Congresos 1885–1886 y decretos ejecutivos, pp. 11–15).

5. The atrocities committed above all against the Huitoto Indians in the Putumayo area of the upper Amazon became the most well known due to the disclosures of Walter Hardenburg (1912) and Roger Casement (1912). Recently, Michael Taussig's work (1984, 1987) deals with that same situation in the Putumayo, which he characterizes as the "culture of terror." It is not within the scope of this book to undertake a thorough comparison between that area and the Ecuadorian Oriente during the rubber boom. To put the latter in its proper context, however, it is necessary to point out some significant differences between the two areas. First, unlike the Putumayo, which was "stateless" and under the "total control" of rubber baron Julio César Arana during this period (Taussig 1987:22–23), the Liberal administration in Ecuador was trying to expand and consolidate the dominion of the state in the Oriente by creating new administrative units—parishes and cantons—and by appointing the corresponding officials, all of whom wrote regular reports. Thus, there is ample evidence on labor contracts, debt books, trials on abuse cases, and other documents in the Napo government archive, while Taussig reports that no similar evidence was found by Casement or other Europeans for the Putumayo (Taussig 1987:22–23). Second, the cultural development and the history of contact of the Huitoto Indians seems to have been quite different than that of the Oriente Quichua during this period. Unlike the former (see Taussig 1987:72), the latter were used to a money economy and to the debt-peonage system, and some of them, however precariously, were able to exercise their legal rights as Ecuadorian citizens. Third, the different scale of rubber exploitation in both areas due to the differential quality of the rubber found, and the amount of financial resources available to the rubber traders. None of the operations in Ecuador could compare with the power and monopoly held by the Arana brothers. For the differential impact of the rubber boom on other Indian groups of the Amazon Basin, see also Murphy (1960) for the Mundurucú in Brazil, and Varese (1973) for the Campa in Peru.
6. Under the generic name of "rubber," several species of latex were exploited in Ecuador: *rubber* (*Castilloa elastica*) known as "black rubber" and sometimes used to increase the quantity of better quality rubber; *shiringa* (*Hevea brasiliensis*) also known as *jebe* (a distinction in quality was made between fine jebe and weak jebe); *balata* (*Manilkara bidentata*), latex from the *quinillas* or *gutapercha* (the red or pink ones are the best quality); *chicle* (*Macoubea pancifolia*) used to make chewing gum (it was tapped in Ecuador from the 1940s on); and *leche caspi* (*Couma macrocarpa*) similar to balata, but of better quality (see Villarejo 1979).
7. In 1894, the Finance Committee of the Senate recommended the rejection of a project to regulate rubber exploitation on the grounds that, in practical terms, it was impossible to implement because it required "to populate the immense forests with policemen" (ABFL, Senate Commission, Leg. 8, doc. 3, 1894).
8. For the period between 1907 and 1909, from Archidona to Napo, ten white families cultivated sugar cane and had seven distilleries for the production of

aguardiente. The traders in this area exchanged all kinds of textiles for gold panned by the Indians. From Napo to Aguarico, the inhabitants were engaged in the business of rubber (ABFL, report by political chief of Napo canton to Minister, June 30, 1907). In the Pastaza canton, there were twenty-seven rubber traders who exploited twenty to thirty thousand kilograms of rubber a year, and ten thousand kilograms of *ishpingo* (fam. Lauraceae, a type of cinnamon) (ABFL, report by political chief of Pastaza canton, Sarayacu, April 19, 1909).

10 9. In his attempt to convert the many "infidel" Indians still remaining in his vicarship, the Jesuit father R. P. Tovía, went on an evangelical expedition down the Curaray River in October of 1890. He became one of the first eyewitnesses to publicly denounce the abuses being committed at that time by Peruvian *caucheros* from Iquitos against numerous Ecuadorian Indian groups.

In a report addressed to the president of the Ecuadorian Senate in 1892, he detailed several raids to enslave and sell the "pacific" Indians, while the "fierce" ones were killed outright. His assessment of the situation is as follows: "It is evident that given these barbarous procedures the indigenous race of our Oriental forests is going to disappear in a very short time, as has already happened with the Cotos and Tamboriyacus tribes, leaving those regions totally deserted" (ABFL R. P. Tovía to the president of the Senate, July 1st, 1892).

In a more detailed account of his findings published by Jouanen (1977:168), Father Tovía also mentioned a devastating killing raid by the Peruvians on the "Avishiri" or "Avijira" Indians of the Curaray. Several other groups such as Gayes, Semigayes, Muratos, Payaguas, and Angoteres are mentioned in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century documents, but are never mentioned again by their specific names after the late 1920s, the very end of the rubber era. (For the Zaparo Indians see note 11 and Reeve 1985.) In 1905, Vicente Bravo says in his report, "Of the numerous tribes that existed in the Oriental forests, some have totally disappeared, and others tend to disappear due to the wars to death among them, to sickness and epidemics, and to the cruel and inhuman *hunt* perpetrated by the whites to acquire conciertos (slaves), or to eliminate the most dangerous enemy they confront in their incursions and works, during which they prepare true raids on the *huasis* (houses) of the auca (infidels) where thirty or forty individuals of the same family live" (Bravo 1920:124). Bravo (1920:125) mentions that in those raids the adult males were killed, and the women and young males taken, but that those same Indians made revenge raids against white patrons and other Indians. His final assessment is that depopulation in the Oriente in 1905 was caused primarily by the selling of Indians and by forced emigration (Bravo 1920:129–130). Evidence of the decimation of the Ecuadorian indigenous population due to epidemics during the rubber boom period is found in Jouanen (1977). He mentions smallpox, measles, and dysentery epidemics for 1869, 1870, 1874, 1875, 1880, 1890, 1894, and 1895, the last year of Jesuit presence in the Napo mission. I also found documents in the Archivo de la Gobernación de Napo reporting epidemics of measles, smallpox, dengue fever, flu, tertian fever, and malaria for 1904, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1915, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1923, and 1924. These data are not the result of systematic yearly

health statistics. Rather, each document is a desperate plea for medicines by one or the other authority confronted with dying Indians and sick whites, and suddenly left without adequate police protection, mail carriers, or any other Indian to provide service. None of these documents, of course, report deaths caused by epidemics among the unacculturated Indians.

10. In the early twentieth century, this categorization of the Canelos Quichua as Indios was clear in the bureaucratic rhetoric. A 1906 report by Enrique T. Hurtado, the political chief of the Pastaza canton describes the town of San José de Canelos as populated by 600 Indios and two Dominican priests: Reinaldo Van-Schoote and Agustín León. The Indians were characterized as "intelligent, active, robust, and honest," living in settlements near the main plaza, but absent the greater part of the year tapping rubber for white patrons. The town of Sarayacu had "more Indians than [the town of] Canelos," organized under Indian authorities (*curaca* and *alcalde*), working for patrons (two families from Pelileo by the name of Cisneros), and providing services for white authorities, since the political chief asks the government for cotton cloth to pay them. In contrast, Andoas had only a few whites and the "savages" (Jívaro) lived far away, and only occasionally appeared in town to exchange rubber for manufactured goods (ABFL, report, political chief of Pastaza canton, July 5, 1906). In his 1909 report, this same political chief refers to the Indians under his jurisdiction (Canelos and Sarayacu) as "showing good will for the authorities" and "slowly changing their previous hatred into trust." The other—quite numerous—Indians are characterized as "independent savage tribes." These are primarily Jívaro groups (between the Bobonaza and Curaray rivers, at the headwaters of the Conambó, and in the Pastaza River down to the Marañón), and 300 to 400 Zaparo Indians in the Conambo, Corrientes, and Ullaguanga (or Hulla huanga) rivers (ABFL Sarayacu, April 19, 1909). Another report from the political lieutenant of the "Río Tigre" parish, puts nine families of the Hullahuanga River as peons of the white rubber trader Alejandro Torres (AGN, Dec. 10, 1914).
11. The Jesuits classified several of the tribes who were living along the Napo River as infieles, and further divided them between *mansas* (tame), those who had some commerce with whites, and *bravas*, all the others. Down from the town of Coca in the middle Napo, in 1870 there were many Zaparo families, the majority described as infieles, and a few "christianized"; but all of them mansas, because, according to Jouanen (1977:39), they were "a great help to travelers providing them with food, peons, and canoes." Twenty years later, in his trip to the lower Curaray, Father Tovía mentions a white rubber trader called Luis Romagnoli who, with his peons, burned eleven Zaparo houses, killing several of the Indians, and that Romagnoli's peons "committed horrors" against the Zaparo and their women (Jouanen 1977:167–168). Several documents in the Archivo de la Gobernación de Napo mention raids on Zaparo settlements, such as the one made by a Mr. Morán on a Zaparo group living in the Nushiño River in 1883, and a second one made by inhabitants of San Antonio Curaray on Zaparo families living in the Sapino (all peons of Mrs. Josefina Cevallos). Zaparo peons also were stolen from other patrons. In 1925, for instance, Mr. San Miguel stole three Zaparo peons—Ambrosio, Andrés, and Bartolo Zaparo—from Mrs. Zoila Garcés. It is evident that in

1904, several Zaparo were working as rubber peons under different patrons (AGN, settlement of accounts for rubber peons signed by Carlos A. Rivadeneyra, Rocafuerte, 1904).

Starting in October of 1905, Vicente Bravo traveled along the Curaray and Cononaco rivers. In his capacity as political chief of the Curaray canton he was settling rubber peons' accounts, conducting marriages, and legalizing births and deaths. In his account of that trip he mentions several well known white rubber traders (José A. Garcés, Samuel Roggeroni, Armando Llori, Gabriel Izurieta, Abel Vaca, Urbina, Bohorquez, and Daniel Peñafiel), all of whom had a considerable number of Zaparo Indians living in their haciendas, as servants, as guides and oarsmen, and as peons tapping rubber. According to Bravo, the Zaparo tribe was the most widespread between the Curaray, Napo, Pastaza and Tigre rivers. He recognizes that his knowledge is mostly confined to those Zaparo groups living along the Napo and Curaray, whom he describes as christianized and dressed in western clothing. Several Zaparo women lived as concubines with whites, and others were married to Quichua-speaking Indians from the Curaray. In this area, Zaparo families also had entered into compadrazgo relations with white patrons. Bravo clearly differentiates these Zaparo from the adjacent tribes of "non-baptized savages" such as "Orejones," "Piojeces" (dressed in bark cloth), and "Huamboyas" (known enemies of the Zaparo) (Bravo 1920).

13 12. In a 1908 letter to the governor of Oriente, the political chief of Pastaza canton informed him that the Jívaro families who lived along the Pastaza River tapped rubber to exchange for manufactured goods, but did "not recognize the authorities nor any domination the white merchants think they have over them." He described them as being in "continuous warfare" among themselves, and in easy communication by land with all the populations living on the banks of the Bobonaza River. The "Chirapas" living in the Tayo were characterized as the most "fearful" group of warriors lead by two "chiefs" called Yaschilman and Anguashca (AGN, Andoas, Sept. 4, 1908).

14 13. As explained in chapter 2 and by Rucuyaya Alonso, the term auca was used by the Quichua-speaking Indians to refer to all non-christianized Indian groups. The white population in the Ecuadorian Oriente rarely used the term auca to refer in general to this second category of Indians, preferring the terms infidels, barbarians, or simply savages. The interesting point in the Ecuadorian case is to determine when the label "Aucas" came to be used by both whites and Indians to refer to the specific group of Huaorani Indians as a term of abuse—still occasionally used despite the efforts of indigenous organizations, academics, and the Huaorani themselves to set the record straight. One can offer a tentative, although rather obvious, explanation of this. After the rubber boom was over, when other unacculturated groups disappeared or, as the Zaparo, looked for refuge by merging into Quichua groups, the Huaorani continued to avoid permanent contact with whites and engaged in periodic raids, primarily against Napo Quichua settlements. At least ten attacks can be documented in the Archivo de la Gobernación de Napo from 1907 until 1924 as having been perpetrated by Huaorani groups in the areas of the Nushiño River, and in settlements near Coca and San José on the middle Napo. Until then, the Huaorani are referred to as the "infidel tribe of Aushiris." After

1924, attacks become more frequent, probably exacerbated by the oil exploration expeditions into their territories, which started in the decade of the 1920s (see chapter 10) and the different groups of Huaorani are quite consistently labeled "Aucas," the last remaining "savages."

14. In an attempt to clarify the academic record published in English about the infamous Llori family (see Porras Garcés 1979; Reeve 1988:30 and fn 5), I did a bit of detective work through the Napo government archive and was successful in unravelling at least part of their story through several documents, mostly of trials in which they are accused of one or the other crime. The Armando Llori mentioned here in relation to the flagellation incident was one of the sons of the rubber trading family of Antonio Llori. Manuel Alomía Llori, the person to whom Porras Garcés attributes the manuscript he published in 1979, was a nephew of Antonio Llori. He most likely wrote that document, because I found another document signed by him and addressed to the president of the Republic of Ecuador dated October 28, 1914, in his capacity as first political lieutenant of the then recently created parish of "Río Tigre" (AGN, Oct. 28, Jan. 17, 1914). This document is much less rhetorical than the one found by Porras Garcés. It is primarily an appeal to the president to colonize that area of the Oriente after the rubber collapse. In it he mentions that he was writing a book called *Oriente*. Besides, in the Porras Garcés' document Manuel Alomía Llori mentions two attempts on his life organized by the Indians, one in 1909, the second by Indian women in 1915 (Porras Garcés 1979:33). The first attempt in 1909 is confirmed in another document (see page 121 in this book). Manuel Alomía Llori was white, of Colombian origin, but lived in the Ecuadorian Oriente since his adolescence, and married a white woman, as is stated in a legal document of a trial in which he is accused, along with Antonio Llori, of arbitrary retention of an Indian woman (AGN, Tena, Nov. 7, 1907).

    When Reeve (1988) makes use of Porras Garcés' document as an example of white consciousness about the rubber boom, based on Simson's travel account (1886:128, 140, 165, 180), she speculates that the person who wrote it could have been the same Llore (*sic*) mentioned by Simson, a black man of New Granadian origin who had married a woman of Zaparo descent and had a Zaparo grandmother. I am afraid this is not the case. In this regard, the only other evidence I found was that Manuel Alomía Llori's uncle, Antonio Llori, a self-declared white Colombian (he threatens to call in his Colombian Consul when accused of crimes in Ecuador), is mentioned in one document as having a "pure blood Jívaro woman" as a concubine (AGN, document, article copied from *El Tiempo* No. 1888, March 18, 1900), quite a common relationship in the Curaray, according to Bravo (1920).

15. The economy of the rubber boom did not only bring prosperity and squandering for the large entrepreneurs at Iquitos, but apparently for the Peruvian government bureaucracy as well. The political lieutenant of Río Tigre informed the governor that during the heyday of the rubber boom the Peruvians had a rather inflated bureaucracy in the frontier areas, including several minor officials at the Conambo and Pinduc-Yacu rivers designated as "Inspectors of *charapa* (turtle) eggs" (AGN, Río Tigre, Oct. 28, 1914).

16. To give an idea of the quantity and types of goods forcefully handed over to

an Indian by a patron, so as to ensure his labor as a rubber tapper, we list below the items given back by one of these Pano young men in Tena: "What was forcefully thrown on Nicolás Andi is: 1 used shotgun, 1 #5 enamelled iron pot, 1 enamelled iron dish, 16 varas of blue *chamelote* (cloth), 6½ varas of thick cotton cloth, 1 cap, 1 mosquito net, 1 belt, 1,000 explosives, 2 pounds of gun powder, 1 spoon, 1 30-gram jar of alkalí, 1¼ *kananga* [?], 4 bags, cigarette paper, 7 pounds of ammunition, one ordinary razor, 3 pairs of pants, 6 shirts, one #222 sabre, 1 pincushion, 1 small axe, 1 package of matches, 12 spools of thread, 1 box of buttons, 5 lamp wicks" (AGN, Oct. 7, 1908).

17. I was assured by several Napo Runa that the practice of swallowing gunpowder to gain courage before undertaking a dangerous task was quite common among them until not very long ago.

## 10. Gold, Oil, and Cattle

1. Dyott (1926), who visited the "Venecia" hacienda in 1926, argues that the price paid for a seventy-five-pound bale was eight dollars (33 sucres), a price that all the Tena informants I consulted found exaggerated. They all agreed that six sucres per trip to Quito for carrying a seventy-five-pound bale was the correct price.
2. I have especially chosen Mrs. Juana Arteaga to represent the ideology and the personality of the women who became important patrons, and extensive quotes from her are presented throughout this chapter. The archive of the governor's office contains more documents and letters by her than by any other woman of that period. Besides, she also is remembered in Tena today as the most outspoken and colorful of the patrons. Another of these patrons was Mrs. Mariana Montesdeoca, who was mentioned by Rucuyaya Alonso (see chapter 8), and in a 1982 interview by Bartolo Shiguango Andi (Logro), another Pano Indian, as being "very fierce and punishing of peons." Yet another, was Mrs. Esther Sevilla, who strongly resisted relinquishing power over her peons until the 1970s. I have decided to use the term "lady patrons" to refer to these women to convey the meaning of the Spanish *señoras patronas*. Señora or *Doña* as terms of respect always preceeded their full names in most documents.
3. Macdonald (1979:211) argues that the era of the apu and priests ended around 1922, when it was replaced by the patron-client relationship between whites and Indians. This is correct if it refers to the system of *repartos* and the Jesuits. However, AGN documentation shows that the system of justicias and apu continued at least until 1945. In addition, the Josephine missionaries only entered the region in 1922. The three prongs of the system of domination—patrons, authorities, and priests—operated in conjunction, although they did not always maintain a good working relationship among themselves.
4. Beghin, a Belgian ethnologist who briefly visited the Oriente in 1961, characterizes the patrons as "feudal lords" and the peons as "serfs." His argument is based on a series of misconceptions, such as stating that everything produced by the Indians, including lumber, fish, and crops belonged to the patrons (Beghin 1964:120), something that never did take place in this area. He also

characterizes the Napo Runa as "not very sociable by nature," "quite servile, without any character of their own and soddened by chicha and liquor" (Beghin 1964:146), and as people on whom "the master exercises a sort of hypnotic power" (Beghin 1964:120). Beghin's article has been mentioned in other publications to "prove" the "oppression" and "servitude" that the Napo Runa were subjected to under the hacienda system. This mistaken characterization of the Napo Runa is repeated in a 1969 publication by the Escuela de Sociología de la Universidad Central (1969:33) that speaks of "the Quichua's docility bordering on servility."

5. Some whites in Tena reported that there were large numbers of debtor peons (as many as 180 families, in one case), in the haciendas of the middle and lower Napo, but I have not found any documents in the archives corroborating that information. There is the evidence of a payroll of 124 laborers in the hacienda Nueva Armenia in the middle Napo, but it refers to a rice harvest, a task for which only temporary labor was hired (AGN, Nueva Armenia, Oct. 14, 1933). Reeve mentions haciendas in the Curaray with 200 peons each, but it is assumed that this occurred during the rubber boom (Reeve 1985:124–125). For the Tena canton there are documents listing the debtor peons for each patron and for several periods. The most complete I have found is dated 1938 and lists fifteen patrons, each one with 30, 16, 15, 28, 7, 33, 24, 11, 7, 14, 12, 9, 19, 30 and 8 debtor peons respectively (AGN, list of peons indebted to patrons in Tena canton, Jan. 1938).
6. In 1982, Bartolo Shinguano Andi (Logro), who worked as a "free laborer" for Mrs. Mariana Montesdeoca, describes the situation of the peons residing in this lady patron's hacienda as follows: "She was a very fierce woman and so was her husband. When the rooster crowed but once, already the capitán sounded the whistle so that those who were in the hacienda would get up and drink chicha, gain strength, sharpen the machete, and at five in the morning go to the lady's house, so that she would distribute the work load. A group would go to plant corn, others to cut leaves for cooking, because she lived like an Indian (that is, she cooked fish or meat on leaves, in the native style). She also had many other people, from Paushiyacu to Apayacu, as debtor peons."
7. It is not necessary here to enter into the debate as to whether or not concertaje (indenture service) was a legal work contract, or if it was only regulated by the contractual obligations of the debt (see Espinosa 1984). In the Oriente, concertaje was the name given to a relationship whereby the patron hired labor by indebting the worker with goods. It was also called *empadronamiento de peones* ("registration of peons") and *contrato de jornaleros* ("day-laborer's contract"); but contracting of labor and indebtedness always went hand-in-hand. Besides, contrary to the situation in the Sierra, the Oriente patrons were primarily traders who, in addition to hiring labor mainly for extractive activities, were interested in disposing of manufactured goods among their laborers and among the general population (for an explanation of the origin of concertaje in Ecuador, see Oberem 1981a:309–310).
8. As noted by Espinosa, the legal provisions regulating concertaje were of a penal nature and partly governed by the Code of Penal Procedure. Only when the patron suspected that the laborer might not pay the debt, the Code

allowed him the *arraigo personal* ("settling of a person") in the hacienda, and in the event that such "detention" was violated, the persecution and imprisonment of the peon (Espinosa 1984:148–149). In the Oriente, the political lieutenants and the police were in charge of enforcing this legislation.

9. For example, the authorities were forbidden to use liquor to secure the Indians' labor, but they got the same results by sentencing the Indians to two days' work for drunkenness (AGN, trial Vicente Andi (Misqui Logro) for drunkenness, 1940).
10. "Indenture" contracts and the inspection of debt settlements initiated either by the patron or by the peon continued to be practiced in the Oriente at least until 1945, that is, twenty-seven years after the enactment of the law abolishing concertaje (see Oberem 1981a:311 for a discussion of a similar case in the Sierra).
11. The fact that wages were nominal should not be confused—as has been done repeatedly—with the fact that an Indian worked for free, without any payment whatsoever. If there were some instances of this type of work, these constituted abuses of the existing system, not the norm.
12. This situation of absolute scarcity of Indian labor so that no patron had an abundant supply, also differentiates the Oriente from the Sierra. As Marchán argues, during the nineteenth century in the Sierra, there was only a relative shortage of native labor, so that certain productive units enjoyed a labor surplus, while there was a shortage in the labor market as a whole (Marchán 1984:96–97).
13. For a discussion of similar penalties applied to *peones conciertos* (indentured laborers) in the Sierra, see Oberem 1981a:316.
14. Several local periodic publications, such as *Ecuador Amazónico*, *El Amazónico*, and *Nosotros*, pay lavish praise to the white pioneers in poetry, biographies, and other essays. A recent official publication of the Consejo Provincial del Napo (1987), just mentions the names of a few "Indian pioneers," but fails to acknowledge the Indians' contribution to the social and economic development of the region. As an example, I include a few lines from a long and rhetorical essay in which the author glorifies the white settlers as "titans of steel" and says the following about their arrival into the forest: "Those intrepid settlers who brought their wives and children along with them; *carried on the backs of numerous reliefs*; [on the Indians' back]. Suddenly enthralled by some dream-like scenery, they [the settlers] felled the dense forest by dint of machetes to hang their hammocks and quiet their anxieties. Later they built their ranches, that in the course of time became larger, like stations to calm voluntary exile . . . and the Towns were born!" (Federico Páez 1987:16, emphasis added).
15. Even in 1938, J. B. Crespo Pando, a patron in the Rocafuerte Canton, illegally paid his peons the value of their wages in "tin tokens," representing different amounts: those with two holes were worth two sucres, those with three holes, three sucres, and so on. Failure to pay in state currency violated Article 38 of the Police Code then in force. For example, a letter by the political chief to the political lieutenant of the Rocafuerte canton, dated June 10, 1938, mentions a complaint filed by the Indian Mauricio Shiguango on account of continued mistreatments by the above patron (AGN 1938).

16. The 1899 Law, issued by Eloy Alfaro's government, prohibited that Indians be forced to serve as *pongos* (personal servants). Article 11 of that law states: "It is hereby prohibited under Article 23 of the Constitution to force Indians to serve as pongos, alcaldes de doctrinas, fiscales, and so on, unless the ecclesiastical authority requiring such servants estipulates the salary and pays it in advance" (cited in Rubio Orbe 1954:67).
17. United States' mining investments in Ecuador in 1930, amounted to 1,750,000 dollars, out of a total U.S. investment of 20,087,400 dollars (Drake 1984:263).
18. Malaria was a serious problem in that period and came from the lower Napo (AGN, Feb. 17, 1935).
19. The Apostolic Prefect's Office at Sucumbíos was commissioned to the Carmelite Mission in 1929, and that of Aguarico was entrusted to the Capuchine Fathers in 1954.
20. We reproduce here some brief excerpts of the interviews recorded in 1982 with several rucuyayas and rucumamas, in order to reconstruct the histories of several Indian communities located near Tena, such as Pano, Talag, Shandia, and Chambira. *Rucumama from Talag*: "When the Fathers began to take away the good lands, the Indians began to protest. My husband told them to leave those lands, that otherwise we could not live, that we would be left without productive lands; the good land was only around the river. They continued to take land away from us until we started to make it difficult for them and they couldn't do it any more." *Rucuyaya from Chambira*: "X's mother went to complain to the authorities because she thought they [the priests] were taking away her land. Then a priest took advantage of the situation; he came from Archidona and bought all the land for 300 sucres. They sometimes would give us only one pair of pants or one blouse. Many people left, but no one will push me out of here, not even if they shoot me."
21. From the time Shell entered the Oriente until now, the Napo Runa who go to the oil region to work on a temporary basis say, "I'm going to the company," without specifying the name of the company or the type of work they will have to do. Whenever their wives and mothers are asked about this, they also answer, "My husband (or son) is at the company."
22. Interesting photographs of these police forces, of the Shell camps and airports, as well as of the famous "parachutist pig" mentioned by Rucuyaya Alonso (see chapter 9, p. 134) may be found in Blomberg 1956:between pp. 16 and 17.
23. It is obvious that the Huaorani were aware of the fear inspired by their spears, and used them to scare the workers. Since they are first mentioned in early reports, these spears have had a morbid fascination for whites. They are described elaborately in all administrative reports, explorers have pictures taken with them, and at present, despite their large size, there are still tourists who buy them.
24. As we already mentioned when analyzing the debt, the women often worked as day laborers, but were hired as part of the family group, or individually for harvesting, and usually in haciendas located not too far away from their own settlements. Even today, Tena-Archidona women do not go to work in "the company," whichever it may be.
25. Napo Runa informants do not remember the date when the last ceremony of

the "change of staffs" took place, and it has not been possible to find it in the AGN archives (the latest found was for 1945). Oberem (1980:33) suggests that these ceremonies came to an end because the Ecuadorian administration was no longer interested in their preservation at the time when a public official could no longer profit from the system of justicias because it had been replaced by another based on the private traders. However, Oberem's argument implies that the system of justicias did not coincide with the patron system, which contradicts all the evidence provided by the public administration documents in the AGN. Rucuyaya Alonso suggests that the justicias system came to an end with the Protestants. Yet this should not be interpreted to mean that it occurred as soon as the Protestants arrived in Tena-Archidona, but only after their influence was consolidated among several Indian groups. Oberem (1980:337) also suggests that the Protestants' individualistic ideology contributed to the system's disappearance. My interpretation is that the Protestant presence may have been of secondary importance, but that the decisive factors for the abandonment of the justicias system were the economic changes that provided the Indians with new opportunities, and the communications infrastructure, as explained in the text.

26. This ideology still persists, although the surnames of most of the highland traders are indisputably of Indian origin, and the traditional "patron aristocracy" is composed mostly of mestizos. As in the rest of Ecuador, the status of "white" is eminently social, not racial.

## 14. The Cultural Bases of Resistance

1. This particular conception of cultural identity refers to the Napo Runa of Rucuyaya Alonso's generation. I have no evidence to infer that it would apply—or not—to the younger generations of Napo Runa. There is a generation of women now between 45 and 55 years of age who seem to represent the female version of this identity. At present, I am conducting research with a few women of this age group and any observations will be the object of another study, where gender differences in relation to ethnic and cultural identity, will have to be addressed.
2. The supais are considered supai runa; like people they have their own muntun and live in their own villages. Women, mostly, like to talk about the family problems among supais, and between them and Runa with the same matter-of-factness with which they talk about their own. The daughter of a well-known yachaj explained to me in 1987, "My mother gets angry when she wants to sleep with my father. The supai huarmi gets between them and doesn't let him." Talking about the supai huarmi of a famous bancu, now deceased, another woman I interviewed in 1987 said, "The supai huarmi that he left, appears as a *dunbique* (toucan) and still lives in the swamp. The daughters must be grown-up women by now. She is like a Runa mother, and doesn't let them go anywhere."
3. Several versions of myths and legends from the lower and middle Napo as far as Peru show a strong cultural continuity with those from the Tena-Archidona area. Migrations downriver from the upper Napo have occurred

in different historical periods from colonial times to the present, and those migrants have also experienced different cultural influences from other indigenous groups.

4. For a discussion of the concept of "work" and its different meanings in the Quichua language of the sixteenth century see Jurgen Golte 1972.
5. I have decided not to include in this discussion the analysis of dreams and visions associated with shamanism, nor the healing ritual, more familiar in the literature about shamanism. For a detailed discussion of male dream experiences among Quichua speakers originally of the same group as the Napo Runa see Macdonald 1979, chapters 6 and 11.
6. The Napo Runa who are more familiar with Canelos Quichua culture mentioned that, among the Canelos Quichua, the dirichu yachaj is known as *cusca yachaj* (see also Whitten 1976:147).
7. Sánchez-Parga and Pineda (1985:569) point out that in the texts of Huaorochirí, *huillic* and *bruxos* are identified with *yachaccuna* and *camasca* and that, in the Ecuadorian highland community of Ilumán as in the ancient texts, camasca means "creative strength" or "force that moves"; the seat of power and its symbolic sign. Whitten (1985:esp. 108–109, 114, 167) extensively discusses the complexity of the concept of *camai* in the shamanic complex of the Canelos Quichua.
8. To dream with horses may have two opposite symbolic meanings. The domesticated animal is symbolically weak, and to dream with it is a sign of illness. When the image of a horse connotes "horse power," as in machinery, it is a symbol of power.
9. In his study of the relationship between shamanism and the state, Salomon (1983:493–494) examines a similar case in which magical aggression could have been an important factor in the territorial dispersion of Indian communities, pressured by the expansion of large landed estates in the eighteenth century.
10. The sects that have most recently entered into the Tena-Archidona area are: Mormons, Pentecostals, Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses. They join the Free Brethren, Christian and Missionary Alliance, and Episcopalians.
11. Renato Rosaldo (1978:243–244) mentions a very similar form of sympathetic magic used by the Spanish soldiers in the late sixteenth century as a formula to try to make peace with the Ilongot people of the Philippines.

# Glossary

Unless otherwise indicated all terms are Napo Quichua and follow Orr and Wrisley (1965) spelling of the Tena dialect for all words found in that vocabulary. Some adjustments were made according to the orthography currently used by the Ecuadorian bilingual program.

The historic plural marker in Quichua is -guna attached to nouns. In Tena-Archidona, the influence of Spanish often occurs in colloquial usage where -s is used to pluralize nouns. Thus, one might hear either *rucuyayaguna* or *rucuyayas* as the plural form of *rucuyaya* (grandfather, elder). In referring to plural Quichua terms I will use the -s form in most cases.

In the glossary Spanish terms are folowed by "(Sp.)."

| | |
|---|---|
| *Achiote* (Sp.) | Annato (*Bixa orellana*). A fruit with red seeds used as face paint by men and women. In Quichua *manduru*. |
| *Aguti* (Sp.) | Agouti (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa*). In Quichua, *sicu*. |
| *Ahuallacta* | Person from the Highlands; outsider. Sometimes used pejoratively to refer to someone who does not know how to act in the forest environment. |
| *Alli yachaj* | Shaman who uses his power to heal and do good. |
| *Alquilón* (Sp.) | Hireling; person who accompanies the bearer on his trips. |
| *Amarun* | Anaconda (*Eunectus marinus* L.). Also known as *yacumama* (q.v.). |
| *Amarun quiru* | Tooth of the anaconda. |
| *Amasanga* | Powerful rain forest spirit, master of the game animals. |
| *Ambi* | Medicine, also used to refer to poisons such as *barbasco* (q.v.). |
| *Amigu* | Ritual friend. From the Spanish *amigo*. |
| *Amu* | Chief, powerful spirit. |
| *Anguilla paju* | Type of "sickness" that brings on trembling. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Anguilla panga* | Leaf used to cure the trembling. |
| *Apama* | A designation affectionately given to wives. Derived from *apamama* (q.v.). |
| *Apamama* | Grandmother. |
| *Apu* | Lord, chief. Designation usually given to white authorities. |
| *Armallu* | Armadillo. |
| *Ashanga* | Carrying basket. |
| *Asua* | Chicha; fermented manioc mixed with water. |
| *Auca* | Savage. Generally used to refer to "non-civilized" Indians. When used in the text in reference to the Huaorani Indians, it is capitalized as Auca. |
| *Auca añangu* | Fierce stinger ant. |
| *Aya* | Soul, spirit of the deceased. |
| *Aya allpa* | Earth of a deceased soul or *supai* (q.v.). |
| *Ayahuasca* | Soul vine (*Banisteriopsis caapi*). Plant used as an hallucinogenic. |
| *Ayllu* | Kinship unit, one's kin, one's own group. |
| *Bancu* | Powerful shaman in whom the spirits may take possession. |
| *Bancuchitu* | Very powerful shaman, even among *bancu* (see *chitu*). |
| *Barbasco* (Sp.) | Great mullein (*Lonchocarpus* sp.). Poison used for fishing. |
| *Batia* | From the Spanish *batea*. Shallow wooden bowl. |
| *Biruti* | Magic dart or arrow. |
| *Birutear* | Action whereby the shaman sends the magic darts. |
| *Brujo* (Sp.) | Witch doctor. Term used by non-Indians to refer to all shamans and, occasionally by the Napo Runa to refer to shamans who misuse their power. |
| *Bufeo* (Sp.) | Fresh-water dolphin (*Innia geoffresis*). |
| *Bura* | Wedding. |
| *Burla shuti* | Nickname. |
| *Cachi runa* | Salt person; salt spirit, sometimes in the form of a dog. |
| *Caitu* | Platform used as a bed. |
| *Cajón* (Sp.) | Wooden chair used to carry people. |
| *Cajón Supai* | Spirit controlling extra-marital relationships and other forbidden relations. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Callarina* | To begin, the beginning. |
| *Callari tiempu* | Ancient times, at the beginning. |
| *Camaricos* | Mandatory gifts of animals or food given by the Indians to priests and patrons. |
| *Camashca* | Trial, action of putting to trial. |
| *Capote* (Sp.) | Cape of *toquilla* palm used for protection against the rain. |
| *Carachama* | White fish. There are several species. |
| *Cascarilla* (Sp.) | Cinchona bark (*Chinchona succruba*). Tree from whose bark quinine is obtained, |
| *Cauchero* (Sp.) | White rubber-trader or patron. |
| *Causai* | Life. |
| *Chagra* | Swidden plot. |
| *Chahuamangu* | Brightly colored bird, common in the Tena-Archidona region. |
| *Challi panga* | Vine added to *ayahuasca* (q.v.) to enhance the clarity of the visions. |
| *Challua* | Bocachico fish (*Prochilodus nigracans*). |
| *Chambira* | Palm tree (*Astrocaryum chambira*) from which the fiber used to make nets and *shigras* (q.v.) is obtained. |
| *Chanzha* | Small agouti. |
| *Chapana* | Provisional dwelling built for the hunt. |
| *Charapa* | Large river turtle (*Podecnemis unifilis*). |
| *Chasquichina* | Wedding ceremony to welcome the bride's family. |
| *Chasquina* | Ceremony of acceptance at the wedding. |
| *Chicha* | Fermented gruel. See also *asua*. |
| *Chichicu* | Type of monkey (*Saguinus nigricollis*). |
| *Chirigote* | Bundle of braided *pita* (q.v.). |
| *Chitu* | Trunk with old roots that does not die. Name also given to *Amasanga* (q.v.). |
| *Chonta* | Hardwood palm tree (*Bactris ciliata*). Also the fruit. |
| *Chonta yuyu* | Edible heart of *chonta* palm. |
| *Chumbi* | Sash. |
| *Chunchupu muyu* | Wild plant. |
| *Churi* | Male child; son. |
| *Churu* | Conch shell used to call people. |
| *Churungu* | Woolley monkey (*Lagothrix lagotricha*) of highly valued flesh. |
| *Cielosiqui* | End of the world. Place where some *supai* (q.v.) live. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Compadrazgo* (Sp.) | Ritual co-parenthood. |
| *Compadre* (Sp.) | Ritual male co-parent. |
| *Cucha* | Pond, lagoon. |
| *Cucupitsu* | A rodent. A kind of large mouse. |
| *Cuillur* | Bright star. Usually the morning star. |
| *Cumpa* | Male ritual co-parent. From the Spanish *compadre* (q.v.). |
| *Cumpaña* | Companion at the wedding, both on the groom's and the bride's behalf. From the Sp. *acompañante*, or companion. |
| *Curaga* | Chief, authority, also master of game animals. |
| *Curi* | Gold. |
| *Cushillu* | Spider monkey (*Ateles belzebuth*). Also known as *maquisapa*. |
| *Cushma* | In the Tena-Archidona area, short poncho or shirt. |
| *Dirichu yachaj* | Shaman who knows how to control his power. |
| *Docemundoi* | Middle of the world. Place where some spirits and souls live. |
| *Doctrina* (Sp.) | A missionary religious strategy for evangelization. |
| *Duceru* | Bright star, generally the evening star. |
| *Dunbiqui* | Toucan (*Ramphastos* sp.). |
| *Dunbiqui mama* | Powerful female spirit. |
| *Encomendero* (Sp.) | Holder of an *encomienda* (q.v.). |
| *Encomienda* (Sp.) | Grants of land by which Spaniards in the Americas were rewarded for services to the Crown. |
| *Eslagón* (Sp.) | Bag to carry ammunition and fulminating powder for hunting. |
| *Estanco* (Sp.) | Institution for the storage and sale of alcohol, salt, and other products monopolized by the state. |
| *Guadua* (Sp.) | A variety of bamboo. In Quichua, *huamaj*. |
| *Guarapu* | Alcoholic beverage made of fermented sugar cane or plantain. |
| *Huaccha* | Lacking a family. See *Huaccha mama* and *Huaccha huahua*. |
| *Huaccha huahua* | Orphan. |
| *Huaccha mama* | Widow. |
| *Huachi* | Badger. Also known as *cuchuchu*. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Huagraucucha* | Forest mouse. |
| *Huahua* | Baby, infant. |
| *Huaira* | Wind. |
| *Huairachina* | Bunch of leaves used by the shaman to cleanse the sick person. Also fan. |
| *Huamaj* | Bamboo-like gramineous plant (*Guadua weber baneri*, Pilga). |
| *Huami* | Fish trap. |
| *Huanduj* | Substance used as a hallucinogenic (*Datura*). |
| *Huanduj huarmi* | Female spirit, "lady" or "mistress" of the *huanduj*. |
| *Huangana* | White-lipped peccary (*Tayassu pecari*). |
| *Huangu* | Bunch, bundle. |
| *Huarmi* | Woman; wife. |
| *Huayusa* | Plant (*Ilexguayusa*), tea made with its leaves. |
| *Huicsacara* | The breast and stomach of an animal. |
| *Huinaro* | Indian governor; one of the offices in the *varas* (q.v.) system. |
| *Huintiutiu* | Night bird; sometimes sent by the *yachaj*. |
| *Indi* | The sun. |
| *Indillama* | Sloth (*Bradypus* sp.). |
| *Ingupava* | Forest turkey hen. Piping-guan. |
| *Ishinga* | Fishing net. |
| *Isla* (Sp.) | Flooded plain, very fertile for crops. |
| *Jilucu* | Bird (*Nyctibius griseus*). In mythology, sister and lover of the moon. |
| *Linchij* | Bush, the flowering of which marks canoe-building time. |
| *Llacta* | A residence group; place of birth, village. |
| *Llanchama* | Tree bark (*Olmedia aspera*). When beaten, can be used for clothing or mats. |
| *Llushti* | Naked. |
| *Llushti auca* | Literally, naked savage. Used in reference to a group of the Huaorani Indians. |
| *Lumu* | Manioc (*Manihot esculenta*). |
| *Lumuchu* | Paca (*Cuniculus paca*). |
| *Lumucuchi* | Collared peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*). |

*Maitu* Wrapped-up bundle, package made with leaves.

*Manduru* See *Achiote*.

*Mania* Reed arch used to climb trees.

*Maquicutuna* Blouse, part of female apparel.

*Marcaya* Godfather.

*Mashca* From *máchica*, barley flour.

*Matiri* Container to keep the darts used for hunting.

*Mayuhua* Palisade.

*Mericos* Physicians, used to mean powerful shamans. From the Sp. *médicos*.

*Motelo* Land t[illegible]e (*Geochelone denticulata*).

*Mundoi puma* Lord of the pumas.

*Munditi* Land bird (*Opisthocomus hoazin*), similar to a large guan, also known as *huaturitu*.

*Muntun* Kinship group. From the Sp. *montón*, or group.

*Muriti* Palm tree (*Mauritia flexuosa*). Yields edible fruit.

*Muscui* Dream, vision.

*Muyus* Necklace beads.

*Nanai* Sickness, pain.

*Nanai paju* Sickness caused by *paju* (q.v.).

*Pacha* Traditional female apparel.

*Pactachina* Ceremony preceding the wedding.

*Paju* Sickness or danger caused by "unnatural" forces. Also personal power to cure different illnesses or to make things grow.

*Pampanilla* Skirt, part of the traditional female apparel.

*Panga* Leaf.

*Paushi* Guan, cashew bird (*Crax salvini*).

*Pichichij* Non-timber tree.

*Pilchi* Gourd (*Crescentia cujete*). Calabash gourd used as a bowl or vessel; also *cuya*.

*Pingullu* Five-hole flute. Reed pipe.

*Pishcu* Fowl, bird.

*Pita* Agave (family of the Amarilidaceaes), fiber used to make *shigras* (q.v.).

*Pitalala* Equis snake (*Bothrops atrox*), very poisonous.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Pitalala shimi* | Said of someone who is not taken in by words; who is always ready to protest on behalf of a cause. |
| *Pongo* | Peon who performed housework in his patron's home. |
| *Puca caspi* | Reddish wood (*Contorea hecandra* Schum) used to make the staffs of rule or *varas* (q.v.). |
| *Puca chaqui auca* | Lit. Red-foot savage. Used to refer to a group of Huaorani Indians. |
| *Pucuna* | Blowgun; and to suck. Action of sucking out the sickness by the shaman. Sometimes meaning all the shamanic action, to bewitch. |
| *Pucushca quilla* | Full moon. In mythology, male moon. |
| *Pugri* | Poor. From the Spanish *pobre*. |
| *Puma* | Term used to refer to all felines, such as the jaguar, ocelot, wild cat, and others. |
| *Puma apamama* | Grandmother of the pumas. |
| *Pumayuyu* | Infusion of a shoot (*Drymonia warszewicziana*) that is drunk by whoever wishes to turn into a puma after death. |
| *Purina* | To walk, to journey. |
| *Purina chagra* | See *tambu*. |
| *Pushihua* | Marsh palm. |
| *Quilla* | The moon. |
| *Quilla runa* | A lazy person, an idler. |
| *Quillca* | Paper, book. |
| *Quiquin* | True, real. |
| *Quiquin ayllu* | More immediate family group. |
| *Quiquin llacta* | One's own land, birthplace. |
| *Quindi* | Hummingbird (*Ocreatus underwoodi*). |
| *Quisa* | Measure equivalent to approximately ten liters. Also ceramic pot with a narrow neck. |
| *Rancia* | Foreigner. |
| *Rayu* | Thunder. Important spirit in the apprenticeship of certain *yachaj* (q.v.). |
| *Rayumanda yachaj* | Shaman who has learned from the *Rayu* (q.v.). |
| *Reducción* (Sp.) | Administrative term referring to a congregation of Christianized Indians. |
| *Repartos* (Sp.) | Forced allotment of manufactured goods to the Indians to be repaid in labor or products. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ricsij runa* | One who knows; an experienced person. |
| *Rucu* | An old person; an elder. |
| *Rucumama* | Grandmother, a term of respect and endearment used for elderly women. |
| *Rucuyaya* | Grandfather, a term of respect and endearment used for elderly men. |
| *Rumi* | Stone. |
| *Runa* | Human being, an indigenous person. When capitalized in the text it refers to the Napa Quichua. |
| *Sabiru runa* | A wise person, a sharp person. |
| *Sacha* | Jungle, forest. |
| *Sachahuagra* | Tapir (*Taripus terrestris*). |
| *Sacha huasi* | Temporary forest dwelling. |
| *Sacha puma* | Puma spirit of the forest. |
| *Sacha supai* | Forest spirit. |
| *Samai* | Breath, spiritual force. |
| *Sanguru* | Mosquito (*Culex* sp.). |
| *Sargaj* | Evil-doing shaman or "witch doctor," who sends magic darts primarily to kill. |
| *Sarsaparrilla* (Sp.) | A lowland vine (*Smilaz officinalis*), used as a tonic and to flavor foods. |
| *Shigra* | Bag woven from *pita* (q.v.) or *chambira* (q.v.) fiber. |
| *Shiquitu* | A type of fish like the *carachama* (q.v.). |
| *Shungu* | Heart, vital core. |
| *Sicli* | A type of rock fish, like the *carachama* (q.v.). |
| *Sicu* | Agouti (see *aguti*). |
| *Simayuca* | Magic brew or powder prepared to obtain a woman. |
| *Sinchi* | Powerful. Strength. |
| *Sinchi muscui* | Powerful vision or dream. |
| *Sinchi yachaj* | Powerful shaman. |
| *Supai* | Spirit. Sometimes used to mean the devil. |
| *Supai allpa* | Earth of a spirit, used for hunting. |
| *Supai huahua* | Child of a *runa* (q.v.) woman and a spirit. |
| *Supai huarmi* | Female spirit. |
| *Supai llacta* | City or town of the *supai* (q.v.). |
| *Supai runa* | Spirit personified in a man, or generally in people. |
| *Supai ungui* | Sickness caused by a *supai* (q.v.). |
| *Supai yacu* | Name sometimes given to *ayahuasca* (q.v.). |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Tacajllajlla* | Hen with clipped wings that cannot fly or walk well. |
| *Tagua* (Sp.) | Ivory palm (*Phytelephas macrocarpa*). Its ripe fruit, called vegetable ivory, is used for buttons, chips. *Chipati* in Quichua. |
| *Tambu* | Hunting and fishing territory away from main settlement. A secondary house and swidden plot is also maintained there. |
| *Tamia* | Rain. |
| *Tamia añango* | Rain ant (*Ecyton* sp.), dreaded for its bite. |
| *Tapuna* | Hand-asking ceremony. Betrothal ceremony. |
| *Tapushcamanda upichina* | Part of the wedding ritual during which there is drinking to ask for the woman's hand in marriage. |
| *Taquina* | The shaman's song. |
| *Taripana* | To judge, ask, inquire. |
| *Taripana punzha* | Judgment day. |
| *Taruga* | Deer. |
| *Tilimbu* | Firefly. |
| *Tsalamanga* | Powerful spirit. A divining shaman. |
| *Tsuntsu* | A very poor, destitute person. |
| *Tucaru* | Person who plays the violin at the wedding ceremony. |
| *Tucuyo* | Coarse cotton cloth made in the Sierra. |
| *Tuta* | Night. |
| *Tutacushillu* | Night monkey. |
| *Uchu* | Red pepper (*Capsicum* sp.). |
| *Ucupachama* | The underworld, where spirits live. Sometimes used to signify "hell." |
| *Ullu* | Penis. |
| *Umachij runa* | Person who speaks craftily, a schemer. |
| *Upa* | Fool, idiot, a surly person. |
| *Upa ungui* | Meningitis. |
| *Varas* (Sp.) | Literally, staffs. Indian authorities imposed in the Colonial period. Also *varayuj*. |
| *Varayuj tiempu* | The time of the Indian authorities, or *varas* (q.v.). |
| *Versiana* | Ritual song at the wedding ceremony. |
| *Versiaru* | Person who performs the ritual song at the wedding ceremony. |
| *Vinillu* | Hard drink prepared by distilling a type of *chicha*. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Yachaj* | Shaman, person who knows. |
| *Yachaj rumi* | Shaman's stone. |
| *Yachana* | To know, to learn. |
| *Yacu* | Water, river. |
| *Yacu mama* | Spirit, lord of the water in female form. |
| *Yacu supai* | Water spirit. |
| *Yanga rimaj* | To speak just for speaking's sake, senselessly. |
| *Yanga yachaj* | Shaman with little power versus that of the *bancu* (q.v.). |
| *Yaya* | Father. Respectful form of address. |
| *Yutu* | Partridge (*Tinamus major*). |
| *Yuturi* | Big ant (*Paraponera* sp.) whose bite is very painful. |
| *Zambo* | A half-breed. A mixture of black and Indian. |
| *Zaparo* | Carrying basket, sturdy and lined with waterproof leaves. |

# References

## Archival Documents

The archival material found in the Archivo de la Gobernación de Napo, in Tena (AGN), is not classified. Before using it I made a preliminary classification by years, starting with the 1800s. Several of the documents are in a very bad state of conservation, complete dates are not clear, some pages are missing, or badly deteriorated. When quoting these documents in the text, I am providing the most accurate citation available to me at this time. As of December 1990, this archive remains unclassified.

AGN Archivo de la Gobernación de Napo, in Tena.
ABFL Archivo Biblioteca Función Legislativa, in Quito.
JMJCF Private archive of José Manuel Jijón Caamaño y Flores, in Quito.

## Periodicals, Weeklies, and Journals

*Ecuador Amazónico*, Quito.
*El Amazónico*, Oriente.
*El Comercio*, Quito.
*Nosotros*, Tena.
*Ultimas Noticias*, Quito.

## Published Works

Aberle, David F.
1951 *The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi Life-History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Albó, Xavier
1966a "Jesuitas y culturas indígenas. Perú 1568–1606. Su actitud, métodos y criterios de aculturación." (Primera parte). *América Indígena* 26(3): 249–308.

1966b "Jesuitas y culturas indígenas. Perú 1568–1606. Su actitud, métodos y criterios de aculturación." (Segunda parte). *América Indígena* 26(4): 395–445.

Almagro, Manuel de

1866 *Breve descripción de los viajes hechos en América por la Comisión Científica enviada por el Gobierno de S.M.C. durante los años 1862 a 1866*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra.

Angrosino, Michael V.

1989 *Documents of Interaction: Biography, Autobiography, and Life History in Social Science Perspective*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Arcos, Carlos G.

1984 "El espíritu del progreso: los hacendados en el Ecuador del 900." *Cultura* 7(19):107–134.

Avendaño, Joaquín de

1985 *Imágen del Ecuador. Economía y sociedad vistas por un viajero del siglo XIX*. (1861). Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional.

n.d. *Aventuras de un misionero en el Oriente*. Publicación de la Misión Josefina del Napo.

Ayala, Enrique

1982 *Lucha política y orígen de los partidos en Ecuador*. Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional.

Bartolomé, Miguel Alberto

1979 "Shamanism Among the Avá-Chiripá." In David L. Browman and Ronald A. Schwarz, eds., *Spirits, Shamans, and Stars. Perspectives from South America*, pp. 95–148. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Basabe y Urguieta, Joseph de

1905 "Informe del Gobernador de Quijos, D. Juan Basabe y Urquieta sobre la extensión del territorio de su jurisdicción" (1754). In M. Cornejo and F. de Osma, *Arbitraje de límites entre el Perú y el Ecuador*, vol. 3. Madrid. Anexo no. 75.

Beghin, Francisco Javier

1964 "Informe sobre las condiciones de servidumbre vigentes en las haciendas del Oriente Ecuatoriano." *Humanitas*. Boletín Ecuatoriano de Antropología 5(1):112–128.

Bertaux, Daniel

1981 "Introduction." In D. Bertaux, ed., *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*, pp. 5–15. London: Sage.

Blomberg, Rolf

1956 *The Naked Aucas. An Account of the Indians of Ecuador*. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.

Bottasso, Juan B.

1982 *Los Shuar y las misiones. Entre la hostilidad y el diálogo*. Quito: Mundo Shuar.

Bravo, Vicente M.

1920 "Viaje al Oriente: Segunda parte en la región del Curaray." Quito: EMG.

Brumble III, David H.

1988 *American Indian Autobiography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cáceres, R.S.J.

1892 *La Provincia Oriental de la República del Ecuador. Apuntes de viaje*. Quito: Imprenta de la Universidad.

Carbo, Luis Alberto
1978 *Historia monetaria y cambiaria del Ecuador*. Quito: Banco Central del Ecuador.
Carletti, Antonio P. C. S. J.
1984 *Missioneros Josefinos en el Ecuador*. N.p.
Casement, Roger
1912 *Correspondence Reflecting the Treatment of the British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District*. Miscellaneous Publication of His Majesty's Stationery House. London: Harrison and Sons.
Cisneros Cisneros, César
1948 *Demografía y estadística sobre el Indio Ecuatoriano*. Quito: Talleres Gráficos Nacionales.
Clifford, James
1988 "On Ethnographic Authority." In *The Predicament of Culture Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Comaroff, John L.
1982 "Dialectical Systems, History, and Anthropology: Units of Study and Questions of Theory." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8(2):143–172.
Consejo Provincial del Napo
1987 *El Consejo Provincial del Napo: Su expresión democrática. Su historia. Su acción. Su futuro*. Tena.
Costales, Piedad Peñaherrera y Alfredo Costales Samaniego de
1964 *Historia Social del Ecuador vol.3. Recopilación de Leyes Sociales Indígenas de 1830 a 1918. Llacta 19*. Quito.
Crapanzano, Vincent
1980 *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1984 "Life-Histories." *American Anthropologist* 86(4):953–960.
Descola, Philippe
1983 "Le Jardin de Colibri. Procès de travail et catégorisations sexuelles chez les Achuar de l'Équateur." *L'Homme* 23(1):61–89.
Dickey, H. S.
1924 "Indians of Ecuador Threatened With Extinction." *Current History* 20(4):597–600.
Dolby Tyler, Charles
1894 "The River Napo." *The Geographic Journal* 3(6):476–484.
Drake, Paul
1984 "La Misión Kemmerer en el Ecuador: Revolución y regionalismo." *Cultura* 8(19):211–276.
Duendes Canelos, Edilberto
1974 "Los Yumbos Quichuas del Napo." In Juan Marcos Mercier H., ed., *Amazonía. Liberación o Esclavitud*, pp. 47–53. Lima: Ediciones Paulinas.
Dunaway, David and Willa K. Baum (eds.)
1984 *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History in cooperation with the Oral History Association.

Dyott, George Miller
1926 *On the Trail of the Unknown. In the Wilds of Ecuador and the Amazon.* London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd.
Escuela de Sociología de la Universidad Central
1969 *Los Quichuas del Coca y el Napo.* Quito: Editorial Universitaria.
Espinosa, Roque
1984 "Hacienda, concertaje y comunidad en el Ecuador." *Cultura* 7(19):135–209.
Figueroa, Francisco de
1986 "Ynforme de las missiones de el Marañón, Gran Pará o Río de las Amazonas" (1661). In *Informes de Jesuitas en el Amazonas 1660–1684. Monumenta Amazónica,* pp. 143–209. Iquitos: IIAP-CETA.
Firth, Raymond
1981 "Spiritual Aroma: Religion and Politics." *American Anthropologist* 83(3):582–601.
Foletti Castegnaro, Alessandra
1985 *Tradición oral de los Quichuas Amazónicos del Aguarico y San Miguel.* Quito: Abya-Yala.
Galarza, Jaime
1980 *El festín del Petróleo.* Guayaquil: Escuela Superior Politécnica del Litoral (4*a* Edic).
García, Genaro, F.
1909 "Informe del Gobernador de la Provincia de Oriente al Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Oriente." Quito: Tipografía de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios.
Golte, Jurgen
1972 "El trabajo y la distribución de bienes en el runa simi del siglo XVI." *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti.* Roma-Genova, vol.2: 489–505. Genova: Casa de Editrice Tilgher.
Granja, J. C.
1942 *Nuestro Oriente. Notas de un viaje.* Quito: Imprenta de la Universidad.
Guerrero, Andrés
1975 *La hacienda precapitalista y la clase terrateniente en América Latina y su inserción en el modo de producción capitalista: El caso Ecuatoriano.* Quito: Universidad Central.
Guillén, Nicolás
1979 *Nueva antología.* Mexico: Editores Mexicanos Unidos.
Hardenburg, W.E.
1912 *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise.* London: T. Fisher Unwin.
Harrison, Regina
1989 *Signs, Songs, and Memory in the Andes. Translating Quichua Language and Culture.* Austin: University of Texas Press.
Helms, Mary W.
1988 *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographic Distance.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Hill, Jonathan D.
1988 *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Holloway, H. L.
1932 "East of the Ecuadorian Andes." *The Geographic Journal* 80(5):410–419.

Hudelson, John Edwin
1981 *The Expansion and Development of Quichua Transitional Culture in the Upper Amazon Basin*. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Irvine, Dominique
1987 *Resource Management by the Runa Indians of the Ecuadorian Amazon*. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Jackson, Jean
1974 "Language Identity of the Colombian Vaupés Indians." In Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer, eds., *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, pp. 50–64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jameson, William
1858 "Excursion Made from Quito to the River Napo, January to May, 1857." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 18:337–349.

Jaramillo Alvarado, Pío
1936 *Tierras de Oriente*. Quito: Imprenta Nacional.
1964 *Las Provincias Orientales del Ecuador*. Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana.

Jiménez de la Espada, Marcos
1927–28 "Diario de la expedición al Pacífico llevada a cabo por una comisión de naturalistas españoles durante los años 1862 a 1865." *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica*, pp. 67–78. Madrid.

Jouanen, José, S. J.
1941–1943 *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Antigua Provincia de Quito, 1570–1773*. 2 vols. Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana.
1977 *Los Jesuitas y el Oriente Ecuatoriano*. (*monografía histórica*). Guayaquil: Editorial Arquidiocesana.

Keesing, Roger
1987 "Anthropology as Interpretive Quest." *Current Anthropology* 28(2):161–176.

Langdon, Jean E.
1981 "Cultural Bases for Trading of Visions and Spiritual Knowledge in the Colombian and Ecuadorian Montaña." In Peter D. Francis, F. J. Kense and P. G. Duke, eds., *Networks of the Past: Regional Interaction in Archaeology*, pp. 101–116. Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference. The Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

Lears, T. J. Jackson
1985 "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." *American Historical Review* 90:567–593.

Lemus y de Andrade, Conde de
1965 "Descripción de la Provincia de los Quixos" (1608). In Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., "Relaciones Geográficas de Indias," *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 183. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas.

Loch, Erskine E.
1938 *Fever, Famine and Gold. The Dramatic Story of the Adventures and Discoveries*

*of the Andes-Amazon Expedition in the Uncharted Vastnesses of a Lost World in the Llanganatis Mountains.* New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

López San Vicente, Lorenzo
1894 *La misión del Napo.* Quito: Imprenta de la Universidad Central.

Loukotka, Cestmir
1968 *Classification of South American Languages.* Los Angeles: Latin American Center, UCLA.

Lyon, Patricia J., ed.
1974 *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Macdonald, Theodore, Jr.
1979 *Processes of Change in Amazonian Ecuador: Quijos Quichua Indians Become Cattlemen.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
1983 "Joining the Navy to See the World." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 7(4):42–43.

Magnin, Juan, S. J.
1940 "Breve descripción de la Provincia de Quito." (1740) *Revista de Indias* 1(1). Madrid.

MAG-O.R.S.T.O.M.
1978 "Informe sobre la colonización en la Provincia del Napo y las transformaciones en las sociedades indígenas." Quito.

Marchán Romero, Carlos
1984 "El sistema hacendario serrano, movilidad y cambio agrario." *Cultura* 7(19):63–106.

Marcus, George E. and Dick Cushman
1982 "Ethnographies as Texts." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11:25–69.

Marcus, George and Michael Fisher
1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique. An Experimental Moment in the Social Sciences.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Maroni, Pablo P.
1889 *Noticas auténticas del famoso Río Marañón y misión apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Quito en los dilatados bosques de dicho río.* (1738). Published by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet.

Mason, J. Alden
1948 "The Languages of South American Indians." In Julian A. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians,* vol. 6, pp. 157–315. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143.

Melo de Portugal, Diego D.
1905 "Cuenta de reales tributos de la provincia de Quijos rendida por el Gobernador D. Diego Melo de Portugal, y reconocida por la Contaduría general de Lima.- años 1804 a 1812." In M. Cornejo y F. de Osma, *Arbitraje de límites entre el Perú y el Ecuador,* vol. 4. Madrid. Anexo no. 110.

Mera, J. Wilson H. and Valther, E. Montaño T.
1984 *Colonización de la región Amazónica en el desarrollo capitalista.* Quito: Editorial Universitaria.

Mercier H., Juan Marcos
1979 *Nosotros los Napo Runas: Mitos e historia*. Iquitos: Publicaciones CETA.

Mintz, Sidney W.
1960 *Worker in the Cane. A Puerto Rican Life History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1979 "Time, Sugar, and Sweetness." *Marxist Perspectives* 2:56–73.
1982 "Culture: An Anthropological View." *The Yale Review* 71(4):499–512.
1984 "The Anthropological Interview and the Life History." In David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, eds., *Oral History. An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, pp. 306–313. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History in Cooperation with the Oral History Association.
1985 *Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Viking.
1989 "The Sensation of Moving While Standing Still." *American Ethnologist* 16(4):786–796.

Miranda R., Francisco
1975 *García Moreno y la Compañía de Jesús*. Quito: Colección Desarrollo y Paz.

Moreno Y., Segundo
1985 *Sublevaciones indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito. Desde comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta finales de la colonia*. Quito: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Quito. 3d ed.
1987 *Alzamientos indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito. 1534–1803*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Muratorio, Blanca
1977 "Los Tinterillos o 'abogados callejeros': el papel de los intermediarios judiciales en una comunidad Boliviana." In Esther Hermitte and L. Bartolomé, eds., *Procesos de Articulación Social*, pp. 112–135. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.
1980 "Protestantism and Capitalism Revisted, in the Rural Highlands of Ecuador." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 8(1):37–60.
1982 *Etnicidad, evangelización y protesta en el Ecuador. Una perspectiva antropológica*. Quito: Ediciones CIESE.
1984 "Dominant and Subordinate Ideologies in South America: Old Traditions and New Faiths." *Culture* 4(1):3–17.

Murphy, Robert F.
1960 *Headhunters' Heritage: Social and Economic Change Among the Mundurucú Indians*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

NACLA
1975 "Ecuador. Oil up for Grabs." *Nacla's Latin America & Empire Report* 9(8), November.

Nash, June
1979 *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Oberem, Udo
1963 "Los Indios Quijos del Este del Ecuador." *Humanitas*. Boletín Ecuatoriano de Antropología 4(2):20–36.
1974 "Trade and Trade Goods in the Ecuadorian Montaña." In Patricia J. Lyon,

ed., *Native South Americans: Ethnology of the Least Known Continent*, pp. 347–357. Boston: Little, Brown.

1980 *Los Quijos. Historia de la transculturación de un grupo indígena en el Oriente Ecuatoriano.* Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología.

1981a "Contribución a la historia del trabajador rural en América Latina: 'Conciertos y huasipungueros' en Ecuador." In S. Moreno Y. and U. Oberem, eds., *Contribución a la Etnohistoria Ecuatoriana*, pp. 229–342. Colección Pendoneros, no. 20. Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología.

1981b "Un grupo indígena desaparecido del Oriente Ecuatoriano." In S. Moreno Y. and U. Oberem, eds., *Contribución a la Etnohistoria Ecuatoriana*, pp. 355–389. Colección Pendoneros, no. 20. Otavalo: Instituto Otavaleño de Antropología.

Orr, Carolyn and Betsy Wrisley

1965 *Vocabulario Quichua del Oriente del Ecuador.* Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas, no. 11. Quito: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

Orr, Carolina D. and Juan E. Hudelson

1971 *Cuillurguna. Cuentos de los Quichuas del Oriente Ecuatoriano.* Quito: Houser Ltd.

Ortegón, Diego de

1973 "Descripción de la Gobernación de Quijos, Sumaco y La Canela por el Lcdo. Diego de Ortegón, Oidor de la Real Audiencia de Quito." (1577). Edited by P. Porras Garcés. Separata de *Cuadernos de Historia y Arqueología XXII* (40) Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana. Núcleo Guayas: 11–27.

Ortiguera, Toribio de

1909 "Jornada del Río Marañón con todo lo acaecido en ella, y otras cosas notables dignas de ser sabidas, acaecidas en las Indias Occidentales." (1581–86). In Historiadores de Indias vol. 2. *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.* Madrid: Bailey, Bailliére é Hijos.

Ortíz de Villalba, Juan Santos

1976 *Sacha Pacha. El mundo de la selva.* Pompeya-Río Napo: CICAME.

Orton, James

1876 *The Andes and the Amazon: or, Across the Continent of South America.* New York: Harper & Brothers.

Osculati, Gaetano

1854 *Explorazione delle Regioni Equatoriali lungo il Napo ed il fiume delle Amazzoni. Frammento di un viaggio fatto nelle due Americhe negli anni 1846–47–48.* Milano: Fratelli Centenari e Comp.

Páez, Federico P.

1987 "Oda al pionero." In *El Consejo Provincial del Napo. Su expresión democrática. Su historia. Su acción. Su futuro.* Tena.

Pareja Diezcanseco, Alfredo

1979 *Ecuador: La República de 1830 a nuestros días.* Quito: Editorial Universitaria.

Pelliccia, Guerrino y Giancarlo Rocca

1975 *Dizionario degli Institute de Perfezione*, vol. 2. Roma: Edizione Paoline.

Pérez Guerrero, Edmundo

1954 *Colonización e immigación en el Ecuador.* Quito: Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana.

Polier, Nicole and William Roseberry
1989 "Tristes Tropes: Post-Modern Anthropologists Encounter the Other and Discover Themselves." *Economy and Society* 18(2):245–264.

Porras Garcés, Pedro I.
1955 *Entre los Yumbos del Napo. Recuerdos y anécdotas del Obispo Josefino Mons. Jorge Rossi. Segundo Vicario Apostólico de Napo.* Quito: Editorial Santo Domingo.
1979 "The Discovery in Rome of an Anonymous Document on the Quijo Indians of the Upper Napo, Eastern Ecuador." In D.L. Browman and R.A. Schwarz, eds., *Peasants, Primitives, and Proletariats: The Struggle for Identity in South America*, pp. 13–47. New York, The Hague: Mouton.

Price, Richard
1983 *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth
1985 *Identity as Process: The Meaning of Runapura for Quichua Speakers of the Curaray River, Eastern Ecuador.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.
1988 "*Cauchu Uras*: Lowland Quichua Histories of the Amazon Rubber Boom." In Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth. Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past*, pp. 19–34. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Reichel–Dolmatoff, G.
1975 *The Shaman and the Jaguar. A Study of Narcotic Drugs Among the Indians of Colombia.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
1979 "Desana Shamans' Rock Crystals and the Hexagonal Universe." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 5(1):117–128.

Reyes, Oscar Efren
1966 *Breve historia general del Ecuador.* 3 vols. Quito: Publicación de la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente (13*a* Edición).

Ribeiro, Darcy
1973 *Fronteras indígenas de la civilización.* México: Siglo XXI.

Rice, Hamilton A.
1903 "From Quito to the Amazon via the River Napo." *The Geographic Journal* 21(4):401–418.

Ridington, Robin
1982 "Technology, World View, and Adaptive Strategy in a Northern Hunting Society." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 19(4):469–481.

Rivadeneyra, Carlos A.
1909 "Informe del Jefe Político del Napo." Quito: Tipografía de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios.

Robinson, Scott S.
1979 *Toward an Understanding of Kofan Shamanism.* Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University. Ithaca, New York. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms.

Rosaldo, Renato
1978 "The Rhetoric of Control: Ilongots Viewed as Natural Bandits and Wild

Indians." In *The Reversible World. Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, ed. Barbara A. Babcock, pp. 240–257. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

1980 *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883–1974: A Study in Society and History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1986 "Ilongot Hunting as Story and Experience." In Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner, eds., *The Anthropology of Experience*, pp. 97–137. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Roseberry, William

1988 "Political Economy." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17:161–185.

1989 *Anthropologies and Histories. Essays in Culture, History, and Political Economy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Rubio Orbe, Alfredo

1954 *Recopilación de la legislación indigenista del Ecuador*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura.

Saint-Exupéry, Antoine de

1943 *The Little Prince*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Salazar, Ernesto

1986 *Pioneros de la selva. Los colonos del proyecto Upano-Palora*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Salomon, Frank

1983 "Shamanism and Politics in Late-Colonial Ecuador." *American Ethnologist* 10:3, 413–428.

1986 *Native Lords of Quito in the Age of the Incas. The Political Economy of North Andean Chiefdoms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Samaniego, J. and Jorge Toro Anda

1939 "Monografía de algunas poblaciones de la Región Oriental." Quito: Ministerio de Defensa.

Sánchez-Parga, José and Rafael Pineda

1985 "Los Yachac de Ilumán." *Cultura* 7(21b):511–581.

Sánchez Rangel, Fr. Hipólito

1905a "Carta de Fr. Hipólito Sánchez Rangel Obispo de Maynas, al Ministro de Ultramar, acompañada de un censo de la población de su Obispado. Moyobamba, 5 de Marzo de 1814." In M. Cornejo and F. de Osma, eds., *Arbitraje de límites entre el Perú y el Ecuador*, vol. 4. Madrid. Anexo no. 96.

1905b "Visita al Obispado de Maynas hecha por su prelado Fr. Hipólito Sánchez Rangel. Años 1808 a 1811." In M. Cornejo and F. de Osma, eds., *Arbitraje de límites entre el Perú y el Ecuador*, vol. 4. Madrid. Anexo no. 95.

Sarmiento, Alberto

1958 *Monografía científica del Oriente Ecuatoriano*. Quito.

Scott, James C.

1985 *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Shostak, Marjorie

1981 *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Simson, Alfred

1886 *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador and the Exploration of the Putumayo River*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington.

Sinclair, Joseph H.
1929 "In the Land of Cinnamon: A Journey in Eastern Ecuador." *The Geographical Review* 19(2):201–217.

Sinclair, Joseph H. and Theron Wasson
1923 "Exploration in Eastern Ecuador." *The Geographical Review* 13(2):190–213.

Sorensen, Arthur, P., Jr.
1967 "Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon." *American Anthropologist* 69(6):670–684.

Spiller, Maximiliano Mons.
1974 *Historia de la Misión Josefina del Napo. 1922–1974*. Vol. 1. Quito: Artes Gráficas.

Stark, Louisa R.
1985 "Indigenous Languages of Lowland Ecuador: History and Current Status." In Harriet E. Manelis Klein and Louisa R. Stark, eds., *South American Indian Languages. Retrospect and Prospect*, pp. 157–193. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Stevenson, W. B.
1829 *Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years Residence in South America*. 3 vols. London: Hurst, Robinson & Co.

Steward, Julian H.
1963 "Tribes of the Montaña and Bolivian East Andes. Tribes of the Montaña. An Introduction." In Julian H. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 507–533. New York: Cooper Square Publishers.

Steward, J. H., R. A. Manners, E. R. Wolf, E. Padilla Seda, S. W. Mintz, and R. L. Scheele
1956 *The People of Puerto Rico*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Steward, Julian and Alfred Metraux
1963 "Tribes of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Montaña." In Julian H. Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 535–656. New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc.

Sweet, David G.
1969 *The Population of the Upper Amazon Valley, 17th and 18th Century*. M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Taussig, Michael T.
1980 "Folk Healing and the Structure of Conquest in Southwest Colombia." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 6(2):217–278.
1984 "Culture of Terror-Space of Death: Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26(3):467–497.

Taylor, Anne-Christine
1985a "L'art de la réduction. La guerre et les mécanismes de la différenciation tribale dans la culture Jivaro." *Journal de la Societé des Américanistes* 71:159–173.
1985b "La invención del Jivaro." In Segundo E. Moreno Yánez, ed., *Memorias del primer simposio europeo sobre antropología del Ecuador*, pp. 255–267. Quito: Abya-Yala.
Forthcoming "El Otro Litoral: El Oriente Ecuatoriano en el siglo XIX." In Juan Maiguashca, ed., *Historia y Región en el Ecuador 1830–1930*. Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional.

Tedlock, Dennis
1983 *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Uquillas, Jorge
1984 "Colonization and Spontaneous Settlement in the Ecuadorean Amazon." In Marianne Schmink and Charles H. Wood, eds., *Frontier Expansion in Amazonia*, pp. 261–284. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Urban, Greg and Joel Sherzer
1988 "The Linguistic Anthropology of Native South America." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17:283–307.

Vansina, Jan
1985 *Oral Tradition as History.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Varese, Stefano
1973 *La Sal de los Cerros.* Lima: Ediciones Retablo de Papel.

Vickers, William T.
1976 *Cultural Adaptation to Amazonian Habitats: The Siona-Secoya of Eastern Ecuador.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, Gainesville. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

Villarejo, Avencio
1979 *Así es la selva.* Iquitos: Publicaciones CETA. (3d Edición).

Villavicencio, Manuel
1984 *Geografía de la República del Ecuador* (1858). Quito: Corporación Editora Nacional.

Watson, Lawrence C. and Maria Barbara Watson-Franke
1985 *Interpreting Life Histories: An Anthropological Inquiry.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Wavrin, Robert, Marqués de
1927 "Leyendas tradicionales de los Indios del Oriente ecuatoriano." *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* 12: Quito.

Whitten, Dorothea S. and Norman E. Whitten, Jr.
1988 *From Myth to Creation. Art from Amazonian Ecuador.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Whitten, Norman E., Jr.
1975 "Jungle Quichua Ethnicity: An Ecuadorian Case Study." In Leo Despres, ed., *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, pp. 41–69. World Anthropology series. The Hague: Mouton.

Whitten, Norman E., Jr. (with the assistance of Marcelo Naranjo, Marcelo Santi Simbaña, and Dorothea S. Whitten)
1976 *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Quichua.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
1981a "Amazonia Today at the Base of the Andes: An Ethnic Interface in Ecological, Social, and Ideological Perspectives." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., ed., *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, pp. 121–161. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
1981b "Introduction." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., ed., *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, pp. 1–41. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
1985 *Sicuanga Runa. The Other Side of Development in Amazonian Ecuador.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Whitten, Norman E., Jr. and Dorothea S. Whitten
1984 "Marriage among the Canelos Quichua of East-Central Ecuador." In Kenneth M. Kensinger, ed., *Marriage Practices in Lowland South America*, pp. 194–220. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Wiener, Charles M.
1883 "Amazone et Cordillères, 1879–1882." *Le Tour du Monde*. Deuxième Semestre.

Williams, Raymond
1977 *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wolf, Eric R.
1982 *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Yost, James A.
1981 "Twenty Years of Contact: The Mechanisms of Change in Wao ("Auca") Culture." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., ed., *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador*, pp. 677–704. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

# Index


Achuar Jivaroan, 36, 43
Acosta, José de, 89–90
administration, 203, 248n5; economic regulation by, 112–113; and labor force, 117–119, 123–124, 146–149, 172–175; Liberal, 101, 247n1; in Oriente, 12, 18, 72–74, 114; problems of, 103–104; protection of Indians by, 176–177
advice: giving, 56–57, 199, 235; from spirits, 232–234
agave, *see* pita
agriculture, 54–55, 71, 79, 104, 144–145, 150, 172, 180, 209; neglect of, 159–160; payment in, 198–199; traditional, 197–198, 244n2. *See also* chagras; *various crops*
Aguano, 73
Aguarico, 42, 102, 104, 112, 120, 145, 154, 163
Aguinda (Shio), Francisco, debt accounts of, 239–242
ahuallactas, 56, 135, 177, 220
Ahuano, 53, 121, 135, 141, 154
Ahuanos, 47, 83
alcaldes, 122, 123
Alfaro, Eloy, 87, 99, 101, 118, 162
alguacil, 122
Almagro, Manuel de, 47
alquilónes, 33–34, 124
amarun, 65; teeth of, 66–67
Amaruncachi, 184
Amasanga, 183
Amazon Basin, 1, 2, 100, 159, 178
Ambato-Curaray railroad, 101–102, 113–114
amigus, 53, 194–195, 205
amu, 204
anaconda, 65; teeth of, 66–67
Andi, Alonso (Bandio), 1, 4–5, 23, 45; as advisor, 56–57; amigus of, 194–195; on Auca, 133–137; on cargo bearers, 33, 58, 124–125; concerns of, 6–7, 196–201; on dreams, 191–192; family of, 50–51, 53–54; on hunting, 64–70; as laborer, 126–129; life story of, 10, 15, 17; on marriage ceremonies, 59–63; on missions, 94–98; as officials, 122, 123, 128, 130; origins of, 51–53; as rubber collector, 131–132; and Shell Company, 137–140; as storyteller, 8–9, 16; on yachaj, 181–190; youth of, 54–59
Andi, Basilio, 51, 59, 126, 161, 199
Andi, Camilo (brother), 50, 55, 132
Andi, Camilo (son), 50

Andi, César (brother), 50, 55
Andi, Cutuyaya (great-grandfather), 50
Andi, Francisca, 34, 43, 45, 85, 161, 210, 216, 230; on stones, 217–218
Andi, Francisco (Guamundi) (son), 6, 7, 11, 50, 139
Andi, Gabriel (Guarapu) (grandfather), 50, 51, 54; in 1892 revolt, 86, 87
Andi, Juanita (daughter), 50, 217–218
Andi (Anguchaqui), Lucas (father), 50, 51, 54, 124–125, 130
Andi, Luis, 50, 60
Andi, Merca, 50, 53
Andi, Nicolás, 51, 199, 252–253n16
Andi, Robero, 50, 67, 126
Andi, Silverio (Shilvi), 50, 121, 137
Andi, Venancio, 51, 183
Andi (Mishquilogro), Vicente, 34, 59
Andoas, 40
Anglo-Saxon Petroleum, 166
Anguchaqui, *see* Andi (Anguchaqui), Lucas
animals, 216; hunted, 39, 65–66; in mythology, 206, 207, 210
Ansupi (Ansu) River, 43, 58, 117, 130, 136, 165
apu, 122. *See also* authorities
Arajuno, 38, 52, 53, 167
Arajuno River, 139
Arana, Julio César, 102, 248n5
Arana brothers, 105
Arapicos auca, 134
Archidona, 2, 39, 46, 50, 58, 72, 75, 81, 141, 143, 144, 156, 164, 219, 244n6; abandonment of, 27–28, 73, 82; Indian groups in, 44–45, 221; Jesuit school in, 38, 84; migration from, 116, 179; population reduction in, 41, 42; rubber industry in, 101, 160; settlers in, 129, 145; travel to, 18, 20, 26, 29, 33, 124, 125
Archidona language, 37
Archidonas, 18, 27–28, 36, 38, 40, 73; descriptions of, 29, 49. *See also* Archirunas
Archirunas, 36, 51–52, 127, 134, 137. *See also* Archidonas
"Armenia" hacienda, 115
arrows, *see* biruti
Arteaga, Juana, 120, 145, 157, 175, 253n2; labor use by, 153–154, 162, 173–174
assimilation, forced, 84–85
Atahualpa, 53
Auca, *see* Huaorani
Aushiris, 117
authorities, 122, 149, 253n3; abuses by, 147–148; descriptions of, 126–127; and economics, 83–84; Indian, 10, 18; and labor force, 123–124; Napo Runa, 80–81; opposition to, 72–74; religious, 75–76, 77; in Tena, 128–129
Ava Chiripá, 214
Avila, 2, 38, 39, 40, 116, 117, 219
Avishiris, 147, 249n9. *See also* Huaorani
aya, *see* souls
ayahuasca: purpose of, 186–187, 231; yachaj use of, 181, 185–186, 192

Baeza, 2, 39, 40; travel to, 20, 23, 25, 26, 124
bancu, 184–185, 188, 213, 214
Bancu Pablo, *see* Calapucha, Pablo
Bandio, *see* Andi, Alonso
Bandio muntun, 47, 51
Baños, 20
bárbaros, *see* infieles
barbasco, 39, 53, 58
Basabe y Urquieta, Juan, 37, 42
Basilio, *see* Andi, Basilio
bathing, 56, 210
Batia, *see* Calapucha, Santiago
beasts of burden, 21, 22, 23
"Berna" hacienda, 142
Beto, 40, 247n9
birds, 27, 39, 66, 184
biruti, 214, 216
Bless Us Today O Lord radio station, 164
blowguns, 39, 55

Bobonaza dialect, 36
Bobonaza River, 42
Bolivia, 116, 245n1
border dispute, 102
Bravo, Vicente M., 103, 120, 250–251n11
Brazil, 105, 110, 113, 116
bridges, 128
brujos, 54, *see also* bancu; shamanism, shamans; yachaj
bura, activities of, 61–63
burial grounds, 165
burials, 82, 193

cacao industry, 106, 157
Cáceres, Rafael, S.J., 33, 46, 49, 85, 114
Cachihuañushcarumi, 184
Cachiruna, 184
Cajón Supai (Andacu), 223
Calapucha, Pablo, 67, 68, 185; as bancu, 181, 188, 189–190, 214; in healing ceremony, 230–232
Calapucha, Santiago (Batia), 67, 68, 71, 186
callari tiempu, 42–43, 165
camaricos, 74
Camp Arajuno, 53, 128, 169
"Camp Souder," 166–167
Canelos, Hilario, 110
Canelos Quichua, 36, 38, 42, 48, 58, 108, 208, 217, 220, 246n4, 250n10; as labor, 109, 119
capitalism, 106–107, 165, 222
capitán, 122, 123
Caquetá, 112
cargo bearers, 144, 253n1; Napo Runa as, 18, 20, 31–32, 34–35, 148, 197; payment of, 32–33; Rucuyaya Alonso as, 55, 58; use of, 21–24, 124–126
cash crops, 144–145, 172
Catholic Church, 74, 76, 99, 171, 172, 225; socioeconomic role of, 88–89. *See also* Jesuits; Josephines; missionaries
cattle, 144, 145, 180
Cecco, Emilio, 95, 96
Cedrosiqui, 46
Cedroyacu, 50–51. *See also* Archidona; Rucullacta
cemeteries, Christian, 82
CEPE, *see* Ecuadorian State Petroleum Corporation
Cerda, Rebeca (wife), 9, 230
Cerda family, 51, 53, 123, 194
Chachi, 220
chagras, 54–55, 84, 71
chairs, used for carrying, 28–29
Chambira, 44, 256n20
Charnacé, Count de, 102
chasquina, 60–61
Chibcha, 39, 243–244nn1, 4
chicha, 39, 61, 62, 63, 123
chickens, 44–45
childbirth, 183, 184, 215
Chimbo, Ignacio, 53, 128
Chimbo family, 53
Chimborazo, 221
Christianity, 42; resistance to, 74–75; symbols of, 227–228. *See also* Evangélicos; Jesuits; Josephines; missionaries
cinchona bark, 77, 100, 101, 160
citizenship, 99
cloth, 151; payment in, 33, 73, 81, 156, 244n2
coca, 39, 133, 178
Coca, 133, 178
Cocamas, 40
Coca River, 115
coffee, 144–145
Colombia, 100, 220, 222
Colonia Oriental Development Company, 143
colonization, 13, 101, 102, 104, 143; promotion of, 157, 163, 175–176; state policy of, 178–179
colonos, 124. *See also* settlers
Colta Indians, 221
communism, 140
Company of Jesus, *see* Jesuits
Conambo River, 120
Concepción, 116, 117
concertaje, 150, 254–255nn 7, 9, 10

conciertos, 161, 245–246n3
Congregation of Madres Doroteas, 164, 172
Congregaton of Madres Murialdinas, 164
Congregation of the Josephine Fathers of Murialdo, *see* Josephines
Cononaco, 110, 134, 136, 138, 139, 251n11
conquest, 2
consciousness, 5, 6
Constitution: 1897, 247n3; 1906, 99
contracts: and indebtedness, 150–151; and rubber production, 237–238. *See also* concertajes; conciertos
conversion, 2, 74, 136
Cooper, David, 96, 140
Coronados, 38
Cosanga, 25, 26, 42, 43, 125
Cotapino, 116, 117
Cotapino Quichua, 206
cotton, 144–145
Cotundo, 52, 124
counselling, 56–57
courtship, 59–60
Crucitos (Crucitas), *see* Curistas
Cucama, 185
Cuillur, 27
cultural identity, 5–6, 89–90, 257n1
culture, 10, 14, 17; language and access to, 91–92; and origins, 39–40
Curaray, 38, 109
Curaray Auca, 136
Curaray canton, 105, 121
Curaray River, 53, 68, 100, 120, 137, 249n9; rubber industry on, 102, 114; Zaparos along, 135–136, 250–251n11
curing, 185
Curistas, 43–44, 51
Curiurcu, 29
Curizetas, 245n9. *See also* Curistas
currency, 33, 39
Cusano River, 139
Cuyuja, 125

dancing, 60–61, 74, 245n1
Dayuma, 136, 140
Dayuno, 134
death, 192–193, 224
debts, 107, 173; accounts of, 239–242; collection of, 155–156; Indian-owed, 146, 147–148, 157; oil company contracts and, 168–169; payment of, 75, 77, 122, 130–131, 151, 154; in rubber trade, 110, 111; sale of, 152–153
Decaguas, 38
depopulation, 142. *See also* emigration; migration
Desana, 217
Development Fund for the Rural Underprivileged (FODERUMA), 180
Díaz de Pinera, Gonzalo, 2, 40
Dickey, Charles, 153
disease, *see* illness
divination, 39
docemundoi, 188
doctrinas, 2, 77, 79, 246n6
Dorothean Sisters, 164, 172
Dos Ríos, 97, 128, 164
dreams, 191–192, 205, 207–208, 258n8
drinking: with amigus, 194–195; in marriage ceremonies, 60, 61, 62, 63; by yachaj, 181, 185–186
Dry Law, 145
Duceru, 27

ecology, 40
economy, 77, 146, 163; extractive, 150–151; government administration of, 112–113; during Great Depression, 157–160; Jesuit regulation of, 78–81; Napo Runa, 3–4, 79, 88; Oriente, 2–3, 76, 100, 113; rubber boom and, 103–106, 109–110, 252n15; Tena-Archidona, 144–145
Ecuador, 2, 13, 73, 162
Ecuadorian Development Corporation, 160
Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonization (IERAC), 178, 180
Ecuadorian Institute of Colonization of the Ecuadorian Amazon Region (INCRAE), 179

Ecuadorian State Petroleum Corporation (CEPE; Petroecuador), 178–179
education, 99, 113, 165, 177–178, 215, 220; impacts of, 172–173, 174–175; Jesuit, 84–85, 90, 91; Josephine, 163, 164
Edwards, George, 141
elders, 89, 200–201; resistance by, 92, 94; respect for, 208–209; verbal abilities of, 211–212
El Dorado, 2
elections, 122
emigration, 74, 111, 113, 116, 141, 178. *See also* migration
Encabellados, 38
encomenderos, 41
encomiendas, 2, 43
epidemics, 2, 41, 42, 142, 249–250n9; smallpox, 82, 87
Esso, 166
ethnic identity, 204, 211, 213, 247n10; historical context of, 228–229; maintaining, 202–203
ethnicity, 180; determining, 39–40
ethnocide, 107–108
ethnographers, 14–15
ethnography, vs. history, 11–12
Evangélicos, 95, 128, 132, 140, 157, 163, 227; activities of, 96–98; approaches of, 171–172; missions of, 164–165; opposition to, 173–174
evangelism, 28. *See also* Evangélicos; Jesuits
exemption law (1846), 74, 75
exploitation, 4; economic, 146, 153–156; resistance to, 118–121
exports, 100, 105, 144–145, 157

factionalism, among tribes, 43, 45
Federation of Organizations of Napo Indians (FOIN), 180
fields, *see* chagras
fiesta system, 75–76, 246n4
fishing, 33, 179, 183, 196; in Auca territory, 136, 137; with poison, 39, 53, 58; Rucuyaya Alonso on, 55, 61
floods: on Amazon River, 159; on Pano River, 53–54, 70–71
Flores, Juan José, 72
FODERUMA, *see* Development Fund for the Rural Underprivileged
FOIN, *see* Federation of Organizations of Napo Indians
food, 66; in wedding ceremony, 62–63. *See also by type*
forest, 25, 182, 197; activities in, 58–59; extractive activities in, 88, 100, 101; flight into, 74, 82, 161, 245n3; knowledge of, 170–171; Napo Runa attitudes toward, 64–65
France, 100
freemen, 146, 147
friends, ritual, *see* amigus

Galeras mountains, 27, 135, 161, 218–219
García, Genaro, 101, 104, 105, 112–113, 120
García Moreno, President, 79, 82, 101, 108; and Oriente government, 76–77, 83
Gastanisurcu, 68
Gayes, 38, 249n9
gifts, mandatory, *see* camaricos
gold, 88, 106, 117, 160; Great Depression rush for, 157–159; Indian trade in, 39, 44; panning for, 51–52, 77, 122, 150, 153, 180, 184; payment in, 81, 130–131
government, 99, 101, 247n3; and missions, 162–163; yachaj intervention with, 224–225. *See also* administration
governors, 72, 73, 77, 122, 123. *See also* administration
Governorship of Quijos, Sumaco, and La Canela, 2
Great Britain, 100, 115
Great Depression, economic impact of, 157–160
Grefa (Milicuchi), Dionisio, 51, 110, 184, 194, 195, 215
gringos, *see* Evangélicos
Gualaquiza, 158

Guami, 40, 247n9
Guamundi, *see* Andi, Francisco
Guapulo, 22
Guaraní, 79, 208
Guarapu, *see* Andi, Gabriel
Guineachimabana, 53, 129
Guzmán, Fr., 81–82, 246–247n7

haciendas, 88, 153, 159, 162, 254n5; development of, 142–146, 151. *See also* patrons
Hatunyacu River, 58, 132, 184
healers, 222
Highlands (Sierra), 3–4, 40, 75
hirelings, 33–34, 124
history: vs. ethnography, 11–12; of Napo Runa, 42–47
Holloway, H. L., 20, 25, 32
hospitality, 208–209, 210
Huacamayos, Mount, 26, 27, 51
Huachiyacu, 135
Huaina Capac, 37
Huamaní, Mount, 23, 125, 210
Huaorani, 43, 44, 48, 145, 147, 159, 166, 167, 212, 220, 251–252n13, 256n23; contacts with, 138–140; fear of, 53, 133–137; and oil companies, 58, 167, 169–170; as problem, 108–109
Huayrayacu, 95–96
huayusa, 7, 63, 186
huinaro, *see* governors
"Huino" hacienda, 145
Huitotos, 111, 248n5
humor, 4; as resistance, 74, 80
hunting, 33, 39, 44, 53, 61, 179, 180, 196, 197, 210–211; customs of, 64–70; harm during, 68–69; Rucuyaya Alonso on, 55, 58–59, 183–184; for Shell Company, 134, 169

IERAC, *see* Ecuadorian Institute of Agrarian Reform and Colonization
illness, 2, 41, 134, 159, 222, 224, 256n18; treatment of, 187–188, 197
Illucullin River, 58
Ilumán, 205, 215
Imbate, 40, 247n9
imports, 156. *See also* exports; trade
Iñaquito, 22
Incas, 36–37
INCRAE, *see* Ecuadorian Institute of Colonization of the Ecuadorian Amazon Region
indebtedness, 107, 161, 246n4, 254n5; of labor, 146, 147–148, 150–151. *See also* debts
Indians, 4, 75, 105, 250–251nn10, 11; conversion of, 2, 42; descriptions of, 29–30; education of, 177–178; ethnocide of, 107–108; intergroup relations of, 47–49; legal status of, 73, 99; payment of, 32–33; protection of, 175, 176; resistance by, 160–162; subsistence of, 39–40. *See also various groups*
Indillama, 59
Indios (indígenas), 107, 108, 250n10
infieles, 107–108, 250n11
infrastructure, 101
Ingaro supai, 183
intellectuals, yachaj as, 214–217
International Petroleum, 166
Intriago, Dolores, 6, 7, 11, 230
Iquitos, 100, 113, 156, 158, 159; rubber industry in, 104, 105, 106, 112, 115; sales of Indians in, 110, 111; trade relations with, 142, 145
"Iquitos Trading Company," 105
"Israel Company," 105
Italy, 100
"Itulcachi" hacienda, 23
ivory nut, *see* tagua
Izurieta, Gabriel, 111, 112, 237

jaguars, 26, 27; human souls as, 206–207; yachaj as, 218–219. *See also* pumas
Jameson, William, 20, 24, 25, 27–28, 73
Jaramillo Alvarado, Pío, 143, 145
Jesuits, 2, 38, 52, 111, 246n6, 250n11, 253n3; corporal punishment by, 79–80; education by, 84–85; expulsion of, 99, 142; labor use by, 78–81; mission abandonment by, 87–88; and Napo Runa, 89–92, 97, 226;

resistance to, 81–83, 86–87; Rucuyaya Alonso on, 94–95; theocracy of, 76–78; towns established by, 46, 47
Jesus Christ, as healer, 227, 228
jilucu, 27
Jívaros (Xibaros), 40, 108, 151, 247n10, 250n10, 251n11
jobs, *see* labor
Jondachi, 124, 125
Jondachi River, 28
Jorge, Fr., 96, 98
Josephines, 113, 128, 163, 164, 253n3; activities of, 96–97; expansion by, 165, 166, 167
Jumandi, 6, 41, 247n9, 256–257n25
justicias, 80, 81, 122, 148

kidnapping, *see* labor, forced; slavery; smuggling
kinship groups, *see* muntun
knowledge, 220; transfer of, 204–205; yachaj as source of, 214–217. *See also* samai
Kuahary, 214

labor, 38, 84, 163, 176, 179, 256nn12, 16; abuse of, 110–111, 147–148; access to, 10, 77, 88, 153–154, 156–157; administrative use of, 117–118, 123–124, 127, 129; avoidance of, 160–162; forced, 79, 119, 146; freeing of, 128, 177; during gold rush, 158–159; in Jesuit economic system, 78–81; liberalization of, 173–174; patron use of, 150–152, 155; proletarization of, 169, 171; protests by, 125–126; regulations governing, 112–113; in rubber industry, 100, 105, 106–116, 131–132, 237–238, 252–253n16; and Shell Company, 167–168
La Canela, 2
La Coca, 100, 112, 116, 145. *See also* Coca
Lago Agrio, 53, 179
land, 256n20; occupation of, 178–179; pressures on, 180, 223; railway contracts and, 101–102; settler acquisition of, 129, 142–146
Landazuri, Mr., 126–127
Land of Cinnamon, 2
land reform, 178
language: and cultural access, 91–92; importance of, 211–212; intelligence and, 207–208; in Tena-Archidona, 36–38
Larson, Ruben, 96, 97, 125, 128
Law of Agrarian Reform, 178
Law of Colonization of the Amazon Region, 179
Law of Congress (1885), 100–101
Law of the Oriente: 1894, 142; 1907, 109; 1920, 113–114
legislation, 99, 146, 178, 179, 247–248n4; on land, 142, 143, 144; and rubber industry, 100–101
Legislative Decree (1921), 143
Lemus y de Andrade, Conde de, 37
Leonard Exploration Company, 165, 166
Ley de Patronatos, 99
liberalism, radical, 99, 162, 247n2
licencias, 77, 78, 80, 84, 88
liencillo, 33, 81
life story, 6, 15, 17, 243n3; gathering, 7–11; ordering, 15–16
Limoncocha dialect, 36
liquor, 77, 145, 255n9
litters, 28–29
living standards, of whites, 156–157
Llanganates Mountains, 32, 158
Llori, Armando, 110, 121, 135, 252n14
lluchu auca, 134, 151
Llushpi, 128
Llushti auca, *see* Huaorani
Loch, Erskine E., 20, 31, 43–44, 159
Loja province, 178
London International Rubber Exhibition, 100
López San Vicente, Lorenzo, 86
Loreto, 38, 111, 116, 155–156, 244n2
Loretos, 47, 52, 244n2; rebellion by, 86, 87; sold to rubber traders, 111, 116–117
Los Algodonales, 39
Los Quijos, 2

Macas auca, 134
Macpila, 50
Macuma auca, 134
Madre de Dios, 110, 111, 112
mail, 103–104, 160, 165
malaria, 159, 256n18
Maldonado, Esther, 127
Mamallacta, Antonio, 101
Manabi province, 178
manioc, 39, 40, 96
Manta, 139
mantas, 39
Maranaco, 110
Marañón, 33, 110, 113
Mariaco, 59–60
Mariana, Mrs., *see* Montesdeoca, Mariana
marriage, 82, 140, 223, 246n4; alliances in, 48–49; relationships in, 207, 210; rituals of, 60–63; of Rucuyaya Alonso, 95, 96
Maspa River, 24–25
Maynas, 2, 40
mayors, 122, 123
medicine, 227
Mejía, Jaime D., 110, 111
Mejía, Javier, 111
Mejía, Luis, 110, 115, 119
Melo de Portugal, Diego D., 42
Mendez, 158
Mera, 165, 166, 172
merchants, 102. *See also* traders
mestizos, 221, 257n26
migration, 42, 45–46, 161, 221, 257–258n3; of Napo Runa, 52–53, 155, 179, 223; during rubber boom, 105, 111
Milicuchi, *see* Grefa, Dionisio
military, 102, 149, 166, 178, 179
mining, 102, 179, 256n17. *See also* gold
Ministry of Defense, 149
Ministry of the Interior, 149
Mirador de Pastaza, 165
Misahuallí, 128, 160
Misahuallí River, 29, 97
Misahuallís, 134
missionaries, 2, 13, 38, 84, 95, 203, 246n6, 256n19; competition among, 96–98; goals of, 163–165; impact of, 41, 88, 108; and oil companies, 166–167; opposition from, 225–227; reform by, 85–86. *See also* Evangélicos; Jesuits; Josephines
modernization, 229
monkeys, 39
Montesdeoca, Mariana, 253n2, 254n6; power of, 122, 129–131
moon, 26–27
Mundayacu, 46
muntun, 51, 77, 81, 89, 128, 152; origin and distribution of, 43, 44, 46; relations among, 47–49
Muratos, 249n9
murders, 112, 120–121
Murialdian Sisters, 164
Muro-Atalpa, 92–93
muscui, 191, 205
mythology, 26–27, 257–258n3; animals in, 206, 207, 210; about auca, 134–135; and historical events, 42–43; jaguars in, 218–219; and social values, 208–209

Ñachiyacu, 124, 125
Napo, 44, 163
Napo-Pastaza province, 114
Napo province, 1, 75, 105, 172, 182, 243n1
Napo Quichua, 36
Napo River, 48, 49, 58, 117, 121, 130, 133, 135, 145, 158, 166, 179, 244n6; rubber industry in, 102, 114–115, 120; travels on, 141–142
Napo Runa, 1, 10, 33, 40, 173, 179, 180, 212, 245n3, 247n10, 253–254n4; alliances with, 77–78; descriptions of, 29, 30–31; economic and social organization of, 3–4, 5, 14; government protection of, 118–119; identity of, 202–203; interactions among, 199–201; intergroup relations of, 47–49; land of, 142–144; migration of, 111, 179; mythology of, 26–27; oral history of, 42–45; socioeconomic role of, 88–89, 117–118; traditional work of, 197–198

Napotoa, 38, 44, 73, 159
nationalism, colonization as, 157, 163, 175–176
"National Security Doctrine," 179
Nuns of the Good Shepherd, 84
Nushiño Auca, 136, 140
Nushiño River, 53, 61, 140

Oas (Oaquis), 38
officers, 51, 80–81, 122–123
oil production, 53, 114, 133, 212, 222; development and, 165–168, 178–179; Huaorani attacks on, 169–170, 251–252n13
Omaguas, 37, 40
Ongota, 53
oral tradition, 6, 159; of Napo Runa, 42–44; Panos in, 45–47; resistance in, 80, 121; rubber boom in, 114, 116–117; transmission of, 7–8
Orellana, Francisco de, 2
Oriente, 1, 42, 75, 87, 243; administration of, 12, 113–114; government in, 72–73; history of, 2–4; languages in, 36–38; rubber boom in, 102–106; theocracy in, 76–78; travel in, 20–21. *See also individual provinces; towns*
Ortegón, Diego de, 39, 41
Ortiguera, Toribio de, 40, 41
Orton, James, 20, 21, 30
Osculati, Gaetano, 20, 73; descriptions by, 22–23, 31, 77; travels of, 25–26, 28
Otavalo, Diego, 111

Pablo, *see* Calapucha, Pablo
pacification, 85–86, 167
pactachina, 60–61
Páez, Federico, 166
Palacios, Washington, 58, 225
Palandacocha, 129
Palanda Yacu River, 120
palm, African, 179
Pano, 44, 50, 122, 143, 148, 164, 179
Pano River, 1, 50, 51, 53–54, 98, 130
Panos (Pano Runa), 1, 18, 36, 119, 128, 130, 134, 180, 212; origins of, 45–47, 52
Papa, Casimiro, 110, 111
Papallacta, 21–22; travel through, 20, 23, 24, 125
Papallacta, Lake, 23
Papallactas, 31, 56, 211
Papatoa, 185, 188
páramos, 18, 23
parcialidades, 40, 46–47
Pastaza, 59, 105, 138, 172
Pastaza province, 172, 243n1
Pastaza River, 48
patrons, 145, 146, 246n4, 253–254nn3–5, 255nn10, 12, 257n26; abuse by, 119–120; control by, 129–132; debt purchasing by, 152–153; domination of, 149–150, 161–162, 172, 175, 250–251n11, 255n15; during gold rush, 158–159; labor use by, 147–148, 150–152, 153–156; land acquisition by, 143–144; power of, 128, 129–130; in rubber trade, 115–116, 117, 119, 120
Pauker, Mr., 128, 132
Payamino, 73, 116
payment, 147, 156; of cargo bearers, 32–33, 124, 126, 253n1; for jobs, 196–199
Peñasyacu, 183, 184
peonage: commodity, 153; debt, 107, 248n5
pepper, red, ritual use of, 56, 57, 205, 210, 235
Peru, 2, 102, 130, 145, 220; rubber industry in, 100, 105, 113, 252n15; smuggling in, 110, 116, 117; war with, 162, 166
Petroecuador, 178–179
petroglyphs, 217–218
pigs, 44
pita, 73, 77, 81, 88, 95, 244n2
Pizarro, Gonzalo, 2
plantain, 96
Plaza, Galo, 133
Plaza, Leonidas, 101
poison, *see* barbasco
police, 129
pongos, *see* servants
population, 2, 41, 42
population centers, 101

potatoes, 39, 40
power, 86, 208, 211, 226, 258nn7, 8; acquisition of, 203–205, 219–220; of Christian symbols, 227–228; intellectual, 214–217; jaguar, 206–207; of shamans, 213–214; structure of, 14, 91–92
Protestants, 164–165, 225, 227, 258n10. *See also* Evangélicos
Protocol of Río de Janeiro, 162, 166
provisions, 21, 32, 33
puca chaqui Auca, 134. *See also* Huaorani
pucushca quilla, 26–27
Puerto Misahuallí, 179
Puerto Napo, 33, 49, 73, 129, 141, 143, 144, 145, 156, 160; population in, 42, 244n6; revolt in, 81, 246–247n7
puma apamama, 27
Pumarumi, 217–218
pumas, 194, 218–219
punishment, 81, 85, 93, 110, 210, 199, 246–248nn7, 10; corporal, 79–80
Puno River, 61
Putumayo, 111, 116, 118, 216, 248n5
Puyo, 20, 135, 166, 175
Puyupungo, 59
Puyu Runa, 48

Quichua, 42, 108, 135. *See also various individual groups*
Quichua language, 16; spread of, 36–38
Quichuanization, 42
Quijos, 2, 37, 41
Quijos Indians, 2, 36, 37, 38; language of, 243–244n1, 244n4; origins of, 39–40
Quijos River, 25
Quilluma, 53, 181, 184, 214, 215; as amigu, 194, 195; soul searches of, 188–189, 190; as spirit, 232–234
Quito, 2, 115, 145, 156; travel to, 18, 20, 33, 52, 125

raids, 42, 169–170, 249–251nn9, 11
railway, trans-Andean, 101–102
Rayo, Faustino, 81–82, 246–247n7
Rayu, 209
Rebeca, Rucumama, *see* Cerda, Rebeca
rebellions, 2, 81; 1578–1579, 6, 40–41, 247n9; by Loreto Indians, 86–87; during rubber boom, 118, 120–121
reciprocity, 208–209, 210
reducciones, 2, 41, 246n5
relationships: with other Indian groups, 219–221; and power, 203–204
religion, 79. *See also* Evangélicos; Jesuits; Josephines; Protestants
repartos, 72–73, 75, 81, 253n3; end of, 99–100, 146
resistance, 4, 5, 41, 82, 89, 202, 245n1, 247n11; by avoidance, 91–92; to exploitation, 118–121; against Jesuits, 86–88; by Napo Runa, 74–75, 78, 80, 84, 86, 90. *See also* rebellions
Rice, Hamilton A., 20, 22, 30–31, 141–142
rice, 145
Río Tigre, 104
Rivadeneyra, Carlos A., 102, 113
Rivadeneyra family, 129
rivers, 24–25; flooding of, 70–71
roads, 144; construction of, 114, 127–128, 133, 148, 172
Rocafuerte, 104
Rodríguez, Adelmo, 173–174
Rodríguez family, 125
Roggeroni, Samuel, 111
Roggeroni, Silverio, 111, 141–142
Royal Dutch Shell, 166
Rubber Development Corporation, 160
rubber production, 88, 120, 135, 142, 153, 160, 248nn5–7; boom in, 102–106, 113, 252n15; competition in, 109–110; contracts for, 237–238; labor force in, 107–114, 119, 131–132, 250–251nn11, 12, 252–253n16; legislation regulating, 100–101; in Tena-Archidona, 115–118
Rucullacta, 46, 52, 179. *See also* Archidona
Rucuyaya Alonso, *see* Andi, Alonso

rucuyayas, *see* elders
Rueda, Augusto, 126, 200
Ruíz, Baraona, 96, 122, 128, 130, 131
rumi, *see* stones
Rumiñahui, 2
Runa, origins of, 42–43, 45–46. *See also* Quichua; *various individual groups*

sabotage, 120
sacha puma, 194
sacha supai, 182
Sacsayacu, 131
salt, 151, 184
salvajizados, 147
samai, 55, 56, 181, 186; transfer of, 205–206, 210, 211, 216, 219, 235
Sánchez Rangel, Hipolito, 42
San José de Payamino, 38, 244n2
San Juan de los Dos Ríos de Tena, 2, 42, 138
San Miguel River, 42, 116
Santa Rosa, 33, 38, 44, 73, 159
Santiago, *see* Calapucha, Santiago
Santiago-Zamora province, 114
Santo Domingo de los Colorados, 173
Sarayacu, 184–185
sarsaparrilla, 115
savages, 147. *See also* infieles
schools, 38, 84–85, 96, 113, 164
Secoya Indians, 117
semaneros, 129, 147
Serranos, 56, 135, 177, 220. *See also* ahuallactas
servants, 147, 156–157
settlers, 129, 198, 199, 255n14; conflicts with, 175–177
Sevilla, Carlos, 97, 119, 130, 135, 136
Sevilla, Esther, 128, 130, 132, 177, 253n2
shamanism, shamans, 8, 80, 173, 228, 258nn9, 11; hierarchy among, 213–214; and jaguars, 206–207; opposition to, 225–227; resistance of, 40–41; role of, 222–224; training of, 215–216. *See also* bancu; yachaj
Shandia, 44, 51, 53, 164
Shell Oil Company, 53, 198; and development, 165–166; and Huaorani, 135, 136–137, 169–170; impacts of, 171–173; labor contracts with, 167–169; work for, 58, 122, 133, 134, 137–140, 212, 256n21
Shilvi, *see* Andi, Silverio
Shiripuno, 133, 136, 138
Shiripunos, 147
Shuar (Macas), 43, 134
Sicuma, 139, 187
Sierra, *see* Highlands
Simson, Alfred, 20, 32
Sinclair, Joseph H., 20, 31, 165
Siona-Secoya, 38
slavery, 153, 249n9; in rubber industry, 100, 108, 110–112, 116–117
smallpox, 82, 87
smuggling, of laborers, 110–112, 116–117, 120
social classes, 4, 5, 10, 14, 88, 89, 257n26; changes in, 177–178; interdependence of, 90–92
socialization: power and, 205–206; transfer of knowledge in, 204–205
"Societies for the Protection of the Indians," 175
Solimayacu, 50
songs, 74, 216, 226, 231, 245n1
souls, 194, 208, 215, 245n8; jaguars as, 206–207; yachaj care for, 188–190
Spanish, 2
Special Law for the Oriente, 99–100
spirits, *see* amu; supai
Ssabela, *see* Huaorani
Standard Oil of New Jersey, 165, 166
stars, 26–27
Stevenson, W. B., 20, 28
stones, power in, 217–218, 245n8
storytelling, 7–8, 11, 16
Sucúa (Shuar), 134
sugar cane, 106, 248–249n8
Sumaco, Mount, 2, 31, 135
Suno, 73, 115, 159, 179
supai, 64, 67, 193, 213, 257n2; contact with, 222, 231–234; power of, 210, 216; relationships with, 206, 221; roles of, 184, 185, 223; types of, 182–183
supai allpa, 183

supai huarmi, 182, 185, 257n2
supai runa, 182

Tabacu-singa muntun, 46, 47
tagua, 101, 115
Taisha Auca, 134
Talag, 44, 51, 53, 59, 131, 183
Talag River, 183
Tapuy, Hilario, 182, 183–184
taxes, 99, 106, 158
Tena, 1, 12, 46, 73, 95, 119, 124, 143, 144, 145, 160, 164, 175, 244n6; description of, 128–129; Indians in, 44, 47, 221; trials in, 110–111
Tena-Archidona, 19(map), 86, 113, 142, 179, 180; authority hierarchy in, 75–76; economy of, 144–145; government in, 72–74; Indian origins in, 44–45; languages in, 36–38; rubber boom in, 114–118
Tena dialect, 36
Tena River, 97, 129–130
Tenas, 18, 40, 49, 82, 244n3
tenientes, 122, 123
Texaco-Gulf consortium, 169, 178
textiles, 156. *See also* cloth
theocracy, Jesuit, 76–78, 83
Tibacuno auca, 136
Tidmarsh, Jorge, 96
Tigre River, 53, 112, 113
Tigüeno auca, 134, 136
Tihuacuno, 138
timber, 179
time, concepts of, 15. *See also* callari tiempu
Tiputini, 100, 114, 133, 134, 138, 142
tobacco, 181
Torres, Nicolás, 101, 111
Torres-Causana, 102
torture, 100
trade, 40, 44, 77, 78, 142, 145, 146, 150, 220; in Oriente, 18, 100; prices in, 153–154; Quichua language in, 37–38; rubber, 100, 106–107, 114–116, 120
traders, 89, 102, 142, 159, 177; abuses by, 110–112; and missionaries, 81–82, 86, 87, 88; rubber, 100, 104–107, 114–115, 120, 250–251n11
travel, 54, 196–197; abandonment during, 26, 27–28; by cargo bearers, 21–25; by chair, 28–29; in northern Oriente, 20–21
trials, against rubber traders, 110–111
tribute, 72, 74–75, 96
Tsachila, 173, 220
tsalamanga, 214
tucuyo, 73
Tukano Indians, 207, 214
Tumbaco, 22
Tuquillo, 194, 195
Tutapishco, 115

Ucayali River, 112
Uchuculín, 127
ucupachama, 182
Umasapa, 51
United States, 100
uprisings, 120–121, 246–247n7. *See also* rebellions; resistance
Urcusiqui, 27, 124, 125

values, 90; social, 208–209; of work, 209–211
varajuj tiempu, 18
varas system, 10, 18, 80, 128, 146, 175, 256–257n25; appointments in, 122–123
"Venecia" hacienda, 128, 130, 144, 159
Verdeurco, 51
Verdeyacu, 51, 131
Villano, 137, 139
Villavicencio, Manuel, 20, 26, 28, 47; on cargo bearers, 32, 33; on Indians, 31, 32, 43; on Oriente, 73, 75

wages, 154, 155nn11, 15
wakes, 193
war, with Peru, 162, 166, 175
warfare, 48
Wasson, Theron, 165
weddings, *see* bura
whites, 199; land control by, 142–146; living standards of, 156–157, 257n26; and yachaj, 221–222. *See also* patrons
Wiener, Charles M., 20, 46, 92–93, 115–116, 244n3

witchcraft, 214, 221, 223, 224–225. *See also* shamanism, shamans
witch doctors, 159. *See also* shamanism, shamans
Witoto Indians, 117
women, 158, 212, 256n24; as patrons, 156–157, 162, 247n8; power of, 145–146; role of, 174–175
work, 196; for money, 198–199; for Shell Company, 133, 212; traditional, 197–198; values of, 209–211; under varas system, 146–147. *See also* labor
World War II, 160

Xeberos, 40
Xíbaros, 40

yachaj, 51, 192, 258n6; drinking of, 185–186; and government, 224–225; harm from, 223–224; as intellectuals, 215–217; missionaries as, 97, 227; opposition to, 225–226; power of, 218–220; role of, 212–214; and souls, 188–190; treatment of illness by, 187–188, 197; types of, 181–182, 184–185; and whites, 221–222. *See also* bancu; shamanism, shamans
yacu supais, 182–183
Yagua Indians, 117
Yanarinri, 185
Yanayacu, 52
Yarusunos, 40
Yasuní River, 135
yellow fever, 159
Yumbos, 23, 47, 156, 220, 243n2. *See also various individual Indian groups*
Yusupino, 131, 141

Zaparos, 36, 38, 44, 108, 109, 245n3, 250–251nn10, 11; as distinct group, 47–48; origins of, 135–136

1403 MUR
5600 0
$

**Anthropology / Latin American Studies**

Blanca Muratorio introduces us to Rucuyaya Alonso, a Quichua elder from the Upper Ecuadorian Amazon. Grandfather Alonso's story spans a century, as his narrative incorporates oral tradition learned from both his father and grandfather. The book alternates between chapters of Alonso's life history, and chapters analyzing the history of the world around him—the domination of the missionaries and the state, the white settlers' expropriation of land, the debt-peonage system during the rubber boom, the world-wide crisis of the 1930s, and the booms and busts of the international oil market.

Muratorio explains the larger social, economic, and ideological bases of white domination over native peoples in Amazonia. Her analysis of Quichua culture shows how through everyday practices of accommodation and resistance, and through expressions of humor, irony, and anger, the Quichua Indians were able to protect their cultural identity, their ethnic dignity, and their symbolic systems against the hegemonic forces of a white-dominated world.

**Blanca Muratorio** is an associate professor in the department of anthropology and sociology at the University of British Columbia.

---

A volume in the series Hegemony and Experience: Critical Studies in Anthropology and History, edited by William Roseberry and Hermann Rebel

---

*Cover design by John Romer*
*Front cover: Cargo bearers in a trip to Archidona. Anonymous painting.*
*Courtesy of José Manuel Jijón y Caamaño.*

Also available in cloth, 0-8135-1684-6

**Rutgers University Press**
**109 Church Street**
**New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901**

ISBN 0-8135-1685-4