

Inga Rimakkuna: Indigenous Frontiers in the Pastaza Basin, Peru

By

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation examines the lives of Inga-speaking indigenous peoples living in the Pastaza basin in the northern reaches of the Peruvian Amazon. Through an in-depth historical overview, I demonstrate how the imposition of Inga (a dialect of Quechua) by Jesuit missionaries in the 17<sup>th</sup> century acted as a means of binding multiple indigenous groups together within the mission system. Drawing on historical documents from the Jesuit Era through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, I detail the ethnogenesis of the Inga-speaking peoples in relation to other groups within the region. Rather than focusing on a singular, bounded ethnic group as has often been the case in Amazonia, I explore ongoing processes of ethnogenesis—of becoming Inga—using several crucial ethnographic tropes, such as kinship, marriage, shamanism, politics, and community foundation. I demonstrate the fluidity of identities in the indigenous frontiers of the Pastaza basin, at the margins of indigenous territories, problematizing traditional understandings of indigenous sociality in Amazonia. Through relationships with both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, as well as extractive enterprises, NGOs, and the Peruvian state, the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin continue to forge new identities within these indigenous frontiers. It is precisely within these frontiers, I argue, that the work of ethnogenesis takes place—the translation of culture and language, the production of new, emergent cultural systems, and the creation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries.

Dedicated to my father, Douglas Homan (1949-2014), who pushed me to explore both the world and my own consciousness. Kayka tukuy Inga rimakkunapa murupichkullaktamanta.

## Acknowledgements

This work has encompassed a number of years of research, both at home in the United States and throughout the Upper Amazon, and numerous individuals and organizations have made it possible. First, I must thank the residents of Mushu Kawsay, who shared their lives with me with me, put up with my 'gringo' habits, tolerated my slow pace in the bush, and answered my many questions regarding not only their lives but the lives of their ancestors. While all of the *ayllus* in Mushu Kawsay collaborated with me during the fieldwork period, I must especially thank my *compadres*, Marcelo Mucushua Arahuanaza and Juan Pipa Mucushua, as well as my *comadres*, Maria and Sara Luz. Through our relations of *compadrazgo*, they brought me into their *ayllus* and made me feel like a true *runa*. Esteban and Andres, who were the first to accept me into the community, provided many long conversations throughout my stay. Alonso and Simión, likewise, assisted greatly in my attempts to understand the transformational aspects of life in the *llakta* of Mushu Kawsay.

I must thank the crew of the lancha *Erick*, Chocherita, Alan and his small crew, and the crew of the *Duende*, for their assistance in transportation as well as many conversations throughout the evenings as we traveled on the Marañón and Pastaza. Our conversations deep into the evenings provided great insight into *habilitación* and commercial fluvial activities throughout the region. My conversations with indigenous leaders such as Aurelio Chino Dahua, Bladimiro Tapayuri Muyayari, and David Chino Dahua were also extremely helpful in my attempts to understand indigenous sociality and the indigenous rights movement in the Upper Amazon. The community members of Sisa and Chazuta, especially Wilian Guerra Arevala, Cesar Barta, and Ivan Paredes Carome, were critical in uncovering the linkages between the mid-Huallaga Quechua-speaking peoples and those living in the Pastaza basin.

The Department of Education provided a Fulbright-Hays fellowship which covered the majority of costs of my fieldwork period. Both the Universidad Nacional de San Martín and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú hosted me during my long-term fieldwork as a Fulbright-Hays Fellow. I must also thank the staff at the Fulbright Commission in Lima, especially Marcela Harth and Henry Harman, for their assistance as I went into the field. FEDIQUEP (Federación Indígena Quechua del Pastaza) provided me with permission and backing to conduct fieldwork in the Pastaza basin in Inga-speaking communities. Other federations and indigenous organizations, including FEQUEBAP (Federación Quechua de Bajo Pastaza), CORPI-SL (Coordinadora de los Pueblos Indígenas - San Lorenzo), FECONACADIP (Federación de Comunidades Nativas Candoshi del Distrito de. Pastaza), and FENAP (Federación de la Nacionalidad Achuar del Perú) provided information related to ongoing political activities among indigenous groups in the regions of Alto Amazonas and Datem del Marañón. The Municipalidad Provincial de Datem del Marañón also provided me with critical logistical assistance during my first forays into the Pastaza basin in 2013.

Language training in Quichua was provided through multiple Foreign Language Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships through the Department of Latin American Studies at the University of Kansas. I must especially thank my *mashi amauta* Nina Kinti Moss for spending many years teaching me the intricacies of spoken and written Quichua in numerous courses at the University of Kansas. Some of the research in this dissertation was conducted during the Chicago Field Museum's 26th Rapid Biological and Social Inventory in the Parapapura basin with the Shawi people. Other funding that made this dissertation possible was from the University of Kansas Doctoral Student Research Award, a Carroll D. Clark Award, and a Tinker Foundation

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Finally, everything here is my own, but without the assistance of those listed above I would not have been able to produce it—faults and all—and I am forever indebted for their support.

## Note on Orthography

All non-English words are written in an italic font. Standard Spanish orthography is used for all Spanish words, while Quechua orthography follows that of Tödter, Waters, and Zahn (2002). Quechua and Spanish orthography and pronunciation are quite close to one another, though there are a number of exceptions which are noted below. Other indigenous terms will follow the Summer Institute of Linguistics orthography for those languages (e.g., Candoshi, Achuar, Urarina, and Kukama) unless otherwise noted. Many quechua terms will be pluralized with the English -s suffix rather than the Quechua -kuna suffix to aid in readability in English, so that *ayllukuna* (families) becomes *ayllus*.

### VOWELS

<b>a</b>	like the <i>a</i> in “mama”
<b>i</b>	like the <i>ee</i> in “meet”
<b>u</b>	like the <i>u</i> in “lute” but more open, closer to a blend of the <i>o</i> in boat with the <i>u</i> in lute

### CONSONANTS

<b>ch</b>	like the <i>ch</i> in “check”
<b>h</b>	comparable to the <i>h</i> in English (a softer version of the <i>j</i> in Spanish)
<b>ll</b>	comparable to the pronunciation of <i>y</i> in English (e.g. “yes”), sometimes with an additional <i>l</i> sound (Kushilla → Kushilya) — Interestingly, the double <i>l</i> is also pronounced differently than in the Loreto Region, where it is comparable to the <i>J</i> sound in English
<b>k</b>	like the <i>c</i> in “cat”
<b>m</b>	like the <i>m</i> in “mama”
<b>n</b>	like the <i>n</i> in “no”
<b>ñ</b>	like the <i>ny</i> in “canyon”
<b>p</b>	like <i>p</i> in English (e.g., “peck”), unless preceded by <i>n</i> or <i>m</i> where it sounds closer to the English <i>b</i> (e.g., “boom”)
<b>r</b>	like the <i>r</i> in “road”
<b>s</b>	like the <i>s</i> in “silver”
<b>sh</b>	like the <i>sh</i> in “shower”
<b>t</b>	pronounced as <i>t</i> in English (e.g., “time”), unless preceded by <i>n</i> or <i>m</i> where it sounds closer to the English <i>d</i> (e.g., “dead”)
<b>ts</b>	no comparable English phoneme, pronounced as a brief <i>t</i> sound followed by an <i>s</i> sound
<b>w</b>	like the <i>w</i> in “water”

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	v
Note on Orthography .....	viii
List of Figures.....	xi
List of Tables .....	xii
I. Introduction: <i>Inga rimakkuna</i> and indigenous frontiers in the Pastaza basin.....	1
The Geography of the Pastaza Basin .....	6
Inga Rimakkuna.....	16
Ethnogenesis and Indigeneity .....	25
Indigenous Frontiers in Western Amazonia.....	31
Chapter Overviews .....	35
II. <i>Pastaza yayarukukuna kawsaymanta</i> : A History of the Pastaza Basin, Part 1: Pre-Hispanic Era through the Jesuit Era.....	39
The Pre-Hispanic Era in the Pastaza basin.....	42
The Arrival of the Spanish in Western Amazonia .....	50
The Missionization of Western Amazonia.....	59
Reducing the Pastaza basin.....	65
Reaching the <i>Infielos</i> .....	75
III. <i>Pastaza yayarukukuna kawsaymanta</i> : A History of the Pastaza Basin, Part 2: The post-Jesuit Era through the Discovery of Petroleum .....	79
The Rubber Boom and <i>Habilitación</i> .....	83
The Peruvian-Ecuador Border Dispute .....	87
45 Years of Contamination: Petroleum in the Pastaza basin.....	101
Conclusion .....	110
IV. <i>Ayllukunamanta</i> : Social Organization in Indigenous Frontiers.....	113
The Ayllu in Andean Ethnology .....	115
From the Andes to the Amazon .....	125
Inga Kinship Terminology.....	136
Marriage in the Pastaza basin .....	139
Conclusion .....	148
V. <i>Kurakakuna yachakkunapas</i> : Shamanism and Indigenous Politics in the Pastaza Basin.....	152
The Cosmological Base of Shamanic Power .....	155
Yachakkuna and Muskuykuna .....	163

Developing Conflict and Shifting Practices .....	172
VI. <i>Inga rimak tukushka</i> : Becoming Inga in the Pastaza basin .....	181
Indigeneity and Indigenizing Modernity.....	183
Defining Selves and Integrating Others .....	191
Llakta Foundation in Indigenous Frontiers .....	197
The Organizing Power of Indigeneity.....	205
Ali Kawsana: The Limits of <i>buen vivir</i> .....	209
Conclusion .....	215
VII. Constructing the Future on Indigenous Frontiers.....	217
References.....	223
Appendix A: Glossary of Terms .....	253
Appendix B: Acronyms .....	254

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of Northern Peruvian Amazon with area of study marked .....	12
Figure 2: Region of Pastaza River where fieldwork was undertaken .....	13
Figure 3: Ethnolinguistic groups in Peru with study area marked.....	17
Figure 4: Jesuit <i>reducciones</i> in the Marañón and Pastaza basins.....	61
Figure 5: Map of Oil Concessions in Peru.....	103
Figure 6: Destruction of Lago Ushpayacu. ....	107
Figure 7: Contamination of Lago Shanshocochoa.....	108
Figure 8: Inca ayllu system .....	119

## List of Tables

Table 1: Inga kinship terms	150
Table 2: Candoshi kinship terms	151

## **I. Introduction: *Inga rimakkuna* and indigenous frontiers in the Pastaza basin**

This dissertation explores several crucial themes in Amazonian anthropology through the lens of multi-ethnic, multilingual, indigenous communities in the Pastaza basin of the northwestern Peruvian Amazon. Many ethnographic monographs in Amazonia have tended to focus on seemingly bounded, singular indigenous groups and their relationships with each other and Others, such as nearby indigenous peoples, foreigners, and the State. These critically important works provide us with a background of how many indigenous peoples have approached modernity—usually in the form of religion, government, and extractive enterprises—as it encroached on their traditional territories. I cover many of the same issues and theoretical positions that have dominated Amazonian anthropology since the 1960s. I have situated my work from the perspective of indigenous peoples living in multilingual communities on the frontiers of indigenous territories, those regions at the extreme limits of traditional indigenous territories. It is within these frontiers, I argue, that the ‘work’ of ethnogenesis takes place; the translation of culture and language, the production of new, emergent cultural systems, and the creation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries (cf. Leach 1965:290). Throughout this dissertation, I focus on the frontier as a creative and generative space for indigenous identity and sociality.

I originally set out in March of 2014 to write a typical Amazonian ethnography—an extensive monograph devoted to understanding a particular indigenous group.<sup>1</sup> Their language,

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<sup>1</sup> This dissertation is based on 15 months of fieldwork was primarily conducted between July 2013 and August 2015 in indigenous communities found along the Pastaza, Huasaga, and Manchari Rivers. Prior to arriving in the field, I was already fluent in Amazonian Spanish from prior fieldstints. While at the University of Kansas, I completed three years of training in Quichua with Nina Kinti-Moss, a native speaker at the University of Kansas, which provided me with a strong base for learning the Inga language spoken in the Pastaza basin. I relied on the basic methods of ethnographic research, focused on “deep hanging out” through extensive participant-observation in which I attempted to integrate myself and my wife Heidi Morey Teco de Homan, who is from an urban center in the Peruvian Amazon, as deeply as possible into the community (Clifford 1996). We would participate in *mingas* (communal work parties), *tantarinas* (communal assemblies), and other aspects of daily life. Although participant-

social and political organization, shamanism, hunting and horticultural practices, all nicely bundled together into an easily digestible package for other anthropologists working in the region. I had chosen to work with the Southern Pastaza Quechua<sup>2</sup>, who at that time I also referred to as the *Inga* based on the variety of Quechua which they speak and various materials gathered from news and missionary reports. When I was finally getting ready to head out into the field, I had asked the president of FEDIQUEP (*Federación Indígena Quechua del Pastaza*), the indigenous federation with which the majority of Inga-speaking communities are affiliated, to recommend a smaller community where everyone spoke Quechua and had what he considered a more traditional lifestyle. While I had originally planned to work in the community of Alianza Cristiana and actually obtained permission to begin work there in 2013, I felt that its large population would make fieldwork more difficult. The community he recommended instead of Alianza Cristiana, Mushu Kawsay,<sup>3</sup> was located in the mid-Pastaza River, close to the mouths of the Huasaga and Manchari Rivers. Its location put it on the edge of what I had learned were the traditional territories of the Inga-speaking peoples, the Candoshi, and the Achuar.

Following a close reading of Norman and Dorothea Whitten's works (Whitten, Jr. 1975, 1976, 1978, 1985, 2003, 2008; Whitten 1996; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008), I had expected to encounter a fairly demarcated indigenous group with a focus on generational forms of shamanism, soul acquisition, and a predominance of Catholic imagery blended with an

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observation was one of the primary means of data collection, I also used semi-structured and unstructured interviews, in both Quechua and Spanish, conducted focus groups, as well as elicited kinship, language, and cosmological information (Barnard and Good 1984; Bernard 2006; Sakel and Everett 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Ethnologue language code: qup

<sup>3</sup> This is a pseudonym to protect the identities of those that worked closely with me. There was another community with a similar name, further upriver, which I often wondered if he had meant to recommend. As we will see in the following chapters, however, this would have made little difference in content thanks to the particular configurations of these multiethnic, Quechua-speaking communities.

indigenous cosmology, which itself was heavily influenced by marriage between Quechua-speakers and those of other languages, such as Achuar and Zaparo. What I encountered upon my arrival was quite different from the complex, shamanic culture blended with Catholicism found in Canelos Quichua communities, some 240 kilometers upstream, as described by Karsten (1935), Reeve (1985), and Whitten (1976, 1985). Mushu Kawsay was a Quechua community, recognized as such by the Peruvian state although still lacking its official titling<sup>4</sup>, and a member community of FEDIQUEP. It was also, however, still undergoing the process of *becoming* a Quechua community. The community members, many of whom spoke Candoshi as a first language, were sometimes derided from those in other, ‘purer’, Quechua communities as *aprendistas* (learners) or *yachakukkuna* (students) who had not yet gained the linguistic capabilities to define themselves as *runa* (people) even though they often articulated Quechua identities both politically and socially (see Chapters 5 and 6). The community’s distinct configuration of Candoshi and Quechua speakers, living together with shared interests under the banner of the Quechua people, set it apart from many communities while also being reflective of Inga sociality in general. Moreover, its presence in the ‘indigenous frontiers’ of Candoshi, Quechua, Urarina, and Achuar traditional territories meant that interethnic relations and interactions, and the process of *becoming* Quechua, were constantly at the forefront of everyday life.

Often derided for being “acculturated”, “not worth studying”, and “non-Amazonian”—being composed of recent migrants from the Andes, the various Quechua-speaking peoples of lowland South America, up until the 1970s, had been almost entirely ignored in the ethnographic literature of Amazonia (Whitten, Jr. 1976; Uzendoski and Whitten, Jr. 2014). While Udo Oberem

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<sup>4</sup> Mushu Kawsay was finally granted the title to its lands in 2017.

(1980) conducted fieldwork with the Quijos Quichua-speaking peoples of the upper Napo River between 1954 and 1956, his work replicated many of the issues listed above, especially the notion of recent in-migration of Andean Quichua-speakers to the region. It was not until the fieldwork of Norman and Dorothea Whitten in the early 1970s and the subsequent publication of the ethnography *Sacha Runa* in 1976, that the detailed lives of Amazonian Quechua-speaking peoples began to receive the attention they deserved. Since their groundbreaking work on the emergence and ethnogenesis of the Canelos Quichua, there has been a steady trend toward understanding the lives of indigenous Quechua-speaking groups in Amazonia, particularly within the Ecuadorian Oriente. The Amazonian Quechua-speaking peoples of Ecuador—primarily distinguished between those speaking Napo Quichua and those speaking Northern Pastaza Quichua<sup>5</sup>—have been heavily investigated by number of ethnographers (see Oberem 1980; Guzmán Gallegos 1997; Macdonald 1999; Nuckolls 1996, 2010; Reeve 1985; Uzendoski 2005; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012; Whitten, Jr. 1976, 1985; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008).

Paradoxically, although there are large Quechua-speaking populations in the Peruvian Amazon within the Departments of San Martín and Loreto—the Alamas Quichua<sup>6</sup> along the Tigre and Corrientes Rivers, the Lamistas<sup>7</sup> along the Mayo and Huallaga Rivers, and the Inga in the Pastaza basin—there has been very little research on these groups (Scazzocchio 1978; Barbira-Scazzocchio 1979; Barbira Freedman 2002). Indeed, of all the Quechua-speaking

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<sup>5</sup> The Napo Quichua Ethnologue code is qvo while the Northern Pastaza Quichua code is qvz.

<sup>6</sup> The Alamas Quichua are also known as the *Pumayaku Runa* (Tigre River Runa). While Alama, a term which means ‘mythical brother’ in Quichua, is viewed as a perjorative among Canelos-Quichua speaking peoples of the upper Pastaza, in the Tigre watershed in Peru it does not have the same connotation. This is similar to the differentiation between the term Jivaro in Peru and Ecuador, where in Ecuador it is viewed as perjorative while in Peru it is simply viewed as another way of referring to peoples that speak Jivaroan languages.

<sup>7</sup> The Lamistas or San Martín Quechua (Ethnologue code: qvs) are also known as the *Llakwash Runa* in the community of Lamas, *Sisa Runa* near the Sisa River, and *Chazutinos* or *Chazuta Runa* near the community of Chazuta.

indigenous groups in the Peruvian Amazon, there has yet to be a full-length ethnographic monograph focused on their lives, aside from doctoral dissertations primarily focused on the San Martín Quechua, published in any language. As such, my research expands the ethnology of a little understood region, the Pastaza basin of Peru, while also illuminating both Candoshi and Quechua sociality as they come together at the margins of their respective territories, in areas that I call “indigenous frontiers,” and engage in ongoing processes of ethnogenesis and ethnic subduction.

While there has been a vast amount of literature written on ethnic identity in Amazonia, there has been little research that has examined the theme of ethnogenesis in the indigenous frontiers of the Upper Amazon. Although the works of Whitten (1976) and Reeve (1985) both explore the theme of the historical ethnogenesis of *runa* peoples in the Ecuadorian Amazon, they do not provide a focus on how contemporary indigenous peoples create a shared, emergent culture through their social relations within interethnic communities. It is my assertion that it is precisely through the processes of interculturality and ethnogenesis that we see the emergence of new cultural practices and socialities in the Amazon region. Drawing on Barth (1969), we can see how individuals define themselves in relation to others and ensure the continuance of these identities through “boundary maintenance,” with ethnic identities becoming strongest at the contact points or frontiers of ethnic territories. Yet, this presents a problem for the processes of ethnogenesis and ethnic identity found in the region under study. Where we should see the strongest articulations of ethnic identity due to historical conflicts, we instead find a fluidity and porousness of identity, with individuals strategically articulating indigenous identities both politically and socially depending on the context. As we will see, while Barth does provide a critical framework for understanding ethnic identity through boundary creation and maintenance,

in the contemporary era these identities and subsequent boundaries are sometimes enacted and defined in relation to the state. The actual movement of individuals from one indigenous identity to another is reminiscent of Leach's (1965) investigation of Kachin-Shan social relations and the social oscillation between *gumsa* and *gumlao* political structures. While Leach hypothesized the historical movement between these structures was related to shifts in political power, in the Pastaza basin we see that such movements are based on conflict, marriage, and other critical social factors.

### **The Geography of the Pastaza Basin**

The Pastaza basin, covering some 11,000 km<sup>2</sup>, is home to a multitude of contemporary indigenous peoples: Inga, Canelos Quichua, Achuar, Shuar, Shiwiar, Urarina, Candoshi, and Andoas peoples all live either on the banks of the Pastaza River itself or along its many tributaries. The numerous streams and rivers that drain into the Pastaza River are associated with particular ethnic groups living in the middle reaches up into the headwaters (e.g., the Achuar in the upper Huasaga and Manchari Rivers), while the lower reaches of these tributaries are usually the domain of Inga- or Canelos Quichua-speaking peoples, living in polyethnic, intercultural communities. The Pastaza River itself, where the majority of Inga communities are located, has been known by a number of names—Tacunga, Pastazi, Corino, Sumatara, Kanús, Atunyaku, and Piedrapomes (see Maroni 1988; Figueroa and Acuña 1986).<sup>8</sup> Its source is in the heights of the

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<sup>8</sup> Pastazi is the Candoshi term for the Pastaza River, while Kanús is the Achuar-Shiwiar term. Atunyaku is a Quechua term meaning “large river.” According to Enock (1914), it had an “ancient name” of Sumatara—of what language that may be, or the source of his assertion are both unclear. The name Latacunga is probably derived from a transcription from Quichua to Spanish—Llakta Kunka (‘Neck’ Village) to La Tacunga to Latacunga. Indeed, it is referred to as the La Tacunga in the early missionary texts (see, for example, Figueroa and Acuña 1986:127). The name Piedrapomes is related to the fact that in the upper reaches of the Pastaza River, pumice stones ejected from the volcano Tungurahua would often be found floating on the river itself.

snow-capped Cotapaxi volcano, where the melt of one of the few equatorial glaciers in the world forms the Cutuchi River. From here, at some 4000 meters above sea level, the Cutuchi flows east toward the city of Latacunga, cutting through the Cordillera on its journey to the lowlands. Soon, the Cutuchi joins the Alaquez River where it then becomes known as the Patate River. At the foot of the volcano Tungurahua (throat of fire), the Pastaza River proper emerges from the union of the Chambo and Patate Rivers, at 1900 meters above sea level. At this point in the Pastaza's descent, between the towns of Ambato and Baños de Agua Santa with the Llanganates National Park's cloud forest to the north, the river itself is punctuated by a number of waterfalls. In this area the vegetation takes on a more tropical nature beginning around 1600 meters above sea level, while also making travel through the area very difficult (Saulieu and Duche Hidalgo 2012). This ecological zone is one of the most biodiverse in the world, with a huge number of orchids, ferns, and other plant species dominating the landscape, not too mention the numerous species of birds, reptiles, and mammals. Just downstream the Pastaza River has been dammed since 1987 as part of the Agoyán hydroelectric project. While the dam has radically altered the landscape in this region, the government preserved the nearby Agoyán Falls,<sup>9</sup> the tallest waterfall in Ecuador. From the Agoyan Dam, the Pastaza River continues its eastward flow for around 270 kilometers before it abruptly turns south at the junction with the Topo River. The flora continues to transition from tropical cloud forest to Upper Amazonian in nature as the temperature increases with the movement into the lowlands, with taller trees and palms becoming dominant. The Pastaza itself, at this level, is too dangerous to be safely navigated due to its rocky bed, shallow depth, and propensity for rapidly rising waters.

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<sup>9</sup> Also known as “el Pailón del Diablo,” the falls are approximately 61 meters tall.

The Pastaza River continues along the Troncal Amazonas highway toward the city of Puyo, one of the contemporary centers of Canelos-Quichua culture, before exiting the Andean foothills and beginning its meandering descent into the Upper Amazon. As the river is usually quite low, with many oxbows and small streams braiding the landscape in this region, fluvial travel by anything larger than a canoe is almost impossible. Furthermore, during the rainy season, heavy rains can quickly flood the area, making travel on the river quite dangerous. Interestingly, there are no tributaries on the right bank of the Pastaza from the region of Puyo until just south of the Peruvian border. On the left bank the Copataza, Capahuari, and Bobonaza Rivers all drain into the Pastaza River proper, while also providing the means for fluvial navigation in the upper Pastaza basin. The Bobonaza River, critically important for the Canelos-Quichua peoples, allows individuals to avoid travelling on these dangerous sections of the Pastaza River proper (Descola 1996:18).<sup>10</sup>

If one were to continue on the Pastaza River proper, however, they would soon encounter the Peruvian border, marked by Hito Zoilaluz<sup>11</sup> found on the Island of Zoilaluz, in the middle of the river. Just south of the Peru-Ecuador border, the mouth of the Bobonaza River is found on the Peruvian side, allowing easy access to the region. From the border, the river continues south and defines the basic contours of the Inga (Southern Pastaza Quechua) territory (Figure 1). Eventually one arrives at the village of Andoas Nuevo, located on the east bank of the river. This is both a titled Quechua indigenous community as well as the headquarters and processing facility for petroleum operations in Lot 192 (formerly Lot 1AB), currently under the control of

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<sup>10</sup> This route was extensively used by the Dominican and Jesuit missionaries, especially for traveling between Quito and the La Laguna, the administrative center for the Missions of Maynas (see Chapter 2).

<sup>11</sup> A small stone structure that marks the international border between Ecuador and Peru, laid out following the details of the Ecuador-Peru Border Agreement which both countries agreed upon in 1998.

Canadian Pacific Exploration & Production (see Chapter 3). A bit south of Andoas Nuevo, at the mouth of the Quebrada Capahuari, is the community of Andoas Viejo, founded near the site of the Jesuit mission Santo Tomás de Andoas. Andoas Viejo is often thought of as a cultural hearth for the Inga-speaking peoples as well as those that identify as Andoa (see Duche Hidalgo 2005). The Capahuari, in Peru, is a critically important *quebrada* (creek) in that it acts as a fluvial connection between the Canelos Quichua, Achuar, and Inga-speakers, much like the Bobonaza River to the north. Other critical communities in this area include Los Jardines, Nueva Alianza Topal, Nueva Alianza Capahuari, Pañayacu, Huagramona, Sabaloyacu, and Siwin. In this region of the Pastaza River, much of the culture is strongly connected to Canelos Quichua<sup>12</sup> culture emanating from Ecuador, especially through affinal and trade relationships. The form of Inga (Southern Pastaza Quechua) spoken in this area is more heavily influenced by Ecuadorian Quichua than the variety spoken further downstream on the Pastaza River and around Lago Anatico on the Huasaga River (see Orr and Wrisley 1981; Wise 2002). Continuing down the river from Sabaloyacu, we find the community of Soplín, a former military base (see Chapter 3), that also connects the Pastaza River to the Huasaga River via a footpath, and the communities of Nueva Vida and Loboyaku.

As mentioned above, the tributaries of the Pastaza River on the Peruvian side are usually dominated demographically by specific ethnic groups, especially in the midcourse and headwaters of the rivers, while the ‘edges’ of these territories are defined by the existence of polyethnic, polylingual, and intercultural communities. For example, the Huasaga River,<sup>13</sup> south

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<sup>12</sup> Known as *sarayaku runakuna* in Inga and *saraiku* in Candoshi. The latter point is particularly telling as it reflects the recent emergence of the Inga peoples as a distinct indigenous group.

<sup>13</sup> *Chángkuap* in Achuar

and west of Andoas, is heavily populated with Achuar communities, both on the Peruvian and Ecuadorian sides of the border. Near the mouth of the river is the community of Alianza Cristiana, the administrative capital of the District of Andoas, located on the shores of Lake Anatico. This is a Quechua-dominant multi-ethnic community composed of individuals of primarily Quechua or Achuar-Quechua descent as well as a large population of Candoshi speakers. It is also viewed by many as the second cultural hearth for the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, providing a counterpoint to the cultural and linguistic characteristics found around the community of Andoas. From the mouth of the Huasaga heading south, we encounter the community of Sungache, a Quechua-dominant community on the left bank of the river opposite the mouth of the Sungache River, a small tributary. From the Sungache, we come to the next major tributary of the Pastaza, the Manchari River.<sup>14</sup> The Manchari, in many ways, marks the southern border of Pastaza Quechua territory and the beginning of Candoshi territory, although interethnic Quechua-Candoshi and Quechua-Mestizo communities are found in the lower reaches of the Pastaza (e.g., Santander de Pastaza) and in the upper Nucuray River.<sup>15</sup> The upper Manchari River is dominated by Achuar-speaking peoples who are termed *awkas* by the Inga-speaking peoples of the lower reaches. Across from the mouth of the Manchari River, following the *brazo* around the small island (Isla Manchari) that makes up most of the left bank at this point, we find a *varadero* which allows one to cross over land to the headwaters of the

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<sup>14</sup> Also known as the ‘Menchari’ depending on the map, although this is probably a transcription error. The term *manchari* in Quechua means “fear” and is often linked to notions of soul loss or other illness. In this particular instance, however, I believe that naming the river Manchari is reflective of the inter-ethnic relations in the region, with more “traditional” Achuar individuals living in the headwaters who have been in conflict with those living downriver for much of the recent history (see Chapter 5).

<sup>15</sup> There are several titled Quechua communities in the lower Pastaza and on the Marañón itself such as Puerto Industrial, 2 de Mayo, Los Angeles, and many others (IBC 2018).

Nucuray River.<sup>16</sup> The geography of the region, the layout of the villages, and the temperament of the river itself, makes this location critically important as a site of intercultural contact. It is within this region that this ethnographic investigation is situated, at the frontiers of Candoshi, Inga, and Achuar territories (see Figure 2).

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<sup>16</sup> The trip from Unión Zancudo to the mouth of the Manchari by taking the *varadero* is less than two days. From Unión Zancudo to the mouth of the Nucuray River is three days.



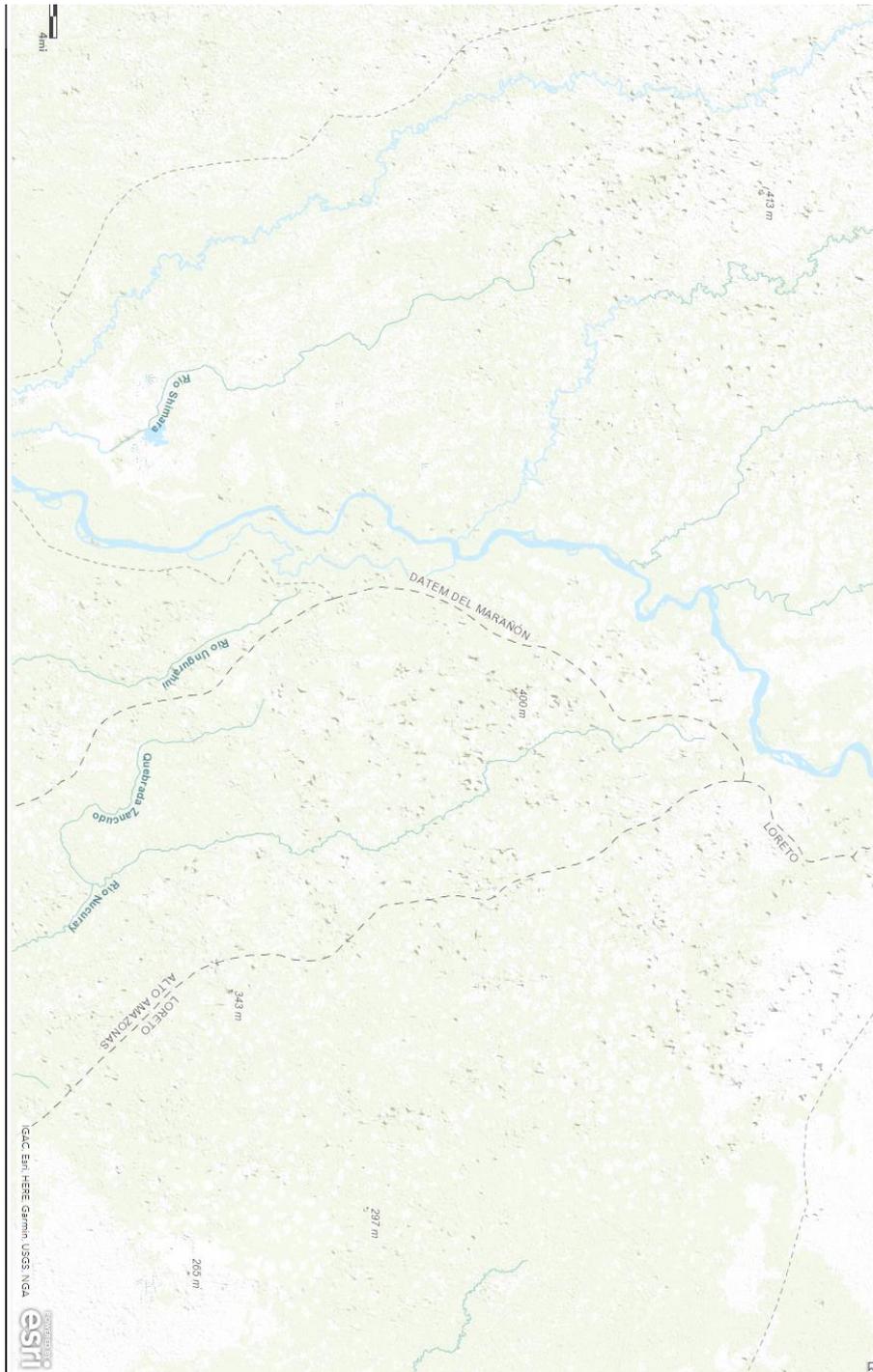


Figure 2: Region of Pastaza River where fieldwork was undertaken. (Source: ESRI).

Continuing south from the mouth of the Manchari River, the lower reaches of the next three rivers—the Huitoyacu,<sup>17</sup> Rimachi (and its many tributaries), and Ushpayacu—are dominated by Candoshi peoples, while the upper reaches of the Huitoyacu is dominated by Achuar-speaking peoples. It is at this point that we find the outer edges of the *Abanico del Pastaza*, or the Pastaza Alluvial Fan, which takes the form of one of the largest tropical peatlands in the world and the largest carbon sink in the Peruvian Amazon. A section of this massive peatland covering almost 6,000,000 hectares was deemed a Ramsar Site, or a wetland of international importance for conservation, in January of 2002 due to its particular characteristics and great biodiversity (Ramsar 2002). Although the Pastaza River continues south, the majority of people leave the main channel once they arrive at the mouth of the Huangana River, which allows one to easily reach the Lake Rimachi or Musakarusha (Lago Rimachi), also home to the Candoshi community of Musakarusha.<sup>18</sup> Traveling down the Rimachi to the confluence of the Pastaza River and the Ushpayacu River, one encounters the small village of Ullpayacu. Although majority indigenous, the town is the capital of the District of Pastaza and a central site for the further integration of communities upriver into the market economy. There are a number of larger *lanchas* that travel as far as Ullpayacu, but due to the many sandbars and low river levels

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<sup>17</sup> *Makü* in Achuar

<sup>18</sup> During the Colonial Era Lago Rimachi was primarily known as *Rimachuma* (meaning ‘large lake’), a toponym which is attributed to the Maynas peoples (see Figueroa, Acuña, y Otros 1681[1986]:127-8; Maroni 1738[1988]:97). Alexandre Surrallés (2009:139) provides the name as *Karoosha moosa* and says its derived from the name of individual who was killed there. Others that I spoke to in the Pastaza basin also provided this reasoning behind its name, though they provided the name *Musakarusha*. In 1991, the Candoshi engaged in direct action against the Peruvian State and the Ministerio de Pesquería which had declared Lago Rimachi as a “Zona Reservada,” prohibiting the capture of fish for commercial sale and limiting access to the Candoshi people. This stripping of fishing rights from the indigenous peoples that utilized the lake for their livelihood caused great tensions within the region and eventually led to a mass mobilization against the state. The Candoshi were able to remove the government officials from the cement buildings near the ‘mouth’ of the lake where the Ministerio de Pesquería had built their offices (Surrallés 2007:247). The community has sustained itself since, with a number of families living around the crumbling foundations and rusted rebar of the former base.

on the Pastaza, they do not attempt to continue upriver. Only a few of the smaller lanchas<sup>19</sup> can continue upriver to the city of Andoas, providing critical merchandise for those living in the community as well as those working in Lot 192.

Leaving the community of Ullpayacu, one finds themselves once again on the Pastaza River proper, heading south, passing by a number of important communities on the left-hand bank. The most important of these, Santander, is one of the oldest villages on the Pastaza River, being founded by Martín de la Riva y Herrera on July 25, 1656. Although originally the location of *encomiendas* during the Jesuit Era and dominated by the Roamaina peoples, it is now a titled Quechua community with a mixed population of mestizos, Candoshi, and Inga-speaking peoples. Continuing downriver, we pass the mouth of the Ungurahui River, where there are many interethnic communities, the most important being Campo Verde. These communities are often composed of a mix of mestizos, Candoshi, and Quechua-speaking individuals, although the majority are of indigenous backgrounds. Now, roughly 700 kilometers from its source in the Andes, we come to the Pastaza River's three mouths, with the wider portions to the western banks of the river heading toward San Lorenzo, upstream on the Marañón River, while the smaller eastern arms drain into the Marañón River alongside the community of Puerto Industrial, which is a critically important community for both travel and trade in the region.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> At the time of fieldwork, the only lanchas that regularly made the trip past Ullpayacu were the Erick and the Enano, making a trip roughly every 45 days.

<sup>20</sup> Although many of those living in Industrial self-identify as mestizo, the community itself is a titled Quechua *comunidad nativa* and recognized as such by the Peruvian government. Indeed, many communities in the lower Pastaza and near the region where the Pastaza River meets the Marañón River are titled as Quechua communities. Many of these communities are part of FEQUEBAP (Federación Quechua del Bajo Pastaza), which is itself based out of the city of San Lorenzo on the Marañón River. The map in Figure 3, unfortunately, does not reflect this reality in which the lower Pastaza River and the region near its mouth are dominated by multilingual Quechua-Spanish or Quechua-Candoshi communities.

## **Inga Rimakkuna**

As Surrallés (1992:48) notes, the Pastaza basin presents a wonderful challenge to anthropology, as it encompasses a “*belle mosaïque ethnographique*” due to the numerous indigenous peoples found there, such as the Candoshi, Shapra, Achuar, Quechua, Andoa, and Kichwa peoples (Figure 3). The ethnographic mosaic of the Pastaza basin is also reflective of the regional systems of interaction found between the ethnic groups living there, linked to trade, marriage, shamanism, and other critical aspects of indigenous sociality (Taylor 1999; Reeve 1993b, 2002, 2014; Reeve and High 2012). Although all of these ‘ethnicities’ are bound-up with one another through deep, historical social relations, ethnographies of the region have tended to examine indigenous groups as if they were static, with members tightly holding onto their ethnic identities in the face of continued pressures from foreign agents, whether they are other speakers of indigenous languages, German missionaries, or the Peruvian State (see Turner 1993). Unfortunately, due to my limited abilities to speak Candoshi and Achuar, I present a biased version of sociality in the region as I focus on the lives of Quechua (Inga) speaking peoples found living throughout the basin, from just below the Bobonaza River to the trifurcated mouth of the Pastaza River where it joins with the Marañón River.

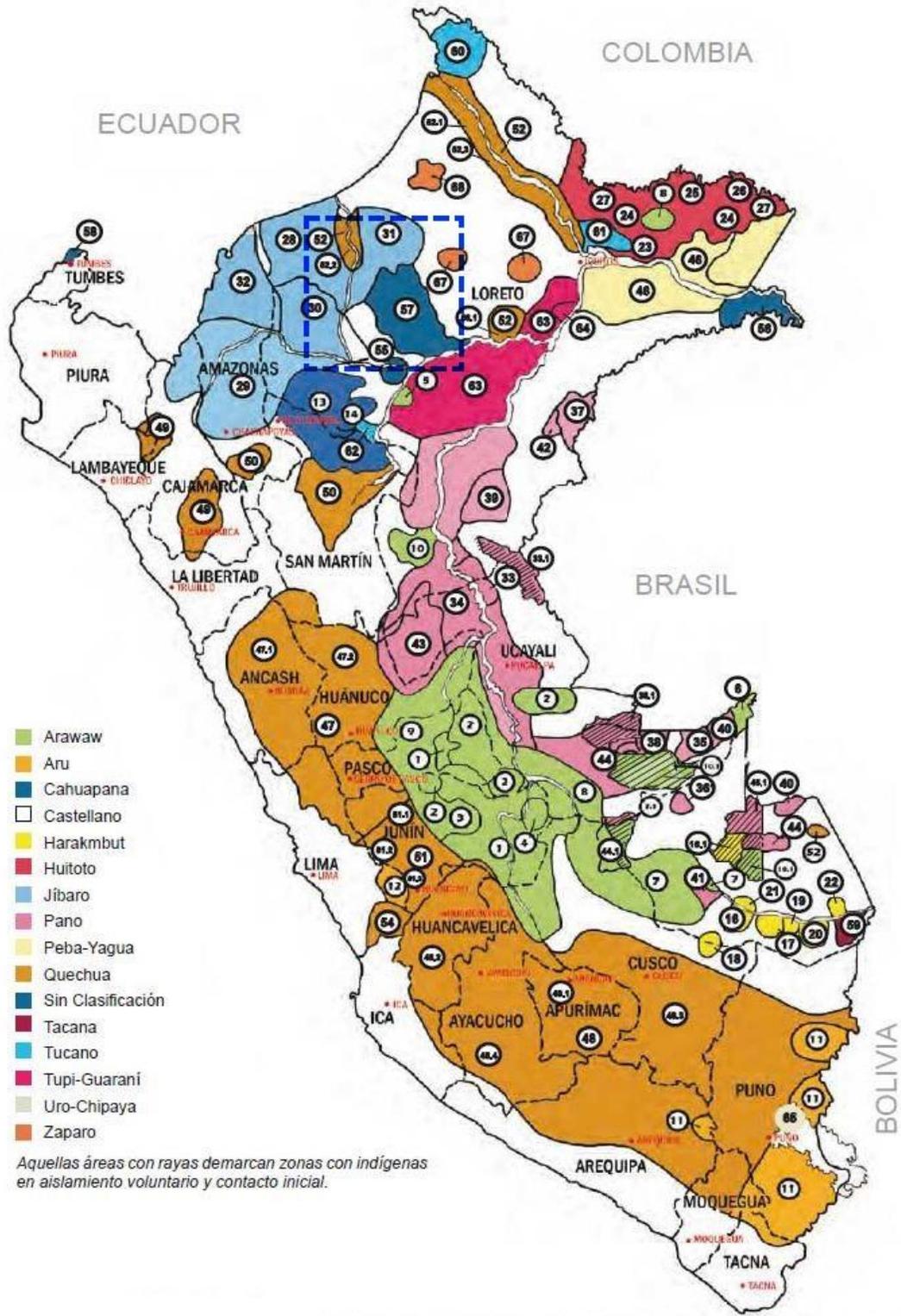


Figure 3: Ethnolinguistic groups in Peru with study area marked (Source: INDEPA 2010).

The title of this dissertation, *Inga rimakkuna*, can be translated into English as “Inga speakers.” I chose the title in collaboration with those who I worked with during a communal assembly (*tantarina*) near the end of my fieldwork period in which the community unanimously agreed on it over three other options.<sup>21</sup> I had originally thought about continuing the trend seen in the monographs *Sacha Runa* (Whitten, Jr. 1976), *Sicuanga Runa* (Whitten, Jr. 1985), *The Napo Runa of Amazonia Ecuador* (Uzendoski 2005), and *Puyo Runa* (Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008), of utilizing the term *runa* as a means to define a people, as I view my own work as a natural extension of their ethnographic investigations. The individuals I worked with, however, were against this idea as many did not quite view themselves as *runa* in the sense that other Quechua-speaking peoples may utilize the term to define themselves. Instead, those living in the indigenous frontiers of the Pastaza basin saw themselves in the process of becoming *runa*, or at the very least *Inga rimakkuna* (Inga speakers), through the acquisition of linguistic abilities and cultural knowledge. I was first exposed to this idea during my first week in the community of Mushu Kawsay, while I was still focused on the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) as a central theme in my doctoral research. During this period, my wife and I were living out of a tent set up inside the tiny building that housed the shortwave radio station the community used for communicating with the wider world around them.

Living in the station allowed me to easily document the various calls during the day and converse with the community’s radio operator, Esteban. His fluency in Spanish, Quechua, and Candoshi caught my attention, as he would easily move between worlds over the radio. One minute he would be laughing at jokes told by Candoshi operators in Charapacocha on the

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<sup>21</sup> The options I originally provided were Pastaza Runa, Inga Runa, Inga Rimakkuna, and Los Inga (The Inga).

Huitoyacu River, while the next minute he would delve into the intricacies of political organization with the Quechua *dirigentes* (indigenous leaders) at the CORPI-SL headquarters in San Lorenzo. One afternoon while discussing the multiethnic nature of indigenous shortwave radio communications, I asked him what the *runa* of the Pastaza basin called themselves, as I had heard elsewhere that the term *Inga* was their primary ethnonym. He replied that they were always asked by outsiders—physicians, NGO representatives, anthropologists, and government agents—what they called themselves. Referencing his dual heritage, having a Candoshi-speaking mother and a Quechua-speaking father, he replied that while some may say they are *Inga* or *Runa*, that he felt a more apt term, at least for those living in the ‘indigenous frontiers’ of the Pastaza basin, was *Inga rimakkuna* (Inga speakers). He recognized that there were people, such as the president of FEDIQUEP Aurelio Chino Dahua, who would use *Inga* as an ethnonym, especially when conversing with the press about ongoing conflicts in the Pastaza basin. For Esteban, however, the use of *Inga* in communities in the indigenous frontiers of the region reflects a conscious decision by Candoshi-speakers and others to move towards speaking Quechua, but still hold on to certain aspects of their other indigenous identity, at least for their generation (see Chapter 6).

There has been much confusion about the Quechua-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, their origins, and even their status as Amazonian peoples. Olson (1991:154) confuses the Pastaza Quechua with the Ingano or Inga of Colombia, saying that they “can be found around Lake Anatico and the Pastaza, Huasaga, and Urituyacu rivers in Peru” while also locating them in the Sibundoy Valley and along the Putumayo River. He also likewise confuses or conflates other indigenous groups such as the Maynas and Muratos, arguing that the term *murato* is “a misnomer, since the original Murato Indians, who once lived in the vicinity of Lake Rimachi,

have long been extinct” (Olson 1991:250). Yet, as Chapter 2 demonstrates, the Muratos were probably Candoshi-speaking peoples living in the lower- and mid-Huasaga and Manchari Rivers during the Jesuit Era before expanding their reach to the region around Rimachi Lake. Today the term *murato* (*mulato*) is used by indigenous Quechua-speakers to refer to the Candoshi and is even used by Candoshi-born Quechua-speaking peoples, along with the Candoshi ethnonym *kandwash*, to refer to the Candoshi as a group. To make things even more complicated, the ethnonym *kandwash* is also used by the Andean peoples in Ecuador when referring to themselves, arguing that the name Andoas is a hispanization of *kandwash* or *kandoash* (Duche Hidalgo 2005).

The Pastaza Quechua, also known as the *Inga*, *Inga rimakkuna* (Inga speakers), or simply *runa*, are an indigenous group of roughly 4000 individuals living primarily along the banks of the Pastaza River in the Peruvian Amazon. The ethnonym Inga comes from the term they use to refer to their spoken language, which itself refers to Quechua as the language of the Inca Empire, utilized as a *lengua general* by Jesuits. Their traditional territory encompasses the region near the mouth of the Bobonaza River, continuing south along the Pastaza River until the Yanayacu River, with a number of communities located along the various tributaries between these two areas, primarily the Manchari River and the Huasaga River. There are roughly 26 settled, stable communities, the majority of which are clustered together between Soplín and Nuevo Andoas. West of Soplín, on the Huasaga River, there are only two titled Quechua communities, Alianza Cristiana and Bolognesi, while on the Manchari there is only Santa María, with the Achuar community of San Juan upriver and the Candoshi-dominant community of Kushilla (Puerto Alegre) downriver. On the Pastaza River itself, south of Soplín we only find three titled communities: Loboyaku, Sungache, and Nueva Esperanza. Moreover, while many of these

communities south and west of Soplín are titled as Quechua *comunidades nativas*, many are multiethnic and polylingual communities that makes placing them within the box of a singular indigenous ethnicity or cultural problematic, as will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation.

The Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin share many commonalities in their social and economic lives with other indigenous peoples of the Upper Amazon. They practice swidden agriculture in cleared garden plots, or *chakras*, focusing on the cultivation of manioc (*lumu*), maize (*sara*), papaya (*papaya muyu*), plantains (*palanta*), and a variety of other crops. This is also one of the main realms where the stark division of labor by gender is most apparent. Women tend to the smaller garden plots near the home where they primarily grow manioc, although they may also plant maize in the vicinity, which is tended to by men. In the larger *chakras* located away from the main homestead men focus their work on the production of plantains, maize, papaya, beans, and other crops, while women will often care for children as the men work. Women are also responsible for the care of children, preparing food, making *masato*<sup>22</sup>, weaving, and caring for domesticated animals such as chickens. Men spend much of their time hunting, using either a blowgun (*pukuna*) or a shotgun (*illapa*), depending on the availability of critical resources such as *ampi* (dart poison, *curare*) and shotgun shells. Both men and women fish, although women tend to focus on line-fishing, while men also use nets and gigs. Once to twice a year, the community will utilize *barbasco* (fish poison) in a nearby quebrada to fish, and men and women will travel along the quebrada gigging or netting the intoxicated fish.

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<sup>22</sup> *Masato*, also known as *aswa* in the northern reaches of the Pastaza River, is a lightly fermented alcoholic beverage made by women who chew boiled manioc before spitting it into a larger container. Through mastication, the starches are broken down by enzymes and turned into sugars which are then combined with naturally occurring yeasts to facilitate fermentation of the critically important beverage.

The history of the Inga-speaking peoples, to be detailed in the following chapters, suggests that their current social configuration is the product of ongoing processes of ethnogenesis perhaps dating to before the arrival of the Spanish, arising out of the interactions of a number of indigenous groups—many of whom have completely disappeared over the past 500 years—as well as *mestizos*, *gringos*, and other actors. In this respect, they share many cultural characteristics with other catechized indigenous peoples that experienced a shift from their original indigenous languages to Quechua such as the Lamistas, Canelos Quichua, Alamas Quichua, and Napu Quichua,<sup>23</sup> as well as those that still hold onto another indigenous language such as the Shawi (Chayahuita) and Kukama-Kukamiria (Cocama). Their culture blends together the indigenous cosmologies of pre-Conquest indigenous peoples that were *reducido* (reduced) by Jesuit missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries and the contemporary indigenous peoples with whom they practice marriage exchange. It is through these ongoing processes of interethnic exchange, between the Inga-speaking peoples and other indigenous peoples, with individuals moving in both directions due to conscious social decisions, that we see the emergence of new cultural forms and social groupings that challenge our understanding of indigenous groups in the Amazon.

This view of ethnogenesis stands in contrast to the work of Philippe Descola (1994, 1996), who takes a predatory view of the historical contacts between lowland Quechua-speakers and speakers of Jivaroan languages such as Achuar, Shiwiar, and Shuara. Indeed, he sees Quichua peoples “penetrating deeper and deeper” into traditional Achuar territories, establishing

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<sup>23</sup> We could include the Agvano peoples of Santa Cruz on the left bank of the Huallaga River here as well, who are made the shift from Agvano to Quechua during the Jesuit Era. They continued speaking Quechua in the community through at least the 1950s, although today the community is primarily composed of Spanish speaking individuals (Steward 1948; Olson 1991).

“bi-ethnic population zones in which the settlement sites are either completely integrated (e.g., on the upper Conambo) or ethnically separated but quite close together (on the upper Corrientes and the upper Tigre in Peru)” (Descola 1994:21). While he notes that the Canelos Quichua have long-standing historic connections to the Achuar through marriage and exchange, he downplays the indigenous agency involved in ethnogenesis in western Amazonia and frames it ontologically. He argues that Canelos Quichua speakers are “‘white’ indians,” and a “heterogeneous group of refugees turned Quichua-speakers under Dominican influence,” engaged in an “ongoing process of assimilation of alien populations” (Descola 1994:21, 1996:263-264). One must ask the question of whom Descola believes the alien populations are in this particular social configuration. This view, much like that found in Viveiros de Castro’s (1993; 2004a; 2004b; 2012; 2018) ontological perspectivism, detaches agency from indigenous peoples as they make choices in their daily lives and puts them into a cosmological bind with limited room for creativity. Yet, he goes on, further exoticizing the Achuar while demonizing Runa ethnogenesis and the mobility of peoples in the Amazon-Andes region. He notes that

thousands of identical little towns mushroom endlessly, each day putting out new tentacles ... Too chaotic to hold the visitor’s curiosity for long and too hybrid to elicit sympathy, these towns of corrugated iron convey a degenerate image of all the worlds they bring into confrontation, an image that is a mixture of tenuous nostalgia for a long-forgotten European culture and lazy prejudice against the unknown that lies so close (Descola 1996:1).

Rather than attempting to understand the “unknown that lies so close,” however, Descola instead uses his “lazy prejudice” to denigrate the majority of people living in Amazonia today. Likewise, those who live in Amazonian urban areas are often indigenous and hold deep connections to rural communities. The Inga, Candoshi, and Achuar peoples I worked with, while living at least one day’s travel by boat from the nearest “city,” were still extremely connected to it and other

urban areas in lowland Amazonia. On the Ecuadorian side, likewise, the Canelos-Quichua view the city of Puyo, with a population of 36,000, as one of their cultural hearths alongside the communities of Sarayaku and Canelos (Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008).

Since the mid-20th century, the lives of indigenous peoples in the region—not just Inga-speaking or Canelos-Quichua-speaking peoples but all indigenous peoples—have become more entangled with the mainstream Peruvian society, global extractivists, *regatones*, and missionaries, all of which have greatly impacted indigenous socialities in the region. While Protestant missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), the Swiss Mission, and the South American Mission (SAM), as well as Catholic missionaries such as the Passionists and Salesians, have all had great effects on the social lives of the Pastaza Quechua, the largest impacts in recent years have emanated from the petroleum sector. Indeed, the northern reaches of the Pastaza Quechua territory are directly impacted by the most productive oil block in Peru, Lot 192.<sup>24</sup> This concession, which has changed hands multiple times, was producing an average of 14,800 barrels of crude oil daily in 2014, accounting for roughly 17% of Peru’s petroleum output (Cúneo 2014). For over 45 years, the daily lives of those living in the Pastaza basin have been disrupted due to the ongoing extraction of petroleum resources (see Chapter 3). The effects of this extractive enterprise have been an increase in infectious diseases—especially hepatitis B and B-delta—as well as extensive ecological damage due to poor infrastructure, exploration, and numerous oil spills. The indigenous response to this catastrophe has been strong over the past twenty years, with an increase in activity since the indigenous uprising in 2008 and the *Baguazo* massacre. Between 2008 and today, the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza, Tigre, and Corrientes

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<sup>24</sup> Formerly Lot 1AB

basins have engaged in numerous political actions aimed at the Peruvian state and extractivist corporations such as PlusPetrol, Occidental Petroleum, and others. These actions have included blockades of major rivers and roads, the occupation of refineries, wells, and air strips, protests in major cities such as Iquitos and Yurimaguas, as well as a number of court cases (see Chapters 3 and 5). The level of success of these actions has been varied but the fight continues to this day as indigenous peoples attempt to take control over their own lives in the face of extractivist enterprises.

### **Ethnogenesis and Indigeneity**

Indigenous peoples in the far western Amazon, where the lowland rainforest meets the eastern forested slopes of the Andean cordillera, have been exceptionally active in the public sphere, fighting the intrusion of transnational extractivist enterprises, the state, and other entities in their ancestral territories (Brown 1993, 1996; Brown and Fernández 1991, 1992; Greene 2009; Macdonald 1999; Whitten, Jr. 1976, 2003; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008). As in most of Latin America, the origins of Peru's indigenous movements have deep global connections, emerging out of relations among missionaries, environmentalists, NGOs, transnational researchers, and indigenous peoples (Greene 2006:339). Although the first indigenous federation was created in 1956 by Shuar peoples living in the Ecuadorian Oriente, during the latter part of the twentieth-century official state policies throughout Latin America actively discouraged both indigenous identity as well as political actions. In response, indigenous movements, especially in the Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Bolivian highlands, expanded their claims based on indigenous identity to integrate "narratives of class struggle, the defense of national sovereignty, and demands for the decolonization of the state" (Gustafson 2009:6). In Amazonia, conversely, the indigenous movement has traditionally placed far less emphasis on class, instead stressing their

indigeneity (Warren and Jackson 2002:11; Greene 2006:333). This split between Andean and Amazonian indigenous movements is still salient today, with very little interaction between the two spheres outside of Ecuador where the government classes together lowland Quechua-speakers with those from the highlands (see Cadena 2000, 2011; Whitten, Jr. 2003; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008).

In Peru, questions of indigeneity are complicated due to the nation's history and geography. In the Peruvian geographical imaginary, the country is conceptualized as having a tripartite structure—*la costa* (the Coast), *la sierra* (the Andes), and *la amazonía* (the Amazon), with their perceived value in that order. The *costa*, with the capital Lima, as well as other large cities, is associated with whites, *mestizos*, wealth, and progress. The *sierra* is seen as being primarily connected to contemporary Andean Aymara and Quechua speakers, usually classified as *campesinos*, as well as an idealized past drawn from the mythological status of the Inca. The Amazon, in contrast, is seen as disconnected from the nation and viewed as an unknown, dangerous realm filled with savages. This tripartite geography that dominates Peruvian consciousness has meant that those living in the highlands and coast have been privileged over those in the Amazon (see Varese 2002:20; Greene 2007:446). This is also reflected in the racial hierarchy within Peru, with whites at the top, followed by mestizos, Andean indigenous peoples, Amazonian indigenous peoples, and finally Afro-Peruvians. This hierarchy is drawn from the Colonial Era *casta* system which categorized individuals based on the perceived purity of their lineages (Cahill 1994; Carrera 2012). Greene (2006:331) notes, echoing the work of Trouillot (1991), the indigenous peoples of the Andes have further been fit into the 'Inca slot,' an unattainable ideal of pre-Hispanic Incan nobility. This creates a division between the Amazonian and Andean indigenous peoples, with Andean peoples viewed as being more 'civilized' than

their Amazonian counterparts.

These ideas can be traced to the pre-Hispanic era and the hierarchical ethnic structures implemented by the Inca and later reified by the Spanish. The Inca saw those living in the Amazon rainforest as being savages and referred to them as *chunchos*, *yungas*, and *antis*, all somewhat pejorative terms that refer to the positionality of Amazonian peoples and their ‘backwardness’ in relation to the highland Quechua-speaking Incan nobility (Greene 2007:454). Furthermore, there were divisions in the highlands as well with commoners and the Incan nobility being differentiated, which were replicated during the colonial period with the notions of *indios nobles* (noble Indians) and *indios communes* (common Indians). Moreover, with the arrival of Dominicans and Jesuits in the Amazon, new categories of indigeneity also arose—the *manso* or domesticated Indian and the *salvaje* or savage. The term *manso* (tame) was applied to indigenous peoples who converted to Christianity and had lost their ‘Indianness’ through acculturation (see Whitten, Jr. 1976, 1985, 2011). Taylor (1999:195) relies on this term in the contemporary era, referring to the Canelos Quichua, the Llakwash Runa (Lamistas), and the Shawi (Chayahuita) as the *indios mansos*, in contrast to the still pristine Achuar, arguing that they have lost their indigenous identity through Christianization and become “generic natives.” As can be seen with Taylor’s highly problematic characterization of the indigenous peoples the Andes-Amazon region of Peru and Ecuador, these historical and contemporary connotations and perceptions of indigeneity continue to resonate and complicate our understandings of ethnicity in this vast and important region of Amazonia.

These questions regarding indigeneity are further problematized by ongoing processes of ethnogenesis in the northwestern Amazon. Ethnogenesis is the “emergence of a people in specific times and places, in indigenous historicity” and Western history (Whitten 2011:324;

Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2011:169). This emergence and solidification of social identities has been explored extensively in both historical anthropology and archaeology, particularly in relation to ‘national’ identities in Ancient Europe and indigenous identities throughout the Americas (Hornborg 2005; Cardoso de Mello 2015; Cipolla 2013; Curta 2005; Roosens 1989; Voss 2008; Weik 2014). While ethnogenesis, especially with the social construction of ‘new’ or ‘revitalized’ ethnic groups in relation to indigenous rights claims, has been examined in multiple cases, the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis involving multiple levels of indigeneity on the edges or frontiers of indigenous territories have received scant attention (Clifford 2004; Moore 2015; Restall 2004; Haley and Wilcoxon 2005; Whitten, Jr. 2011; Reeve and High 2012; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2012). In the northwestern Amazon, along both sides of the Peru-Ecuador border, ethnogenesis and indigenous movements go hand-in-hand. As Whitten (1985) notes, this region is characterized by a regional system in which new Quichua (*runa*) identities are formed through marriage and exchange with other indigenous peoples that speak different languages. Indeed, *runa* identity is founded on the adoption of the Quichua language combined with “Achuar and Zaparo ancestries and antiquities, and increasingly Andoa, Shimigae, Caninche, and even Cocama descent systems” (Whitten, Jr. 2008:26). I would add to this list Candoshi, Shawi, and Urarina for those Quechua communities living in the mid-Pastaza watershed. This region, on both sides of the border, has been critically important in recent years in relation to the indigenous rights movement (Whitten 1996; Whitten, Jr. 2008; Greene 2008). In public protests by the Amazonian *runa*, they are able to draw upon this vast wealth of ethnic identities, shifting between them as needed while also showing solidarity through the use of Quechua or Quichua.

Elsewhere in Amazonia, we can see the importance of ethnogenesis in understanding

indigenous movements. In the Bolivian Amazon, the indigenous group known as the Tacana was traditionally perceived in the national imaginary as *shiringueros* (rubber tappers) rather than indigenous peoples. Indeed, prior to the 1990s, the vast majority of individuals did not speak the Tacana language, use the Tacana ethnonym, or refer to themselves as indigenous, instead self-identifying as *mestizo* (Sarmiento 2009:164). With the explosion of land titling programs beginning in 1991, however, more and more Tacana began to emerge, pushing those who continued to identify as mestizo out of the region. By 1996 a number of communities in the area had been titled, but only those who self-identified as Tacana were living within them, effectively creating a bounded ethnic group through the process of ethnogenesis, fueled through bureaucracy (Sarmiento 2009:172). This case demonstrates the importance of ethnogenesis in understanding indigenous movements while also highlighting its problematic nature in regard to indigeneity and identity. It is also reflective, however, of similar processes found throughout lowland South America and the feedback loops between indigenous peoples and the wider indigenous rights movement.

As Hornborg and Hill (2011:9) argue, to understand ethnogenesis we must have a multi-scalar approach that emphasizes not just the “local, experiential dimensions of identity construction,” but also the ways in which “local experience is shaped by macro-scale contexts such as history, politics, trade, and regional geography.” Thus, the conception of the ‘global assemblage’ offers an excellent analytical tool for understanding the complex interactions between the local, regional, national, and global scales as well as between indigenous peoples and others in our attempts to understand this ongoing process. For Collier and Ong (2005), the global assemblage allows us to take account of these multiple scales and their effects on social and political life at different levels. By focusing on the sites of where “global forms” are

articulated, both emanating locally and globally, we can begin to understand how these relationships assist in the forging on indigenous identities (Collier and Ong 2005:4; see also Estebanstein 2004; Richards 2010). We must be careful, however, of our application of these models. Indeed, as Clifford (2000:102) argues, all “global-systemic approaches run the risk of reductionism,” but through the reflexive, thoughtful, and thorough use of these analytical tools we can begin to gain a greater understanding of these processes. The notion of ethnogenesis, when combined with the idea of the global assemblage, as well as a deep “concern for long-term historical change and long-distance travel and trade across widely separate geographic regions” allows us to understand the *longue dureé* of indigeneity in the western Amazon (Hornborg and Hill 2011:19; Whitten, Jr. 2007, 2011).

The Quechua speakers living in Amazonia challenge understandings of indigeneity and ethnicity in Peru and Ecuador as well as problematize the distinction between highland and lowland groups (Cf. Virtanen 2010). As noted earlier, in Peru there is a tendency to privilege Andean identities and languages over Amazonian indigeneities, an idea that Shane Greene (2006, 2007) has called the ‘Inca slot’ (Cf. Trouillot 1991). With indigenous Quechua speakers in the Amazon, there is a sense that they are ‘out of place’, and perhaps gain a privileged position in relation to other Amazonian peoples. Similar to the inhabitants of Zumbagua, Ecuador, the Quechua speakers in the mid-Pastaza watershed refer to their language as *Inga shimi* (Inca language) rather than the more common *runa shimi* (People’s language) (Weismantel 2001). While this is probably not a conscious, constructivist act, this glossing of *runa* (people) with *Inga* (Inca) problematizes the distinction between the highlands and lowlands. This may also explain some of the differential success that has been seen with regard to the Quichua and Quechua speakers of western Amazonia as compared to other regional indigenous groups such as

the Achuar. Indeed, in Ecuador these successes include successfully suing the state in the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the titling of huge swaths of rainforest, the founding of Yasuní National Park, an \$8.5 billion judgment against Chevron, and even briefly holding the presidency (see Whitten, Jr. 1985, 2008; IAC 2012). Likewise, on the other side of the border in Peru, the Pastaza Quechua have successfully utilized ILO C169 to secure their right to protest, had the First Lady of Peru Nadine Heredia and the UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Peoples James Anaya visit a number of their communities, titled large amounts of land, aided in founding the protected Pastaza River Wetland Complex, and forced the government to declare an environmental emergency in the Pastaza basin due to contamination (WWF 2009; La Republica 2012; PUINAMUDT 2013).

### **Indigenous Frontiers in Western Amazonia**

In this dissertation, I attempt to build on the recent trend toward ‘realist’ and critical ethnographies from lowland South America, such as those coming from Dean (2009), Cepek (2012), and Bessire (2014). These ethnographic works clearly demonstrate the linkages between cosmology, the state, religion, extractive enterprises, and inter-ethnic or inter-cultural relations for indigenous peoples in both Amazonia and the Gran Chaco. Building on this work, I examine indigenous frontiers, those spaces where multiple indigenous groups come together in the expansion of indigenous territory (cf. Li 2014), specifically in the mid-Pastaza River where the ‘traditional’ territories of the Inga, Candoshi, and Achuar peoples meet (Figure 3). I argue that is within these spaces that the “stuff” of ethnogenesis is produced—new cultural forms created through translation and transliteration between multiple indigenous groups—and new indigenous identities that do not fit in with the notion of bounded, distinct indigenous groups that occupy a certain region of the Amazon, such as that seen in *Handbook of South American Indians*

(Steward 1948; see also Golob 1982:14). Through an examination of the processes that bind these newly formed social groupings together—interethnic sibling exchange, shamanism, indigeneity, feedback loops between the indigenous movement and local peoples, and the foundation and titling of *comunidades nativas*—we can begin to see how indigenous peoples in the region are active agents in the creation of their social worlds.

Identity is always a relational construction, defining oneself in opposition or solidarity with another being (Barth 1969; Bauman and Vecchi 2004; Calhoun 1994; Grier 2007; Ong 1999; Strathern 1988, 1995). In Amazonia this is very much the same as there are a number of shared categories in which people are slotted, depending on their perceived social status. One could say that there exists a general continuum of social stratification among indigenous and mestizo peoples in the Peruvian Amazon based on perceptions of indigeneity, geographical distance from main rivers such as the Huallaga, and access to trade goods such as clothing and salt. This continuum, however, is not simply between *blancos*, *mestizos*, and *nativos*, but also between and amongst indigenous peoples themselves. Moreover, it is not simply located within the Amazon region but is part of a larger trend within the Andes and Amazon. In the Andean region, we can see the differentiation between indigenous Quechua speakers who engage in agriculture known as the *taksa*, or civilized, and those who live on the puna region and do not enter the *qichwa* agricultural zone are known as *sallqa*, or savage (Isbell 1985). In Amazonia, this has most often taken the form of indigenous peoples setting themselves apart from other indigenous peoples in the form of the *indio cristiano*, or catechized Christian indigenous person, versus the *auca*, meaning enemy in Quechua but referring to “uncivilized” indigenous peoples (Simson 1878; Fuentes 1988; Gow 1991, 1993; High 2009; Taylor 1999, 2008; Whitten, Jr. 2008; Uzendoski and Whitten 2014).

The *auca* versus “catechized Indian” is a trope that has played out continuously over the past 500 years along the major basins of the Peruvian Amazon where Jesuit, Franciscan, or Dominican missionaries established mission posts beginning in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Characterized as both a spatial and cultural separation, the wild Indian, or *auca*, is thought to live in the headwaters of tributaries of main rivers or in the interior of the forest itself, far away from communities and centers of commerce. They are also thought to not wear clothes nor eat salt, two characteristics strongly associated with ‘civility’ in the Amazon region (see Gow 1993). Taylor (1999, 2008) has written extensively about this dichotomy in the Ecuadorian Oriente during the Colonial Era, where indigenous peoples who lived in the interior of the rainforest were labeled *infieles* (infidels) or *aucas* and contrasted with the catechized indigenous peoples of the Jesuit reduction system, often labeled *indios mansos* (tame indians), *indios amigos* (friendly indians), or *indios cristianos* (Christian indians). As Santos-Granero and Barclay (2000:36) note, the latter group of catechized indigenous peoples emerged out of the various indigenous groups who had been ‘reduced’ by the Jesuits during the 17th and 18th centuries (see Chapter 2). From this process, they integrated many Catholic traditions and ideas into their cosmologies and social organization, while still being classified as indigenous by the *mestizos* and others living in urban and peri-urban areas of Amazonia. These contrasts, as Reeve (1985) points out, are critical for understanding processes of ethnogenesis as indigenous peoples construct images of one-another that in turn are reflected back to them. For the Kichwa of the Curaray Basin, for example, the notion of *runapura*, literally translated as “Quichua speakers among ourselves,” is contrasted with the *auca*, “animal-like tropical forest peoples who have killed or captured our relatives.” Gow (1993) sees the term as automatically excluding the *auca* from social relations, as their decision to geographically isolate themselves is viewed by other groups as being a distinctly

moral choice derived from their refusal to engage in wider market relations and avoid contact with Others. He suspects, however, that the *auca* themselves “function as a source of the ongoing productivity of the system, as unintegrated others,” as the Yaminahua are seen in the lower Urubamba River among Piro-speaking peoples.

In the Pastaza basin, Inga-speaking peoples attempt to set themselves apart from the *auca*, which is the term they use to refer the nearby Achuar, while simultaneously engaging in marriage and economic exchange with this same category of people. Here, it is not simply the “unintegrated other” but another group with whom they hold deep social relations related to marriage practices, shamanism, politics, and a general indigenous identity. As we will see, while the term *auca* is translated as Achuar in the Inga language, in the contemporary era the notion of them being savage or uncivilized indigenous enemies is slowly disappearing, although the idea still exists as a reference to a category of being. These distinctions are becoming less important for local peoples as the state and extractive enterprises continue their push into the region, while also providing new spaces for these relationships between indigenous peoples to flourish. As indigenous peoples engage with modernity in their own ways (Sahlins 1999; Whitten, Jr. 2008), they are creating new spaces that challenge earlier understandings of indigenous sociality in the Upper Amazon.

Through the following chapters, I will demonstrate the contemporary processes of ethnogenesis in the indigenous frontiers of the mid-Pastaza River in Peru. While there are number of critical factors that play into ethnogenesis, I focus on the following: (1) the Jesuit missions as a source for both language (Inga) and Christian culture; (2) the *ayllu* as a base for social organization and the similarities between Candoshi and Quechua kinship systems; (3) a shared, general interethnic shamanic culture that is common to the Achuar, Candoshi, and

Quechua-speaking peoples; and (4) the state-imposed structure of the *comunidad nativa*. It is through a combination of these factors that founding stable communities on indigenous frontiers is possible as they provide a general structure, along with Quechua as a *lingua franca*, that all indigenous peoples in the region are able to interact with and understand as they share them.

## **Chapter Overviews**

In chapter two, I detail the emergence of the Inga-speaking peoples as a distinct ethnic group in the Pastaza basin through a historical overview of the region. I specifically focus on the interactions between indigenous groups, missionaries, and the state over the past 500 years, highlighting how it was relationships among these entities that created the situation required for the ethnogenesis of the Inga as a distinct social and ethnic group. The most important of these relationships is derived from the Jesuit Era, where many indigenous groups in the Pastaza region were reduced at mission posts, taught Inga, the *lingua franca* of the missions, and catechized in Catholic teachings. While this contact was prolonged from 1638 to 1767, following the expulsion of the Jesuits contact with non-indigenous peoples in the region was at times sporadic and irregular, especially for those peoples living outside the villages founded at the sites of Jesuit missions. The imposition of Inga as a *lengua general* during the Jesuit Era, as well as the political and social structures of the *reducciones* themselves, provided indigenous peoples with the means for interethnic communication and created a space for the foundation or continuation of interethnic communities. Moreover, the teachings of the Jesuits and other missionaries heavily influenced all of the indigenous peoples in the region, providing shared cultural ideas that continue into the present.

In chapter three, I continue delving into the historical relations that have defined the Inga-speaking peoples. I trace the period directly following the expulsion of the Jesuits, demonstrating how new relations between indigenous peoples and other missionary groups arose. I then briefly examine the devastation of the early boom periods (rubber, lumber, leche caspi), highlighting the differential responses of indigenous peoples in the region and how this in turn affected indigenous sociality. I then explore the arrival of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and other Protestant missionary organizations in the mid-twentieth century and the effects these missionaries have had on indigenous peoples, particularly the imposition of bilingual education and the shift toward settled communities. Finally, in the 1970s there is a two-fold process of the foundation of *comunidades nativas* as indigenous territories and the beginnings of petroleum extraction in the Upper Pastaza, both of which have radically altered indigenous sociality throughout the region.

Chapter four examines the social organization of Quechua communities in the Pastaza basin. I begin by exploring the traditionally Andean concept of the *ayllu*, translated as family but understood as the bilateral multi-scalar form of social organization particular to Quechua- and Aymara-speaking peoples, in both pre-Hispanic and contemporary societies. I then examine the *ayllu* in lowland Amazonia, specifically as a fluid base of social organization that easily encapsulates interethnic relationships. Here, the flexibility of the *ayllu* is key as it easily allows Candoshi and Achuar peoples into its structure, while also mirroring many of the aspects of Candoshi kinship and social organization. Marriage, especially sibling exchange, is also detailed with particular attention paid to marriages in the indigenous frontiers, where we find a majority of interethnic marriages. Finally, I examine the foundation of communities following the implementation of the Peruvian Law #22175 *Ley de Comunidades Nativas y de Desarrollo*

*Agrario de la Selva y de Ceja de Selva* (Law of Native Communities and Agricultural Development of the Jungle and High Jungle). I argue that this law has created a second social structure which, in many ways, is now common to all indigenous peoples living within the Peruvian Amazon. Through these two critical organizing concepts—the ayllu as a flexible structure and the imposed structure of the *comunidad nativa*—indigenous peoples are able to ‘indigenize’ modernity, taking it on in their own terms as they construct new ways of being both with one another and the state.

In chapter five I continue my overview of indigenous sociality by examining the critical position of shamanism in the region, and juxtapositioning its practice with the ongoing political conflicts surrounding extractive enterprises. I provide a very simplified overview of shamanic practice in a polyethnic, multilingual community, focused on tobacco shamanism by a trilingual individual. As elsewhere in Amazonia, shamanism in the Pastaza basin is inherently an interethnic endeavor, requiring one to move between multiple social worlds to be able to heal or cause harm. Likewise, shamanism is also deeply connected to social organization, as shamans are often the leaders (*kurakas*) of indigenous communities (*llaktas*). The shaman as a leader is also tied to the ongoing political situation in the Pastaza basin, focused on the numerous issues associated with petroleum extraction. This, in turn, also provides a feedback loop for indigenous practices, leading to the rejuvenation of ayahuasca shamanism as a form disconnected from its earlier associations with witchcraft (*brujería*).

Chapter six explores what it means to be a *runa* and the contemporary processes of ethnogenesis linked to the encroachment of ‘modernity’ in the region. I explore a number of critical themes in this chapter, examining indigenous sociality through the lens of multiethnic, multilingual communities and what they mean for the ethnology of lowland South America.

Utilizing the notions of indigeneity, the indigenization of modernity, and ethnogenesis, I explore the problem of village fission and *llakta* formation within indigenous frontiers. Here I examine the foundation of the community of *Mushu Kawsay* as an interethnic Quechua-speaking community, growing out of ongoing feuds between *ayllus* in other Quechua and Candoshi communities. I demonstrate how the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza are ‘indigenizing’ modernity through their social relations with the state, NGOs, and others, while also problematizing the notion of a bounded ethnic group. Here we can begin to see how ethnogenesis emerges out of the various processes detailed above through the creation of an interethnic community that defines itself, and is titled as, a Quechua community.

## **II. *Pastaza yayarukukuna kawsaymanta*: A History of the Pastaza Basin, Part 1: Pre-Hispanic Era through the Jesuit Era**

As has been noted elsewhere, the history of Western Amazonia has almost exclusively been the domain of missionaries and anthropologists, with anthropologists utilizing the writings of missionaries, combined with the few other available sources, to reconstruct the history of various river basins (Santos-Granero 1988; Gow 1993:342; see Dean 2009 for the Chambira basin; Fuentes 1988 for the Paranapura basin; Reeve 1985 for the Curaray basin; Stocks 1985 for the Huallaga basin). I follow this trend as the situation in the Pastaza basin mirrors these other regions, with a heavy missionary presence since the arrival of the Jesuits in 1638 and a lack of attention in the historiography of Amazonia. There are very few written records from individuals not connected to the Catholic Church and much of our information comes from just five Jesuit friars—Cristóbal de Acuña, Francisco de Figueroa, Pablo Maroni, Manuel Uriarte, and Franz Xaver Veigl. These records, however, even with their providence being individuals who were entirely subservient to the Holy See, provide us with substantial information on social organization, cosmology, trade networks, marriage, and the founding of critically important communities through the implementation of *reducciones* in the Amazon region.

The focus on the history of indigenous peoples of Western Amazonia is seen as problematic for some, who suggest that a synchronic analysis may provide better answers. For example, Gow (2008) believes that ethnographers of the region detail the history of the indigenous peoples we work with as a way of demonstrating that they have a direct connection to an unquestionably indigenous past. Writing about the ethnographers of the Huallaga basin, he is quite critical, citing the work of Barbira-Freedman (1978), Stocks (1985), and Fuentes (1988) as overly relying on historicization to assert the indigeneity of the Llakwash Runa, Kukama-Kukamiria, and Kampu Piyawi, respectively. As all of these groups have had extensive contact

with the Spanish since early in the Contact Era,<sup>25</sup> their practices are heavily intertwined with Catholic imagery and ideology, distorting their image as “untouched indigenous peoples.” While I agree that anthropologists working throughout the Amazon basin have a history of placing indigenous peoples in the position of the exotic Other, often in the “savage slot” (Trouillot 1991),<sup>26</sup> the history of Western Amazonia is one of interculturality and is critical for understanding contemporary configurations of indigenous sociality. We must attempt to combine both the synchronic and the diachronic in our analyses of lowland South America, as they are both crucial for understanding any peoples. In this chapter, I focus on the historical realities of the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin during the pre-Hispanic and Jesuit Eras, with special attention paid to the Mainas, Jivaroan, Roamaina, Andoa, and other related peoples from whom contemporary indigenous peoples trace their lineages. It is only through an analysis of their historical interactions with *encomenderos*, missionaries, *caucheros*, and others that we can understand the ethnogenesis of Quechua-speaking peoples in the region. Through an examination of pre-Hispanic archaeology and post-Contact historical writings associated with the various ethnic groups of the Pastaza basin, we can begin to see the deeply intercultural and polyethnic nature of western Upper Amazonian sociality on the margins, as well as the place of Quechua-speakers within it.

When the Spanish arrived in the region of Canelos in the upper Pastaza watershed in 1538, they encountered a polyethnic world consisting of multiple language groups coexisting close to one another. Santos-Granero (1992:19-20), referencing the various descriptions of the region by missionaries, notes that these groups were perhaps “*parcialidades o segmentos de*

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<sup>25</sup> In 1538, Alonso de Mercadillo and Diego Nunez traveled from Moyobamba to the Parapapura basin

<sup>26</sup> The “savage or the primitive was the alter ego the West constructed for itself” (Trouillot 1991:18)

*etnias*” (parts or segments of ethnic groups) using the region as a refuge zone to escape violence and social problems both in the pre-Colonial and post-Contact eras (see also Maroni 1988:97; cf. Taylor 1999:208).<sup>27</sup> Indeed, as shown below in the historical overview of the basin, the minority or smaller indigenous groups were in marginal positions at the time of the arrival of the Spanish, forcing groups to merge or seek refuge in other regions. I am not positive, however, that we need to think of the region as simply a zone of refuge, even if many groups did utilize it as such. Rather, following other authors focused on the complexity of interethnic relations in lowland South America (Reeve 1985, 1998, 2008; Heckenberger 2008; Hill 1996; Hornborg 2005; Hornborg and Hill 2011; Reeve and High 2012; Uzendoski 2004), I argue we need to understand this region as an area where multiple ethnic groups and language families have had long, ongoing interactions dating to the pre-Hispanic Era, much as found in the Vaupes basin in Colombia (Århem 1981, 1984; C. Hugh-Jones 1979; S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Jackson 1983; Sorensen 1967). Such a perspective would allow us to better grasp why we see widespread similarities in crucial cultural practices and technologies, such as those related to the practice of tobacco shamanism, across a large swath of the Northwestern and Western Amazon. It also highlights the mobility of indigenous peoples and the fluidity of identities as individuals move between and among other indigenous or ethnic groups.

Unfortunately, as shown below, the majority of the ethnic groups that occupied the Pastaza basin at the time of Spanish contact, such as the Gayes, Shimigayes, Pavas, Coronados, Machines, Pinches, Atacaras, Roamainas, and many others, have long since disappeared as distinct peoples. Today, the region has a number of recognized indigenous populations—the

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<sup>27</sup> “una zona donde pudiesen establecerse gente de diversa filiación étnica, migrantes forzados de brujería, incesto u homicidio” (Santos-Granero 1992:20)

Candoshi (Candoshi), Shapra, Inga (Southern Pastaza Quechua, Quechua del Pastaza), Achuar, Shiwiar, Shuar, Canelos-Quichua, and Andoas—that are found either on the banks of the Pastaza River proper or along its many tributaries. While there are references to the Candoa-speakers (as Murato and Chapara), Andoas, and Achuar throughout the colonial period, and the acknowledgement that many of these groups also utilized Quechua as a *lengua general* in the region, references to self-identifying indigenous Quechua-speaking peoples in the region do not exist prior to the late 19th century, outside of references to the Quichua-speakers at the mission of Canelos on the Bobonaza River. As such, the history detailed in both this and the next chapter traces the emergence and ethnogenesis of the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, focusing on the interethnic and intercultural relations as experienced by Jivaroan, Candoshi, Zaparoan and other speakers of indigenous languages in the Pastaza basin, their agency, and their mobility, from the pre-Hispanic era through the early 20th century through the perspective of regional interaction. Moreover, highlighting the impacts of indigenous agency on the historical trajectory of indigenous peoples in lowland South America, rather than simply examining it in the context of the colonizer versus the colonized, provides us with a fuller picture of these critical relations which have formed contemporary peoples.

### **The Pre-Hispanic Era in the Pastaza basin**

Our knowledge of pre-Hispanic Amazonian societies is limited, especially in comparison to the wealth of information available for the Central Andes and Coastal regions of South America. There are number of reasons for this dearth of information. For one, the ecology of Amazonia, with its tropical environment characterized by oscillating dry and rainy seasons, an average temperature of 80° F, and high-humidity, makes the preservation of archaeological artifacts difficult. This ecological barrier to preservation is further exacerbated by the lifestyles

and social organization of indigenous Amazonians. Homes are constructed primarily using hardwoods and palm-thatch roofs on the banks of rivers that have changed course every few hundred years (Bernal et al. 2011). The limited material culture of Amazonian peoples, usually using animal (hides, bones, teeth) or plant products for clothing or ritual instruments, as well as fired ceramics, is often poorly preserved due to the climate of the Amazon rainforest. Moreover, archaeologists have been slow to develop the archaeology of the Amazon basin, with few large-scale studies (see Lathrap 1970; Meggers 1996; Roosevelt 2013). This has been changing over the past 20 years as we see more studies devoted to understanding the prehistoric lives of the peoples of lowland South America, especially in the Upper Amazon region (see Heckenberger and Neves 2009).

The geography of the Pastaza River, forming from the melt of the Cotapaxi glacier and traversing the Andes before opening up into the lowlands and finally draining into the Marañón, is critical for understanding its historical significance, especially prior to the arrival of the Spanish (see Chapter 1). This region, like many others along the Cordillera and the Andes-Amazon interface (Homan 2014; Fuentes 1988; Scazzocchio 1978), facilitated long-distance trade relations between the coastal regions of Ecuador, the Andean Cordillera, and lowland Amazonia (Reeve 1985). Lathrap and Brochado have suggested that material culture moved through a massive “network of interaction” between Valdivia, the Pastaza, and the Ucayali regions (Brochado and Lathrap 1982:11, cited in Eriksen 2011:21). The presence of archaeological sites along the main river basins, as well as their many tributaries, holding stylistically similar material cultures (e.g., figurines, pottery styles) suggests that these ancient networks of interaction between the highlands and the lowlands were critical for pre-Hispanic sociality. Prior to the population growth of the Formative Period these networks may have played

a critical role in the spread of domesticated manioc (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz) in lowland South America, which was probably originally domesticated in the savannahs south of the Amazon rainforest around 9000 BP before spreading throughout the basin (Isendahl 2011:463; Piperno and Pearsall 1998). The various contemporary regional networks in the Amazon basin, such as those described by Reeve (2014), Roth (1929), Scazzocchio (1978), and Uzendoski (2004) are probably reflections of historical trade routes that have been utilized by Amerindians for millennia.

The earliest archaeological data from the area under study are located at a number of sites in the upper reaches of the Morona, Pastaza, and Huasaga rivers. Here, we can see the presence of petroglyphs, stone tools, and other Paleoindian material culture. Unfortunately, these cannot be directly dated themselves and their chronology remains poorly understood. Their presence, however, suggests that humans have occupied the upper Pastaza basin for well at least the past 4,000 years, if not longer. Duche Hidalgo and Saulieu (2011) provide one of the only overviews of rock art in the upper Pastaza region, primarily focused on the area around Puyo. There are a number of sites with petroglyphs, including Ilupungu, Chontayacu, Arajuno, and Culaurku. Duche Hidalgo and Saulieu (2011) argue that the petroglyphs found at Chontayacu, Culaurku, and the site of Huaskaurku, to the north of Puyo, all share similarities in style and are perhaps from the same period. Similarly, those found at Arajuno and Mishagualli have similar content, perhaps being from the same culture and period (Duche Hidalgo and Saulieu 2011:244). The presence of stone tools in the same region, primarily in the form of axe blades, also suggests a continued human presence in the upper Pastaza watershed. While some of these tools were not excavated *in situ*, they still provide us with a glimpse of the lifeways of pre-Hispanic indigenous peoples in the region. Many tools, however, were not preserved because they were made from

non-stone materials. Contemporary peoples in the Pastaza basin often spoke of ancestral generations creating machetes and other cutting tools from wood, a material rarely preserved.

Although there have been a number of attempts to standardize and better understand the various phases of ceramic production in the Pastaza basin from an archaeological standpoint (see Porras 1975; Meggers 1996; Marcos 1998; Saulieu 2006), there are still many issues that need to be resolved. Pedro Porras (1975) was the first to attempt to describe the archaeology of the Pastaza basin, drawing on his excavation work along the Huasaga River, one of its major tributaries. This site is critical as its location is between the headwaters of the Morona and Pastaza Rivers where individuals certainly utilized *varaderos* to cross between the rivers. He described the Pastaza Phase, falling primarily within the Formative Period (3800 - 500 BCE), of ceramic production as being defined by the use of incised punctuation, the use of red and white paint, and a variety of design styles that date to the Early Formative (2000 - 1000 BCE) period in Ecuador (1975:129). Porras divided the Pastaza Phase into nine distinct smaller phases based on the ceramic materials uncovered during his excavations in the upper Huasaga: White on Red Pastaza (*Pastaza Blanco sobre Rojo*), Corrugated Pastaza (*Pastaza Corrugada*), Nail-Decorated Pastaza (*Pastaza Decorado con Uñas*), Excised Pastaza (*Pastaza Exciso*), False Corrugated Pastaza (*Pastaza Falso Corrugado*), Incised Punctuated Pastaza (*Pastaza Inciso y Punteado*), Retouched Incised Pastaza (*Pastaza Inciso Retocado*), Red Pastaza (*Pastaza Rojo*), and Red Incised Pastaza (*Pastaza Rojo Inciso*). Other authors (for example Marcos 1998; Saulieu 2006) argue that while there are certainly distinct phases of ceramic production in the headwaters of the Huasaga River and surrounding area where Porras undertook his fieldwork, some the material is reflective of works not distinctive of the Pastaza basin itself. Other phases that are connected with and overlap the Pastaza Phase include the Kamihun Phase (2300 - 1900 BCE) on the

Huasaga River in Peru at some distance from the original Porras excavation; the Macás Phase (1200 - 1000 BCE) on the Upano River in Ecuador; and the Chiguaza Phase (1000 - 800 BCE) on the upper Pastaza River. These phases share many characteristics with the material culture of the larger Pastaza Phase (Eriksen 2011:22; cf. Marcos 1998).

The presence of Valdivia pottery and anthropomorphic figurines in the Upper Amazon region is reflective of the mobility of pre-Hispanic indigenous peoples and their extensive intercultural relations via long-distance trade (for example Porras 1975; Chocano 1998:66; Myers and Dean 1999). Dean (2009:85-6) notes the importance of these relationships in the pre-Hispanic era, highlighting the production and trade of various products (e.g., cloth, pottery, curare, coca, and peppers) in the Amazonian lowlands and extending into the Amazon-Andes interface.<sup>28</sup> Trade among peoples of the coastal regions, the Andes, and the Amazon was common in this period and the contemporary locations of communities in the upper Pastaza basin reflect the routes utilized for both trade and travel in the pre-Hispanic period (Salazar 1998, 2008:264). As Eriksen (2011:22) points out, during the Formative Period there were direct trade relationships among peoples of the highlands and coastal regions of Ecuador, the Pastaza and Napo basins, and the Tutishcainyo cultures of the Ucayali basin. These deep, intercultural and long-distance trade relationships are reflective of patterns in lowland Amazonia that we continue to see today, although at a much smaller scale. For example, among Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, blowguns are purchased from Achuar craftsmen living on the Huasaga River while *ampi* (curare, dart poison), was up until very recently procured primarily through trade

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<sup>28</sup> The Amazon-Andes interface is the transitional ecological zone between the Amazonian lowlands and the foothills of the Andes. It is characterized as being one of the most biodiverse regions in South America, with a spectacular array of mammal, reptile, bird, and plant species (Asner et al. 2014; UNEP 2003).

relationships with Quechua-speaking peoples of the middle Huallaga, such as those from Sisa, Chazuta, and Lamas (see also Scazzocchio 1978).

At the archaeological site of Pambay, in the upper Pastaza River near the city of Puyo, we find the remains of one of the oldest dwellings in the Amazon that date to the Formative Period between 1495 and 1317 BCE (Saulieu et al. 2014:203-4). Although the decomposition of the posts and other materials has made reconstruction difficult, the plan as indicated by post moulds shows both an affinity with contemporary Jivaroan and Quichua-style homes in the upper Pastaza region of Ecuador as well as critical differences. The oval-shaped floorplan is reminiscent of contemporary Jivaroan-style homes, such as those found among the Achuar. However, the positioning of the hearth within a hole surrounded by stones is not found among any of the contemporary indigenous peoples living within the region (Saulieu et al. 2014:204). Likewise, near the city of Baños de Agua Santa, at the foot of the volcano Tungurahua, archaeologists have found ceramic vessels trapped beneath solidified magma flows due to a Plinian eruption dated to around 1100 BCE (Saulieu et al. 2014:203).

The Integration Period (700 - 1500 CE) in western Amazonia begins with a “cultural rupture” in that traditional ceramic styles, such as asymmetric spouts, no longer appear as a continuous tradition shared by people of the highlands and the Pacific coast as in earlier periods, but instead there is an integration of new foreign horizontal styles whose origins are further south, probably from Jivaroan-speaking peoples (see Rostain 2006; Saulieu and Duche Hidalgo 2012:37). Geoffroy de Saulieu and Carlos Duche Hidalgo (2012) define this emergent tradition prior to the arrival of the Spanish as the Muitzentza tradition, and place it directly within the entirety of the Integration Period (700 - 1500 CE). The Muitzentza tradition is characterized by ceramic materials, primarily bowls, necked jars, and *tinajas* that are decorated in red and white

painting—either white on red, or red or white on an unslipped surface. The majority of objects found within the Muitzentza tradition date between the 11th and 12th centuries CE. The authors (ibid.) argue that Zaparoan-speaking peoples, who have historically occupied this region, probably have a cultural link to the Muitzentza tradition.

Closer to the area in which my ethnographic study was undertaken, in the lower Manchari River and along the mid-Pastaza River, Santiago Rivas Panduro (2007) performed a number of small-scale excavations as part of a larger government project on land-use. He performed ten excavations along the Manchari River, primarily in *chakras* used by contemporary peoples and in the two major villages, Santa María and Kushilla. In these excavations, he uncovered a wealth of archaeological material, including many potsherds and ceramic vessels with a number of distinct features. Many of the vessels had pedestal bases with red painting and smooth bodies, falling within the general pattern of Integration Period pottery in the Pastaza and Morona basins as dated to between 1000 and 1500 CE (Rivas Panduro 2007:44; see also DeBoer et al. 1984). Material recovered at other sites shows similar stylistic choices, but also includes corrugated vessels that Rivas Panduro (2007:46) dates to around 700 CE in line with the emergence of this style elsewhere in Amazonia.

Thankfully, there are some Contact era records that provide us with information regarding the movement of the Inca prior to the arrival of the Spanish. While there are no records of the Inca reaching the Pastaza basin, their presence among Jivaroan peoples living at the Andes-Amazon interface is well-recorded. Moreover, these early conquests into the *Chinchasuyu*<sup>29</sup> against the Jivaroan peoples, as well as the long-distance trade relations between the lowlands and regions such as Chachapoyas, affected those living in the western Peruvian

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<sup>29</sup> The northwestern quarter of the Inca Empire (*Tahuantinsuyu*)

Amazon as the systems of regional interaction in place at the time certainly include Maynas, Jivaroan, and other indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin. The imperial campaign of Huayna Capac, the 11th Sapa Inca, attempted to conquer the Jivaroan peoples located in the region of present-day Jaén. In the late 1490s, Huayna Capac led an army from Cuzco to the region known as “Bracamoros” at the confluence of the Marañón and Chinchipe Rivers. Here, he met great resistance from the local peoples, whom the Inca referred to as Pakamuros<sup>30</sup> (red-paints), probably a reference to the use of achiote to paint their faces. Huayna Capac and his army were unable to defeat them and quickly retreated (Cieza de León 1877:208-210). These were probably Jivaroan peoples, as both Awajún and Wampis peoples inhabit the region today, but the social organization described by Cieza de Leon includes great leaders and large populations—the latter being antithetical to the Jivaroan way of life (see Descola 1994; Harner 1984; Uriarte 2006).<sup>31</sup> Huascar, the 13th Sapa Inca and the son of Huayna Capac, also attempted to enter the region during his ongoing conflict with his brother, Atahualpa, around 1529. He had wanted to prove his worth, following in his father's footsteps, by dominating the Pakamuros through a military campaign. Much like his father, however, he failed to take control of the presumably Jivaroan lands and was roundly defeated after sending two separate armies to battle. Following this, Huascar was defeated and captured by Chalco Chima at the Battle of Quipaipan, near Cuzco, in April of 1532 (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1907:180). As he was held prisoner, Atahualpa ordered Huascar's family members—his wives, siblings, and over 80 of his children—to be slaughtered in front of him. While Atahualpa was on the verge of holding the entirety of the Inca empire and

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<sup>30</sup> According to Taylor (1999), they were previously known as the Guánbucos.

<sup>31</sup> The description of the region further inland, however, seems as though they are related to the Mainas or Candoshi groups, especially the description of many rivers and a large lake.

enjoying the fruits of his conquest against the Inca Huascar, the entrance of Francisco Pizarro and the Spanish into Peru roughly a month later radically altered these plans.

### **The Arrival of the Spanish in Western Amazonia**

The archaeology of the Pastaza basin demonstrates the antiquity of human occupation in the region, both along the Pastaza itself and its many tributaries. Unfortunately, the pre-Hispanic peoples of lowland South America did not create any form of written language or record keeping that has persisted into the contemporary era, leading to many gaps in our historical reconstruction. While the interpretation of Andean *kipus* is beginning to give us glimpses into the record keeping and literature of the Inca and other indigenous peoples in the pre-Contact era (Salomon 2004; Medrano and Urton 2018; Urton 2003), such records have not been located in the Amazon region. If they did exist at some point they have probably been lost to the elements. Thus, while we can make inferences based on the distributions of pottery styles, mortuary practices, and other material culture, first-hand knowledge of indigenous societies in this region is only available from the time of the arrival of the Spanish and is filtered through their own cultural lens.

The ongoing project of both ethnogenesis and the emergence of a pluri-ethnic culture detailed in this chapter has been, perhaps since pre-Hispanic times, the default mode of life on the frontiers of many indigenous territories. Such is the case in the Pastaza basin, where we see that the margins of the territories are dominated by polylingual and polyethnic communities focused around Quechua or Quichua culture, depending on the location. In the north, near the Bobonaza River and the upper Pastaza, where we find Canelos-Quichua culture—of which the

lower Pastaza Quechua speakers refer to as *Sarayaku Runa*<sup>32</sup>—we see a merging of Huaorani, Jivaroan (Achuar, Shuar, and Shiwiar), Zaparoan, and Quichua peoples around the Canelos-Quichua cultural system (Reeve 1993, 2014; Whitten, Jr. 1976). As we move into the mid-Pastaza, we find Candoshi, Andoan, Achuar, Shiwiar, and Quechua peoples intermarrying and living together with a different cultural configuration than those just to the north. Throughout the Pastaza basin, Quechua-speakers and speakers of many indigenous languages (Kukama-Kukamiria, Urarina, Candoshi, Achuar, Shawi, Lamista, and others) are deeply embedded in each other’s social realities through affinal, *compadrazgo*, political, and economic relationships. The history of these relationships, and thus the ethnogenesis of the *runa* peoples of the region, is detailed below.

The history of Quechua-speaking indigenous peoples of the Upper Amazon is etched into the geography as well as their cosmology, through both the historical locations of mission sites and the widespread usage of Quechua toponyms throughout Western Amazonia. Although the origins of the various Quechua speaking peoples of the Amazon is sometimes disputed (e.g., the Lamistas being linked to the Chancas), in general the presence of Quechua-speaking indigenous peoples seem to be the product of multiple coinciding processes. Quechua had certainly been used prior to the arrival of the Spanish as a trade language in the lowlands and was the *lingua franca* throughout the Incan empire. Likewise, the Inca implementation of the *mitimae*, or movement of conquered peoples to new regions and the forced implementation of Quichua, was an early form of forced ethnogenesis to Quechua identities in which conquered peoples were recreated in the image of the conquerors. The Ingano, also known as the Inga (but not to be confused with the Pastaza Inga), found in the Sibundoy Valley and along the Putumayo River in

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<sup>32</sup> They are also referred to as *Saraiku* in Candoshi

Southern Colombia, are possibly products of this process (Rivadeneira and Zubritski 1977). The establishment of Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan missions in the Amazon beginning in the late 16th century, however, and the subsequent implementation of Inga as *lengua general* provided the critical structure necessary for the spread of the language to lowland groups.

Although the Jesuits and other missionaries relied on both “Pastoral Quechua” for their sermons, the *lengua general* was utilized for interethnic relations throughout the Amazon basin (Durston 2007). Moreover, individuals from the Andes were brought to mission sites, such as Andoas and Lagunas, to instruct men and young boys in the use of Inga, while women usually continued speaking their maternal language (see Homan 2014). While some (Durston 2007; Uzendoski and Whitten, Jr. 2014) argue that missionaries were both not in the region for sufficient time and did not have the linguistic abilities to fully instruct the language to the catechized indigenous peoples, the benefits of having a *lengua general* in the multiethnic reductions probably aided in its propagation. Although it is only at the tail-end of the Jesuit mission era that we begin to see writings about Quechua-speaking polyethnic communities along the Pastaza River, the groundwork laid by the Jesuits and others during the Colonial Era provided the base for the ethnogenesis of Quechua-speaking peoples (Ruiz Sobrino 1784). As such, I believe that the majority of the contemporary Quechua-speaking peoples in lowland Amazonia today, such as the Llakwash Runa (Lamista, San Martín Quechua), Napu Runa (Napo Quichua), Alama Runa (Tigre-Corrientes Quichua), Pastaza Runa (Canelos Quichua, Northern Pastaza Quechua), and Inga (Southern Pastaza Quechua)—are probably the products of

ethnogenetic processes following the implementation of *reducciones* throughout the Upper Amazon.<sup>33</sup>

Following the execution of the last Sapa Inca, Atahualpa, in 1533 in the city of Cajamarca, the Spanish began to move through the Andes to the east, eventually entering the Amazon region. Francisco Pizarro in 1535 named a number of Spanish conquistadores as *capitanes* with the hope that these individuals would quickly incorporate new lands and populations into the Spanish Crown and extract resources—especially gold and silver—through the establishment of *encomiendas*. The first of the Spanish *entradas*<sup>34</sup> into the *montaña* region of the Upper Amazon was under the *capitán* Juan Porcel de Padilla, who arrived in “Bracamoros” with 250 Spanish soldiers and quickly established a “city” at the confluence of the Chinchipe and Marañón Rivers, naming it Nueva Jerez de la Frontera<sup>35</sup> in 1536 (Santos-Granero 1992:83). In September of 1538, Gonzalo Díaz de Pineda followed an “ancient trade route”<sup>36</sup> in his search for the “país de la Canela”, moving through the regions of Hatunquijos, Cosanga, La Canela, Sumaco and the Valle de la Coca. Although he did not find the Canela country, the rugged landscape of the Upper Amazonian region of the Ecuadorian Oriente and the “bellicose” Quijos peoples, who he saw as fierce and resistant, causing him to return having done very little (Garces Davila 1992:59). This initial trip, however, provided critical information about Canelos to the east of Quijos territory, “inhabited by dispersed people of this tropical forest who spoke different

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<sup>33</sup> As we will see, all of the Quechua-speaking peoples of lowland Amazonia are found around the former sites of Jesuit missions.

<sup>34</sup> The term *entradas* (entries) is used here to reference the numerous expeditions undertaken by the Spanish into the then unknown Amazonian lowlands.

<sup>35</sup> In the present-day location of Jaén de Bracamoros.

<sup>36</sup> This is probably the route that runs between Canelos and Baños, which was used for trade between the lowlands and the highlands.

languages and were aggregated under the rubric ‘Canelos’” (Whitten, Jr. 2008:5). These first forays into the region, just six years after the arrival of the Spanish, provide us with a glimpse of the social reality of the upper Pastaza basin immediately following contact, highlighting its polyethnic and polylingual nature. Following Díaz de Pineda’s return, he would inspire Francisco de Orellana and Gonzalo Pizarro to make the first trip by a European down the Napo River into the Amazon proper, “discovering” the great river.

At roughly the same time Diaz de Pineda is making the first forays into the region we think of today as the Ecuadorian Oriente, the Spanish in Colonial Peru had also advanced into the Amazon. They had originally arrived in the region around 1536, led by Alonso de Alvarado, quickly settling the village of San Juan de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas before moving into the region where the department of San Martín is currently located. By 1538, the Spanish had begun to settle in the upper reaches of the Mayo River, with Juan Pérez de Guevara officially founding the Colonial capital of Moyobamba in 1540 (Ocampo 2009:24). At this same time, the Spanish in present-day Peru were also making inroads into the Amazon basin proper. The Spanish Captain Alonso de Mercadillo, who just a few years earlier was in Argentina, soon found himself in the region of Chachapoyas, heading east toward the Amazon basin. According to letters from Diego Núñez, he and Alonso de Mercadillo were the first to explore the Amazon basin, arriving just 12 leagues (67 kilometers) short of the mouth of the Huallaga River which drains into the Marañón River (Jiménez de la Espada 1895:220).

With the establishment of the colonial center of Moyobamba, the Spanish immediately began to implement the *encomienda*<sup>37</sup> system which Francisco Pizarro had authorized some 18 years earlier. As in other parts of Latin America and the Philippines, *encomienda* refers to the

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<sup>37</sup> From the Spanish verb, encomendar, “to entrust”

system of granting conquered indigenous peoples to a conquistador, and his descendants, who in turn had complete control over indigenous labor (Mayer 1984:86; Dean 2009:89). Interestingly, it was only the indigenous labor that the *encomenderos* controlled—the land itself was to stay in control of the indigenous subjects, although the reality was much different. The *encomendero* or *capitán*—the grantee of the *encomienda*—was not there to solely extract labor and wealth from indigenous peoples, but he was also in charge of converting the indigenous vassals of the Spanish Crown to Christianity and protecting them with military might. The Spanish were able to effectively draw upon the already in-place *m'ita* (turn) system, where *ayllus* provided periodic labor in the form of tribute to the Inca, in their implementation of the *encomienda* system. Salomon notes that the *encomienda* system replicated the Inca pre-Hispanic polities, with large *encomiendas* taking the place of large regional entities with a strong administrative apparatus and small *encomiendas* taking form outside the consolidated Inca provinces (Salomon 1986:134). In the Amazon, *encomiendas* followed the establishment of villages or colonial outposts and were a major factor in the depopulation of indigenous peoples in the region. Not being able to provide the needed products to the *encomendero* resulted in heavy physical punishments, often resulting in death—causing indigenous peoples to flee the areas for safety. Depending on the region, indigenous peoples working in *encomiendas* would focus on various jobs to provide their tribute to the *encomendero*, such as washing gold, spinning cotton, making textiles, or providing agricultural labor. *Encomiendas* needed labor and the only available labor was in the form of indigenous bodies, often in the headwaters of rivers or in the interior of the forest. To counteract these issues, the Spanish relied on the notion of *correrias*, where they would attempt to either hunt indigenous peoples or draw them out to the main rivers and then force them into the *encomienda* system.

In 1542, the Viceroyalty of Peru (*Virreinato del Peru*) was established, with its center in Lima. This was a direct extension of the Spanish Crown and was used as a means to control both the indigenous populations of the region as well as the numerous *capitanes, ladinos*, and others who were settling throughout the Coast, Andes, and Amazon. This was especially needed as, from the point of Contact on, the Spanish were brutally dominating the indigenous population through *correrias* for new labor (outside their allotted *encomienda*), punishments, and disease. Compared to the Andes and the Coast, however, the Amazonian *encomiendas* were rarely profitable due to the unique conditions of the Amazon itself. The brutality experienced in the *encomiendas* forced many indigenous peoples to flee and settle elsewhere, such as the Shawi moving from the region of Moyobamba and Lamas to the other side of the Cordillera Escalera in their present-day home in the Paranapura basin (Homan 2011). Although the *encomiendas* were outlawed through the New Laws of the Indies (*Leyes y ordenanzas nuevamente hechas por su Majestad para la gobernación de las Indias y buen tratamiento y conservación de los Indios*) in 1542, the implementation of this law was delayed in the Viceroyalty of Peru. When they were finally implemented by Blasco Núñez Vela, the *encomenderos* revolted and their actual dissolution, especially outside of the Andean region, was extremely limited.

There was a brief reprieve for the indigenous peoples of Amazonia with the declaration of the *Real Cédula del 16 de abril de 1550* (Royal Decree of the 16th of April, 1550). This decree effectively made the exploration and settlement in new regions within the Viceroyalty of Peru a capital offense (see de Sámano 1550[1906]). This was a response to the massive amount of exploitation being perpetrated against the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Although there are not any records of individuals being punished for violating the decree, many respected it. Between 1550 and 1563, there were few *entradas* into the Amazon region, and the *encomiendas*

that had already existed began to fall into disrepair, with many *encomendados* heading into the Andean highlands to attempt to exploit that ethnosphere.

One of the earliest *entradas* into the Pastaza region, however, was undertaken by Juan de Salinas Loyola in 1557. Beginning his journey on November 10th, 1556, he and his crew of 250 Spanish soldiers explored the Marañón River above the Pongo de Manseriche and established the communities of Valladolid, Loyola, Santa Maria de Nieva, and Santiago de las Montañas. After staying in Santiago for a time, he continued down the Marañón with 54 soldiers and some indigenous peoples, passing the Pongo de Manseriche in which they lost both men and materials.<sup>38</sup> Following their descent into the lowlands, they arrived in the region of “*Cipi’acona*”—the region near the mouth of the Morona River—and made contact with the Mainas, describing them as “gente muy lucida” (very lucid people). They continued on, eventually arriving at the Pastaza River, which they followed until they arrived at the Rimachi Lake, which, according to those he was with, carried the name “*Marcayo*”<sup>39</sup> (Loyola 92). Following a short stay in the Pastaza region, he returned to Santiago for a time before exploring the Huallaga basin (Renard-Casevitz et al. 1988:242)

Following the abolishment of the *encomienda* system in 1542, the Spanish implemented the system of *repartimiento*, which is very similar to the *encomienda*, with the owner of the *repartimiento* acting as an agent for the Spanish crown who was the actual owner of both

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<sup>38</sup> “Yendo navegando por el dicho río abajo, topó con otro río muy caudaloso, que a la junta de los dos y la repugnancia que hacían las aguas y una angostura grande de serranías por donde se metían los dichos ríos, se pasaron grandes peligros y naufragios, con no menos que con gran riesgo de las vidas, del cual peligro fue Nuestro Señor servido de sacarlos, aunque con pérdidas de municiones y armas y algunas vidas de los naturales que con ellos iban” (Loyola 92)

<sup>39</sup> Having not encountered this name for the site elsewhere, I would argue that this term is probably Quichua in origin. The term *marqayuk* is a pre-Columbian Quechua term that refers to the ‘owner’ of a village or parcel of land. These owners were *huacas*, ancestral or supernatural deities, that were to be honored by *ayllus* or *llakta* members. This would, in turn, make sense for those living in the region with the notions of spirit masters, contemporarily known as *sacha kurakas*.

indigenous laborers and the lands. Although the *repartimiento* system was an attempt to stop the abuses associated with the *encomienda* system, it did very little in that regard. The *hacienda* system, perhaps best thought of as a system of debt peonage, grew out of the relations formed from the *encomienda* and *repartimiento* systems, and continued for many years in various forms. Dean (2009:123) argues that the *hacienda* system, as well as later forms of economic development in the Amazon, are characterized by “unequal exchange,” with one party (*patrónes*) gaining more than the other (indigenous peoples). Just as in *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*, the *hacienda* system was focused on the extraction of resources, primarily gold and silver. However, agriculture also became a very important aspect, with a number of *haciendas* being dedicated to sugar production, the raising of livestock, and the sale of grains (Faron 1966; Thurner 1993). In Amazonia, however, *haciendas* continued to focus on the use of indigenous labor as a means to control the population rather than a means to extract or generate wealth. During this early period, excursions into the lowlands were not common due to fear of the *infieles* that lived north of the Marañón River. Even so, the indigenous Mainas peoples found between the Morona and Pastaza Rivers were especially hard-hit by *entradas* into their territory. As Newson (1995:106) notes, the *encomenderos* from Santiago de las Montañas and Santa Maria de Nieva often raided the Mainas territories for slaves, bringing the indigenous peoples back to the *encomiendas* to be put to work. Even Andoa-speakers from the Huasaga River, in the mid-Pastaza basin, were being captured and placed into *encomiendas* located in these communities by 1582 (Maroni 1892:363; Newson 1995:108). The presence of the Spanish *encomenderos* at Santiago and Santa Maria led to Huambisa and Awajún peoples storming the villages in 1615, destroying them in the process (García Hierro et al. 2002:12).

## The Missionization of Western Amazonia

With the vast landholdings of the Spanish Crown in South America—all of which were being handled by the Viceroyalty of Peru—King Philip II declared the *Real Audiencia del Quito* as an administrative branch of the Crown on August 29, 1563. This effectively created a secondary autonomous government for the northern reaches of the Viceroyalty’s territory, as the distance between Quito and Lima made it nearly impossible for any sort of control. This new territory included much of the Amazon region, then known as Maynas (Figure 4).<sup>40</sup> From the new government in Quito, we begin to see the movement of Dominican missionaries into the Amazon region. These missionaries, having the goal of instructing indigenous peoples on the gospel, peoples who spoke many different languages, and understanding that Inga had already held a privileged position within Amazonia at the time of contact, decided to continue the use of Inga (Ynga) as a *lengua general*.<sup>41</sup> The first Dominican mission in Western Amazonia, created in 1581<sup>42</sup> at the site of “Canelos,” near Puyo, is critically important for understanding the development of the interethnic regional system we see today. Although the exact location of this first site is unknown, shortly after its foundation it was moved to Indillama, then to Chontoa, before finally settling the site on the bank of the Bobonaza River, allowing easy access to the lower Pastaza River as well as Sarayacu, Pacayacu, and Villano (Whitten, Jr. 1976:206; Whitten, Jr. 2008:7; Reeve 2008). Four priests founded the settlement, including Padre Sebastián Rosero

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<sup>40</sup> Today known as the Department of Loreto in Peru

<sup>41</sup> When young boys were captured during these initial forays into the Amazon, such as Mainas or Roamainas peoples, they would be instructed in Inga rather than Spanish.

<sup>42</sup> Just prior to the establishment of the Dominican mission at Canelos, in the Quijos-Omagua regions of the Ecuadorian Oriente Quijos shamans (*pindes*) led an uprising against the Spanish in 1578-1579 (Oberem 1971). A similar uprising, by multiple Jivaroan groups, took place in 1599 as a response to slave-raiding in the region (see Santos and Barclay 2007:xxiv).

who, according to Whitten (2008), was later sainted. Whitten also notes that we do not know the exact route the Dominicans took on their route into the lowlands—it could have been from Quijos to Villano but is more likely the trade route that ran between Canelos, Ambato and Riobamba due to the later Spanish interest in that region (see also Reeve 2008; Maroni 1988:97). In this region, near the Bobonaza River, Quichua was probably already spoken as a trade language, enabling exchange with the highlands, and the Zaparoan and Jivaroan peoples that dominated the landscape had been involved in long-standing rivalries focused on raids between the groups (Corr 2008). Unfortunately for those researching the history of this region, the Dominicans who created the Canelos Mission had a limited and sporadic presence that they failed to record. Thus, our knowledge of early Dominican missionary activities in this region is limited due to the lack of written records or diaries, such as those found with the Jesuit missions in Maynas. While the establishment of the Dominican mission in the region of Canelos was a critical juncture in the ethnogenesis of Quichua-speaking peoples in the Ecuadorian Oriente, as evidenced by the detailed historical ethnography of Whitten (1976) and Reeve (1985), it was the continued presence of Jesuit missions to the south of Canelos which were critical to the emergence and ethnogenesis of the Inga.

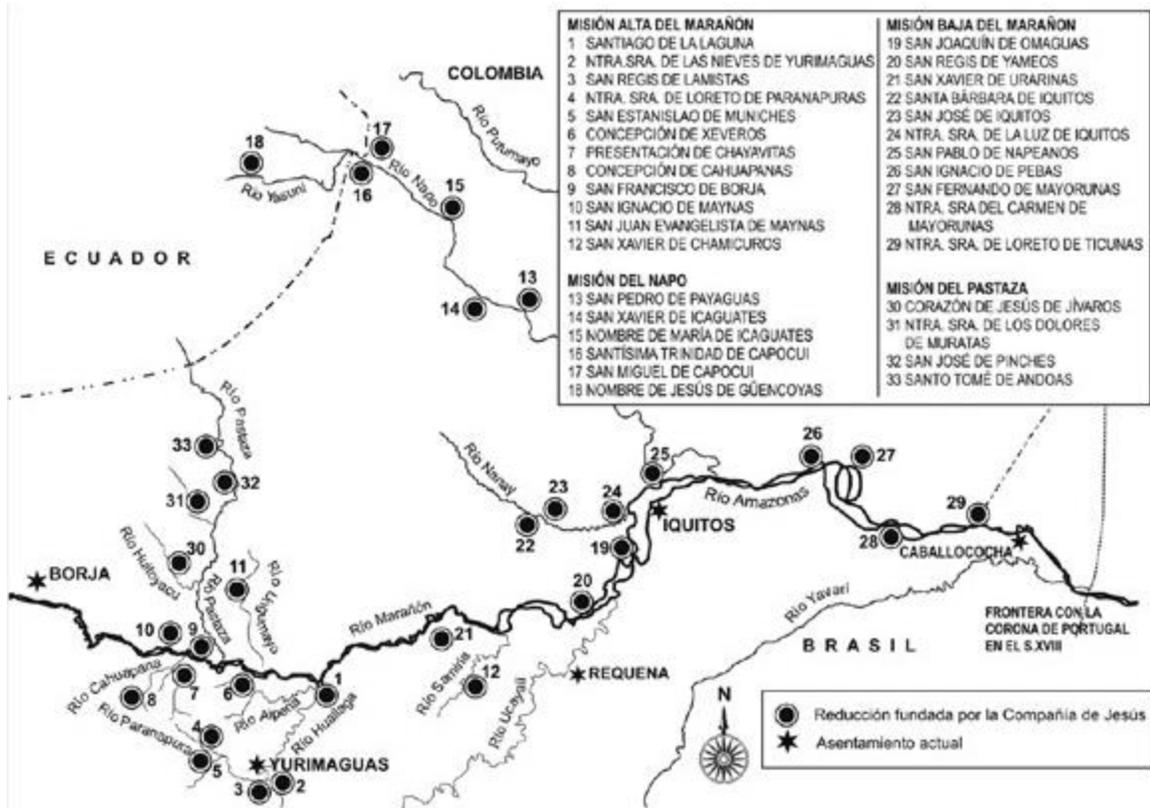


Figure 4: Jesuit *reducciones* in the Marañón and Pastaza basins (Source: Tua 2007)

From the end of the 16th century on, the Spanish began to have regular contacts with indigenous peoples living in the Amazonian lowlands along the Marañón, Huallaga, and Pastaza Rivers. In 1616, a group of soldiers set out from a Spanish fort located above the Pongo de Manseriche and headed down the Marañón River, where they eventually encountered a group of Mainas who received them without hostility. Word of the contact eventually reached the Prince of Esquilache and Lieutenant Viceroy, Francisco de Borja y Aragón. In 1618, with great interest in the territories to the east in the Amazon basin, he chose General Don Diego Vaca de Vega to explore the Marañón basin past the Pongo de Manseriche and appointed him governor of any lands he encountered (Markham 2017). Setting out in September 1619 from the fort that had

been established above the Pongo de Manseriche to monitor the Jivaroan *infieles*, Diego Vaca de Vega traveled down the Marañón River with more than twenty canoes, a large number of Spanish soldiers, and indigenous slaves. He traveled as far as the Pastaza basin before returning and establishing the critical village of San Francisco de Borja near the mouth of the Santiago River on December 8th, 1619, naming the community in honor of the Prince of Esquilache. During this trip, Vaca de Vega and his Spanish soldiers raided, “pacified”, and settled some 4,000 “warlike Indians” from the region—mainly Mainas peoples<sup>43</sup> who lived between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers (Maroni 1892:29; Grohs 1974:28). The land surrounding Borja and the numerous settled indigenous peoples was then divided among twenty *encomenderos*,<sup>44</sup> while the captured Mainas were forced into the newly minted *encomiendas*, igniting further strife in the Amazon basin. The *encomenderos* in this region heavily abused their indigenous slaves and constantly made *entradas* into the nearby areas to augment their needs for indigenous labor. The conditions in the region became quite unstable, eventually leading to the Mainas living around the village of San Francisco de Borja to violently revolt against the Spanish living there in February 1635. This uprising against the *encomenderos* at Borja was fierce, leaving at least 34 dead, including 29 Spanish, nine of whom were “*encomenderos, y de oficios, capitanes, alférezes, sargentos, que ejercitaban unos y otros reformados en estas tierras*” (Figueroa and Acuña 1986:154; Grohs 1974:29). The Governor of Maynas, Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, ordered that the Mainas individuals who were responsible for the attack to be captured and face punishment. The few that were captured and held to be responsible for the attack subsequently

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<sup>43</sup> By May 20th, 1621, 2,744 indigenous peoples in the region of Maynas had been catechized, “instruidos en la fe,” and baptized as the Spanish Crown required all *encomenderos* to force Catholicism on their laborers (Jiménez de la Espada 1897:160)

<sup>44</sup> Grohs (1974:29) suggests that although the Crown allowed twenty-four *encomiendas*, the captured Mainas were only divided amongst twenty *encomenderos*.

faced capital punishment, being sent to the gallows to be hanged. The bodies of these individuals were then quartered and hung from trees along the Pastaza and Marañón Rivers as a warning to those who had escaped into the forest (Saavedra 2015:259).

Following this brutal uprising and the far more brutal response by the Spanish, the Governor of Maynas, General Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, called upon the assistance of the Jesuit Order (*Compañía de Jesús*, Society of Jesus, *Societas Jesu*) who had recently come to Peru to pursue missionary activities. Founded in 1536 by Ignacio de Loyola and recognized by Pope Paul III in 1540, the members of the Society of Jesus were focused on education, theology, and the evangelization of non-Christian peoples, especially outside of Europe. Thus, with the arrival in San Francisco de Borja of the Jesuit Fathers Gaspar de Cujia and Lucas de la Cueva from Quito in the year 1638, a new era of sustained contact with the indigenous peoples of the Amazon basin began. While the newly arrived Jesuits were quite critical of the *encomenderos* and their treatment of the indigenous peoples in San Francisco de Borja, they also relied on the assistance of the Spanish military to establish *reducciones* (reductions) throughout the Upper Amazon, a process that began immediately following their arrival. Indeed, it was only through the collaboration of Spanish "*capitanes y soldados*", indigenous caciques (leaders), and "*indios amigos*" that the Jesuits were able to undertake their mission (Dean 2009:88; Riva Herrera 2003:325). They utilized a variety of tactics to effectively reduce the indigenous populations in the Amazon basin, although they primarily relied on giving metal tools, beads, and other commercial items to the indigenous peoples to gain their trust. While the presence of the Jesuits in the Amazon region was quite short—only 142 years in total—they were able to radically alter the social lives of the majority of indigenous peoples living in the Upper Amazon.

Through their connections with the *encomendado* Mainas Indians in and around the settlement of San Francisco de Borja, the Jesuit Fathers learned of the presence of the nearby Xeberos (Jeberos, Shiwilu), a Cahaupanan-speaking peoples located on the Aipena River, a tributary of the Huallaga River. In 1638, the same year that the Jesuits arrived, Father Lucas de la Cueva was able to establish contact with the Xeberos thanks to the assistance of the Mainas Indians. From this first contact came the foundation and establishment of the first Jesuit *reducción* in the Upper Amazon, La Limpia Concepción de Jeberos, in 1640 (Chantre y Herrera 1901:121). The Shiwilu and Mainas peoples were critically important for the Jesuits, as they both relied upon their contacts and relations with other indigenous groups to assist in the implementation of Jesuit *reducciones*. Indeed, both the Shiwilu and Mainas peoples accompanied the Jesuit Fathers in their travels throughout the Amazon basin (Homan 2014:358). Following the foundation of the first Jesuit *reducción*, Fr. Lucas de la Cueva had hoped to begin to reduce the Roamainas populations living between the Pastaza and Tigre Rivers. He traveled with a group of Spanish soldiers from San Francisco de Borja up the Pastaza River in search of the Roamainas, eventually arriving “*hasta el punto donde solían salir los roamainas para sus depredaciones,*” probably the *varadero* located near the Isla Manchari (Jouanen 1941:395). His group, searching the region for a lengthy period of time for the *infieles*, soon had to return to Borja as their provisions were lacking. Although they were unsuccessful, the Pastaza basin would continue to be a central focus of the Jesuit Fathers.

The basic structure of the Missions of Maynas is critical to understanding the effect the presence of the Jesuits had on indigenous sociality in the Upper Amazon. There was a hierarchy within the Jesuit Order that required the missionaries living in *reducciones* to be subservient to their Superior in the region, who himself was subservient to the Padre Rector in Quito (Golob

1982:112). Indigenous peoples were also included in this hierarchy, with the local *caciques* or *curacas* being subservient to the missionary at the *reducción*. Furthermore, these local indigenous leaders were expected to mobilize small groups of the catechized population through the notion of *mita*, recast from the Inca term *mit'a*, or labor tribute, in which they would provide the missionary with food and other services (Golob 1982:231). The *cacique* usually took the position of governor within the political structure of the mission, setting himself apart from the rest of the indigenous population. The governor (*gobernador*) was assisted by a local council (*cabildo*), consisting of captains (*capitanes*), lieutenants (*alfereces*), police (*policías*), and other officials, such as the fiscal. These individuals would inform the missionary of any issues, enforce local laws, ensure that the reduced population attended Mass on Sundays, and work together in preparation for important Catholic celebrations such as Corpus Christi, Holy Week, and others (Golob 1982:244-5). Likewise, the hierarchy ensured that handicraft production, tending to domesticated animals, and other labor tasks related to the wider network of exchange in the region were undertaken by catechized indigenous peoples, with each mission village specializing in the production of particular commodities. This basic structure of the mission, with its particular political configuration, is reflected today in many indigenous communities such as with the Shawi of the Parapapura basin and the Kukama-Kukamiria of the Huallaga basin (Homan 2014; Fuentes 1988; Stocks 1981). Moreover, its influence on contemporary indigenous sociality, especially in relation to the establishment of *comunidades nativas* from the mid-1970s onward, is apparent (see Chapter 3).

### **Reducing the Pastaza basin**

Following his work in the Huallaga and Marañón basins, Father Lucas de la Cueva, along with the Father Raymundo de Santa Cruz, traveled into the Pastaza basin in January of 1654,

opening the region to the establishment of Jesuit *reducciones*, while also contacting a number of indigenous peoples along the journey—Roamainas, Coronados, Zapas, Zaparos, Pinches (Taushiro), Gayes, and Shimigayes<sup>45</sup> (Reeve 1985:63; Chantre y Herrera 1901:60). Their journey was facilitated by General Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who, on his journey from Lamas to Borja, stopped in La Limpia Concepción de Jeberos and had Lucas de la Cueva join him. With a group of soldiers and the Jesuit fathers, they established the mission post of Puebla de los Angeles, Encarnación de Roamaynas y Resurrección de Conchas on the Nucuray River. Shortly after their stay on the Nucuray, they traveled to the Pastaza River, founding the town of Santander de la Nueva Montana on July 25, 1656 on the left bank at the confluence of the Pastaza and Ushpayacu Rivers. Roamainas peoples from the Nucuray were brought over to Santander and quickly divided into encomiendas (Golob 1982:170). Following the foundation of Santander, General Don Martín de la Riva-Herrera continued up the Pastaza basin with 100 Spanish soldiers and 1,000 missionized indigenous peoples with the intention of founding a new mission to reduce the Jivaroan *infieles*. The Jivaroan peoples, however, were able to kill a number of Spanish soldiers in the group and escape further into the forest, just as they would with other attempts in the future (Chantre y Herrera 1901:176).

The establishment of the mission of Los Santos Angeles de Roamaynas during this period, located off the east banks of the Pastaza River, inland near the headwaters of the Nucuray, was important not just for the Jesuit missionaries, but also for the ethnogenesis of the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin. According to Figueroa (1661[1986]:225), although

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<sup>45</sup> At this time, along the Pastaza and Nucuray Rivers, as well as their many tributaries, Figueroa (1661[1986]:240) notes the presence of a number of indigenous groups: Roamainas, Zapas, Coronados, Pinches, Andoas, Chudavinas, Xanones, and Urarinas. Likewise, off the right bank of the Pastaza and headings towards the Corrientes and Tigre Rivers, we find the following groups: Ituales, Cingacushasca, Aunalas, Iquitos, Avitoas, Microaras, Azoronatoas, Siaviris/Gayes, and Cruquites. Aside from the Andoas, Urarinas, and Iquitos, all of these groups have disappeared as distinct peoples in the Pastaza, Corrientes, and Tigre watersheds.

the Zapas and the Roamainas who populated the *reducción* were considered “different peoples,” the missionaries should think of them as distinct segments or populations of the same nation, as they shared a number of linguistic and cultural traits.<sup>46</sup> Through their reduction, it was hoped, they would be able to preach the gospel to those other *parcialidades* of Zaparoan or Candoa-Shapra speakers. Indeed, Fr. Francisco de Figueroa (1661[1986]:254) viewed the use of the *lengua general* of Inga, which at the time of his writing was already quite prominent in the Maynas, Jeberos, and Parapapura missions, as an excellent tool for both the continued missionization of indigenous peoples in the region and for communicating among both missionaries and other indigenous groups. He believed that indigenous peoples who became adept in speaking Inga would continue to utilize the language even though they may have left the mission itself, an assertion that ultimately came to fruition during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although the Mainas were considered the “rulers of the Nucuray” (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #10J:f.68, cited in Golob 1982:176), dominating the Nucuray watershed and successfully battling back other indigenous peoples, such as the Jivaroan- and Urarina-speakers, the smaller indigenous groups in the region were quick to look to the Spanish for assistance. As Golob (1982:176) notes, even though the smaller indigenous groups living on Nucuray and Urituyacu Rivers were more “prone to attack,” the Mainas peoples easily dominated or absorbed them. The constant threats of violence or raids during this period, not just from the increasing presence of the Spanish encomenderos and missionaries, but also from other indigenous groups in the area, forced indigenous peoples living in the Upper Amazon to rely on linguistic and cultural agility to move between cultures and language groups. Indeed, the presence of the

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<sup>46</sup> The Roamainas (Ynuru according to Figueroa) language was thought to be extinct but a recent field report from Zachary O’Hagan (2011) asserts that there are still several speakers in the region surrounding the upper Urituyacu River.

Mainas on the Nucuray and the pressures of violent raids surely influenced the Roamaina (Omurano) peoples to accept the presence of the Spanish and integrate with the mission system after resisting for many years (Chantre y Herrera 1901:307). It was not only the Mainas, however, that threatened small indigenous groups, but other large groups such as the Jivaroan and Kukama peoples that forced native peoples to make critical decisions about how to protect themselves. As Stocks (1981:46) notes, the Kukama-Kukamiria from the Huallaga basin were actively carrying out raids and war expeditions on the Pastaza River for trophy heads, tools, and women from the various indigenous peoples located in the watershed in the 17th century. This pressure from multiple angles—the Kukama-Kukamiria coming from the south, the Achuar, Murato, and Machines coming from the west, and other Jivaroan peoples to the north and east—created extreme pressure on the indigenous peoples of the region. While the establishment of the Roamaynas mission alleviated some of this pressure, the foundation of Santander and the implementation of *encomiendas* on the Pastaza River itself may have outweighed these perceived benefits.<sup>47</sup>

Fr. Lucas Majano, the younger brother of Fr. Tomas, was the first missionary of the Company of Jesus to die in the Missions of Maynas. He had originally entered the region coming from Quito, traveling down the Napo River to Iquitos, before traveling up the Marañón River to the mission base at Lagunas. As the distance between the site of Los Angeles de Roamainas and Lagunas was a multiple-day journey, Fr. Raimundo de Santa Cruz was unable to devote the time

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<sup>47</sup> Although they were complicit in many ways, with the presence of the Jesuits in the region, the *encomiendas* in the Amazon region fell off due to several factors: the increased presence of the Jesuits, the rebellions of indigenous peoples, and the low profitability of Amazonian *encomiendas*. Reeve (1993b:116) notes that by 1645, just five years after the establishment of La Limpia Concepción de Jeberos, only twenty-two of the forty-two *encomiendas* in the Amazon region were still functioning. Chantre y Herrera (1901:307) argue that the primary reason for the lack of stability in the Upper Amazon, and the difficulties faced by missionaries in keeping indigenous peoples settled in one place, was directly connected to the “negras *encomiendas*” based around Borja.

needed to catechize the indigenous populations living there. As such, Fr. Lucas Majano took his place and oversaw Los Angeles for roughly three years (Chantre y Herrera 1901:203-4). He rapidly took to working with the *reducido* Roamainas population and was constantly traveling through the region, attempting to bring more families into the mission. Although Fr. Santa Cruz worked primarily in Inga and Spanish at Los Angeles, Fr. Majano spent his time learning Roamaina so that he could better reach the group and fluently catechize in the language. This fervent drive to reduce the Roamaina population at Los Angeles, however, was also his downfall. Fr. Majano's constant work led him to come down with a debilitating stomach illness that severely weakened him. His indigenous companions, seeing that he was quite ill, brought him to San Francisco de Borja to be cured. While he was there recuperating, however, he heard that an epidemic had broken in the Pastaza basin and that many of "*sus hijos* (his children)"—Roamainas and Zapa peoples—were dying of illness. He had hoped to save those he worked with and returned to Los Angeles even though he was extremely ill. His trip was futile as soon after his arrival in the community he passed away at the age of 36 on July 4, 1660 (Chantre y Herrera 1901:206). These initial forays into the Roamaina territories and the successful integration of the Roamaynas *reducción* would be critical for the continued presence of the Jesuits in the Pastaza basin.

Fr. Raimundo de Santa Cruz made multiple trips up the Pastaza in the early 1660s in search of an easier route to the mission centers in Quito and along the Napo River. While his first two trips, with Kukama and Shiwilu peoples at his side, were unsuccessful due to a lack of foodstuffs, illness, and poor planning, on his third trip up the Pastaza and the Bobonaza he was able to finally able to uncover a path. He and his indigenous assistants traveled into the higher terrain near Canelos, cutting through the dense forest for twelve days before he came upon a site

that was well-known to travelers — the *boca del dragon* or dragon's mouth, just a day's walk from Latacunga and three from Quito (Chantre y Herrera 1901:219-220). Although he and his crew were able to open up the new path and shorten the trip between Quito and Canelos, it likewise took a massive toll on the physical health of Fr. Santa Cruz. A storm forced them to quickly make the return trip, in which they headed down the Bobonaza and the Pastaza on a small *balsa*. On the 6th of November 1662, Fr. Raimundo de Santa Cruz drowned after being struck in the face by the branch of a fallen tree in a *palisada* and falling into the Pastaza River at the age of 39 (Chantre y Herrera 1901:222). Although he met an untimely fate on this trip, the opening of the new trail made travels from the Marañón basin to Quito much easier, especially in comparison with attempting to go up the Santiago River above the Pongo de Manseriche or traveling down the Marañón to Iquitos and then up the Napo River.

Not long after Fr. Santa Cruz's death in the Pastaza River, Fr. Sebastian Sedeño de Areyzaga arrived in the lower Bobonaza River in 1668 with the intention of pacifying the Gayes peoples. Arriving from the Napo River with three interpreters using the trail that Fr. Santa Cruz had discovered, he quickly established a new mission site on the Bobonaza River, named San Javier de los Gayes (Pérez Pimentel 1987:348). Soon other missionaries focused on working with the indigenous populations of the Pastaza basin in hopes of 'reducing' them arrived in the region. Beginning in 1669, the Jesuit Father Agustín Hurtado evangelized in the mission post of Santos Angeles de Roamainas. Only three years later, however, he relocated to San Javier de Gayes on the Bobonaza, replacing Fr. Areyzaga, and began working with the Gayes peoples who, according to the Chantre y Herrera (1901:266), "adored" him. While his work was focused on reducing the Gayes, he was also set on developing good relationships with the other indigenous peoples in the region, such as the Shimigayes, Andoas, and Roamainas. Although Fr.

Hurtado had a home in the main post of the Maynas Mission at Lagunas on the Huallaga River, he chose to live full-time at the mission of San Javier de Gayes. The location of San Javier was perfect for Hurtado as, at the time, he was also in charge of Los Angeles de Roamainas, and could make the trip to that *reducción* in two to three days. The return trip, however, often took a week if not longer and was sometimes dangerous due to the presence of Muratos, Machines, and Jivaroan peoples. While Fr. Hurtado was able to generate deep relationships with the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin, he was ultimately murdered in San Javier by two ‘mulatos’<sup>48</sup> who had arrived in the community. Although Fr. Hurtado tried to calm the situation, the mulatos ended up beating him to death near the chapel.

As the intensity of missionary activity in the Pastaza basin increased, the Jesuits stepped up the foundation of mission posts and *reducciones* for the newly encountered indigenous bodies. In 1688, Fr. Tomas Santos founded Santa Maria de Andoas on the Marañón River, which is probably the *reducción* "Nuestra Señora de las Nieves de Andoas" that brought together Indians from the Nieva *encomiendas* who had been freed and were thus under the control of the Jesuit missionaries. As mentioned before, from an early period the Andoas people were actively targeted by *encomenderos* in Nieva, Borja, and Loyola, with many indigenous peoples from the Huasaga River being brought to the upper Marañón. With so many groups in the Pastaza region, and particularly the presence of the Jivaroan *infieles*, the Jesuits began to earnestly move into the region. The goal of much of the missionary activity in the Pastaza basin was focused on pacifying and reducing the various Jivaroan groups there. For example, in 1690, the Father Lorenzo Lucero mounted an expedition to “pacify” the Jivaroan peoples living within the

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<sup>48</sup> It is not clear if this is a *murato*, or Candoshi, individual, as the contemporary Inga refer to the Candoshi as *mulatos*, or an individual of Spanish and African descent.

Pastaza watershed, a move that was strongly rejected by the Jivaroan peoples he encountered (Chantre y Herrera 1901:283). This was followed up in 1692 by the *Capitán General* of Maynas, don Jeronimo Vaca, who led 100 Spanish soldiers and roughly the same number of “*los mejores indios de la misión*” on an expedition from Borja up the Santiago River to search for deposits of gold in Jivaroan territories. The Jivaro utilized guerrilla tactics to effectively hold back the Spanish soldiers, forcing them to return to Borja empty-handed. Following this failure, the Spanish ordered a suspension of any new attempts to enter the Jivaroan territories found north of the Marañón River (Seymour-Smith 1988:36).

This suspension, however, was short-lived as the Jesuits increasingly turned to missionizing the indigenous peoples found north of the Marañón River toward the end of the 17th century. Although the focus was often on other groups, such as the Roamainas, Gayes, Andoas, and others, there was a deep desire among the Maynas missionaries to reduce the Jivaroan *infieles*. Much of this work was centered on the missions of the Pastaza basin, especially in the upper Pastaza between the Bobonaza and Manchari Rivers. Indeed, although the Fr. Nicolas Durango began his career as a missionary in the Andes working with Quechua-speakers from 1684 to 1692, he was sent to the Maynas missions to assist in the reduction of the indigenous populations. Having already learned Inga in the highlands, he was well-prepared for evangelical work in the Upper Amazon (O’Neill and Domínguez 2001:1170). In 1696, he arrived at the mission of San Javier de Gayes in the upper Pastaza and quickly integrated himself into the mission structure. During this period, *hacenderos* and others from Chachapoyas, Moyobamba, and Lamas were making excursions into the lowlands to capture indigenous peoples, catechized or *infiel*, to be forced into labor or sold as slaves to the Portuguese. Much like other Jesuit missionaries, he went to work in quickly founding new settlements for the reduction of

indigenous peoples, founding San Jose de Pinches and Asunción de Pebas in 1697, followed by Santa Cruz de los Shimigayes in 1699 (Reeve 2002:84). At San Jose de Pinches, the Pinches (Taushiro) and Roamainas (Omurano) peoples were settled. This mission, like Andoas described below, is critical for understanding the emergence of Inga-speaking peoples. Many of those living in the region today view themselves as having links to the Pinches, although much of this identity is embedded in the use of Pinche as a surname. Although Durango worked with the Gayes peoples for roughly eleven years, there were conflicts that ultimately led to his death. On April 14, 1707, the Fr. Durango was killed with a *makana* (club) by Gayes individuals, according to a letter from Wenceslao Breyer. This murder is a reflection of the agency of indigenous peoples in the region and how we cannot make all-encompassing claims about indigenous sociality. While Gayes individuals murdered him, other indigenous peoples in the region were strongly against it. Maroni (1892:357-8) notes that the Andoa-speakers in the mission were shocked by the actions, spending their time following the murder crying and praying at the church in San Javier. Likewise, roughly 60 Taushiro-speakers and others living in the mission site of San Jose de Pinches traveled upriver to San Javier de Gayes to seek justice for the fallen Jesuit, but those that perpetrated the crime had already fled into the interior of the forest (Maroni 1892:360).

As the Jesuits continued to focus their attention on the region north of the Marañón, they began to found other *reducciones* in the region. Perhaps the most important of these, at least in reference to the history of the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, was the mission site of Santo Tomás de Andoas. This critically important mission site was founded by Fr. Wenceslao Breyer in 1708 on the Tunigrama River, a tributary of the Pastaza, just a short distance from the contemporary location of Andoas Viejo. This mission, since its foundation, has been crucial to

the sociality of indigenous peoples in the region. Its name is drawn from the Andoa-speaking peoples who lived there, although the population was always varying. Maroni (1892:39-40)

describes Andoas as:

*uno de los mejores de la misión, primero por la plana, que es un hermoso tablón que terminan y rodean dos quebradas, de cuyas aguas se aprovechan sin incomodidad todas las casas, que es tan hermosamente repartidas alrededor de una gran plaza, á cuya cabecera está situada la iglesia y casa del Padre; segundo, por el temple, que no es muy caluroso y sin a que ellos enjambres de mosquitos que tanto fatigan en otras partes; tercero, por el natural de los indios, que viven muy rendidos y prontos á los mandatos del Padre.*

As it was viewed as being one of the best *reducciones*, those living within it were provided with many opportunities. Although they were expected to extract natural resources such as copal and cinnamon, as well as produce *shigras* (bags) for trade, the indigenous peoples living in the mission were also offered varying levels of education (Golob 1982). For example, Fr. Wenceslao Breyer focused on teaching music to the youth of the community, instructing them on choir singing and playing the violin, and even sent a young Andoa-speaking man to Quito to learn to play the harp (Chantre y Herrera 1901:650). Moreover, Andoas was one of the missions focused on the movement of salt throughout the lowland, with individuals making yearly excursions to the salt mines on the Huallaga and Cachiyacu Rivers to extract the precious commodity (Golob 1982; Ochoa Siguas 2016; Pöppig 2003; Barbira-Scazzocchio 1979). These early excursions between the missions around Andoas into the Huallaga basin created long-lasting ties between the San Martín Quechua-speakers in that region and the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin.

For many living in the northern Pastaza basin, Andoas is seen as the cultural hearth of the Inga-speaking peoples. It was here that the processes of ethnogenesis, through inter-ethnic marriage and the use of Inga as a *lengua general*, led to the emergence of the Inga as a distinct

indigenous group. Those living in the community at the time of its foundation were mainly Gaye and Shimigaye peoples, although the populations shifted over time. For example, in 1735 there were 126 families living within the mission site from multiple indigenous groups—Murato (Candoshi), Zapara, Gaye, and Shimigaye (Rendón and Proaño 2015). As we will see, however, the mission site itself also experienced many abandonments over the years, but indigenous peoples always returned after a short period. These abandonments were probably related to various factors: disease, conflict, and social necessity. For example, in 1748 the mission was abandoned as those that were living there traveled to the Huasaga River to construct canoes with their extended family members (Golob 1982:178). As we will see in chapter three, the oscillation between abandonment and population at the sites of Jesuit *reducciones* continued well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Reaching the *Infieles***

One of the last groups to be reduced by the Jesuit missionaries in the Pastaza basin was the Muratos of the Huasaga River. Although their identity is not clear today, the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin refer to the Candoshi as *mulato* while mestizos refer to them as *muratos*. Likewise, those living in Andoas at the time expressed affinity with the Muratos, and it has been argued that the name *Andoas* is a hispanization of the ethnonym *Kandwash* used by Candoshi and Shapra speakers to refer to themselves (Rendón 2013a; cf. Duche Hidalgo 2005). There are no distinguishable links linguistically, however, between the Zaparoan language families of the Andoas, Gaye, Pinche, and Shimigaye and those of the Candoa-Shapra languages (Steward 1948:633). It is very likely that the Candoshi and Muratos are directly related, with the Muratos being the northern branch of the Candoshi groups clustered around Musakarusha Lake. At this time, however, the Andoas viewed the Muratos as being a dangerous group as they would

often attack when the Andoas visited the Huasaga River for hunting or the construction of canoes. Although the Jesuits failed in both 1748 and 1754 to reach and pacify the Muratos on the Huasaga, on May 12, 1755, Fr. Andrés Camacho set out with 80 indigenous men from Andoas to travel up the Huasaga again in hopes of encountering and pacifying the Muratos. After traveling for roughly two weeks, they encountered signs of human occupation and sent off an expedition team to explore the surrounding area to see if they could find any settlements. Following the trails through the forest, they eventually encountered a young “Murato Andoas” man who was traveling through the area. Fr. Camacho’s Andoan colleagues convinced him of their peaceful arrival and sent him back to his group bearing gifts. After this, the Jesuit and his indigenous assistants were well received, allowing them to establish the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Murata on the banks of the Huasaga River with 158 “Murato Andoas” peoples populating it at the time of foundation (Chantre y Herrera 1901:477-481). This was the beginning of the long-awaited entrance of the Jesuits into Jivaroan territories, as some Achuar individuals moved into the mission in 1762 (Steward 1948:633).

With the establishment of a mission on the Huasaga River, at the frontiers of Andoan, Murato, and Achuar territories, the Jesuits finally had a foothold in the *infiel* region they had longed to occupy. Moreover, with the movement of Jivaroan-speaking peoples into Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Murata, the Jesuits also had access to individuals with direct links to the *aucas* living in the upper reaches of the Huasaga and Manchari Rivers who could assist them in their mission to reduce the *infiel* Jivaroans. Over the years, relations with the Achuar grew as there was ongoing exchange of goods between the mission site and those living upriver (Cevallos 1886:160). Following the death of Fr. Enrique Francen in 1766, who had been living at the site of Santo Tomás de Andoas, Fr. Camacho was alone in the region and felt he had to attempt the

reduction of the Jivaroan peoples once again. In November 1767, he set out from village of Murata and traveled up the Huasaga until he came upon a typical Achuar-style oval home. There he met with the Achuar cacique Masuthaca and was well-received. After he returned to Murata, he sent two indigenous assistants back to the home Masuthaca and presented him with a gift of 20 pigs. Following these gifts, he was able to interact with the Achuar without fear and began the process of reducing them. In his return journey to the Jivaroan lands, he was able to baptize 208 children at the request of their mothers. From this site, he founded the mission of Corazón de Jesús de los Xibaros on the Huasaga River, attempting to reduce the Achuar as much as possible (Chantre y Herrera 1901:576-7). As the Achuar settled into mission life, they presented Fr. Camacho with numerous gifts, including *tsantsa* ('shrunk heads') of Spanish soldiers, "*envueltas todavía en sus propias camisas, y conservadas por trofeos de la rebelión de sus mayores* (still wrapped in their own shirts and conserved as trophies from the rebellion of their elders)" (Velasco 1841:173).

By 1767, the Jesuits had established 36 stable mission villages throughout the Upper Amazon with, according to Golob (1982:193), around 19,234 indigenous peoples living within them. The interethnic relationships that emerged within the mission system, not just between the Jesuits and indigenous peoples, but between various speakers of multiple indigenous languages, were critical to the contemporary ethnogenesis of Quechua speakers in the Pastaza basin. Their trade networks, linked to salt, tobacco, fabrics, and other commodities, forged connections between indigenous territories that continue to be important into the present day. Moreover, they had successfully reduced many indigenous groups in the Pastaza basin—their 'goal' established at the turn of the 18th century—including the Atacaras, Andoas, Roamainas, Gayes, Shimigayes, Muratos, and Pinches. The most important, from the point-of-view of the Jesuit missionaries,

was the foundation of a Jesuit reduction within Jivaroan territories and the successful reduction of a number of Jivaroan and Murato peoples. This success, however, was very short-lived as the Jesuits would be expelled from the region that same year, leaving the mission system in shambles, as we will see in the following chapter.

### **III. *Pastaza yayarukukuna kawsaymanta*: A History of the Pastaza Basin, Part 2: The post-Jesuit Era through the Discovery of Petroleum**

On April 2, 1767, King Charles III of Spain ordered the expulsion of all members of the Society of Jesus from the Crown's lands in the Americas. Their political influence in Spain as well as their growing wealth was viewed as a threat to the throne. The Jesuits were to be rounded up at their mission sites and colleges, all their belongings confiscated, and forced to board ships to return to Spain. In many parts of the New World, the Jesuits were rapidly replaced by Franciscan missionaries or even secular individuals, although in Amazonia this shift between missionary orders was slightly delayed due to the massive region in which they worked. Although the Jesuits were expelled in 1767, the Franciscan Order only took over the maintenance and control of the missions of Maynas beginning in 1770 and ending in 1783 (Chantre y Herrera 1901:574-77). This brief period of Franciscan control was very much a continuation of the Jesuit missions, although the integration of the Franciscan Fathers into indigenous sociality was nowhere near that as seen with the Jesuits. These new missionaries, however, still focused on the interactions they had with the indigenous peoples still living in mission communities while highlighting the inter-ethnic and inter-cultural nature of the lives of those in the region.

Josef Ruiz Sobrino (1784), detailing the state of the Maynas missions directly following the expulsion of the Jesuits, provides us with a bit of detail on the intercultural character of the missions as well as how the use of Inga as a *lengua general* continued although the missionary presence decreased exponentially. He describes the mission of San Josef de Pinches (Figure 4) as being composed of four different nations, “*ó reliquias de ellas que fueron la de Pinchez, Paguas, Simigayes, y Roamaynas* (or relics of those that were the Pinchez, Paguas, Simigayes, and Roamaynas)” He notes that the Pinches and Roamaynas spoke the same language, while the

others still spoke their maternal languages. Yet, even with the decreased missionary presence due to the Jesuit expulsion, the indigenous peoples living within the Pinches mission site continued speaking Inga among themselves, as well as with visiting missionaries and other indigenous peoples in the region. According to Ruiz Sobrino (1784:355) the majority of indigenous peoples living within the now-defunct mission system, including the Panos, Kukama-Kukamiria, Chamicuro, Aguanu, and Omagua peoples, continued utilizing Inga as a *lengua general* following the exit of the Jesuits as a means to communicate with missionaries and “los extraños” (cf. Uzendoski and Whitten, Jr. 2014). Describing the mission of Santo Tomás de Andoas, Ruiz Sobrino (1784:340) notes that there are three distinct “nations” inhabiting the community at the time of his writing—the Shimigayes, Andoas, and Canelos—with the Shimigayes and Andoas peoples utilizing a shared language, while all three groups spoke Inga as a general language for speaking with “*el Micionero, y con los Indios de la Sierra, que aportan al Pueblo y los Canelos de la tercera Nación hablan generalmente la lengua Quechua.* (the Missionary, and with the sierra Indians that contribute to the community, and the Canelos of the third nation that generally speak the Quechua language),”<sup>49</sup> Ruiz Sobrino emphasizes the mobility and interculturality of the inhabitants of remaining mission posts. At this time, the inhabitants of Andoas, as well as other missions visited by Ruiz Sobrino, continued to trek into the Huallaga and Parapapura basins to collect the “*sal mas pura, limpia, y cristalina* (the purest, cleanest, and crystalline salt)” for their consumption throughout the year, usually making the trip during the month of August

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<sup>49</sup> The ‘sierra Indians’ mentioned here are also written about elsewhere. It seems that the Canelos mission often relied on indigenous laborers from the Andes to assist them in their missionizing of the lowland populations and the construction of mission sites. Roughly one hundred years after the arrival of Sobrino, Rimbach (1897:371, my translation) notes that the mission house at Canelos was “built with the help of some workers from the Sierra,” and had several bedrooms, workshops, a chapel, and a small library.

(Ruiz Sobrino 1784:342). These continued long-distance relationships provided a deep foundation for the intercultural and interethnic indigenous sociality found today in the region.

The travelogue of Franciscan missionary Father Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza<sup>50</sup> (1849) provides us with a brief picture of the Pastaza region during the mid-1800s, with special attention paid to the interethnic relations which sustained the mission system even after the expulsion of the Jesuits. He began his journey in Callao on the coast of Peru on August 29, 1845, travelling to Trujillo and then on to Cajamarca. His journey then took him to the Upper Amazonian region of contemporary San Martín where he visited the communities of Moyobamba and Rioja, before beginning his descent into the Amazonian lowlands via the Huallaga River. On January 17, 1846 he entered the Pastaza River and arrived at the community of Santander, which at the time had roughly “100 Indios neófitos (100 neophyte Indians)” who were much like the other Mainas or Candoshi communities the group had encountered previously. The inter-ethnic tensions in the region were noted, as the community members related that the “infieles de la tribu Givara (infidels from the Jivaroan tribe)” near the mission site of Andoas, had killed three indigenous people from Santander (Castrucci de Vernazza 1849:12). As they continued up the Pastaza River, they were constantly in fear of attacks from the “Machines y Moratos” as well as other Jivaroan *infieles*. Although traveling some 80 years after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the most important *reducciones* were still functioning with the indigenous peoples living within them speaking Quechua or Spanish. When Castrucci de Vernazza (1849:13) arrived at the site of San Josef de Pinches, he found around a hundred “*indios conversos, cuyo carácter es muy dulce* (conversant Indians, whose character is very sweet)” although they too spoke of ongoing

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<sup>50</sup> According to Izaguirre (1923:392), Father Castrucci de Vernazza was a member of the *Congregatio Fratrum Pauperorum santi Franciscus Seraphicus* (Poor Brothers of the Seraphic St. Francis)

conflicts with the Jivaroan peoples surrounding their territory. He continued his travels up the Pastaza River, finally arriving in the village of Andoas, which at the time had a population of roughly 450 people. He found those living in the village “*enteramente abandonados* (entirely abandoned)” by the Church and having to continuously fight off attacks from Jivaroan, Candoshi, and Machines (Castrucci de Vernazza 1849:14). Feeling as though it were his duty to care for the “abandoned” indigenous peoples at the Andoas mission, he ended up spending three-and-a-half months there, occupying himself in rounding up the various “*familias dispersas* (disperse families),” constructing a church parish and convent, and establishing the “Oficios Divinos,” which had been set aside for a long period of time due to the lack of clergy. As he wanted to avoid the need for the continuous presence of a Catholic Father, he dedicated a large amount of energy to instructing the neophytes in the material of the Catholic faith—baptisms, confessions, and how to preach the Gospel (*ibid.*). This movement of instructing indigenous peoples in the critical rites of the Christian faith continues into the contemporary era, with rites such as baptisms being performed by community members when clergy are unavailable.

Throughout the 1800s, individuals made various forays into the Pastaza basin, usually set on extracting resources or indigenous labor from the region. Stocks (1981:83) notes that there were multiple expeditions by outsiders along the Morona and Pastaza Rivers by individuals in search of gold. By 1840, these individuals began to mobilize large numbers of indigenous workers, usually by force, to wash gold in the upper reaches of these rivers. Those most affected by these individuals in the Pastaza basin were the catechized indigenous peoples living in the mission villages, such as the Pinches, Andoas, and Canelos (Villavicencio 1858:414). While these groups were the “easiest” from which to extract labor, the Achuar and Candoshi peoples were also affected as the *patrones* did not show the same fear that those from the Jesuit Era had

demonstrated. This push for forced labor from the region increased exponentially throughout the 1800s as the extractive economy of Amazonia continued to grow. As Wasserstrom (2017:49) argues, by the beginnings of the 1870s “it would be difficult to say that any native group was truly isolated,” as all indigenous peoples in the region were now deeply intertwined in wide economic and social networks directly linked to commodity production and resource extraction. These external pressures also affected indigenous sociality in the region, leading to more raids against catechized indigenous populations by the Achuar and other *aucas* such as the Candoshi. For example, the Muratos from the Huasaga River invaded and destroyed Andoas on the 15th and 16th of March 1871, with only two indigenous individuals escaping the massacre (Larraburre i Correa 1905:12). Likewise, the Achuar had devastated the village of Andoas with a surprise attack in the late 1800s, but an exact date is not clear. Although some of those living there had been able to escape the brutality, the Achuar killed many of the men while capturing the women and children who were left behind (Magalli 1890; Larraburre i Correa 1905:11). These relations would be put under even more strain with the rise of the rubber boom at the turn of the twentieth century.

### **The Rubber Boom and Habilitaci3n**

The rubber boom (1879 to 1912), as has been detailed elsewhere, was devastating to indigenous peoples throughout the Amazon basin (see Bonilla 1974; Bunker 1985; Chirif and Cornejo Chaparro 2009; Dean 1996, 2009; Espinosa 2016; Muratorio 1991; Stanfield 1998; Taussig 1984; Wasserstrom 2014). The “space of death” created through actions of *caucheros* such as Julio C. Arana, Cecilio Hern3ndez, and Luis Felipe Morey has stayed with indigenous peoples for the past century, as demonstrated by the depth of testimony and oral history provided by the last survivors of the period during the 1980s and 1990s (Taussig 1984; Muratorio 1991).

In this space too, however, we can see actions of indigenous peoples in the face of terror, asserting their own agency over the movement of history. The Candoshi, like others within the Jivaroan system, softened the damage of the rubber boom by taking the situation into their own hands and fiercely defending their traditional territories through violence. This, in turn, led to a radically different ethnohistorical reconstruction of the terrors of the rubber boom as compared to indigenous peoples living along the main rivers and at mission sites, both in the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon.

The rubber boom, known as *cauchu uras* among Quechua speakers, was highly destructive to many of the indigenous peoples living in the region. As has been shown in other works (see especially Muratorio 1991; Reeve 1985), the rubber boom decimated indigenous peoples in the Pastaza and Napo basins. As Reeve (1985:78) details, entire indigenous populations from the upper Pastaza and Bobonaza were forced to extract rubber far outside their traditional territories, such as on the Tigre and Ucayali Rivers. The hardest hit, however, were those living in settled communities. In 1888 Andoas was again deserted as rubber merchants captured and enslaved all the inhabitants except for those who were able to flee into the forests interior. Those who were captured were forced to work rubber in other regions of Amazonia or sold into slavery in the cities of Iquitos or Para (Reeve 1985:80-1). When Magalli visited the region just two years later in 1890, he found Andoas as a shell of itself—abandoned and destroyed. By 1894, there were already a number of *caucheros* who had settled at the mouths of the various tributaries along the Pastaza River. According to Rimbach (1897:378-9), on his trip down the Pastaza River alongside his brother, he found a rubber dealer that had settled in the village of Andoas which at the time was almost completely depopulated thanks to ongoing

epidemics and the *correrias* of those looking for labor for the extraction of rubber.<sup>51</sup> Likewise, further down the river on the main channel along the Isla Manchari, they encountered another *cauchero*'s home that they used to rest while observing a small village nearby. At the mouth of the Huitoyacu River, they found yet another rubber dealer living with his wife, who invited them for dinner (Rimbach 1897:382-3). The presence of the rubber dealers in the mid-Pastaza reflects how some indigenous peoples—particularly the Achuar and Candoshi—reacted to the rubber boom. They were able to extract the resources themselves, from their own forests, on their own terms, then sell them to the dealers living along the Pastaza River or at the mouths of its various tributaries. While many others, especially those in the northern reaches of the Pastaza and in the villages of former Jesuit missions, were hit hard by the extraction of rubber and *shiringa*, today the oral histories connected to these times are slowly disappearing as the last generation that experienced the effects of the period have long since passed away.

From 1888 through 1911, the village of Andoas was basically left to its own devices as the Dominican presence in the region decreased as the extractive activities associated with the rubber boom increased. While it continued to function as a village, the few indigenous occupants that continued to live there were basically slaves to the rubber merchants in the region. Between the years 1909 and 1911, the village of Andoas was found abandoned by Dominican Father Agustín M. León. In 1911 he had traveled to the various mission posts along the Pastaza River to observe their state and noted those that had been living at the site of Andoas had fled to the community of Chambira on the Bobonaza River. León (1938:242) blames the presence of the

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<sup>51</sup> It is interesting to note that Rimbach says that those few indigenous peoples living in the village of Andoas at the time, who he identifies as the Gayes, did not speak Quichua (Rimbach 1897:379) but a language similar to the Jivaroan languages they had encountered previously on their journey, even though Gaye has been classified as a Zaparoan language. Moreover, this is also reflective of the relatively recent emergence of the Inga as a distinct indigenous group in the region.

“civil authorities” in the village oppressing the indigenous population, forcing them to relocate to escape the abuse rather than protecting them. Likewise, the lack of missionaries within the Dominican Order at this time had made it extremely difficult to monitor the village, with at least two years passing without any visits by the clergy prior to the arrival of León in 1911 (cf. Rendón and Proaño 2015). At this time, there were still at least two rubber merchants living within the village of Andoas, one Peruvian and the other Ecuadorian, while just downstream another lived another merchant who primarily worked with the Achuar of Tonegrama, who would extract rubber on their own terms (Reeve 2002:77). As the rubber boom faded in the following years, indigenous peoples, especially the Shimigayes, began to settle back into life in the village of Andoas. Although the foreign push for indigenous labor had diminished somewhat, there were still threats from other indigenous peoples in the region as well as other *patrones*. Indeed, the Jivaroan-speaking peoples of the upper Pastaza, Huasaga, and Bobonaza Rivers would often raid other indigenous communities for women and goods. The Huasaga Muratos again attacked the village of Andoas in the 1920s, although their focus was on the goods available there, especially salt and metal tools, rather than women (Rendón 2013a:55).

The relationships associated with *habilitación*<sup>52</sup> increased following the rubber boom as itinerant traders began to make their presence felt in the region. Indeed, as Dean (2009:215) writes, the contemporary system of *habilitación* “is a living legacy of the rubber boom.” The debt relations that emerged from this early period continue to shape indigenous sociality in the present day as debts are passed from father to son, staying within families for generations (Homan 2014; Hvalkof 1998). At this time, however, the debt-peonage in which indigenous peoples participated was focused on the extraction of other materials, particularly *leche caspi*

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<sup>52</sup> *Habilitación*, also known as *engache*, is the system in which indigenous peoples repay a debt to a *patrón* through their labor, who in turn is usually in debt to a contractor, commercial house, or exporter (Dean 2009; Hvalkof 1998).

(*Couma macrocarpa*) and *balata* (*Manilkara bidentata*) (Chibnik 1994:44). With the construction of multiple mills in Iquitos in the early 1920s, indigenous people also began to work in the extraction of fine woods such as mahogany [*caoba*] (*Swietenia spp.*), *tornillo* (*Cedrelinga cateniformis*), and *cedro* (*Cedrela odorata*) (Hoy 1946). This extraction of lumber, unlike that linked to *leche caspi* and *balata*, has continued up until present day to some extent in the Pastaza basin, especially in the northern reaches in Ecuador as well as in the eastern arm of the lower Pastaza River.<sup>53</sup> These economic booms, of which indigenous peoples were the primary contributors of both materials and labor, sustained much of the local economy in the Upper Amazon through the early 1940s. Coinciding with this increased contact with *patrones* through the economic booms detailed above were three crucial changes to the social landscape of those living in the Pastaza basin that disrupted indigenous sociality to a great degree: the Peruvian-Ecuador War in 1941, the arrival of missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the early 1950s, and perhaps most critically, the discovery of petroleum in the area between the Pastaza and Corrientes Rivers near Andoas Nuevo.

### **The Peruvian-Ecuador Border Dispute**

The borders between Ecuador and Peru have been a point of contention for the two countries since the beginning of their independence from the Spanish. The problem arises from each government's interpretation of the *Real Cédulas* (Royal Decrees) relating to their respective country's borders prior to independence. Although Peru and the rest of the Spanish colonies in South America had agreed to continue to observe the colonial borders as they were in 1810, Peru

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<sup>53</sup> During a government trip into the region to analyze the status of indigenous peoples' health in 1990, Witte and his colleagues noted that "A lo largo del río trabajan madereros, que suelen ocupar constantemente a los nativos como trabajadores mal pagados," a trend which continues, although much more limited, to this day (Witte et al. 1991).

rejected this following independence in 1821, basing its claims on the notion of *uti possidetis*, which asserts the right to territories from the Colonial Era for newly independent states (Contreras and Cueto 1999). Most importantly, Peru had laid claim to three particular areas: the contemporary regions of Jaén and Tumbes, which they had been occupying with military forces since 1820, and the region of Maynas. The Peruvian claim to Maynas is built around the *Real Cédula de 15 de Julio de 1802*, which states:

He resuelto que tenga por segregado del virreinato de Santa Fe y de la provincia de Quito y agregado a ese virreinato el Gobierno y Comandancia General de Mainas con los pueblos del Gobierno de Quijos, excepto el de Papallacta por estar todos ellos a las orillas del río Napo o en sus inmediaciones, extendiéndose aquella Comandancia General no sólo por el río Marañón abajo, hasta las fronteras de las colonias portuguesas, sino también por todos los demás ríos que entran al Marañón por sus márgenes septentrional y meridional como son Morona, Huallaga, Pastaza, Ucayali, Napo, Yavarí, Putumayo, Yapurá y otros menos considerables, hasta el paraje en que éstos mismos por sus altos y raudales dejan de ser navegables: debiendo quedar también a la misma Comandancia General los pueblos de Lamas y Moyobamba.

This basically provided Quito (then part of Gran Colombia) with the regions of the Oriente controlled by the Gobierno de Quijos at the beginning of the 19th century. Likewise, the Peruvian territory included the majority of major river basins in the western Amazon and is somewhat reflective of the contemporary configuration of frontiers in the region. Although the Peruvian government used the *Real Cédula de 1802* as a basis for their claims, the governments annulled the decree in 1818 based on an 1816 request by the Spanish Crown, providing Quito with the region of Maynas north of the Marañón. Following the independence of Peru in 1821 and Ecuador from Gran Colombia soon after in 1830, however, the border dispute began to increase in intensity.

Following the separation of Ecuador from Gran Colombia on May 13, 1830, the newly formed Ecuadorian state was forced to take on a portion of the debt the British held against Gran

Colombia. Although Ecuador and Peru originally agreed to observe the original borders as detailed in the *Real Cédula de 1802*, which included Jaén and Maynas as part of Peru, and certified through the Treaty of Lima of the 12th of July, 1832, this was challenged by Ecuador in the mid-19th century (Santamaría de Paredes 1910:29-30). As Bákula (1996:340) notes, the Peruvians began forcefully asserting their claims based upon the *Real Cédula* in the 1840s. The Peruvians attempted to make official their claims, included publishing the full text of the original Royal Decree in the national newspaper, *El Comercio*, in 1842, although the effects of this publication are disputed (ibid). The Peruvians also had sitting congressman from Jaén, Tumbes, and Maynas who asserted their allegiance to the Peruvian state. More importantly, with the Peruvian control of the Missions of Maynas from the late 1700s on, many of those living within the region of Maynas already self-identified as Peruvian while rejecting the Ecuadorian government (Ulloa y Sotomayer 1942). As the border conflict continued through the mid-1800s, with both sides laying claim to lands in the regions of Jaén and Tumbes, as well as in the Amazonian region of Maynas, tensions between the countries also increased. It was Ecuador's inherited debt with Great Britain, however, that began the creep toward a border war between Ecuador and Peru, as well as bring those living in the Pastaza basin into the conflict.

In an attempt to settle their debt with Britain, the Ecuadorian government sought to allow foreign entities to purchase land grants in which they would then develop various products or extract resources from within them. These lands, according to the Ecuador Land Company (1859[2008]) prospectus, a company formed in Britain to facilitate the sale of Ecuadorian lands, offered "a vast field for enterprise, as well in the cultivation of a rich and fertile soil, yielding in abundance Timber, Tobacco, Maize, Quinine, Cotton, Wheat, Cocoa, Coffee, Vanilla, Panama Straw, India-Rubber, and Cochineal, as in the exploration of the Gold, Silver, Quicksilver,

Copper, and Emerald Mines, abounding in those parts.” While some of the land being offered was within the agreed upon territory of the Ecuadorian state, the majority of these parcels were almost entirely in Peru—encompassing the upper Bobonaza and the Quichua communities of Canelos, Sarayaku and Panayacu, as well as the Cenepa Valley and the Cordillera del Condor west of the Santiago River. This led to a military standoff in 1859 between the two countries and the subsequent signing of the Treaty of Mapasingue on January 26, 1860.

Although the two countries had seemingly agreed, once again, to the demarcation of the border based around the Royal Decree of 1802, Ecuador still sought to assert its rights over parts of Maynas and the Cenepa Valley. This once again came to a head in 1887, when both governments asked the king of Spain to intervene and arbitrate the conflict, leading to the Herrera-García Treaty which was never fully ratified. After waiting almost 25 years for some sort of outcome, however, Ecuador decided to leave the arbitration process in 1910 (Rudolph 1992:41). During the conflict in Colombia during 1932 and 1933 following the Peruvian invasion of Leticia in the upper Putumayo River, the Peruvian government constructed a number of military bases throughout the Amazon region. On the Pastaza River, the base Soldado Soplín was constructed in 1932, further bringing the state into the lives of the various indigenous peoples living in the region (OIE 2001:260). Finally, in 1936 the Peruvian military began advancing again toward the frontier with Ecuador, along major tributaries, pushing to the brink of conflict (Andrade 2015:67). With an almost non-existent military at the time, Ecuador was forced into another agreement with Peru, the Ulloa-Viteri Accord, which effectively assigned the borders based on the *de facto* territorial possessions that each country had held in 1936 (ibid).

This tranquility was short-lived, however, as border skirmishes between the two military powers erupted throughout the late 1930s, eventually leading to war. Although it is unclear who

shot first, as tensions had been rising and small battles had played out across the border for a number of years, on July 5, 1941, according to the Peruvians, Ecuadorian troops crossed the border into Peru near the Zarumilla River in the Department of Tumbes and fired upon the Peruvian soldiers stationed there. The Ecuadorians, however, argued that the Peruvians shot first after crossing into Ecuador, which then caused a retaliatory attack from the Ecuadorian military. Soon, the better equipped Peruvian military engaged in multiple skirmishes with the Ecuadorian forces and even performed limited bombing on a number of cities within Ecuador. On July 10, 1941, the Ecuadorian military attacked the military base at Soplín on the Pastaza River as well as base at Bartra on the Tigre River, drawing indigenous peoples directly into the conflict. The war continued through July 31, 1941, when a general ceasefire was called. However, this was widely ignored as the Peruvian military continued advancing on the Ecuadorian garrisons within the Amazon region through November 1941, when they held the lower stretches of the Napo River (OIE 2001:314). Overall, the small-scale war between the two countries led to 91 Peruvian casualties, while the Ecuadorian military lost at least 500 soldiers (Andrade 2015:70).

This war further divided indigenous peoples, who had until then had been able to freely traverse the border and maintain relationships with indigenous peoples on both sides of the border. In this conflict, indigenous peoples were pitted against one another, including those from the same ethnic group. The Shuar and Huambisa on both sides of the border were instructed that even if they had family relations with those on the other side, they were to be considered the enemy (Elton 1999:8). The 1941 conflict was significant for the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin as it radically reconfigured their social relations, languages, rituals, and traditions. While there had always been a foreign presence to a limited extent in the Pastaza basin following the arrival of the Spanish, as seen throughout the history detailed in this and the last chapter, the

presence of the state had historically been limited due to the geographical remoteness of the region. This changed during the Peruvian-Ecuadorian war in 1941 as Peruvian soldiers were stationed along the Pastaza River, and advanced into the Canelos, Curaray and Villano regions in Ecuador (Reeve 1985:10). The construction of permanent military bases and the integration of the conflict into the state-sanctioned education in the following years meant that indigenous peoples in the region took on a more nationalistic understanding of identity, setting themselves apart from their Ecuadorian brethren.

Following 1941 war, the two countries signed the *Protocolo de Paz, Amistad y Limites de Río de Janeiro*, better known as the Rio Protocol, on January 29, 1942 to find a peaceful end to the conflict. The United States, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina also signed the document, acting as guarantors for the peace treaty. Article VIII of the document provided a new border between the two countries which, at the time, both had agreed upon and which the guarantors were supposed to enforce (Rio Protocol 1942). As the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin had been able to move freely and engage in trade with the various ethnic groups in the region, this imposition of a newly demarcated border that cut through the upper reaches of their territories was a radical change. As mentioned in chapter two, long-distance trade networks connected those living in the upper Pastaza to those living in the Huallaga basin, in which critical commodities such as salt and *ampi* (curare) flowed from Quechua-speaking peoples of Sisa, Lamas, and Chazuta to the Quichua- and Quechua-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, primarily mediated through the village of Andoas. Through the trade in salt, “uno de los artículos de comercio más importantes a nivel interétnico por su valor práctico y simbólico (one of the most important articles of interethnic commerce because of its practical and symbolic value),” these relations also became intertwined with affinal relations, as those from Andoas and surrounding regions would

intermarry with the Zaparoan, Jivaroan, and Quichua-speaking peoples of the Bobonaza and other rivers in the Ecuadorian Oriente (Rendón 2015:55).

The closing and militarization of the border, however, ruptured these critical relationships, splitting large *ayllus* between the two countries, as well as fracturing what were once contiguous indigenous territories. No longer could individuals in Andoas easily interact with those living in the Ecuadorian Oriente, engaging in ritual, marriage, and other social relations. Trade, by both *regatones* and others, was also limited directly following the conflict. The effects of this cannot be overstated and perhaps provide the context for the differentiation between the two dialects of Quechua—Inga and Canelos Quichua—spoken on the Pastaza River, as well as the heavy integration of Catholic imagery and festivals in the Canelos-Quichua system in Ecuador, versus the limited Catholic rituals in the southern Pastaza. Even two-way radio communication between indigenous peoples living in Ecuador and Peru was illegal during this time. The Shuar in Ecuador would periodically send messages via shortwave radio to their Huambisa relatives living in Peru, but they may never even have been heard and the Shuar received no responses (Elton 1999:6). For the next roughly 50 years, travel between the two countries in the Amazon region was heavily restricted as military garrisons patrolled the borders along all the major rivers and even some of the smaller tributaries, such as the Huasaga.

Although the two countries had signed the Rio Protocol in 1942, and border skirmishes decreased through the 1950s, the Ecuadorian government began to argue that the agreement was signed under duress and they did not have all the required information regarding the demarcation of the borders (Donoso 1982:479). This perspective eventually led the Ecuadorian government to not view the agreement as valid and to once again argue against the demarcated borders between the two countries. Following the discovery of petroleum, detailed below, in the Amazon region,

both sides would intensify their claims to these now economically important regions. Although the focus moved primarily to the Cenepa Valley in the Cordillera del Condor, with a short war between January and February 1981 known as the Paquisha War, those in the Pastaza basin were not immune to the effects of these continued acts of aggression from both countries. Indeed, with tensions continuing to rise throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, war once again broke out in the Cenepa Valley on January 26, 1995 when Ecuadorian soldiers fired upon a Peruvian garrison moving through their claimed territory. Although the battles were focused in the Cordillera del Condor region of Peru, those living in the Pastaza basin were also heavily involved. Many of my indigenous collaborators in the region spoke highly of their time in the military during the conflict. As the Amazon region is a very difficult terrain in which to be mobile, the military relied upon indigenous soldiers to a high degree (Elton 1999). My *compadre* Juan, for example, was stationed in the upper Corrientes River, near the border with Ecuador. His platoon staged patrols along the border looking for *Ekuchukuna* (*Ecuachos*), the derogatory term used by Peruvians to refer to Ecuadorians. He looked back on his military service with much pride and had developed a sense of ‘Peruvianness’ through it. Even today when speaking about those living in Ecuador, he still used the term *Ecuacho*, even though many of those with whom he spoke of he also held long-distance ayllu relations.

The two countries officially ended the conflict with a ceasefire agreement drawn up on February 17, 1995, known as the Declaration of Itamaraty. Following this, they signed an official peace treaty, the Presidential Act of Brasilia, on October 26, 1998. This treaty was positioned as “formal proof of the definitive conclusion of differences” that had separated the two countries since the early 1800s (PAB 1998:1). It officially laid to rest the border conflict as both countries grudgingly accepting the demarcated borders, although each felt slighted in the agreement.

Following this, the borders were once again opened to the free flow of indigenous peoples without passports (Hocquenghem and Durt 2002). *Ayllus* that had long been split due to the conflict were reunited and indigenous groups such as the Ecuadorian Shuar accepted their Huambisa brethren as their own, referring to each other as the upper and lower Shuara (Elton 1999:12). Commerce and the flow of critical goods such as *ampi*, salt, and other commodities began to once again move along the Pastaza River into Ecuador. Yet, even with these changes, there are still vestigial hostilities among and between some indigenous peoples in Amazonia, who view their neighbors—even though they may speak the same language—as Ecuachos who, due to the actions of their government, are somehow lesser than those living in Peru. According to Rendón and Proaño (2015), contemporary Andean peoples in Ecuador view their brethren in Peru as being in need of assistance, being primarily motivated by the great political gains indigenous peoples have made in Ecuador. They see the incremental advances over the past three decades in Ecuador, with indigenous peoples being center stage in a number of critical political events, including the creation of a new constitution in 1998 that created a pluri-ethnic state (Whitten, Jr. 2003). Indeed, Andean indigenous leaders in Ecuador are very conscious of the differences politically between the two regions and hope to further break down the border between the two countries to incorporate the Peruvian Andean-speaking peoples into the political developments (Rendón and Proaño 2015).

### **Second Wave Missionization**

The creation of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) and the Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT) were watershed moments for the lives of indigenous peoples worldwide, especially those in lowland South America. These organizations have focused on documenting indigenous languages worldwide and subsequently translating the New Testament and various

passages from the Old Testament into these languages. Although the SIL originally began in 1934, it was not until the foundation of the WBT by William Cameron Townsend in 1942 that missionaries began actively integrating themselves into indigenous communities. While they are portrayed as being separate organizations, they are really two arms from the same body. The WBT are focused on fundraising and finding new Evangelical missionaries throughout North America, Europe, and Australia, while the SIL's focus is on the linguistic work and the evangelization of indigenous peoples throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia (Stoll 1982). As the WBT is based out of the United States and does not actively engage in missionary work, we will only be focusing on the activities of the SIL.

Shortly after their foundation, the SIL was able to obtain a government contract with the Ministry of Education in Peru on June 28, 1945 through the Resolución Suprema N° 2420, effectively integrating their missionary activities into the official education programs for indigenous communities throughout Peru. By July 1946, they had already begun missionary work with Awajún-speaking peoples in the region of Amazonas, before expanding to other regions of the Peruvian Amazon (SIL 2018). Their presence in some areas, particularly in the Ucayali basin where they had their base of operations from 1949 through 2002 in the community of Yarinacocha, was almost constant throughout the latter half of the 20th century.

The effects of these missionary groups on the lives of indigenous peoples throughout the Amazon cannot be overstated—they have radically transformed indigenous sociality in a very short time. As Surrallés (2005:182; 2009:47) argues for the Candoshi, the arrival of the SIL was a critically significant event in the region and greatly impacted indigenous sociality (Chaumeil 2017). In the Pastaza basin, missionaries, particularly the missionary pair of John and Sheila Tuggy, began working with Shapra speakers in the early 1950s before shifting their focus to the

Candoshi. SIL missionaries have also been working with the Achuar-Shiwiar in the upper Pastaza and Corrientes rivers since 1961. While these indigenous groups have had long-term contact with the SIL missionaries, the Inga-speaking peoples of the region, by contrast, have only been a focus of missionary work since 1973 when Peter Landerman began working with Inga-speakers (Ayala et al. 2006).<sup>54</sup> Other SIL missionaries that have worked with the Pastaza Quechua include Christa Brauch, Charlotte Zahn, and Christa Töedter, all of whom have published a number of documents related to the language as well as run educational programs for the various communities in the region.

As Descola (1996:27) rightfully notes, the SIL replicated the methods used by the Society of Jesus to create the system of *reducciones* to bring indigenous peoples together into settled communities, “a classic tactic used by missionaries when confronted with highly mobile, widely dispersed native populations.” While the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza region had already lived in settled communities for some time, especially in the region around Andoas, there were many who replicated the Candoshi lifestyle of living in singular homes separated from other families. As such, the SIL encouraged individual families to come together to form communities in the Pastaza basin, much as they had done in the Parapapura basin twenty years earlier (Homan 2014). While Descola (1996) argues that the SIL had to lure the Achuar into living in sedentary communities, he also misses the fact that Achuar, Quechua, and Quichua peoples of the region had been living in such communities for some time, especially those living in the indigenous frontiers or the limits of traditional indigenous territories.

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<sup>54</sup> The entirety of the New Testament and selected passages from the Old Testament were finally translated into Pastaza Quechua in 1997, with bibles being presented to communities during an *asamblea* on Christmas that year (Ayala et al. 2006).

This movement toward settled communities increased dramatically following the passage of the *Ley de Comunidades Nativas y de Promoción Agropecuaria de Regiones de Selva y Ceja de Selva* (Decreto Ley No. 20653) on June 24, 1974. This critically important law, passed by the government under President Velasco, allowed both the recognition and titling of indigenous territories as long as they formed permanent communities with a distinct political structure. Although the law improved the rights of the indigenous peoples throughout Amazonia, in the sense that they were a recognized privileged class, it also opened up lands to colonization from outside groups as well as resource exploitation as it was specifically linked to land used for agricultural production (García Hierro 1995:38). Following the military coup against President Velasco on August 29, 1975, the newly installed President Francisco Morales Bermúdez began to make critical changes to the laws governing indigenous peoples. On May 9, 1978, his administration passed an updated version of the law known as the *Ley de Comunidades Nativas y de Desarrollo Agrario de la Selva y Ceja de Selva* (Decreto Ley No. 22175). This new law guaranteed indigenous rights to their ancestral lands when used for agricultural production or livestock, while also imposing a number of restrictions and regulations regarding the foundation of native communities. Perhaps most importantly, these regulations imposed a governmental structure over the traditional social organization of indigenous communities in which indigenous authorities are elected to serve. These new posts include the *jefe de la comunidad* or *apu* (also known as the *presidente*, depending on the region), *segundo apu* or *vice presidente*, secretary, treasurer, and *vocales* (“experts in communication”), with the *apu* being the official representative of the community linking them to the larger political sphere (Chaumeil 2017:202).

The SIL was quick to incorporate the new laws into their mission, assisting indigenous peoples in the formation of communities and helping them through the recognition and titling

process. Indeed, a number of communities were founded and titled during the late 1970s, including Bolognesi (1977) and Alianza Cristiana (1978) on the Huasaga River, with the assistance of SIL missionaries. This move toward the foundation of *comunidades nativas* continued into the beginning of the 1980s before slowing to a crawl thanks to both the ongoing battle with terrorism throughout Peru as well as continued changes in the legal system. The changes to indigenous sociality, however, were great in that many people chose to no longer live in households dispersed throughout the basin but instead to continue to settle along the banks of Pastaza and its many tributaries in larger communities. While this increased population has put pressure on the ecology of the region, especially around larger communities such as Andoas or Alianza Cristiana, in the indigenous frontiers these pressures are limited, especially when compared to the similar process in the Parapapura basin with the Shawi (Homan 2014).

One of the main drivers for the foundation of communities, aside from the protection of territories from outsiders, was that in order to have the Peruvian government provide education they had to have a recognized *comunidad nativa* (Dean 1999; Homan 2014; Killick 2008). While the SIL had provided bilingual education throughout the Peruvian Amazon, including in the Pastaza basin, prior to the passage of the Native Communities Laws, they could only reach so many individuals with their limited workforce. Thus, they actively pushed families to settle into communities to take advantage of the government programs, which families had also wanted as they saw it as a way to advance themselves and their children. It was not until the 1990s, however, with passage of the *Ley de la Inversión Privada en el Desarrollo de las Actividades Económicas en las Tierras del Territorio Nacional y de las Comunidades Campesinas y Nativas* (Decreto Ley No. 26505) on July 14, 1995 by President Alberto Fujimori's government, that the recognition and titling process began again in earnest. While this law sped up the titling of

communities and ensured that titled communities received bilingual education, much of which utilized materials directly created by SIL missionaries, it also allowed indigenous territories to be included in concessions for resource extraction, specifically permitting the government to hold all rights to subsurface natural resources. This law and the titling of indigenous communities are both critical for the contemporary political struggles of indigenous peoples throughout Amazonia.

The SIL has continued to have a strong presence in the Amazon region of Peru up through the present day, although they also have much competition in the form of other missionary groups. While the Swiss Mission (Misión Suiza) has actively collaborated with the SIL since their arrival in 1957 and even has their base in Pucallpa, they also have a very strong presence in the Pastaza basin, coordinating events with the Inga-speaking Evangelical community on a regular basis. Moreover, the Swiss Mission trains indigenous peoples to act as their own pastors in their communities as a means to shift the focus from foreign individuals imposing their views on indigenous peoples to local peoples sharing their worldview with others. While Evangelical Protestant groups are some of the most prominent missionaries currently working in the region, many of the Inga-speaking peoples I worked with are much more focused on the Catholic faith. In the western Peruvian Amazon, we find a mix of Catholic orders that work together in their movement to convert the indigenous peoples of the region. The *Pasionistas* (Congregatio Passionis Iesu Christi), or Passionists, have had a strong presence throughout the Pastaza, Huallaga, and Marañón basins since 1921 as they are based out of the Vicariato Apostólico de Yurimaguas. A Passionist missionary, Father Nelson, lived in the Candoshi community of San Fernando at the mouth of the Huitoyacu River downstream from Mushu Kawsay during my fieldwork period and was heavily involved in the social relations in

the region. He had constructed a small chapel in Mushu Kawsay, with the Church providing all the materials while the local peoples provided the labor. Fr. Nelson would also make periodic trips to the communities in the region, providing baptisms and other critical rites when needed, much as the Jesuit missionaries had done some 300 years earlier. There are also missionaries from the Society of St. Francis de Sales, better known as the Salesians of Don Bosco, although they are more closely affiliated with the Jivaroan-speaking peoples of the Upper Amazon, particularly the Achuar, Shuar and Awajún. While their base is closer to the area—in the community of San Lorenzo on the Marañón River—their presence in Inga-speaking communities is nowhere near that of the Passionist or Protestant missionaries.

#### **45 Years of Contamination: Petroleum in the Pastaza basin**

On July 24, 1969, the president of Peru, Juan Velasco Alvarado, who had successfully undertaken a *coup d'état* against Fernando Terry Belaunde in October 1968, nationalized the Peruvian oil industry through the creation of Petroperú (Petróleos del Perú S.A.).<sup>55</sup> This was part of a larger series of changes undertaken by the Velasco regime in their attempt to shift the Peruvian populace to the left politically and focus the government on those living in poverty and indigenous peoples. The appropriation of the International Petroleum Company by the government and the creation of Petroperú, however, were also aimed at repelling outside influence in the country's economy and caused many issues with international partners such as the United States. Following the nationalization of the petroleum industry, the Peruvian government began exploring the Amazon basin for oil, as in Ecuador there had already been several critical discoveries (Sawyer 2004). In 1970, Petroperú began exploration in the region

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<sup>55</sup> The private enterprise, International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of the Esso Corporation (now ExxonMobil), was expropriated by the Velasco regime only nine days after taking power. However, the new state-owned petroleum company was not officially created until the following July.

between the Pastaza and Corrientes Rivers that encompasses the traditional territories of Quechua, Kichwa, and Shiwiar speaking peoples using seismic charges and other tools. Soon after, in 1971, oil was discovered in the region and the government quickly went to work in producing a concession for the newly declared Lot 1A. The contract was eventually awarded to Occidental Petroleum (OXY), an oil company based out of Houston, TX, on June 22, 1971, allowing them unfettered access to 529,000 hectares of land for exploration (Caso Andoas 2009).

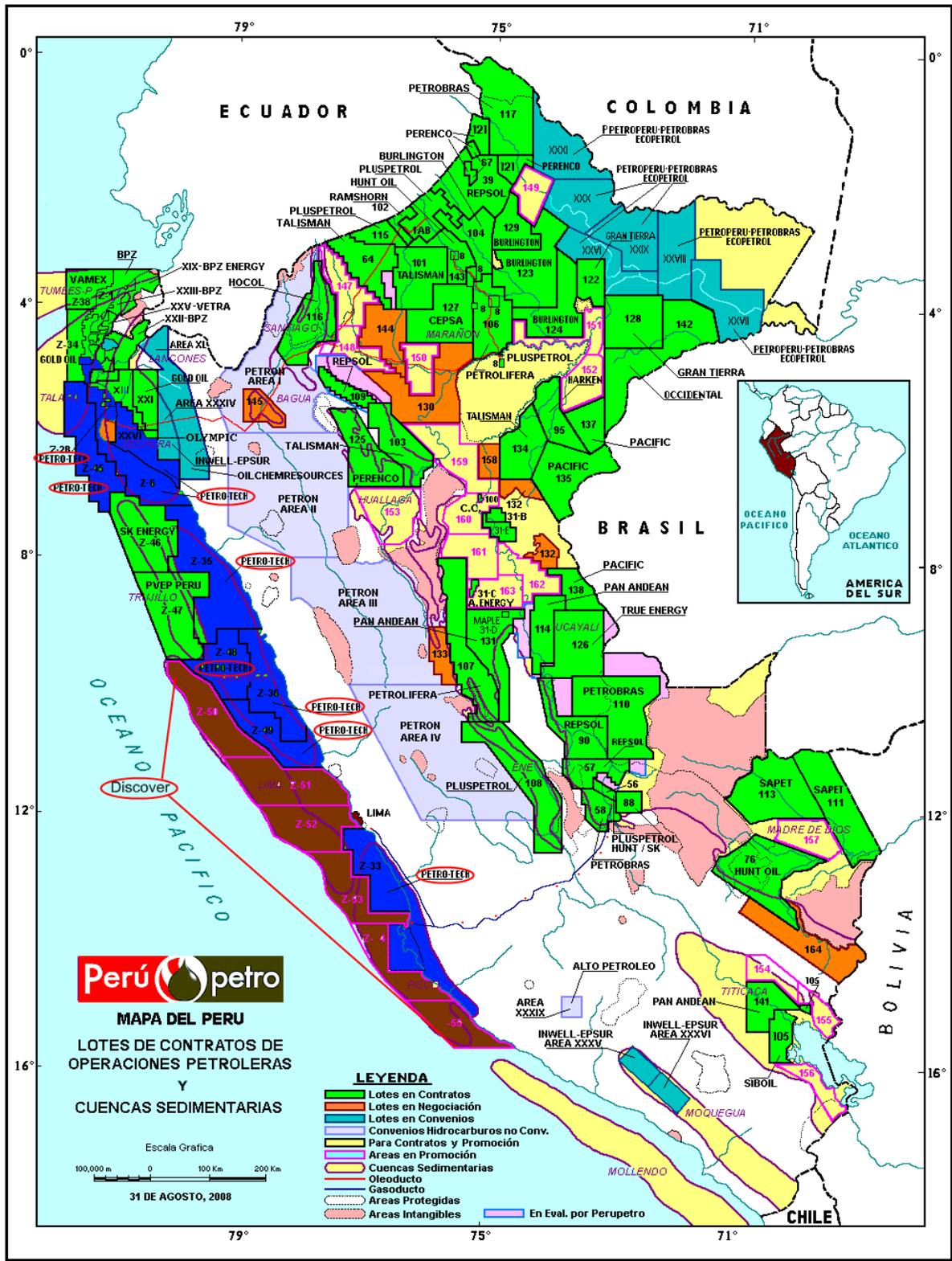


Figure 5: Map of Oil Concessions in Peru (Source: Perúpetro)

Beginning in 1971, OXY performed numerous perforations, or using explosives to connect oil wells to reservoirs, as well as continued seismic exploration using explosives, both of which disrupted the ecological balance of the area. They also constructed a massive amount of infrastructure in this remote region of Amazonia, including a crisscrossing network of 483 km of roads for the exclusive use of the petroleum company (Goldman et al. 2007:14). These roads effectively connected three different watersheds—the Pastaza, Tigre, and Corrientes—which up until then had only been traversable using a few key *varaderos*, allowing OXY to easily move between them without having to resort to fluvial or aerial transport. Although their base was originally on the banks of the Corrientes River, known as Teniente López, following the discovery of crude oil in 1972 near Capahuariyacu, a tributary of the Pastaza, they shifted their focus to that region. Near the village of Nuevo Andoas, OXY also constructed a massive recreation station and central housing for employees, as well as an airstrip. OXY also invested more than one billion dollars to construct the Oleoducto Norperuano, a massive oil pipeline stretching some 856 kilometers that traverses the Amazon basin, through the Andes, and to the Peruvian coast. The pumping station for the pipeline is also located within the facilities at Nuevo Andoas. These massive infrastructural developments, which continue to be critically important for the Peruvian national economy as Lot 1AB (now known as Lot 192) continues to be the most productive petroleum lot in Peru (Figure 4). Even though production peaked in 1982 with roughly 120,000 barrels per day, the lot has produced more than 150 million barrels since exploration began with at least 600 million barrels of probable reserves, although production has diminished significantly in recent years (Fraser 2018:18).

OXY's presence in the Pastaza basin altered life for many indigenous peoples in a variety of ways—especially for those living in the region of Andoas where there are numerous wells and

the massive recollection/pumping station. With the entrance of OXY, Pluspetrol, and Talisman—the main petroleum companies in the region—indigenous peoples began working for these entities and earning wages that were far outside the norm of the area. This in turn created a massive disparity between those who worked with petroleum companies versus those on the margins of the territory who were unable to integrate themselves into this new economy. These socioeconomic changes had the greatest impacts in the communities of Andoas Viejo and Nuevo Andoas, both of which are highly integrated into the new economy surrounding petroleum extraction. In these communities, the prices of commodities have increased exponentially compared to other areas due to the presence of foreign capital as well as the greater purchasing power of the local populace. These changes, although starting in the 1970s and 1980s, have continued to this day with certain commodities, such as beer or chickens, costing at least three times what they cost in other areas—even within other areas of the Pastaza basin. Moreover, the move to relying on imported foodstuffs and continued labor with the oil company has led to many of those living in the region of Andoas to focus less on slash-and-burn farming and hunting, leading to greater social and economic differentiation between indigenous peoples in the region. Individuals in Mushu Kawsay would often lament having to travel to Andoas as even the cheapest ‘street’ food, a *juane*, or rice and chicken wrapped in a *bijao* (*Calathea lutea*) leaf, would cost 5 soles (\$1.50) there versus 1 sol (\$0.30) in the city of San Lorenzo. These radical prices force indigenous peoples to rely on their *ayllu* connections and the indigenous federations when traveling to the area for protests as otherwise they would not have the funds necessary to engage in any political action in the area surrounding Andoas.

During the 1990s, OXY began to come under fire for their blatant disregard of the environment in the Pastaza, Corrientes, and Tigre basins, as well as a lack of informed consent

for the indigenous communities living within the concessioned oil block. With the vast majority of infrastructure related to petroleum extraction having been constructed during the initial phases of oil exploration in the 1970s, much of it is in poor condition, leading to oil leaks and the subsequent contamination of rivers, lakes, and forests (Valqui et. al. 2015:55). At roughly the same time as the environmental impacts of oil exploration in the Pastaza basin began to become apparent, a number of indigenous federations were founded in these regions, such as FECONACO (Federación de Comunidades Nativas del Corrientes) and FECONAT (Federación de Comunidades Nativas del Alto Tigre) in 1991, as well as FEDIQUEP (Federación Quechua Indígena del Pastaza)<sup>56</sup> in 1992. These organizations were founded under AIDSESEP (Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana) as a direct response to the ongoing contamination of their respective watersheds and have continuously worked together since in their efforts to have their voices heard. With the increasing social pressures and the mounting environmental issues, OXY eventually pulled out of its contract for Lot 1AB with the Peruvian state.

In the year 2000, the Argentinian oil company, PlusPetrol, took over operations of Lot 1AB from Occidental Petroleum, inheriting all the ecological disasters and social strife along with it. As Campanario Baqué and Doyle (2017:14) point out, the actual owners of PlusPetrol are unknown, but we do know that the Chinese petroleum giant, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), has a 45% stake in the company. They, much like their predecessors OXY, continually ignored the environmental issues caused by the extensive petroleum activities in the Pastaza basin while also leaving local communities in the dark. Although Peru had signed on as

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<sup>56</sup> Originally known as *Organización Quechua del Pastaza*, founded in the community of Santa María de Manchari (García Hierro et al 2002:32).

a member state with the International Labor Organization Convention 169 Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, they also ignored its requirements. ILO Convention 169 applies to

both tribal peoples whose social and cultural economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations, and to peoples who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabit the country at the time of conquest or colonization (ILO 1989).

This critically important document, while not legally binding, sets forth the need to provide prior informed consent to all marginalized peoples, as defined above, when engaging in any sort of extractive enterprise. Both OXY and Pluspetrol, however, provided no prior informed consent to the numerous communities affected by resource extraction in the region and continued to be lackadaisical even when ordered by international courts to do so.



Figure 6: Destruction of Lago Ushpayacu. (Source: FECONACO)



Figure 7: Contamination of Lago Shanshocochoa (Source: OEFA)

The environmental impacts—extremely high levels of toxic heavy metals such as cadmium and lead, the destruction of entire ecosystems such as Lago Ushpayacu (Figure 5) and Lago Shanshocochoa (Figure 6), and individuals coming down with a variety of diseases related to both of these—have caused the indigenous peoples of all three basins to engage in acts of protest against the state and the petroleum companies. These protests, starting in the early 2000s, reached a critical juncture on March 20, 2008, when Achuar, Quechua, and Quichua protesters took over Pluspetrol’s airstrip near the recollection plant in Nuevo Andoas. They had hoped to open a “*mesa de dialogo*” with the oil company to move forward with cleaning up the extensive

contamination and letting indigenous peoples have their say regarding oil extraction in the region. At some point, there was a scuffle that led to a police officer being shot and killed. The Peruvian National Police ended up detaining 48 indigenous individuals from all three watersheds, charging them with a variety of crimes including homicide, aggravated robbery, kidnapping, and extortion (Caso Andoas 2009). They were held within the Pluspetrol facilities where they were beaten and tortured for three days, before being transported to Iquitos where they were held in jail pending trial. Although the charges were eventually dropped, in August 2018 there was talk of reopening the case and charging the indigenous individuals again with the murder of the fallen officer.

Protests have continued against the petroleum companies in the region as well as the Peruvian state's lack of response to indigenous demands. Success, however, has been varied. While the indigenous peoples of all three basins have been in almost continuous dialogue with both the oil companies and the state, resulting in a number of agreements, the implementation of these agreements has been exceptionally slow. While I was working in the region in 2014 and 2015,<sup>57</sup> FEDIQUEP and the other indigenous federations signed an agreement with the Peruvian government which assured the implementation of not only informed consent prior to further oil activities but also a myriad of social services such as water filtration systems, electrification, and improved educational services for the communities affected by the ongoing resource extraction and environmental contamination. When I was leaving the community in August 2015, they had already begun implementing the infrastructure for the community's water filtration system and had promised that each home would have clean running water by the end of the year. Recently,

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<sup>57</sup> Although Pluspetrol gave up their contract for the concessioned oil block of Lot 192 (formerly 1AB) in August of 2015, they were still held responsible for the previous years of contamination but had yet to actually provide any sort of reparation or even accept full responsibility as a company

when I spoke with my *comadre* Marta in September of 2018, they still had not begun construction for the project.

The continued presence of petroleum extraction over more than 45 years has greatly affected indigenous populations throughout not only the Pastaza basin, but also in the Corrientes and Tigre watersheds. The ongoing struggles of these peoples against the petroleum company, the devastation of their environments, the killing of fish and game animals, and the increasing presence of new diseases, have all shaped life in the region over the past half-century. One cannot overstate the effects oil extraction has had on the daily lives of those living within the region nor how it has affected relationships between and amongst indigenous groups. In many ways, the extractive industries have carved out a space for the emergence of a greater interethnic and intercultural life in the region, bringing together foreign nationals, NGOs, and celebrities, as well as indigenous groups, such as the Candoshi and Achuar, that have had long-standing historical feuds. All of the protest actions are forged between multiple indigenous groups. Whenever there are meetings regarding future political movements, there are Achuar, Urarina, Quichua, Quechua, Candoshi, and other indigenous peoples joining together under the common banner of indigeneity to face a common enemy. As we will see in later chapters, indigeneity as a uniting force becomes critical for the foundation of interethnic indigenous communities as well as the continued indigenous movement in the region.

## **Conclusion**

As shown throughout these two chapters on the history of the region, the social character of the Pastaza basin has always been one of interculturality and alliance in the face of conflict. The blending of indigenous speakers and ethnic groups, which had certainly been a facet of indigenous sociality in the region in the pre-Hispanic era, exploded with the foundation of Jesuit

*reducciones* along the Pastaza, Nucuray, and Bobonaza Rivers. This interculturality was maintained through the use of Inga as *lengua general*, allowing indigenous speakers from different language families (e.g., Omurano and Candoa-Shapra) to effectively communicate amongst themselves while also holding onto their underlying indigenous identities. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits, many of the ancient missions throughout Amazonia fell into disrepair and indigenous peoples became dispersed once again. In the Pastaza basin, however, particularly around the community of Andoas, indigenous peoples formed settled communities. These communities, however, were challenged by the effects of the Rubber Boom as entire populations were forcibly relocated to other parts of the Amazon to work as rubber tappers. Conversely, there was an in-migration of Quechua-speaking peoples from San Martín, particularly from the regions around Lamas, Chazuta, and Sisa, integrating themselves into the regional system of the Pastaza basin. The Candoshi and Achuar were able to approach the commodity booms on their own terms for the most part, while, unfortunately, many other indigenous peoples were not as lucky.

With the ongoing border conflict through the latter half of the 19th century and continuing through 1998, indigenous social relations in the region were radically altered. Where at one-time indigenous peoples had social relations that stretched across the border, joining together multiple indigenous groups in the upper Pastaza with those living in the middle and lower Pastaza, following the closure of the border in 1941 these relations were ruptured. This, in turn, created a differential historical experience throughout the 20th century, perhaps leading to the linguistic and cultural differences we see between Inga-speakers south of Andoas and the Canelos-Quichua-speakers in the Bobonaza River. With the arrival of SIL missionaries in the Pastaza basin beginning in the 1950s, indigenous social relations continued to be altered through

their ongoing interactions with each other and the missionaries. Soon, settled communities became the norm for many and separated those who lived in them from those who did not. This movement toward settled communities greatly increased following the passage of a number of laws related to the recognition and titling of indigenous ancestral territories, a trend which continues to this day. The influence of other missionary groups—particularly the Passionists—also continues to be critically important for contemporary indigenous peoples. As we will see in the following chapters, the social and political structures imposed by the mission sites, the social organization of the *ayllu*, and the implementation the various laws related to the foundation of *comunidades nativas* are all critical to understanding the contemporary intercultural nature of communities in indigenous frontiers as well as the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis related to the emergence of the Inga as a distinct ethnic group.

#### **IV. *Ayllukunamanta*: Social Organization in Indigenous Frontiers**

Social organization and kinship have long been foundational themes of ethnographic inquiries in lowland South America and underlie many of the contemporary theories of sociality associated with the region (Århem 1982; Da Matta 1982; Hornborg 1988; Jackson 1983; Maybury-Lewis 1974; Overing Kaplan 1975; Rivière 1969, 1984; Viveiros de Castro 2018; Whitten, Jr. 1976). While this focus has at times overshadowed many aspects of the rich social lives of Amazonian indigenous peoples, it has also provided us with excellent comparative data for understanding human societies both regionally and worldwide. Due to the proliferation of kinship studies from the 1940s on through the early 1980s, first connected to functionalist, then later, structuralist positions linked to alliance theory, the investigation of indigenous social organization took a background to topics such as identity, gender, politics, cosmology, and other aspects of indigenous sociality. Although our understanding of Dravidian kinship relations provides the undergirding of the most popular social theory from Amazonia, Amerindian perspectivism or multinaturalism, analysis utilizing it is often focused on other aspects of indigenous society (Viveiros de Castro 1993, 2018). Today, however, there is a great need for a return to investigations of social organization in indigenous societies in Amazonia and elsewhere to understand how these basic structures of society are deployed in times of crisis and how processes such as globalization and the spread of new technologies are rapidly changing what kinship means for many peoples (Skar 1982; Van Vleet 2008; Virtanen 2012). This is essential as indigenous peoples—even those who are voluntarily isolated or living in geographically remote regions—are rapidly being integrated or integrating themselves into the dominant society through their connections with trade, religious figures, the government, NGOs, *narcos*, and transnational corporations, not to mention the increasing connectivity through ICTs (e.g.,

shortwave radio, cellular phones, and the Internet). In this chapter, I explore how Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin understand their own systems of social organization and kinship by focusing on the Quechua *ayllu* system.

As with all Quechua-speaking peoples, society for the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin is organized around the *ayllu* system. While the term *ayllu* can be literally translated as family, its significance, for both Amazonian and Andean Quechua-speakers, is much greater than the Western concept of family. Moreover, its regional significance, for example in the Bolivian Altiplano, is also fluid and in flux—changing depending on the time period in which we are investigating. This has led to a number of difficulties in actually defining what we mean when we speak of the *ayllu*. The vast literature from Andean Anthropology on the social organization of Quechua and Aymara peoples, both past and present, provides us with general grounding from which we can begin to understand the systems as they present themselves in the Amazonian lowlands (Isbell 1985; Skar 1982; Zuidema 1964). A brief examination of Andean *ayllu* systems will be quite beneficial for the analysis of Inga social organization as it is a syncretic blend of classical features of both Andean and Amazonian social organization, with significant influence from contact with Candoa-Jivaroan and Spanish speakers. In the textual reconstruction of Inga social life, I will delve into each of these facets, uncovering how indigenous sociality today in the Pastaza watershed is an ongoing process that must be understood both diachronically (see Chapters 2 and 3) as well as synchronically. Following the discussion of Andean *ayllu* systems, I attempt to lay out the Inga *ayllu* in relation to its Andean counterparts, highlighting the similarities and differences between them. I then examine the institution of marriage, focusing on the practice of sibling exchange, bride capture,

and brideservice from both men's and women's perspectives (see also Dean 1995; Dean and Knauff 1998).

### **The Ayllu in Andean Ethnology**

Aymara-speakers and Quechua-speakers throughout the Andean highlands in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, as well as the Quechua- or Quichua-speaking peoples of the Upper Amazon found in the Huallaga, Pastaza, Tigre, Napo, and Putumayo watersheds, organize their societies around the notion of the *ayllu*. The massive geographical area in which we find the *ayllu* system, the linguistic and cultural variations, as well as the multiple domains of social life covered by the concept, have problematized understanding of this crucial form of social organization. Although it has been a focus of almost all anthropological investigations of Andean society, there has yet to be an acceptable definition of the *ayllu*, one that could be applied to all societies that utilize the concept, as there is a vast amount of variety in how these groups understand their own organizing features. There are, however, a few general characteristics that we can distinguish as being common to almost all of these societies. Generally, regardless of where it is encountered, the *ayllu* can be thought of as both the basic social unit, consisting of a husband and wife pair and their children, as well as the basic political unit of social organization (see Zuidema 1964). It is also usually understood as being scalar in nature, expanding from the immediate family, to the extended family, to communities, and up to encompassing almost the entirety of society or an ethnic grouping—what Bastien (1973) refers to as the maximal ayllu (Isbell 1985; Skar 1982). The *ayllu* is often understood as a corporate group, tied to a specific territory and resources, which *ayllu* members manage and control through their organization. Within some Andean societies, kinship is reckoned within the ayllu unilineally along the patriline, back to a mythical ancestor, although many groups understand it as being bilateral in character. Some have argued

that the term *ayllu* in Aymara can be translated into English as penis, perhaps referencing the patrilineal character of these descent groups in the Bolivian Altiplano (Bastien 1985; Zuidema 1964:72).<sup>58</sup> While this unilineal character has been somewhat dominant, especially in the pre-Hispanic era, today it is more common to see the *ayllu* reckoned bilaterally, tracing one's lineage through both the mother and father.

A brief overview of the historical configurations of the *ayllu* system will provide a base to understand its contemporary forms in both Andean and Amazonian societies. There is archaeological evidence of the presence of *ayllus* or moieties among the Wari (AD 500 - 1000) and Nasca (100 BC - AD 800) cultures of the Peruvian coast (Silverman 1993; Silverman and Proulx 2002). Silverman (1993) argues that the particular structure of archaeological sites associated with the Nasca culture reflect a dual organization,<sup>59</sup> probably heterarchical in nature in comparison to later instances of *ayllu* organization such as among the Inca. The notion of dual organization here is built upon the work of Lévi-Strauss (1963) and others such as Maybury-Lewis (1979) who noted that certain societies divide themselves into two halves socially. The Nasca seemingly organized their society according to principles of the *ayllu* system, with each lineage segments being linked to a localized chiefdom which was responsible for the maintenance of *puquios* (natural springs) and providing religious functions at sites such as Cahuachi. While these are based on interpretations of material culture, we have direct

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<sup>58</sup> *Allu* means penis in Aymara, while *ullu* means penis in Quechua—both of which sound very similar to the word *ayllu* when spoken, perhaps leading to this distinction. Likewise, Whitten and Whitten (2008:50-51) note that the Canelos-Quichua have a myth that connects the notion of the penis to the generation of the *ayllu* structure: "*Runa ullu amarun tian*" (The runa penis is anaconda).

<sup>59</sup> For Lévi-Strauss (1963:10), dual organization is used to describe a "type of social structure ... characterized by the division of the social group— whether tribe, clan, or village— into two moieties, whose respective members have relationships which may range from the most intimate cooperation to latent hostility, and which generally contain both types of behavior."

observation and testimonies from the Colonial Era as to how Inca *ayllus* functioned for both royals and commoners.

Following the arrival of Francisco Pizarro and the Spanish in 1532, knowledge of indigenous social organization began to trickle out of the conquered region. The Huarochiri Manuscript provides a number of critical details about social organization during the period immediately prior to Spanish contact as well as the beginnings of the Colonial Era in Peru. Father Francisco de Ávila who compiled the text in Quechua some 75 years after the arrival of the Spanish, asserts that the manuscript is focused on historical beliefs and practices rather than those found in the region in 1608 when he published *Tratado y relación de los errores, falsos dioses y otras supersticiones y ritos diabólicos en que vivían antiguamente los yndios de las Provincias de Huarocheri* (Ávila 1608; Salomon and Urioste 1991:1). Salomon and Urioste (1991:4) argue that the Manuscript provides us with a localized, village-based version of Andean or Incan religious thought and socio-political organization. It details the mythical origins of social organization in the Huarochiri by detailing the emergence of the region's five primary *ayllus* from Pariacaca—the “fivefold deity” at the center of Huarochiri religious practices (1991:6). Pariacaca, an *apu* (mountain deity), originally appeared on the mountain Condorcoto taking the form of five separate eggs. From these eggs emerged five falcons, which further transformed into five men who are the progenitors of the primary clans or *ayllus* of the Huarochiri region (Zuidema 1964; Salomon and Urioste 1991). Once again, we see the patrilineal nature (*yumay*) of the *ayllu* system with each *ayllu* being headed by a mythical male ancestor. Salomon and Urioste (1991:22) view the *ayllu* in the time of Huarochiri as a “named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement” (see also Salomon

2018). This focus on lineages and kinship is also found in the first Quechua dictionary produced by Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560:107). In this critically important text, *ayllu* is simply defined as “*linage, generacio, o familia* (lineage, generation, or family),” stressing the links to kinship and social organization while downplaying the corporate links to collective landholdings.

While the Huarochiri manuscript provides us with the mythical background and organizing principles associated with village-level *ayllus* (*llakta ayllukuna*), reports from various Spanish and indigenous sources from the beginnings of the Colonial Era provide an excellent overview of the Inca *ayllu* system, particularly in and around the city of Cuzco, Peru. For the majority of people in Cuzco during the pre-Hispanic and early Colonial Era, the *ayllu* was understood as a “kin-based landholding corporation,” identified as a moiety that traces its lineage through the patriline to a common ancestor (Figure 7). *Ayllus* are then ranked based on their distance from the ancestor, which is also reflected in the architecture of the city (Silverman and Proulx 2002). Zuidema (1964) provides an excellent, albeit complex, overview of the social organization of Cuzco for both common peoples and the royal lineages as reflected through the *ceque* lines, or ritual pathways. Through an examination of the *ceque* system, comprised of some 42 lines that emanate from the center of Cuzco at Qurikancha and divide the city, and the entirety of the Inca empire, Zuidema was able to show how the architecture of Cuzco directly reflected the social organization of its inhabitants. From Qurikancha, running east and west, the *ceque* lines divided the city of Cuzco into two halves which reflected the moieties of the *ayllu* system; *hanansaya*, or the upper moiety, known as Hanan-Cuzco, and *hurinsaya*, or the lower moiety, known as Hurin-Cuzco. *Saya* is the Quechua term for moiety, although it can also be understood as a division in half and not strictly linked to social organization. This spatial division defined marriageable partners, with individuals associated with *hurinsaya* marrying into *hanansaya* and

vice versa. Women from one moiety would move to the other, due to the preference for patrilocality although this was not a strict rule. This duality is the defining aspect of Inca social organization and can be thought of as a total social fact, encompassing all aspects of Incan society (Zuidema 1964:27).<sup>60</sup> While the Incas enforced exogamy through the moiety system, the royal Incan lineages, however, were ideally endogamous, with a Sapa Inca marrying his consanguineous sister in order to continue the lineage.<sup>61</sup> There is evidence of non-royal *ayllus* and royal *ayllus* living in the same proximity, and probably intermarrying, although it was a rare occurrence (Bauer 1998:45).

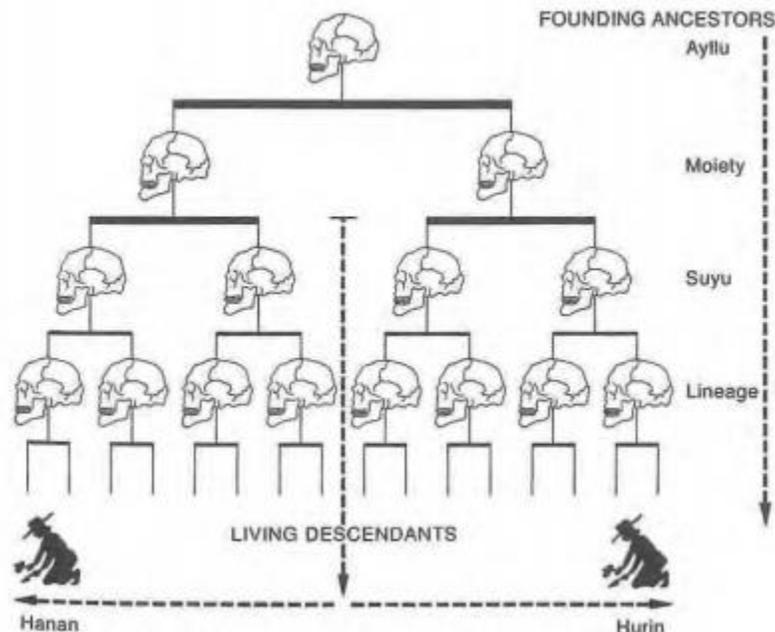


Figure 8: Inca ayllu system. (Source: Moseley 2001:53).

<sup>60</sup> Platt (1986) provides us with the concept *yanantin*, which is reflective of the complementary opposition between moieties and the dual-organization of other aspects of Inca society (see also Webb 2012).

<sup>61</sup> While all *ayllus* are exogamous at some level, such as between moieties, the scalar-nature of the *ayllu* forces endogamy when the maximal *ayllu* is taken into account, as it often times encompasses the entirety of an ethnicity.

From Hanan-Cuzco and Hurin-Cuzco, the Inca empire was further divided into four *suyus* (quarters), with the entirety of the Inca empire's territory known as *tahuantinsuyu* (the four quarters). In the northern half, or within Hanan-Cuzco, the northwest quarter was known as *Chinchasuyu*, while the northeast quarter was Antisuyu. Likewise, within Hurin-Cuzco the southeast quarter was known as *Collasuyu* and the southwest quarter is *Cuntisuyu*. All of the quarters were further divided into nine sections, following the ceque lines, except for *Cuntisuyu* which was divided into fourteen sections (Bauer 1998:39; Zuidema 1962:120). These *ceque* lines that spread out from Cuzco were each associated with a particular lineage or *ayllu*, which in turn would be responsible for the feeding and ritual practices associated with the *huacas* (shrines) along the path. The *ayllus*, moreover, were responsible for providing *mit'a*, or labor tribute, to the Inca in the form of public works or agricultural products. *Curacas*, or indigenous hereditary leaders of ayllus, mobilized ayllu members for the maintenance of huacas and implementation of labor tribute, while also following the decrees of the Inca. This political structure, comparable to the anthropological notion of headman, was quite common not only in the core region of the Inca Empire, but also at its edges. When the Spanish arrived in the region of Ecuador, *curacazgo* political organizations were common throughout the Andes, distinguishing themselves from more egalitarian societies found in the Amazon region (Álvarez Litben 1999). Although the power of the *curaca* was quite limited, he still held political power within his regional sphere that was transferred along patrilineal lines to younger generations. This structure was replicated in many ways with the indigenous *caciques* who were part of the Jesuit mission system detailed earlier. Moreover, the structure of *curacazgo* and the leader of an *ayllu* or *llakta* as a *curaca* is present in the Inga social system explored below.

The Spanish replicated much of the social infrastructure put in place by the Incas during their empire building. As shown in chapter two, Spanish *encomenderos* appropriated the Incan system of *mit'a* and *curacazgo* in the founding of *encomiendas* throughout the Andes, Amazon, and coastal regions. Outside of the *encomienda* system, the organization of colonial rule also drew upon the social organization of the Incas, as ethnic groups were recorded as *parcialidades* or *sectores*, which were very similar to the Incan notion of *ayllu*. These groups were small collections of families “headed by an aboriginal noble and his dependents,” with up to 400 persons living within the collective (Salomon 1986:122). These were either autonomous communities headed by a *cacique* or a number of *parcialidades* grouped as a singular political unit. The latter were hierarchical in structure, with one *parcialidad* in a superior position to the other groups, led by either a *cacique* or a *curaca*, with other ‘native lords’ having lesser privileges (Salomon 1986:123). Much like with other Inca customs, the Spanish latched onto the notion of the *ayllu* and began to utilize the term in their administrative records, written as “*haillo*” or “*aillo*”, which became commonplace in the late 1500s (Salomon 1986:122).

Contemporary indigenous societies in the Andean highlands resemble the ayllus of the pre-Hispanic past to a high degree. We can see similar themes in the ethnographies produced by numerous anthropologists in the Andean region. The Aymara-speaking peoples of the Bolivian Andes have a very similar social organization to those societies we have already discussed. Like the *ayllu* system of the ancient Inca, the Aymara-speaking peoples living on Mount Kaata in the Bolivian Andes divide their society into two moieties or descent groups: *jatun ayllu* (large ayllu) and *masi ayllu* (level ayllu). These are patrilineal descent groups with a singular ancestor, *huh yayahuh* (“one father”). The moieties are further divided based on the verticality of the three communities, Apacheta (high), Kaata (central), and Ninokorin (low), which are located on the

mountain (Bastien 1985). This verticality determines marriageable partners, with those from the lower levels having to marry up to the upper levels. Thus, someone from the Kaata *ayllu* would have to marry someone from Apacheta. Women move between the various levels of the mountain due to the heavy virilocal bias in post-marriage residence patterns as they are exchanged between moieties. Here again we see the flexibility in definition of the *ayllu*, for at its larger levels it stops referring to extended families and is instead oriented towards people in the same territory (*llahta*, community) who feed the mountain *huacas*, perceived as the ancestors of the indigenous Kaatans. It is through this process of feeding *huacas* that individuals are integrated into the all-encompassing mountain *ayllu* “no matter where they came from” (Bastien 1985:xxiv). The connection between outsiders or non-indigenous peoples engaging in indigenous sociality—in this case by feeding *huacas*—and subsequent integration into the *ayllu* system demonstrates the flexibility for the inclusion of multiple relations within the *ayllu*.

Isbell (1985), in her extensive study of indigenous sociality within the community of Chuschi in the department of Ayacucho,<sup>62</sup> provides a number of general definitions of the *ayllu* which reflect both its use as a term of social organization and kinship as well as a general manner of classifying hierarchical structures. The most basic definition she provides is that an *ayllu* is “any group with a head,” such as a *barrio*, village, family, district, province, or even the entirety of the nation-state (Isbell 1985:105). The scalar notion of the *ayllu*, already noted above, is radically expanded here to include all levels of society and political organization. For those living in Chuschi, there is a distinction between the notion of the *ayllu*, or one’s immediate family excluding “ego’s grandparents’ siblings and their descendants” and the idea of *karu ayllu*

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<sup>62</sup> As Starn (1991:64) points out, on May 17th, 1980, just five years after Isbell finished her fieldwork, the village of Chuschi was the site of the first attack by the Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*).

(extended family) which includes these individuals. Here, the *ayllu* is a semi-corporate group with gendered inheritance in that men inherit land, goods, and animals from their fathers while women inherit from their mothers (Isbell 1985:107).

Skar's (1982) exploration of the "warm-valley people" in the village of Matapuquio, Apurimac, at the edge of the Andes-Amazon interface some 130 kilometers to the west of Cuzco, also provides an in-depth investigation of the role of the *ayllu* in indigenous social organization from which we can also see the flexible nature of the Andean *ayllu*. While the *ayllu* is basically understood as a "bilateral ego-centered kindred" throughout much of the Andes as well as in the community of Matapuquio, it is also much more than that (Skar 1994). Indeed, Skar (1982:169) expands the notion of the *ayllu*, noting that at its most basic level it takes the form of a faction with "people classed together and recruited on diverse principles in relation to a conceptualized opposition." This is due to the fact that membership within the *ayllu* is not simply based upon consanguineal relations alone, even though it is conceived as a bilateral kindred, but also integrates affinal relations, the practice of *compadrazgo*, and even friendship in its structure (Skar 1982:167; see also Allen 1988). Sarah Skar (1994:31), reflecting on her fieldwork with her husband, relates a story of an informant attempting to explain the scalar nature of the *ayllu*. Her colleague dropped a bit of soup on the floor of his home, saying that it was the *ayllu* itself, then scattered more droplets surrounding this larger droplet. These too, he informed her, were *ayllu* even though they were spread out away from the central mass—even a droplet representing the ethnographers back in Norway. He told her that "*Todo es ayllu. Todo es mitma*,"<sup>63</sup> or that simply everything is part of a larger whole. Much like Isbell's notion of an *ayllu* being any group with a

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<sup>63</sup> This notion of *mitma*, or *mitmaq*, is reminiscent of the forced relocation of conquered peoples as practiced by the Inca, but instead represent those who are "part of, and yet separate from, the larger *ayllu*" (Skar 1994:33).

head, however, even with the dispersed nature of the *ayllu* at times, its core structure for the villagers of Matapuquio is dependent upon its leader. The *ayllu* head or leader is a critical element in the social organization of those living in Matapuquio as he is viewed as a “recruiter” for his own *ayllu*. The size of one’s *ayllu* is directly based on how successful the *ayllu* leader is at bringing people into his group through the affinity, *compadrazgo*, or friendship (Skar 1982:170). Furthermore, the head of the *ayllu* is also responsible for mobilizing members in everyday life, particularly in *mingas*, or communal work parties, during planting or harvest seasons.

Seligmann (1995) investigated the social lives of Quechua-speaking peoples in the region of Huanquite, near Cuzco, Peru. Once again, the scalar nature of the *ayllu* is apparent with the communities of Inkakuna Ayllu Chifia and Maska conceptualized as moieties composed of multiple *ayllus* while Tantarcalla and Chanka were understood as maximal *ayllus* led by a *curaca*. For Seligmann (1995:29), the *ayllu* can be thought of at its most basic level as a “social unit composed of kin related within three generations.” This, as we have seen above, is expanded upon as it is also conceived as being a sociopolitical unit composed of individual households that are connected to each other through linkages of ethnicity, kinship, or even landholdings. This latter conception of the *ayllu* is much more in line with the idea of *llakta* that we see in the Amazonian lowlands among Quechua and Quichua speakers. He argues that Catherine Allen’s (1988:108) processual notion of the *ayllu*, which she defines as “modes of relatedness” in which individuals are grouped together by a shared social focus linked to various social obligations such as working in *mingas* or maintaining corporate land holdings, is very much reflective of the way people understand *ayllu* relations in Huanquite.

Overall, we can think of Andean *ayllus* as being scalar or recursive social and political organizations, with multiple levels embedded within one-another conceptualized as concentric circles moving out from the ego, which are often connected to corporate landholdings (Van Vleet 2008; Allen 1988). The basic definition of the *ayllu* as an ego-centered bilateral kindred, usually reckoned to the generation of one's grandparents, is applicable for almost all of the contemporary Andean peoples who utilize the concept. Moreover, the *ayllu* links a people to a sense of community (*llakta*) and a geographic location, which itself is often the home of numerous *huacas* or shrines that connect contemporary peoples to their ancestors. The physical and spiritual maintenance of the *huacas* and the landscape in general are a pervasive feature of indigenous consciousness and crucial to the sustenance and social organization of Andean peoples. It is through the engagement with this form of indigenous sociality and practice that individuals, even those who may not identify as indigenous, are integrated into the *ayllu* structure. These features are found in both Quechua and Aymara speaking populations living in the Andean highlands as shown in the ethnology of the region. As we will see below, the *ayllu* as portrayed in lowland South America and along the Andes-Amazon interface shares many of the aspects described above while also deviating on a number of critical features.

### **From the Andes to the Amazon**

In comparison with the extensive studies cited above on Andean social organization focused around the *ayllu*, there has been a dearth of research on the various Quechua-speaking peoples of lowland South America, particularly in the Peruvian Amazon. There has been a limited number of ethnographic monographs dedicated to the Quechua-speaking peoples of Amazonia, and of those produced the vast majority have focused on Ecuadorian Kichwa speakers in the upper Pastaza or Napo Rivers (Freire 1996; Kohn 2013; Macdonald 1999;

Whitten, Jr. 1976, 1985; Uzendoski 2005; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012). While these monographs provide excellent overviews of these societies, they often fail to contextualize the contemporary processes of ethnogenesis and intercultural or interethnic exchange that heavily affect the social organization of these peoples. These ethnographies are primarily drawn from the cultural core of indigenous territories rather than those frontiers that define the edges of said territories. As such, their discussions of the *ayllu* system, for example, often downplay the presence of other kinship systems within Quechua-speaking communities as well as the need for cultural and linguistic translation between individuals within the same community, especially those communities within indigenous frontiers. Here, I briefly examine the kinship systems of the Jivaroan and Candoshi peoples with whom the Inga have close relations through marriage and exchange, before moving on to an examination of the Inga *ayllu* itself and its implications for social organization in the region, especially in polyethnic indigenous communities.

The complexity of Candoshi, Achuar, and Quechua kinship systems—as well as the inclusion of Shipibo-Conibo, Shawi, Kukama-Kukamiria, other indigenous groups, and mestizos within these communities through relationships of affinity—makes translations between multiple social worlds necessary in daily life. The Jivaroan and Candoa-Shapra peoples of the Pastaza basin are known for their strong individualism, often living in dispersed homesteads along small tributaries. Traveling along the smaller tributaries in the Pastaza basin, one is struck by the number of singular homes located on the banks of the rivers away from the larger, settled communities. Yet, this practice of living outside of communities is counteracted with their ability to create and maintain alliances with groups often viewed as their enemies when they are both faced with a common threat, such as other indigenous peoples, the government, and transnational extractive enterprises. This is what Uriarte has termed the “Jivaro Paradox,” and is the principal

characteristic of the social organization and socio-political dynamic of both the Jivaroan (Achuar, Shiwiar) and Candoa-Shapra (Candoshi, Shapra) peoples in the Pastaza basin.

The Achuar, a Jivaroan-speaking peoples with whom Inga-speaking peoples around the village of Alianza Cristiana near Lago Anatico and those who live in the village of Santa María on the Manchari River often intermarry, have a Dravidian system of kinship with a marriage preference for cross-cousin marriage with at least two bilateral relatives linking themselves through the repeated exchange of partners (Descola 1994; Santos and Barclay 2007:xxvii). According to Uriarte (2007), the resulting system of social organization is the creation and consolidation of groups within a defined territory, the creation of focal forms of leadership, and a system of marriage exchange that is highly endogamic. Descola (1994) has characterized these noninstitutionalized and unnamed groups as “endogamic nexuses” (Santos and Barclay 2007:xxvii). While the endogamic nexus of the Achuar or the deme among the Urarina are the common forms of social organization among these peoples, they are also much more fluid and open, often engaging in similar patterns of exchange across ethnic lines, problematizing the notion a strictly endogamic group. With marriages between non-Achuar speaking peoples and the Achuar becoming more common, this notion often collapses as people engage in a wider relational sphere, although it is prevalent within the headwaters of the Huasaga and Manchari Rivers.

The Candoshi, in contrast with the Jivaroan groups with whom they hold much cultural affinity, do not have a Dravidian system of kinship—at least not on a level that is recognized socially (Surrallés 2009:44). Although they reckon kinship bilaterally<sup>64</sup> from ego and have

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<sup>64</sup> Although kinship is understood bilaterally, there is a patrilineal bias in the relations of property and children, with children being considered the property of the father.

bifurcate merging at the G+0 and G-1 generations, this reckoning is relatively shallow with the majority of individuals not knowing the names of relatives past the generation of their grandparents or even their second-cousins (Amadio and D’Emilio 1984:112; Surrallés 2007:339). Thus, while they have a strict prohibition of marrying someone with whom they are consanguineously related at any level, past the G+2 generation such connections are obscured by genealogical amnesia. The ways in which Candoshi peoples categorize their kin relations sheds some light on this issue. In general, they recognize four separate categories of kin groupings: (1) close consanguines (*maaciriti*), extended consanguineal kin (*kamindzi*), affines or potential affines (*tonari*),<sup>65</sup> and enemies (*kundrari*) (Amadio and D’Emilio 1984:112; Surrallés 2009:177-8). One strives to do all they can to avoid any marriages with those included in *maaciriti* or *kamindzi* groupings by attempting to trace their lineages back to their great-grandparents, although consanguineal marriages do occur on occasion (Surrallés 2010). Polygyny is common among dispersed households, while in those communities where the Protestant Church has a strong presence it is almost completely absent. The preferred form of marriage is the direct exchange of sisters between two groups of brothers,<sup>66</sup> much like the nearby Shawi people, as well as the Inga to be detailed below (Homan 2014; Santos and Barclay 2007:xxvii). It is through these exchanges that the endogamous nexus-like component of their sociality is constructed, although these groupings are usually precarious in nature. Post-marriage residence locality tends toward permanent uxorilocality with an extended brideservice period, although this outcome is

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<sup>65</sup> Surrallés (2009:178) notes that the meaning of *tonari* can shift depending on context from potential affines, to unknown indigenous person, to enemy, as well as Candoshi-speakers who are not directly part of ego’s group, alluding to the “*otro en nosotros mismos* (other among ourselves)”

<sup>66</sup> The Candoshi peoples I worked with referred to sibling exchange as *ístama*, although I cannot find this term in either Surrallés’ work (2007, 2009) nor Tuggy’s (2008) vocabulary.

not strict and, as we will see below, is often challenged in interethnic marriages (Surrallés 2009:223).

As we can see above, the kinship system of the Candoshi peoples has many commonalities with the *ayllu* system of Quechua-speaking peoples. The construction of the Candoshi nexus is very similar to the bilateral kindreds that define *ayllus* in the Andean region, even including antagonism between the two sections that emerge prior to their new definition as an exogamous group. Moreover, the notion of *maaciriti* as being close consanguines is very similar to Andean conceptualizations of the minimal *ayllu*, while the term *kamindzi* is closer to the maximal *ayllu* or *karu ayllu* as seen in the work of Isbell (1985) and Bastien (1973). The strict prohibition of any consanguineous marriages, especially with one's parallel or cross-cousins, is also found in both types of social organization. Yet, there are critical differences as well, such as the practice of polygyny and the focus on living in dispersed households away from settled communities as a means to avoid conflict, which set them apart from the basic *ayllu* structure. These similarities and differences, however, are also great influences on why Candoshi peoples integrate into Quechua-speaking communities as well as how the *ayllu* can accommodate Candoshi kinship ideologies.

While one would expect the Inga-speaking peoples' conceptions of the *ayllu* to be mirrored in the Canelos-Quichua cultural system found just to the north of the Inga's traditional territories, there are several interesting differences. Whitten (1976) presents the Canelos-Quichua *ayllu* as composed of segmentary lineages linked back to a common animal ancestor, such as a jaguar or cougar,<sup>67</sup> while contemporary *ayllus* are identified by surnames. Whitten notes that the

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<sup>67</sup> Therianthropy in Amazonian and Native American shamanism and cosmology is extremely common. The Inga believe that humans can transform into jaguars through the use of *piri-piri*, *ayahuasca*, and other teacher plants.

Canelos Quichua *ayllus* are scalar in nature like their Andean counterparts, comparing them to segmented lineages with stem kindreds located in a *llakta* that is then connected to the extended clans dispersed across *runa* territories. The maximal clan, or maximal *ayllu*, which includes multiple extended clans, is the “everlasting system of stipulated descent into mythic time and structure,” in which members trace their lineages back to a mythical animal ancestor (Whitten, Jr. 1976:18, 110; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008:51; Bastien 1973). This is very similar to the difference between the *ayllu* system in the region of Cuzco, with individuals often tracing their ancestry up to eight generations and connecting them to mythical or real Inca ancestors, and that of Ayacucho, in which genealogical reckoning is relatively shallow (cf. Isbell 1985).

The individual *ayllus*, conceptualized in Whitten’s work as stem kindreds, like all families, have their own “special culture, transmitted to intimate residential in-laws,” however, this culture is often related to specific practices surrounding shamanism and pottery production in Canelos Quichua communities (Whitten, Jr. 1976:19). *Ayllus*, and by extension *llaktas*, are inherently connected to shamanic grandparent pairs—a *sinchi yachak* grandfather and a *sinchi warmi* grandmother. The shamanic grandfather focuses his energy on soul acquisition and the shamanic arts, while the grandmother is a master potter, utilizing her art as a shamanic power. When speaking of their local group, Canelos Quichua speakers may refer to *ñuca ayllu* (my ayllu) or *ñucanchi ayllu* (our ayllu), however, with the constant marriage between segments, it is often much more common to refer to their residence in a region or “territorial subdivision,” called *llakta* (Whitten, Jr. 1976:19). One’s positionality within an *ayllu* is determined by tracing ties back along gender-lines to an affinal relation in the past, such as a man tracing the “sequence of ties going from his father to his father’s father to his father’s father’s wife”, while women trace the ties “from her mother to her mother’s mother to her mother’s mother’s husband” (ibid).

Reeve (1985:7), in her excellent ethnography of the Curaray Runa, who in many ways encompass an extension of the Canelos-Quichua cultural system, notes that the notion of *quiquin ayllu* (one's own ayllu) is understood as an "exogamous group of true siblings, parents, FB and FB children, and grandparents," with cross-cousins being included depending on the individual. This latter point, also present among the Canelos-Quichua proper, is certainly related to the Jivaroan Dravidian system's focus on cross-cousin marriage and the flexibility of the *ayllu* system to accompany it.

Much like the *ayllu* of the Canelos Quichua and other Quechua-speaking peoples of Amazonia, the Inga *ayllu* is critical for understanding the way in which they organize their own society as well as wider relations with other indigenous groups, *mestizos*, and the state. Like the *ayllu* systems discussed above, it is reflective of Andean ayllus in many ways while also being distinct in character from its counterparts as found among other Amazonian Quechua-speaking peoples such as the Canelos-Quichua or Napu Runa. Once again, as elsewhere, the *ayllu* is best understood as an ego-centered bilateral kindred, tracing descent through both mother and father. The *ayllu* is also understood as a group with a head, however, and that head is inevitably an elderly male associated with a paternal surname who often has connections to shamanic powers, although not in same manner as seen with the Canelos-Quichua. In my conversations with my colleagues in the Pastaza basin, the *ayllu* was primarily defined as one's family (*familia*), *ñukapa aylluyni* (my family), which would usually be composed of one's consanguineous or adopted siblings,<sup>68</sup> their parents, their parents' siblings, their cousins—who are merged into ego's sibling class—and their grandparents. Eliciting genealogical data past the G+2 generation of their

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<sup>68</sup> The Inga recognize kin from adoptions as well as the consequences of ayllu divisions from re-marriage, polygyny, or extramarital affairs, with specifications for connections between the birthparents and the individual (e.g. shuk mamamanta, shuk yayamanta).

grandparents, however, was often difficult, perhaps due to the influence of Candoshi sociality on the margins of the traditional Inga territory. This stands in stark contrast to the conception of the *ayllu* as seen above with the Canelos-Quichua, who trace their lineages back to a mythical ancestor. The deep, mythical structure of the maximal clan among the Canelos-Quichua does not correspond to how contemporary *runas* in the mid-Pastaza basin understand their kinship. While there is a notion of maximal *ayllu* among Inga-speaking peoples, it is primarily connected to paternal surnames, such as Mucushua, Butuna, Chino, Dahua, Hualinga, and many others (cf. Uzendoski 2005:67). Social knowledge related to the maximal *ayllu*, however, is somewhat limited in scope due to the spread of surnames across ethnic lines.<sup>69</sup> The *ayllu* among Inga-speakers in the Pastaza basin is also not a corporate group, tied to a particular piece of land, as *ayllu* members are quite mobile, being found spread across the entirety of the Inga, Candoshi, Achuar, and Canelos-Quichua traditional territories as well as into larger *mestizo* cities such as San Lorenzo, Yurimaguas, and Iquitos.

There are other critical differences between the conception of *ayllus* in nearby locales, such as Canelos or Lamas, and local perceptions in the Pastaza basin. As far as I could find, there are no large-scale rituals practiced by Inga-speaking peoples comparable to those found in other regions, such as the *ayllu jista* described by Whitten (1976), Reeve (1988) and Mezzenzana (2014) among the Canelos-Quichua or the celebration of Corpus Christi by the Llakwash Runa of Lamas, Peru. While there were celebrations for certain Catholic holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, these were usually organized by the schoolteacher in the community and were more akin to drinking parties than the types of ritual-centered celebrations as found in Canelos-

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<sup>69</sup> Many indigenous surnames are found among Candoshi, Shiwiar, Achuar, Canelos Quichua and other groups (e.g., Dahua/Dagua, Gualinga/Hualinga, and many others).

Quichua or Llakwash communities. Likewise, while the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin differentiate between those from upriver (*anakma runa*) and those from downriver (*urayma runa*), dividing society in half, these are not understood socially as moieties within which one marries, such as found among the Llakwash Runa of Lamas, Peru, but rather a reflection of geographical distance that shapes social relations (Barbira-Scazzocchio 1979:77; cf. Whitten, Jr. 1976:200). Like the Matapuquio moieties described by Skar (1982:21), however, there is some hostility between these geographical divisions although it is primarily related to linguistic differences, as those in northern reaches have a slightly different dialect than those at the southern limits of the territory.

Much like the Ayacucho and Matapuquio *ayllus*, described by Isbell (1985) and Skar (1982), the structure of the *ayllu* for Inga-speaking peoples was quite flexible. At times, individuals would include their *compadres* in the structure, especially when eliciting information about their children. More often than not, however, these *compadres* were also already *ayllu* members prior to entering into the rites of *compadrazgo*, usually classificatory siblings (cf. Skar 1982:203). The practice of *compadrazgo*, based on the Catholic notion of godparenthood, is very strong within Inga-speaking communities of the Pastaza basin and similar to the practice as seen with nearby indigenous peoples such as the Shawi, Urarina, and Kukama-Kukamiria, as well as other indigenous peoples throughout Latin America (Fuentes 1988; Dean 2008; Stocks 1981; Foster 1953; Gascón 2005). Whitten (1976:110, 134) provides an excellent overview of the Canelos Quichua *gumba* (*compadre*, co-father category) system and how it integrates more widely into their notions of *ayllu*. Here, *compadres* are viewed as “strategic partners” for an individual and are intrinsically linked to “processes of shamanistic power and authority quests” (Whitten, Jr. 1976:110; see also Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 1984). While the Inga-speaking

peoples of the Pastaza basin also understand their *compadres* as being strategically important, the links between shamanistic power and other cosmological ideas is limited.

The practice of *compadrazgo* within Inga communities is a constant process of expanding one's social network, not just among and within *ayllus*, but also into the wider social worlds of other indigenous groups, *mestizos*, and *gringos*. My own *compadre*, Marcelo, would often brag that he had so many *compadres* from his travels that he could not begin to count them. However, choosing a *padrino* for a child is a critical process, as it is distinctly linked to the idea of nurturing a child and providing for that child over the course of his or her life (see also Uzendoski 2005:107). There are two main points in a child's life in which the *compadre* relationships come into being: cutting of the umbilical cord and baptism. When my godson, Douglas, was born, his father came rushing over to my house asking me if I had a razor-blade, as he knew that I had a well-stocked medical kit. When I found it, he invited me to come cut his third son's umbilical cord. When I walked in the room of his small house, one of the few in the village with actual walls, I saw his wife Sara Luz sitting on the floor, holding her newborn son, the delivered placenta covered by a blanket next to her. I cut the umbilical cord using the blade that I had brought, and Sara Luz thanked me calling me *compadre*. Likewise, when I stood up, Juan grabbed me by my shoulder and shook my hand, saying, "*Gracias cumpa,*" and advised me to think of a name in the coming weeks for the child. This small ritual of cutting the umbilical cord brought us closer together and further integrated me into his *ayllu* as well as the *llakta* more broadly.

In many ways, aside from the connections to the child itself, the practice of *compadrazgo* can also be understood as a means of domesticating or normalizing relationships with individuals who are outside of one's social sphere through relations of fictive kinship (Brightman et al. 2016;

Santos-Granero 2009; Vilaça 2002). Indeed, almost everyone in the community had a *compadre* relationship with a *mestizo* individual—usually *patrones* or *regatones* that had worked in the Pastaza basin. This was also the case in my personal experience, as I was viewed as a dangerous outsider upon my arrival in Mushu Kawsay, even though I spoke Inga at a basic level and was married to a Peruvian woman. My arrival was difficult as I was perceived to be a *pelacara* (face peeler, skin peeler) or a *pishtaku*, a white demon that steals the fat of indigenous peoples to use in various tasks, such as lubricating airplanes or creating commodities like cosmetics, medicine, and many others (Kapsoli 1991; Salazar-Soler 1991; Santos-Granero and Barclay 2011; Taylor 1991; Weismantel 1997, 2000, 2001). The term *pishtaku* comes from the Quechua verb *pishtana*, which is used to refer to the act of use a knife or machete to cut raw fish or game meat, opening it up to be salted and smoked for trade or storage. This fear was so strong that one elderly community member fled the *llakta* upon my arrival, staying for over a month in his *tambo* near the Lake Murupichku, waiting for me to leave.

After spending a few weeks in the community trying to integrate myself with very little success, the *kuraka* Marcelo finally came up to me one day and asked me to be his son's *marka yaya* (godfather) for his baptism. He understood that the only way for the fear to dissipate was to actively integrate me into his *ayllu* through the practice of *compadrazgo*. Although I am not Catholic and had very little understanding of the faith at the time, I agreed to be his *compadre* and the godfather of his son. We planned to have the baptism later that week, giving me time to go through the various preparations. I purchased a few cases of beer and three chickens from a *patrón* that had stopped in the community, while Marcelo's wife María prepared a massive amount of *masato*. As there was not a priest living there at the time, a young woman performed the rites of baptism for the child. While I held the boy in my arms, she read the rites from a card

the Passionist Fr. Nelson had left with them and casting river water on his head using a small sprig of *rosa sisa* (*Tagetes erecta*). It is from this action that the term *marka yaya*<sup>70</sup> arises, as *markana* means “to hold” in Quechua, and is central to every baptism. Following the baptism ritual, Marcelo grabbed me by my shoulders and told me that I was now his *kumpa*, or cofather, and that I would be responsible for looking out for my *ihatu* (godson). We then drank and danced throughout the night, allowing me and my wife to actively integrate ourselves into the *llakta* as we were now part of Marcelo’s *ayllu* (cf. Whitten, Jr. 1976).

### **Inga Kinship Terminology**

Understanding kinship terminology is critical for understanding social organization within in society, especially with groups that practice inter-ethnic sibling exchange such as the Inga. With the *ayllu* system described above, this is especially critical as it allows for what Whitten (2008) calls the consanguinization of affinal ties, in which affines are reckoned as part of one’s own *ayllu* (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1969). Inga kinship, much like other *ayllu*-based kinship systems, can be thought of as a modified Hawaiian type, drawing from Lewis Henry Morgan’s (1871:451-7) classical text *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*. The Hawaiian system, in Morgan’s classification, is the simplest system of kinship in which there is merging of kin terms generationally and by gender. Thus, all of ego’s mother’s sisters and father’s sisters are referred to as *mother*, while all of ego’s cousins in his or her own generation are referred to as *brother* or *sister*. Kinship is reckoned bilaterally from ego and genealogical depth is relatively shallow, much as we have seen earlier with the Candoshi system and stands in contrast to the Canelos Kichwa to the north (Whitten, Jr. 1976). In Inga, the terms one uses are based on the gender of the speaker, as is found in all Quechua languages. The only terms this

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<sup>70</sup> Likewise, godmothers are known as *marka mamas* (mothers that hold) in Inga.

affects are the terms brother and sister; men call their brothers *wauki* and their sisters *pani* while women call their brothers *turi* and their sisters *ñaña*.

All kinship terms in Inga require the use of possessive suffixes due to the fact that they, like body parts, are inalienable possessions. In contrast with Ecuadorian Quichua dialects, the Quechua dialects spoken in the Peruvian Amazon along the Huallaga and Pastaza Rivers allow the use of two types of possessive suffixes which differentiate between inalienable, or permanent, and alienable, or temporary, possessions (Dryer and Haspelmath 2013). In the table of kinship terms for both male and female ego (Table 1) this is demonstrated with the use of the first-person possessive suffix *-(y)ni*. As such, father is shown as *yayayni* while female-ego's brother is *turini*. An individual would usually refer to his father, when speaking of him, as *nukapa yayani*, or, more often, simply *yayayni*, while another person's father would be *Josepa yayan*. For certain kinship terms, especially *wauki/turi* (brother) and *pani/ñaña* (sister), there is differentiation in the use of possessive suffixes versus the use of the possessive-genitor suffix on pronouns. This takes the form of close, consanguineous relatives being referred to using possessive suffixes on the noun, while non-consanguineous relatives, fictive kin, and the use of brother or sister as in the Protestant Evangelical church, lack the possessive suffix. Thus, one would refer to a consanguineous brother as *waukini* (my brother, inalienable possession) while a fictive brother would simply be *wauki* (my brother, alienable possession).

Often overlooked in studies of social organization, especially in Amazonia, is the prevalence of code-switching and lexical borrowing among indigenous peoples. With the presence of non-indigenous peoples in Amazonia over the past 500 years, all indigenous peoples, regardless of their geographic or cultural isolation, have been affected socially. As such, critically important social and cultural concepts have been borrowed or appropriated from these

Others, especially in the domains of kinship and number systems.<sup>71</sup> The Inga use a number of borrowed kinship terms, sometimes in mismatched positions in comparison to the Spanish system from which they are loaned. The most interesting of these, however, are the use of *awila*, from the Spanish *abuela* (grandmother), for MZ and FZ, as well as *nitú* and *nita*, from the Spanish *nieto* (grandson) and *nieta* (granddaughter), respectively, for what we would usually consider nephews and nieces<sup>72</sup> as well as grandson and granddaughter. We also see that the Inga-speakers will use *tiyu* and *tiya*, from the Spanish *tío* and *tía*, to refer to uncles and aunts.<sup>73</sup> Once again, however, there is another layer of foreign terminology integrated into Inga kinship when referring to one's uncle, with the term *papachi* being applied. This is the very same term utilized by the Candoshi to refer to non-Jivaroan and non-indigenous peoples (Surrallés 2009:180). Likewise, in the Achuar language *apach* is used to refer to one's grandfather, another possible source for the term as well as cognitively aligning with the corresponding term *awila*. It is possible that the presence of both *papachi* and *awila* are related to Dravidian-style kinship systems that utilized by those who were the progenitors of the ethnogenetic process in the Pastaza basin, such as the Zapas, Roamainas, and others. These terms probably referred to the parents of cross-cousins which were considered marriageable, a type of marriage that today does not exist among the majority of Quechua-speaking peoples in the region as well as the contemporary Candoshi.

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<sup>71</sup> This has resulted in the majority of indigenous languages in the Peruvian Upper Amazon having mixed-number systems, with usually one through three being in the original language and the rest being in Quechua. We can see this in Urarina, Candoshi, Shawi, Shipibo-Conibo, and Kukama-Kukamiria, to name a few. Interestingly, all of these groups have historical connections to the Jesuit missions in Maynas.

<sup>72</sup> Nieces and nephews are also known as *subrinás* and *subrinus* from the Spanish terms *sobrina* and *sobrino*.

<sup>73</sup> Skar (1982:179) notes that the Matapuquio Runa also utilize *tiuy* and *tiay* to refer to “all kindred relatives of any ascending generation, with the exception of one's parents,” with the term also being applied to the siblings of one's grandparents.

Haarmann (1990:78) argues that borrowed kinship terminology is a reflection of a “crystallising focus of acculturation process,” as one culture dominates the other—such as with the establishment of Jesuit missions in the 1600s. Matras (2009) makes the distinction between the private, personal domains of close kin terms versus those of extended kin nomenclature, arguing that the latter act as a “window to interaction with outsiders.” He argues that there is often a reluctance to give up the “intimate terms of everyday life” and that the presence of borrowed kinship terms may be from the need to “adopt a new referential system” (Matras 2009:170-1; see also Haarmann 1986, 1990:182). The presence of *tiyu*, *tiya*, *nitu*, *nita*, *subrinu*, *subrina*, as well as the outliers, *awila* and *papachi*, are all reflective of the deep contacts indigenous peoples have held with other societies in the region. Indeed, marriage between Inga-speaking peoples and other indigenous peoples, especially Jivaroan and Candoa-Shapra peoples, as well as the almost-constant present of Spanish-speaking individuals in their communities (e.g., missionaries, river traders, and others) have all shaped how the contemporary Inga-speaking peoples view and understand their kinship system.

### **Marriage in the Pastaza basin**

For the Inga-speaking peoples of the mid-Pastaza basin, there is no distinct marriage ceremony that binds couples together. This is in contrast to the Napo Runa in the Ecuadorian Oriente, who have a similar, although much more ritualized, process that ends with a large wedding ceremony (*bura*) which brings the two *ayllus* together as a new social entity (Uzendoski 2005:65-95; Macdonald 1999:21-27).<sup>74</sup> Instead, marriage itself is a drawn-out process, usually taking a number of years to fully ‘complete,’ depending on the situation, with no particular

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<sup>74</sup> The process is a 3-tiered process that increases in intensity from the *tapuna* (marriage request), to the *pactachina* (fulfillment of the agreements between families), to the *bura* or *boda* (wedding) (MacDonald 1999:21).

celebration to mark the couple as being ‘married’. Most often, preparations for a marriage are carried out by male members of two *ayllus*—usually the fathers, but others such as uncles or brothers can be substituted if needed—who discuss the couple’s future life and make decisions regarding post-marriage residence locality.<sup>75</sup> Once a couple moves in together in their own, newly constructed home and create their *chakra* garden plots, they are considered to be married. A married man is known as *warmiyu* (lit. owner of a woman), while a married woman is known as *kariyu* (lit. owner of a man). This initial state is fortified following the birth of their first child, which is understood as being a direct product of the marriage relation. Many individuals simply fall in love and the man will ask for the hand of his girlfriend, known as *kwintana*<sup>76</sup> in Inga, before proceeding to discuss the matter with the *ayllus* of both the man and the woman. Likewise, the term is also used to refer to the agreements between families that will lead to the marriage, as *kwintana* as a verb also means “to tell,” from the Spanish term *contar*. As we will see, however, even those couples that fall in love are often at the mercy of their male relatives and the pressures of sibling exchange.

In Inga sociality, while there is often a matrilocal focus due to the practice of bride service, there are no fixed rules in post-marriage residence locality. Indeed, post-marriage residence is quite flexible, perhaps related to the heavy presence of inter-ethnic or intercultural unions, with an outcome dependent upon a number of critical factors. When two families come together to discuss the marriage of their children, the locality of each pair will always come under discussion. In the community of Mushu Kawsay, where interculturality was very high, I

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<sup>75</sup> Surrallés notes that among Candoshi-speaking peoples this is the marriage ceremony, but those I worked with did not view it as such, instead comparing the lack of a ‘ceremony’ with the *bodas* they had witnessed in San Lorenzo and elsewhere.

<sup>76</sup> This is very similar to the *tapuna* phase as found among Napo Quichua speaking peoples.

saw a wide mix of residence patterns, with the most common being matrilocality. Neolocality is also a strong possibility, depending on the type of marriage taking place, such as the marriage between Juan and Marta described below. All post-marriage residence localities, regardless of the type of marriage being undertaken, are always decided following discussions between the two *ayllus* that are to be integrated.

As in many Quechua social systems, in Inga-speaking communities, especially those in the expanding indigenous frontiers, there is a strong inclination towards sibling exchange between *ayllus* and ethnicities, known as *turkana* or *kambiana* in the Inga language.<sup>77</sup> As mentioned earlier, this is also the norm among other groups within the region such as the Achuar, Candoshi, and Canelos Quichua, with individuals moving between and among different social systems based on their marriage choices. The exchange of siblings, or, in the classical sense the exchange of sisters (see Lévi-Strauss 1969), has a number of social implications and brings to light the inequality in power relations between genders within an *ayllu*. Interestingly, the Canelos Quichua attempt to “consanguinize” their affinal relationships by cognizing these relationships as replicating the affinal relations of “grandparental generations” (Whitten, Jr. 2008:15). Whitten further connects Canelos Quichua sociality to a shamanic base underlying relationships in the region, especially affinal relations. Men are expected to ingest *huanduj*<sup>78</sup> (*Brugmansia suaveolens*, also known as *marikawa* in Inga) to encounter the master spirit Amasanga, who will cure him of any *supay wiruti*, or spirit darts, that may have been sent his way by others intent on being with his future-spouse. Likewise, women must also engage in a spiritual quest to marry,

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<sup>77</sup> *Turkana* is for the communities closer to Lago Anatico (e.g., Alianza Cristiana, Sungache, Soplín, Loboyaku, etc.), while *kambiana* is used within those communities surrounding Andoas (e.g., Andoas Nuevo, Capahuari, Campo Verde). As I worked with communities on the frontier of the Candoshi and Quechua territories, I choose to use the term *turkana*.

<sup>78</sup> Interestingly, white manioc is known as *wantuk* in Inga.

meeting with Amasanga's wife, Nunghui, to receive "sacred stones and knowledge to make the manioc grow" (Whitten, Jr. 1976:19). Following these steps, individuals are able to marry, regardless of how that marriage has come about, either through arrangement or through love. We see a similar process with Inga-speaking men who are expected to ingest *marikawa* (*Brugmansia suaveolens*) or, in some cases, *ayahuasca*, to receive a vision (*uskuy*) of their future spouse (Chapter 5). The spiritual quest associated with women, however, was not common among Inga-speaking peoples in the southern reaches of their territory but could possibly be found near the region of Andoas where relations with the Canelos-Quichua is stronger.

Lévi-Strauss (1969:433) presents four possible "schemes of reciprocity" arising from sibling exchange and asserts that all four can exist simultaneously within any given society. The first of these, the direct exchange of consanguineal or classificatory sisters by brothers, is perhaps the most common within the Pastaza basin. Here a man will either exchange his uterine sister or a classificatory sister (cousin) with another man. Likewise, if one's sisters are not available, individuals can look to either older or younger generations (e.g., one's classificatory aunt or a niece), which is also common in the Pastaza basin, as we will see below with Alonso's story. I was told that one could even make an exchange using one's grandchildren, but that is rare.<sup>79</sup> The third type is the exchange of daughters by fathers, which is rare in the Pastaza basin although I have heard of it taking place, especially with adopted children. Finally, he notes that one could exchange a sister for one's daughter or vice versa, although, once again, this is uncommon in Inga-speaking communities along the Pastaza River. Lévi-Strauss (1969:435) views these exchanges as the basic system for the creation of relationships of affinity, which in turn create lasting bonds for later claims of exchange. The value of these exogamous exchanges

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<sup>79</sup> I was once told me that "*tienen sus nietos, pueden hacer cambio con sus nietos*" (They have their grandchildren, they can exchange their grandchildren).

is the creation of strong bonds of solidarity between men locally, which provides numerous social benefits (1969:480). This is true of sibling exchange in the Pastaza basin as well, where it not only brings men closer together, but also multiple indigenous groups and *ayllus*. It is also through sibling exchange, particularly between groups of brothers, that we see the formation of *llaktas*, particularly in the indigenous frontiers where Candoshi social forms are more dominant.

When talking about *turkana* with those living in Mushu Kawsay, it was usually framed as an economic exchange,<sup>80</sup> especially in reference to Candoshi-speaking peoples. People often noted that the Candoshi would “always expect something in return,” and if they did not receive a woman reciprocally, marriage proposals could fail. Sibling exchange, although very common, was also sometimes viewed as another way for those that “*no saben enamorarse*” (do not know how to fall in love) to find a spouse—a requisite for indigenous sociality in the region. Alonso, whose parents both spoke Candoshi but had spent a great deal of time living in Quechua communities such as Loboyaku, told me about the process of sibling exchange that he went through to marry his current spouse, Diana. His narrative highlights the difficulties of exchange and the need to often go outside of one’s classificatory siblings (e.g., sisters and cousins who are classified as sisters). When he was 19 years old, he decided that he wanted to get married and settle down. His mother, however, having converted to Evangelical Christianity, wanted him to wait until he was much older—at least 25 years old—to get married. After some back and forth between the two, she finally accepted that he would marry Diana, the 16-year-old monolingual Quechua woman whom he had fallen in love with in the community of Kushilla. In their conversation, his mother brought up the issue of sibling exchange, as Diana’s brother was surely

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<sup>80</sup> Even the common way of saying that one exchanged their sibling is intrinsically objectified, such as *Ñukaka paniniwa turkushkani warminita*. [I exchanged my sister for my wife.]

going to want a spouse of his own if he was to give away his sister. This presented a serious problem for Alonso as he did not have any sisters and his classificatory sisters—his female cousins—were either too young to be exchanged or had already been married prior to him meeting Diana. Indeed, his mother said to him, “You only have brothers! With what are you going to exchange?” After some discussion, it was decided that his mother would broach the topic with Alonso’s maternal grandfather to see how they could proceed. His grandfather suggested that they exchange one of his daughters, saying “I have many daughters and in the ancient times we would do the same. I have a lot of daughters to maintain, and if I do not exchange them now they will be captured by others. My daughters are all young women, so you can exchange them with him.” His mother’s sister, Isabel—Alonso’s aunt—would take the place of his sister in the exchange. After discussing it with his grandfather, Alonso went to find Diana to tell her the news, which she then relayed to her brother, Simi3n. They discussed the plan for a few days before Simi3n finally accepted the proposed exchange. Although Isabel and Alonso had both spoken Candoshi as their first language, and Diana and Simi3n were both Quechua-speakers from birth, the use of Quechua as a *lengua general* in the region for interethnic relations meant that Isabel and Alonso were able to integrate and interact with their new spouses with very little problems of translation. Following the exchange, Alonso worked for his father-in-law (*ruku*) for a year before moving out of Kushilla into a neolocal residence further downstream on the Manchari River. Soon after, he and his wife joined with the other members of the Mucushua and Pinchi ayllus living in the lower Manchari River to form a new *llakta*, Mushu Kawsay, detailed in chapter six.

The agreements between families, however, are not always so easy as in the example above. My *comadre* Marta related her marriage experience through *turkana*, which highlights

gendered differences in social power in Inga-speaking communities. Marta was born on the upper Nucuray River in 1990 in a bilingual Quechua-Candoshi community near Unión Zancudo. Her mother died the following year from an infection, leaving her father to care for her six brothers and sisters, a difficult task for any individual. When she was just eleven years old, her father also passed away, forcing her to move to the community of Sungache on the Pastaza River to be cared for by her maternal uncle Esteban. A *regatón* from Iquitos, Elvira Rengifo, who had been working on both the Pastaza and Manchari Rivers for a number of years, had a good relationship with Esteban as he had a small *bodega* that he ran out of his home. Seeing that Marta was an orphan (*wakcha*), she offered her a job cooking, cleaning, and taking care of her home in Iquitos, a common theme in lowland Amazonia (see Wasserstrom 2017:49). She traveled with Roxanne to Iquitos and moved into her home where she worked for around two months. One day on one of her return trips from the Pastaza River, Roxanne had brought Marta's brother back with her to Iquitos. Arriving at Roxanne's home, her brother told Marta that he had a plan for her to study in San Lorenzo. As one of the reasons she had traveled to Iquitos was to eventually go to school, she decided to return to the region. Her brother had told her that he had arranged for her to stay with a woman in San Lorenzo who would take care of her while she focused on her studies.

As she traveled up the Marañón River, she dreamed of her future life in San Lorenzo. Unbeknownst to Marta, however, her brother had already gone through the marriage preparations with another woman from the Mucushua ayllu in Kushilla. As is almost always the case, there was an expectation of exchange—this time coming from pressure from her brother's future wife's aunts, sisters, cousins, and grandmother. The realization that all was not to go as planned came to Marta when, rather than continuing upriver on the Marañón River to the city of San

Lorenzo, they instead entered the mouth of the Pastaza and began heading towards the community of Kushilla. Arriving in Kushilla, she was introduced to her new husband, Pedro. They lived for the first two months in her brother's house on the Manchari, where Pedro performed brideservice for her brother as her father had passed years earlier, before moving into their own house further downriver near the *brazo* that separates the Isla Manchari from the main Pastaza River. She told me that although she was uncomfortable with Pedro during the first few weeks they were together, she had learned to love him. She felt a lot of resentment for her brother for lying to her and taking her away from the future that she had wanted, but also understood it as being the right thing to do culturally.

Some interethnic marriages, especially between *mestizos* or Quechua-speakers from San Martín, do not engage in any form of sibling exchange due to the social distance between the groups. Such is the case with Carlos, a Quechua-speaking self-identified *mestizo* who married into the Mucushua *ayllu*. Carlos, who at the time when I began working in the community of Mushu Kawsay was 58-years-old, was originally born on the Huallaga River in the community of Santa Cruz. This community was formed on the site of an important Jesuit mission where the Awano, Cutinana, and Maparina peoples were reduced. Much like the other reductions throughout the Amazon, those at Santa Cruz continued speaking Quechua to some extent well into the late 20th century, and many continue to have at least some working knowledge of the language (Steward 1948:558; Olson 1991:5-6; Ribeiro and Wise 2008:51-2). As such, he identified as a *mestizo santacrucino* but had heavily integrated himself into the Pastaza Quechua as he had married a Candoshi woman from the upper Nucuray River in Union Zancudo. In this area, much like on the Pastaza, Candoshi and Quechua-speakers have long-standing relationships

arising from interethnic marriages.<sup>81</sup> As Carlos was working in the region at the time he met his wife, he did not have any classificatory siblings to exchange with her family. Because of this, he performed a year of brideservice for his father-in-law, facing a number of tests<sup>82</sup> in the process related to his aptitude in fishing, hunting, and working in his father-in-law's *chakra*. Once they moved in together after this year-long process, they were officially recognized as being married. They continued living on the upper Nucuray in the mixed Candoshi-Quechua community before deciding to move across the *varadero* in the headwaters of the Quebrada Zancudo to settle in a new home near Kushilla on the Manchari River.

Bride capture has long been a topic of interest in anthropology. In the critical text *Primitive Marriage*, McLennan (1865[1970]:57-62) lays out his theory that bride capture provided the means for the emergence of exogamy in humans, while also introducing the notions of endogamy and exogamy to anthropological theory. While his ideas surrounding exogamy and endogamy do not hold water today, they were very influential in the development of social anthropology during the latter half of the 19th century. Although bride capture used to be much more common in the Pastaza basin, especially among Candoshi-speaking peoples, its practice has diminished exponentially over the past twenty years, but the threat still lingers. I was told many stories during my fieldwork period of communities being founded by Candoshi men who had engaged in bride capture against other groups, primarily Quechua- and Urarina-speaking peoples. Indeed, the community of Unión Zancudo in the Upper Nucuray was founded after a Candoshi man captured three young Quechua sisters from the upper Pastaza then fled over the

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<sup>81</sup> Quechua is commonly spoken in these communities and those of the Pastaza River insist that it is a different dialect, more comparable to the Quechua spoken in the region of San Martín. However, in my conversations with individuals from the region I could not tell the difference.

<sup>82</sup> One test he mentioned was having to hold on to a wasp's nest until he was stung at least nine times.

*varadero* near Mushu Kawsay to the Nucuray basin. From there, he settled on the bank of the Nucuray River near the confluence with the Quebrada Zancudo. Over time, with the arrival of SIL missionaries, a community developed and grew out of these relations. Many individuals had personal experience with bride capture, especially in the generation of the grandparents of contemporary peoples. For example, Mashiku's grandfather was murdered by a Candoshi man who then captured his female cousin, taking her to another part of the region. He was not sure of her contemporary whereabouts, as they were never able to track down the original perpetrator, but he is certain she married the man and probably lives in a Candoshi community downriver on the Huitoyacu or Chunda Rivers. During the Colonial Era, this practice was prominent, especially between ethnic groups, as the Achuar and Candoshi would engage in raids against mission settlements for women, as shown in chapter two. Moreover, the missionaries themselves recognized the power of capture as a means for bringing individuals into the post, as seen with the practice of *correrias*. In the mission of San Josef de Pinches, detailed in chapter 2, there was a "shortage of women" at the time, leading the indigenous peoples living there to make an agreement with the Jesuit missionary to allow them to go on expeditions into the interior of the forest to re-capture other indigenous peoples who had fled some eleven years earlier, including as many women as possible (PC/M Torno 108:f.51, cited in Golob 1982:251).

## **Conclusion**

The *ayllu* is a critical structure for understanding indigenous sociality in the Pastaza basin. The deep intercultural and interethnic relations that have defined the lives of Inga-speaking peoples in the region are directly connected to the notion of the *ayllu*. Its flexible nature, allowing for a variety of forms as well as the integration of those who are not simply consanguineal or affinal relations, such as *compadres*, is essential for the construction of new

communities, as we will see in the following chapters. Moreover, the ways in which the Candoshi view their social organization and kinship terminology have many commonalities with the social organization and kinship terminology of Quechua-speaking peoples, allowing for little social translation between the two systems. The practice of sibling-exchange, crucial in both Andean and Amazonian *ayllu* structures, is also highly prevalent among Candoshi-speakers and is one of the primary ways that new, intercultural communities emerge in indigenous frontiers. Likewise, bride capture, although limited in the contemporary era, is still understood as being a legitimate way toward marriage and the subsequent foundation of communities. These various social factors all converge in indigenous frontiers, where we find a space of social creativity based on indigenous attempts to both merge two social worlds as well as translate or transliterate social and cultural practices. As we will see in the following chapters, these movements allow indigenous identity to be a unifying feature where one is no longer simply Quechua or Candoshi, but instead takes on the identity of the *indigena* who is an *Inga rimak* (Quechua speaker).

Table 1: Inga kinship terms

MF, FF	Papa ruku, yaya ruku
MM, FM	Mama paya
F	Yaya, papa
M	Mama
FZ, MZ	Awila, tia
FB, MB	Papachi, tiyu
Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD	Pani (male ego), ñaña (female ego)
B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS	Wauki (male ego), turi (female ego)
E	Warmi (male ego), kari (female ego)
S	Kari wawa, wawa
D	Warmi wawa, wawa
ZH, DH	Masha
BW	Kachu
SW	Wawaynipa warmin
EF	Ruku
EM	Warminipa maman, karinipa maman
BS, ZS,	Nitu, suprinu
BD, ZD	Nita, suprina, mamastu
SS, DS	Nitu
SD, DD	Nita, mamastu

Table 2: Candoshi kinship terms

MF, FF	Pachiri
MM, FM	Komari
F	Apari
M	Aniari
B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, ZS, BS	Sovanchi (male ego), wawari (female ego)
Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD, ZD, BD	Isari (male ego), pamoni (female ego)
E	Isanchi (male ego), saranchi (female ego)
EF	Gosari
EM	Komini

## V. *Kurakakuna yachakkunapas*: Shamanism and Indigenous Politics in the Pastaza Basin

It seemed as though there was always at least one ‘patient’ in our community, usually arriving after a short trip from upriver on the Pastaza, Huasaga, or Manchari Rivers, or from the other side of the *varadero*, in the upper reaches of the Nucuray River. The ailments that afflicted these individuals ran the gamut of physical and spiritual illness. More often than not, they were children—weak children, children with fever, children who were dehydrated with diarrhea (*kicha*). Their parents, having blown tobacco smoke over the children’s bodies or relied on a neighbor or *promotor de salud*<sup>83</sup> to provide injections of antibiotics or other medicines, saw little improvement in the health of their child. Often the community’s *botiquines* were poorly stocked due to the lack of government support in the region. Even though there was a health post (*puesto de salud*) in the community of Loboyaku, those working there would only visit communities downriver about once every two months. At these times it was mainly to provide malaria screening and the staff was little prepared for other medical ailments. Likewise, the gasoline needed to travel to Loboyaku from their home community was usually outside of their grasp. Thus, a lack of biomedical access or slow recoveries using biomedicine often led to individuals trekking outside of their community or home and visiting shamanic practitioners in other communities. For those in the Candoshi and Quechua communities in the middle Pastaza, they often turned to Mashiku, a prominent tobacco shaman in the region whose *atipay* (power) allowed him to easily move between and among worlds, calling on helper spirits to assist in finding the object causing illness or locate the child’s soul in the spirit world. Arriving at his

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<sup>83</sup> The *promotor de salud* (health promoter) is a voluntary position in native communities throughout the Peruvian Amazon. It bridges the gap between indigenous conceptions of health and healing and those of western biomedicine. Promoters are trained by the Ministry of Health in workshops held in cities such as Yurimaguas and San Lorenzo, with continued training throughout their tenure.

*wasi*, they would climb the carved log of *capirona* (*Capirona decorticans*) which served as stairs, uttering “*shamuhuni*” (“I’m coming”), the traditional greeting in Inga, while quickly explaining what had happened to the ill individual—often a child in the arms of their mother. María would already have *pates* (bowls) ready to be filled with *masato* as everyone sat on the floor of his Mashiku’s home. He would usually converse for a bit, perhaps even tell a joke or two, before beginning to look at the patient. He was already in his work gear—his blue button-up shirt, a spot of spilt *masato* near the collar, and a pair of no-name soccer shorts.

He sat on the floor next to the patient, this time a six-month old baby who had been extremely ill with *kicha* the past two days. The child’s mother held him nearby, and although ill, the baby stayed calm. Mashiku grabbed the tiny wrist and felt the pulse, or *pulsario*, assessing the strength of the child. It was weak but he was certain the child could be healed. Tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*) would be the source of curing power, calling upon the *tabaku mama* (mother of tobacco) to assist him in the cure. He reached into his *shikra* (bag) that was hanging from one of the posts in his, and pulled out a plastic bag full of individually hand-rolled cigarettes, known as *mapacho* throughout the Upper Amazon. Asking me for my lighter, he lit the *mapacho* and took a deep drag, looking out over the Pastaza River. He then began to work on the child, first cupping the baby’s hands together as if they were in prayer and blowing (*pukuna*) tobacco smoke through the open space between them. He did likewise with the child’s feet, pulling them together then blowing smoke through the open space between them, making sure that the smoke poured over the soles. He paused—took a few puffs of the *mapacho*—again, staring out into the distance over the River. “*Masna timputa wawaykika mana alichu kahushka?* (how long has your baby been sick?)” Mashiku asked her in Inga. “*Shuk punchakunalla* (just a few days).” She had come over from the upper Nucuray River, like many of those seeking healing. Again, he blew

tobacco smoke over the body of the child, down his back, and onto his chest, into his *shungu* (heart). He finished by blowing heavy smoke onto the baby's crown, the smoke lingering for a few seconds as again looked out to the river, looking for something that the rest of us could not see. He mashed together water and garlic in a small *pate*, creating a pungent liquid which he then silently chanted over, calling forth his helping spirits, known as *supay wiruti*<sup>84</sup> ("spirit darts") to assist in curing the boy. Following this, he administered the foul-smelling mixture to the child, who fought him but ultimately drank it down. "*Ama preocupanki kumari, wawaykistuka ali kanka*" ("Don't worry *comadre*, he'll be fine").

Such encounters as the one detailed above were everyday happenings in the community. Although Mashiku was the community's elected *kuraka*, or *apu*, and its primary *yachak*, as well as the most prominent shaman within Mushu Kawsay, all men were shamans to a degree based on their knowledge of medicinal and psychotropic plants (Barbira-Freedman 2002:137). Vision quests, known in Inga as *musku*y and Achuar and Candoshi as *arutam*, were seen as critical rites of passage that all men must undertake, leading them to have at least a limited knowledge of shamanism. While all men had shamanic knowledge, not all men were viewed as practicing shamans in any way whatsoever. During my stay in Mushu Kawsay, there were two other shamans, although their engagement with the practice was sporadic and mainly based on Mashiku's absence. David was a 23-year-old Inga-speaking man who was learning to heal during my fieldwork period, apprenticing under Mashiku and other shamans in the region, while the other was a 54-year-old mestizo named Plutarco who had acquired his shamanic knowledge from his work throughout the region, particularly in the community of Ullpayacu.

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<sup>84</sup> *Wiruti* (dart) comes from the Spanish term, *virote* (dart), which is used throughout Western Amazonia in the practice of *mestizo* shamanism. Likewise, the concept is very similar to the Jivaroan notion of *tsentsak* (see Harner 1972; Descola 1996).

This configuration of differing levels of shamanic practice, combined with the particular location of Mushu Kawsay in the indigenous frontiers of the region, allowed both a deep perspective of shamanic practices in the region as well as how interculturality and interethnic relations play into such practices, from both the perspective of the patient and the shaman. As such, in this chapter I explore how Inga-speaking peoples in the Pastaza basin understand shamanism within their communities, the connections between shamanism and politics (local, national, and international), and how these links are being challenged contemporaneously by differing perspectives from younger generations, NGOs, and the government. Through their interactions with these numerous entities, the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza watershed are approaching modernity on their own terms, much as they have for the past 500 years.

### **The Cosmological Base of Shamanic Power**

Although the practice is, perhaps, less visible than found in other regions of Amazonia, such as with the Urarina (Dean 2009; Walker 2013), Tukanoan (S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975, 1987; Århem 1981, 2001), or Jivaroan (Harner 1984; Whitten, Jr. 1978; Descola 1994, 1996; Brown 1986, 1988) peoples, the practice of shamanism and the use of psychotropic substances to connect with the spirit world is central to the Quechua-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin, as it is for all other indigenous peoples within the region. While neighboring peoples utilize *ayahuasca* brew, both collectively and individually for healing and sorcery, within Inga communities *ayahuasca* shamans (*medikukuna*, *sinchi yachakkuna*) are increasingly rare for a number of reasons. The association between witchcraft (*S. brujería*, *Q. shitana*) and illness (*Q. shitashka unkuy*) among all peoples in the Pastaza watershed is very strong, leading to the practice of *ayahuasca* shamanism becoming less visible within communities as individual shamans fear for their own and their families' lives. This has been

coupled with a rise in the number of deaths from the hepatitis-B delta epidemic that has been ravaging the Candoshi and Inga-speaking peoples for the past two decades. With strong accusations of witchcraft between and among indigenous peoples in the basin, violence has often been the means of executing revenge for deaths perceived to be caused by *brujería*. Likewise, the increased presence of Protestant missionaries since the 1960s, especially the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Swiss Mission, has further marginalized the use of ayahuasca in shamanic practice as intoxicants—even *masato*—are frowned upon within these groups. As such, although ayahuasca shamanism is not commonly practiced within Inga-speaking communities, especially when compared to other groups in the region such as the Urarina, it still retains great importance.

Continuous contact with the state, the church, and others, however, has been the ‘true’ norm in western Amazonia since the colonial period. The Inga themselves could be said to be a society of the state, arising from the milieu of the first Peruvian Viceroy out of the relationships that developed between numerous indigenous groups and Jesuit missionaries. In the missions, such as Santo Tomás de Andoas and San Josef de Pinches, indigenous peoples were formed into state citizens, forced to learn the state’s language (Inga), and to mimetically transfer the organization of the state itself onto their own social organization (cf. Foucault 1991). Where there were once some twelve different languages spoken in the general region where the Inga reside, following the missionary period and rubber boom, most of these languages have long since disappeared, as shown in chapters two and three. Many of the speakers of languages such as Pinchi, Zapa, Roamaina, and Andoa were brought into missions where they actively took up the Quechua language. This is perhaps a continuation of the process of ‘*Zaparoization*’ which was ongoing when the Spanish arrived in the region, with Maina and Jivaroan peoples taking up

Zapa and Roamaina to escape the pressures to the west (Newson 1995; Taylor 1999).

Shamanism is both an extension of the earlier history of the peoples of the Pastaza basin as well as a way to engage with the encroachment of modernity in the region, through the guises of religion, trade, and extractive economies. Here, however, I examine the contemporary practice of shamanism, locating it within the shared and emergent cosmology of those living in indigenous frontiers in the region.

The Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin recognize a number of spiritual entities that inhabit the world around them, many of which are shared with the Candoa-Shapra, Kichwa, and Achuar speakers with whom they hold deep social ties. *Almas* (souls), primarily the souls of the dead, are constantly affecting the world of indigenous peoples in the region. These are contrasted with *supay*, another class of spirits that take two separate forms: those of demonic characters that roam the interior of the rainforest or rivers, and those that are the ancestors of contemporary people that act as spirit helpers for shamanic practitioners. There are also a number of animal and plant masters, as found throughout many indigenous societies in the Amazon basin, known as “mothers” (*mamakuna*) in Inga, although some also refer to them as *amus* or *kurakas* (Fausto 2012; Århem and Samper Martínez 2003; S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Whitten 1976; Surrallés 2007:170; see also Brightman et al. 2016). Interestingly, these spirits are themselves translated and transliterated as gaps in cultural knowledge are exposed. In my conversations with Mashiku about his shamanic practice, he would often move between local conceptions, based primarily around Candoshi cosmology, and those of what he perceived to be highland Quichua, mestizo, or Western cosmologies. While all peoples in the region recognize certain entities, the way these entities are understood and constructed differ between and among shamanic practitioners and laypeople (Choquevilca 2011). Even with these variations, however,

we can begin to see commonalities that are shared amongst Inga-speaking peoples and show great affinity with the cosmological constructions of the Candoshi-speaking peoples (Surrallés 2009).

The connections between cosmology and shamanic practice are particularly important, especially in relation to other indigenous groups within the region. For Inga-speaking peoples, the universe is understood as being composed of five distinct layers in which various spirits and humans both live and interact (see also Landolt et al. 2004).<sup>85</sup> While being heavily influenced by Catholic imagery, the social structures of each of these levels also correspond in many ways to the structure of the *ayllu* as well as the political structure of the *comunidad nativa*. The lowest level, known as *yakurunapa wasin*,<sup>86</sup> or the home of the *yakuruna*<sup>87</sup> (water person), is the water domain—rivers and lakes. Here the *yakuruna* is viewed as a *kuraka*<sup>88</sup> that takes care of his *ayllu* which consists of all aquatic creatures: fish, turtles, stingrays, snakes, dolphins, crabs, and others. We can also think of the structure as replicating the scalar structure of the *ayllu* itself: the totality of *yaku* creatures comprise the maximal *ayllu*, which then has individual *ayllu* segments with a *kuraka* or animal master for each species. The realm of the *yakuruna* is often understood, as many of the spiritual realms are, as a reflection of the world in which we live. Here we find communities and cities underwater where the social reality is much like it is in our own realm, with the various water spirits known as *tsunki* living out their lives in semi-human forms, with

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<sup>85</sup> The text *El Ojo Verde* (Landolt et al. 2004) is one of the only texts that provided an overview of Inga cosmology. Thankfully, I was able to make a copy of the short section on the Inga and used it to elicit the cosmological structure presented in this chapter. While there were many similarities, there were also several differences, perhaps related to the hybridity and fluidity of thought found in the indigenous frontiers of the Pastaza basin.

<sup>86</sup> I have also heard the realm called *yakuruna llaktan*, or the water person's community.

<sup>87</sup> Also known as *challwa mama* (lit. "fish mother", master of fish).

<sup>88</sup> I have also heard these spirits described variously as *amus* (owners), *kurakas* (leaders), and *madres* (mothers).

*motocars* and other facets of modern society being utilized (cf. Viveiros de Castro 2004a, 2004b, 2012). This is remarkably similar to the Candoshi notion of *tsogi*,<sup>89</sup> which takes on the same forms as seen with Inga-speaking peoples (Surrallés 2009:143).<sup>90</sup> The *yakuruna* is also viewed as the owner of the waters (*yaku kuraka*, *yaku amu*, *challwa mama*), and one must observe his power and ask for permission when entering certain aquatic realms. When traveling to Lake Murupichku, near the community of Mushu Kawsay, people would silently ask for permission to fish there as well as hope that the *yakuruna* would make them dream (*muskuchin*), which in turn would cause them to be better fisherman. Indeed, as we will see below, the connections among dreams, spirits, and the acquisition of knowledge and skills are significant.

The next level is the world in which we inhabit, known variously as *runakunapa allpan* (runa people's land) or *runapa kawsana allpa* (land where runas live) (cf. Landolt et al. 2004). This realm is where every day waking existence takes place, although it too is inhabited by various spirits. Although this is the realm in which we live in, it is also conceptualized as the forest (*sacha*), which in turn has its own master or owner known as the *sacha kuraka*, *sacha amu*, or *sacharuna* (forest person). This entity controls access to all other spirits in this realm, which take the form of various masters. Mashiku, drawing on his connections to other cultures, described the *sacharuna* as *amasanga*, who is a prominent figure in both Quechua and Jivaroan cosmologies in the region. He went further, however, comparing Amasanga to the figure of *pachamama* (Earth mother) from Andean cosmology. This mixing of cosmologies as well as the translation between worlds is a critical feature of shamanic practice in the Upper Amazon

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<sup>89</sup> See also the notion of *tsúgki* as found in Awajún cosmology (Brown 1984).

<sup>90</sup> Perhaps even more telling, the Candoshi refer to these underwater spirit communities as *yakta*, from the Quechua term *llakta* (Surrallés 2009:143).

(Taylor 2014). He described the *sacharuna/amasanga* figure as “*policia shina*” (like a police officer) who controlled access to the various spirits that inhabit *runakunapa allpan*. The master of animals, known in Inga as *Inchichi*—certainly coming from the Candoshi master of animals, *Illich*i—likewise limited access to game animals and *mamas* while also appearing to men in dreams to bestow upon them luck in hunting (Surrallés 2009:170). Within this realm, each animal type had its particular *mama* or *kuraka* that controlled access to its particular species of game animals. Thus, the *wangana kuraka*, or the master of peccaries (*Tayassu pecari*), lives near *colpas* and had to be approached in a particular way in order to access them. A hunter, wanting to have the *wangana kuraka* release peccaries to be hunted, would call out “*trok, trok, trok*”, imitating the spiritual sounds of the animal. Mashiku and others also noted that although these animals and spirits are located within our realm, they have their own societies and worlds embedded within it. Here, much as shown above with the *yakuruna*, the spirit world mirrors our own world, with the various spirit *kurakas* or *mamas* engaging in a lifestyle much like our own—mimicking indigenous sociality at one level, such as drinking *masato* and hunting while also engaging with a wider social sphere, such as driving or using shortwave radio to communicate with one another.

Above our world, in the space between the earth and the heavens, we find the next layer of the universe, where the master of the wind, *wayramama*, and the master of lightning, *illapamama*, live—*wayra kawsana* or *wayrapa llaktan* (“the place where the wind lives,” or “wind’s community”). In comparison with the other layers, however, this is primarily an empty space devoid of life aside from the two entities listed above. It is critical, however, for shamanism as it is from this space that *mal de aire* or *wayra unkuy* manifests itself. While this realm is also understood as the space from which weather originates, it is also thought to be

controllable in some way through ritualized actions. At times when we were traveling on the river, usually returning from fishing in the nearby streams, storms would slowly be moving in, threatening our presence on the main river. Looking at the dark clouds and precipitation visible in the distance, men would trace crosses in the air with their hands while asking the *wayramama* to move the wind and rain to another direction so that we could arrive back to the *llakta* without any issues.

The final two realms are clearly from the influence of the Jesuit missionization of the region as well as the continued presence of Evangelical Protest and Roman Catholic missionaries. The first of these, known as *wañushkakunapa llaktan* (“the community of the dead”), is where the souls (*alma*) of humans arrive following death. This realm is further divided between *silu* (heaven, also known as *ali runa wañushkakunapa llaktan* “the community of good defunct runa”), from the Spanish term *cielo*, and hell (*mana ali runa wañushkakunapa llaktan* “the community of bad defunct runa”) (Landolt et al. 2004). In my attempts to elicit cosmological principles, this was always a point of contention, however, as many did not believe that the souls actually left the realm of *runakunapa allpan*. Indeed, Mashiku told me one day that, the “*Evangelistas* say that your soul goes to heaven when you die. That could be true, or it could be false. I don’t know. I think it’s probably false because how else would they cause us to dream after they died?” He also made the comment that the souls of shamans and others<sup>91</sup> at least stayed on the earthly realm for an extended period following death, as it was through them causing other shamans to dream that they were able to transfer knowledge.

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<sup>91</sup> Specifically, the souls of *shuwakuna* (thieves) and *wañuchikkuna* (murderers) were also able to cause other people to follow their paths of criminality by causing them to dream.

The last realm is *yayanchipa llaktan*, where we find the home of god, known in Quechua as *Yaya* (father). *Yaya*, understood as being both Jesus Christ and the Christian concept of God, was originally a human that lived in the Pastaza basin (cf. Landolt et al. 2004). His form in this realm was that of a disgusting individual, usually an orphan (*wakcha*) covered in *karacha* (scabies) who would constantly eat his own mucus (*lumarisu*). This behavior, however, caused him to be rejected by those around him. Usually, in the stories I have heard, he would be rejected by the entire community except for one individual who would take care of him. That individual would also be ridiculed for accepting the child. In the end of these stories, the only person who had taken care of him would be warned of the impending great flood that would destroy the world. *Yaya* would give the individual a covered *tinaja* (pot) which contained a *huito* (*Genipa americana*) plant inside. When the rains and wind would begin, signaling the beginning of the great flood, he opened the pot and the *huito* tree grew up into the heavens, allowing the individual to escape the destruction of the flood and live for the rest of his life alongside *Yaya*. There are several structural commonalities between this story and those told by other catechized indigenous groups such as the Shawi (Ochoa Siguas 1992) and Kukama (Quiróz Niño 2003), such as the rejection of an individual due to disease, the use of a tree to escape the flood, and the rupture between pre-Christian and post-Christian socialities.

Shamans must be able to understand the structure of these metaphysical realms as well as move fluidly between them. This requires an exceptional amount of knowledge (*yachay*) which is acquired through a variety of means, primarily through dreaming as well as the ingestion of psychotropic plants such as tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*), *marikawa* (*Brugmansia* spp.), or *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Psychotria viridis*). Approaches to knowledge acquisition in lowland South America have often been framed using theoretical innovations from the

perspectival anthropology of Viveiros de Castro (1998, 2018), especially the notion of the Other as a source of power (see also Chaumeil 1999; Homan 2011). With the strong intercultural nature of *runa* lifeways in the Pastaza basin, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to extract concepts that are of *runa* origins and those that have origins among other linguistic groups. The constant exchange and play of ideas at the margins of indigenous ‘areas’ provides the meat of cultural production, for it is through these relations that we see the emergence of new cultural forms linked directly to interculturality or interethnic exchange.

### **Yachakkuna and Muskuykuna**

As mentioned earlier, the term *yachak* is used to refer to shamans, which literally means *one who knows*, as it is the agentive form of the verb *yachana*, “to know.” This seems to be a common theme among Quechua-speaking peoples of lowland South America, with Llakwash Runa, Napu Runa, Inga, and the Canelos Quichua, as well as those in the Andean highlands all utilizing the term in similar ways (Whitten, Jr. 1985; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2008; Uzendoski 2009; Barbira-Freedman 1979; Przytomaska 2017). The only Quechua-speaking Amazonian peoples who do not use the term are the Ingano of Colombia, who instead utilize the term *tayta* (father). Shamanic knowledge is usually referred to as *yachay*, literally translated as “knowledge,” although the term encompasses much more than what Westerners would consider knowledge. This term is also understood as being a type of phlegm that is the embodiment of shamanic knowledge and power, transferred from one shaman to another, a notion that is common in Western Amazonia in both indigenous and mestizo societies (Homan 2011). Thus, knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge are central to Inga conceptions of shamanic practice, as they are among many indigenous peoples in lowland South America and elsewhere.

Dreams (*muskuykuna*) are one of the most common means through which the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin, and Amerindians more generally, acquire knowledge. Dreaming is often compared to taking entheogenic plant substances in lowland Amazonia and the two are complementary as sources of knowledge. The Pastaza Quechua, however, distinguish the states, with dreaming known as *muskuna*, referring directly to what one sees while they are dreaming. When one is intoxicated, primarily through *tobaku* (*Nicotiana rustica*) or *marikawa*<sup>92</sup> (*Brugmansia* spp.), the state is known as *muskuybishina*, literally “like in a dream”. The visions produced from both states are known as *muskuy*, which can be translated as “vision” as well as “dream.” The importance of dreaming is reaffirmed daily, as the first thing individuals do upon awakening in the early morning is to tell their close kin, usually their spouse, what they had dreamed. During early morning *wayusa* (*Ilex guayusa*) drinking sessions, men will also talk about what they had dreamt the night before. As they discuss the dreams, they offer one another their own interpretations of what had happened and how it will affect their current reality. Dreams are often understood as being reflections of futures coming-into-being, although that future is usually never clearly defined (Brown 1992:157). For example, as with many anthropologists, my arrival in the community was reported to have been foretold through shamanic visions. The *apu*, Mashiku, told me that he had a dream some months before my arrival in April 2014 in which he was told a foreigner would be coming to live with them. Dreams can also be understood as the means through which individuals are able to acquire certain knowledge, especially shamanic knowledge, as well as improve their own skills or increase their luck in fishing, hunting, and finding love. The spirits that visit during a dream state take the form of various entities, such as the souls of living and dead individuals, *sacha kurakas*,

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<sup>92</sup> Known as *maikua* in Achuar (Seymour-Smith 1988)

and numerous *supay*. Being able to differentiate these entities, and interact with them properly, separates those that practice shamanism from other people within the community.

As mentioned in chapter four, young men often search out a vision prior to getting married, usually between 16 and 20 years of age. This vision, known as *arutama*, *muskuy*, or *arutam*, depending on one's location and language within the Pastaza watershed, is a critically important source of power. The *arutam*'s origins, like many of the cosmological characteristics associated with Quechua-speaking peoples' cosmologies, are among the Jivaroan and Candoa-Shapra peoples, with the Quechua and Quichua versions essentially encompassing the same ideas. Within these groups, the *arutam* is understood as a critical spiritual power or life-force that must be acquired as a young man to gain power and prestige throughout one's life (Chacon 2007; Descola 1996; Harner 1984; Karsten 1923; Mader 1999; Meiser 2011; Seymour-Smith 1988; Surrallés 2007, 2009; Taylor 1993, 2014). To obtain the *arutam* or *muskuy*, young men must adequately prepare themselves for the spiritual journey that they must undertake. In the days (and sometimes months) leading up to the journey, individuals observe various dietary and behavioral restrictions,<sup>93</sup> known as *sasina* (lit. to diet), such as eating a bland diet (e.g., no fat, no salt, only *chilicano* with certain species of fish) and not having sexual intercourse in order to prepare their body for the coming transformative experience (Brown 1992:159; Barbira-Freedman 2002; Whitten, Jr. 1976).

Once they have adequately prepared themselves through purification, they travel into the interior of the forest—often accompanied by an elder—where they construct a small *tambo*, or palm-thatched shelter. There they drink a previously boiled mixture of water and the stems of the

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<sup>93</sup> The actual taboos, such as eating fish with teeth, are classed together as *sakra*, from the Spanish term *sagrado* (sacred).

*marikawa* (*Brugmansia* spp.) plant and await the onset of the intoxication. As *marikawa*, like other Datura-like plants, is classified as a deliriant rather than a classic hallucinogen, the effects can be very unpredictable, even for those that have used the plant many times. Local peoples, likewise, recognize the difficulty in predicting how one will react to the plant concoction. For this reason, even though men drink the plant mixture alone, there are individuals nearby observing them in case something goes wrong. Once the intoxication has a physical effect, the individual meets with the various spirits of the forest who in turn provide him with the *musku*y for which he is searching. Many stated they saw their future spouse in their *musku*y vision or that they would be the founders of a *llakta* at some point in their life.

Some men, even if they are not practicing shamans, will continue to ingest *marikawa* throughout their lives, usually once or twice per year, as it provides a clarity of vision when compared with dream states. However, those that are to follow the path of shamanic practice reported meeting with one of the major spirits, such as the *marikawa mama*, who then instructed them about healing and provided them with an *ikara* (power song). These first encounters with the spirits of the forest often set the individual on the shamanic path. To simply ingest the plant once, however, is not enough to gain the knowledge necessary to effectively heal and cause harm. Moreover, one must often ingest psychoactive plants with other shamanic practitioners, who then pass on their knowledge/power through the transferal of *yachay* phlegm. When talking with shamans in the region about their practice and how they came to be a shaman, they would list the other shamans with whom they worked and the geographical region in which they ingested the plants. The majority of these were other Inga-speaking peoples who practiced tobacco shamanism, while others were from the various other indigenous groups in the region—Achuar, Canelos Quichua, Candoshi, Kukama, Urarina, and Shiwiar shamans—who would

provide them with other experiences. Through each of these individual experiences, Inga shamans were able to build a repertoire of *supay wiruti* which they carried in the bellies and could call upon during their shamanic rituals. Thus, while we see very little consumption of ayahuasca in Inga communities today, shamans will call upon the mother of ayahuasca in their healing sessions, having acquired the connection during their apprenticeship with other shamanic practitioners.

As is found throughout many indigenous societies in western Amazonia, illness is understood as having multiple sources and forms, although it is also almost always couched within the notion of witchcraft or *brujería*. The first class of illness, however, is not explicitly connected to relationships among people but instead is used to group together a number of illnesses that are conceptualized as being biomedical in nature. The idea of *unkuy* (lit. illness) is usually applied to simple illnesses that are understood as having a natural origin, such as the common cold (*gripe*) and malaria. Many of these illnesses seem to be influenced by Colonial Era Spanish notions of illness linked to imbalances of heat and cold, in that an individual was exposed to too much of either. These types of illnesses are treated with tobacco, menthol, or biomedicine such as antibiotics and analgesics, purchased from either the local *bodega* or obtained through the *promotor de salud*. These illnesses were exceedingly common and Mashiku was one of the best at curing them in the region. Indeed, individuals from many communities in the region of Mushu Kawsay, primarily from upstream but occasionally from downstream as well, would often come to visit him in the hope of being cured of their particular case of *unkuy*.

One afternoon, a 23-year-old woman with severe stomach pains arrived from the community of Kushilla, upriver from Mushu Kawsay. Mashiku recognized it as an *unkuy* related to coldness in the stomach region. The community had recently run out of *mapacho*, but there

were still *Caribe* brand cigarettes in Roberto's *bodega*, which he would have to fall back on. He noted that these were cigarettes "*para viciosos*", but they would still work just the same as *mapacho*. Mashiku blew (*pukushka*)<sup>94</sup> tobacco smoke on her crown, over her back, and onto her chest, before finally blowing it between her cupped hands and feet. He knew that I had some alum (*alumbre*) in my home and asked me to bring it to him. He passed the block over the woman's body as is often done among *mestizo curanderos* in cities like San Lorenzo, Ullpayaku, and Yurimaguas. Although the shaman usually burns the alum following a curing ceremony to attempt to understand the source of the illness, he had asked me to burn it that night and report back to him about the image produced. Following the blowing of tobacco smoke, Mashiku then crushed a clove of garlic in a *pate* (bowl) and mixed in a small amount of water. He sang an *ikara* over the liquid in almost near silence, calling forth his *supay wiruti* to assist him in curing the woman. "*Upayay kayta mamastu* (Drink this 'little mother')," he said, urging her to drink the foul liquid down, with which she quickly complied. He then reached into his rafters where he found a flag from the Acción Popular political party that he had received during a recent rally in the community. From the flag he cut a small piece of fabric, creating a small bandage-like pad, in which he placed the crushed garlic that was left over from the drink preparation. Mashiku then wrapped the garlic-poultice pad onto the woman's stomach, which was cold to the touch. He told her that the illness would be extracted and the area would begin to heat up. Indeed, after around an hour, the region of her stomach was much warmer to the touch than before and she was already feeling much better. She ended up staying overnight, where she was treated with a similar process two more times before she left to return to her community the next morning, seemingly cured of her ailments.

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<sup>94</sup> From the verb *pukuna* (to blow)

Individuals can also fall ill for failing to follow dietary or behavioral restrictions (*sakra*), such as taking plants without observing the correct diet, which is known as *kutiparina*. The only cure for these self-inflicted spiritual illnesses is to visit a shaman and to follow all ritual restrictions (*sasina* and *sakra*) in the future. The flipside of *kutiparina* is the idea of *kutipana*, which is the notion that certain animals or plants can affect one's being, passing on its particular characteristics. Although this can happen to anyone, it is most commonly associated with small children and pregnant women. For example, when a pregnant woman looks at the sloth (*siwi*, *Bradypus variegatus* and *Choloepus didactylus*), the characteristics associated with it (slowness) can be mimetically transferred to her unborn child. Likewise, the notion of *sakra* comes into play here as well, as if the parent of a newborn touches a dead person—a taboo within the first month of birth—the child will become ill and need to be cured by a shaman. One of the most common ways children are *kutipashka* is by their father not following the restrictions of the couvade, such as lifting heavy objects or doing heavy work in the *chakra*.<sup>95</sup>

The final two types of illness are the most important for us as they emanate from intercultural, interethnic, and interspiritual relationships. The first of these is known as *pahuna*, which is illness caused by *supays*, or malevolent spirits, that one encounters during daily life (Whitten, Jr. 1976:144). These *supays* are often associated with the *wayrapa llaktan*, the layer of the universe populated by wind and lightning spirits, as well as the interior of the forest. These illnesses are also known as *wayrashka* (*mal de aire*, evil wind), due to their association with the wind and weather. While the *pahushka* category is associated with the weather and wind, it is also linked to other spiritual realms inhabited by *supays*. One's interactions with *sacha kurakas*

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<sup>95</sup> The Candoshi also recognize the breaking of taboos as a means of causing illness in children, which is known as *yágonisi* in the Candoshi language (Surrallés 2009:99-100).

and other *supays*, while out hunting or simply walking in the forest, can easily lead to one developing a *pahushka unkuy*. In many ways, this is related to failure to observe *sakra*, however, it can also be thought of as an attack on one's being by the *sacha kurakas*. Just like shamans, *sacha kurakas* have *supay wiruti*, spirit helpers, stored in their *shunku* which they can use to attack individuals at will. Failure to show the proper respect to the *sacha kurakas* angers them, causing them to shoot the individual with the *supay wiruti*. This in turn causes a serious illness which can only be cured by visiting a *sinchi yachak* who can properly interact with the forest spirits as well as extract the *supay wiruti*. Inga-speaking peoples, not trusting the few ayahuasca-using shamans left in the region, will often travel to other communities further downstream such as Ullpayaku or Santander to be treated by the *medikus* (*medicos*, ayahuasca shamans) found there.

The final category of illness is known as *shitashka*, from the verb *shitana*, which is used to refer to the action of shooting a blowgun dart. This is a wide category that is primarily associated with actions of *brujería* or witchcraft. As explained earlier, all shamans have a number of spirit helpers known as *supay wiruti*, or spirit darts, which can be called upon in healing rituals for their powers, as well as sent to other people in order to inflict illness or even to kill. This is very much in line with the Achuar, Shuar, and Shiwiar notion of *tsentsak*, or spirit darts, that take the form of various entities, such as bugs, ancestral spirits, and animals, that are called upon in their shamanic practice. The notion of *shitashka* illnesses draw together all of the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin into a wide network of shamanic exchange, warfare, and healing practices. Shamans will travel to other indigenous communities to work directly with other shamans, as well as purchase their shamanic knowledge in the form of *yachay phlegm* and *supaywiruti* spirit darts.

The very nature of the *shitana* attacks allows them to be couched externally from the local group, be it an *ayllu* or a *llakta*. Many of those suffering from *shitashka unkuy* believe the source of the illness to be coming from known enemies within their social network (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1976). Conflicts related to property relations, matrimonial exchanges, theft, and a variety of social issues can all lead to one seeking a *buruhu* (*brujo*, malevolent shaman) to perform assault sorcery against their perceived enemies. More often than not, however, it is viewed as an interethnic issue, with the attacks emanating from other nearby indigenous communities. Along the Manchari River, for example, this is an ongoing issue between the Candoshi, Achuar, and Inga-speaking peoples who live on its banks. As one travels upriver from the mouth of the Manchari, the first community one encounters is called Kushilla (Puerto Alegre), which is a Candoshi-dominant village. Approximately one hour upriver from Kushilla is the Inga-speaking multiethnic community of Santa María. Just a few hours upriver from Santa María is the community of San Juan, which is dominated by Achuar-speaking individuals. The Candoshi and Achuar have been at ‘war’ with one another for much of the past century, with numerous armed conflicts between small groups. Moreover, the Candoshi view the Achuar shamans living near San Juan as being exceptionally powerful and dangerous, often sending illnesses due to perceived slights from the downriver communities. While the physical confrontations have been lessened over the years thanks to the community of Santa María acting as a sort of buffer zone between the two groups, as the Inga-speaking peoples intermarry with both Achuar- and Candoshi-speaking peoples, the shamanic attacks are still a constant threat (Rivas Panduro 2007).

The assertion of dark shamanism in the region has increased in recent years as more and more individuals die of hepatitis B. The expansion of the gut, yellowing of the skin, and the

general malaise associated with an acute hepatitis B infection are all understood as being reflective of *shitashka unkuy*, leading individuals to focus on healing through shamanic means rather than attempting the biomedical approach. When Mashiku's sister, Segunda, was near the end of her life due to an advanced hepatitis B infection, they blamed an Achuar shaman living in the headwaters of the Manchari River who had supposedly been hired by her husband's ex-lover. To cure her, they brought her to the community of Santander on the banks of the lower Pastaza River, where a well-known *mediku* lived. In his ayahuasca intoxication, he said that he saw the Achuar shaman—also well-known throughout the basin—and, after sucking out the *tsentsak* spirit darts from her distended belly, sent them back to the rival shaman some 100 miles away. Unfortunately, she passed away shortly after her healing session as her disease was far advanced. Although the head of FEDIQUEP says that there is no “*ley para los brujos* (no law for malevolent shamans),” and that individuals have the right to kill those practicing dark shamanism, in recent years the physical attacks on shamanic practitioners have diminished, particularly as the number of known ‘brujos’ has steadily dropped with the presence of missionaries and others in the region. Even with this decrease in malevolent shamanic practitioners, however, accusations of witchcraft as well as the need for interethnic and intercultural shamanic exchanges and healing still bind together the Achuar, Candoshi, and Inga-speaking peoples living in the indigenous frontiers of the mid-Pastaza basin.

### **Developing Conflict and Shifting Practices**

The connections between shamanism and political power in Western Amazonia have long been a central focus in the ethnography of the region (Descola 1994; Descola 1996; Homan 2014). In many lowland indigenous groups, shamans are often viewed as leaders with shamanic power itself being connected to a sense of authority over the world. For example, the Shawi of

the Parapapura basin in Peru refer to leaders as *wa'an*, who are inevitably shamans who utilize the altered-state of consciousness produced by ayahuasca and other psychoactive plants to aid in critical decisions for small-scale groups, healing, and warfare (Homan 2014). This type of indigenous leadership, characteristic of lowland South America, has been theorized as being primarily a contextual position with little actual power over individuals (Århem 1981; Clastres 1987; Maybury-Lewis 1979). In recent years, however, this has changed dramatically as indigenous peoples have been heavily integrated into the state and the global market economy. Shamanism, in turn, and its connections to leadership, have been further separated out through this state programs of integration as well as the changing landscape of indigenous political struggles. While the *wa'anrusa* (shamans) were critical when the Shawi peoples lived in dispersed households throughout the Parapapura basin, with the increased settlement in larger villages, and the encroachment of extractive enterprises and other entities, the elder shaman has since been replaced by younger individuals who have usually attained a higher level of literacy and integration into the wider social world of *mestizo* society and the state (Brown 1993; Jackson and Warren 2005; Greene 2009). This same trend has continued throughout much of Amazonia and is certainly the case in the Pastaza basin, although with many of those 'younger' leaders now well into their fifties, the connections between shamanism and leadership are coming back into focus.

Cepek (2009:237) argues that the most important Cofán leaders (*na'su*) were "ethnically ambiguous individuals whose identities overlapped with those of other indigenous and non-indigenous people." The intercultural nature of the *na'su* is also typical of Cofán shamans, who are usually multilingual individuals who have a history of engagement with other indigenous groups and neighboring populations in the continued exchange of shamanic knowledge and

practice (Cepek 2009:239). As others have pointed out (Brown 1993; García Hierro et al. 2002; Greene 2009), the transformative and intercultural character associated with traditional forms of shamanism and leadership in indigenous communities is replicated with contemporary approaches to the political situation in Amazonia, as individuals must be able to fluidly move between indigenous and non-indigenous social situations, especially when interacting with NGOs or the state. Although this new style of Amazonian leadership was sometimes perceived as being problematic as it marginalizes traditional indigenous leaders and the cultural knowledge they possess, it is in many ways a reflection of how indigenous peoples have dealt with outsiders since at least the arrival of the Spanish (Brown 1993:312; see Chapter 2).

For many of the Quichua-speaking peoples of the Ecuadorian Oriente, communities or *llaktas*, and lineages or *ayllus*, are often directly linked to a shaman, usually an ancestor within one's *ayllu*. Likewise, for the Canelos Quichua speakers living in the Curaray basin, communities are often oriented toward a “principal shaman.” Those living on the Curaray River proper are oriented toward a shaman from the Napo River, while those living on the Villano River orient themselves toward a shaman linked to communities on the Bobonaza River (Reeve 1985). Among the Canelos Quichua proper, on the Bobonaza River and the upper Pastaza in Ecuador, community foundation itself is brought about through the confluence of shamanism, gender complementarianism, and leadership. As Whitten (1978) notes, all *llakta* territories are directly linked to an ancestral or grandfather-grandmother shamanic pair—the grandfather, known as *apayaya*, is most often a *sinchi yachak* or *banku*, drawing his power and authority from his shamanic practice, while the grandmother (*apamama*) transmitted shamanic energy through her interactions with pottery (see also Guzmán Gallegos 1997). While the linkages between the

*apayaya* and *apamama* pair in the Peruvian Amazon are not apparent, the connections among shamanism, community foundation, political organization, and leadership are quite clear.

As mentioned earlier, when a person seeks a *muskuy* vision, they are sometimes presented with their possible future as the founder of a *llakta*. I was told many times that in order to be an indigenous leader—a *kuraka* or *apu* of a community—one must dream (*muskuna*). This is even true of the political structure of the state, which the Inga-speaking peoples view as a multi-scalar *ayllu*.<sup>96</sup> In conversations about the mayor of Andoas and his lack of response to the ongoing conflicts between the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin and extractive industries, my *compadre* asked me, “Why did they make him an authority if he doesn’t dream?” For Mashiku, one must dream in order to lead, as the world is not simply what we see, but instead an amalgamation of human agency and non-human agency that affect one another. While there is no hard requirement that one be a shaman in order to found a community, one must have at least engaged with the shamanic arts—even if only through the seeking of a *muskuy* vision as a young adult. Moreover, contemporary requirements for the foundation of *comunidades nativas* in the Peruvian Amazon force leaders to be culturally and socially agile, something that contemporary shamans are quite adept at due to their wider social contacts with indigenous federations, NGOs, transnational corporations, and the state.

While traditionally Candoshi peoples have looked to distinguished warriors as the leaders of their communities, known as *pachabani*, this distinction is not as important in Inga-speaking communities (Surrallés 2009:198). Instead, individuals who are socially and culturally agile, especially older men who have a background in shamanism, are often chosen to fill the role of

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<sup>96</sup> Inga-speakers would often invoke metaphors of family when discussing the state and other political organizations. The president, for example, would be referred to as “*yaya shina*,” or like a father, and was expected to take care of the local populace just as a father would his family.

the *kuraka* or *apu* in newly founded indigenous communities. Even with the preference of Inga-speaking peoples to place the authority of the community within the hands of older men who practice shamanism, there is still much competition between traditional *kurakas* and the non-traditional authorities imposed by the structure of *comunidades nativas*. For example, in the community of Mushu Kawsay, the primary school teacher, an indigenous Quechua-speaking individual from another community that had been trained in bilingual education in Iquitos, would often fall into conflicts with the rest of the community and especially the authority of the *kuraka*. While the school teacher's social world was wider, and he was formally educated, his own education was a source of conflict in itself as it collided with local notions of how the community should be structured. This took on a paternalistic perspective in which he viewed himself as a conduit of the state, bringing his indigenous brethren in line with what he thought was the proper way to be Peruvian and indigenous. Indeed, he would talk down to the *kuraka* during community assemblies, saying that he should learn to "lead his people better," and focus on obtaining various services for those living within the community (cf. Brown 1993:312). While there were always certain social issues related to the way the *kuraka* led the community, the schoolteacher's outbursts and criticism were not tolerated for much longer. He had refused to follow the lead of the rest of Inga-speaking peoples in Mushu Kawsay and blatantly disregarded norms related to hunting and fishing within the recognized lands of the community. He felt that as an "authority" he had the right to do what he wanted, regardless of what the rest of the community felt, and often ignored the authority of the *kuraka*. After a few months of this behavior, during a communal assembly the people of Mushu Kawsay voted to remove him from his post in the primary school and send back to his natal community of Loboyaku.

Even with the issues between traditional and non-traditional political structures in the community, the *kuraka* Mashiku still recognized the importance of the numerous requirements imposed by the state for the recognition of a *comunidad nativa*. One afternoon, while discussing his tenure as *apu*, he told me that he no longer wanted to fulfill the role as he felt unappreciated, especially in the face of the issues detailed above. Since Carlos, the *segundo apu* (second apu), had left due to the dispute between him and his brother-in-law Esteban, there had yet to be anyone who had stepped up to fill his position. Moreover, he still lacked a secretary who could read and write at the required level—an absolute necessity for engagement with the state and other foreign entities. Indeed, during my tenure in the community, many required positions went unfilled for many months until the yearly election, as individuals did not want to be involved unless they were forced to, such as through the democratic process. Mashiku understood, however, why people may not want to be an authority, as one cannot simply be the authority “*acá no más.*” As mentioned above, they must interact with the wider world around them and have the knowledge to do so, which requires one to be socially and culturally agile as well as engage with shamanic practices, obtaining *muskuys* to see the correct path the community must take.

Although the practice of ayahuasca shamanism in Pastaza Quechua communities has been, at least in recent times, of less importance than in surrounding groups such as the Urarina, the rise of ayahuasca tourism, and the influx of capital into the region leading to a number of new NGOs focused on indigenous rights run by owners of ayahuasca lodges, has created a feedback loop between indigenous communities and those participating in the industry (Dean 2009; Homan 2011, 2016; Labate and Clavnar 2014, 2018; Labate et al. 2016). This feedback loop has in many ways led to a rejuvenation in the indigenous use of ayahuasca in the region by

connecting it to the larger indigenous movement in lowland South America. I first found about these connections through my conversations with Aurelio Chino Dahua, the president of FEDIQUEP. He had arrived in the community of Mushu Kawsay in the federation's *chalupa* (speedboat), along with his brother and a number of representatives from communities upriver in Loboyaku and Sungache. Aurelio told me the first time he drank ayahuasca he had received a powerful *uskuy*, in which the *ayawaska mama* (mother of ayahuasca) showed him his future. In this possible future, he was shown that he would lead the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin in protests against extractive industries in the region, particularly PlusPetrol.

His description of the experience was couched within the mythological and cosmological framework shared by Inga- and Candoshi-speaking peoples, drawing on the notion of *supays* that are mothers or owners of plants and animals. Moreover, how he came to drink ayahuasca was also couched within the basis of knowledge acquisition described above, in which individuals will visit other shamans to acquire new shamanic knowledge and powers. In this case, however, he did not drink ayahuasca with a fellow indigenous shaman in the Pastaza watershed, as is common. Instead, Aurelio had drunk the psychotropic brew at an ayahuasca lodge outside the city of Iquitos with several other indigenous leaders. This lodge was founded by a North American *gringo* who has since made the retreat into one of the most successful in the region. Following these successes, he was able to utilize profits from the lodge to found an NGO that has worked extensively throughout the Amazon—particularly in the Pastaza and Ucayali basins—developing a number of projects related to health as well as assisting indigenous peoples in their political struggles. It was this individual, alongside Shipibo women shamans, who first introduced Aurelio to ayahuasca.

Following this experience, he focused his energy on mobilizing the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin throughout his tenure as president of FEDIQUEP. He spoke of his experience with others, suggesting that the use of ayahuasca is not always tied to issues of witchcraft and that those that drink are not always *buruhus* (*brujos*, malevolent shamans). Indeed, over the years, he has encouraged others to drink ayahuasca, both throughout the Pastaza basin as well as with other indigenous leaders at CORPI meetings in San Lorenzo, talking up its potential for insight into political actions as well as its visionary powers, particularly in relation to seeing the future. This has led to the minor resurgence in interest in ayahuasca among Inga-speaking peoples, at least among those with strong connections to the federation and the wider indigenous political movement. When community leaders, the various *apus* or *kurakas*, travel to Iquitos to participate in general assemblies or other political functions, they will often drink ayahuasca at the lodge with the *gringo*. Upon returning to the Pastaza basin, they speak openly of their experiences, effectively disconnecting ayahuasca from the practice of sorcery or witchcraft, while simultaneously extolling ayahuasca as a visionary aid.

Perhaps most importantly, this connection has also widened local practitioners' shamanic networks while providing a means for local people to interact with ayahuasca shamans without the fear of repercussions. Indeed, FEDIQUEP will periodically bring ayahuasqueros, both indigenous and mestizo, from the region of Iquitos and Nauta to provide healing services for Inga-speaking peoples in the Pastaza basin. This also allows those practicing shamans to acquire new shamanic knowledge and *supays* which they add to their repertoire. The feedback loop between indigenous shamanism, mestizo shamanism, and, even wider, into shamanic tourism, highlights a critical feature of Inga-speaking peoples' sociality. It demonstrates that the "openness to the Other" Lévi-Strauss (2016:56) detects in the indigenous cultures of lowland

South America or the cosmological predation associated with Viveiros de Castro's (1998, 2004a, 2004b, 2012, 2018) perspectival anthropology, are both two sides of the same coin. It is precisely these ideas, which are so common throughout Amazonia, that contribute to the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis in the region. That is not to say that all indigenous peoples within the region somehow have a shared ontology that is incomprehensible to others, but instead, their various cultures recognize that it is precisely through their interactions with other human and non-human entities that their world comes into being. This is a feature, not a bug, of indigenous Amazonia sociality and cultural practices, which allows those living within indigenous frontiers to actively integrate the knowledge and being of the Other into their own social systems. Rather than simple ethnic subduction, with one indigenous group absorbing another, as Descola (1996) argues, this is instead a practice in which indigenous peoples are active agents, making decisions about how to present and define themselves, as we will see in the following chapter.

## VI. *Inga rimak tukushka*: Becoming Inga in the Pastaza basin

So far we have explored the historical ethnogenesis of Inga-speaking peoples in the Pastaza basin through the extensive interethnic and intercultural relationships that define sociality in the region. From the Jesuit missions, to catechized Indians, to the commodity booms of the 19th and 20th centuries, and finally, the emergence of the Inga as a distinct ethnic group, we can see that the contemporary configurations of Inga identity and sociality are the product of the interactions between numerous indigenous and non-indigenous cultures. Yet, even though we have stable cultural patterns based in a syncretic blend of indigenous cosmology with Catholic and Evangelical Christianity, the process of *becoming* runa is still ongoing throughout the Pastaza basin. Indeed, as shown in the previous two chapters, Inga social organization at the margins of the traditional indigenous territories—the indigenous frontiers of the region—creates an emergent hybridity that is, at its core, the ‘stuff’ of ethnogenesis. The structure of the *ayllu*, with its flexibility in accommodating Dravidian kinship notions from Jivaroan-speakers as well as almost mimicking the social organization of Candoa-Shapra peoples, itself linked to the mission structure, provides further stabilization to social forms generated through interethnic and intercultural relations. Moreover, as shown in the previous chapter, shamanism in the Pastaza basin exists within a sphere of regional interaction in which multiple indigenous and non-indigenous groups come into constant contact both physically and ideologically. All of these factors merge to permit indigenous peoples on the frontiers to unite in the construction of interethnic communities with a general structure which is shared among them combined with a flexible form of social organization in the form of the *ayllu*.

The image of indigenous sociality in the Pastaza basin that I am trying to construct disrupts traditional understandings of Amazonian peoples. Julian Steward (1948), in his

*Handbook of South American Indians*, and Günter Tessman (1930 [1999]) in *Die Indianer Nordost-Perus*, framed indigenous societies within Western Amazonia as being bounded singular entities that were both disappearing due to the influence of outsiders and representative of pre-Hispanic sociality at the same time. These texts have been hugely influential in the development of Amazonian anthropology as a discipline and have formed the basis for cross-cultural comparison in the region. Even in recent years this perspective of viewing indigenous societies as monolithic structures that are little influenced by the outside world (while also being constantly threatened by it) abounds. Fernando Santos Granero and Frederica Barclay (1994a, 1994b, 1998, 2004, 2005, 2007) replicate this trend in their six-volume *Guía Etnográfica de la Alta Amazonía*, although they also recognize the historical relations that have contributed to the contemporary ethnic configurations we see in Western Amazonia. In this chapter I attempt to further move from the notion of monolithic indigenous societies and cultures that are little affected by external relationships by examining the foundation of a *llakta* in the indigenous frontiers of the Pastaza basin and the relationships between indigeneity and ethnogenesis.

Through an exploration of indigeneity as a foundational concept drawing multiple indigenous peoples together and the Quechua notion of *tukuna*, translated as “to become” or “to transform,” we can see how sociality and culture in indigenous frontiers is an emergent phenomenon that is constructed through many different relationships. The term *tukuna* is critical for understanding indigenous ethnogenesis in the Pastaza basin as it provides both a social and cosmological basis for transformative identities. The notion is often used when discussing conversion to evangelical Christianity, such as “*Katoliku kashkaynimanta evangeliku tukushkani*” (“From being Catholic I became an evangelical”). Likewise, shamanic transformations are also classified using the notion of *tukuna*, especially in relation to becoming

a were-jaguar, such as through the use of *yanapuma piri-piri* (*Cyperus* spp.) — “*Yanapuma piri-pirita upyashkamanta puma tukushka*” (“Taking black-jaguar piri-piri he transformed into a jaguar”). Finally, the term also has mythological connections. I was often told of the transformative nature of certain venomous snakes such as the *pitalala* (*Bothrops atrox*, Fer-de-Lance) or *sara machakuya* (*Lachesis muta*, Shushupe). These snakes, upon reaching the end of their lives, are thought to travel to the bank of rivers where they then enter the water. Upon entering the water, they enter the realm of the *yakuruna* where they undergo a radical bodily transformation. It is thought that these snakes transform into a fish known as *makana* (*Apteronotus albifrons*, Black Knife Ghost Fish), which is both highly aggressive and slightly electrified, with an appearance between that of a fish and snake. This notion of transformation and becoming is further applied to the process of ethnogenesis, where individuals *become* Inga-speakers through their engagement with the language. “*Achka timpupa Ingata yachakushkaniwasha Inga rimak tukushkani*” (“After studying Inga for a long time, I became an Inga speaker”).

### **Indigeneity and Indigenizing Modernity**

With the encroachment of modernity under the guise of development, extractive industries, religion, and the state, indigenous peoples are asserting identity in a variety of new ways throughout the region. Although the notion of indigenous as a category is relatively new within the regional discourse, as opposed to the ideas of *indio* or *nativo*, the influence of indigeneity emanating from indigenous organizations, NGOs, and even anthropologists provides another space for indigenous sociality to expand. Much of the work surrounding indigenous identity and the rise of indigeneity is connected to ongoing political struggles. Over the past fifty years, within the wider indigenous movement in Latin America, there has been a gradual shift

from “self-appointed foreigners speaking on behalf of groups,” to groups representing themselves in the regional, national, and international arenas, with their own agendas (Warren and Jackson 2002:6). The goals of indigenous movements are multiple but are often interpreted within a framework of resistance to ongoing processes of colonialism, dispossession, and discrimination (see Kenrick and Lewis 2004; Nagel 1996; Varese 2002; cf. Brown 1996; Clifford 2001). Central to the indigenous movement, at least in Latin America, has been the display and performance of indigenous identity and culture, such as wearing traditional dress and speaking indigenous languages, in national and international arenas. This performance of indigeneity is often times obligatory, required by states and international organizations as a means to decide who is indigenous. This, in turn, has led to the generation of myriad shifting indigenous identities and even “new” indigenous peoples through the process of ethnogenesis, one of the main themes that we have been discussing throughout this text (see also Duche Hidalgo 2005; Rendón 2013; Sarmiento 2009). As Levi and Dean (2003) note, this negotiation and articulation of indigenous identities is critical for understanding their relationship with modernity, the state, and other groups. This is even more important for those living in the indigenous frontiers of a particular region, where identity is fluid and, at times, strategically enacted.

The work of Frederik Barth (1969) has been exceptionally useful in understanding the importance of ethnicity and identity. For Barth (1969:10), ethnic groups can be thought of as “categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves” that directly influence “organizing interaction between people.” An ethnic group is not a given natural entity, but instead arises out of the confluence of structure and agency (Levi and Dean 2003). This is central to Barth’s understanding of ethnicity as he attempts to understand the conditions which allow “ethnic distinction to emerge in an area” (Barth 1969:17). By focusing on distinction, Barth is

able to uncover the ways ethnic groups are able to differentiate themselves from one another as well as appear as have some sense of historical constancy. According to Barth (1969:14), an ethnicity's distinction as a unique group and perceived continuity over long periods of time is directly related to the maintenance of boundaries and relationships between that particular group and other groups. While ethnic groups compose one level of Barth's analytical model, he is also concerned with the individual. As ethnic groups are composed of those that self-identify as that particular ethnicity, this process of self-identification plays a critical role. This categorical ascription, moreover, determines an individual's "basic, most general identity" (Barth 1969:13). Yet, as we have seen, although these identities should be the strongest at the edges or margins of an indigenous territory, the regions I define as indigenous frontiers, this is not the case in the Pastaza basin. Instead, this "most general identity" is fluid and, in the contemporary era, linked to the notion of being indigenous.

The rise of neoliberal multiculturalism<sup>97</sup> in Latin America has greatly impacted indigenous peoples, as it often highlights their social importance within emergent multicultural societies, creating indigenous peoples as a special class with intrinsic rights and needs, and ensuring the state or other entities (e.g. NGOs, churches, etc.) take charge of these issues (Hale 2006; Hale and Millamán 2006). With the spread of neoliberal multiculturalism in the modern era, a number of issues arise related to the problematic of indigeneity. Indeed, multiple new indigenous 'subjects' emerge within this milieu such as Hale's (2004) notion of the *indio permitido*. The *indio permitido* is a critical concept, highlighting the ways in which only certain types of indigenous peoples—those who fall within the policies and goals of neoliberal multiculturalism—are allowed voices in the national and international public spheres (Hale

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<sup>97</sup> For Hale (2005:12), collective rights for marginal populations, such as indigenous peoples, are "granted as compensatory measures" as an integral part of the neoliberal projects political and economic reforms.

2004; Hale 2006; Hale and Millamán 2006). Those that question the policies or goals of neoliberalism are often labeled as radical ‘non-permitted Indians’, or worse, terrorists, as in the case of the Mapuche (Richards 2010). This notion, as McNeish (2008:34) notes, is a critique to the neoliberal project and its guise of multiculturalism, which is utilized to deterritorialize and tame any emergent radical indigenous movements. While neoliberal multiculturalist reforms create a privileged position for the *indio permitido*, this space also constrains indigenous peoples both political and culturally as all action is within the structures of neoliberal ideology (Hale 2004; Hale and Millamán 2006; McNeish 2008). This is especially true in the Pastaza basin, where one must assert their indigeneity in their struggles less they be labeled, both by other indigenous peoples and the state, as non-indigenous. Recently an individual was denied access to the governmental program Beca 18, which provides funding for indigenous peoples to study at the university level to become bilingual instructors. This individual, although he spoke Quechua and lived in a Quechua community, was perceived to be mestizo due to his surnames as well as the testimony of others in the community, even though he identified as indigenous (cf. Metz 2010:295).

Much in the same vein as Hale’s concept of the *indio permitido*, Alcida Rita Ramos (1992) presents the concept of the ‘hyperreal Indian.’ In her cutting analysis of the environmental and indigenous movements in Brazil during the 1980s and early 1990s, especially among the various Tukanoan groups living in along the Rio Uapes (Vaupéz), Ramos sees numerous NGOs and governmental entities creating a ‘simulacrum’ of indigeneity (Ramos 1992:2). The hyperreal Indian is a “native agent who in the pursuit of human rights is obliged to acquiesce to the contradictory expectations of non-Indians” (Nugent 2009:5). The basis for this image of the hyperreal Indian comes from essentialized ideas surrounding indigenous peoples,

related to unattainable ideals of harmony and balance with nature as imagined by NGOs and other foreigners. To attain funding for projects from international entities or in struggles for human rights, indigenous peoples are often forced to perform as the hyperreal Indian. In the Pastaza basin, for example, although many indigenous peoples wear Western clothing, speak Spanish, and engage in the wider world around them on a daily basis, these aspects are downplayed during political protests and engagements with the state, NGOs, and others as these entities have a certain expectation of the aesthetics and sociality of indigenous peoples. Those that fail to fulfill this ideal, such as not wearing facepaint or always speaking their indigenous language, are labeled as non-indigenous and marginalized within the political process.

In contrast to essentialist and primordial definitions of indigeneity, several authors have proposed the use of a relational understanding of indigeneity. This relational basis for identity “emphasizes grounding in relations between the “indigenous” and their “others” rather than in properties inherent only to those we call “indigenous” themselves” (Merlan 2009:305). This relational notion harkens back to Barth’s (1969) conception of ethnic groups as being bounded entities defined by relations with other groups. Furthermore, by focusing on relations we can begin to understand not only the variety of indigeneities but also the similarities between them and how essentialist notions regarding indigenous peoples arise. As Kenrick and Lewis (2004:9) argue, a relational understandings of indigeneity is focused on the “fundamental issues of power and dispossession that those calling themselves indigenous are concerned to address” as well as the “enduring social, economic and religious practices that constitute their relationships with land, resources, and other people” (see also Eriksen 2001; Warren and Jackson 2002; Sawyer 2004). The relational approach to indigeneity allows us to consider the historical relations that come to define a people as well as the contemporary relations that allow for cultural continuity,

providing a viable alternative to essentialist conceptions of indigenous peoples. Moreover, it is more reflective of indigenous sociality in the contemporary era, especially with those living in indigenous frontiers where contact with non-indigenous peoples is much greater. At these points, as we will see below, individuals assert a generalized indigenous identity as either *nativo*, *indígena*, or *indio* versus the *wirakuchas* (mestizos) and *gringos*. This generalized relational construction of indigeneity brings indigenous peoples together, even if they speak different languages and have different cultural systems, as they all understand this dichotomy as they have all had historical encounters with this monolithic other.

Although there are many problems with people utilizing essentialist notions to define others, just as there are problems with constructivist interpretations, when one draws up essentialist ideals for the performance or articulation of their own identity it can be seen as an empowering move. This operational or strategic essentialism, defined by Spivak (1985[1996]:213) as the “strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest,” aids us in understanding the varied ways in which indigenous peoples utilize their identities in political spheres (see also Butler 1988; Whitten, Jr. 2003). Strategic essentialism is a conscious act by individuals to utilize perceived essential qualities for political gain. As Conklin (1997:712; see also Conklin and Graham 1995) notes, the strategic representation of indigeneity for the pursuance of goals drawn from the indigenous rights movement, although possibly beneficial, is also fraught with contradictions and problems. The emphasis on aesthetics, for example the use of face paint and ‘traditional’ dress, to determine authenticity places much pressure on indigenous peoples to perform these identities.

Once again, there are elements of essentialized indigenous identities in the Pastaza basin with the Inga-speaking peoples. I have often thought that some individuals will take on a

Quechua identity, found a community on the main river, align themselves with the Quechua indigenous federation, and assert this identity to attain access to the numerous benefits being implemented thanks to the ongoing political actions of the Inga-speaking peoples. These struggles have brought about a number of projects that only benefit those living in certain regions and speaking certain languages (e.g., on the Pastaza River proper and speaking either Quechua or Achuar). These projects include critical infrastructural developments such as electricity, water filtration, sanitation services, and telecommunications technologies. As we will see below when discussing *Ilakta* foundation, these projects act as attractors for those living on the margins of indigenous territories, bringing them into communities.

In general, indigeneity is, as Andrew Canessa (2012:4) notes, “highly contingent ... [and] thoroughly imbricated with gendered, racial, and linguistic identities and informed by a historical consciousness.” Orin Starn (2011:192) understands indigeneity as a “matter of becoming, not a fixed state of being, a historically contingent and sometimes very powerful form of cultural identity and political organizing.” Thinking through indigeneity in these terms is quite helpful as we can highlight the fluidity of indigenous identities as well as their situatedness. Virtanen (2010) provides an excellent example of this, examining the multiple levels of indigeneity enacted by migrant indigenous youths in the capital city of Rio Branco, Brazil. These youths, from Amazonian groups such as the Apurinã, Cashinahua, and Machineri, have migrated from rural Amazonia to the city, often following their parents who are working in the larger indigenous movement, or for reasons such as education, securing a job, or enlisting in the military. Virtanen (2010:162) sees these indigenous youths utilizing a constructed essentialist identity, as both a basis for “new political claims [and] as a distinguishing marker for demanding and ensuring equal opportunities, especially in education.” Here we can understand the myriad

ways in which indigenous peoples rely on the malleability of indigeneity not only to make political claims, as mentioned above, but also to differentiate themselves from others within the urban arena. In the Pastaza basin, and western Amazonia more generally, however, many youths of indigenous heritage are less-likely to assert indigenous identities when moving into urban areas due to the perception of *mestizos* that indigenous peoples are somehow lesser. This racism intrinsic to urban life is also a serious issue in the maintenance of indigenous languages and identities outside of traditional territories, often leading to the loss of these characteristics within a generation or two.

The recognition of how indigenous peoples reclaim, forge, and re-forge their identities dependent upon context, both strategically and socially, is reflected in the work of Marshall Sahlins (1999, 2000). This project, known as the *indigenization of modernity*, puts the agency of indigenous peoples at the forefront. Rather than simply being pawns in the larger global capitalist systems or the victims of neoliberal multiculturalism, the indigenization of modernity highlights the ways indigenous peoples, as a response to the fear of culture loss, attempt to “indigenize” these very systems (Sahlins 1999:x; see also Whitten, Jr. 2008; cf. Platt 2008). A group’s “cultural identity” is always “provisional, insecure, conceived as something it can ‘lose’,” through appropriation, pollution, or a combination of both (Harrison 1999:13). By indigenizing modernity, indigenous peoples do not resist modernity, but instead attempt to fashion it to their needs. Although not explicit, this is exemplified in the work of Shane Greene (2009), who, drawing from his long-term ethnographic studies among the Awajún of San Martín and Amazonas, Peru, argues that modernity has put indigenous peoples into a tough position as they are forced to collaborate with government entities, transnational NGOs, and extractivist corporations, among others. Rather than follow so-called ‘traditional’ paths related to shamanism

or warfare, which had marked Awajún masculinity for hundreds of years, contemporary Awajún leaders instead “talk to paper” when dealing with the state and transnational NGOs, placing the prior cultural frames associated with warrior-shamans onto indigenous leaders in their relations with the Peruvian state. This shift is critical and highlights the importance of cultural creativity in the contemporary experience of indigenous peoples in Latin America. Indeed, we must avoid essentializing post-contact indigenous peoples as “merely artificial reinventions of past cultures,” and instead understand them within regional systems of interaction, focusing on macro-effects on local peoples (Hornborg and Hill 2011:19). Through Sahlin’s notion of *indigenizing modernity* and the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis discussed throughout this text, we can begin to understand how it is exactly that indigenous peoples creating communities in indigenous frontiers actively shape their social reality.

### **Defining Selves and Integrating Others**

Indigenous peoples throughout the Pastaza basin obviously recognize that there are multiple indigenous groups, all of which have their particular cultures and languages. They also recognize indigenous peoples from other regions, especially other Quechua or Quichua-speaking peoples, and actively integrate these individuals into their social world. Reeve (1985) notes that the Curaray Runa, emanating from the region of the Curaray River and the confluence with the Villano River, distinguish multiple regions of Runa peoples. While the Curaray Runa are *Curaraymanda* (lit. “from the Curaray”), those from the headwaters of the Pastaza, near Puyo as well as the Bobonaza River, known in the ethnographic literature as the Canelos Quichua (see Whitten, Jr. 1976, 1985, 2008) are *Pastazamanda* (lit. “from the Pastaza”). The Curaray Runa recognize a shared connection with the Canelos Quichua, as they “speak like those who are Pastazamanda” (Reeve 1985:8). These two groups are then contrasted with those who are

*Napomanda* (lit. “from the Napo”) (see Macdonald 1999; Uzendoski 2005; Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy 2012), who speak a different dialect which according to the Curaray Runa “sounds funny and makes people laugh” (Reeve 1985:9). Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza basin also differentiate between these groups, although the terminology is heavily drawn from the relationships with those surrounding them. They recognize the San Martín Runa (*San Martín runakuna* or *Lamistukuna*), with whom they are able to converse without any issues due to the similarities in their dialects.<sup>98</sup> The integration of San Martín Quechua-speaking individuals into the Inga social system is quite high, with a number of communities being founded by those from Chazuta and Lamas, as well as many marriages between San Martín Quechua and Inga-speaking peoples. The Canelos-Quichua speakers north of the Peru-Ecuador border, especially those along the Bobonaza, are known as *sarayaku runakuna*, a term which the nearby Candoshi also use (*saraiku*). There are also *Tigremanda* (also known as *Pumayakumanda*) and *Corrientesmanda*, from the Tigre and Corrientes Rivers, who have a dialect very close to the Canelos Quichua, and are also on occasion joined together under the name of *sarayaku runa*. Likewise, the Candoshi (*mulato*), Achuar (*auca*), Kukama (*kukama*), Shawi (*chayahuita*), and Urarina (*shimaku*) peoples that surround the core of Inga-speaking communities along the Pastaza River are also viewed as being integrated into their regional system of inter-ethnic marriage and exchange.

Reeve (1985) also highlights the Curaray Runas’ active integration of other indigenous peoples into their communities, viewing both the Napo Runa and the Achuar as being participants in their particular system of intermarriage (see Reeve 1985:9). This notion of including the ‘Other’ in networks of regional interaction, I believe, is quite common to western

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<sup>98</sup> This includes the presence of possessive suffixes which are not found among the Quichua speakers north of the Peru-Ecuador border.

Amazonia, especially among populations that underwent catechization by the Jesuits in the 16th and 17th centuries. This trend is perhaps even more prominent among those living in indigenous frontiers, where there is a high number of interethnic marriages and a fluidity of indigenous identities. As we have seen, Inga-speaking peoples view their system of marriage as being widely integrated with many other indigenous groups of the Pastaza basin as well as the western Peruvian Amazon more generally. While the latter is not explicit, marriages with Kukama-Kukamiria, Shawi, Awajún, Candoshi, Achuar, Urarina, and other groups is common, especially on the frontiers of traditional indigenous territories.<sup>99</sup>

Language, as in many indigenous groups throughout lowland South America and elsewhere, is critical in creating and maintaining ethnic boundaries within multi-ethnic regions. I would often question my indigenous colleagues about what makes an individual a member of a certain ethnic group, such as the Candoshi or the Pastaza Quechua. The answers that I received always pointed to being able to speak whatever language is spoken most commonly in the community one is living in at a high-level and integrating oneself into the community as much as possible. This process of language acquisition, however, also carried a negative connotation for some individuals within the community who saw those in the process of learning a language as being somehow inauthentic. For example, individuals would refer to those living in the community who perhaps came from a primarily Candoshi-speaking community as being ‘learners’ (*aprendistas*) or *yachakukkuna*. Reeve (1985) found a very similar situation throughout the Canelos-Quichua territory, with Quichua-speakers from the Napo region having to learn the Northern Pastaza Quechua dialect if they wanted to be “fully integrated into a

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<sup>99</sup> While I have not found any marriages between Inga-speaking peoples and the Huaorani, I suspect they are found among those who identify as Andoa, speaking Inga, who live in Ecuador (see Duche Hidalgo 2005)

community.” As Reeve (1985:9) notes about the Curaray Runa of the Ecuadorian Oriente, a group closely related to the Canelos Quichua, the “Curaray Runa possess a sense of identity as Runa that includes reference to a distinct origin as either Achuar, Canelos, Napo Quichua or Zaparoan,” and that those who have descended from these various groups maintain such identities through oral historical narratives and minimal knowledge of their ancestor’s languages. In the Pastaza basin, we see the same thing, with certain aspects of non-Runa identities being embedded in mythology, history, and ritual practice. The work of Choquevilca (2018) in the upper Pastaza basin demonstrates how Inga-speaking peoples around the villages of Andoas and Sabaloyaku utilize Zaparoan words in their ritual practices as a means of ‘masking’ embedded indigenous identities.

This fluidity of identity, the embedding of multiple identities through language, and the difficulties of defining one’s indigenous affiliation is complicated even further due to the mobility and integration of other indigenous peoples into numerous indigenous groups. Among the Shiwiar of the Corrientes River, for example, we find several surnames that are also found among the Achuar of the Huasaga and Manchari, the Candoshi of the Manchari and Huitoyacu, the Inga-speaking peoples of the Pastaza River, and the Canelos Quichua and Achuar peoples of the Curaray, Bobonaza, and upper Pastaza Rivers. These names, with various spellings, are reflective of a shared history in this region, linked to ethnic groups from the Colonial Era, *patrones*, and others, and indigenous sociality, characterized by marriage exchange between and amongst ethnic groups. These names are many: Cariajano (Shiwiar, Achuar, Quechua, Candoshi), Gualinga/Hualinga (Canelos Quichua, Achuar, Shiwiar, Quechua), Dahua/Dagua (Canelos Quichua, Achuar, Quechua), Sandi/Santi (Canelos Quichua, Shiwiar, Quechua), and many, many more. Likewise, the presence of certain surnames is also reflective of indigenous

mobility in the Upper Amazon since the Colonial Era, such as surnames commonly associated with the *ayllus* of Lamas, Peru, such as Tapullima, Salas, and Sangama. One of my compadres, Pedro, discussing his last name told me that “el apellido Pipa no es cualquier, es de San Martín,” reflecting the general notion that the roots of many of those living within the Pastaza basin are from elsewhere—either further down the Marañón or from the Huallaga basin. This is also common among the Canelos-Quichua speaking peoples living in the region of Puyo, Ecuador, who view their origins from the region of Yurimaguas, Peru (Whitten 1976:15). There are also surnames that are perhaps linked to extinct ethnic groups from the Colonial Era, such as Maynas and Pinchis, referring to the Mainas and Pinches peoples.<sup>100</sup> Here again, following Choquevilca (2018), we can think of indigenous identities being embedded not only in language use but also in individual surnames, linking them back to historical groups. The Pinchis, for example, are recognized by those with the surname as being a historically important indigenous group that disappeared only within the last hundred years. Within the ethnohistory of the Pastaza basin, people place the Pinchis people in the community of Sabaloyaku, near the actual location of the Jesuit mission of San Josef de Pinches. In explaining the disappearance of these peoples as a distinct indigenous group, people tell the story of a great *yanapuma*, a mythical black jaguar, which arrived in the community within the past century and slaughtered all of those living within it (see also Rivas Panduro 2007).

While indigenous peoples still define themselves relationally, positioning themselves opposite of other indigenous groups, mestizos, and others, they have also taken on a wider generalized indigenous identity opposed to non-indigenous peoples. These indigenous identities

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<sup>100</sup> Pinchis could also be transplants from San Martín as Pinchi is a somewhat common name in the region around Tarapoto (see Maskrey et al 1991:105).

are validated through their interactions with NGOs, petroleum companies, and, perhaps most importantly, the Peruvian state. Today, various government programs such as Programa Juntos, Pensión 65, and Beca 18 all require individuals to integrate themselves further into the state through the acquisition of DNIs (*Documento Nacional de Identidad*, National Identity Document). While some older individuals did not have DNIs while I was conducting fieldwork, toward the end of my fieldwork period in mid-2015 almost every individual in the community had obtained the critically important identity document. Others (Allard and Walker 2016; Guzmán Gallegos 2009; Penfield 2015; Walker 2015, 2016) have commented on the importance of identity documents in the indigenization of modernity throughout the Amazon region, noting their importance not only in wider social interactions with the state but also within indigenous communities themselves. Indeed, recently ECUANARI (*Ecuador Runakunapak Rikcharimuy*, Ecuadorian Indigenous Movement) began issuing their own indigenous “passports” to further assert their own indigeneity while traveling throughout the region. In Mushu Kawsay, individuals who did not have the document were often derided by their fellow community members as being “*awka shina*,” or like the *awka* (Achuar), who are viewed as not being integrated into the wider world of Amazonian social life. This is another critical point that differentiates Inga sociality from that of the prototypical other, the *awka*, in that Inga-speakers actively engage with the outside world and ‘modernity’ while this is actively rejected by the Achuar and others like them. Today, every individual in Peru has to obtain a DNI in order to receive social services, especially health care, as well as engage in the political process. Thus, when a child is born in the community, following the observation of the *couvade*, the parents will travel to San Lorenzo in order to obtain a DNI for the child so they can utilize the health services provided by the *puesto de salud* in Loboyaku. The Peruvian government also recognizes,

however, that the mobility of indigenous peoples in the region is limited due to the cost of gasoline among other factors. To remedy this while also observing the law, the RENIEC (*Registro Nacional de Identificación y Estado Civil*, National Registry of Identification and Civil Status) will periodically travel to Loboyaku or Alianza Cristiana to allow individuals to register themselves with the state and obtain their DNI.

### **Llakta Foundation in Indigenous Frontiers**

Bowser and Patton (2004), in their ethnohistorical work with Achuar and Quichua speaking indigenous peoples in the Ecuadorian Oriente, found that there is a distinct separation between Quichua-speakers and Achuar-speakers. The community they conducted their fieldwork in was set up in opposition between these two groups, with the Achuar living upriver from the community center and the Quichua-speakers living downriver. There are similar patterns in some of the Quechua-dominant communities throughout the Pastaza basin. For example, the community of Alianza Cristiana is predominantly Quechua, although there are certainly Achuar and Candoshi-speakers among them. Yet, just south of Alianza Cristiana is the community of Achuar Anatico, an Achuar dominant community in opposition to the Quechua-speakers north of them. Such spatial divisions are also found along rivers themselves, such as the Manchari River, where we find a Quechua-speaking community near its mouth, a Candoshi-speaking community about two hours upriver, followed by another Quechua-speaking community, and finally, an Achuar-dominant community. Yet, in the indigenous frontiers of the region, these divisions have decreased as indigenous peoples of multiple ethnicities come together as Inga-speaking peoples—perhaps holding onto their previous indigenous identity while also actively forging new identities, especially in their children’s generation.

Taylor (1999:236) has argued that bilingualism in the upper Amazon is limited in scale, as indigenous peoples “who, through temporary transculturation have become proficient in another language (e.g., Quichua), do not attempt to transmit this mastery to their offspring.” Yet, in the frontiers of indigenous territories—and throughout what we often think of as bounded, singular indigenous groups—people from many different backgrounds integrate themselves into communities and become part of the indigenous group themselves (see, for example, Cepek 2012; Fisher 2000). Throughout the entirety of the Pastaza basin we can see a similar pattern of contemporary processes of ethnogenesis, with sibling exchange, marriage, and mobility changing what it is to identify as a particular indigenous identity, as well as indigeneity more broadly. Acting as though such social and cultural processes are intrinsically connected to some sort of ontological base that restricts personal agency to such an extreme is problematic. In the community of Mushu Kawsay, there was a conscious effort by those who spoke Candoshi as their first language to learn Inga at a high-level. Even more important, however, was their attempts to instruct their children in the language rather than in Candoshi. After the death of the *kuraka*'s sister, Segunda, from hepatitis-B delta, her widower and his brother-in-law, Armancio actively constructed an Inga identity for both himself and his children. Although Armancio was a Candoshi-speaker by birth, coming from the Tutapishku Quebrada, he had learned Quechua through his wife and by living near the Quechua-speaking community of Mushu Kawsay. After the year-long requisite mourning period, he moved into the community and pushed himself to get his Quechua up-to-snuff. Rather than speak to his children in Candoshi—which they understood fluently as that was the main language spoken at home while his wife was still alive and they lived outside the community—he instead spoke to them only in Quechua, ensuring that they too would be able to easily move between indigenous worlds when necessary. He would also try to

integrate himself into the early morning *wayusa* (*Ilex guayusa*) drinking rituals with other Inga-speaking men. Here too, he would focus on improving his linguistic abilities rather than fall back on his Candoshi—a language which most of those living within Mushu Kawsay also spoke at least at a reasonable level. This same process—*tukuhun*, becoming—I am told, also takes place in Candoshi communities where Inga or Kukama-speaking men who have married into the communities attempt to both learn the Candoshi language as well as pass it on to their children.

This process of language acquisition as a means to shift one's family generationally from one indigenous group to another is reminiscent of the *gumsa* and *gumlao* distinctions found in Leach's (1965) investigation of Kachin-Shan social relations, although happening within a much tighter timeframe. Rather than being politically motivated or motivated through debt relations due to brideprice, the movement from Candoshi to Inga, Inga to Candoshi, or any other variety of movements within these indigenous frontiers, is more closely connected to issues related to sibling exchange and the need to speak the language of the community in which one resides. Yet, the foundation of Inga *llaktas* is certainly related to issues of both political and social upheaval, with *ayllus* that may be Candoshi-dominant shifting toward Inga-speaking as a means to escape conflict. The foundation of Mushu Kawsay, described below, is very much a common trope of indigenous sociality in the region and is reflective of larger patterns related to fission and fusion.

Mushu Kawsay, a small Inga-speaking community at the confluence of the Manchari and Pastaza Rivers, was only founded some six years prior to my arrival in the region in 2014. Its history is one of interethnic conflict and cooperation, resulting in the creation of a new *llakta* which is also interethnic—although the focus is on *becoming* an Inga-speaking community rather than latching onto previous identities. The *kuraka* of Mushu Kawsay, Mashiku, was originally born in the area around Kushilla on the Manchari River. Both of his parents were Candoshi

speakers, while his grandmother on his mother's side was a Quechua-speaker, whom he attributes with providing him with the cultural and linguistic base needed to shift toward a Quechua identity. He, and other members of his *ayllu*, were also Candoshi speakers although they were heavily integrated with other Quechua communities, such as Loboyaku and Sungache. Unfortunately, however, Mashiku's brother had murdered another individual in Kushilla, which caused his family to flee to the community of Alianza Cristiana, a Quechua-dominant community located on banks of Lago Anatico off the Huasaga River. He stayed with his Candoshi-speaking sister who had married an Inga-speaking man in the community until things calmed down. After some time, he returned to the Manchari River, although building his new home near the mouth of the river, some distance from the community of Kushilla.

Others soon built their homes in the same vicinity, though still keeping some distance between them. Pedro and Marta, for example, built their new home near the upper reaches of the *brazo* that runs along the Isla Manchari. Andrés and Julia, a Kukama-speaker and a Shipibo-speaker, already had a home on the left bank of the Pastaza River some twenty minutes from the mouth of the Manchari. Yet, even with their homes being over an hour away from Kushilla by canoe, they were still within the territorial jurisdiction of the titled community, which required them to participate in weekly communal assemblies in Kushilla as well as engage in communal labor such as clearing the plaza of weeds or assisting in activities at the primary school. Moreover, although many of those living in the region of the mouth of the Manchari River spoke Candoshi fluently, others were not as agile in the language. Kushilla, however, was a Candoshi-dominant community and all communal assemblies were conducted in Candoshi alone, leaving the monolingual Quechua-speaking individuals to rely on the translations of others to be able to follow community actions.

These conflicts over territoriality and labor began to intensify over the years until they finally came to a head just before the foundation of Mushu Kawsay. Those living in the mouth of the Manchari had set out to clear the forest to make a new *chakra* for Alonso who had recently married his wife Diana. After they had already cleared the forest and burnt the felled foliage (*waktashka*), representatives from the community of Kushilla arrived to tell them that they had to stop and that they could not make a *chakra* there because it was Kushilla's terrain. Those who had arrived from Kushilla told them that they had already called the police using the shortwave radio and that they would be arriving in the region soon, although many did not believe their tale. This connection between community fission due to conflict and the later realignment and foundation of a new *llakta* is common throughout the Pastaza basin. As Whitten (1976:125) notes about the Canelos Quichua, *llakta* formation "coincides with *llakta* fission and realignment, the concept being a dynamic one which involves members in constant conflict and conflict resolution." While he does not delve into the interethnic conflicts that generate many of these issues, nor the subsequent realignment of multiple ethnic groupings under the singular heading of Quechua-speaking peoples, we can assume that similar issues arise wherever we find indigenous frontiers where multiple indigenous groups coming together.

After the confrontations with the population of Kushilla, those living in the mouth of the Manchari River had a reunion in which they detailed their plans to create their own community. Mashiku, who would become the *apu* of the community, said that they could use his Inga-speaking grandmother's *purma*<sup>101</sup> on the right bank of the Pastaza River, just downstream from the mouth of the Manchari. This would give them access to the Isla Manchari, the Murupichku Quebrada, the *brazo* that allows one to access the *varadero* to cross over to the Nucuray basin,

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<sup>101</sup> *Purmas*, or abandoned garden plots, are also known as *tsamahi* in the Inga language.

and the Pastaza River itself. The location allowed both a high amount of mobility for the local population and intense contacts with multiple indigenous groups as well as the *wirakuchas* that utilized the Pastaza River to transport goods to Andoas. Supposedly PetroPerú, when they were still working in the region and doing exploration work in the early 1970s, used the area as a base for their operations as the straightness of the river allowed floatplanes to easily land there. After deciding on the location, they began clearing the land—chopping down the numerous trees that dotted the area and burned the felled foliage (*waktahun*). Interestingly, the first individual to actually construct their home in the newly cleared area was a mestizo with Shawi origins, Roberto, who had run a small *bodega* in Kushilla. Soon after he began construction, Alonso and his wife Diana began constructing their home directly next door to Roberto.

When I asked Alonso why he decided to live in a community rather than follow the typical lifestyle associated with Candoshi speaking peoples, that is, in singular homes located at some distance from one another, he told me: “Yo no soy antiguo y costumbrado de acá, así Quechua—yo no quiero ser Candoshi para vivir solo... no, no me gusta. Puedo vivir en caserío, mejor.” (“I’m not like the ancient ones, I’m accustomed to life here as a Quechua. I don’t want to be Candoshi to live alone... No, I don’t like it. I can live better in a village.”). Here we see one of the main factors in the ongoing ethnogenesis of Inga-speaking peoples in the Pastaza basin: the rejection of the social life associated with other indigenous groups, such as the Achuar and Candoshi. This differentiation between perceptions of indigenous socialities was common—Quechua peoples lived in settled communities while Candoshi peoples lived as families, alone and away from other people (see Surrallés 2009). Those who felt greater connections to the wider social world of Amazonia, through their travels or pursuit of education, would opt to live in a Quechua-speaking community rather than in a home some distance from their friends and

relatives, as is the case with the Candoshi.

After Roberto and Alonso had constructed their homes and moved all their belongings to the new community, the others that had been living in the mouth of the Manchari River soon followed suit. They had originally named the community Murupichku (lit. multicolored bird), which is also the name of the nearby creek where a number of the Candoshi-speaking individuals in the community had come from. The Peruvian government, however, pushed back against this name for reasons I was unable to ascertain, and the community decided upon Mushu Kawsay after some discussion. With the foundation of the community officially recognized by the district government in Andoas, they began their long journey toward becoming a *comunidad nativa*, which required them to follow the many rules laid out in previous chapters. The most important of these, however, was the establishment of a local government with an *apu*, *segundo apu*, *teniente gobernador*, *agente municipal*, *secretaria*, *vocales*, and *tesorero*. The structure outlined of the native community, with its emphasis on local democracy and an imposed social organization from the state, allows indigenous peoples with different cultural backgrounds to come together under the banner of indigeneity. This structure, with the *apu* as the de facto leader of the community, is common to all indigenous peoples in the Peruvian Amazon today. As such, moving from one community to the next is less of a structural move than a cultural one. Yet, even the latter in certain regions, such as the Pastaza basin, is less problematic than one would think due to the ongoing exchange and sharing of ideas in the region among Jivaroan, Candoa-Shapra, and Quechua-speakers over the past 400 years in which many of the cultural characteristics are shared to a degree, with only the issue of translation coming to light (Cunha 1998; Taylor 2014).

Following the establishment of the local government, in this case with Mashiku as the apu—a position he has held since its foundation—and the other positions rotating based on whomever had volunteered that particular year, the community could begin its trek toward being officially recognized as a native community and titling its land. As Whitten (1976) notes, much as we see here, the founder of a *llakta* should be one that practices shamanism, although they should not be a *buruhu* or *banku* shaman as that can bring danger to the *kuraka*'s *ayllu* members. The most interesting aspect, however, is that although this is an Inga community—both recognized as such by the Peruvian state and by the local population—the ‘founder’ primarily identified as Candoshi up until recently. This, however, is also somewhat common throughout the Pastaza basin as those who are not “Inga”—in other words, those who have not grown up within an Inga-speaking community—are sometimes the founders of Inga communities. Another community near the Achuar community of Siwin in the Upper Pastaza is the same—an Achuar individual married a Quechua-speaking woman and moved out of Siwin to the area around the mouth of the quebrada. He founded a community there as an Achuar-speaker, yet, the community itself is a Quechua-speaking community and he has gone out of his way to both learn Quechua at a high-level as well as the various cultural characteristics associated with being an Inga-speaker. At least two individuals from San Martín, both of which are native Quechua-speakers (*Llakwash*), also founded communities in the region, titling them as Pastaza Quechua communities and integrating themselves with the sociality of the region. This movement of other indigenous peoples into the traditional territories of the Inga, and the subsequent adoption, *tukuhun*, of Inga identity—if not in the current generation then certainly in the generation of their children—seems to reflect a common pattern in the region, and may be reflective of similar

situations in other regions of Amazonia where we find indigenous territories up against one another.

### **The Organizing Power of Indigeneity**

As has been argued repeatedly for the past thirty years, indigeneity and indigenous identity have become critical for the advancement of the political struggles of the rural peasantry in Amazonia and elsewhere in Latin America. For Whitten (2008:198), the *runa* of the Canelos region of the Ecuadorian Oriente present themselves “on their own terms” in their interactions with the state and others outside their regional system. This echoes the work of Shane Greene (2009), who notes the customization of indigeneity in the Awajún peoples struggles with the Peruvian government and modernity in general. As mentioned earlier, Greene (2009) argues that Awajún leadership within communities has shifted from being focused on shamanic intervention in the world around them to a “textual” path, with positions such as the *apu* being occupied by young, educated Awajún men. Yet, indigeneity as an organizing principle—bringing together multiple indigenous groups as “indigenous peoples” versus those who are non-indigenous has been infrequently explored in the Peruvian Amazon. This theme, however, was prevalent in everyday relations in the *llakta* of Mushu Kawsay, especially in relation to the state, river traders, and other mestizos living within the community itself. Individuals of indigenous heritage would often set themselves apart from those who identified as mestizo, even as those mestizos were heavily integrated into the community.

In the Inga language, the term *wirakucha* (*viracocha*) is used when referring to non-indigenous mestizos as well as river traders with whom the Inga-speakers have extensive relations. This term comes from the Inca empire and was used to refer to the supreme god in Inca cosmology that was understood to have created the universe and all things within it (Zuidema

1962; Salomon et al. 1991). As Dean (2009) notes, the term was used by the Jesuit missionaries to refer to newly converted indigenous peoples who had recently entered the mission system. For the Inga, the term has a slight negative connotation due to its connections to *habilitación* and ongoing unequal economic relations with numerous river traders throughout the region, as well as Peruvian society more widely. One day, discussing recent events in the community that had led to violence and ultimately two families moving out of the *llakta* with Simión, he mentioned to me that the real issue was not the infidelity that had led to the violence but the mestizo who had been involved in the conflict. He told me that “*el mestizo es el enemigo del nativo*” (“the mestizo is the native’s enemy”), asserting that it was the mestizo’s lack of integration into the community and his ignorance of indigenous sociality. This is an inversion of the typical social continuum as understood in the Peruvian Amazon and as discussed in chapter one: awka or ‘uncivilized’ indigenous peoples at the bottom, followed by catechized indigenous peoples, then finally the mestizo and those of European descent at the top. What we find here, however, is the construction of indigenous peoples as a local category encompassing the first two categories, awka and catechized indian, and placing this at the top of the social hierarchy.

In *tantarinas*, or communal assemblies, there would be references to the indigeneity of the community’s inhabitants without direct references to a particular indigenous identity, such as Candoshi, Achuar, or Inga while also setting themselves against the other mestizos living there. One morning in April 2015, the community had gathered for the weekly *tantarina* in the newly constructed communal building that also served as the primary school. This particular week, the pre-school and kindergarten teacher, who identified as *mestiza* but had also grown up in the Inga-speaking community of Santa María, had wanted to make preparations for the upcoming festivities planned for Mother’s Day. The prior year the community had a large drinking party

with individuals arriving from other communities both up and down river such as Sungache, Kushilla, Santa María, and San Fernando for the all-night festivities. While the school teacher went on in Spanish about the need for the parents to bring prepared food, such as rice, chicken, and the food provided through the government's social programs such as *Programa Juntos*, one of the other community members, Crishu, interjected. He told the gathered community members, “*Mamakuna, papakuna apamunchi mikunata! Patarashka de callampa, patarashka de chonta,*<sup>102</sup> *chaykuna. ¡Porque indígena kahunchi mana salakuk mikunata apamunchichu!*” (“Mothers, fathers, we will bring food here! Callampa patarashka, chonta patarashka, these types of foods. Because we are indigenous, we will not bring heavily salted<sup>103</sup> foods!”). The term *indígena*, rather than *runa*, Inga, or Kandwash (Candoshi), is used to refer to the local populace, setting them apart from the other mestizo interlocutors involved in the *tantarina*. In this brief declaration, he also separates indigenous sociality and culture from the wider Peruvian society based around the foods one eats. Fresh foods collected from the forest—mushrooms, peach palm hearts, as well as game animals and fish—are what indigenous peoples eat, while heavily salted food, both canned goods and foods with a heavy amount of preservatives are what non-indigenous peoples consume. His focus on salted foods also demonstrates the recognition that indigenous peoples use heavy amounts of salt to preserve food for sale, such as the massive amounts of fish captured during the spawns throughout the year or game animals like *sachawagra* (*Tapirus terrestris*), which can be easily sold to river traders.

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<sup>102</sup> Callampa is the term used to refer to comestible ‘wood ear’ mushrooms (*Auricularia* spp.) that grow on bark of both living and fallen trees, while chonta refers to the heart of the peach palm (*Bactris gasipaes*). *Patarashka* is used to refer to foods that are wrapped in a leaf, such as *bijao*, and cooked.

<sup>103</sup> This use of *salakuk mikuna* is used to reference canned foods rather than the usual use for referring to hunted meat or fish that has been salted for storage and sale.

In other *tantarinas* throughout my stay in the community of Mushu Kawsay, this dichotomy between indigenous and non-indigenous socialities would constantly be brought to the forefront. Paradoxically, the terms used to distinguish the indigenous inhabitants from non-indigenous inhabitants, however, were primarily drawn from the Spanish language. Indeed, rather than using indigenous terms, they would inevitably use one of three terms: *indígena*, *nativo*, and *indio*. This conception of indigeneity as binding multiple indigenous peoples together against the Spanish-speaking mainstream Amazonian society can be seen from two perspectives. First, in the Candoa-Shapra, Quechuan, and Jivaroan languages spoken in the region, there are social distinctions between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. For many Inga-speaking peoples, for example, the term *runa*, while often used to refer directly to themselves as an ethnonym, is also used to refer to indigenous peoples in general. Likewise, the Candoshi use the term *papachi* to refer to non-indigenous peoples while encapsulating all other indigenous groups into the category of *tonari*, which also has the connotation of being potential affines within their social sphere (Surrallés 2009). While the various indigenous languages spoken in the region contain the vocabulary for these distinctions, the ways local peoples would further frame these ideas were reflective of wider social processes related to the indigenous movement in the region and throughout Latin America more generally.

These feedback loops between wider political processes related to the indigenous movement and the understanding of indigeneity in communities that are marginal, rather than centrally involved, to these processes are infrequently discussed in the ethnographic literature of lowland Amazonia. They are, however, exceptionally important in beginning to understand how indigeneity itself is a means for the continued ethnogenesis of Inga-speaking peoples and the “resistance” to non-indigenous identities throughout the Pastaza basin. In my conversations with

Mashiku about this topic, he would constantly make reference to his own discussions with the president of FEDIQUEP, Aurelio Chino Dahua. Aurelio, who was discussed in the last chapter, was constantly moving between social worlds. One day he would be drinking *masato* with his wife in their small *wasi* located in the community of Loboyaku on the Pastaza River, while the next day he could be flying out of Lima for a meeting in New York with the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. His movement between the Pastaza basin and the rest of the world, as well as his engagement with the indigenous rights movement more generally, allowed him to have a distinct perspective on indigeneity and its power for local peoples. Moreover, he would share this knowledge with those living in the Pastaza basin through large-scale general assemblies (*atun tantarinas*) as well as in conversations with local leaders whenever he would stop over in communities. Indeed, in my conversations with Mashiku about indigenous identity, he said “Aurelio me dijo que soy un indígena nativo” (“Aurelio told me I am a native indigenous person”), reflecting the effects the political movement has had on local understandings of indigeneity. As shown above with the discussion of local *tantarinas*, we can also see how these understandings have flowed to the general populace, being taken up in everyday speech as a means to differentiate the Inga-speaking peoples of various indigenous backgrounds living in the indigenous frontiers of the Pastaza basin from the *wirakuchas* and other non-indigenous peoples with whom they interact on a daily basis.

### **Ali Kawsana: The Limits of *buen vivir***

The notions detailed above of contrasting indigenous being with that of non-indigenous peoples are also found in a critical concept that is central to the social relations of Quechua-speaking peoples throughout South America. This concept, best known as *sumak kawsay* or *buen vivir*—translated as the “good life” or “living well”—is crucial for understanding contemporary

indigenous lifeways (Hidalgo-Capitán and Cubillo-Guevara 2017; Radcliffe 2012; Sieder and Barrera Vivero 2017; Whitten, Jr. and Whitten 2015; Uzendoski 2018). In the Inga language, much as in other Quechuan languages, we also find this concept, here known as *ali kawsana*. While the notion is often connected to the politics of decolonization in the Amazon region, arising from the indigenous movement and reflecting back to indigenous communities, it was unclear if this was the case in Mushu Kawsay. The idea was first presented to me by a young monolingual Quechua-speaking woman who had very little connection to the indigenous movement, but it is very possible that the idea has come from outside of the region. The work of Overing and Passes (2000) on the notion of conviviality in indigenous Amazonian societies explores some of the same themes associated with *buen vivir* but posits it as a particularity of Amazonian sociality. They understand Amazonian indigenous conviviality as focused on “achieving a comfortable, affective life with those whom they live, work, eat, and raise children” (Overing and Passes 2000:2). How this is particular to Amazonian groups alone, however, is not clear as one would assume that this idea would be common to all human societies regardless of their origin in order to function as a social group. Regardless of its analytical value (Kohn 2005), we can see through the work of Overing and Passes (2000) a common theme in indigenous thought throughout the Amazon basin of “living well” and avoiding conflict with those they live with are crucial for the construction of indigenous identities against mainstream mestizo society. This is highlighted in the vignette below in which indigenous social relations are ruptured due to the presence of a mestizo who, in his rage, resorted to violence rather than attempting to maintain the ‘good life’ as required by the community.

One of the first major events that took place during our time in Mushu Kawsay was a local conflict that emerged from the confluence of sexuality, kinship, and interethnic relations

within the community. The cross-cutting relationships of *compadrazgo*, affinal, and consanguineal kinship were all displayed both before and after this critical event. In June of 2014, just a few months after I first arrived in the community, I made a short trip to Yurimaguas to purchase supplies and check in with my in-laws. The same day that I left on the *lancha* Erick, however, the community erupted in conflict and was radically altered in the process, with two *ayllus* splitting off and roughly twenty individuals moving to other mestizo or Quechua communities in the region. One of the three self-identifying mestizos in the community, Alberto, had recently purchased a few gallons of *aguardiente* from a *regatón* that would pass through the community about once every month and a half. To celebrate his purchase, he invited all of those living in the community to his home to drink with him and listen to music on his small stereo system. While there were a number of individuals who did not drink due to their association with the Protestant church in the area, they were well outnumbered by those who did. As has been described elsewhere in the literature of Amazonian sociality (Brown 2014; Goldman 1979; Gray 1996; C. Hugh-Jones 1979; S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Uzendoski 2005), drinking parties are often linked to both strengthening social relations between group members as well as leading to ruptures in social relationships, and this was no exception. They began drinking in the early evening, before the mosquitos and *zancudos* became too thick to deal with without being slightly inebriated. Alberto had set his stereo near the front of his home, facing the soccer field that also served as the community's *plaza*, blaring *cumbias* and *merengues* that he had transferred to a USB flash drive purchased in the city of San Lorenzo the last time he had traveled there. There, between the plaza and Pepe's home, in the cleared section, he had hastily constructed a few benches on the ground using excess lumber from the ongoing chapel construction that the Catholic priest from San Fernando had provided.

After going through the songs on the USB key for the second time with everyone exceptionally drunk, there was a call for a change to the music. One of the younger men in the community, Arturo, said that he had another USB key with better music on it, but would have to go get it from his house. At this same moment, however, his uncle, Esteban, also got up and began following Arturo back to his home. While what happened following this movement is not clear, even after talking to everyone involved, what is clear is that Arturo and Esteban had engaged in sexual relations while they were recovering the USB flash drive. Arturo had said that he did not want to live with his family anymore but instead wanted to move in with Esteban. While homosexual relationships are certainly tolerated in the region, this was viewed as a case of incestual relations, which is viewed as one of the worst things one can engage in. However, as it was roughly five in the morning, everyone felt it would be better to sleep off the issues and discuss it the next day rather than continue to engage in drunken arguments.

Roughly an hour later in front of Esteban's house, the situation became much more tense. His wife, Carlota, had a confrontation with Arturo's mother and Esteban's sister, Linda, with whom they have had many social issues going back a number of years. While these spats would usually calm after they discussed their issues, the combination of alcohol and the severity of the misconduct led to violence. Carlota had grabbed a machete during the screaming match and struck Linda in the head with it, leaving a massive gash. With the commotion and screaming, the entire community had come running to Esteban's home to see what had happened. The families were separated and everyone decided that it would be best if they waited for Mashiku, the *kuraka*, to return that afternoon from his hunting trip in order to find a solution for the issue. Once again, however, in the early afternoon there was another uproar and where we can see how *ali kawsana* is a means for controlling such outbursts and reforming the group in solidarity.

Arturo's *masha* (brother-in-law), a mestizo from the community of Ushpayacu named Pepe, hearing Carlota and Linda arguing again, came around the corner of his home with his shotgun. Esteban was already in his canoe getting ready to depart to the *brazo* and had been waiting on his wife before she started arguing. Pepe, still drunk from the night before and seeing Esteban in the canoe, shot at him, striking the water next to the canoe. At this point, Linda also entered the canoe and there was another shot before they were able to escape, thankfully unharmed.

Pepe was in a rage, however, saying that he was going to kill Linda and Esteban, as well as the rest of their family. The *kuraka* arrived in the early evening and had Pepe locked in the church while they figured out what to do. The community decided that it would be best to attempt to solve the problem, as all of those involved were members of the same *ayllu*, but Pepe refused, saying “*Yo no quiero saber de acá, la comunidad también, no quiero conversar nada, no puedo conversar de este*” (“I don’t want to know anything about this, nor the community. I don’t want to talk about it — I can’t talk about this.”). His penchant for violence, including attempting to shoot other community members, as well as his inability to engage with the community as a community member, meant that he simply could not conform to the “good life” the community expected. It was decided that he, as a mestizo, was unable to follow the rules of the community, and like other *wirakuchas* was the enemy of the indigenous people. He was expelled from the community and forced to quickly pack his things before being sent on his way back to Ushpayacu. While his indigenous in-laws stayed for another ten days or so, they too eventually moved to Ushpayacu to start their lives anew there. Esteban and his family, in contrast, moved in with other *ayllu* members in the community of Sungache, approximately an hour upriver from Mushu Kawsay. While Pepe and the other mestizos never returned to the

community, Esteban and his family still made periodic visits and were even invited to return to live there, although they had yet to accept the offer when I finished my fieldwork period.

Such tensions between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples were often on display in the community, although none as fierce as that detailed above. The other two mestizo men in the community, who were well-integrated and spoke Quechua to an extent, were also often seen as being problematic, their behavior not aligning with the notion of *ali kawsana*. For example, Roberto who ran the small *bodega* out of his home once accused two of the Evangelical community members of stealing shotgun shells based on rumors told by a child. This was bolstered by the commentary of the other mestizo, Alberto, who said that he too had heard about the theft. The rest of the community, however, pushed back against these accusations asserting that their Evangelical faith forbid them from stealing. Even more, Alberto was constantly stirring up trouble and was classified as “*ishkay shimi*” (lit. two mouths [two-faced]). The two men, aside from their accusations against other indigenous community members, would also refuse to accept one of the required governmental roles in the community, such as treasurer or secretary. Yet during the weekly *tantarinas*, they would act as though they were authorities, saying that certain things needed to change or that the *kuraka* should act in certain ways. The *kuraka*, for his part, summed up the situation in the following way: “If five or six indigenous men arrive in Iquitos, they don’t pay attention to the mestizos (“*no le hacen caso al mestizo*”), while here in the community the mestizos don’t pay attention to the indigenous peoples in the community.” *Ali kawsana* as an organizing principle, at least for the indigenous peoples of the Pastaza basin, is incompatible with the perceived lifestyle and temperament of mestizo peoples. People should do all they can to live well with their neighbors and resorting to violence should be the last option at all times. Even when violence erupts, with the political structure of the *llakta*

with the *kuraka* as the ‘head,’ individuals should allow his mediation in social problems as necessary. Just as indigenous peoples pay no attention to the mestizos when they are visiting the various cities of the Peruvian Amazon, such as Yurimaguas, San Lorenzo, and Iquitos, mestizos living within indigenous communities do not pay attention to the social rules that bind them together as a group. Rather than framing these conflicts ontologically, as in a difference in the ontological basis of reality, those within Mushu Kawsay frame these problems socially, as in a difference in how one lives within a community.

## **Conclusion**

The sorts of issues described in this chapter allow indigenous peoples to construct indigeneity as an inclusive ‘generic’ category which includes Quechua, Candoshi, Kukama, Achuar, and speakers of other indigenous languages against mainstream Amazonian mestizo society. Here the construction of indigeneity, emanating from multiple domains but heavily influenced by the wider indigenous movement in Amazonia and throughout Latin America, is reflected back to communities in indigenous frontiers where it is taken up as a means for separating themselves as indigenous from other non-indigenous peoples. This is amplified through the notion of *ali kawsana*, also known as *sumak kawsay* or *buen vivir*, the ‘good life’ which is also used as a means for maintaining social balance within *llaktas* founded in the indigenous frontiers and throughout the region. The very social character of indigenous peoples, the convivial nature of indigenous sociality, acts as a way of once again setting them apart.

These ideas come together in the contemporary processes of ethnogenesis, the conscious decisions of indigenous peoples to attempt to move between and among different indigenous identities only to solidify around a singular identity in their own or their children’s generations. This process, using indigeneity as a foundational concept which draws multiple indigenous

peoples together, and the subsequent emergence of distinct indigenous identities is encapsulated in the Quechua notion of *tukuna*. Indeed, in the community of Mushu Kawsay, the community itself is undergoing this process, *tukuhun shuk Inga llakta* (“becoming an Inga community”), even with the multiple speakers of other indigenous languages as well as *wirakuchas* in their midst. This process is surely happening in other indigenous frontiers where multiethnic communities are the norm in Western Amazonia, such as at the edges of ‘traditional’ Shawi and Lamista territories at the base of the Cordillera Escalera in San Martín, among Lamista and Awajún peoples in the Mayo basin, and Kukama and Shawi peoples in the Huallaga basin.

## VII. Constructing the Future on Indigenous Frontiers

I have attempted to present an ethnographic overview of life on the frontiers of indigenous territories, where identities are in flux and the ethnic boundaries are permeable and malleable. Building on the ethnology of western Amazonia and the Andes-Amazon interface, we have seen how distinct Quechua-speaking ethnic groups emerged out of the relationships between pre-Hispanic indigenous peoples, the Jesuit missions of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the various regional systems of interaction which are networked across the region. While some see the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis in these frontiers as problematic, linked to notions of acculturation, erasure of indigenous identity, and the further integration into the state and capitalist market, I believe this ethnography demonstrates that these fears have been overstated. Indeed, indigenous identity is bolstered by these groupings, as shown in chapters five and six, especially in relation (and reaction to) *gringos* and *mestizos* who have integrated themselves into the regional system of interaction through marriage and friendship, as well as the extraction of goods, labor, and natural resources. The notion of bounded ethnic groups with distinct cultures that have somehow survived the past five hundred years of intense contact with non-Amerindians is a fiction. Even those groups that are voluntarily isolated still maintain relations with ‘contacted’ groups through which information, disease, and other facets of mainstream society are filtered. As shown throughout this text, the relationships between Candoshi, Quechua, and Achuar speaking indigenous peoples leads to a proliferation of indigenous identities and choosing an identity is linked to notions of indigeneity as well as locality.

The historical relationships that were detailed in the first two chapters demonstrate that rather than being disconnected from the wider social spheres in western Amazonia, all indigenous peoples in the region were directly involved to a certain extent. The presence of

Jesuit missions and the imposition of Inga as a *lengua general* provided the critical base for the formation of multiethnic communities in the 18th and 19th centuries, followed by the articulation of distinct indigenous identities emerging from these indigenous amalgamations during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The teachings of the Jesuit (and Dominican, to an extent) missionaries were influential for all of the indigenous peoples in the region, creating a shared culture based in Catholic principles that continues to this day. This process also allowed certain indigenous frontiers to appear as indigenous peoples on the edges of traditional territories engaged in relations with other speakers of indigenous languages. The flexibility of the Quechua social organization, based around the notions of the *ayllu* and the *llakta*, also allowed non-Quechua speaking indigenous peoples to easily integrate themselves into this new social world with very little need of social and cosmological translation.

The process of ethnogenesis was also heavily influenced by the movement of indigenous peoples both in and out of the region during the late 19th and early 20th century. This period, associated with the rubber boom as well as other commodity booms, saw the migration of many indigenous peoples from the region around Andoas, while the Achuar and Candoshi speaking peoples of the interior were able to maintain some sovereignty. The arrival of the SIL and other missionary organizations in the mid-twentieth century also heavily contributed to the ethnogenesis of the Inga as a distinct group, as well as the emergence of *Inga rimakkuna* in the indigenous frontiers of the region. These groups were critical in the movement of indigenous peoples into settled native communities, especially following the passage of the *Ley de Comunidades Nativas* in 1974. At roughly the same time, however, the intrusion of extractive industries, especially oil, radically altered social life and remains has the greatest destructive force for local peoples.

The social organization of the Inga-speaking peoples also provides a critical base for the continued integration of others into their social world. The notion of the *ayllu*, emanating from the Andes and imposed on indigenous peoples in the region through the Jesuit missionization, provides a fluid, flexible base for social organization that allows interethnic relationships to be easily integrated. Its resemblance to Candoshi social organization, with its bilateral character and generational merging, allows the Candoshi to easily move between the social worlds. Likewise, the matrimonial focus of both Inga and Candoshi peoples on sibling exchange provides another structure that is critical for ethnogenesis, as individuals, especially men, have no trouble navigating between the Inga and Candoshi social worlds. This facilitated by the *Ley de Comunidades Nativas* which further provides a common social structure for all indigenous communities in the Peruvian Amazon. In many ways, it is through the work of the missionaries and the Peruvian government that multiple indigenous groups are able to come together as one, rejecting the mainstream mestizo society from which the ideas originally emerged and ‘indigenizing modernity’ in the process.

Shamanism is also crucial for indigenous sociality in the Pastaza basin. Throughout Amazonia, shamanism is viewed as an interethnic undertaking, requiring shamans to be socially, culturally, and linguistically agile as they move between multiple worlds—physical, social, and otherwise—in their practice to heal or harm others. The social topography of illness for many peoples is also inherently interethnic and intercultural, with illness in the form of *supaywiruti* emanating from rival indigenous groups, especially the Achuar. The linkages between shamanic practice and social organization, exemplified in the role of the *kuraka* among Inga speakers and the *koraka* among Candoshi speakers, is likewise critical for the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis in the region. As shamans are also deeply embedded into the wider indigenous

rights movement in the region in defense against the intrusion of extractivist economies, they provide a critical source of knowledge and practice for local peoples. Moreover, their connections to this wider social world also act as a conduit for the rejuvenation of certain practices as well as ideas linked to indigeneity, *buen vivir*, and other critical concepts.

Through these concepts, we can begin to see how ethnogenesis is a process with multiple interlocking parts with which indigenous peoples consciously engage. The exploration of *tukuna* (to become) in chapter six, provides a background of this process, demonstrating the various ways in which people move from one ethnic identity to another. Indigeneity itself, emanating from the indigenous rights movement and filtered through shamans and political activists back to local communities, provides a critical means by which indigenous peoples are able to construct a ‘generic’ indigenous identity not directly linked to an indigenous group (e.g., Achuar, Inga, Candoshi, or Urarina) while simultaneously setting themselves against mainstream mestizo society. Indigeneity combines with the notion of *ali kawsana*, or *buen vivir* (“good life”), as a means to further separate indigenous peoples from non-indigenous peoples, in their assertions that non-indigenous peoples do not know how to live properly. Finally, strife between communities and among indigenous peoples also contributes this process of ethnogenesis, as individuals move from one identity to another, often as a means to escape conflict.

All of the aspects of indigenous sociality, as well as the multitude of relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, contribute to the ongoing processes of ethnogenesis in indigenous frontiers throughout the Pastaza basin. The distinct nature of these ‘frontier’ communities allows a space for cultural creativity, where indigenous and non-indigenous concepts are introduced, translated, and transliterated between multiple indigenous languages, allowing for a new and emergent culture to be produced. I believe that these types of

processes have been at play on the edges of ‘traditional’ indigenous territories since at least the arrival of the Spanish, if not before. While Sahlins (1999) talks about the indigenization of modernity, many indigenous peoples have been indigenizing their relationships with both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples for the past 500 years—it is not simply something that has appeared in the latter half of the twentieth century. The active agency of indigenous peoples in the shaping of their social realities, especially in relation to colonization, has been downplayed for some time but as we can see, they have always been active agents.

Unfortunately, there is much more work to be done in regard to sketching out these regional systems of indigenous social relations as well as understanding the deep relationships between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples in the Western Amazon. These relationships will become much more important as we move into the future, as even those ‘uncontacted’ indigenous peoples and those that voluntarily avoid engagement with the wider social sphere of Amazonian societies are pulled into these systems. I would often ask my colleagues throughout the Pastaza basin how they saw the future. Many would tell me that the *llakta* was the most important thing to them and ensuring that *ali kawsana* was obtainable by those living within it. The increase in projects related to infrastructural development, especially electrification, water treatment, and ICTs, were all viewed as being positive. Alonso, reflecting on the current state of Mushu Kawsay and its future, told me:

I want to make my community better in the future, so that it stays ‘bien bacán’ the community of Mushu Kawsay. But it can be better—the water filtration system has already arrived and we’re drinking water that is good for our health. Later other projects will arrive—there will be bathrooms, showers, even better yet. What will be in 20 years or 40 years? What we have done in 5 or 6 years here is already improving our lives.... I want there to be electricity, so that during the day I can do whatever I want, talk to the professor, go here then visit my health post over there. Arriving home tired and take a shower, rest for half an hour, then, with electricity and light, I can take out my paper and study throughout the evening when sometimes people don’t arrive.

This is very much reflective of the perspectives of others within Mushu Kawsay in that they see the current era as a time of advancing their community, of indigenizing the projects the government has promised them, and taking advantage of these opportunities as a way to move forward. Yet, as shown throughout this dissertation, moving forward does not mean acculturation or the erasure of indigenous identities, no matter what other ethnographers of the region may assert. Instead, this is very much related to the notion of *tukuna* (becoming), although applied to indigenous society as a whole. Even though there is a great desire for these infrastructural projects and technological advances, they are balanced with a strong identity linked to the idea of indigeneity. Throughout the indigenous frontiers of the Pastaza basin, these same ideas are prevalent. Indigenous peoples, be they speakers of Candoshi, Quechua, or Achuar, are all engaging with ‘modernity’ on their own terms, indigenizing it in the process. While indigenous identity in the region is difficult to pin down and is perhaps best viewed as being fluid, hybrid, and emergent depending on the context, it is also based around the notion of the category of indigeneity, creating an identity that encompasses multiple indigenous groups while setting themselves against non-indigenous peoples. While in Inga-speaking communities, we see that individuals are engaged in the process of becoming Inga (*Inga tukuhun*) or becoming runa (*runa tukuhun*), in other communities in other regions, they are also becoming Candoshi or Achuar. It is within these frontiers that the ‘work’ of ethnogenesis is undertaken and through it, the emergence of new styles of indigenous thought and sociality.

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## Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

**Ampi** – Refers to both medicine (e.g., antibiotics, painkillers, and herbal or natural medicines) and poison, particularly dart poison or *curare*.

**Ayllu** - Can be literally translated as family and is used in much the same way as the English term, referring to an ego-centered bilateral kindred in which descent is traced through both the mother and father.

**Inga** – From the term Inca, refers to the variety of Quechua spoken in the Pastaza basin in Peru and is also used by many as an ethnonym to refer to themselves rather than simply *runa*.

**Kuraka** – Traditional position of leadership in Inga social organization derived from the pre-Hispanic political system of *curacazgo*. Today *kuraka* and *apu* are used interchangeably to refer to this position.

**Llakta** – This term is primarily used to refer to indigenous communities or territories but can also be used to refer to large cities (e.g., San Lorenzo llakta) or even countries (e.g., Peru llakta).

**Muskuy** – Used to refer to dreams as well as visions and is comparable to the notion of *arutam* as found among Jivaroan- and Candoa-Shapra-speaking peoples.

**Runa** – This term means person and is often used as an ethnonym among Inga-speaking peoples. It is also used to differentiate indigenous peoples from non-indigenous peoples (e.g., *wirakuchas* [mestizos] or *gringus* [gringos])

**Supay** – Used to refer to various classes of malevolent and benevolent spirits.

**Yachak** - Can be translated as “one who knows,” and is used to refer to shamanic practitioners. Although many use it to refer to primarily shamans that use ayahuasca in their practice, it is also used with those who use tobacco or *Brugmansia* species.

**Yachay** – This term means knowledge and is used to refer to both knowledge acquired in normal, everyday waking existence such as through schooling, training, or other practices. It is also used to refer to specifically shamanic knowledge-power that is transmitted from one shaman to another through the ingestion of phlegm.

## **Appendix B: Organizational Acronyms**

**AIDSESP** – Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana

**CORPI-SL** – Coordinadora Regional de los Pueblos Indígenas - San Lorenzo

**FECONACO** – Federación de Comunidades Nativas del Corrientes

**FECONACADIP** – Federación de Comunidades Nativas Candoshi del Distrito de Pastaza

**FECONAT** – Federación de Comunidades Nativas del Alto Tigre

**FEDIQUEP** – Federación Indígena Quechua del Pastaza

**FENAP** – Federación de la Nacionalidad Achuar del Perú

**FEQUEBAP** – Federación Quechua del Bajo Pastaza

**SIL** – Summer Institute of Linguistics