

[Uanano Oral History]
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Rewrite: The most important/interesting feature of the oral histories that derived from numerous informants is the fact of the Baniva of the Aiari having take Uanano allies in order to aid them in their wars against their enemies (including in some cases other Baniva). One informant puts it quite succinctly: "Since our grandfathers were brothers-in-law of the Baniva, they carried them to help in a war at the head waters of the Papuri river and also in the river cuiubi and also in the river querari. In these rivers, the Baniva went together with our ancestors killing people." Other informants report specifically Uanano participating in the Baniva campaigns against cubeos, against tucanos, against siriano, and against other Baniva groups.

Informants report fighting between sub-divisions from the following language groups: Tariana, Baniwa, Curipaca, Tatuyo, Bara, Siriano, Desana, Cubeo, Macu, Tucano, and Uanano. The Desano are said to have warred with the Baniwa and with the Uanano. Uanano-Desano relations are said to have been pacified when "a woman" was given by the Desano to the Uanano. The Maca Pino Pona, a subdivision of the Cubeo, are reported to have conducted/carried out raids among other Cubeo, Tucano, Uanano, and Siriano. Various sibs of the Baniwa grouping are said to have carried out raids aimed at settlements of the Cubeo, Siriano, Desano, Bara, Tucano, Tariana, and Tatuyo language groups. (Only raiding involving nearby sibs were/are consistently reported in detail, and I will therefore selected them for discussion.) Weaponry was

apparently arrow and spear. The settlements of Uanano and other groups were surrounded by deep trenches set with spears.

Warfare and Alliance Among Exogamous Language Groups
in the Uaupes Basin

Daniwa, Cubeo, and Desano are in-laws to the Uanano. The Uanano report warring with each of these groups.

By far, the most detailed accounts refer to relations with Daniva and Curipaca groups from the Icana Regions. I will begin with the group referred to as the Baniva in the literature. According to my Uanano informants, there is no Baniwa "entity" as there is a Uanano unit of affiliation/identifying unit. They refer to individual sibs by name.

Warfare Routes

The Daniva groups living on the Aiari tributary of the Icana River are linked by forest paths to the following Uanano villages on the Uaupes River: Yapima (Jutica), Mo (Caruru), and Bucacopa (Matapi) (See map).

* [From the Uaupes river, at least seven paths connect the Uaupes and Papuri. ² 6. jubelow pacu which goes to _____

²
1. Above Mitu at Canho Paca, 2. At Mitu, 3. At the head waters of Abiu, 3. Below macucu, 4. At Villa Fatima, 5. At Canho Wachua (Igarape Anta

and there is a three day walk, 7. Igarape Be Estrelha, above Jutica at the Cabecera) The Banivas are said to have taken Uanano warriors and moved overland to the headwaters of the Papuri. From the Papuri they apparently persevered to the tiquie and the igarape of agua bonita. They are said to have gone up into the headwaters. All in all, reports show that the Baniva and their Uanano allies (to what extent I don't know) carried out raids throughout the Papuri, Guerari, Cuibi, Tiquie, and Agua Bonita rivers.

Strategies, Capture and Booty

Raids apparently took place at night. Girls and boys were taken, and older people killed. Villages are reported to have been burned. Booty was sometimes taken in the form of canoes, weapons, or ritual objects. Informants report that the Banivas sold the male children to whites in exchange for trade goods and money. The young girls were incorporated as wives.

Three Baniva groups are said to have been particularly active. They are Bu?sa Dita Parenoa, Wipi Pona, and the Wamu macama Coro.

Bu?sa Dita Parenoa

The Bu?sa Dita Parenoa sib, from Uapui Falls and Crocodile (Jacare) Falls, on the Aiari, are reported to have attacked and destroyed the Uanano settlements at the headwaters of the Igarape Tucunare and at Vulture Beach

(Praia de Urubu) (on the Uaupes?). According to reports they fully destroyed one chiefly sib (Quenenoa) said to be their in-laws, and the associated servant sib Boari Pona. Bu?sa Dita Parenoa malocas reportedly were surrounded by deep trenches with barbed spears.

The Du?sa Dita Parenoa are also said to have attacked the Cubeo group Maca pino pona, the Curipaca group Wipi pona, as well as other Baniwa groups. The Uanano report that the Du?sa Dita Parenoa had a "chief of war" that visited villages collecting warriors. According to reports, warriors were not limited to other Baniwa groups. The Bu?sa Dita Parenoa are said to have been allies of the Maha Yucuria, a Tariana sib. They are reportedly cannibals. (Steph?).

Nyapia taro Pona

Apparently, the sibs of various settlements on the Aiari seem to have recognized a paramount or war chief solely for purposes of warfare. The Uanano whom I interviewed recalled their in-law Maha Wudua (macaw face) as the most outstanding of these. Maha Wudua was a member of the Nyapia Taro Pona ("children of the stars", Uanano for the Daniya Hohodene) sib. They are located downstream from their brother group, Wamu Macama Pona, at the mouth of the Aiari river in Kore Noaca (Woodpecker point). According to informants, Uanano the chief of wars selected boys from all of the villages on the Aiari river and took them with them

in their raids. One of the groups they raided were among the Macu.

Wamu Macama Coro

The Wamu Macama lived at the Jurupari falls on the Aiari river downriver from the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa. The Wamu Macama Coro are considered to be a "true" (using the emphatic suffix) in-law sib to the Uanano Yahuri Pona, of Yapima. The Uanano report, "Our ancestors had as brothers-in-laws the people of Wamu Macama Coro, for this reason they did not eat Uanano meat." They recall the (nickname) name of the in ancestor, Yuihca Ponairo who was the first to marry a woman of that group. The Yahuri Pona report that the Wamu Macama Coro were attacked by their upriver neighbors and relatives, the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa (mentioned above). The Wamu Macama are downriver from the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa, below Jurupari Falls. According to the Uanano, the Aiari river is "rightfully" theirs, referring to/supporting this with the Uanano name for the Aiari river, Wamoa.

Wayu Pina

The Wayu Pina are a Baniwa group said to have raided Uanano settlements to take "pepper, ritual objects, and war captives." Apparently they obtained war captives from among the Cubeo, Uanano, and Siriano. They live today as they did formerly at the waterfall Soko par poa (check), meaning tooth of rali. (?) The Uanano make an interesting comparison

between//distinguish the Wayu Pina and the Buh?sa Dita Parenoas in their war strategies in the following ways. They say that the Wayu Pina had no paramount chief; rather they made war "in their sibs" (informants' words). Their raids were aimed at people in the Igarapes Paina (sp?) and Cuiubi.

Wipi Puna (Curipaca)

The Curipaca are said to have come together with the Baniva because of warfare. The Wipi Puna formerly lived in Cubate, on the Icana river, but currently are found on the Igarape Paiavia at the headwaters of the ^{Wuzinilla} venilla river in Venezuela. The Uanano report that the Wipi Puna united various groups in both in-law and kin relation to them. One point is of interest: they are said to have called all groups that allied with them in warfare, "brother." The Uanano report large raiding parties. The strategy was to encircle a house and to attack by night. They used lances as weapons. They carried off young women, young men as warriors and killed the others. Apparently they spent long periods away from their villages in war campaigns. Their houses were surrounded by spiked trenches. Apparently, Bu?sa Dita Parenoa's of Uapui helped them. Also apparently one group of theirs was ~~expulsed~~. The Uanano say that nowadays those groups that warred together are all separated but that they had belonged to the same river. Today the Wipi Puna are still in Paiavia. The Wipi Puna are said to have fought against other Baniva groups and against the Tucanos. They

Guahna

are also said to have fought against the Wayu Pina as well as among themselves.

Cubeco groups/relations with Cubeco groups

The Cubeco sib Maca Pino Pona, the children of the water snake, are said to have raided for Uanano wives. They were from Ewuda on the Querari River. They are said to have been cannibals. They reportedly killed large numbers of people from the language groups Uanano, Tucano, Siriano, and other Cubeco. The affluents of the Uaupes on which they conducted their raidings include: the igarape of Cuiubi, the igarape of Piama, the Igarape of Agua Boa, the Igarape of Abiu, and the Papuri River. Apparently they conducted a long campaign on the Papuri River against the Tucano. According to Uanano reports these attacks on Tucanos covered several years during which time the Maca Pino Pona did not return to their home villages. According to Uanano informants it was through raids that the Maca Pino Pona came to occupy settlements on the Uaupes river. Formerly there never had been Cubeco on the Uaupes say informants. Nowadays, members of the group Maca Pino Pona are found in the villages of Pacu and Assai on the Uaupes. Those Cubeco living in the villages on the Uaupes proper just upriver from Pacu are members of the maca pino pona servants group called the cuhpi turua. Formerly these servants lived above Ewuda in a place called Yupana. Nowadays, both the Maca Pino Pona and the cupi turua are found on the Uaupes proper (Placement ?). The war

strategies of the maca pino pona were to kill old people and to take the young people captive.

(rewrite: Furthermore, relations with Cubeo...) Many Uanano women are married into Cubeo sibs. According to reports the Baniwa raided for Cubeo women and took Uanano warriors as helpers. On the basis of being in-laws to the Baniwa the Uanano aided the Baniwa against the Cubeo.

Women today living among Baniwa and Cubeo who were captured in raids.

FROM HERE TO POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT???:!

[SAVE]

Relations with Desano

The Desano are considered true "in-laws" of the Uanano. It is said that formerly, before having become in-laws, the Desano and the Uanano were enemies. As the Desano did not want to fight with the Uanano, they gave women to the Uanano. "That women was given to pacify the wars and indicate that we were truly in-laws," said one informant. (" Our true in-laws are the _____ and the Desano") (See ancestral story of biali) Apparently the Baniva warred against the Desano but there is no mention of the Uanano having taken sides with either. (See myth about Uwa).

The Uanano of Jutica invited the Baniva of _____ to a dance and offered them fish and beer. There they prepared cigars with poison. When the Baniva smoked these cigars, they immediately fell ill. Some say they died, some say were simply hampered/disabling them/other. (One noted the repetition of the theme inviting in-laws to dance and take beer and then seizing them.)

The principal Baniva Sub-Divisions with whom the Uanano have contact are as follows:

1- Duhsu dita parenoa, 2- Wamacama, 3- Yapiataro pona (Yuhudene (ck) in Baniva), 4- Wayu Pina, 5- Dusete parenoa (check), and the 6- Wipi pona, actually one of the so-called curipaca groups. The Buhsu dita parenoa (#1) are from the

waterfall Uapui on the Aiari river (ref to map), [Also in their territory is crocodile (Jacare) falls and the territory of Uapui at the end of the Aiari river.]

Important: Specifically, informants report (Baniva) raids by the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa's against the Siriano at the headwaters of the Papuri (this group is called Sulia in Uanano, be absolutely sure that they are the siriano), Tucanos, Bara, and the Tatuyo. These campaigns are said to have been long-lasting when the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa's spent extended lengths of time away from home. Other Baniva groups are reported to have carried on raiding against the Cubeos, Desano, Macu, and the Tariano. The Tarianos and the Tucenos are said to have "lost."

(A "grandfather" group of the Nyapiantaro Pona is called Yacoro. This may have relevance later, keep until further notice)

According to reports the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa had been situated on the Aiari at the headwaters and attempted to move to vulture beach on the Uaupes. Uanano say that the Quenenoa did not allow their in-laws _____ to remain there and that it was this that inspired the war. According to reports then the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa retaliated.

According to reports, Maha wudua had stolen two Macu girls. In revenge, Macu hid in the forest at the side of the road and attacked the passing Baniva, killing the son of

Maha wudua. According to one version, Maha wudua's wife took revenge and herself went out to kill Macu. According to another version, she ended the Baniva wars by threatening to kill all of them, if they would not stop their warring. (Apparently, wamuno boys were also on this raid)

Among the macus, the group erurua are supposed to have killed many people. They apparently were in the papuri river. The Tarianos are supposed to have fought with the Baniva and Curipacos. Supposedly the Tarianos did not win. The report is that the Piratapua fought a war between son-in-law and father-in-law. On the _____ river the brazilians Manuel Albuquerque and Iginio and Cabore and Francisco Hermogenos were one family and all of their children killed a lot of people on the Tique.

Dusete parenoa

The dusete parenoa are a Baniva group who apparently were displaced from the Aiari river. According to the Uanano their rightful place is jurupari falls on the Aiari. However, they were displaced and relocated on the querari river. The Uanano say that the Aiari river is rightfully the river of dusete parenoa and that is why that river is called pamuri ma. The descendants of this of this group are still alive and living on the querari.

The Uanano say that the maca pino pona became white and took charge of these rivers. That a commission arrived on

the Uaupes of whites saying that they were true relatives of the Uanano because their grandmothers were Uanano. Their fathers were maca pino pona.

During the 19th century the Indians of the Upper Rio Negro continued to be in demand as workers. Furthermore, a farinha tax was levied from 1908 to 1920. In order to collect it, the governor of Barra issued "letters of patent" to Indian chiefs, making the chiefs middlemen between government and Indians. (Wright, 208-9, quoting Archivo do Amazonas) In 1820, the governor gave an Indian, Abalizado Raymundo Jose, a letter of patent designating him as "principle" of the Uaupes nation (Bruzzi, 27?)

In November 1857, troops were sent under the leadership of Cadete Manuel Raymundo Araujo to attack a molaca where a festival was being celebrated on the lower Icana. The troops destroyed the molaca and several villages on the Icana. After this residents of the Ican, Uaupes and Xie rivers fled into the forest or into Venezuela. (Wright, 260?)

The domain of the Salesians extends through the Upper Uaupes and the Papuri. (Brooks, 55) But...

One point of interest is that the Uanano do not report warring with members of their own phratry, but they do present their in-laws as "warriors." [placement?] They are especially specific about the Baniwa groups with whom they

have the most contact.

A [further] point of interest is that raiding in some cases is small scale. In other cases, reports clearly state that several sibs were brought together under a single "chief of war."

There is great disparity/word in the amount of detail with which the information on warring was recounted. Yet, the _____ was patterned/predictable. Raiding involving Baniwa groups was remembered with detail, whereas reports on Desano, Tucano, otrs? are remembered in broader and less specific terms. [rewrite] I shall mention the least detailed/most generalized/broadly drawn reports first, and the most detailed last.

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In 1858, during salgados term of office, a messiah figure named Alexandre, a native of the Uaupes, began to attract a large following. When Salgado went to investigate at Juqira, a melee ensued in which two Indians were apparently killed and four of Salgados party were wounded. (Wright 293-294) Padre Romuald then wrote to the governor of the province, complaining of "a conspiracy against the civilized people." (AA, (?) II, 7:88, 9, in Wright, 295). (:for wk on messianism)

See Salesian Missions paper.

There is some information about Catholic mission and the SIL in the Survival International report, but the report

deals with the Colombia Uaupes. Don't know whether you want this included. Yes. --JB

The law transferred the governance of villages from missionaries to secular authorities. (Wright, 135)

The commission did not find Alexandre (Wright 306) but it calmed the Indians and tried to rid the area of merchants, military and missionaries who had contributed to the problem. (Wright, 115-6) The commission completed its work in September 1858. (Wright, 309)

Until 1774, Sao Gabriel and Marabitanas had one vicar. In 1774, however, the Vicar General of the Rio Negro split the area into two parishes. Sao Gabriel and the people of the Uaupes were part of one parish. (Wright, 167)

The mission school at laurete is one of the largest schools for Indian students in Brazil. It had 316 pupils in the early 1970's. (Brooks, 55) Another 437 pupils receive instruction at 22 rural schools (run by Salesians?) in the area. (Brooks, 55)

One incident concerning the Salesians was mentioned by Brooks (p. 143). The Salesians made the Bororo build their houses in a row rather than in a circle surrounding a Men's House. Consequently, the Bororo social structure crumbled and the group has become demoralized. (Brooks, 143).

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(The governments action may have resulted from a number of messianic movements on the Icana and Uaupes. (Wright 334-335))

The reports recounted here are important for several reasons. For one they show us something about the relations between kin and affines. No cases of any disputes between the Uanano and groups in phratric relation to the Uanano are reported, whereas raiding between Uanano and in-law groups is common. Despite this, pacification (and alliance) is

cited as accomplished through the exchange of women (i. e., marriage). There are also reports of aid in raiding (i. e., alliance) on the basis of in-law relation. Furthermore, reports show an intent to capture personnel, most often females, and frequently both boys and girls; and confirm that at least in some sections of the Uaupes supra-local organizations formed under a paramount or "war chief" purposes of raiding.

(In addition), there is some suggestion of groups having moved locations. For example, the BDTs apparently were newcomers to the Aiari River from the Querari River (see map). The suggestion that the Querari was "their proper place," whereas the Aiari was the "proper place" of the Wama Cama (ck sp) who had to "defend themselves" against their BDT neighbors indicates expansion or at least migration within the area and a certain amount of raiding or warring related to resettlement. Another example of this is the entrance of Cubeo sibs into a previously Uanano area. In the lower Uaupes obviously movements were more dramatic. However, I limit the discussion here to the middle Uaupes and to the reports on which the Uanano focus.

Misc data on intertribal relations (not nec to go here)

The Sulia or the Siriano as they are called in lingua geral are located on the igarape boarea above villa fatima. (more on locations: The igarape of cuiubi is below bacaba and the igarape of piama is at the head waters of the Uaupes

and the igarape of abeiu is above villa fatima}

Miscellaneous locations

The waterfall of Jacare is situated at the headwaters of the Aiari river. The igarape Cuiubi is below bacaba. The igarape piama is at the headwaters of the Uaupes, the igarape abeiu is above villa fatima, the igarape boarea is above villa fatima.

above this point intro is tentative and may have to be rewritten

4- Canho Caruru on the Querari River.

These are the only four overland routes between the Aiari and the Uaupes.

Uaupui considered to be the "place of birth" of the BDP's

Informants report that they "really" belong in the Querari head waters. They opened two overland paths to facilitate movement between the Aiari-Icana system and the Uaupes. The first ran from Uaupui the Uaupes to the Uanano settlement of Yapima (Jutica) on the Uaupes river, and the second to the head waters of the Igarape of Tucunare [[at a place called Diani Pahsaro (where the ancestor Diani had lived)]] where the former Uanano sib Quenenoa lived//then occupied by the Uanano sib Quenenoa.

The Bu?sa Dita Parenoa were the brother-in-law sib to the Uanano sib "Quenenoa." The Uanano report the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa destroyed the Quenenoa sib, burning the maloca and its inhabitants. This raid took place on vulture beach (Praia de Urubu). After killing the Quenenoa, the Bu?sa Dita Parenoa went so far as to kill the servants, boari, of the Quenenoa. This was the sib of cuhpi turua.

The Bu?sa Dita Parenoa carried three back-packs made of bacava leaves and full of arrows--specialized arrows.

The NTP They were well known as warriors and were said to be cannibals. [placement?] The Nyapia Taro Pona are an in-law sib to the Uanano. Maha wudua's Uanano wife is referred to today as "mani nicho", our grandmother. When her son was killed in a war with Macu, she reputedly threatened revenge unless they stopped their warfare.

(Alternate spelling for Wamu Macama is wamonacanoa)

Near the mountain of tunuri apparently there are two groups of Wayu Pina: the Wayu Pina proper and the yaia parenoa.

Wipipuna are old enemies, and one "of the dangerous groups in the Uaupes area."

The Wipipuna are also said to have used poison. When Sophia arrived at the venilla river she is said to have stopped these wars.

The governor of Barra, Manoel Joaquin de Paco, designated an Indian, Abalizado Raymundo Jose as "principal of the Uaupes nation." (Wright, 208-9; Bruzzi, 27?)

The Uanano named numerous contemporary women who were stolen in exactly this way, particularly Cubeo and Uanano women who today still speak of their capture. These Banivas wars are said to have stopped with the arrival of Sophia (See Robin's thesis) in the year _____.

Quenoa's servants? Cuhpi Turua

In one statement I have "The Wipi Puna are Baniva and are true children of Diani Pona."

According to my Uanano informants, the Baniva groups carried on campaigns on the Uaupes, Papuri, and Tiquie rivers over many generations. Uanano informants recall their relations to the Baniva differently. On the one hand, all informants cite the important inlaw alliance between certain Daniva sibs and the Uananos.

Sao Gabriel and Marabitanas were administered by the Vicar General of the Rio Negro until 1774 when the area was split in two, with Sao Gabriel and the people of Uaupes becoming one of the parishes (Wright, 167).