

## 1. Description

**1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:** Candoshi and Shapra (Chapara) peoples, Candoshi language

**1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com):** 639-3

**1.3 Location (latitude/longitude):** In Peru at 4° to 4°30' S and 76°30' to 77° W on the Morona, Pastaza, Huitoyacu, and Chapuli rivers. Surrounded by Jivaroan groups: the Ashuar, Huambisa, and Aguaruna (2).

**1.4 Brief history:** The Candoshi may have slowly migrated from northern Cajamarca because the linguistic and archaeological records are not consistent with their present location. However, this migration is not accounted for in their oral history. Warfare was sporadic until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when steel axes and machetes were introduced. Killing was done with spears until firearms were introduced in the 1930's. During this time the Candoshi were at war among themselves and with the Ashuar and Huambisas. "Agents of the Amazonian rubber companies exacerbated the situation by exchanging firearms and ammunition for war captives. In the early 1930's many of the Chapara youth of the Rio Situchi were abducted in a launch by agents of the rubber companies." This led to a two-year war between the Candoshi and the army. During the 1940's the Chapara population dropped to less than 100 people due to a measles epidemic. Finally, the survivors came together and settled on the Rio Pushaga (2).

**1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:** After contact with the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1950, Christian teaching became more popular, and there was a stronger desire for peace. This new desire for peace ultimately led to the end of the war. "Christian elements in Candoshi folklore and traditional women's clothing, introduced to the area by Catholic missionaries, suggest early contact with the Catholic church, probably in the eighteenth century." The Summer Institute of Linguistics began the spread of literacy, and helped promote friendly relations among enemy groups (2).

**1.6 Ecology (natural environment):** Lush, tropical, and very biologically diverse environment. "The ecosystem is the tropical rainforest, rich in biodiversity, though many parts are uninhabitable marshland. Much of the region is covered by an extensive network of lakes and rivers, including Lake Musa Karusha, one of the largest in the Western Amazon" (181,4).

**1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density:** Population of approximately 3,000. Live in extended-family settlements of about 150 people (2). Population density is .6 per square kilometer (181,4).

## 2. Economy

**2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):** Plantains, cassava roots, sweet potatoes, manioc, and maize (2).

**2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:** Fish and a wide variety of wild meat (2).

**2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?** Blowguns and dart poison are listed as main items of trade (2).

**2.4 Food storage:** No data found.

**2.5 Sexual division of production:** Women are responsible for planting the gardens and tending to them, while the men are responsible for building the houses, making baskets, and hunting. Both men and women work to clear the forest for gardens (2).

**2.6 Land tenure:** An increase in population has made it harder for the Candoshi peoples to acquire land. "Land was not a problem for the Candoshi as long as they could clear new garden plots when the weeds could no longer be controlled in existing plots. This has changed with the national population explosion. The government has granted land titles to many of the indigenous groups, including the Candoshi, allowing them sufficient land for cultivating and hunting" (2).

**2.7 Ceramics:** Pottery and baskets are sometimes traded with neighboring villages (2).

**2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:** No data.

**2.9 Food taboos:** Unknown.

**2.10 Canoes/watercraft?** Canoes are used (181,4).

### 3. Anthropometry

**3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):** No data.

**3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):** No data.

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

**4.1 Age at menarche (f):** No data.

**4.2 Age at first birth (m and f):** No data.

**4.3 Completed family size (m and f):** No data.

**4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):** No data.

**4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):** Girls are given their own gardens at the age of 7, and they are ready for marriage once they show sufficient responsibility. Boys are ready for marriage when they can hunt and fish by themselves (2).

**4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:** No data.

**4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:** “During the war years 90 percent of marriages were polygynous because captured women were kept as wives...About 20 percent of the men now have two wives” (2).

**4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?** Not found.

**4.9 Inheritance patterns:** “Adult sons generally share their father’s goods and daughters their mother’s goods. If the children are minors when a man dies, his brothers will inherit his goods” (2).

**4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:** Not found.

**4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:** No data.

**4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):** “Partnerships have in mind a principle that allows exogamous marriage between close blood relatives- a category that includes both parallel cousins and cross-unions only allowing people with whom there is no bond of consanguinity” (3).

**4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?** No data.

**4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”):** No data.

**4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?** No data.

**4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape:** No data.

**4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin):** Sister-exchange is preferred (2).

**4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?** To a certain extent. “In the past women were kept in total subjection by the threat of death; only the very old women had social status. In most families today, women are treated with more respect” (2).

**4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring:** No evidence found.

**4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?** Not found.

**4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females:** 105.6 (3).

**4.22 Evidence for couvades:** No evidence found.

**4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older):** No data found

**4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?** No data.

**4.24 Joking relationships?** No data.

**4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations:** Bilateral. “The rule Candoshi offspring exhibit bilateral type, being recognized as qualitatively equal relations father side and mother’s side” (3). “Although descent is bilateral children belong to the father and to his family” (2).

**4.26 Incest avoidance rules:** It is considered incest if a man and a woman with a common grandparent marry (2).

**4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?** “Once the bride’s father has agreed to the marriage, the couple are counseled by both fathers and by the mother of the bride; this constitutes the wedding ceremony” (2).

- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?** No data found.
- 4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?):** Mostly exogamous and preferred to be outside social groups. “This rule of exogamy kinship group is attached to a model of marriage whereby unions should be conducted as an exchange of real or classificatory sisters-between men of different kinship groups” (3).
- 4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?** The bride’s father has to agree to the marriage (2).
- 4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:** No evidence.

## Warfare/homicide

- 4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:** Unknown.
- 4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:**
- 4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:** “Interfamily blood feuds were the predominant cause of warfare. In avenging a relative’s death, a chief and his followers killed all the males of a community and captured the females” (2).
- 4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations):** “The relationship between these local groups is one of relative hostility, which can turn into open aggressiveness” (181-182,4).
- 4.18 Cannibalism?** No data.

## 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:** 150 people (2).
- 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):** Not found.
- 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):** Chiefs are elected to keep peace within and between communities. “In the early 1970s the Peruvian government told all the indigenous groups to elect chiefs from among their own people. The Candoshi usually elect one of the older men” (2).
- 5.4 Post marital residence:** Uxorilocal (3).
- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense):** No specifically defined boundaries or active defense found, but households are spread far apart and encroaching on another household uninvited would be a cause for warfare (182,4).
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex):** No data found.
- 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:** No data.
- 5.8 Village and house organization:** Houses are about a five-minute walk apart with gardens in between. Traditional houses are oblong with palmleaf roofs and no walls. Average house is approximately 30 square meters, but some are as large as 150 square meters. Modern homes have bark walls around sleeping areas (2).
- 5.9 Specialized village structures (mens’ houses):** Unknown.
- 5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere?** Unknown.
- 5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:** “Each nuclear family is an independent social unit in which the father is the authority” (2). “The Candoshi family household is normally isolated. Indeed, Candoshi households may be separated by several kilometers, forming units that are almost politically independent.” Two or three of these households may be grouped together (181,4).
- 5.12 Trade:** Items commonly traded include stone axes, salt, blowguns, dart poison, beads, blankets, machetes, axes, shotguns, and shells. In addition to traditional items of trade, the Candoshi trade goods from the outside world. “The trading-partner system between individuals of potential enemy groups enabled a man to travel safely to the home of his trading partner...Although Spanish-speaking traders have gradually become the source of outside goods, the trading-partner system continues. Many Candoshi now market their own goods in Spanish-speaking towns on the Rio Maranon” (2).
- 5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?** None, Candoshi society is egalitarian (2).

## 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

**6.0 Time allocation to RCR:** Welcome ceremonies last for several days or “until the beer runs out” (4).

**6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):** Shamans have the power to call upon the evil spirits or *yashigo*. “Families used herbal remedies and consulted a shaman only when the herbs failed to help. Herbal remedies are still extensively used, but modern medicine is preferred when available” (2).

**6.2 Stimulants:** Unknown

**6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):** “The bodies of the dead are put in canoes and dried on a scaffolding over a fire. They are then put in the rafters of a vacant house, not to be buried until two or more years have passed” (2).

**6.4 Other rituals:** “Private ceremonies to obtain spirit power are carried out by individuals in the forest. Spirit power is preserved and strengthened by killing, not by additional ceremonies” (2). Welcome ceremonies are performed when households make rare social contact outside the local group. During these ceremonies topics of discussion include military or marital alliances, the exchange of goods or services, or the relay of information related to conflicts (185,4).

**6.5 Myths (Creation):** “In the beginning Apanchi lived with people, but they continually disobeyed him, so he went back to the sky” (2).

**6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):** “Candoshi music is on a four-tone scale. Women’s songs are lullabies and love songs sung in falsetto. Men’s songs are basically rhythm talk sung to the beat of a drum while drinking. Christian songs are a mixture of Candoshi, Spanish, and Quechua music” (2).

**6.7 Sex differences in RCR:** Only the men participate in dialogue in welcome ceremonies (4).

**6.8 Missionary effect:** “Approximately 30 percent of the people claim to be Christians” (2).

**6.9 RCR revival:** No data.

**6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:** Evil spirits or *yashigo* are the cause of death. Christians believe that their spirits go straight to Apanchi. Some spirits that don’t go directly to Apanchi either wander the forest, or may be caught up by the spirits of the storm. “Traditionally, the ideal state after death was to reach the place of Apanchi in the sky, but nothing done in life could assure this. Christians now believe that their spirits go directly to Apanchi” (2).

**6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?** Unknown.

**6.12 Is there teknonymy?** No.

**6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.):** Traditionally believed in one god, Apanchi, who controlled all aspects of the universe. “The Candoshi believed in one Supreme Being, Apanchi (Our Father), the genesis of all that exists. Apanchi is a force controlling the universe, but traditionally he was neither worshipped nor appeased” The Candoshi also believed in evil spirits known as *yashigo*, that are believed to cause death and sickness by capturing human spirits (2). Animism is practiced as well. “Stars, vegetation, and animals perceive the world as subjects with their own relative perspectives” (182-183,4).

## 7. Adornment

**7.1 Body paint:** High status males wear facial paint during welcome ceremonies (184,4).

**7.2 Piercings:** No data.

**7.3 Haircut:** No data.

**7.4 Scarification:** No data.

**7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):**

High status males wear feathers during welcome ceremonies (4).

**7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:** High status males wear facial paint and a crown of feathers during welcome ceremonies (184,4).

**7.7 Sex differences in adornment:** No data.

**7.8 Missionary effect:** Commercial thread is now sometimes used to make belts instead of traditional, homespun cotton thread (2).

**7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:** Not found.

## **8. Kinship systems**

**8.1 Sibling classification system:** Unknown.

**8.2 Sororate, levirate:** Not found.

**8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):** None.

## **9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):**

The Candoshi claim the Ashuar taught them how to shrink heads as war trophies (2).

## **Numbered references**

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2. Tuggy, Sheila . "Candoshi - ." *Countries and Their Cultures*. everyculture.com, n.d. Web. 14 Apr. 2013. <<http://www.everyculture.com/South-America/Candoshi.html>>.
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4. Surreales, Alexandre. "Candoshi." N.p.: n.p., n.d. 181-87. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of World Folklore and Folklife*. William M. Clements and Thomas A. Green. Web. 02 Apr. 2013. <<http://surreales.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/surreales-2005c1.pdf>>.