Ethnopharmacologic Search for PSYCHOACTIVE DRUGS

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Early Reports and Archeological Evidence from the West Indies and the Continent

Introductory Remarks

The first contacts between Amerindians and Columbus and his men were established in the West Indies. It is also from the Antilles and the surrounding mainland that we have our first information about the Indians’ use of what we now understand to have been a psychotomimetic snuff. Although this early information is limited, and not until our days has it been really considered to its full worth, it is of outstanding importance. Thus, at least some evidence has been saved in the reports of the chroniclers from the Circum-Caribbean culture area, for, as stated about the tribes referred to as Circum-Caribbean, “whether insular or on the mainland, they were readily accessible from the coast, and were quickly overrun by the Spanish conquerors. The great majority of them have long been extinct culturally if not racially.”

The difficulty in defining what plant material an early description refers to must be considered in any serious study. In my opinion we cannot, as Jerome E. Brooks has done in his work on tobacco (1937), take it for granted that observations by Amerigo Vespucci during his voyage with Alonso de Ojeda and Juan de la Cosa (May, 1499–June, 1500), bear on tobacco chewing—even though many kinds of American tobacco later have been observed. These observations related, supposedly, at least, to natives of Margarita Island, off the coast of Venezuela.

According to Brooks (1937: 189), Vespucci’s notice in his letter of 1504 to his friend, Piero Soderini, “was the first published which relates to a

1 Steward, Julian H. 1948: 1.
habit we know to have been tobacco chewing.” I quote the following from Vespucci’s description in the rendering presented by Brooks:

The customs and manners of this tribe are of this sort: In looks and behavior they were very repulsive, and each had his cheeks bulging with a certain green herb which they chewed like cattle, so that they could scarcely speak, and each carried hanging from his neck two dried gourds, one of which was full of the very herb he kept in his mouth: the other full of a certain white flour like powdered chalk. Frequently each put a certain small stick (which had been moistened and chewed in his mouth) into the gourd filled with flour. Each then drew it forth and put it in both sides of his cheeks, thus mixing the flour with the herb which their mouths contained. This they did very frequently a little at a time.

From the continuation of the description, we deduct that the European observers believed that the natives “carried the herb and flour in their mouths in order to relieve their thirst”, and, also, “that the women did not themselves indulge in the habit” (Brooks 1937: 191).

If we now should give a description of how e.g. the actual Kogi (or Kággaba) Indians of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in Colombia use their poporo (bottle-shaped gourd for lime) and chew their coca (hayo), a process that I myself have observed many times, we could word for word repeat the description quoted from Vespucci. As a matter of fact his words can as well refer to the habit of coca chewing. Such an eminent Americanist as Erland Nordenskiöld of Gothenburg considered Vespucci’s words as clearly referring to coca, and Cooper (1949: 549) has included the Cumaná area of Venezuela among the regions from which “early historical sources report coca chewing and/or ritual use of coca leaves as prevalent.” To this must be added also the observation by Vespucci that “the women did not themselves indulge in the habit.” No rule is without an exception, but just as an addition, I wish to add that “more commonly, coca chewing is a masculine rather than a feminine habit” (Cooper 1949: 552).

The Cohoba Snuff and Its Paraphernalia

The cohoba snuff used by the Taino of the West Indies has, as we know, caused much discussion which I previously tried to summarize in two papers. We must note that Columbus himself observed the use of a powder, though he does not mention it by name. During his second voyage, 1493–1496, Columbus not only commissioned the Friar Ramon Pane to undertake what we now call anthropological field work among the aboriginal population of Española (“to collect all their ceremonies and antiquities,” Bourne 1906: 4), but he himself made valuable observations presented in his narrative of the second voyage. As has been pointed out by Bourne, we possess this narrative “only in the abridgment of Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus.” The original is lost, but both Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus “in

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5 Bourne, Edward Gaslord, 1906 : 3, quite correctly has credited Christopher Columbus as the person who “set on foot the first systematic study of American primitive custom, religion and folklore ever undertaken.”
6 Bourne, 1906 : 4. “The original Spanish text of these documents is no longer extant and, like the Historia which contains them, they are known in full only in the Italian translation of that work published in Venice in 1571 by Alfonso Ulloa.”

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condensing the original, incorporated passages in the exact words of the Admiral. It is from such a passage in Ferdinand’s abridgment that we derive the Admiral’s account of the religion in *primitive Hayti* (Bourne 1906: 4). Ferdinand Columbus says that he recorded “the very words of the Admiral”, and we can now, in Bourne’s translation (p. 4–6), find the following information of a powder which evidently must be the same as that mentioned by Ramon Pane as cohoba:

I was able to discover neither idolatry nor any other sect among them, although all their kings, who are many, not only in Española but also in all the other islands and on the mainland, each have a house apart from the village, in which there is nothing except some wooden images carved in relief which are called *cemis*; nor is there anything done in such a house for any other object or service except for these *cemis*, by means of a kind of ceremony and prayer which they go to make in it as we go to churches. In this house they have a finely wrought table, round like a wooden dish in which is some powder which is placed by them on the heads of these *cemis* in performing a certain ceremony; then with a cane that has two branches which they place in their nostrils, they snuff up this dust. The words that they say none of our people understand. With this powder they lose consciousness and become like drunken men.

In addition to the secluded *cemis* houses for snuffing ceremonies, Columbus mentions two paraphernalia, namely a “finely wrought table” for the powder, and a “cane that has two branches” to snuff up this dust. Both are of immediate interest.

In a paper from 1964 dealing with the Neo-Indian epoch, Irving Rouse has referred to the statement that the Arawak in the West Indies placed the powder on top of *cemis*, adding that “many of the statues found in caves have a platform on top for this purpose.” In this connection Rouse has republished the 66 cm. high wooden British Museum *cemis*, in the shape of a bird standing on what seems to be a turtle. This figure, originally published by Joyce, was republished also by Wassén 1965: fig. 4. A kneeling stone figure from Puerto Rico, published by Palmatory, may also be taken into account as such a West Indian *cemis* with platform on top. I have in my work from 1965 (pp. 30–31, figs. 5 and 53), pointed out that we still find a South American ethnographic parallel to this in the ceremonially used tabletops for snuff, and snuffing paraphernalia used among the tribes of the rivers Branco and Colorado in western Brazil. These tabletops are carefully made and polished, but according to Franz Caspar’s observations among the Tupari, the table has no special function beyond its mechanical use during the snuffing seances. We can observe that the snuffing ceremony among the Tupari takes place inside the house. When used, the tabletop is supported by three wooden legs on which it is loosely placed. The tabletops are irregularly square-shaped and provided with a handle. They are

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7 According to Bourne, Cuba, which Columbus believed to be the mainland.
8 Bourne, 1906: 5, footnote, “Ulloa in his Italian gives this word in various forms e.g. cemi, citai, cimbi and cimbo. The correct form is cemis, with the accent on the last syllable. Las Casas says, ‘Estas —Hamaban cemis, la ultima alaba lunga y aguda.’”
10 Joyce, Thomas A. 1916, pl. 21.
11 Palmatory, Helen C. 1966, pl. 120 d, and text on p. 92.
12 The photo published in Wassén, 1965, fig. 5, was taken by Dr. Franz Caspar among the Tupari, during his second expedition to this tribe in 1959.
cut from the wood of flat supporting roots of a tree. Dr. Franz Caspar con-
siders them as particular for the tribes of the Branco and Colorado Rivers.

If we now turn to the "cane that has two branches", Columbus evidently
was observing the use of Y-shaped snuffing tubes, of which there were finely
worked ones used by the chiefs and principal men, and others made of
reeds for those who could not afford the finer ones. The "poor hermit"
Ramon Pane apparently does not refer to a forked tube when he says that
"the Cogioba is a certain powder which they take sometimes to purge
themselves, and for other effects which you will hear of later. They take
it with a cane about a foot long and put one end in the nose and the other
in the powder, and in this manner they draw it into themselves through
the nose and this purges them thoroughly" (Bourne 1906: 17; cf. Lovén
1935: 393).

In Wassén 1964 (pp. 102-103), there is a discussion of the West Indian
snuffing instruments according to the sources, and I here again republish
the tube from Haiti (Fig. 1) which we find in the work by Oviedo,13 who
also has stated that it was the Y-shaped snuffing instrument, and not the
plant, which was called tabaco by the Indians (vol. I: 181). The famous
Bishop and Historian, Bartolomé de las Casas, also described the West In-
dian snuffers, "made in the size of a small flute, all hollow as is a flute." To
make his readers understand the Y-shaped form of the instrument, he uses
the picture of the fingers in an out-stretched hand.14

Even if we accept the occurrence in the West Indies of Y-shaped snuffing
tubes as an obvious parallel to tubes of the same type found in South America,

13 The original is found in volume I, pl. I: 7, of Oviedo's Historia general, etc. (1851). The
corresponding text on p. 130.

14 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 1909: 445. "... la hechura de aquel instrumento era del tamaño
de una pequeña flauta, de los tercios de la cual en adelante se abría por dos cañitos huecos, de la
manera que abrimos los dos dedos del medio, sacado el pulgar, cuando extendemos la mano."
we must also note the observation made by Lovén (1935: 393), that "the Tainos differ from the whole South America in that their forked snuff-tubes were not made from bones, and certainly not from those of birds, as in the Orinoco and Cayary-Uaupés regions. Suitable bones for tubes were not accessible on Española; other material had to be sought there." 15

We find another parallel between Haiti and the northern South American mainland, in the round trays for snuff now found among the Indians of the Orinoco region (see Wassén 1965, fig. 1, p. 21), and the fine and polished round trays described by Las Casas from the island. He says that the snuffing instrument was made of the same kind of dark wood as the tray.16

That the snuffing tubes of wood used on Haiti in some cases were fine pieces of sculpture is clearly understood from the specimen found at La Gonâve (Fig. 2), first published in 1941 by Mangones and Maximilien, later also by Rouse and Wassén.17 Dr. Grete Mostny of Santiago, Chile, has in a paper from 195818 compared the elaborate tube from Haiti with specimens of finely sculptured straight snuffing tubes from the Atacaman region, where the Y-shaped tubes do not seem to exist. As the description of the tube from Haiti is very poor in the work by the two Haitian authors, it is fortunate that Mostny has been able to quote a letter from Louis Maximilien (Feb. 11, 1956). In this, some particulars are given regarding the motif on the specimen found in the Picni cave on the island of Gonâve, namely a kneeling man crowned by a bird’s head.

Further Details about the Cohoba Powder

At the end of his report from the second voyage, Christopher Columbus refers to an account he had ordered from "one Friar Roman (Ramon) who knew their language" (Bourne 1906: 6). As far as we know, through the Admiral’s son and other chroniclers, who know Pane’s text, "to this day our most authentic record of the religion and folk-lore of the long since extinct Tainos, the aboriginal inhabitants of Hayti" (Bourne 1906: 4), we meet in it not only the name of a certain powder they inhaled, but also most interesting field observations on the psychotomimetic effects of the drug.

Friar Ramon Pane whose text is best read in the careful edition of Bourne,19 uses two words, cohoba and cogioba, for a snuff used for special

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15 For various types of South American snuffing tubes see Wassén, 1965.
16 In the text of Las Casas, 1906: 445, a snuff tray is described as follows: "... plato redondo, no llano, sino un poco algo cóncavo ó hondo, hecho de madera, tan hermoso, liso y lindo, que no fuera muy más hermoso de oro ó de plata; era cuño negro y liso como de azabache."
17 Rouse, 1964, fig. 18; Wassén, 1964, fig. 2, and 1965, fig. 61. The original in Mangones and Maximilien, 1941, pl. 50.
18 Mostny, G. 1958: 287-289. I quote from the text of the letter (p. 388): "Les deux branches supérieures du Calumet se terminaient par des bouts olivaires—afin de rendre aux marins un contact doux —; le point de jonction des trois branches porte le motif sculpté, représentant un homme agenouillé, les bras liés derrière le dos et la poitrine inclinée dans une attitude de prière; le tout surmonté d’une tête d’oiseau d’un haute relief."
19 Bourne, 1906: 8-9. "To facilitate a study of this material in its earliest record I have translated Ramon’s treatise from the Italian, excerpted and collated with the epitomes of Peter Martyr and Las Casas, and have prepared brief notes, the whole to form so far as may be a critical working text of this source for the folklorist and student of Comparative Religion in America. The proper names in each case are given as in the 1571 edition of the Historia."—At best the spelling of these names offers much perplexity, Ramon wrote down in Spanish the sounds he heard. Ferdinand, unfamiliar with the sounds, copied the names and then still later Elia, equally unfamiliar with the originals, copied them into his Italian. In such a process there was inevitably
purpO$\ldots$

We have already referred to the text where it is said that "the coqiooba is a certain powder which they take sometimes to purge themselves," etc. (Bourne 1906: 17). Later, in this text, we meet the word cohoba:

When one is ill they bring the Buhuitihu (Bohuti) to him as a physician. The physician is obliged to abstain from food like the sick man himself, to play the part of sick man which is done in this way which you now will hear. He must needs purge himself like the sick man, and to purge himself he takes a certain powder called cohoba snuffing it up his nose, which intoxicates them so that they do not know what they do, and in this condition they speak many things incoherently, in which they say they are talking with the cesmis, and that by them they are informed how the sickness came upon him.

Further on (Bourne 1906: 24), a description of great interest to the psychotomimetic studies follows, which I quote:

And when they want to know if they will be victorious over their enemies they go into a cabin into which no one else goes except the principal men; and their chief is the first who begins to make coqiooba, and to make a noise; and while he is making coqiooba, no one of them who is in the company says anything till the chief has finished: but when he has finished his prayer, he stands a while with his head turned (down) and his arms on his knees; then he lifts his head up and looks towards the sky and speaks. Then they all answer him with a loud voice, and when they have all spoken giving thanks, he tells the vision that he has seen, intoxicated with the coqiooba which he has inhaled through his nose, which goes up to his head. And he says that he has talked with the cesmis and that they are to have a victory; or that his enemies will fly; or that there shall be a great loss of life, or wars or famine, or some other such things which occur to him who is intoxicated to say. Consider what a state their brains are in, because they say the cabins seem to them to be turned upside down and that men are walking with their feet in the air.

I have had in my hands photographic copies of some pages of "P.Martyris Angli-mediolanensis opera Legatio babylonica. Oceani decas Poemata Epigrammata," the Gothic edition from Seville 1511, of Peter Martyr's First Decade. It is in this text (see Fig. 3, a–b), that the author, who never himself went to the New World, after having seen Pane's manuscript deals with the cohoba powder. For a translation I follow MacNutt, however with some corrections and notes.21

Translation of the Latin text of 1511 (fei r. and v):

It is the augurs, called bovites, who encourage these superstitions. These men, who are persistent liars, act as doctors for the ignorant people, which gives them a great prestige, for it is believed that the zeroes converse with them and reveal the future to them.

If a sick man recovers the bovites persuade him that he owes his restoration to the intervention of the cesmes.

some confusion of u and n and u and v, (Spanish h). In the Italian text v is never used, it is always u. In not a few cases the Latin of Peter Martyr and the Spanish of Las Casas give us forms much nearer those used by Ramon than the Italian. It is now clear that both Las Casas and Peter Martyr underestimated the importance of Ramon Pane's work. For this see e.g. Bourne, p. 7.

21 MacNutt, Francis Augustus. 1912. Vol. I: 172–174. As pointed out by Wassén, 1964: 165, Ramon Pane used buhuitihu and bokutu. This evidently Island-Arawak word has been latinized into hostius (pl. hostis) by Pedro Martyr and is written buhuitu by Oviedo, and behigue and behique by Las Casas. If we try to connect it with other known words, we are probably safe to do so with the also Island-Arawak boko, bohko, a common word in the Spanish reports for house but sometimes a designation for special houses, very probably also those for medicine-men's curing.

22 The first printing of Decade One which was authorized by Martyr is that of 1516, in which the plural bokit for medicine-men occurs.
When they undertake to cure a chief, the bovites begin by fasting and taking a purge. There is an intoxicating herb which they pound up and drink, after which they are seized with fury like the maenads, and declare that the zemes confide secrets to them. They visit the sick man, carrying in their mouth a bone, a little stone, a stick, or a piece of meat. After expelling everyone save two or three persons designated by the sick person the bovite begins by making wild gestures and passing his hands over

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Fig. 2.—Sculptured snuffing tube of wood from La Gonâve, Haiti. L. 24 cm. Taino Culture. After photographs published by Mangones and Maximilien.

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[a] MacNutt translates *drink*. The Latin text has *sorbeo*, absorb.

[b] The Latin says: "from a semicircle," etc.
the face, lips, and nose, and breathing on the forehead, temples, and neck; and drawing in the sick man’s breath. Thus he pretends to seek the fever in the veins of the sufferer. Afterwards he rubs the shoulders, the hips, and the legs, and opens the hands; if the hands are clenched he pulls them wide open, exposing the palm, shaking them vigorously, after which he affirms that he has driven off the sickness and that the patient is out of danger. Finally he removes the piece of meat he was carrying in his mouth like a juggler, and begins to cry, “This is what you have eaten in excess of your wants; now you will get well because I have relieved you of that which you ate.”

If the doctor perceives that the patient gets worse, he ascribes this to the zemes, who, he declares, are angry because they have not had a house constructed for them, or have not been treated with proper respect, or have not received their share of the products of the field. Should the sick man die, his relatives indulge in magical incantations to make him declare whether he is the victim of fate or the carelessness of the doctor, who failed to fast properly or gave the wrong remedy. If the man died through the fault of the doctor, the relatives take vengeance on the latter. Whenever the women succeed in obtaining the piece of meat (erroneous transl.) the bonites hold in their mouths, they wrap it with great respect in cloths and carefully preserve it, esteeming it to be a talisman of great efficacy in time of childbirth, and honouring it as though it were a zeme.

The islanders pay homage to numerous zemes, each person having his own. Some are of wood, because it is amongst the trees and in the darkness of night they have received the message of the gods. Others, who have heard the voice amongst the rocks, make their zemes of stone; while others, who heard the revelation while they were cultivating their ages—that kind of cereal I have already mentioned,—make theirs of root.

Perhaps they think that these last watch over their breadmaking. It was thus that the ancients believed that the dryads, hamadryads, satyrs, pans, nereids, watched over the fountains, forests, and seas, attributing to each force in nature a presiding divinity.

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23 This passage has evidently been wrongly translated by MacNutt. The women could hardly keep the pieces of meat. From the Latin, “de lagillus aut ossibus quos aut gestassent bona in aliqua putatur: se femina,” etc., it is clear that the women collected the stones and the pieces of bones for the said purpose.

24 In the original visioinibus, “visione”, are mentioned.

25 “That kind of cereal” for genus panis has in the Argentine edition of 1944 been translated as “cere de alimento.” In the Latin text of 1516 it says genus culinae.
The islanders of Hispaniola even believe that the zemes respond to their wishes when they invoke them. When the cacique wish to consult the zemes, concerning the result of a war, about the harvest, or their health, they enter the houses sacred to them and there absorb the intoxicating herb called kohobha, which is the same as that used by the bovites to excite their frenzy.  

Almost immediately, they believe they see the room turn upside down, and men walking with their heads downwards.

This kohobha powder is so strong that those who take it lose consciousness; when the stupefying actions of the powder begins to wane, the arms and hands become loose and the head droops. After remaining for some time in this attitude, the cacique raises his head, as though he were awakening from sleep, and, lifting his eyes to the heavens, begins to stammer some incoherent words. His chief attendants gather round him (for none of the common people are admitted to these mysteries), raising their voices in thanksgiving that he has so quickly left the zemes and returned to them. They ask him what he has seen, and the cacique declares that he was in conversation with the zemes during the whole time, and as though he were still in a prophetic delirium, he prophesies victory or defeat, if a war is to be undertaken, or whether the crops will be abundant, or the coming disaster, or the enjoyment of health, in a word, whatever first occurs to him.

Bourne (1906: 20) accepted cohiba as a word for tobacco, and I have previously (see Wassén, 1964: 102) been inclined to accept the explanation by Friederici that the Taino word cohiba probably stood for tobacco, while the word coyoba should stand for Piptadenia. Brooks (1937: 189), however, has made it perfectly clear that “none of the early commentators on the custom says that the substance inhaled was derived from the tobacco plant,” and when taking into account all the forms of the word cohiba, such ascohobha, cohiba, coyoba-coyoba, coyoba, cohoba, cohiba,” I am now of the opinion that it is one and the same word, and that cohiba as Brooks (1937: 196) expresses it “was employed by the medicine-men chiefly to induce a state of trance.” We have every reason to believe that the cohiba identification by E. W. Safford and other writers as a snuff prepared from the seeds of Piptadenia peregrina is valid. According to Brooks (1937: 197) “this plant, indigenous to certain parts of South America and to some places in the Antilles (including Haiti), still bears the name cohiba.” Here it is interesting to add that Pittier (1926: 189) has found the word coyoba for the tree used in northern Venezuela (cf. Rosenblat, 1965: 272, 344).

In this connection I wish once again to underline the statement of Dr. Siri von Reis Altschul in her botanical thesis of 1964 (p. 42) that the Indians of the West Indies “may have found it easier to plant the trees than to maintain communication with the mainland for their source of supply” (of cohiba). It is interesting to add that Oviedo says that the snuff came from an herb (hierva), which the Indians valued much, and kept it cultivated. Las Casas mentions that the Indians “had certain powders of certain herbs well dried and finely ground and of the color of cinnamon or powdered henna,

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29 The Latin text has it, and this is important, that the cohiba was absorbed per nares.
30 In the Latin edition of 1516 there is a small change in the text, “... insistit brachia demisso capite genua complectitur ...”
31 Friederici, Georg. 1825.
33 Already in 1888, Max Ule (p. 9) draws the conclusion that “the extreme strength of the powder as described by Petrus Martyr, exceeding that of tobacco, decides its different nature and its Piptadenia character.”
34 Oviedo, Historia, etc. 1851: 181.
With Brooks (p. 196) and others, we may assume that the "word cohoba may have meant snuff as well as the act of snuffing any powder. Pulverized tobacco seeds may have been mixed with the narcotic snuff inhaled by the medicine-men, and only the nicotian ingredient of this compound recognized by the Spanish observers." The Arawakan Jirara and Caquetio in N.W. Venezuela, tribes which according to Steward (1948: 21) had "certain specific resemblances to the Arawakan Taino of the Antilles," had medicine-men who "practiced divination with tobacco ash and communed with spirits while taking tobacco and a narcotic herb." The mixing of tobacco and yopo has been reported from many S. American tribes.

Archaeological Evidence for the Use of Snuff

If we consider the South American origin of the West Indian tribes, it is only natural that the close parallels referring to the snuffing complex in the West Indies should be sought in South America. I believe, however, that also the archaeologically found, often bird-shaped and bifurcated clay snuffers from Costa Rica, (Fig. 4), should be taken into account. These small clay snuffers with one or two tubes were, according to Doris Stone, "probably used for cohoba (Piptadenia sp.) or tobacco."

As always, the South American influence as far north as in Costa Rica is worth studying. To a possible explanation of the bird motif in the clay snuffers I will return later. Here I, want to refer to Fig. 5, where I, after Dr. Otto Zerries, can show an old bifurcated and nicely carved bird-shaped snuffing tube from South America. This highly interesting old specimen is

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33 See Wassén and Holmstedt, 1963, fig. 6, and p. 24; also Wassén, 1965, fig. 2, and pp. 25-26.
34 Stone, Doris. 1968: 16. Her figures 19 a, b. Stone counts "snuffing and the playing of flutes by medicine men" as "southern traits" in Costa Rica's cultures (p. 25).
now in the Ethnographical Museum of Mannheim, Germany, where it has been observed and studied by Dr. Zerries, who has attributed it to the region of Brazilian Guyana. The old sniffer in the German museum undoubtedly points to a South American background also for the clay snuffers in Costa Rica.

In spite of many omissions and too hastily drawn conclusions, the study of Max Uhle of the bifurcated snuffing tube of bone that he found in 1895 at Tiahuanaco seems to be one of the first of a comparative interest for the use of snuffs among the South American Indians. A drawing after Uhle's illustration of the tube he found is shown in Fig. 6. According to Uhle (1898: 1), "the tube consists of the wrist or leg bone (metacarpus or metatharsis) of a

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37 Zerries, Otto. 1965: 185-193. In the same paper Zerries describes two more, richly decorated wooden objects from the Ethnographical Museum in Mannheim (numbers Am. 1867 and 1888), in the form of jaspers with bowls, which evidently have been receptacles for a powder. In the old museum entry it says "Gerät zum Schneifen," 'snuffing implement.' Zerries seeks the origin for all three in the lower R. Trombetas region.
young llama-like animal,” . . . “and the bone has been cut off at each end, and while at the upper end a part of the shaft has disappeared, at the lower end, bifurcating naturally, only the distal articulations have been cut away and each part bored, so as to communicate with the main tube. The caliber of the former is \( \frac{1}{4} \), and that of the latter \( \frac{13}{32} \) of an inch.”

Uhle reported from Tiahuanaco. Following him it has only slowly and after a long series of attempts at all sorts of more or less fanciful explanations, become evident that the many finds in the region of the former Atacameño in Argentina and Chile of wooden trays and their corresponding tubes, must be classified as paraphernalia connected with the taking of some kind of a snuff. Several earlier references have been mentioned in Wassén 1965 (pp. 34–36 and p. 78) as well as in Wassén and Holmstedt (1963: 24–25); but I can perhaps best refer to the summary of the extensive literature presented in the archaeological thesis by A. M. Salas.56 For the understand-


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Fig. 6.—Naturally bifurcated snuffing tube of bone from Tiahuanaco. Drawing after Uhle’s photographs in his publication from 1898.
ing of the snuffing complex in the Atacama region, important publications have recently been published. I want particularly to refer to the classificatory study by Lautaro Núñez, and the same author's references to the taking of rapé during successive cultural periods in northern Chile. A small but interesting contribution is the paper by G. Mostny from 1958, in which she also refers to the tube from La Gonâve, Haiti. Her paper from 1952, in which she offers a recapitulation of the various opinions regarding the finds of *tabletas* and *tubos* in Chile and Argentina, is also of high interest for the description (p. 8) of a grave find of a *paricó* tray with one sculptured and one plain tube. The tray was protected by a surrounding leather wrapping, which when taken away showed the handle in the form of a nicely carved condor. The circumstances prove that the Indians had taken much care in protecting this specimen when the owner got it with him in the grave. The sculptured tube in the same find shows, according to Mostny's description (p. 11), a masked human being.

In a new work from 1965, Father Gustavo Le Paige is also writing about several highly interesting finds of snuffing paraphernalia used in the Atacama region. The list could easily be made much longer, but it was neither here nor in my study from 1965 my intention to present a complete catalogue of all such finds from a given area. My intention has been to underline the importance of archaeologically found snuffing paraphernalia in relation to the ethnographically known details. Scientifically it must be of overwhelming importance to learn what kind of powder the Indians in the Atacama regions used, and what we can deduce about the ceremonial importance of the habit from the finds. In Fig. 7–10 three wooden tablets and a tube from Chiu-chiu and Argentina are shown from material kept in the Museum of the American Indian, New York City. Fig. 11, taken from Fig. 57 in Casanova's paper of 1946, shows interesting Argentine specimens with features often discussed in this work.

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* Núñez A., Lautaro. 1965. In this study the author has pointed out the use of snuffing tubes of bone among groups with a knowledge of both agriculture and pottery in the period he calls Early (0–700 A.D.), a period still without influence from the Tiahuanaco culture. During a Middle Period (700–1200 A.D.) the snuffing paraphernalia are continuously used, and a strong influence from Tiahuanaco is observed. The use of snuff trays and tubes continues during the Late Period (1000–1450 A.D.), when several local cultures developed after the influence from Tiahuanaco.
* Le Paige, Gustavo. 1965. His work from 1964 has been quoted at the end of this paper.
* I am most thankful to Dr. Lautaro Núñez A., Director of the Department of Archaeology of the Universidad de Chile, Zona Norte, Antofagasta, for his kindness in sending me with a letter of October 7, 1966, samples of snuff powder archaeologically found and associated with a snuff tray from a pre-Incan grave at the coast of Chile, near Iquique (Bajo Molle). The material has been forwarded to Prof. Bo Holmstedt, Stockholm, for analysis. We certainly need qualified analyses of archaeological snuff. Dr. Alberto Mario Salas (1945: 222) indignantly criticizes Max Uhle, who once found powder associated with a snuff tablet at Calama, and concluded he had found a narcotic powder only from the fact that he and his assistant started sneezing after having blown the powder into the nostrils. Ricardo E. Latcham (1938: 132–135), started a discussion on which type of powder the Atacameño could have been using. He suggested *Piptadenia macrocarpa*, "common in the subtropical valleys of Tucumán and in the Chaco, and also used by the Calequenes," but immediately added that more probably it was some kind of tobacco. The *Piptadenia macrocarpa* should be the same as the Peruvian *viopa*. Latcham rejected the idea, suggested by Dr. A. Oyarzún, that *Piptadenia peregrina* had been used by the Atacameño.
Fig. 7.—Wooden snuff tray with human and condor motifs. Argentina. Photograph courtesy of Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Specimen No. 13/3658.
FIG. 8.—Wooden snuff tray with human and feline motifs. Argentina. 3½" x 7½", specimen No. 15/1499. Photograph courtesy of Museum of American Indian, Heye Foundation.
Fig. 9.—Snuff tube from Argentina. Sculptured motif seems to show a man holding a tube. Photograph courtesy of Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Specimen No. 15/2407.
Fig. 10.—Wooden snuff tray, $2\frac{3}{4}''$ x $5\frac{3}{4}''$. Handle probably personification of deity. Chiquihui, Chile. Photograph courtesy of Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Specimen No. 14/3741.
In 1885, the Brazilian archaeologist Ladislau Netto when commenting upon the zoomorphic stone figures (often bird-shaped) found in the *samb-baquis* (shell middens) of Santa Catarina, Brazil, was long ahead of his time. With reference to the cavities observed in these figures (see Fig. 12), he took them to have served as a deposit for a vegetal powder, of exciting quality, and ascribed with supernatural virtues. This aspect is interesting and I must dedicate some time to it.

The so-called *antropolito de Mercedes*, a stone figure from Uruguay in the shape of a human being with a rectangular cavity on its front side (in the style of the Mexican *Chacmool* figures) has been labeled by Serrano (1939) as a *tableta*. This stone figure can be seen as Fig. 4 in the posthumous work by J. I. Muñoa about the prehistoric peoples of Uruguay. The author

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48 Netto, Ladislau. 1885: 516–517. "Uma advertência cabe-me aqui interpor sobre a palavra vaso que tenho dado a estes amuletos. Alguns, na verdade, podem ter este nome, não outros, porém, que são, a bem dizer, fetiches zoomorphos com uma pequena e mal distintas cavidade no dorso, no ventre ou no flanco. onde, ao que presumo, o pó vegetal excitante, a que atribuíam virtudes sobrenaturais, era depositado e servido. Quanto aos vasos fetiches ou zoomorphos, muito é de crer que n'ellos fossem depositadas substancias varias com atribuição de egumes preconceitos, ou que servisssem para pulverizar as folhas de alguma planta sagrada ou qualquer outra materia destinada a ceremontas religiosas."
Fig. 12.—Bird-shaped so-called zeolithos from sambagues in Santa Catarina, Brazil. Drawings after pl. VI in Netto’s publication of 1885.
shows how the nicely sculptured stone specimens (litos) in animal form, and often birds ("que figuran comummente aves") belong to a stone-working culture of the (later) Tupi-Guarani region of southern Brazil (Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul) and the eastern parts of Uruguay.44

These special stone figures in human or animal form (birds, fishes, etc.) with cavities have been classified by Muñoa (p. 16) as "tabletas shamánicas para aspirar parici", and included in what Serrano used to call the Guayaná Culture, which also goes under the name of the Rio Grande Culture. The Guayaná, according to Métraux (1946: 445), should be counted with the Caingang, a designation for several "non-Guarani Indians of the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, who previously were known as Guayaná, Coroado, Bugre, Shokleng, Tupí, Botocudo, etc., but who are all linguistically and culturally related to one another and form the southern branch of the Ge family." Nothing, however, seems to indicate that the Caingang were the masters of the stone objects mentioned here. On "Narcotics", Métraux (1946: 469) says only that "a great many stone pipes have been found in the Caingang area—a puzzling fact since smoking has not been observed among the Indians." This, however, was contradicted on the following page, where he says that "the Caingang shaman consults spirits at night, puffing his pipe until he is surrounded by a cloud of smoke."

But, as these litos evidently are of interest as possible ceremonial receptacles for snuff, to which culture do they really belong? The question seems open to discussion. Muñoa assigned them to a first wave of Indians in Uruguay, the Sombaquisanos. Serrano placed the litos in a pre-Tiahuanaco period or Middle Sambiquí phase.45 The culture is said to have come from the north. Vidart has on p. 61 of his edition of Muñoa's work dated the culture which left the shamanistic stone tablets ("las tabletas shamánicas en piedra") at 3,000 B.C., but no reasons for this very early dating have been given. For my own part I should prefer to consider the litos in southern Brazil and eastern Uruguay in some way related to the finds from the Amazon region (the contas, muiraguitas, etc. of the "Rio Trombetas," see Wassen, 1965: 34), perhaps so that a specialization in a craftsanship connected with a ceremonial use of psychotomimetics has some center of origin until now unknown; however, within the Amazon region.

In Wassen, 1965: 54, the Mercedes figure from Uruguay has already been mentioned following a presentation of the "ídolo" or "conta" from the Rio Trombetas region with its "Alter ego" motif, and its carefully hollowed out cavity on its back (Fig. 13) as having been used for holding some kind of a psychotomimetic snuff. When publishing this specimen from the Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum, I saw its "beautiful craftsmanship reflected in the snuff boards with animal motifs used by the Cashuena, and earlier also by

44 Muñoa, Juan Ignacio. 1965: 14-19 (edition and notes by Daniel Vidart). I have not said that the Tupi used snuff of the kind discussed here. Alfred Métraux (1948 a: 127) has not mentioned the use of parici, but that of tobacco smoking, "one of the favorite pastimes in daily life as well as on ceremonial occasions." He also points out that "stone pipes, found in several points of the Brazilian coast, perhaps belong to another culture anterior to that of the Tupi."
other Amazonian tribes.” I could in 1965 also show a direct parallel to its artistic motif, a man being dominated by a jaguar on his back, when referring to a detail of a snuffing tube from Puna de Jujuy published by Ambrosetti in 1908 (see Wassén, 1965, Fig. 7, and this work Fig. 14). The figure shown in Fig. 14 is by no means a single example. In Fig. 15 we see the same motif, that is a jaguar dominating and above a human representation, on a fragment of a wooden snuffing tube found together with a tray with handles in the form of two human figures in an excavation in the Antigal de Ciénega Grande of the Puna de Jujuy, Argentina, and published by Salas (1945: 205-208, Figs. 86-89).

As mentioned in Wassén 1965: 36, Dr. A. A. Gerbrands in 1955 related the carved stone objects from lower R. Trombetas to the Mané Indian sculpture in wood. We can safely connect the paricá trays with two human figures found in Argentina and Chile, with the beautiful Tucano paricá tray in the Oslo University’s Ethnographical Museum analyzed in 1965.49

The Jaguar, as a powerful and dangerous animal, has certainly always played a very important part in Indian beliefs as reflected in their ceremonial-

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ism. It is thus not without reason that we in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, find the Jaguar repeatedly represented in a series of snuff tablets and tubes originating from the “Gentilar de Caspana”, north Chile.

In one special case, the comparison that can be made between ethnographically known snuff tablets in the Amazon region and a wooden snuff tray with feline head archaeologically found in Atacama, Chile, is absolutely surprising. For this I refer to Fig. 22 in this work, with kind permission published from a photo received from the Museo de Arte Precolombino in

![Fig. 14.—Detail of snuff tube from Puna de Jujuy. After Ambrosetti.](image)
I am in this case nearly prepared to accept the Atacama tray as a direct trade piece from the Amazon region. The late Dr. Stig Rydén, in his work on the archaeology of the Rio Loa specifically interested in the trade relations between the Atacameño and the lowlands in the east.

If we now look for other archaeological finds of snuffing paraphernalia in South America, the snuff tablet and its tube reported by Dr. J. B. Bird from near the Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, Peru, is the most interesting, as it appears in a very old culture sequence. According to information received from Dr. Bird following my visit to New York in September, 1966, it is the question of a "snuff tablet of whalebone, Chicama Valley, Peru, near the Huaca Prieta. Test 4, House 3, associated with skeleton 99.1/880, the snuff tube 41.2/4722 a, b, and a broken jet mirror. The burial was made during the period when Guñaape pottery was in use. (The oldest pottery known in this area). Estimated Age, c. 1200 B.C.; oldest known tablet (as of 1966)." (Letter of Nov. 2, 1966). See Fig. 23 for this specimen.

Dr. Bird has also had the kindness to inform me about a find of a snuff tray of wood collected by Mr. G. S. Vescelius in 1959, "from a Late Inter-

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48 Rydén, Stig. 1944. See his summary, pp. 206–212, also the discussion of the origin of the material of a leather cuirass made of the skins of alligator and monkey (pp. 115–116). According to Wendell C. Bennett (1946: 653) the "Atacameño were great traders."
Fig. 16.—Snuff tray with feline motif and corresponding tube. Atacama. Specimen courtesy of the Museo de Arte Precolombino, Montevideo.

Fig. 17.—Both sides of whalebone snuff tablet and its corresponding tube. Specimens discovered by Dr. Junius B. Bird near the Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, Peru. Oldest known tablet (as of 1966). Coll. and courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Specimen 41.2/4721 (tray), 41.2/4722 a, b, bird and fox bone snuff tube, found with the tray.
mediate burial at Santa María Miramar, a site near Mejía, on the Peruvian coast about 20 kilometers south of Mollendo. There are two phases (one Inca, the other immediately pre-Inca) represented at this site. The burial dates from the earlier, pre-Inca phase. Associated with the snuff tray in the grave were a miniature raft with its paddle, a bagful of model harpoon foreshafts, and a spindle with rectangular whorl.” Various specimens in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History, N.Y., are shown in Figs. 16–21.

Fig. 18.—Both sides of four snuff tablets of wood in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Photographs courtesy of A.M.N.H. A, 41.0/8754, Cemetery at Chiucho, Chuquicamata, Chile; B, 41.0/8746, same data; C, 41.0/8911, Grave site near San Pedro, Chuquicamata region, North Chile; D, 41.0/8912, same data as C.
FIG. 19.—Nine snuff trays of wood from Chile. Coll. and courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Eight specimens from Cemetery at Chiu-chiu, one from Puntas Tetas near Antofagasta (bottom row, third from left).

FIG. 20.—Four snuff tablets of wood from Chile. Coll. and courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. From left: 41.0/8750, Cemetery at Chiu-chiu; B/9568, "Taken from child's grave," Juan Lopez Bay, near Antofagasta; 41.0/8964, Cemetery about 3 km. from Chiu-chiu, and 41.0/8751, Cemetery at Chiu-chiu, Chu-quicamata.
From the Huaca Prieta find, it is evident that snuffing paraphernalia were in early use in the Peruvian high culture area. I have in my book from 1965 (p. 80) referred to W. von Hagen’s statement that “there is no doubt that the coastal yuncas, as their contemporaries, the Andean dwellers, had a wide knowledge of drug-yielding plants.” Specific trade routes were mentioned: “Huancabamba had extensive trade alliances with the coast people. It was also a trade-axis for the jungle; a route less than sixty miles ran from the mountains about Huancabamba down to Jaen, near to the Rio Marañon, one of the tributaries of the Amazon rivers system.”

It was, according to von Hagen, the milieu of the widely spread and trading Shuaras (or Jivaros). Among various articles traded by these Indians, von Hagen (p. 150) especially mentions several narcotics, among them “niopo snuff (which was inhaled into the nose through the shank bone of the Oil-bird).” In this connection it is tempting to refer to a painting on a Mochica vessel from Period V (c. 600-700 A.D.) published by Alan R. Sawyer. The vessel, which belongs to the Nathan Cummings Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, shows according to Sawyer an “ornately caparisoned war-

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rior-bird” which is “collecting the narcotic fruit of the ulluco tree, which grows in the highlands.”

Following my publication of the claysnuffers from Costa Rica, Doctors Clifford Evans and Betty J. Meggers of the U.S. National Museum in a letter of March 24, 1966, raised the question if the so-called “pottery spoons from Marajoara Phase” published by them as plate 81 in Bulletin 167 of the Bureau of American Ethnology might be a snuff device. “These were ruled out as smoking pipes because of two factors; one, was position of the hole in all but one, and in that one, there was no indication whatsoever that it had been used for a pipe. Since they don’t occur in the culture we use the term that has been used by others, namely pottery spoons. If they are actually used in snuff taking it would move the distribution down to the mouth of the Amazon and to a earlier time zone than the rest of your region.” (Letter of March 24, 1966). The possibility that these objects served as some kind of snuffing paraphernalia should perhaps be taken into account. In the general form these clay specimens very much resemble the mortars of fruit shell used for preparing the parica snuff in parts of the Amazon region.52

52 Comp. for instance the object, pl. 81b, in the publication by Meggers and Evans (1957) with the mortar, fig. 25 (p. 60) in Wassén 1965.
FIG. 23.—Snuff tube and thorn bundles from snuff tubes. Coll. and courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. The tube, 41.0/1713 J, from Chiu-chiu, Chile. The bundle of seven thorns beside the tube was found in the tube. Wrapping is sinew. The other thorns belong to 41.0/8662, all unassociated with original tubes. Cemetery at Chiu-chiu, Chuquicamata, Chile.

The map in Fig. 24 shows the distribution of archaeological finds which definitely, or in some cases possibly, should be related to the taking of psychotomimetic snuffs.

**Ethnographical Data About the Use of Snuffs in South America**

The first thing prepared for this chapter has been the distribution map in fig. 25 with its legend. In this map tribal names and data about the snuffing of paricá or yopo as well as epéna snuffs as presented in Zerries (1964, map 10, text pp. 85–93) have been incorporated with the ethnographic information presented in the map in Wassén, 1965, p. 13. The data given by Cooper (1949, map 10, pp. 536–537) have also been used, as have some of the information from Colombia presented in the paper by Nestor Uscategui M. (1959). As far as I understand the final result must give a fairly complete picture of the distribution of psychotomimetic snuffing among the South American Indians according to published reports.
Fig. 24.—Distribution of Archaeological Finds. See Legend.

*Legend to Map in Figure 24.*

1. Haiti. Finds connected with the use of *cohoba*.
4. Mochica Culture, N. Peru. Painted motif on a pottery vessel supposed to show the collecting of the narcotic fruit of the *uluru* tree (?)
5. Whalebone snuff tablet and bone tube. Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley. Fig. 17.
6. Uhle's snuffing tube of bone from Tiahuanaco. Fig. 6.
7. Pre-Inca phase wooden snuff tray from Santa María Miramar, south of Mollendo.
8. Finds of snuffing paraphernalia at Chulucu, Chile.
9. Finds from the Changoes, Coast of Antofagasta, Chile.
10. Finds from the Atacama region.
11. Finds from the *Puna* de Jujuy, Argentina.
14. So-called pottery spoons from the Marajoara Phase. (?)
15. Zoomorphic stone figures (*litos*) from S. Catarina and R. Grande do Sul, Brazil. Fig. 12.
16. Finds of *litos* in Eastern Uruguay.
17. *Antropópolis de Mercedes*, Uruguay.
Fig. 25.—Ethnographical data, Distribution Map. See Legend.
1. Highland Chibcha and Tunebo. Chibcha neighbors on the east. Piptadenia snuff, see Cooper, 1949:536. According to Oviedo, Historia etc., vol. IV:607 (Madrid 1855), yopo was a "yerba de admiracion, usada por los mozos ó sacerdotes del sol en los valles de Tunja y Bogotá. (Lengua de Nueva Granada)." A reduced number of Tunebo are still found in "the humid jungle regions in the southwestern part of the Comisaría de Arsuaga," Colombia (Usacategui, 1959:298–299). Same author, p. 299: "The custom of snuffing yopo was acquired probably from their Arawak neighbors in Venezuela and Colombia." A knowledge of nutmeg (at least for trade purposes) existed among the Tunebo of the early 18th century. According to Gumilla (1744:307) "el Padre Pompeo Caracaci, que fue Missioner de los Tunebos muchos años, nos aseguró, que en su tiempo traían aquellos Indios Nuez mosqueda, tan parecida en todo a la que traen del Oriente, que no se podían distinguir unas nueces de otras; pero yo no la he visto, ni sé que oy la saquen."


7. Karimó (or Shuá), Indians culturally related to the Waiea. According to G. Salathé, quoted in Wassén, 1965:99, and in Wassén and Holmstedt, 1963:14, these Indians prepare a snuff made of leaves from a small plant called kokoime. A 30 cm. long straight tube is used. Another person blows into the nostrils.


10. Vcuano-Makiritare, Carib Indians of southern Venezuela. See the translation of Th. Koch-Grüngberg's description of the use of the hakidwifha, a "bark of tree"-powder from these Indians in Schultes, 1964:245, also quoted in Wassén, 1965:97. According to Schultes, an identification of the unusual narcotic Virola-snuff with the powder mentioned by Koch-Grüngberg seems almost certain. Dr. Helmut Fuchs (letter of March 9, 1962, quoted in Wassén, 1965:97), has described akudwakwa as a snuff powder with ingredients which botanically can be shown to have come from Piptadenia peregrina, or another Piptadenia. There are also other ingredients from a tree, probably Virola sp. See also discussion in Wassén and Holmstedt, 1963:10–12. Cf. Zerries, 1964:87–88. Cf. No. 24.


12. Piaroa, Indians of the Salivan Family, Orinoco-Ventuari territory, see Wassén, 1965:103. According to Wilbert they use yopo, a strong "tabaco-propé," prepared from the seeds of Piptadenia sp. The powder is passed around in a round tray with
handle in the form of a fin (of a fish) and Y-shaped tubes of bird bone are used. According to J. J. Wurdack, bark of Lecythisidae is burned and the ash added to the yepo of Piptadenia seeds. Quotation in Wassén, 1965:103.

13. Pumace. Indians at the lower Infrda River, southeast Colombia and adjacent territory of Venezuela. Several quotations in Wassén, 1965:99–100. Dr. R. E. Schultes, 1954:248, has repeatedly observed the preparation of “a violently toxic snuff” among the Puiavve. This snuff is prepared from an exudation of Virola calophylia and Virola calophylloidea.


15. Achaguia, once widely distributed Arawak-speaking Indians in Venezuela and eastern Colombia. Hernández de Alba, 1948:409, says that “the Achaguia used a snuff made of the narcotic powder of certain leaves called “niepe” or “yopa.” Two Indians took this snuff simultaneously; with two crossed bird bones, each blew it into the other’s nose.” Cf. No. 19 in this list. Also Zerries, 1964:89. Sven Lovén, 1935:387, says that yopa “is an Achaguan name.” For a full quotation of the prognostication combined with the taking of yepo powder from the relation written by the Jesuit missionary Juan Rivero in 1726, I refer to Wassén, 1965:19. “A nasal secretion from the right nostril signified success, from the left meant failure, and from both was an indeterminate sign.”

16. Guahibo, Chiricoa, Saliva. Several references to these Colombian-Venezuelan Llanos tribes in Wassén, 1965:104. The Guahibo and Chiricoa men “invariably carried a shell or a jaguar bone containing parica. These tribes were said to carry the habit of parica snuffing to extremes not found among the neighboring tribes” (Kirchhoff, 1948:455). Cf. Zerries, 1964:89.


18. Guayupe and Sté, Arawak Indians. Zerries, 1964:89, has quoted Kirchhoff’s article on these Indians in vol. 4 of the Handbook of South American Indians (Washington: 1948), p. 385–391, about the taking of “coca (yupa), and tobacco.” The probably Arawak Indians once lived “in the southernmost section of the Venezuelan-Colombian llanos,” the Guayupe “also in large parts also inhabited the dense rain forests of the Andean slopes” (Kirchhoff, p. 385.)

19. “Oxitoto” Indians of the upper Yapura River. See Zerries, 1964:91, and the discussion of the crossed tubes for snuffling among the “Oxitotos” of Dr. Crevaux in Wassén, 1965:87–90. It is a possibility that Hernández de Alba when formulating the statement about the Achaguia (see No. 15 in this list) has been influenced by the drawing and text in the work of Crevaux. No source is given for the statement about the Achaguia. Until such a reliable source has been presented, I prefer to consider the often published drawing in the publications of Dr. Crevaux of two Indians using crossed snuffing tubes, as dubious.


21. Otomac. Tribe in the Venezuelan Llanos, between Orinoco, the Apure, and the Meta Rivers. According to Paul Kirchhoff’s paper on these Indians in vol. 4 of the Handbook of South American Indians, pp. 439–444 (Washington, 1948), “Otomac shamans, under the influence of niepe, predicted the future.” Humboldt was a witness of Otomac snuffling the powder of Acacia niepo seeds with lime as an ingredient. As he is one of the very few who really gives a description of the preparing of the snuff, I quote from the “Personal Narrative” (Humboldt and Bonpland, 1818–1929, vol. V:661–665): “The Otomacs are a restless turbulent people, with unbridled passions. They are not only fond to excess of the fermented liquors from cassava and maize, and of the palm wine, but they throw themselves into a peculiar state of intoxication, we might almost say of madness, by the use of the powder of niepo. They gather the long pods of mimosa, which we have made known by the name of acacia niepo, cut them into pieces, moisten them, and cause them to ferment. When the softened seeds begin to grow black, they are kneaded like a paste, mixed with some flour of cassava and lime...
procured from the shell of a helix, and the whole mass is exposed to a very brisk fire, on a grate of hard wood. The hardened paste takes the form of small cakes. When it is to be used, it is reduced to a fine powder, and placed on a disk five or six inches wide. The Otomac holds this disk, which has a handle, in his right hand, while he inhales the niopo by the nose, through a forked bone of a bird, the two extremities of which are applied to the nostrils. This bone, without which the Otomac believes that he could not take this kind of snuff, is seven inches long: it appeared to me to be the leg bone of a large sort of the plover (échassier). I sent the niopo, and all this singular apparatus, to Mr. de Foucroy at Paris." According to Rosenblat, (1965:272) nothing of all this is now remembered among the Llanero population said to be descendants of the Otomac. Also, their language has gone.

22. Cashuena. Indians of the Carib Family on the Casuro (Cashorro) River, a tributary of the middle Trombetas River, Brazil. From this tribe Protássio Frielhas has described a mort snuff, which can be made "simply of tobacco" or of other ingredients among which paricá is mentioned. A full quotation is found in Wassén, 1965:103, and also in Wassén and Holmstedt, 1963:21–23. The snuff mentioned by Mr. Gottfried Polykrates seems to originate from Piptadenia seeds. Details in Wassén, 1965:103.

23. Tuyuca and Bará, Tucanoan tribes on the upper Tiquié River. As quoted in Wassén, 1965:100, the use of paricá or niopo has been mentioned by Whiffen from the Tuyuca, and Zerries, 1964:90, refers to Koch-Grüenberg's statement about the use of a snuff from Mimosa acacioides Benth. among both tribes.

24. Cubeo, one of the Eastern Tucanoan tribes at a section of the Uaupés River. Schultes, 1954:242, describes the Cubeo as users of Virola snuff. Cf. Wassén, 1965, about their use of Banisteriopsis caapi. According to Goldman, 1948:296, "the shamanistic novice spends a month learning the art from at least two professionals. He obtains tree resin, dupa (Tucano), and inhales it in a powdered form for 4 days." Bödiger, 1965:151, refers to this the Cubeo novices, and mentions also Koch-Grüenberg's explanation of the word dípa as meaning small white stones used for sorcery. In the meaning tree resin which is inhaled as a powder, the word is of direct interest through the term hakuidyka, offered us by Koch-Grüenberg from a linguistically mixed region with contact zones between several language families.

25. Tucano. In this word an important group of Indians of the Uaupés and Papuri Rivers are included. Schultes has in 1954 reported the use of Virola snuff, and Uschategui has in 1959 mentioned a mixture of Virola and Theobroma subincanum powders. Mr. Georg J. Seitz has photographed a Tucano medicine man grinding the dry crust of evaporated Virola calophylloidea exudation to snuff powder with a stone. The photos were taken by him at Tapuruquara, upper R. Negro, Brazil, in 1965 (see Wassén, 1965:100–101, also p. 73). In Wassén, 1965:68–76, it has been demonstrated that the Tucano used very fine sculptured snuff trays in earlier days. Uschategui, 1959:294, remarks that the Tucano commonly use the Tupi-Guarani loan-word paricá (paricá) for the snuff prepared from "the blood-red resin of certain species of the myristaceous tree, Virola, especially V. calophylla and V. calophylloidea."

26. Barasana, Makuna, Yahuna, Yabahana, Menimehe. Zerries, 1964:90–91, has mentioned that Koch-Grüenberg found the same snuffing paraphernalia among the Tucanoan tribes (or groups) Makuna, Yabahana and Yahuna at the lower Apaporis River, as he had found among the Tuyuca and Bará (No.23) at the upper Tiquié River. Schultes found Barasana and Makuna Indians living together at the R. Piraparaná, both tribes snuffers of Virola (see Wassén, 1965:101). This drug seems also to be used among the Yahuna and Yabahana. Whiffen has listed the Arwak Menimehe at the Yapú River as users of a narcotic snuff. See Zerries, 1964:91.

27. Pasé, Juri and Uaimuna, once important Arwak tribes south of the Yapú River, noted as paricá snuffers and also listed among such tribes by Zerries, 1964:91, as also by Wassén, 1965:66, according to Métaux. The Pasé have been mentioned in Wassén, 1965:68, as one of the Brazilian tribes called "black-faces," as they used a special tribal identification, the so-called malhas. They have been reported as excellent wood-carvers.
28. Omagua. In Wassén, 1965:83, there is a detailed description of this Tupi tribe through Father Samuel Fritz, who in 1701 had to calm an uprising in the Settlement of San Pablo. Pots with powdered *curupá* were found, "with which to deprive themselves of their senses, so as to carry out any evil deed without compunction." This material was all consumed with fire upon orders given by Father Fritz after his Mass. Métraux has stated that both the Omagua and Cocama, also a Tupi tribe further west, "inhaled powdered *curupá* leaves (Mimosa acacioïdes), to which they ascribed great therapeutic and magical powers." According to Métraux, the *curupá* "was blown into the nose through Y-shaped tubes or, with the help of small rubber syringes, administered as a oyster which provoked agreeable visions." Quotations in Wassén, 1965:83. Zerries, 1964:92, seems to doubt the use among the Cocama. According to La Condamin's *Relation*, etc. from 1778 (quoted in Wassén, 1965:84) the word *curupá* for *Piptadenia* should originate from the language of the Omagua. Monteiro de Noronha, writing in 1768 about the Omagua, which he calls *Umaucú* or *Cambébas*, "Flat Heads," criticizes La Condamine for his statement that the *curupá* intoxication should last 24 hours, and corrects it to "apenas dura tres horas" (Monteiro de Noronha, 1862:58). The same author adds that the Cambébas used the juice of the bark of the manáucú, which has been identified with Brunfelsia hopeana Benth., of the Solanaceae family.

29. Tucuma. As follows from the analysis in Wassén, 1965:82-83, these Indians who now only snuff tobacco, are known to have been using *paricá* snuff in earlier days for their ceremonial snuff called *kar'u*. The very important snuff tray found in the Oslo University's Ethnographical Museum and published in Wassén, 1965, fig. 41, has by an ethnographical analysis been shown to come from the Tucuma, and to represent the *prego* monkey demon. See Wassén, 1965:80-86.

30. Piro. One of the Arawakan-speaking tribes of the headwaters of the Ucayali and Madeira Rivers, by Julian H. Steward and Alfred Métraux counted as a primitive Montaña subgroup. The use of the seeds of *Acacia nipto* has been reported among the Piro by William Curtis Farabee in 1922. For the hunter and his dog, see Wassén 1965:94. Cf. No. 31 in this list.

31. Catavishí. Indians of the river Purás. Spruce has in 1874 reported from these Indians that they used to absorb *paricá* through a bent tube, and also that they administered an injection of *paricá* to dogs, thus a confirmation of that stated from the Piro. Full quotation in Wassén, 1965:96. See also Cooper, 1949:547.

32. Mura. For the once much feared Mura Indians of the Madeira River the use of *paricá* must have been of outstanding importance. This is clearly demonstrated in the descriptions quoted in Wassén, 1965:37. The roasted seeds of the *paricá* tree were taken either as a snuff or an enema. The snuff was blown into the nostrils by means of bone tubes. The effects of the drug consumption in this tribe have been drastically described. Schnitje has warned that we cannot be absolutely sure that the snuff used by the Mura and Maué was prepared from *Piptadenia*, as a botanical consideration must be kept in mind. Cf. Wassén, 1965:23.

33. Maué. These Central Tupi Indians were formerly famons for their *paricá*, which they do not use any more (see Nunes Pereira, 1954:71). *Mimosa acacioïdes* is given as the source. They have also been carving very nice specimens of snuff trays, now kept in several museums. See the description in Wassén, 1965:39-83.

34. Mataco. Indians of the Gran Chaco, among whom the shamans have been reported to use snuff from the seeds of *cebil*, that is *Piptadenia macrocarpa*. Information collected by Métraux has been quoted in Wassén, 1965:29.

35. Lule. Extinct Indians in western Chaco, Argentina. Métraux has mentioned the Lule together with the Mataco. An old information from the Lule comes from Pedro Lozano (1733), who states that *cebil* was blown into the nostrils by a small tube in order to provoke rain when necessary for their cultivations. Full quotation in Wassén, 1965:11-12.

36. Comechingones. Cooper, 1949:536, has listed the extinct 16th-century Indians around Córdoba, Argentina, among those taking *Piptadenia* powder. See Zerries,
1964:93, for further references to the use of cebil and/or wilca in the southern region, where also the *Zanavanones* are reported to have used it. Max Uhle, 1898:9, has quoted vol. II of the "Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Peru", p. 152, from a report dealing with "la Ciudad de Córdoba," where the Indians spoke *comechingona* and *zanavanona*: "Tomar por las narices el cebil, que una fruta como vilca; hacedo polvos y bebéndola por las narices." Uhle comments (p. 9): "The curious expression, they drink the powder with the nostrils, means without doubt that the Indians took the powder by means of an instrument like a tube. Concerning the word *cebil*, Napp (The Argentine Republic, 1876, p. 114) tells us that *cebil* is in Argentine the name of the Acacias. Now, the fact that Humboldt originally pointed out the *niopo* tree as a species of *Acacia* by mistake and von Martius called it *Mimosa acaccoides* proves that *Piptadenia* and *Acacias* have sometimes been confounded. We know, further, that *Piptadenia* trees of the variety *niopo* are also common in eastern Bolivia and the Argentine (for instance *Piptadenia macrocarpa*, in the province of Tucuman). As the bark of the *carupau* tree, which from its name and general description may be a *niopo* tree, serves, according to Cardús, to tan hides in eastern Bolivia, so in like manner the bark of *cebil* is used to tan hides, as I noted, in the environs of Tucuman. All this leads to the conclusion that the tree, from whose seeds the powder was made, is related to *niopo*, and a scientific determination may perhaps show it identical with *niopo*. The custom of snuffing *cebil* in the environs of Córdoba was, therefore, derived from another part of the continent, where snuffing *niopo* was practiced." The conclusion by Uhle must be considered as very important also when we take the distribution of paraphernalia into account.

37. *Tupari*, *Guaratájage*, *Annciapá*, and other tribes in western Brazil, in the R. Branco region and on the Mequens River, affluents of the Guaporé River. Cooper, 1949:536, refers to "the upper Guaporé tribes." Zerries, 1964:91, has, according to a report of Dr. Etta Becker-Donner, Vienna, added the *Alcanor* or *Hauri*, as their medicine-men use a snuff of *Piptadenia peregrina* mixed with bark ashes. Dr. Becker-Donner has also reported the use of such powder among the *Salaman* in the same region, as quoted by Zerries, 1964:91. The most valuable information from the whole Guaporé region as regards snuffing has been given by Dr. Franz Caspar from the *Tupari*. I refer to his book from 1952, and his manuscript from 1953, both quoted in Wassen, 1965:102, and as regards the snuffing tubes, especially pp. 24–28.

38. *Quichua*. See Discussion in Zerries, 1964:92, for the use of *wilca* (or *vilca*) snuff among the Andean Quichua, according to data given by Safford in 1916 and by O. F. Cook in 1915. Cooper mentions the Highland *Quichua* of Peru among the consumers of *Piptadenia*, and this is also fully reflected in his Map 10 in his work for the *Handbook* (1949), where a solid black covers most of the central part of the western Highland.

39. *Aymara*. Zerries, 1964:95, has listed the Aymara, Tiahuanaco, as *yopo* snuffers and mentions the word *core* as probably = *carupá* = *yopo*. His text seems to indicate that the *yopo* powder should have been known among the Aymara through the old tribes in northwest Argentina. La Barre, however, does not mention *yopo* among the narcotics in his work from 1948, but he has the information from Bertonio, "*Sévantathá*: Tomar tabaco por las narizes. *Thusa thusa* es el tabaco" (La Barre, 1948:66).

Max Uhle (1898) was the first to take up a serious discussion about what kind of snuff really was used in the Highlands. Garcillasso de la Vega's information is clear and refers to tobacco: "The Indians made great use of the herb of plants which they call *Sayri*, and the Spaniards called tobacco. They applied the powder to their noses to clear the head" (Markham, 1869:188). According to Uhle, we learn from this source "that the practice of snuffing must have been nearly general in the Highlands of middle and southern Peru," . . . Uhle here refers only to the snuffing of tobacco.

It is in one of the sources known to him, namely a report from La Paz found in the "Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Peru," vol. II, p. 76 (Madrid, 1885) that we
find the word coro. "Hay tambien entre los indios tabaco, que ellos le llaman sayre, de que los negros usan mucho, y los indios de la raiz que llaman coro, y se purgan con ello y lo loman en polvos." Uhle (1898: 17) comments: "There is nothing published which points to the practice of snuffing the powder of niopo in Peru, if not in the report of the province of La Paz. In this province two powders were used as snuff—tobacco and coro. This coro, without any hesitancy, should be declared to be curupa, if it had not been reported as being a root. But the use of niopo being confirmed from the region of Córéoba, it seems more reasonable to suppose that the writer of the report was mistaken than that there existed a third powder, never elsewhere reported, with a name similar to that of niopo, which was taken as snuff in the environs of La Paz."

40. Desano and Tariano. Two Arawak tribes along the lower part of the Colombian course of the Uaupés River. According to Usacategi, 1959:295, they know "and employ paricá or Virola-snuff as do their Tukanan neighbors." Paricá (pa-recá) is a loan-word from the Tucano but of Tupi-Guaraní origin (cf. No. 25). The tribes are also called Desana and Tariana.

41. Kuina, Amarua, Sikuani, and

42. Guayaberos. "Various tribes," according to Usacategi, 1959:299, "located between the Meta and Inirida Rivers, most of which belong to the Arawak and Guahibo linguistic families." He has for these tribes or tribal groups received personal communications from Meden and Schultes. Other tribes mentioned by Usacategi in this context are the Pulmave, Piapoco, Saliva, and Kuripako, which already have been listed separately:

"All of these use or were formerly acquainted with yopo, especially for purposes of magic. Yopo, prepared from the toasted and pulverized seeds of Piptadenia peregrina, is normally taken only by men, for there exists a certain taboo which, however, seems no longer so strict as it once was. In the most acculturated of these people, both sexes take it. Snuffing of this violent intoxicant, which looks rather like ground coffee, is carried out with very different kinds of instruments, the most generally used of which is a double Y-shaped tube of bird bones (the arms of the Y being soldered into place with pitch) ending in two hollowed palm-nuts. These nuts are placed at the opening of the nostrils, and the powder is inhaled from the palm of the hand. Another kind is the long V-shaped snuffing tube, one leg of which is inserted into a nostril, the other into the mouth, thus making self-administration possible. There are additional types of snuffing-tubes as well, both of bone and of small bamboo-like grasses. One other primitive type is made of a palm-leaf: the apex of the leaf is cut off truncated, and this funnel-shaped end is placed over the snuff, while the sniffer draws in strongly through the petirole which is bound into a tube. Generally, some kind of wooden mortar and pestle is used to grind the Piptadenia-seeds which have previously been roasted in the fire. The powder is kept in a case made of the leg-bone of the jaguar, partly closed with wax and adorned with feathers. The addition of an alkaline admixture may or may not be the practice." This long quotation with its excellent description to which practically nothing could be added has been taken from Usacategi, 1959:299–300.

43. Caripuna. A Panoan-speaking tribe referred to by the Austrian naturalist Johann Natterer as having snuffing implements. Natterer himself encountered a Caripuna subgroup, probably the Sinabo, at the Madeira River (quotation from Métraux in Waseén, 1985:47). According to Métraux "the Caripuna provoke a state of trance by taking paricá (Piptadenia sp.) in the form of clysters they administer to each other with rubber syringes provided with a bone tube."

The distribution of tobacco snuffing (and other ways of taking tobacco as chewing, drinking, and licking) in many cases covers the same areas (see map 10 in Cooper, 1949, and maps 11–12 in Zerries, 1964). These data, however, have not been considered here, as I have had to limit myself to special
The legend to the map in Fig. 25 gives the available information in a concentrated form.

What we learn from the map in Fig. 25 is the concentration of the use of psychotomimetic snuff drugs to certain regions of South America with a western and northwestern dominance, if we consider still remaining tribes or such extinct or no longer snuffing tribes from which data have been recorded. What we do not learn from the map, but perhaps may recognize by reading the legend, is how very few good observations there are. This fact is deplorable, as it is obvious that we now face in the Uaupés region a strongly disappearing usage (cf. Wassén, 1965: 16–17).

A scattered information on the use of parica or yopo, by which words mostly a snuff prepared from Piptadenia seeds seems to be understood, has been saved. When we turn to other kinds of psychoactive drugs such as the snuff prepared of exudates of Virola species, the available data is sparse indeed. It is only through the intensive field work of such an eminent botanist as Richard Evans Schultes, the repeated collecting and observations among the Waica of Mr. George J. Seitz of Rio de Janeiro, and scientific research by Prof. Bo Holmstedt, that we now are able to fully grasp the outstanding importance of this drug.

It is in our days mostly impossible to find out merely from vague ethnographical descriptions, which kind of snuff many tribes have been using; if a pure powder or a mixture, and in the latter case which ingredients. It was only through a chain of lucky detective work in the documented museum material in Gothenburg, that I was able to trace back to the Tucuma Indians the perfect and unusual snuff tablet No. 1219 in an 100-year old Brazilian museum collection in Oslo (see Fig. 26, and Wassén, 1965: 80–86 with illustrations). It has also only been possible to consider another of the three snuff trays in Oslo (No. 1169) as probably Tucanoan (see Wassén, 1965: 68–80), through an ethnographical comparative ornamental study in several museum collections. It is this unique specimen with its double human figures as handles (Fig. 27) which especially leads us to look for an origin in the Amazon region also for the snuff trays among the Atacameño. There are many tablets in the Atacaman collections with two human figures as handles, but I use this opportunity to refer specially to a specimen from Calama, Antofagasta, Chile (Fig. 27), now in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Dr. Carl Schuster of Woodstock, N.Y., who takes an extreme interest in all double-headed figures, writes to me (May 9, 1966) that “the fact that the two-headed snuff tray as a type occurs in N.W. Brazil, N.W. Argentina and Chile is very interesting. Double-headed human figures begin in South America archeologically very early—with the Valdivia Culture in Ecuador; and I know of some ethnological specimens (Caduveo, Mato Grosso), etc.”

As already declared, this study is not dealing with the snuffing of tobacco. Such a study has, however, been undertaken by Zerries in his Waika-book (1964: 93–95, map 11). Naturally, this Americanist when trying to sum-
marize the details of both distributions, had the same difficulties everyone
must find in the sources, namely that many times we cannot differentiate the
two kinds of snuff when reading the reports. For instance, the Guaporé tribes
are mixing *yopo* and tobacco powders, and many tribes use both powders.
Zerries (1964: 95) exemplifies the latter cases with Waica, Piro, Tupari, etc.

Fig. 26.—Wooden snuff tray representing the prego monkey demon of the Tucuma
Indians. Length 25 cm. Coll. and courtesy of the Oslo Univ. Ethnogr. Museum. Spec-
imen No. 1219.
The distribution of the snuff taking indicates that we have to look upon northern and northwestern South America as the origin area for both powders. Zerries also stresses this fact and points out that we, with such an important exception as the Maué, generally do not find the habit of snuffing among the Central Tupí tribes. According to Zerries (p. 95) Eastern Brazil should not be taken into account at all, as the only statement is dubious. I translate the following from Zerries work (1964: 92): “When Uhle (1898, p. 163/4), following Martyr, wants to credit the Tupí of Eastern Brazil for snuffing paricá, this seems unlikely.” He supports this statement with the information that such a specialist on the Tupí-Guaraní peoples as A. Métraux does not say anything about such a habit among them. This is perfectly correct, and as has been conclusively shown by Métraux in his work on the religion of the Tupinamba (1928: 88), these Indians were blowing smoke of the petun plant (tobacco) from a tube for
magic and healing purposes. On the other hand an examination of the text in Uhle’s paper shows that he (dealing with the paricá snuffing) uses the phrase “. . . and has been occasionally ascribed to the Tupis of Eastern Brazil.” The reference given by Uhle is the small paper by A. Ernst (1889), but Zerries had been misreading and found the name of Martyr on the line just above. The old chronicler should be omitted in this case, and Ernst on page 135 of his paper, to which Uhle refers, is only mentioning an Old Guarani word petyowí which has been translated with “pó (powder) de tabaco para ser aspirado.”

Leaving the Eastern Tupí aside we must, however, keep in mind that the very words curupá and paricá for the snuff of Piptadenia originate in the Tupí-Guarani languages, and were spread through the Lingua geral (Friederici, 1947: 229). Esteban Pinto has written in a paper on the medicine-men among the Tupinamba, that they, in order to get in a state of ecstasy, used “ilusogénicos o estupefacientes, indicados genéricamente con el nombre de Kurupá (Pardal).” This plant he identifies with Piptadenia species. As a source for the information he gives only “algunos testimonios.”

With the Tupí word curupá in mind, we must realize that snuff taking does not always follow the language families. Zerries has found how, for instance, several Arawakan tribes north of the Amazon are yapa snuffers, while other tribes of the same language stock south of the river take tobacco snuff. Most probably the botanists would be the best equipped to find if such a varying use has its explanation in the distribution of the botanical species. In the following chapter, I am suggesting that the old word cohoba from the West Indies and a word khooba, now used in the Atacameño region, should be the same, and have spread south via the Arawak and the Andes. This finds a support in the observations by Zerries that we should ascribe the very habit of snuff taking to a sub-Andean stratum of tribes. Here the sub-Andean Arawakan tribes fit, and Zerries finds it probable that the clue to the snuffing should be found among the Arawak, and that the use of yopo should be considered as the oldest of the two main classes of snuff.

In my work from 1965 I have treated the same problems, pointing to “a common old tradition in the Amazonian and sub-Andean regions”; equally, I have stressed the fact of “an obvious northern Arawak influence far south into northwestern Argentina” (Wassén, 1965: 77–78).

**Comparative Outlooks and Symbolism**

Certain living and extinct tribes and certain archaeological and ethnographical objects have been mentioned in this paper in regard to their importance for the whole study. We have first the ceremonially used cemi-figures of wood and stone in the West Indies, with platforms on top for the placing of cohoba. A mainland ethnographic equivalent to these Antillean cohoba “platforms” are the table tops used by the Tupari in Brazil when snuffing ceremonially.

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44 Pinto, Esteban. 1944: 324.
We have through Oviedo's drawing, the descriptions in words and the find in the La Gonâve cave, a fairly good knowledge of the more simple and the more elaborated snuff tubes of wood on the Islands. These specimen have their counterparts in the Y-shaped tubes used among many mainland tribes. We recognize the round snuff trays, which Las Casas describes from the Antilles as perfectly made pieces, when we see the generally much simpler round trays used by the Llanos tribes of northern South America, and certainly also the more unusual round snuff trays found archaeologically in the marginal Atacameño region. For the latter I refer for instance to plate 34 in Le Paige's description of San Pedro de Atacama (1965), where the author refers to a grave for 25 adults, a child's offering and also the offering of snuff trays. Finally, we are certain to look for the origin of the cohoba drug itself in the now more and more studied species of plants which botanically belong to the South American mainland. But the very word cohoba! Would it be possible to trace it back to some actual situation and still find it used on the mainland? It looks as if it should be possible, and I will return to this problem later in this chapter. I have already mentioned that the word *cojoba* occurs in northern Venezuela.

In this paper I have repeated my opinion from 1965, that the elaborate stone figure from the R. Trombetas region shown in Fig. 13 has been especially sculptured and used to hold a psychotomimetic snuff. The whole character of this famous piece is ceremonial, and we meet in the sculpture a very important South American combination of man and jaguar. It is therefore a small but important piece of information that we have from Dr. Schultes, when he tells us that the Inga and Kamá Indians in the Valley of Sibundoy, Colombia, called a narcotic prepared from the leaves of *Methysticodendron Ameritianum*, *mits-kway borrachero*, or the "intoxicant of the jaguar." Even if no further explanation has been given as to the nature of the relationship jaguar—intoxicant—we have at least an indication of a connection between the feline and an intoxicant with certain properties for the users. May we guess that the jaguar is thought of as the "owner" of the drug?

The alter-ego sculpture in Fig. 13 is of stone. When we try to get a picture of the archaeological distribution of snuffing paraphernalia in the Amazon region, we must take into account that very little of perishable material, such as wood, has been saved to our days. As pointed out in Wassén, 1965: 77, an origin in the Highland Tiahuanaco has often been considered for the trays and other snuffing paraphernalia now found in northern Chile and northwestern Argentina. Apart from the fact that snuffing paraphernalia now have been dated in Chile to an earlier epoch than that with an influence from Tiahuanaco, I have for ethnographical reasons considered an origin of the marginal Atacameño snuffing material in the Amazonian and sub-Andean region. I have later found that René Naville, in an article published in Switzerland in 1959, more or less has been of the same opinion; that is, that we should look for the origin of the snuff ceremonialism in the Amazon region, possibly among the Arawak Indians; but that later a cult associated

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with it in the Atacama region and manifested in human offering, had an Andean origin. Mr. Naville's contribution to the whole problem is valuable, and I prefer to quote him here in his language, French:

On peut conclure en disant que si l'absorption d'un narcotique au moyen de tubes et de tablettes semble être originale d'Amazonie, peut-être arawak, son usage rituel et son association avec le culte rendu à une divinité accompagné de sacrifices humains est très probablement d'origine audine. Il est donc possible que ces deux pratiques se soient conjointes dans le Nord du Chili et le Nord-Ouest de l'Argentine, points d'intersections des grands courants culturels venus du Nord et de l'Est, pour donner naissance aux pièces décrites plus haut.

From what already has been stated in this work, it is with full evidence clear that wooden tablets and tubes for the taking of some kind of a snuff must have been of outstanding importance in the now marginal region where once the Atacameño dominated. According to Bennett (1946: 599), "the term Atacameño (Atacama, Kunza) refers to a people, with a distinctive language and culture, who once occupied the northern Chilean provinces of Tarapacá, Arica, Tarapacá, Antofagasta, and Atacama, and much of the Northwest Argentine provinces of Los Andes, Salta, and Jujuy." "Today, the few remaining Atacameño are located in isolated sections of Chile and the Puna de Jujuy, but culturally and linguistically they have been absorbed by Aymara or Spanish."

One may ask if in such a region anything is remembered about the ancient use of snuffing paraphernalia among the modern mestizo population?

As the Atacameño were basically agriculturists and herders, my question came after I had read two special articles both dealing with the actual culture of typical parts of the old region. Both authors, Horst Nachtigall (1965) and Ana María Mariscotti (1966) underline the importance of traditionally old offering ceremonies to Pachamama, so-called señaladas, during which the offers of llama animals (or part of them), alcohol, chicha, coca leaves, etc. are obligatory and important.

The cultural correspondence with the samiri concept among the Aymara and Chipaya Indians of the Highland as studied by the late Alfred Métraux during his expedition in 1930 seems important for a very special reason, namely that it has been suggested by Sven Lovén that we consider the Taino word cemi as related to Samiri, because of certain facts, among them that the Arawak had asserted themselves also in the western Highland.

On my written question to authors Nachtigall and Mariscotti both declare that the former use of the tabletas de rapé, tubes, etc. now is absolutely unknown to anybody in the actual rural population.

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55 Naville, René. 1959: 3.
57 Wessen, H. 1934: 633. "Dr. Sven Lovén, at the museum of Gothenburg, has mentioned for me that he for certain reasons—among these the fact that the Arawaks have asserted themselves also in the western Highland—considers the constituent sami of the word samiri to be the same as the Tainan semii."
58 Mrs. Mariscotti, after four different periods of investigation in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and Puna de Jujuy can assure "that the use of the tabletas de rapé which with such frequency are embodied in the "Puna Complex" of Bennett, is absolutely unknown." (Letter, November 16, 1966).
If we now return to the señaladas, both Nachtigall (1965: 216) and Mariscotti (1966: 74) report the burning of leaves of khoba or khooa, an aromatic plant for which they botanically refer to Mentha pulegium (of the Family Labiatae). This is said by La Barre to be used also amongst the Highland Aymara.60 With a letter of December 5th, 1966, Mrs. Ana M. Mariscotti has had the kindness to send me a botanical sample of khoba collected during her latest trip to Puna de Jujuy. This botanical sample has been examined by the botanist, Dr. Bo Peterson, chief of the Museum of the Gothenburg University's Botanical Institution. According to Dr. Peterson it is not at all the question of a genus of the Labiatae Family, but instead a genus of the Family Compositae, namely Lepidophyllum quadrangulare. Reference has been given to Angel Lulio Cabrera’s “Synopses del genero Lepidophyllum (Compositae)” in the Boletín de la Sociedad Argentina de Botánica (vol. I: 48–53, La Plata, 1945), where the author also gives the popular names chaicha and coba for this plant.

In accordance with what has been said above regarding a possible relation between the word samiri and the Island Arawak cemi, it is also interesting to suggest a relationship between the Island Arawak (Taino) word cohoba and the khoba for an aromatic herb in the former Aracameño region with its influence from the Highland and its trade relations. I would like to suggest that cohoba and khoba are the same words, even if they now refer to different plant material and are used in two widely separated geographic areas. The word we still meet so far south in the form khoba should in that case belong to an old stratum of Arawak influence. Professor Nils M. Holmer, specialist on Amerindian languages, write to me (November 17, 1966) that, he is sure that an Andean khoba (khooa) with a strongly aspirated kh-, may have been heard as cohoba.

The señaladas among the present rural mestizo population in Puna de Atacama and Puna de Jujuy represent offshoots of an old Highland tradition with offering to a deity (Pachamama) principally ruling the agricultural cycle. To the Indians, gods, or spirits, were benevolent or ill-disposed, and the medicine-men or other important tribal functionaries had to face a situation which I described in 1965 as influencing the benevolent ones and to weaken or if possible destroy the ill-disposed ones. I have also said that “we are in our full right to believe that such important goals have been reflected also in the art of the Indians, even if we now mostly lack the mythological or other information explaining the connections” (Wassen, 1965: 38). As the psychotomimetic snuffs must be considered as a means of contact with the spirit world, it is consequently fully understandable that we find Indian representations of their supernatural beings expressed in the art concerning the snuffing paraphernalia. We can, as an example, mention the jaguar motif in the sculpture on ethnographically known snuff trays from the Cashuena Indians of the Trombetas and Cachorro Rivers, Brazil.61

60 La Barre, Weston, 1948: 184. “The leaves and stems of gua (Mentha pulegium Linnaneus) are burned in the fields “to make a good harvest,” but it is uncertain if this is done for magical reasons, or for the same sound fertilizing reasons with which they place animal mantures on the field,” Cf. same author, p. 36, about the use of Mentha pulegium as a condiment.
As the illustration on page 8 in Frikel's paper of 1961 on the morí feast among the Cachuena unfortunately is very unsharp, I am glad that, thanks to my friend Dr. Carl Schuster of Woodstock, N.Y., I can publish two photos here (Figs. 28 and 29) of the Cachuena specimens. Fig. 28 corresponds to the illustration on page 8 in Frikel's paper. Among the implement for snuffing morí, the “shovel” or tray at the right has two confronted jaguars on its handle. Frikel calls the snuff tray yará-kukuru, which in Cachuena means “figure of the mythological onça (jaguar) yará”. The yará are “bichos do fundo, da água,” “water-jaguars”, conceived as a pair, male and female, a fact also of interest for the principle found in Amazonas that “magical substances are always in pairs, male and female” as discussed in Wassén 1965 (p. 76) in regard to the double-headed paricá tray of Tucanoan origin. The Cachuena used to have special songs, iwarawa-yorémuı́.

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**Fig. 28.**—Cachuena Indian snuffing paraphernalia for the morí feast. Mythological ‘water-jaguars’ form the handle of the tray. Photo courtesy Dr. Carl Schuster, Woodstock, N.Y. Collection in Brazil.

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*Frikel. 1961: 7–8.*
for their snuffing boards. It is deeply regretted that they now are lost (Frikel, 1961: 9) as they probably could have helped to explain the symbolism of the carved motives. As regards the Maué we have the statement by Pereira (1954: 68) that their medicine-men (pagés) used the paricá to get in trance and be able to contact their gods of the waters and the jungle. We are probably safe to assume that the “water-jaguars” of the Cashuena stand for such deities or spirits.

Dr. Carl Schuster took his photo in Fig. 28 in the Convento dos Franciscanos in Santarem, and the objects were then said to be kept in a Franciscan museum at Ipaurana, Paraiba State. At the same time (November 1954) Schuster also copied a photo of an handle of an old snuff tray from the Cashuena, said to be 3 or 4 generations old, c. 80–100 years. This handle (Fig. 29) has been published in a drawing on page 7 in Frikel’s paper from 1961. We see a pair of jaguars, originally with beads in their eyes. Father Frikel informed Dr. Schuster at the time, that a complete tray which he wanted was buried with a shaman. This information confirms my statement from 1965: “If also in former days the carved and ceremonially used snuff trays were placed with the dead this could very well explain their scarcity in collections.”

For the tribes of the Uaupés-Caquetá region, Goldman has informed us that “the shaman in the area is generally referred to as a jaguar, and combines the functions of medicine-man and sorcerer. Older shamans assume the guise of the jaguar and are particularly feared. Every jaguar who attacks human beings is assumed to be a shaman, and a shaman who is suspected of such an attack is not infrequently put to death. As the spirit of a murdered shaman enters another jaguar, however, little relief is expected from killing them” (Goldman, 1948: 796). Bödiger (1965: 150) has shown how the names for jaguar and shaman are similar or identical in many of the tribal languages, and how the shaman through this identity in name is considered to have the power of transforming himself into a jaguar—this in a detailed investigation of the Tucano religion.

Again and again we come back to the importance of the jaguar motif for paraphernalia related to snuffing. It is most likely that tribes using jaguar leg-bones as snuff containers do this out of some magical reasons related to the real and magical power of the animal. And, when we find a
4 cm. long puma figure of stone dominating the snuff tray No. 10718 from Tiahuanaco in the Ethnographical Museum of Buenos Aires (Coll. De-benedetti, 1911), it is really not surprising (Fig. 30). In the tabletas de rapé of the Atacameño, the jaguar is seen as a mighty god. Also for this a highly interesting parallel with pure Amazonian ethnographical material can be presented.

In the Ethnographical Museum at Munich we find the so-called Erlangen ceremonial staff, an object which has been studied by Zerries and by him found to be a medicine-man’s staff, probably from the Carib Warikyana or Arikéina of the Kachiru (Cachorro) River. Friel considers the Cashuena, often mentioned in this work, as descendants of the old Warikyana (see Wassén, 1965: 33), and consequently every old piece of art from that tribe or region must to be of immediate interest also for a study of ceremonially used snuff trays. Zerries found on the Erlangen staff the supernatural vulture, the medicine-man’s most important helper, and the figure of a jaguar, “the werewolf of the South American shamans.” An anthropomorphic jaguar (or “werewolf” figures) is now seen in Fig. 31 from photos

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4a Photo kindly supplied by Dr. Carl Schuster.
4b See complete description in Zerries, 1962, and his photo on p. 615.

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Fig. 30.—Snuff tray with 4 cm. long puma of stone. Tiahuanaco. Coll. No. 10718 (De-benedetti, 1911), Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires. Photo courtesy Dr. Carl Schuster.
FIG. 31.—Ornamental detail, anthropomorphic jaguar on a trumpet of hard red wood. Old specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum (No. 130, J. 44), without provenience but certainly from the Lower Amazon Region, probably the old Warikyana. Photographs courtesy of Mr. Jeremy P. S. Montagu, London.

which have been kindly supplied by Mr. Jeremy P. S. Montagu, London. The figure shows a “side-blast trumpet made of two semicylindrical pieces of hard red wood.” This specimen, now in the Pitt Rivers Museum (entry 130, J. 44) came from “the Bodleian” to the University Museum in Oxford, presumably, then transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1886.” It is an old piece of Indian art for which the provenience is lacking, but as far as I understand it should be referred to the same region as the Erlangen staff, that is, the Lower Amazon region and from the old Warikyana in the art center of the Rio dos contas (cf. Wassén, 1965: 34). A similar 123 cm. long trumpet with jaguar motif (his tail curled down) from an old collection
and the Amazon is found in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leyden. It belonged originally to "Het Kon. Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden."

An important detail in this jaguar-man on a trumpet is the tail, which goes up on the back and ends in a characteristic curl. The reason I find it important might be understood from Fig. 32, in which the figure on a snuff tray found in "Quitor 5" in the region of San Pedro de Atacama, Chile, by Gustavo Le Paige, has been copied from plate 125 in Le Paige's work of 1964. The snuff tray from Chile is an expression of the same idea of a jaguar (or puma)-man-deity as found on the old trumpet, and the tail is a characteristic of both figures. To me these specimens form another link in a chain of evidence for an early Amazon cultural influence on the Atacaman region. Thanks to a numerous series of snuff tray finds in the dry region, Father Le Paige has been able to demonstrate specific manifestations of magico-religious art in which the taking of a man's head is involved. In snuffing paraphernalia which he found, he can follow a complete series of ceremonies, from the presentation of a condemned man with backbound hands and the executioner with his attribute, an axe, to the priest carrying the head of the victim—in that important moment imitating the sacred puma god by walking on all fours and carrying a puma mask and the wings of a condor.66

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66 Le Paige, Gustavo. 1964: 61. Mostny (1964) has been able to show such ceremonialism also in the petroglyphs of Angostura, Prov. of Antofagasta, Chile.
Gustavo Le Paige and other archaeologists working in the Atacaman region find this richness of evidence thanks to a dry climate. What the anthropologists have found, or may expect to find, in the eternally wet Amazon region, are just a few fragments of a formerly rich ceremonialism in which the taking of psychotomimetic drugs seems to have been integrated.

A group of snuff trays from the Amazon region with an obviously important zoomorphic motif are the Maué specimens said to depict caymans or snakes. Several of these old fine Maué wooden trays have fortunately been saved in museum collections. The specimen in Oslo is shown also here (Fig. 33). Typical for most of the Maué trays, is the fact that they are rectangular in form and have a finely polished depository for the snuff, open on the edge of the board. The other edge of the tray ends in an animal's head, often with an accentuated tongue, a trait typical for representations of snakes but hardly for caymans in which the tongue is not easily observable. It is true that a Maué Indian has once stated that a paricá tray owned by him represented a yacaví, but as I have said, this label can not be stamped on all snuff trays from this tribe. Anthropological colleagues such as Etta Becker-Donner in Vienna, and Antonio Serrano in Argentina, as well as Otto Zerries in Munich, seem to favor the idea of snakes. The Atacama specimen published in Fig. 22 has, however, a feline head. As this archaeological specimen is much older than the 19th century ethnographical objects from the Maué, it is of interest also for the discussion of the Maué pieces. As a matter of fact, some of the Maué tray handles in the form of animal heads may be conceived as conventionalized feline heads, perhaps with some idea of "water-jaguars" behind as in the case with the Cashuena. The outstretched tongue is accentuated in the feline powder cup published as Fig. 5 in Zerries: 1965. A most interesting snuff tray with two feline heads found in a grave at the Pucará de Lasana (Río Loa, Chile) has been published by Spalni (1964, Fig. 5). His Fig. 4, showing a snuff tray from another grave said to represent an armadillo, most probably also depicts a feline.

Another group of animals which in a particular symbolic and magic way seem to be connected with the use of drugs are birds with very good eyesight, such as eagles, vultures, very often condors, and also such good night-hunting birds as owls (the Cashuena snuff tray in Fig. 28). I have treated this in detail in my work from 1965 (pp. 24-29), and I can reiterate here, that we are entitled to consider birds as patrons for ecstatic intoxication in several Indian societies. I refer, for instance, to snuff trays with condors, bird-shaped snuffers, snuffing tubes which terminate in hollow nuts, often shaped like a bird's head (Fig. 34), and also, to direct explanations by medicine-men that they use feather crowns, etc. so that they may see better into the world of spirits. This connection between the shamans as users of drugs and the world of bird-spirits is a fact. The reason for it is probably to be found in

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67 See figs. 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15 in Wassen 1965.
68 Wassen. 1965: 43.
69 Wassen. 1965: 48 and 56.
Fig. 34.—Snuff tubes from the Guaporé Territory. A, Monde Indians, after photo by Caspar; B, Salamay Indians, coll. *Mus. f. Völkerkunde der Univ.*, Zürich, No. 11307; C-D, Tupari Indians, coll. Dr. Franz Caspar in the *Mus. f. Völkerkunde*, Basel, No. IV C 9052, length 88 cm. (photo and drawing of the same tube).
the drugs, and I point, in passing, to the complex of Siberian shamans being described as of bird-type, who visit the spirits up in the air. This, incidentally, is a contrast to the other type of Siberian shamans, who have their contacts in the world below. The ideas among the Koryak about the Big-Raven and the fly-agaric give a good illustration of this. I hope that later a common component will be found in all this, through the analytical work by experts on the drugs involved.

No specific search has been performed for this paper regarding the possible use of snuff tubes outside America, where they seem to be autochthonous. Dr. Gordon Willey (1966: 22), has counted "the chewing of lime or ashes with some kind of a narcotic" as one of the very ancient traits, possibly the survival of a Palaeolithic heritage, which "are shared by Asia and the New World." Willey naturally refers to the use of betel-nut in Asia and the coca leaf in South America, and he finds a considerable age for the trait in the Americas.

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Wassén, 1965: 29. I can add that the sensation of being airborne through the taking of ayahuasca has been described from the Zaparo already by Manuel Villavicencio in 1856 (p. 372): "Su seición parece dirijirse a excitar el sistema nervioso; todos los sentidos se arman y todas las facultades se despertan; sienten vibraciones y rodadas de cabeza, luego la sensación de elevarse al aire y comenzar un viaje aéreo; . . ."

La Barre, Weston. 1964: 121. "En Siberia, puede estar distinguidos dos tipos de chamans: el chaman-oléo que visita los espíritus dans les airs y rigea sur le temps qu'il fait, et le chaman-renne qui visite le monde souterrain et rigea sur les esprits des vivants et de morts."

Joehelsen, Waldemar. 1905: 120.

Prof. B. Holmestedt has drawn my attention to a paper by Chiaachoti and Tangleit (1957: 696), where the U-shaped metal tubes used in Thailand for the nasal absorption of a mixed tobacco powder has been treated. A pair of such tubes with the commercial packages of such ingredients as tobacco, quicklime and perfume, are found in the Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum (Coll. 64.28.67–102).


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