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Medicinal plants uses of the Tacana, an Amazonian Bolivian ethnic group

G. Bourdy ^{a,*}, S.J. DeWalt ^b, L.R. Chávez de Michel ^c, A. Roca ^a, E. Deharo ^a, V. Muñoz ^d, L. Balderrama ^e, C. Quenevo ^f, A. Gimenez ^g

a IRD (L'Institut de Recherche pour le Développement), CP9214, La Paz, Bolivia
b Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70802, USA
c Herbario Nacional de Bolivia, Campus Universitario, Calle 27 Cota-Cota, Casilla 303, La Paz, Bolivia
d Instituto Boliviano de Biologia de Andina (IBBA), Casilla 641, La Paz, Bolivia
c Instituto de Investigaciones Químicas (IIQ), Facultad de Ciencias Puras y Naturales, UMSA, Campus Universitario,
Calle 27 Cota-Cota, Casilla 303, La Paz, Bolivia
f CIPTA, Tumupasa, Provincia Iturralde, Department of La Paz, Bolivia
Instituto de Investigaciones Farmaco-Bioquímicas (IIFB), Facultad de Ciencias Farmacéuticas y Bioquímicas,
Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA), Av. Saavedra No 2224, La Paz, Bolivia

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Abstract

We present the results of an ethnopharmacological investigation of a Bolivian lowland ethnic group, the Tacana. The Tacana have a long tradition of exchange with highland communities. Though facing rapid acculturation, highlighted by the loss of the Tacana language among the younger generations, the knowledge and uses of medicinal plants are still alive. Of the approximately 450 different plant species collected during this survey, 33% had medicinal uses. We present an overview of the traditional Tacana ethnomedicine and pharmacopoeia. © 2000 Published by Elsevier Science Ireland Ltd. All rights reserved.

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1. Introduction

The Tacana are a group of original inhabitants of lowland forest at the base of the last foothills of the Cordillera Oriental of the Andes in Iturralde Province, Department of La Paz, Bolivia (Fig. 1). The Tacana language is part of the Tacana linguistic family, which includes several ethnic groups. Many of these groups are either acculturated or in risk of extinction: the Tacana, the Ese'ejja, the Araona, the Toromona (still nomads), the Reyesano, and the Cavineño (Diez Astete, 1991). The Tacana have the highest population of these groups — approximately 5000 people living in small communities in the eastern

^{*} Corresponding author. Present address: Mission IRD (ex Orstom), Av. Iturralde No. 1377, Miraflores, La Paz, Bolivia. Tel.: + 591-2-227724/221426; fax: + 591-2-225846.

part of Iturralde Province. Their lands are delimited by the Beni River to the east, the Madidi River to the north, and the last slopes of the Andes to the west (Diez Astete, 1991). Since the 17th century the Tacana population has been settled into 'reduciones' by Franciscan missionaries (Wentzel, 1989). The Tacana are now completely sedentary, define themselves as agriculturists, while also dedicated to fishing and hunting.

Due to their geographical situation in between the highland altiplano and the Amazonian lowlands, the Tacana have a long tradition of contact and trade with the altiplano Quechua people. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, coca, quinine bark, cacao, rice and various tropical forest products were traded with the Quechua. Forest products included uhuahua flowers (Chamaedorea angustisecta), yuruma bark (Aniba canelilla) various palm oils, aqui aceite oil (Copaifera spp.), pid'ui sap (Clarisia biflora R. and P. and Batocarpus costaricensis Standley and Williams), tamarind fruit, Brazil nuts, feathers and animals skins. The Tacana traded these goods for salt, animals and their products (fat, meat and cheese), flour, bread, cloth, alcohol, metal, and trinkets (Wentzel 1989). Until 1950 an annual international fair was held in the Andean town of Pata, located near the Peruvian border, and provided a forum for the Tacana to sell or exchange their products.

Although the ethnobotany of some Amazonian groups in South America has been well documented (Schultes and Raffauf, 1990; Balée, 1994), the ethnobotany of the Bolivian Amazonian groups is poorly known. The little work conducted in this area includes studies on the Chácobo (Boom, 1987; Bergeron, 1992; Bergeron et al., 1997) and the Mosetenes (Vargas Ramirez and Quintana Peñandra, 1995; Vargas Ramirez, 1996). Several explorers of the Amazonian area of Bolivia briefly mentioned Tacana plant names and uses in their travel diaries (Armentia, 1897; Balzan, 1892a,b; D'Orbigny, 1945). An important ethnographic study on the Tacana was conducted by Hissink and Hahn (Hissink and Hahn, 1961, 1984). In this study they compiled Tacana myths and the uses of plant and animal species of cultural significance. Additional ethnobotanical information was gathered by Wentzel (1989) as a part of an anthropological study of the Tacana. With the exception of Moraes et al. (1995), documenting the Tacana's use of palms, the ethnobotanical studies did not include voucher plant specimens. A quantification of the Tacana's use of trees and lianas for construction, cultural objects, firewood, food, medicine, and technology was detailed in a prior study (DeWalt et al., 1999). Additionally, two books have been written for the Tacana communities (Bourdy, 1998a,b). In this paper, we present the ethnopharmacology of the Tacana.

2. Methodology

We conducted field work with the Tacana between 1995 and 1997. We followed two different methodologies to compile ethnopharmacological information. First, we tagged and identified all trees, lianas, and palms over 10 cm diameter at breast height (dbh) in two permanent 1 ha plots. We interviewed Tacana men and women in the plots by asking them for the names and uses of each tagged tree. The plots are located in late secondary or primary forest within a 45-min walk of the communities of Santa Fé and Buena Vista. Details of the locations and characteristics of the plots are found in DeWalt et al. (1999). Second. we collected vegetative samples in a variety of other ecosystems in the area: savannahs, riversides, old fields, pastures, and home gardens in and around the communities of Alta Marani, Buena Vista, Macahua, San Pedro, Santa Fé, and Santa Rosa de Maravillas. Using the fresh samples we asked Tacana informants for usage, and encourage them to speak freely about the plant's uses. Four herbarium samples were collected per species to deposit in the National Herbarium of Bolivia and the Missouri Botanical Garden. Twenty-one informants from various communities participated in the survey. Our results were cross-checked among informants in our database and verified during a 4-day workshop with 12 older Tacana at the termination of the study.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Overview of Tacana ethnomedicine

Like other Amazonian groups the Tacana possess a rich cosmology involving their environment. The Tacana can be described as a 'Society of Nature' for which complex stories of the relationship between humanity, plants, animals and gods exist (Descola, 1994; Oldham, 1996). In their compilation of Tacana myths, Hissink and Hahn (1961) recorded one that began: "after a while, a man died...from his legs was born the 'bibosi' tree, from his arms the 'black bibosi', from his guts the vines, from his testicles and his penis the palm tree 'sayal' with fruits like testicles. From his lungs and his heart was born 'pajajaja' the forest papaya; from his back, the bees 'eaua guasa' which share their honeycomb with the termites, from his kidney the 'budhubudhuy' stem, from his backbone the bambu 'penene'....His blood became the latex of the 'bibosi' tree, from his urine was born a gigantic lake in the mountains, from his nails the snails, from his fingers the 'noa'

herb...from his head, the star 'uena etuaji,' which can be seen at the sunrise, and does not move nor pulse' (Xenia Villavicencio translation).

The Tacana do not see the universe as constituted by neutral objects which can be manipulated with impunity by humans to satisfy their needs. Many stories relate to spirits and their interactions with animals, men, and plants including their revenge imparted on humans for over-harvesting resources (Hissink and Hahn, 1961). As a result of the profound changes faced by the Tacana in the past 2 centuries and the progressive and inexorable death of the older people, these beliefs are almost completely obsolete. The existence of shamans in Tacana society is heavily guarded and denied by most Tacana. One informant indicated that one shaman still performs curing and divination with avahuasca (Banisteriopsis caapi (Spruce) Morton). 'Curanderos' (in local Spanish) from other parts of Bolivia, especially the altiplano, are said to visit the Tacana and cure by the means of Quechua rituals.

Until 1960 or 1970, the Tacana used ayahuasca, like many other western Amazon Basin indige-

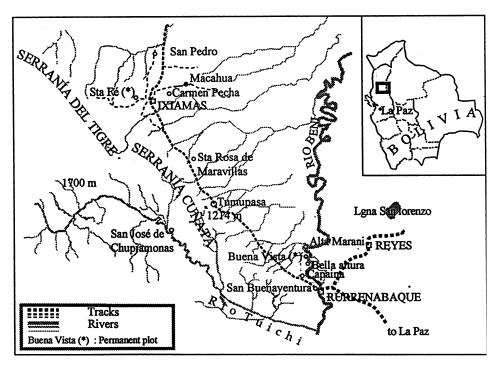


Fig. 1. Localization of the study.

nous groups (Schultes, 1957; Prance, 1970; Pages Larraya, 1979; Luna, 1984; Schultes and Raffauf, 1990; Desmarchelier et al., 1996). Hissink (1960) documented that avahuasca use was imported from Peru via the town of Maldonaldo. Thus, ayahuasca use was not traditionally practised by the Tacana, but was apparently welcomed and rapidly disseminated among the communities. This appropriation reflects one of the characteristics of Tacana ethnomedicine: they incorporated elements of Amazonian, highland, and European origin (Hissink and Hahn, 1956, 1961; Hissink, 1964a,b; Hissink and Hahn, 1984). Ayahuasca use is/was performed to cure physical and spiritual ailments, for initiation purposes, to ensure successful animal hunting, and to help in predicting the future. The ayahuasca was also drunk in order to find the lost spirit of a person. Children comprised the majority of the subjects for this healing as they are said to be more sensitive to the action of spirits.

The Tacana also perform curing and divination ceremonies with cahuascha. This name describes both the plant used (an undetermined Cyperaceae species) and the special recipient made from balsa wood (Ochroma pyramidale (Cav. ex Lam. Pers.) and plaited young leaves of the ad'une palm (Astrocaryum gratum Kahn and Millan) to store it. Although information about the specific Tacana use of this species is lacking, species of Cyperaceae (generally incompletely identified) are also reported to be used in other Amazonian tribes for their hallucinogenic properties (Vickers, 1984; Schultes and Hofmann, 1993; Schultes and Raffauf, 1990; Chaumeuil, 1998). The strongly scented powdered root of the cahuascha plant can be substituted or mixed with powdered tobacco leaves (puruma, in Tacana) and coca leaves (Erythroxylum coca var. coca Lam.). These three plants are also highly estimated for their medicinal properties.

Shamans are/were consulted for diseases supposedly caused by other shamans or by offended tree or water spirits. Diseases are suspected to be of supernatural origin if a patient is not cured after repeated administrations of different medicinal plants or if his/her general condition is deteriorating quickly. Evil shamans may introduce

disease-causing objects into bodies of a person who has provoked jealousy or envy. The Tacana also believe that malevolent spirits dwell in canopy trees such as Dipteryx odorata, Ceiba samauma (C. Martius) Schumann and Ficus spp. Walking by these trees or cutting them down may cause illness. Water and tree spirits can cause different diseases, characterized by a wide range of symptoms. The most frequently mentioned illness is called mal viento (in local Spanish). It is characterized by recurring fever, vomiting, and diarrhea. The spirits can also steal souls, which are called back through special ceremonies involving cahuascha or ayahuasca. When performing healing practices, shamans are said to use special plants, different from those used at the more basic level of popular medicine, usually strongly scented species (e.g. garlic-scented plants such as Mansoa alliacea, Gallesia integrifolia, and Protium sp.) and used together with reciting songs, deep breathing, and blowing tobacco-smoke.

'Curanderos' from other parts of Bolivia, and traveling in the area, also use divination to cure illnesses. Their healing techniques are those associated with the altiplanic culture and include lecture in coca leaves, ingestion and aspersion of alcohol, and manipulation of collpa (a Quechua word, designating a mineral substance mixed with urine).

When the disease is thought to be of 'natural origin', each family uses its own vegetable or animal recipes. The use of medicinal plants is still alive among the Tacana perhaps because collection, preparation, and administration of medicinal plants are shared by all community members: some members have gained a great knowledge of plants and their medicinal uses and have become considered as specialists.

Patients may eventually go to the local dispensary if his/her family has the finance or if no positive result has been gained from the use of medicinal plants and/or consultation of the shaman/curandero. However, for the Tacana, modern medicine is still largely unavailable because of the lack of transportation and the price of drugs.

3.2. Tacana pharmacopoeia

During this study we collected 450 different plant species (Chávez de Michel et al., 1997). One hundred and eighty five different species were collected in the permanent plots, 178 of them had a Tacana name and 112 (61%) were designated as useful. Over the 450 species, the Tacana identified 150 (33%) species as having medicinal uses (Table 1).

3.2.1. Repartition of plant uses

The majority of species were used to cure gastrointestinal disorders, such as stomach aches, diarrhea, dysentery, and intestinal cramps. Among the 65 species used to cure these kinds of disorders, 10 were specifically mentioned for use against intestinal worms.

Fifty species were designated for relieving skin afflictions (boils, fungal diseases, infected wounds).

Twenty-five species were used for gynecological disorders and 10 for uterine hemorrhage (during pregnancy or after birth). During this survey the majority of our informants were male, and we never worked with midwives, thus, we strongly suspect that the number of medicinal species used for gynecological problem is greater.

Fourteen species were indicated as febrifuges, but only one species was specifically mentioned for treatment of malaria. The low incidence of malaria in the zone (Drew, N., 1997, personal communication to GB) may explain the lack of malarial remedies. Also, the symptom 'fever' was considered in a broad sense, and, therefore, possibly correspond to a range of diseases, including malaria. Additionally, the Tacana described the use of 11 species for liver problems or pain, which are symptoms closely related to chronic malaria. Thus, these species may also be considered to be effective against malaria.

The Tacana also used 12 species for rheumatic disorders and 10 species to cure leishmaniasis, a protozoan-caused disease with a high incidence rate in the zone (Lepont et al., 1992). Ten species were used to counteract the venom of snake bites.

In a broad sense this repartition of uses reflects the health status of the zone. In a survey conducted by CORDEPAZ in 1976 and UNICEF in 1986, the most frequently reported diseases were, in order of importance, the following: acute and chronic gastrointestinal problems, skin afflictions, respiratory problems (especially among children), and fever (Wentzel, 1989). In these studies, leishmaniasis was only briefly discussed. It is likely that the incidence has increased dramatically, perhaps due to the intense logging activities performed in the last decade in the zone (Lepont et al., 1992).

The number of plants used to cure respiratory infections is disproportionately low in relation to its incidence in the zone. The Tacana use only 12 plant species to cure respiratory problems, only six of them being used orally. The primary remedies used against cough, bronchitis, and related ailments are oils ingested or applied directly by massage into the chest, and the most noted remedy is the oil extracted from a palm larva, called tuyutuyu in Tacana (Rhynchophorus palmarum), which is found in the fallen trunks of Attalea phalerata. This larva oil is said to be more effective than any of the palm oils for this purpose. Other remedies used to cure respiratory disorders are from the latex of at least six different species, five of them belonging to the genera Sapium. applied as a poultice on the thorax and back.

Considering all the species used for medicinal purposes, two palm oils, from *Attalea phalerata* and *Jessenia bataua* seeds, appear as local panacea administered internally, by spoonful, and externally, by massage, both used for a wide range of diseases.

3.2.2. Preparation of remedies

Most of the vegetal remedies are based on the preparation of a single plant. Notable exceptions concern the remedies used to stop diarrhea: a number of species are used together, depending upon their availability, *Psidium guajava* fruit and/or leaves, *Anacardium occidentale* leaves and/or fruits, *Chamaedorea angustisecta* flowers, *Eryhtroxylon coca* var. *coca* leaves, *Aniba canelilla* bark, *Pimpinella anisum* L. seeds, *Persea americana* Miller var. *americana* bark or grated seeds, *Mussatia hyacinthina* and *Triplaris americana* bark... Another exception is the case of remedies

Table 1 Tacana's medicinal plants and uses

	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of
Family Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				administration
Acanthaceae				
St'rame Justicia boliviana Rusby (GB1799)	Diarrhea with vomiting	Aerial parts	Infusion	Internal
Amaranthaceae Turu id'ene Iresine diffusa H.B.K. ex Wiildenow	Paralized leg	Leaf	Mashed	External
(GB1526)	Knee trauma	Leaf	Mashed	External
Amaranthaceae				
Cayu ina Anacardium occidentale L. (GB1524)	Diarrhea	Leaf+fruit	Decoction	Internal
(681321)	Dysentery Cough	Seed Seed	Toasted, in decoction Toasted, in decoction	Internal Internal
Anacardiaceae Mud'ud'ugui				
Astronium lecointei Ducke (SD297), or ^a	Uterine hemorrage	Bark	Decoction	In the vagina
Astronium urundeuva (Allem.) Engl. (GB1834)	Wounds, traumas, broken limbs	Bark	Decoction	External
	Stomach ulcer	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Apocynaceae Aquipabi				
Aspidosperma aff. rigidum Rusby (GB1684)	Appendicitis	Bark	Deception/syrup	Internal
Apocynaceae Bashi pasha	Liver pain	Bark	Decoction/syrup	Internal
Himatanthus sucuuba (Spruce ex Muell. Arg.) Woodson (GB1611)	Boils, wounds, splinter	Latex	Crude	External
	Respiratory ailments Traumas, bruises	Latex Latex	Crude Crude	External External
Apocynaceae Quiapu Peschiera cymosa (Jacquin) Dugand (GB1729)	Conjunctivitis	Latex	Crude	In the eye
Araceae Umere pana Anthurium oxycarpum Poeppig (GB1679)	Scabies, spots	Leaf	Squeezed for juice	External
Araceae Repepe ina Monstera sect. marcgraviospsis sp. nov (SD391)	Boils	Leaf	Heated on flame	External

Table 1 (Continued)

Family Tacana name	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Araceae				
Ahuad'a ehuat'ri junu Monstera subpinnnata (Schott.) Engler (SD430), or	Pain in the legs	Leaf	Mashed	External
Distribution of the Comment of the C	Boils	Leaf	Mashed	External
Philodendron camposportoanum G. Barroso (SD475), or Syngonium podophyllum Schott. (SD427), or	Snake bite	Root	Decoction	Internal
Araceae				
Papi Philodendron undulatum Engler (SD480)	Ringworm, dermatitis	Hanging root	Mashed +lime juice	External
Araliaceae Dendropanax arboreus (L.) Decne	Dissenter	Bark	Decoction	Internal
and Planch	Dissenter	Bark	Becochon	internar
(GB1731)	For emaciated people	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Arecaceae				
Ad'une Astrocaryum gratum Kahn and	Back pain	Root	Decoction	Internally
Millan (GB1708)	виск риш	Ttoot	Becochon	internany
Arecaceae				
Tumi		_		_
Attalea phalerata C. Martius	Anemia Diarrhea	Root Root	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal
(SD331)	Intestinal infection	Root	Decoction	Internal
	Headache	Seed	Oil	External
	Kidney pain	Seed	Oil	Internal, exter-
	Fever	Seed	Oil	nal External
	Boils, wounds, burns	Seed	Oil	External
	Respiratory ailments	Seed	Oil	Internal, exter- nal
Arecaceae Uhuahua				
Chamaedorea angustisecta Burret (SD21)	Diarrhea	Flower	Infusion	Internal
	Abdominal pain	Flower	Infusion	Internal
	Stomach ache	Flower	Infusion	Internal
	Vomits	Flower	Infusion	Internal
	Uterine hemorrage	Flower	Toasted, in infusion	Internal
	Irregular menses	Flower	Toasted, in infusion	Internal
	Snake bite and sting ray	Leaf bud	Mashed	External

Table 1 (Continued)

Family Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
number)				
Arecaceae				
Ehuid'a <i>Euterpe precatoria</i> C. Martius	Anemia	Root	Decoction	Internal
(SD325)	Diabetes	Root	Decoction	Internal
()	Liver pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
	Kidney pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
	Fortificant	Fruit mesocarp	'Milk'	Internal
Arecaceae				
Macuri	Liver poin	Sand	0:1	Internal
Jessenia bataua (C. Martius) Burret (SD330)	Liver pain Fever	Seed Seed	Oil Oil	Internal Internal
(3D330)	General aching of the	Seed	Oil	Internal + massages
	body	Secu	On	mternar + massages
	Measles	Seed	Oil	Internal, external
	Bronchitis and lung ailments	Seed/mesocarp	oil, or 'milk'	Internal
Arecaceae Ji				
Socratea exorrhiza (C. Martius) H.A. Wendl.	To increase the size of penis	Root	Mashed	External
(SD828)	Leishmaniasis	Root	Mashed	External
	Pimps, wounds, scabies, skin itching	Root	Mashed	External
	Snake bites	Root	Mashed	External
Asteraceae				
Huira huira*				
Achyrocline satureioides (Lamarck)	Diarrhea	Flower	Infusion	Internal
DC.	Carralla la manualistica	E1	I., C., .;	Intono 1
(GB1815)	Cough, bronchitis	Flower	Infusion	Internal
Arecaceae				
Tavimad're eina	G - 1 - 1 '4	A	M. 1 . 1 C	T., 4.,
Mikania cordifolia (L. f.) Willdenow (SD22)	Snake bite	Aerial parts	Mashed for juice	Internal
`				
Arecaceae				
Chiveru Pluchea sagittalis (Lamarck) Cabr.	Stomach ache	Aerial parts	Decoction	Internal
(SD433)	Stomach acht	renai parts	Decocnon	memai
(-)	Liver pain	Aerial parts	Decoction	Internal
	Kidney pain	Aerial parts	Decoction	Internal
	Vesicle problem	Aerial parts	Decoction	Internal
Arecaceae				
Cahuara				
Tesseria integrifolia Ruiz and Pavon	Leishmaniasis	Leaf	Mashed	External
(SD498)				
	Snake bite	Bud	Mashed	External

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of adminis- tration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				itation
Arecaceae Ahycha ahycha Vernonanthura patens (H.B.K.) H. Rob. (GB1805)	Conjunctivitis	Inside of stem	Squeezed for juice	In the eye
Bignoniaceae Junu pasha Callichlamys sp. (SD364)	Diarrhea	Leaf	Infusion	Internal
Bignoniaceae Cheperequi Jacaranda glabra (A. DC) Bureau and Schumann (GB1522)	Leishmaniasis Scabies, skin itching	Leaf Leaf	Mashed Decoction	External External
Bignoniaceae Jù junu Mansoa alliacea (Lamarck) A. Gentry (SD562)	Abdominal pain, intestinal parasites Fever Rheumatic pain	Bark Bark + leaf Leaf	Decoction Decoction Mashed	Internal Internal External
Bignoniaceae Buata Martinella obovata (H.B.K.) Bureau and Schuman (GB1604) Bignoniaceae	Conjunctivitis	Bulb	Squeezed for juice	In the eye
Chamairu Mussatia hyacinthina (Standley) Sandwith (GB1540)	Diarrhea Abdominal pain Stomach ache Wounds	Bark Leaf Leaf Bark	Decoction Infusion Infusion Powdered, mixed	Internal Internal Internal External
Bignoniaceae Bihua junu Tanaecium nocturnum (Barbosa-Ro- driguez) Bureau and Schuman (GB1756)	Intestinal parasites Diarrhea/dysentery Wounds Trauma Leishmaniasis	Bark Leaf Leaf Leaf	With urine, and saliva Decoction Decoction Powdered Powdered Machael	Internal Internal External External External
Bignoniaceae Junu huid'ud'u Tynanthus cognatus (Cham.) Miers (AS59), or Tynanthus schumanianus (O. Kuntze) A. Gentry (GB1600)	Conjunctivitis	Leaf Inside of fruit	Mashed Squeezed for juice	In the eye

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Bombacaceae				
Bata Cavanillesia sp. (SD358)	Contraceptive General fortificant	Bark Bark	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal + bath
Bromeliaceae Ejige sayu				
Aechmea sp. (SD481)	Headache Pimples	Leaf Leaf, sap	Crude Mashed	External External
Burseraceae Yarita				
Protium glabrescens Swart.	Paralysis of the face	Resin	Crude	Inhalation
(SD846)	Headache	Resin	Crude	Inhalation
	'Mal viento' Inflammation of the eye lid	Resin Resin	Crude Crude	Inhalation External
	Boils	Resin	Crude	External
	Rheumatic pain	Resin	Crude	External
Burseraceae Yuhua				
Protium aff. Apiculatum Swart.	Ant's bite	Resin	Crude	External
(SD170)	Alteration of the vision	Resin	Crude	External (on the eye lid)
Cactaceae Matusha tidha				
Opuntia ficus indica (L.) Miller (SD479)	Liver pain Vesicle pain	Leaf Leaf	Mashed for juice Mashed for juice	Internal Internal
Caricaceae Papaya*				
Carica papaya L.	Intestinal parasites	Seed	Mashed with water	Internal
	Heart pain	Male flower	Infusion	Internal
	Ear pain Galactogeno	Root Mature fruit	Squeeze for juice Crude	In the ear External (on the breast)
	Pimples and spots	Mature fruit	Crude	External
Caricaceae Pajajaja				
Jacaratia digitata (Poeppig and Endl.) Soms-Laub., or	Appendicitis	Inner bark	Decoction	Internal
Jcaratia spinosa (Aublet) A. DC.	Liver pain	Inner bark	Decoction	Internal
(SD172)	Vesicle pain	Inner bark	Decoction Decoction	Internal
Chenopodiaceae	Bloody urine with fever	Inner bark	Decoction	Internal
Paicu Chenopodium ambrosioides L.	Intestinal parasites	Lanf	Infusion/juice	Internal
(SD465)	Intestinal parasites Diarrhea	Leaf Leaf	Infusion/juice Infusion/juice	Internal
	Intestinal infection	Leaf	Infusion/juice	Internal
	Cystitis	Leaf	Infusion/juice	Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administra-
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Crassulaceae				
Nadhunadhu <i>Kalanchoe pinnata</i> (Lamarck) Persoon (GB1529)	Ear pain	Leaf	Juice	In the ear
	Fever	Leaf	Mashed	External
	Swellings	Leaf	Mashed	External
	Mumps	Leaf	Heated on flame	External
	Boils	Leaf	Heated on flame	External
	Headache	Leaf	Heated on flame	External
Cucurbitaceae Gemi				
Cucurbita spp.	Intestinal parasites	Seed	Crushed with water	Internal
Cucurbitaceae Etibeini junu Momordica charantia L.	Scabies, skin itching	Leaf	Mashed	External
(SD469)	Scaoics, skiii iteining	Lear	Washed	Laternar
Cyatheaceae Atarisi				
Alsophila sp.	Boils, stingray	Bud	Mashed	External
(AR323)				
Cyperaceae Cahuascha				
Undetermined	Headache	Root	Mashed	External
(GB1817)	Kidney pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
Dilleniaceae Jama yatsi				
Curatella americana L. (GB1581)	Snake bite	Bark	Decoction	Internal, external
Equisetaceae Iba quedha				
Equisetum giganteum L.	Appendicitis	Root	Decoction	Internal
(SD499)	Kidney pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
	Vesicle pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
Euphorbiaceae Tanuri nuri				
Chamaesyce hirta (L.) Millspaugh (GB1730)	Stomach ache	Aerial parts	Infusion	Internal
Euphorbiaceae				
Huaca janidhe	Conjunctivitis	Latex	Crude	In the eye
Jatropha curcas L.	Poisoning	Leaf	Infusion	Internal
(AS111)	Ringworm, fungus, scabies	Sap	Crude	External
	Purgante	Seed	Macer. in alcohol	Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Euphorbiaceae				
D'rata Phyllanthus acuminatus M. Vahl. (GB1722)	Ringworm	Leaf	Mashed	External
Euphorbiaceae Tahua dhahua				
Ricinus communis L.	Poisoning	Seed	Toasted, in decoction	Internal
(SD468)	Wounds, pimples, swelling	Leaf	Heated in palm oil	External
	Whooping cough	Leaf	Heated on flame	External, on the breast
Euphorbiaceae Bashi pasha				010431
Sapium laurifolium (Richard) Grise-	Boils, wounds	Latex	Crude	External
bach (SD718), or	Splinter under skin	Latex	Crude	External
Sapium marmierii Huber (SD888), or	Respiratory ailments	Latex	Crude	External
Sapium spp. (SD99, SD199, SD193)	Traumas, bruises	Latex	Crude	External
Fabaceae Schascha tid'i				
Acacia farnesiana (L.) Willdenow (GB1802)	Stomach ache	Flower	Infusion	Internal
	Ear pain	Flower	Squeezed for juice	In the ear
Fabaceae				
Dherequi	A1 1	D1	December	T. 4 1
Amburana sp.	Abdominal pain Kidney pain	Bark Bark	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal
	Rachitis	Bark	Decoction	External (bath)
Fabaceae				•
Nuriri aqui				
Bowdichia virgiliodes H.B.K.	Dissenter	Bark	Decoction	Internal
(GB1820)	Malaria	Bark	Decoction	Internal
	Leishmaniasis	Bark	Powdered	External
Fabaceae				
Tad'e dheve	Diameter.	D l.	Danation	It.a
Caesalpinia pluviosa DC. (AS43)	Diarrhea	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Fabaceae				
Aqui aceite				
Copaifera reticulata Ducke	Amygdalitis	Sap	Crude	Internal
(SD767)	Cancer of the uterus	Sap	Crude	Internal
	Liver pain	Sap	Crude	Internal
	Male impotency	Sap	Crude	Internal
	Vaginal infection	Sap	Crude	Internal
F. /	Wounds	Sap	Crude	External
Fabaceae Mahui				
Dipteryx odorata (Aublet) Willdenow	Furunculosis	Sap	Crude	Internal
(SD166)				

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Fabaceae				
Cuat'rui Erythrina dominguezii Hassler (AS172), or	Wounds hemorrage	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Erythrina poeppigiana (Walpers) Cook (AS173)	Uterine hemorrage	Bark	Decoction	Internal
COOK (MS173)	Cough	Bark	Decoction/syrup	Internal
<i>Fabaceae</i> Yurahuay				
Ormosia sp. (GB1694)	Contraceptive Dissenter	Seed Seed	Toasted, in decoction Toasted, in decoction	Internal Internal
Fabaceae				
Mamuri aqui Senna hirsuta (L.) Irwin and Barneby (SD470), or	Ringworm, skin itching	Leaf	Mashed	External
Senna reticulata (Willdenow) Irwin and Barneby (GB1545)	Ringworm, skin itching	Leaf	Mashed	External
Flacourtiaceae Hueruru				
Lunania parvifolia Spruce ex Bentham (GB1605), or	Deformation of baby's head	Leaf	Decoction	External (bath)
Tetrathylacium macrophyllum Poeppig		Leaf	Decoction	Internal + bath
(GB1539)	Swelling of the body	Leaf	Decoction	Internal + bath
Gentianaceae Shapura schacha				
Irbalchia alata (Aublet) P. Maas (GB1517)	Leishmaniasis	Leaf	Mashed	External
Hippocrateaceae				
Panu Salacia impressifolia (Miers) A.C. Smith (SD15)	Kidney pain	Bark	Syrup	Internal
	General fortificant General body pain Male impotency Flu	Bark Bark Bark Bark	Macer. in alcohol Decoction Macer. in alcohol Syrup	Internal Internal Internal Internal
Icacinaceae	Rheumatic pain	Bark	Macer. in alcohol	Internal
Curarina* Leretia cordata Vell. Conc. (GB1598)	Purge	Bulb	Grated + water	Internal
Lamiaceae Tapebe	P		D	P
Hyptis mutabilis (Richard) Briquet (GB1813)	Fever	Aerial parts	Decoction	External (bath)
	Cystitis Larva of Dermatobia	Root Leaf	Decoction Mashed	Internal External
	under skin Pimples	Leaf	Mashed	External

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Lamiaceae				
Nahuarau Ocimum micranthum Wiildenow (SD477), or	Fever	Leaf	Infusion	Internal + bath
Ocimum sp.	General fortificant Rachitis 'Susto'	Leaf Leaf Leaf	Infusion Infusion Infusion	Internal + bath External External
Lauraceae Yuruma				
Aniba canelilla (H.B.K.) Mez (GB1541)	Abdominal pain	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Malvaceae Mat're				
Bixa orellana L. (GB1905)	Chickenpox	Leaf	Decoction	External + bath
Huapeshe Gossypium barbadense L. (AS110)	Ear pain	Seed	Mashed, for juice	In the aching ear
Judhú <i>Sida rhombifolia</i> L. (GB1784)	Boils	Leaf	Mashed	External
<i>Meliaceae</i> Cuabad'u				
Cedrela fissilis Vell. Conc.	Diarrhea	Bark	Decoction	Internal
(AS66), or	Bruises	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Cedrela odorata L.	Post partum hemorrage	Bark	Decoction	Internal
(SD771)	Post partum	Bark	Decoction	Internal
	Scabies, skin itching	Bark	Decoction	External
Meliaceae				
Buinapaqui Guarea aff. Guidonia (L.) Sleumer (SD139)	Intestinal parasites	Bark	Decoction	Internal
(3D139)	Diarrhea	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Meliaceae Erei				
Swietenia macrophylla King	Leishmaniasis Abortion	Seed Seed	Mashed Mashed+water	External Internal
<i>Meliaceae</i> Shapuraqui				
Trichilia inaequilatera Pennington (SD237), or	Liver pain	Bark	Decoction	Internal
Trichilia pleeanea (Adr. Juss.) C. DC.	Lung pain	Bark	Decoction	Internal
(SD536)	Kidney pain	Bark	Decoction	Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Monimiaceae Monimiaceae T'rebuqu Siparuna asperula (Tulasne) A. DC. (GB1505), or Siparuna guianensis Aublet (GB1509)	Flu	Leaf	Decoction	External
T'rebuqui Siparuna tomentosa (Ruiz and Pavon) A. DC. (GB1471)	Bites of a worm	Fruit	Mashed	External
Moraceae Tahua Cecropia polystachya Trécul (GB1525)	Back pain Kidney pain	Leaf bud Leaf bud	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal
Moraceae Shite midha Coussapoa ovalifolia Trécul (SD454), or Ficus guianensis Desvaux (SD541), or Ficus killpii Standley (SD244), or Ficus paraensis (Miquel) Miquel (AS50), or Ficus pertusa L. f. (SD547)	Appendicitis Hernia Traumas, broken limbs, bruises	Bark strip	Mashed, and Cooked with salt and urine	External
Moraceae Maja Ficus insipida Willd. ssp. insipida (SD724), or Ficus maxima Miller	Intestinal parasites	Latex	in water	Internal
Moraceae Nui Pseudolmedia laevis (Ruiz and Pavon) J.F. Macbride (GB1588)	Ant's bite	Resin	Crude	External
Myrsinaceae Huapid'iqui Myrsine umbellata Martius (GB1776), or Myrsine olgophylla Zalbruckner (GB1733), or Stylogine ardisioides (H.B.K.) Mez (GB1498)	Rheumatic pain	Leaf	Infusion	External, internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Myristicaceae				
Naiqui <i>Otoba parvifolia</i> (Markgraf) A. Gentry (SD632)	To increase blood quality	Resin	In hot water	Internal
	Flu Rheumatic pain	Resin Resin	In hot water In hot water	Internal Internal
Myrtaceae Buhué				
Psidium guajava L. (AS14)	Diarrhea Conjunctivitis	Leaf + fruit Leaf	Decoction Chewed for juice	Internal In the eye
Phytolaccaceae				
Bua Gallesia integrifolia (Sprengel) Harms (GB1701)	Intestinal parasites Diarrhea	Bark Bark	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal
	Stomach ache Scabies, dermatitis	Bark The whole tree	Decoction Soap	Internal External
Phytolaccaceae Dhajaja				
Petiveria alliacea L. (SD885)	Intestinal parasites Diarrhea Rheumatic pain	Root Root Root	Decoction Decoction Macer. in alcohol	Internal Internal Internal
Piperaceae	Telecometric pain	Root	Water. in alcohol	internar
Piperaceae				
Tudha Piper aduncum L. (GB1466)	Kidney pain Fever	Leaf bud Leaf	Infusion Decoction	Internal External + bath
Tudha Piper callosum Ruiz and Pavon (GB1494)	Anuria	Leaf bud	Infusion	Internal
Piperaceae Anu caperi Piper darienense C. DC	Tooth ache	Root	Sap	On aching tooth
Piperaceae Tudha			•	C
Piper heterophyllum Ruiz and Pavon (GB1538)	Kidney pain Fever	Leaf bud Leaf	Infusion Decoction	Internal External (bath)
Piperaceae Tudha				
Piper hieronymi C. DC. (GB1537)	Kidney pain Fever	Leaf bud Leaf	Infusion Decoction	Internal External (bath)
Piperaceae Tudha				
Piper laevilimbum C .DC. (SD10)	Leishmaniasis Stomach ulcer Gynecological disorder	Leaf Leaf Leaf	Decoction Infusion Infusion	External Internal Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Richi ina Piper peltatum L. (GB1688)	Swelling, bruises General pain, vomiting, inapetencia		Mashed Decoction	External Internal
Piperaceae Tudha Piper sp. (GB1575, GB1583, GB1612, GB1617)	Stomach ache Wound hemorrage Cancer of the uterus Wound	Leaf Leaf Leaf Leaf Leaf Leaf	Heated on flame Infusion Infusion Infusion Decoction	External Internal Internal Internal External
Piperaceae Tudha Piper tumupasense Yuncker (GB1657)	Scabies, skin itching	Leaf	Decoction	External
Poaceae Cahuayu tidha Andropogon bicornis L. (SD497) Bue	Kidney pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
Gynerium sagittatum (Aublet) P. Beauv. (SD26)	Boils, wounds, skin fungus	Leaf buds	Mashed	External
Polygonaceae Anani Triplaris americana L.	Intestinal parasites	Bark	Decoction	Internal
(SD124)	Diarrhea Stomach ache Childbirth	Bark Bark Bark	Decoction Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal Internal
Polypodiaceae Atarisi Campyloneurum fuscosquamatum Lellinger (GB1607)	Wounds	Leaf	Mashed	External
Polypodiaceae D'ru tidha Polypodium decumanum Willd. (GB1552)	General pain, vomits, inapetencia	Rhizome	Decoction	Internal
Rubiaceae Aqui mati puji Coussarea cornifolia (Benth.) Benth. And Hook. (GB1520)	Eyes problem Diarrhea	Rhizome Leaf	Mashed for juice Infusion	In the eyes Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Polypodiaceae				
Bereu quid'a Uncaria guianensis (Aublet) Gmelin (SD248), or Uncaria tomentosa (Willdenow ex Roemer and Schultes) DC.	Stomach ailment	Root+bark	Decoction/syrup	Internal
(SD12)	Liver pain Kidney pain Intestinal problem Rheumatic pain Irregular menses	Root + bark Root + bark Root + bark Root + bark Bark	Decoction/syrup Decoction/syrup Decoction/syrup Decoction/syrup Decoction	Internal Internal Internal Internal Internal
Polypodiaceae Bereu quid'a Uncaria tomentosa (Willdenow ex Roemer and Schultes) DC. (SD12)	Vomiting	Sap	Crude	Internal
Rutaceae Huabuquere schascha Erythrochiton fallax Kallunki (GB1715)	Tooth ache	Flower	Crude	Applied on the aching tooth
Rutaceae Yuruma huana Galipea longiflora K. Krause (SD17)	Dissenter General fortificant Leishmaniasis	Bark Bark Bark	Decoction Decoction Powdered	Internal Internal External
Sapindaceae Sululu Sapindus saponaria L. (SD484)	Scabies, skin itching	Fruit	Mashed	External
Sapindaceae At'ra Serjania elliptica Rusby (AS123)	Ringworm	Sap	Crude	External
Scrophulariaceae Bacua et're Scoporia dulcis L.	Swelling from bruises,	Root	Decoction	Internal
(SD488)	traumas Respiratory ailments	Root or leaf	Decoction/juice	Internal
<i>Smilacaceae</i> Papa huana	1 7		/ 3 ** **	
Smilax sp. (GB1474, GB1680, GB363)	Pain in the back Kidney pain Dark urine	Bulb Bulb Bulb	Decoction Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family Tacana name	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Solanaceae				
Jatani Brugmansia arborea (L.) Laghereim (GB1630)	Fever	Leaf	Infusion	External (bath)
	Swellings Leishmaniasis	Leaf Leaf	Mashed Mashed	External External
Solanaceae Tumu junu Lycianthes asarifolia (Kunthe and Boucher) Bitter (GB1711)	Boils	Leaf bud	Mashed	External
Solanaceae Tomatillo*				
Physalis angulata L. (GB1709), or Physalis pubescens L. (GB1816)	Fever Flu Rheumatic pain	Root Root Root	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal Internal
Sterculiaceae Shushequí Helicteres pentandra L. (GB1514)	Post partum hemorrage Hemorragic menses	Leaf Leaf	Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal
Sterculiaceae Mura, cuashe Theobroma cacao L. (SD329)	Headache Scabies, skin itching	Leaf Bark or leaf	Mashed Decoction	External External
Sterculiaceae Chocolatillo* Theobroma speciosum Willdenow ex	Headache	Leaf	Mashed	External
Sprengel (SD788)	Scabies, skin itching	Bark or leaf	Decoction	External
Streliziaceae Japaina Phenakospermum guyanense (Richard) Endlicher	General body pain	Inner stem	Decoction	Internal
Tiliaceae Pud Heliocarpus americanus L. (GB1801)	Lymphatic glands swelling	Leaf bud	Mashed	External
	Ant's bite Sting ray Childbirth	Leaf bud Leaf bud Leaf bud	Mashed Mashed Mashed for juice	External External Internal

Table 1 (Continued)

Family	Medicinal indication	Part used	Mode of preparation	Way of administration
Tacana name Scientific determination (herbarium number)				
Tiliaceae Rid'a rid'ay Triumfetta althaeoides Lamarck, (GB1771), or Triumfetta semitriloba Jacquin (GB1512)	Kidney pain	Root	Decoction	Internal
Ulmaceae D'rije badhu quid'a Celtis iguanea (Jacquin) Sargent (SD396)	Kidney pain Vesicle pain All body swelling	Root Root Leaf	Decoction Decoction Decoction	Internal Internal External (bath)
Verbenaceae Huahuirá Aloysia virgata (Ruiz and Pavon) A.L. Juss. (GB1543)	Cough	Leaf	Infusion	Internal
Verbenaceae T'rudi tidha Bouchea boliviana (O. Ktze) Mold- enke (GB1624)	'Aire' Shivers	Leaf Leaf	Decoction Mashed	External External
Verbenaceae Rid'a rid'ay Priva lappulacea (L.) Persoon (SD483)	Snake bites	Root, leaf	Decoction	Internal, exter- nal
Verbenaceae T'rudi tidha Stachytarpheta cayennensis (L.C. Richard) M. Vahl (SD47)	Measles To 'regulate' blood, in case of boils And pimples	Whole plant Whole plant	Mashed + water Mashed + water	Internal Internal
Verbenaceae Etid'equi Vitex cymosa Bertero ex Sprengel (GB1587), or Vitex pseudoloea Rusby (GB1703)	Diarrhea Scabies, skin itching	Bark The whole tree	Decoction Soap	Internal External
Zingiberaceae Budhubudhuy Costus scaber Ruiz and Pavon (GB1718)	Urine with blood Fever	Stem Stem	Decoction Mashed+water	Internal External
Zingiberaceae Shaute uja Zingiber officinale L. (GB1550)	Diarrhea Abdominal pain Flu Rheumatic pain Lesion in the mouth	Rhizome Rhizome Rhizome Rhizome Rhizome	Decoction Decoction Decoction Mashed Mashed	Internal Internal Internal External Applied locally

^a or: All designated species can indifferently be used for the indications described.

^{*} No tacana name was indicated for this plant, the name is a local spanish name.

used to cure kidney trouble, occurring with or without fever, for which various plant parts are mixed together: *Smilax* spp. tubers, *Persea americana* var *americana* leaves, *Equisetum giganteum* roots and aerial parts, *Andropogon bicornis* roots, and *Cecropia polystachya* buds.

Remedies are prepared according to the way they are administered and the part of plant used. When remedies are administered orally, their mode of preparation depends upon the part of plant used. An infusion is prepared from soft buds, leaves, or flowers. A decoction is generally prepared from grated bark, seeds or roots by boiling them in a large amount of water for a long time, until the water is reduced by half. Medicinal syrups are also commonly prepared by again boiling the previous decoction with sugar, and sometimes with the adjunction of maize or rice flour, the latter ingredients are especially used in case of diarrhea or dysentery.

Although the majority of the remedies taken orally are 'cooked', a few are administered raw, the part of plant used being grated and mashed with water. The mixture is then sieved to obtain a 'juice' which can be drunk. For example, most of the remedies used internally to alleviate snake-bite pain are prepared with raw material, because this type of emergency case generally occurs far from the houses, and the administration of the remedy cannot be delayed.

In the case of topical or external administration different modes of preparation have been recorded. The selected part of the fresh plant can be simply mashed, crushed or grated: the resulting paste is fixed onto the affected area by a piece of cloth or strip of Moraceae species. In the case of latex or resinous sap, it is simply applied on the skin, and covered by a cloth, or paper. It is generally said that this poultice will fall off by itself when the sickness is cured. Also, and this is particularly notable in cases of eye irritation or ear ache, the juice from the selected part of the plant (previously heated on a flame) is squeezed directly into the eye, or the ear. A bath can also be prepared by throwing a bunch of leaves into a great amount of boiling water, completing it with cold water. In the case of boils, plant leaves may be previously heated over a flame or soaked in

warm palm oil before being applied on the skin, thus supposedly inducing a quicker maturation.

Preparation of soaps with medicinal properties was also recorded. In general, these soaps, rich in alkaline salts, are said to be useful against any dermatitis, parasites of the skin such as scabies, and are also useful for dandruff. These soaps are made from the ashes of felled and burned trees. The ashes are distilled with boiling water, and the resulting extract is then concentrated and mixed with cow or pig's grease and few papaya (*Carica papaya*) leaves. The mixture is heated in a big saucepan until it forms a paste, which once cold, is then molded in the form of a soap and kept in maize leaves.

3.2.3. Way of administration and dosage of the remedies

The way of administration may vary according to the disease. For example, gastro-intestinal disorders (such as intestinal worms, diarrhea, dysentery, vomiting, stomach ache, abdominal pain, appendicitis, liver and vesicle pain) are always treated internally, (the only exception being a poultice made out of Moraceae strips in case of what is called 'appendicitis'), and this is also the case for the remedies used for gynecological purposes, or for uro-genital ailments (kidney pain, anuria, cystitis, colored urine, infection of the genitals...). It is also interesting to note that all hemorrhages (uterine, internal or wound hemorrhage), are treated orally, only two closely related species (Anacardium spp.) being administered locally, by the introduction into the vagina of a piece of cloth or cotton-wool previously impregnated with a bark decoction.

On the other side, all dermatological afflictions, including those caused by parasites such as leishmaniasis, scabies, ringworm, *Dermatobia* larva, etc., are treated locally, the part of plant being grated and reduced to powder, or mashed and applied as a dressing on the affected part of the body, or being administered in the form of a bath. Only one remedy, the sap of *Dipteryx odorata* was quoted as being administered orally, in the case of a strong attack of furunculosis, in order to 'purify' the blood.

For other ailments, the correlation is not that strict, and in a few cases (rheumatic pain, snake bites, remedies used as general fortifiants) it is recommended to follow a treatment with both oral and internal administration of the same preparation .

The recommended dosage varies with the disease and plant species used. Two broad approaches are used, however. For the first, the prepared remedy replaces water or chicha (a refreshing and nutritious drink) and the sick person has to drink it whenever thirsty. This administration is mainly recommended for cases of diarrhea, but also for kidney ailments or to induce urination. For the second, the patient has to drink a certain amount of the prepared liquid three times a day. The amount varies from one small glass (50 ml) to one cup (250 ml). Few treatments are given with single doses, and most are general anthelmintics.

4. Conclusion

The knowledge and use of medicinal plants is still very much alive with the Tacana despite the rapid acculturation and deterioration of their language. Thirty-three percent of the collected species were designated as medicinal: this amount only includes species that we could determine to the generic level. Additionally, we did not include in this study the uses of cultivated crops such has manioc, maize, coca, citrus, avocado, nor did we quote the remedies from animal or mineral origin. Therefore, the number of medicinal species used by the Tacana is much greater than that documented here.

The rich Tacana pharmacopoeia, (in term of number of remedies, diversity in the galenic forms used) aiming to cure or alleviate a wide range of symptoms or disease seems to provide an adequate response to the main health problems encountered along the Andean piedmont and Amazonian lowlands (Bourdy, 1998a,b).

Nevertheless, this impressive knowledge is in danger of becoming extinct. Traditional transmission of knowledge from parent to child is deteriorating along with the use of the Tacana language. Though an indigenous movement is working to reverse this situation, the monolingual education of children in Spanish and boarding of older children away from the communities is furthering this dramatic break in tradition.

Yet, the constant interest and support manifested among the Tacana communities for this ethnobotanical-ethnopharmacological survey evidenced that this subject is still valued. The concept of valorization of medicinal plants, linked with a recognition and valorization of the traditional knowledge, is perceived as fundamental by the Tacana.

Therefore, we think that the biological validation of the traditional use of medicinal plants could be justified, not only because medicinal plants represent an efficient, cheap, and available alternative to the occidental pharmaceutical remedies, but also because their use is completely in accordance with the cultural context of the Amazonian societies.

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