South American Indian Studies

Number 2, September 1993

Cosmology, Values, and Inter-Ethnic Contact in South America

Terence Turner, Editor

BENNINGTON COLLEGE
BENNINGTON VERMONT
05201

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

South American Indian Studies is published at irregular intervals by Bennington College, Bennington, VT 05201.

Published in the United States of America

Publication was made possible by a grant from an anonymous donor.

Cover design by Bertil Ostlinger
Printed by Inkspot Press

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FROM COSMOLOGY TO IDEOLOGY: RESISTANCE, ADAPTATION AND SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE KAYAPO

Terence Turner
University of Chicago

I. Introduction

The primary feature of anthropological work in the Amazon in the past twenty-five years has been the division between research and support activity focused on the relations of native peoples with the national society and international capital, and what might be called "pure" or "traditional" anthropological research focused on indigenous societies and cultures considered as isolates in an "ethnographic present" abstracted from historical and political-economic realities. Both of these separate but parallel currents have produced important results, but to a remarkable degree they have tended to exclude each other. This can be seen even in works by the same author in two genres. To write about the struggles of indigenous peoples with the national society or international capitalism has usually meant to exclude serious attention to native cultural or social forms, and a focus on the latter has usually seemed possible only by excluding from theoretical consideration the political-economic and cultural realities of inter-ethnic contact.

Within the last five years or so, however, this situation has begun to change. The fundamental reason for this change has been the success, against all expectations, of many Amazonian tribal peoples in maintaining their social, cultural, and ethnic identities. Many native communities have mounted effective resistance to the depredations of elements of the national society, increased their populations, and at the same time shown a surprising ability to acquire and master aspects of the national culture, from the Portuguese language to medicine to telecommunications, without "losing their cultures." This general historic phenomenon actually began in many groups in the late '60s, at the moment of greatest despair in the world at large and the anthropological community in particular over the prospects for the survival of Amazonian peoples and cultures, but its cumulative effects have begun to manifest themselves as such only in the present decade.

An important aspect of this process has been the development of cultural self-consciousness and ethnic self-awareness. Native peoples increasingly perceive the assertion of their traditional cultures and the maintenance of traditional ritual and social institutions as an integral part of their political resistance to the loss of their lands, resources, and powers of self-determination. As native people took on a new political and theoretical importance as actors in their own behalf, as persons and agents rather than as victims, it became more important to understand their ideological patterns and forms of concerted action. Indigenous societies and cultures began to appear, after all, as significant factors in situations of inter-ethnic interaction. As increasing numbers of these situations began to take on a degree of stability, it became increasingly apparent that anthropological studies of inter-ethnic friction would have to take fuller account of the cultural and social forms in which native peoples were articulating their actions and attitudes towards the national society. Conversely, the obvious engagement of native peoples' cultural and social systems in the forms and circumstances of their historic struggle to achieve a viable modus vivendi with the national society made it increasingly difficult for culturally oriented researchers to ignore the centrality of the situation of inter-ethnic friction for their work. By compelling researchers of a more conventional ethnographic orientation to take more account of pragmatic situational and historical factors, this situation has begun to have salutary theoretical effects. The decontextualized semiotic and structuralist studies common in the late 1960s and 1970s have begun to give way to more sociologically, historically, and materially grounded forms of cultural analysis.

One of the ways in which the relevance of indigenous social and cultural forms in the situation of interethnic friction has manifested itself has been the differential success of certain types of indigenous societies, and the relative failure of others to continue their cultural existence and resist effectively. These differences, of course, are not new in themselves. Darcy Ribeiro noted in 1962 that societies with strongly developed communal institutions and large villages, such as the Gê and Bororo, tended to maintain themselves much more successfully than groups like the Tupi and Carib, who tended to lack collective social institutions and to live in dispersed hamlets. Darcy, politically and theoretically a man of his time, ac-

counted for this fact in external terms: the Tupi and Carib were more easily assimilated because their social organization and dispersed family pattern more closely resembled those of the frontier of the national society than the large Gê villages with their exotic moiety systems and ceremonial institutions. This analysis contrasts significantly with contemporary anthropological reformulations of the same phenomenon, based on internal characterizations of the sociocultural systems concerned, e.g., Viveiros de Castro's model of Tupian society and personhood as "incorporate" and "incorporating" of the external Other, and thus centripetal in contrast to the corporate and aggressively "centrifugal" Gê. The present paper presents an equally "internal" analysis of the process by which a Gê society, the Kayapo, have managed to assert an impressive degree of political and social solidarity and cultural continuity in the face of exceptionally severe challenges from powerful elements of the national society.

At the present juncture of anthropological research in the Amazon, then, it seems to me that historical developments are compelling an unprecedented convergence among researchers of what have in the past been mutually exclusive theoretical orientations in a more synthetic approach to native societies and cultures in the context of the situation of interethnic relations. Here, challenging theoretical and ethnographic questions remain to be answered. What, for example, is the cultural shape of the "situation of interethnic friction" as seen from the vantage point of native societies, and how do the terms in which they see it relate to their general social and cosmological structures? What transformations in native social consciousness are involved when the total situation of interethnic coexistence, rather than the native society by itself, becomes defined as the relevant category of "society?" These questions, it seems to me, have become central to the contemporary agenda of anthropological research in Amazonia, and it is above all to them that this communication is addressed.

II. The Resurgence of the Kayapo 1970-1987

A. Ethnographic, Historic, and Research Background

The Kayapo are a relatively large Gê-speaking people of Southern Para. They now number nearly 2,500, and are divided into two major groups. The more northerly of these, the Xikrín, form two villages, on the Bacaja near Altamira and the Catete (Vidal 1977). The more southerly, derived from the single ancestral group of Gorotire, comprise 14 villages, with a total population of slightly more than 2,000. This paper deals specifically with this southern group, and in particular with its two largest communities, Gorotire on the Rio Fresco and the so-called "Txukahamae" of the Xingu, now located in the new village of Kapot, just north of the Parque Nacional do Xingu near the Cachoeira von Martius. I have been carrying out fieldwork among these two groups for 25 and 20 years, respectively. While the data and events I relate are derived specifically from these two communities, I believe that they are to varying degrees representative of the other Kayapo groups.

The Gorotire were pacified in 1937, and the Xingu Kayapo between 1952 and 1958. Both groups have lived in relative isolation from frontiers of settlement or extractive industry until very recently, when gold mines were opened up within 15 km of Gorotire. The circumstances of pacification, the subsequent contact with national governmental agencies and religious missions, and involvement in extraction of cash crops such as Brazil nut, have all differed significantly between the two groups, as will shortly be described. These differences are reflected in significant divergencies between the present policies and attitudes of the two communities towards the national society. These divergencies, however, important as they are, render the essential convergence in basic ideas, attitudes, and ideology of the two groups all the more impressive.

Kayapo communities tend to be large by contemporary Amazonian standards. In February 1987, Gorotire had a population of 693, and Kapot of 349 Kayapo and an additional group of 24 Suya for a total of 373, but historically village populations have reached well above 1,000. Residence is matri-uxorilocal. The traditional form of the village, still found at Kapot, is that of a circle of extended-family houses surrounding a large central plaza, in the center of which stands a men's house. The men's house is traditionally the residence of the age sets of uninitiated youths and bachelors, and the club house of the mature men's associations. These associations, led by chiefs called "chanters," are the main political groups of the society. The mature men's societies and the bachelors also comprise military and ceremonial units, with the chanters serving as war-and-ritual leaders. Women are also divided into communal age-associations, which have important ceremonial, though no political functions. The ceremonies performed by these collective groups are mainly rites de passage, the most important being initiation and naming. These two types of rituals both emphasize the importance of extra-nuclear family relations (the name-giving categories of grandparents, maternal uncles, and paternal aunts, and affinal relations, respectively). They thus stress the incompleteness and dependence of the nuclear family and its members on relations with the extended family and serve as the recruitment criteria of the collective insti-

tutions of the community, which perform the ceremonies. The communal institutions thus both embody the structure of the extended family household and serve to reproduce it. The society as a whole is thus organized according to a principle of "recursive hierarchy," in which each level replicates the same structural pattern. This principle applies not only to the levels of communal institutions and the residential household unit, but to the construction of the social person as well.

The conditions under which the Gorotire entered into peaceful relations with the national society were traumatic. The group now called "Gorotire" constituted one faction of the ancestral community of that name, which split apart into mutually hostile factions in 1936. The faction which became the modern Gorotire, then about 800 strong, sought refuge from pursuit by one of the other factions with the neo-Brazilian population of Nova Olinda in 1937. Nova Olinda lacked the food and medical resources necessary to deal with such a large number of refugees, and the S.P.I. (Indian Protective Service) was unable to provide effective assistance. The group was moved several times to new sites, but was decimated by epidemics, further factional splits, and miserable living conditions, so that it had shrunk to a mere 100 ten years after the initial contact at Nova Olinda. A Protestant Mission, established in 1938, was more successful than the S.P.I. in rendering medical assistance and winning the confidence of leading members of the community, which led to bitter rivalry between the S.P.I. *encarregado* and the mission. Both mission and S.P.I. established their posts directly within the native community, a pattern which continues to the present day. The desperation induced by disease, severe population loss, and the dependency on the S.P.I. and the mission these induced, were the dominant realities of the first thirty years of Gorotire's existence. Shortly after the community was moved to its present site in 1947, it was rebuilt, by order of the new S.P.I. encarregado, in the form of a street (i.e., two parallel rows of houses), thus abandoning the traditional circular village plan. This rebuilding was symptomatic of the assimilative pressures brought to bear upon the Gorotire during this entire period, and their relative powerlessness to resist them.

The experience of contact and coexistence with the national society of the southern Xingu group of Kayapo who now dwell in the village of Kapot could hardly have been more different. They were peacefully contacted by the Villas Boas brothers in 1952 and 1953 and induced by them to accept periodic gifts of commodities and medical assistance in exchange for loosely associating themselves with the administration of the Upper Xingu by the Fundação Brasil Central, which in due course became the Parque Nacional do Xingu. They never had Evangelical Missionaries, and no personnel of the F.B.C. or P.N.X. resident in the village until the mid-1970s, when an intermittent series of agents and paramedical staff took up occupation of a complex of huts built at a distance of several hundred meters from the village. They never went through severe epidemics resulting in major population losses, nor experienced any severe loss of land or internal autonomy until the crisis of 1971, when a new road of the Trans-Amazonica system, BR-080, was deliberately driven through the P.N.X. at a point designated to amputate the Kayapo territory in the northern section of the Park. This event, and the subsequent illegal appropriation of their land by the national government, forced the community to move to a new site outside the stolen area. A dispute over where to go led to a fission of the community into two factions, which respectively established the villages of Kretire and Jarina.

This brief review of ethnographic and historical facts may serve as a background for an account of the events of the last fifteen years in the two groups, to which I now turn.

B. Colonizing the Colonizers: Gaining Control of the Institutional Structure of Dependency

1. Gorotire.

In Gorotire today, the FUNAI Post is run by the Gorotire themselves. The agent in charge and the operator of the shortwave radio, with which the Post communicates, on behalf of the community, with FUNAI headquarters in Redenção and the Post radios in other Kayapo communities, are natives of Gorotire. The house in Redenção which FUNAI uses for its headquarters is rented by them from the Gorotire, who bought it and a large ranch-house on the outskirts of town to accommodate community members making shopping or business trips (the latter being principally concerned with bank transactions with the communal gold account or the chiefs' individual accounts derived from timber royalties, or meetings with FUNAI personnel). The Gorotire have acquired yet another commodious town house in the state capital of Belem, on the same block as the FUNAI beadquarters building, for the same purposes. From this house, the Gorotire themselves now oversee the marketing of their cash-crop of Brazil nuts in Belem, and administer the distribution of the shares of total price to individual workers in proportion to the amounts they produced on the basis of their own records.

The village airplane, or if it is not available, air-taxis hired by the village with its own money,

makes frequent trips to the towns of Redenção and Belem for business or shopping. Commodities are bought with funds from the community's or chiefs' bank accounts, derived from gold and timber royalties, respectively, and shipped back to the village by air or, in the dry season, by truck on a new road that the community has just had built by the timber concessionaire, leading from Gorotire to the gold mine of Cumaruzinho, where it links up with the road from there to Redenção.

The Gorotire airplane is piloted by a Brazilian pilot who is a permanent salaried employee of the community. The village's two trucks, motorcar and several motorboats are driven by licensed Gorotire drivers. The truck and motorboat engines are maintained partly by native mechanics and partly by a Brazilian Post em-ployee. This same employee also maintains the gasoline generator that powers the radio transmitter, as well as the street lights that illuminate the main plaza and most of the houses at night.

Gorotire paramedics run the medical dispensary and infirmary, along with Brazilian paramedics employed directly by the community and a FUNAI nurse. The infirmary, with eight beds for in-patients and a large and well-stocked pharmacy and dispensary for out-patients, was built and largely supplied with medicines and equipment with community funds (derived from timber royalties). A new school with two large classrooms and several auxiliary rooms has been built with community money from the same source (classes have yet to begin in the new building; they are to be given by a FUNAI teacher and by one of the missionaries, both of whom taught for years in one of the Post houses, but discontinued their classes a couple of years ago for reasons that remain unclear to me).

A Gorotire convert conducts the Sunday mission services, and beyond this appears to be content not to proselytize; the 10% of the village population who attend the services continue to take full part in village ceremonial life, and otherwise distinguish themselves from their fellow townspeople mostly by refraining from smoking and extra-marital sexual relations. The foreign missionaries no longer do overtly religious work (although one does teach literacy in Kayapo). It appears that the proportion of the community actively attached to the mission has shrunk by half or more over the past twenty-five years, and that the Gorotire are farther from conversion to Christianity than ever.

The Gorotire have established four guard posts on the frontiers of their recently demarcated reserve, consisting of houses for the border patrols of bachelor youths (rotated monthly) and Brazilian maintenance workers, an airstrip, and slash-and-burn gardens to supply food for the workers and personnel. The Brazilian workers (two to a post) are paid directly by the community. The Gorotire plane makes bimonthly overflights of the reserve boundaries and lands at the post to receive reports from the patrols and bring in supplies. The function of the patrols is to prevent invasions of the reserve by squatters, miners or other unauthorized non-Kayapo. Several illegal incursions were dealt with soon after the air-coordinated patrols were begun in 1985 (the miners and squatters, spotted from the air and confronted by the patrols, left without attempting to resist). There have been no further incursions for the past two years.

The Gorotire also administer and police the gold mines of Maria Bonita and Cumaruzhino. In the latter, they maintain a police force of four *guerreiros* ("warriors" as they are called in Portuguese by the miners) who carry only native clubs. In Maria Bonita, the larger mine, they keep an identical police force and a head administrator, who is also the tribal accountant (he learned his arithmetic as one of the classes taught for two years by the missionary and FUNAI teachers). The Brazilian national Treasury maintains an office in Maria Bonita which buys the gold found by the miners of the local mine and Cumaruzhino (Brazilian law requires that all gold mined in Brazil be sold to the national treasury at the legally fixed rate). Following the settlement reacbed between the Brazilian government and the Gorotire after the latter's successful seizure of the mine in 1985, the miners have their gold weighed at the Treasury office, which gives them a receipt for the amount, which they must then take next door to the Kayapo tribal office, where tbe Gorotire accountant registers the amount shown on the receipt in an account book and stamps the miner's receipt. The miner then takes his stamped receipt back to the Treasury office and is paid. At the end of each month the Gorotire receive a deposit from the Treasury equal to 5% of the gross value of the gold produced in that month at the two mines, which the Gorotire check against their own records.

The administrator-accountant also supervises the many concessions (basic supply stores, eating places, soft drink bars) at the mines, ensuring that they conform to the standard price levels set by the tribe for all items sold. The Kayapo prohibit price competition or unauthorized raising of prices by their concessionaires, and collect a monthly rent. They also prohibit alcoholic beverages, firearms, and women, which accounts for the relatively limited variety of commercial concessions in contrast to what one might expect to find in a community of 3,000 miners. It also goes far towards accounting for the lack of trouble the Kayapo police force has had in keeping order at the two mining camps. The supporting presence of Brazi-

lian Federal Police at Maria Bonita on paydays is also doubtlessly a contributing factor to this lack of violent incidents.

A third factor which deserves much of the credit, however, is the deliberate use of the Kayapo of their reputation among the miners and regional population in general as bloodthirsty savages who would cheerfully seize upon the opportunity of restraining a misbehaving miner to bash his brains out with his war club. The 200 Kayapo warriors who seized the airstrip at Maria Bonita in 1985 were also for the most part armed with traditional war clubs rather than firearms (which they all possessed, but had for the most part left at home). They were also painted and decked out with feather headdresses, a style frequently followed by the contemporary Kayapo police at the mines. The Gorotire are well aware of the associations aroused by their traditional couture and weapons among the local Brazilians, and have recognized that these (added to the knowledge that the village of Gorotire is a mere ten kilometers away, and could field a force of 200 armed men to come to the immediate aid of the mine police if necessary) ethnic stereotypes can more effectively secure compliance than several platoons of conventionally armed troops. They accordingly dress the part.

Second only to the airplane in prestige as a commodity prototypically associated with hegemony of Western technology is the video cassette camera-recorder and monitor. The Gorotire had often had experience with still photographers, and occasionally with visitors making films, and many had seen television monitors on visits to Brazilian cities. About 1985 they acquired their own camcorder and monitor. The individual who learned to use the video recorder, interestingly enough, was a girl of the unmarried maiden's age-set. At the behest of the chiefs and others of the community, she uses it to film ceremonies held at Gorotire and other Kayapo villages, to make a record of traditional culture "so that our children will see and not forget," as one of the chiefs put it to me. An even more interesting use to which this video recorder has been put is the recording of meetings with Brazilian officials, so that the Kayapo can retain an accurate and undeniable record of what has been said and promised to them. At a more prosaic level, it is worth noting that audio cassette recorders are very popular, and are routinely used by their owners to record traditional ceremonial performances and songs, as well as to play commercial tapes of popular Brazilian music.

In sum, the Gorotire have over the past decade systematically taken over every major institutional and technological focus of dependency on Brazilian society within their community and reserve. They have not so mucb overthrown the "architecture of dependency" whicb these comprised as made it their own, converting it into the foundation of local communal autonomy.

2. Kapot.

The same process has occurred at Kapot, although it has taken rather different forms, given that the local manifestations of Brazilian hegemony were different. In Kapot, too, a Kayapo of the local community has assumed the role of chief of the FUNAI Post, which was established in the early 1970s at Kretire but only infrequently staffed by Brazilian personal. The chief of the Post and his Kayapo assistants keep in daily contact with other posts and FUNAI headquarters by the short-wave radio transmitter, and maintain the generator which powers it. Three licensed motor-launch operators drive and do light mechanical maintenance on the village's three launches. As there is as yet no airstrip at Kapot, and of course no road, this exhausts the category of motorized transport. A Kapot paramedical worker dispenses medicine from the community pharmacy, although a couple of Brazilian paramedics from FUNAI now reside in the village and have official charge of the facility. A FUNAI teacher has also come to live in the village, although there is as yet no school and she has yet to teach a class. All three Brazilian FUNAI workers are subordinate to the Kapot Kayapo chief of the FUNAI Post. He in turn takes his orders from the native village chiefs, above all Ropni.

The Kapot Kayapo, however, have not been content with the assertion of authority and control over the institutional and technological links between their own community and Brazilian society. A native of the community has now risen to become the administrative head of the Xingu National Park as a whole. This man, Mekaron, was taken as a boy to Posto Leonardo, the Park headquarters, as an apprentice by the Villas-Boas brothers. Like Ropni before him, he learned Portuguese and the ways of Brazilian administration, but he started younger, stayed longer, and learned much more. He has now become an important official in the national structure of the FUNAI and the highest authority, native or Brazilian, in the Park area.

Another native of the Kapot community to become an important Park functionary is Bedjai, who for the past six years has been in charge of the ferry at the crossing of route BR-080 on the Xingu. An expert mechanic (he learned after the Kayapo liberated a motor-launch from the Brazilian road workers who arrived with BR-080 at the Xingu in 1971), Bedjai not only operates and maintains the motorized ferry, but does the heavy maintenance on Kapot's motor-launch-

es as well. One of these is usually kept at the ferry landing, and is frequently borrowed by the Park administration for missions to other posts. Bedjai also does a lot of private work on the trucks and buses which use the crossing. He has established a reputation among the Brazilians along the road as the best mechanic in the area.

The crossing of BR-080 (about ten hours upriver by motor launch from Kapot) is the most sensitive point on the Park's boundary. It was, of course, the northern frontier of the Xingu Park between 1971 and 1983, and is still the only point of land access to it. A guard post has been established at the spot to prevent unauthorized persons from entering the Park from the road. There is also an airstrip at the post. There is also an airstrip at the post, and a short-wave transmitter which informs Kapot and Park headquarters of the arrival of travelers (often Indians returning from Brasília or other Brazilian cities) who need to be transported onward by motor-launch. Bedjai is the key figure in this nub of transportation and communication between the Park and the outside world.

The Kapot Kayapo, no less than the Gorotire, have thus managed to assert control over all of the important local points of connection and dependency between themselves and the Brazilians. In both places, the pattern of dependency established at contact has been "re-colonized" from within by the Kayapo, leaving them in control of the apparatus originally established by the Brazilians to control the Kayapo. The result is that both groups have become essentially independent and self-governing within their own territory.

3. From "revolving hierarchy" to class hierarchy?

The successful "re-colonization" of the institutional structure of dependency at both Gorotire and Kapot has created both new opportunities and new problems. The political balance of forces within the community seems certain to be affected, in at least two opposing ways. The first of these is that the re-assertion of community control over the institutional apparatus of interaction with the national society has shifted the relative importance of supports for chiefly authority from dependence on external relations with the Brazilians through these institutional channels in the direction of sources of support within the community. Coupled with the steady growth in the size of the communities in question, this could mean that something like the preeminence of the internal structure and solidarity of the community as a whole over the importance of individual leaders and their followings, that seems to have prevailed in the days before heavy Brazilian contact, might once again become the norm. One result of this might be that the moiety system might eventually be restored in some form.

The second major effect is that the chiefs, in their capacity as diplomats and negotiators with representatives of the national society, together with the young educated men who have taken over the various institutions and operations through which the community relates to the Brazilians, have come to form a new elite. This small group of technocrats and diplomats is much more developed at Gorotire than at Kapot, but at the former it clearly poses a problem of a sort with which Kayapo society has not yet had to deal. The general unwillingness to engage in monetary transactions within the community, and the commitment of the leadership to traditional patterns of reciprocity, has thus far meant that there has been relatively little differentiation between this group as a whole and the rest of the population in terms of property or lifestyle within the village. The chiefs at Gorotire, however, are already a partial exception to this. Each has acquired a live-in Brazilian maid (they all come from Redenção, the closest town), and they (or their wives) have begun to hire out odd jobs like chopping firewood to fellow Kayapo for small amounts of money. They also have personal bank accounts, separate from the communal account which holds the gold revenues.

These personal accounts are used for general communal purchases, but the point is that the chiefs alone control them. The chiefs and young technocrats together control access to the communal bank account and travel on the airplane or motor-launches or land vehicles to Brazilian towns (one of the main prerogatives of their elite administrative roles). They also negotiate with FUNAI for shipments of goods and medical supplies. It is very difficult for ordinary members of the community to take part in these matters or to exert any control over these decisions, partly because they lack the requisite knowledge, and partly because there is a general feeling of "shame" (*pia'am*) about using the public forum of the men's house for raising the subject of money or the control of property in ways that would imply either criticism of the chiefs or advocacy of the private interests of the speaker.

The result is that Kayapo communal institutions are left with no way of dealing with the potential problems posed by the growth of the new elite. Control, rather than the accumulation of private property, is thus at this point the major focus of inequality between the new "elite" and the rest of the community. This inequality has thus far not generated serious tensions within the community, but the potentiality that it may do so is there, and there is at present no solution in sight.

4. Gorotire's very own tribe of Brazilians.

A peculiar series of events at Gorotire has become the ultimate symbolic drama of "colonizing the colonizers." In about 1982, a group of approximately 60 *Romeiros*, followers of the messianic movement of Padre Cicero in Ceara, were discovered by the Gorotire making gardens at a site between the Rio Murure and Rio Fresco. They explained that they had been wandering through Amazonia for many years, searching for a sacred image which Padre Cicero had left in a cave somewhere in the region. The Kayapo had taken them at first for squatters intending to settle permanently on their land, and were prepared to expel them by force. The *Romeiros*, however, asked only for the right to remain in the area long enough to replenish their supplies of food. The Kayapo, perceiving that they were not only extremely poor but also humble and peaceful, granted their request.

The *Romeiros* were allowed to use garden land at a site about a day's walk from Gorotire. They periodically bring garden produce to the village, and are given knives, machetes, axes, fishing hooks and line, pots and other necessities by the Gorotire. The Indians also call upon them to do tedious manual work like clearing the village plaza of weeds and garbage. On days when they are performing this service, Kayapo can be seen sitting in tubular aluminum chairs on the verandahs of their new, Brazilian-style houses, casually tossing banana peels into the plaza and snapping their fingers to call over a humble Romeiro with his wheelbarrow to pick them up.

C. The Revival of Shamanism

One of the best indications of the revival of Kayapo cultural self-confidence and assertiveness is the revival of shamanic curing. Shamanism is a part of traditional Kayapo culture, but always played a minor role in comparison with the emphasis on collective ceremony.

Kayapo shamans performed cures by various means, including herbal medicine, and "sucking" out pathogenic objects from within the body. Neither hallucinogens nor tobacco were used to induce trance, although tobacco smoke was often blown over the patient to drive off ghosts who surround a sick person and attempt to snatch his or her soul. Shamans also performed garden and hunting magic, and sorcery (*'udju*) or black magic directed against either individuals or groups. They located game in the forest through dreams and visions, and learned songs and ceremonial lore from animals or ghosts, whose languages they could understand. Shamans also had important functions in raiding and warfare: they could locate enemies and foretell their movements, interpret omens of success or failure in an attack, and through sorcery inflict disease on whole villages as an adjunct to military action.

Knowledge of herbal medicines and magical charms was, however, not limited to shamans but was, and continues to be, widespread among the population. Anyone can "know a cure," and great numbers of specific remedies and magical techniques are either general knowledge or transmitted between kin. A "knower of a cure" (*me be kane mari*) is not thereby a shaman (*wayanga*), who must acquire this vocation by embarking on a soul-flight in a trance, coma, or dream, followed by a prolonged apprenticeship to a practicing shaman. Non-shamans could also learn songs from ghosts or animals in dreams, or even chance encounters in the forest.

The presence of alternative paths of access to most shamanic knowledge seems part of a general de-emphasis of the shamanic role in traditional Kayapo culture. Shamanism, as an individualistic role based on the direct acquisition of powers from extra-social, "natural" beings or substances, is the antithesis of the socially oriented ceremonialism of the Kayapo and other Gê groups. Shamanism did nevertheless have an important, if relatively marginal role in traditional Kayapo society, meeting needs that could not be met by the communal ritual system. Most important of these were those posed by individual health crises and collective danger in war.

In the 1960s and 1970s shamanism appeared to have lapsed or died out as an active part of Kayapo culture. I could not find one active shaman in any of the communities in which I worked during this period (Gorotire, Kubenkranken, Porori, or Kretire). This was still a time of contact epidemics, in which dependence on Western medicine to avert demographic catastrophes arising from casual contacts with Brazilians was so strong as to preclude much interest in native methods of curing. This absolute dependence on Western medicine and the cessation of raiding seemed to have left no cultural space for shamanic practice.

As the medical situation became stabilized and population began to recover from the depredations of the epidemics, however, interested in native curing revived. This revival of interest, however, owed at least as much to political as medical concerns. The Southern Mekranoti (Metukti) of Kretire were in closer contact than the other Kayapo with Middle and Upper Xingu groups like the Kayabi, Juruna, and Kamayura, who all had strong shamanic traditions. A prominent feature of shamanism as practiced in the Upper Xingu is intertribal visiting: people go to shamans of other tribal communities to be cured.

Shamanism, then, is one of the mainstays of

the intertribal network of the Upper Xingu, and powerful shamans (frequently the chiefs of these groups) play a prominent role in intertribal politics. This was a role exactly suited to the needs of an aspiring leader of intertribal, pan-indigenous resistance to the national society, a role which Ropni, the leader of the Kretire, had increasingly aspired to play. Not only could shamanism make such a leader's community a central point in a network of intertribal movements and relations; the beauty of it from the standpoint of cultural nationalism is that it is an exclusively Indian form of knowledge, independent of Western medicine and culture. In 1981, Ropni declared himself to be a *wayanga*. His father had been a practicing shaman, and he claimed to have been taught by him. He also, however, borrowed freely from Kayabi and Kamayura practices. The Kayabi and Kamayura chiefs were invited frequently to Kretire, and Ropni and others visited them in their own communities. Soon three other Kayapo and Kretire declared themselves to be shamans, and all four now practice as such in Kapot.

Members of other groups have begun to journey to Kapot for treatment. In December 1986, a couple came from Gorotire, and were jointly practiced upon by Ropni, the Kamayura and the Kayabi shaman-chiefs, brought to Kapot for the occasion. The idea spread to Gorotire, where several shamans, one of them a woman, are now said to practice, and I was told of shamans in other villages. Ropni, meanwhile, made news in the national and international media by being invited by a prominent Brazilian naturalist, Augusto Ruschi, dying of a liver ailment, to undertake a shamanic cure in early 1986. This required the intervention of the President of the Republic, who gave his permission for Ropni to perform the cure. Ruschi died soon afterwards.

The revival of Kayapo shamanism in the 1980s thus seems to be a general phenomenon. It must be understood as an expression of a complex of factors, some medical (the general improvement of the medical and demographic situation), some political (the realization of the political advantages of the shaman's role in intercommunal and intertribal relations, and their consonance with the political ambitions of Kayapo leaders like Ropni), and some cultural (the reassertion of confidence and pride in shamanism as an "Indian" form). These political and cultural aspects were quintessentially exemplified in the role played by shamans in the seizure of the airstrip at the Maria Bonita mine in 1985. In a revival of the authentically Kayapo tradition of the shaman's role in raiding, the war party which seized the airstrip was accommodated by five shamans, carrying sorcery medicines wrapped in leaf bundles, which they were prepared to fire from their shotguns in the direction of São Paulo, Rio and Brasília in case the Kayapo met serious resistance or were repulsed. "We knew that we might be killed, but if that happened, we would make sure that many thousands of Brazilians would also die," as the leader of the party put it to me.

D. From Cosmology to Ideology: Cultural Transformations

In traditional Kayapo cosmology, the autonomous Kayapo village unit is the center of social space, surrounded by a "natural" zone inhabited by animals and inferior non-Kayapo peoples. This concentric dimension of space is articulated in terms of the cyclical, reversible process of transforming natural energy and raw materials into social form, epitomized by the process of socialization, and the breaking down of social forms by natural energy once again, epitomized by death, which is ritually referred to by the Kayapo as "transformation into an animal." The horizontal plane in which this cyclical, concentric relation is defined is also intersected by a vertical polarity associated with the cardinal points of east and west. East is the "root" of the sky, the beginning of the sun's journey, and metaphorically also of the life cycle. West is the "tip" of the sky, the end of the sun's journey, and metaphorically of the growth cycle of a plant or the human life cycle. "Vertical" space is thus defined by a temporal process seen as linear and irreversible, but infinitely replicable. This cosmological structure of complementary dimensions of space-time and social process is embodied in the plan of the ideal village, which is also laid out along the two complementary dimensions. The circle of extended-family houses surrounds the central plaza, locus of communal ceremony and social activities, and is in turn surrounded by the transitional "black" or "dead" zone between the village and savanna or forest, in which the cemetery and ritual seclusion sites are located. The central plaza itself is divided along the complementary dimension of vertical space between the eastern and western men's houses, representing the moieties, which are designed as "root" or "lower" and "tip" or "upper," respectively. The model of cosmic space time embodied by the ideal village plan is thus a model of the process of social production and reproduction, in which the life cycle, defined as a reversible alternation of socialization and entropy (or return to a relatively disordered state of nature), is subsumed as an ultimately irreversible but infinitely replicated linear process. All levels of this socio-cosmic model, from the social totality through the domestic household to the individual person, were conceived as replicating the same biaxial structure. The structure of the (re-)productive process is embodied by its products, and all levels of

the social whole are equally conceived as products of the single, cyclical and infinitely replicated process of social production it embodies.

In this traditional view, Kayapo society is conceived as more or less synonymous with the category of the fully human (other Gê-speaking peoples were usually included in this category of "beautiful" or fully human people along with the Kayapo). Non-Gê indigenous peoples (*me kakrit* or "peoples of no worth") and the Brazilians were recognized as peoples with different cultures (that is, different languages, songs, artifacts and ceremonies), but they were not thought of as humans on the Kayapo level. The Kayapo, conversely, did not think of themselves as having a "culture" in the same terms as these lesser people, from whom they freely borrowed artifacts, songs, and sometimes whole ceremonies, as "valuables" (*nekretch*). The Kayapo conceived of their own beliefs and social institutions as direct continuations of those established in mythical times by the culture-heroes who established the pattern of humanity and human society, and differentiated it from animal nature. Kayapo society and culture, in short, were not seen as historical products of collective social activity in normal social time, but as fetishized products of super-human, quasi-natural beings in a time qualitatively different from that of present-day social existence.

With the development of relations with Brazilian society, a new "world-view" seems to have taken form. This new formulation, like the old, expresses the relation between the Kayapo and non-Kayapo societies in terms analogous to the internal structure of Kayapo society. There has been, however, a fundamental change in the conception of "society." The isolated Kayapo village has been replaced, as the exclusive domain of fully human society, by the situation of contact, in which Brazilian society, on the one hand, and indigenous societies, on the other, confront each other in a relationship of ambivalent interdependence. Not only are Brazilians admitted into this new conceptual scheme as fully human, social beings, but the Kayapo have come to see themselves, no longer as the exclusive paradigm of humanity, but as one ethnic type of humanity, sharing their ethnicity on a more or less equal footing with other indigenous peoples in their common confrontation with the national society. They have also begun to recognize the implication of this self-definition as one "Indian" people among others, with similar problems and a similar "culture," namely that the preservation or loss of their culture and ethnic identity is a matter for conscious concern and concerted political action. From seeing their society as a creation of mythological time, in other words, the Kayapo have learned to think of themselves as agents of their own history.

The new view has not replaced the old, but exists alongside it and, as it were, on a different level, being specifically focused between Kayapo and Brazilian society, whereas the older view is primarily concerned with processes and relations within Kayapo society itself. The new view, moreover, is not formulated in the same terms of ritual and myth, nor as clearly articulated with the structure of village space, as the traditional cosmology; it is rather implicit in new social forms, attitudes, and rhetoric relating to interaction with Brazilian society, in particular the usage of Brazilian commodities. The basic structural principles of the new view are essentially the same as those of the old. The key relationships which determine the internal structure of the social domain continue to be seen as replications of those between the social and the encompassing natural domain. Within the social sphere, this same structure is seen as repeated on the successive levels of society as a whole, the segmentary household unity, and the construction of the individual social person. The relations and structures themselves, however, have changed dramatically both in form and content.

The universe is still seen as a series of concentric zones, but in place of the old view, with Kayapo society, as the fully human zone, at the center, and other indigenous peoples and Brazilians in more peripheral, implicitly animal-like positions, the new rhetoric posits a new "social" totality diametrically divided between "Indians" (the Kayapo themselves and other indigenous peoples) on one side and Brazilian society on the other. Whereas in the old view the relations between the key constitutive categories and groupings of the social domain were seen as articulated by complementary dimensions of transformation identified with aspects of social production, in the new view the relation between Indian society on the one hand Brazilian on the other is seen as articulated by instantaneous (but not transformative) processes of circulation. These processes of circulation or exchange are similarly divided into complementary aspects or dimensions, in this case positive and negative forms of reciprocity. These might be summarized, respectively, as commodity exchange, "presents," and medical assistance from FUNAI, reciprocated by friendship and cooperation by the Indians, on the one hand, and failure to fulfill promises, cheating, and theft of Indian resources by the Brazilians, reciprocated by hostility and resistance by the native people, on the other.

Each side of this divided social field relates in its own way to the surrounding zone of "nature." These relations are the opposites of each other, and taken together repeat the pattern of contradictory, positive and negative transactions which articulate the

internal structure of the social domain. That of the Indians is constructive, consisting in the traditional processes of transformation of the natural energies and materials into social powers and forms, in ways that permit the continuing renewal of nature and its powers. That of the Brazilians, on the other hand, is destructive: the chopping down of forests and their conversion to grassland, the pollution of rivers, the mining of the earth, or the damming of rivers and flooding of the surrounding land, all of which permanently despoil nature and render it unfit for habitation or agriculture, hunting or fishing.

The relation between native and Brazilian society which constitutes the structure of this new social totality is replicated at lower levels of social organization, specifically, that of the segmentary household unit and that of the construction of the individual person. Just as the social totality is now seen as made up of a native side and a Brazilian side, with the boundary between them defined by the movement of commodities and by the struggle to assert autonomy against the source of those commodities, so the household and the individual member of native society have become double beings, diametrically divided between an internal, indigenous Kayapo part and an external part comprised of Brazilian commodities. The prototypical commodities involved at these levels are clothes, in the case of the person, and private property, with the Brazilian-style house as its most important and visible form, in the case of the domestic group.

This division within the structural units of Kayapo society between an indigenous and a Brazilian component, like that between Kayapo society as a whole and Brazilian society, is a focus both of dependency and of struggle. The indigenous social entity depends on Brazilian commodities and property forms, not merely for their practical uses but to confer upon it the necessary cachet of viability and acceptability within the new composite indigenous-Brazilian social totality. At the same time, the indigenous Kayapo component of the resulting composite social entity struggles to assert its continuing autonomy and validity against the alien Brazilian aspect.

At all levels of the social totality, in sum, from the individual to the relation between Kayapo and Brazilian societies as wholes, a Kayapo part or aspect ambivalently defines itself in contrast to a "Brazilian" aspect, struggling to assert the separateness and autonomy of its indigenous aspect, while assimilating to itself a veneer of Brazilian-derived commodity property which it can no longer do without. Thus we find body painting of areas of the skin concealed beneath Brazilian clothing, and the owners of new Brazilian-style houses referring condescendingly to them as "unreal" or "ersatz" (*kaygo*) and irrelevant to the "real" continuity of the essential Kayapo social and ceremonial relationships, and even, at Gorotire, a "double" village, with an "authentic" traditional circular village for the "real" (older, more traditional) Kayapo, built alongside the Brazilian "street"-style village.

This process can be seen working itself out in the evolving patterns of use of key commodities. Clothing is a good example. The use of shorts by men, replacing the penis-sheath, was the first form of Brazilian clothing to become standardized on a universal basis in Kayapo communities like Gorotire and even Kapot. The Kayapo also acquired both short-and-long-sleeved shirts, long pants, and jackets, and many today possess these items. In the 1960s, it was normal for the chiefs of Gorotire to dress up in long pants and long-sleeved shirts to meet with official visitors, and other Kayapo would don similar "civilized" apparel to have their pictures taken. Short Brazilian haircuts became the norm, and lip plugs were discarded.

Today, the same chiefs and other men are again wearing their hair long. Lip plugs have not returned at Gorotire, but both there and among the Mekranoti, when chiefs go to a Brazilian city, they make a point of wearing shorts or sometimes long pants, shoes, but no shirt or jacket. Their faces, arms and upper bodies are painted, and they wear traditional shell necklaces and bead earrings. The whole ensemble is often topped off with a feather headdress. The shift away from full Brazilian clothing for official or formal dress back to a half-and-half compromise between Brazilian and Indian costume reveals more vividly than anything else the recent shift in the local social, political, and cultural balance of power between Brazilians and Kayapo, and the concomitant development of a new assertiveness and pride in Indian identity by the latter.

The Kayapo desire for Brazilian commodities stems only in part from their greater intrinsic effectiveness and utility than native products, and very little from competition to outdo one another in "conspicuous consumption." The overriding value of commodity property for the Kayapo, especially in terms of public display like clothing, houses, and tape recorders, lies in the symbolic neutralization of the inequality between themselves and the Brazilians, as defined in terms of possession of the more complex and effective products of Western industry, and the ability to control the associated technology. The value of Brazilian clothes, radios, and airplanes for the Kayapo, in other words, lie above all in the negation of the pejorative contrast between themselves, as "savages," and the Brazilians, as "civilized" beings, which the Kayapo feel to be defined, in the simplest and most obvious

sense, in terms of the possession and use of such commodities. This is prototypically true of clothes, nakedness being the quintessential hallmark of savagery for the Brazilians.

The attribution to commodities of social powers (specifically, in this case, the power to mediate the integration of the indigenous and Brazilian components of the new social totality constituted by the situation of contact) appears from one point- of-view as a straightforward transformation of the fetishism of commodities within Brazilian capitalist society itself. From the point-of-view of traditional Kayapo cosmology, however, Brazilian commodities play in this respect a similar role to traditional ritual valuables, or nekretch. The latter, it will be recalled, are themselves usually items (artifacts, songs or names) taken from alien peoples or (supposedly) natural beings like fish or birds. These valuables function within the traditional ceremonial system as repositories of the social powers of integration and renewal associated with the value of beauty, but their ability to do so depends in Kayapo eyes on their very alienness, from whence the powers and values they embody are thought to derive. The meaning and valuation of Brazilian commodities, which are likewise called *nekretch,* continues a pattern of the alienation of social powers into objects that circulate between the constitutive categories of the communal structure that was already well developed within the traditional Kayapo system.

One corollary of the assimilation of commodities to traditional *nekretch* is that they are treated in the same way upon the death of their owner. Traditional *nekretch,* from ceremonial ornaments to weapons and tools, are assimilated to the identity of their possessors. When the latter die, their belongings are buried with them, often being "killed" for the purpose (e.g., gourds and pots are punctured or broken). Brazilian trade goods are treated in the same way, or in the case of costly items like tape recorders or guns, are given away to the unrelated bachelors who dig the grave. The result is that there is no inheritance of private property. Money is not yet a problem within this pattern because it is generally not held by individuals within the community. Houses are the only significant exception (they are now sprayed with aerosol cans of deodorant chemicals to drive off the ghosts of the dead owners).

The Kayapo, in sum, have become aware of "Kayapo culture" as something essential to their existence as a society, which they must therefore struggle to defend against the pressures for assimilation to Brazilian culture. They argue about how this can best be accomplished, and what level of Brazilian economic penetration, and general social, political, and cultural accommodation is compatible with it. The community of Kapot has taken a relatively intransigent rejectionist line, while Gorotire has been more accommodating, but the debate is keenly carried on within Gorotire (and the other communities). The point here is not to predict the outcome, but simply to note that the existence of a debate in these terms, and the levels of social, historical, and political awareness which it presupposes, represent in themselves historical developments of the first importance for the Kayapo.

In conclusion, the new Kayapo world-view can be seen as a transformation of the old, but this does not mean that it should be understood as a wholly endogenous product of Kayapo culture. It may to a considerable extent constitute a Kayapo adaptation of ideas common to Pan-Indian ideologies and Indigenous advocacy groups in Brazil and elsewhere, to which the Kayapo have been increasingly exposed over the last twenty years. To speak of the profound changes in Kayapo social consciousness simply as "transformations" of the traditional cosmology can be seriously misleading in another respect, for it tends to obscure the change in the character of social consciousness, and in particular on the level of historical and political awareness, that has accompanied the structural changes. These changes are not merely a phenomenon of semiotic restructuring precipitated by contact with an alien culture. Rather, they embody the structure of the historical process to the results of which they refer. This process has not been one of neat structural permutations, but of protracted, gradual, uneven, but ultimately relatively successful struggle between the Kayapo and the encroaching national society. It is this struggle, and the resulting relationship of dependency and resistance between indigenous and Brazilian society, that has become the focus of the new social consciousness. From the perspective of this situation of contact, society is seen as a historical product, constituted of distinct and unequal social groups and therefore intrinsically fraught with conflict and contradiction. The Kayapo have thus reformulated their conception of society in essentially ideological terms, even though their ideological view remains articulated in terms of the same basic structural principles as their traditional cosmological view.

III. Conclusions

The following issues emerge from a consideration of the Kayapo case as questions of potentially general significance for anthropological research on Amazonian peoples in the years immediately ahead:

1. As a general point, the analysis of native social and cultural forms has become inseparable from the analysis of situations of interethnic dependency and conflict, and the reverse is also true. The formation of

social consciousness and ethnic identity among native peoples is assuming greater importance as a factor in material situations of interethnic friction with the demographic and political resurgence of many Amazonian peoples. If the Kayapo example is any indication, this process takes the form, to a great extent, of the assimilation of the new situation in terms of traditional cultural structures, but also entails important modifications of those structures, which in general have the character of transformations "from cosmology to ideology."

2. The differences between different types of native societies and between different types of contact situations has assumed greater importance as many native societies experience resurgence under contemporary conditions while others fail to thrive. Comparisons between the Gê and the Tupi and Caribs are only a start. There is a need for a rich opportunity for more sophisticated and precise comparative studies.

3. The ways in which indigenous societies apply their own principles of social and cultural structure to the construction of the situation of contact with the national society from their own point-of-view constitute a fascinating field in which much remains to be done. The Kayapo adaptation of their ceremonial system to socialize the commodity, their ideological transformation of their traditional cosmology, and their application of the principle of "recursive hierarchy" to reconstruct their concepts of society and the person within the new social totality represented by the situation of interethnic contact, afford specific examples which may or may not find parallels in other societies, but in any case suggest only a few of the many social, cultural and ideological transformations now going on among other Amazonian peoples.

4. The concrete political and economic processes through which indigenous peoples struggle to resist or temper the domination of the national society are becoming and important focus for both individual case studies and comparisons. In the Kayapo case, these range from tactics of armed struggle and diplomacy,. through the exploitation of stereotypes of themselves held by local and official sectors of the national society, to the struggle to gain control of all institutional and technological aspects of dependence at the community level ("the architecture of dependency" at the local level). The degree to which tactics such as these are informed by native mytho-ideological conceptions is an important aspect of the understanding of such processes.

5. The transformation and manipulation of cultural self-consciousness, as a corollary of the formation of a more sophisticated consciousness of the nature of national society and the ways native ethnic identity becomes defined in the context of interethnic interaction, constitutes an important field of investigation. The increasing use of self-objectifying Western technologies of information and communication, such as tape recorders and video cameras with monitors, are only the most visible forms of a revolution in the level and sophistication of reflexive self-awareness on the part of indigenous communities of their own cultural and ethnic identities.

An example is provided by the brilliant and subtle "image management" of the Gorotire Kayapo in their successful assault on the gold mine at Maria Bonita. In this action, they simultaneously and self-consciously enacted four roles: firstly, that of ferocious savages according to the stereotypes of the local population; secondly, that of "noble savages," facing the Brazilian army with primitive weapons, conforming to the stereotypes of enlightened national and international public opinion; thirdly, a role they enacted for their own benefit, that of a revitalized native culture with *sui generis* powers of its own, the equal of the arms technology of the national society, represented by the shamans who accompanied the raiding party with their war magic; and fourthly, the role of makers of their own history within the national and international political context, which they created and enacted by filming the action with their own video camera and telephoning their own press release to FUNAI headquarters in Brasília from the captured airstrip of the mine.

As this example shows, native peoples' development of reflexive ethnic self-consciousness, and with it the ability to objectify themselves from the perspective of different elements of national and world opinion and manipulate these objectified
images for their own ends, is not only an interesting problem in cultural analysis, but a potent political factor, which must increasingly be taken into account in political and economic analyses of interethnic conflict and accommodation.

6. A closely related problem is the development by native peoples of more sophisticated forms of historical consciousness. By this I mean an awareness of their own society as a product of their own action in historical, i.e., present time, and also a realization that aspects of the national society are likewise subject to change by their own present or future action. Historical consciousness in this sense never completely displaces mythical consciousness of the origin of social forms, but exists in interdependence with it, each mode dominant in certain contexts, and in others relating ambiguously to each other across an unstable and constantly shifting boundary. My impression is that the political successes of the Kayapo in their recent dealings with the national society have stimulated the development of historical consciousness in this sense:

they are more aware of their society and culture as a product of their own collective social and political action, and of their power to make changes in it, as well as to compel changes in the policies and forms of relation of the national society towards themselves. The complex interrelationship between mythological and historical modes of consciousness, and of both to social action, is thus another problem of cultural analysis which turns out to be inseparable from social and political dimensions of action in the context of the contemporary situation of relations to the national society.

7. The role of external agencies in catalyzing transformations of indigenous social consciousness such as those to which I have referred is generally recognized but poorly understood in specific cases. Indigenist support groups and international indigenous organizations have served as important conduits of "Fourth World" ideas and rhetoric; anthropologists and in some cases FUNAI functionaries have also encouraged ethnic consciousness formation and self-assertion; missionaries have played varying roles in the same process; and the development of a supportive body of national and international public opinion has had an important effect in building self-confidence and resistance among native communities and leaders. The specific forms in which ideas from these sources have been received and recommunicated by particular leaders and communities, however, remains little understood. Ramos's analyses of the political rhetoric of Sanuma leaders is an important exception to this generalization, and exemplifies once again that while this set of problems has its cultural dimensions, it is also intrinsically political, and plays an important material role in the developing political struggle of indigenous peoples to define, assert and defend themselves and their interests in confrontation with the national society (Ramos 1988).

REFERENCES

RAMOS, ALCIDA R.
1988 "Contact Experienced and Expressed." In *Rethinking History and Myth in South America*, Jonathan Hill, Ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.

RIBEIRO, DARCY
1962 *A Political Indigenista Brasileira.* Rio de Janeiro.

TURNER, TERENCE S.
n.d. "The Kayapo of Southeastern Para." To appear in *Cedi, Povos Indigenas do Brasil,* Vol. VIII, Part II. São Paulo.

VIDAL, LUX
1977 *Morte e Vida de Uma Sociedade Indigena Brasileira.* São Paulo.

VIVEIROS de CASTRO, EDUARDO
1986 *Arawete: Os Deuses Canibais.* Rio de Janeiro.

THE CARIB UNIVERSE OF PEOPLE

Kathleen J. Adams
Wheelock College

Guyanese Caribs explore tensions along the transition to marriage in order to view themselves in relation to more powerful ethnic groups. Caribs explore the roles of adolescent male and old woman with regard to their prospects for marriage. Carib narratives detail models of response to subhuman regard offered by other more powerful groups in pluralistic Guyanese society (see Tiffany and Adams 1985).

While the Caribs are located in the rain forest, they have coped with a series of Western influences. Discoveries of gold in the rivers of the North West District of Guyana ushered in an international gold rush from 1890 until well into the 1910s. During this time some 10,000 men registered as gold workers each year and went into the interior of the North West District. Most of these men were from the African villages on the coast of Guyana, and these men were joined by Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, North American, and British gold seekers. After the peak of the gold rush, Guyanese men persisted in looking for gold in the North West District.

These gold seekers, or pork-knockers as they were called, brought no wives but took lovers among the Caribs. These men formed spontaneous male societies for the duration of their periods of time or what were called "quarters" in the interior (Baird 1982). The Western tools, food stores, and novelties these men brought with them helped to make them irresistible to Carib women. A few of these men made a life for themselves among the Caribs.

However, it would be difficult to identify when the change in status from interloper to member of Carib society occurred. Caribs have no formal ceremony to mark the transition to marriage. Rather, it is accomplished by upholding the social expectations of a married person on a day-to-day basis, plus a future commitment to Carib relatives. Outside men have lived among the Caribs, sometimes for years, without any intended or actual commitment in perpetuity to relatives made among the Caribs. Because their marriages do not have legal status under Guyanese law, Caribs are at a disadvantage when entering marriages with outsiders.

In the 1930s, the Caribs in the upper Barama River numbered about 200. The gold mining activities brought new economic resources but also hardships including diseases. By the 1960s, malaria eradication and other health measures were extended by the government to this population and their number increased. In the early 1970s, there were some 550 Caribs, more than half of them children. They lived in household clearings around Baramita Airstrip, built to accommodate the gold mining enterprise which was abandoned in 1969. In recent years, the Carib population has dispersed in the general western portion of the North West District.

This paper refers to the early 1970s, a time during which the Caribs were involved in the new programs of independent Guyana. Government appointees developed medical care, schools, and cooperative agriculture in the interior. Government opportunities replaced the activities at the gold mines which were derelict by this time. The Caribs maintained most aspects of their society throughout the economic changes.

However, some change has occurred in the path to marriage among the Caribs themselves. To launch his adult life, a young Carib must leave home and secure the attentions of a girlfriend. His goal is to apprentice himself to her father, usually his mother's brother (Gillin 1936:74-75). Often the youth lives in the perimeter of the household clearing in what the Caribs call a "trash house." The inexperienced youth constructs a trash house from materials at hand in the bush. He sleeps in his miniature house and alone waits out tropical downpours under his makeshift roof which is usually inadequate to protect him from being drenched.

The daughter is an intermediary between her lover and her father who often will not speak directly to the young man. In this bride-service society, the young man for ten or more years hunts and does other chores for his intended bride's family. When his intended bride and he have a young child, it is possible for the emerging family to begin to plan to separate from the wife's family. In due time, the new family's own daughter attracts a potential son-in-law, usually the father's sister's son (usually the mother's brother's son as well) and the unfolding of society through the turnover of generations is repeated.

The social ambiguity of young men in Carib society has been detailed (Butt Colson and de Armellada, unpub.). Alone in his quest for a wife, a young man faces a formidable social group. The young man's

potential father-in-law is aligned with other adult men, usually his brothers, who keep their households near each other.

While the basic pattern has not been changed by involvement with gold mining, another aspect of the change over in Carib generations is in jeopardy. The leverage a young father needs to break off from his wife's family is the support of his brothers and male cousins, also the heads of emerging households. In the past such a group supported each other and exchanged labor and food. Increasingly, a monetary economy has separated them (Adams 1979b). For the generation of young men in the 1970s, the ambiguity of teen-age years is not resolved as a member of a group of age mates. Rather, adult status is a matter each male must face alone. Some have stayed on as adults in their own fathers' clearings. Some have remained with their fathers-in-law well beyond the adolescence of their own children.

A series of Carib narratives elaborate on the anxieties and exploits of young men seeking to take daughters away from their families. The ability of a young man is attributed to luck and guile.

In one narrative, a young man finds another world within a pond (Adams 1979a:7-8). He is treated as a special guest and is given two wives, the beautiful daughters of the headman. During the night he feels something cold on his chest and something cold around one of his legs. He realizes that the women have second identities as snakes, and he is very afraid of them. Later he tries to introduce his wives to his mother, and she curses the snakes. After this, the world of the pool is lost to the young man; "he knew his wives' voices but could not go to them."

In another narrative (Adams 1979a:8-10), a young man is portrayed as a bush rat who tries to find a wife among jaguars, wild pigs, and a variety of birds. In each case, he has a near scrape with death at the hands of would-be relatives, but escapes at the last minute.

In the last episode of the narrative, the bush rat transforms himself into an electric eel. While fishing with the daughter from a family of birds, he is swallowed by a large fish. The family comes to rescue him. They move their bowels, and like a poison their faeces stun the fish and cause them to float to the surface. The mother cuts open the belly of the large fish and finds her erstwhile son-in-law barely breathing. But he wakes up and says "something very bad" to his mother-in-law. She grabs for him, but he gets away, minus the skin off his tail.

Similar to the story of Jonah and the whale, the young man-rat survives being swallowed by a fish. His mother-in-law saves him in his obvious phallic form. But he cannot sustain the tension of the situation. Other narratives repeat the fear young men feel when they are subject to attention from mothers-in-law.

The young man is a type of a trickster. He transforms himself into more instrumental life forms. He impersonates more acceptable social statuses and attempts to go through the motions of social expectations. He manipulates circumstances for social acceptance and tries to elude the consequences of exposure. The Carib trickster escapes again and again but never succeeds in the objective of securing a wife. Gillin (1936:194-195) identifies one narrative with this theme in the 1930s. Unrequited efforts to become a son-in-law are the subject of many narratives in the 1970s.

In addition to coping with the changes in their own society, Caribs were also faced with visitors from coastal Guyanese society and their effects on Carib society. More powerful Guyanese groups bring an appreciation of the Carib trickster. In particular, the Africans can easily subsume the Carib example into their elaborated tradition of the trickster. While the Carib archetype is in search of a wife as a remedy to social limbo, the African concept tends to portray the trickster in a battle between the sexes. Subtleties of the Carib example are lost as the trickster of the more powerful African group is imposed. This trickster pursues sexual conquest as the measure of self-definition rather than the change-over of generations.

The following narrative reflects Carib society under the stress of relating to the more powerful African group whose members now come into the interior in new capacities. This narrative was collected in 1971. It was told by a family group of men, women, and children. They told the narrative in the Carib language and then translated it into English as it is recorded here. Unlike other Carib narratives, there was a great deal of laughter during the recital of the body of the narrative. Unlike other Carib narratives, there was no laughter at the end.

> A boy who had never slept with a woman came upon an old lady and her granddaughter living together. In the morning he brought them a bird he had killed, and every morning thereafter he brought the same present.
>
> One morning the old lady told him, "Boy, yesterday a boy just like you brought the same bird."
>
> She did not have enough sense to know that it was the same person.
>
> One day the boy came in the morning with his usual present and did not go away but remained there all day. When night was falling, the grandmother

asked him, "Boy, night will catch you, are you going home?"

The boy suggested that he sleep right there, and the grandmother gave him a hammock some distance away from theirs.

After they had been asleep for some time, the boy started to holler in his dream. The grandmother went to him to find out what was wrong. He woke up and told her that a *jumbie* (Creole term for ghost) wanted to kill him. The grandmother gave him permission to tie his hammock a little nearer.

The went to sleep again, but the same thing happened. This time he tied his hammock so close that it was crowding the others.

After they went to sleep again, the boy resumed hollering in his dream. He cried that the *jumbie* wanted to kill him and he would have to lie with the grandmother. She consented.

The two of them lay down back to back. Again he dreamed and hollered that he must lie down on the grandmother's belly or the *jumbie* would kill him. He also said that in his dream he had to open grandmother's legs and push in. After he did so they slept through the night as *jumbie* no longer wanted to kill him.

The next day the grandmother got up and started talking nonstop. She told the boy that they would go to visit her brother, now his brother-in law.

All the while the granddaughter was to one side listening to everything. She remained behind when the two departed with a packed *walisha* (basket) to make the trip to the grandmother's brother who lived far away. As they left, the old grandmother was still talking. She told the boy that he was to tell his brother-in-law that he had fallen in love with his sister. When they had gone about half the distance to the brother's house, the boy told the old lady that he was going to cut some palm leaves to make a trash house for the night. Instead he tied the back of her dress to a branch.

The old lady had so little sense that she did not watch but continued to walk and talk, only now she went nowhere and no one heard her. The boy returned to the camp to make the granddaughter his wife.

Eventually the old lady looked around and thought she saw the boy behind her. It was a sloth hanging from a tree. She struck out at the sloth with her dull cutlass, and the sloth tried to grab her. The sloth got hold of her hair and lifted her up and dropped her. She fell on the ground and died.

In this case, the hopeful young man is portrayed as sexually naive. It is common among Caribs for adolescent males to be instructed in sexuality by older women. This usually happens before the young men leave their natal households and may involve their mother's female kin. Usually young men have to be resourceful and manage to meet an encouraging young woman when adult male relatives are away from the household clearing. Other Carib narratives, such as those mentioned earlier, reveal the anxiety young men feel in relations with older women, both categorical mothers and mothers-in-law.

In the narrative, the women live alone. The young man is a stranger, not a relative. He cannot be distinguished from those of his kind. The young man insinuates himself with the help of gifts and *jumbies*, understood by Caribs to be a general category of African mischief makers. The gullible grandmother mistakes sexual initiation for a social commitment.

The social exchange the grandmother has in mind between this young man and her brother does not occur. No exchange is conducted. The young man abandons the old woman to the forest and takes her granddaughter for a wife. Unlike the Carib trickster, the trickster is successful in obtaining a wife. However, the cost is the collapse of social rules. In the background, the Carib granddaughter does not seem to have a will of her own.

This narrative provides a vivid relief of the Caribs' impression of their own fate in the margin of the plural society. At least in the license of the narrative, they characterize themselves as powerlessness, or figuratively old and female. It could be argued that the narrative is an excursion into self-hatred which is typical among oppressed groups. Such self-hatred often leads to self-destruction, and this also occurs in the narrative.

According to the narrative, the Carib powers of perception are weak and reliable. The Caribs talk and no one listens. They make use of social expectations which are out of date, but they have no access to more modern ones. Their tools are inefficient, and likewise they have no way to get better ones.

The consequences are severe. The old Carib woman is unaware that she is tied in the forest by her

own dress. She is killed in an embrace with a lover. She confuses the young man with a sloth who lifts her up by her hair and drops her to her death.

In the figurative references of the narrative, it is the agents of the forest who kill the Caribs. The outsider only pins the Caribs there so that the forest can have its effect. The Caribs own no land. They have no property of economic value. They have no independent access to markets for jobs or products. They cannot afford plane tickets to the coastal society and yet watch small planes usually with African passengers keep a schedule of flights. It is easy to explain how the Caribs could come to view themselves as prisoners of the rain forest and defenseless against the agents of social change. They also have come to apprehend the way the way outsiders view them in sexual terms.

Joking on sexual topics was common among the African men who held a variety of government appointments to serve the Caribs at Baramita Airstrip. These men formed a male society. They came for short periods of time, without wives or girlfriends. Their joking was frequent. The style was boisterous and explicit with accompanying gestures. Often their laughing and hooting voices rocked the government quarters they shared, sometimes long into the night. For hours Carib children would watch through the windows as these men entertained themselves in their common room decorated with centerfolds from *Playboy* magazine.

Often the African men made the Caribs the butt of public jokes. The Caribs stood by in silence during these performances. Outbreaks of ringworm and other medical problems fueled more hilarity and derision on the sexuality of Caribs. Individual Carib women were subject to public comment on their sexual reputations. Carib boys up to about the age of eight or so often do not wear clothes. Their exposed genitals provided the occasion for public inspection of the sexual potency of Carib men. Categorically it was found to be deficient. In one variety of gesticulation, the African men would tilt their mouths to the sky, fill their open lips with their tongues, and bob their whole bodies up and down. With their obscene comments, they broadcast their essential identities as hungry penises.

These African men were eager to sexually appropriate Carib women. It was common knowledge among the Caribs that some of the visiting men took part in the gang rape of a young Carib woman. The next day these men resumed the conduct of their government johs. They widely commented that their victim must have enjoyed herself very much.

The African men were more cautious about showing up at *cassiri* sprees. Carib men act out conflicts and hostilities under the permission of alcohol at these special events. In the past, outside men who had provoked the Caribs were poisoned during *cassiri* sprees. However, these African men were the agents of the government in power, and their actions had the approval of the government in the Caribs' minds. In this case, retaliation took the form of stealing the Africans' transistor radios, destroying them, and leaving the remains on the airstrip where they would be on public display.

Internal social changes were affecting the solidarity of cognatic groups among men and had a subsequent effect on the erosion of collective action. At the same time that the roles of Carib men were under revision, Carib women were subject to sexual predation at the hands of the African men. The Caribs struggle with this state of affairs in the narrative explored here.

Young Carib women are under the supervision of their families. Their eligibility among potential sons-in-law is critical to the long-term strategies of Carib households. While African men who come into the interior in various capacities may have material goods to offer and represent the more exciting world of the coast, they are hazardous as sons-in-law. They are likely to view their involvement as a temporary affair or at worst as having no social component at all. The Caribs may invest several years in what they view as a marriage and have the building blocks of a new generation devastated when the non-Carib man returns to parts unknown. As a buffer against this eventuality, the male children from marriages with Africans are raised as cultural daughters (Adams 1981). It is hoped that unlike their fathers and most Carib sons, these males will not abandon their households.

Another strategy involves tacit permission for non-Carib men to take lovers, not wives, among older Carib women. These women have already played their part in upholding Carib society. Non-Carib men can be fitted into the category of Carib adolescents with whom mature women traditionally have sexual relations. But the dynamics of power are different. A Carib adolescent approaches an older Carib woman with some measure of fear and anxiety. A non-Carib man is not constrained by these sentiments. Rather, African men tend to justify their interest in more accessible older Carib women by mystifying them. Miraculously, a special older woman has not aged. Her body and behavior are that of a teen-ager. She is naive, desirable, and magically available.. When the African lover's interest wanes, the reality of the woman's social identity comes more clearly into focus. The African's desire for the older woman usually turns to denigration, the essential plot of the Carib narrative presented here.

REFERENCES

ADAMS, KATHLEEN J.

1979a "Barama River Carib Narratives." In *Occasional Paper Number Two.* Ellensburg, WA: Department of Anthropology and Museum of Man, Central Washington University.

1979b "Work opportunity and Household Organization Among the Barama River Caribs of Guyana." In *Anthropos* 74:219-222.

1981 "The Role of Children in the Changing Socioeconomic Strategies of the Guyanese Caribs." In *Canadian Journal of Anthropology/Revue Canadienne d'Anthropologie,* 2:1.

BAIRD, WELLLESLEY A.

1982 *Guyana Gold: The Story of Guyana's Greatest Miner.* Washington, DC: Three Continents Press.

BUTT COLSON, AUDREY J., and CESAREO de ARMELLADA

unpub. *The Affinal Triangle: Some Interrelationships Between Myth, Social Structure and Personal Anxiety Among the Carib Speakers of the Guianas.*

GILLIN, JOHN

1936 *The Barama River Caribs of British Guyana.* Cambridge, MA: Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 14 (2).

TIFFANY, SHARON W., and KATHLEEN J. ADAMS

1985 *The Wild Woman: An Inquiry Into the Anthropology of an Idea.* Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Books, Inc.

DEATH COMES AS THE WHITE MAN: THE CONQUEROR IN KAGWAHIV COSMOLOGY

Waud Kracke
The University of Illinois at Chicago

The kind of thoroughgoing syncretism that has occurred in cosmologies throughout the Andes has had much less opportunity to occur in the Lowlands. The cosmologies of cultures that do not successfully resist infiltration by the religion of the conqueror are quickly annihilated. They do not, for the most part, survive long enough to form stable syncretistic systems (with the exception of some messianic "revitalization movements" among some Gê and Tupí peoples). In the cosmologies of societies like the Parintintin, a Kagwahiv group now rapidly undergoing the process of extinction as a distinctive culture, there is little place for the religion of the conqueror; there is not *time* to make the assimilation. The old Kagwahiv cosmology is simply fading out of Parintintin life as the religion of the conqueror fades in, persisting only as skepticism about the truth of Catholic dogma in the minds of younger Parintintin.[1]

But that is not to say there is no place in the world-view of the Parintintin - as transmitted largely in their body of myths - for that aspect of their collective experience, the deadly and implacable force of the dominator. In Kagwahiv mythology, the presence of the *tapy'yntin* or "white enemy" (*tapy'yñ*, enemy, + *-tĩ*, "white") is accounted for by two distinct accounts of their origin. Unlike at least some of the Andean cosmologies (e.g., Chuschi), in which deities (*wamani*) are represented in the form of white men (Isbell 1978:59), both of these Kagwahiv origin stories represent the white man as closely associated with death. In one, the white man's origin is specifically attributed to an *añang*, ghosts of the dead who become perverse, antisocial spirits of the wild. In the other, Indians must die to become white men.

The stories in question are not among the most frequently told of Kagwahiv myths; I have heard them told only a few times. But the context in which a myth is told says much about its significance, and I have heard these stories told - always together, one after the other - on serious occasions.

I first heard these two stories told on a somewhat ceremonious occasion, when Paulinho, the old chief, was inviting residents of a neighboring settlement (where I was staying at the time, in 1967), to participate in a collective work party (*puxirum*) to clear a slash-and-burn field for him. The event had some political importance - Paulinho took it as something of a referendum on his much-questioned pretension to chiefly dominance over other Parintintin groups in the region - and he was observing the solemnities of a traditional formal visit. In the course of his discourse, Paulinho made the point that "*tapy'yntin* do not do *puxirum*"; and a bit later, as if to underscore the contrast, he told in succession the two stories of origin, starting with "Ikatuete transforms herself into *tapy'yntin*" and following it up with "Mbahira turns us into *tapy'yntin.*" I was not equipped at the time to tape record the performance.

The most recent time I heard the two stories told spontaneously - and the first time I was able to tape the performance - was in January of last year (1985). It was again Paulinho who recounted it, this time in the course of a discussion of pre-contact burial practices, in which the body was interred in the middle of the long house floor. In response to my question about whether people stayed in the house after the burial, he affirmed that the spot was avoided - people "stayed far away from it" - and then launched into the story of Ikatuete, prefacing it with: "*Já faz tempo.* It wasn't now, no. A story, it was told to me, too...."

> The woman, Ikatuete, died. Her mother grieved deeply for her, crying incessantly. They buried her in the middle of the house.
>
> There was an *ipají*, I don't know his name. This is how they told it to me. *Aí*, the mother said to the *ipají*: "You are powerful [*ipají*], you bring my daughter back to me. Bring her back out of the earth."

In another version which Paulinho repeated for me a few days later at my request, the *ipají* agrees, but with a warning:

> "I will go to sleep, and dream, and she will *oñimuepyha* [bring herself back from being an *añang*]. She will come here," he says, but he predicts that she will kill her brother and make *tapy'yntin*, and admonishes the mother

not to be angry with him that he has carried out her request.

So the *ipají* goes to sleep and dreams of her, and thus brings her back to life. She appears at night. They cry out, "Look, there's the *añang!*" It's by the fire. *Aí,* they embrace her; the mother, overjoyed, embraces her and weeps over her, crying, "You died a long time ago, and now you have come back!"

They carry her to a hammock and she lies down and wraps herself in it [*oñapevã*], because she is ashamed/embarrassed [*oñinotî*]. Then she begins demanding: "I'm thirsty, bring me water!" "I want to shit, carry me to the woods!" "I want to take a bath, bring me water from the river!" - because she is embarrassed/ashamed. Her mother complies for a while, but finally she gets fed up - she "forgets" [*omokañy*]. "I'm not going to fetch you water anymore," she declares, "you go yourself!"

With that, Ikatuete is angered. "*Sim!*" she says, and goes to the beach. She leaves her gourd on the beach, and heads downriver. She stops, makes a fire, cooks turtle and armadillo [*tatú*], and builds herself a shelter. Her mother waits and waits for her, and finally sets out to look for ber. It had been a beautiful day, and now it started raining. The mother finds Ikatuete's gourd, and follows her downriver, where she comes upon her fire and the remains of her meal, then encounters Ikatuete nearby.

Reluctantly, expostulating at her mother for having gotten angry at her, Ikatuete agrees to come back, insisting that she be allowed to remain lying down in ber hammock. Again Ikatuete wraps herself in her bammock, and calls out: "Water! Bring me water!" "Bring me food to eat!" "I want to take a bath!" - day after day after day, until the mother once more bursts out: "Look! You go yourself! You go there to the beach to wash yourself!"

So again Ikatuete gets angry. She had a little bow, a child's bow and arrow. Ikatuete went, and left her gourd. This time, she made herself a big, beautiful house. Her mother waited and waited, but Ikatuete didn't return, so once more the mother sets out after her.

There was a rubber tree [*seringueira, yvyhyg*]. Ikatuete cut into it, and made rubber - lots of it! She turned it into *tapy'yntin.* [Here there is an ambiguity: it is not clear just what was turned into *tapy'yntin* - the rubber, Ikatuete's brothers, or what. There is a gap in my first recorded version where the tape ends just at this point, and the second re-telling omits the actual moment of creation of the *tapy'yntin.* Unfortunately, I did not get Paulinho to clarify this point.] Ikatuete transformed herself into *tapy'yntin* [*onhimboté tapy'yntínamo*], she transformed them into *tapy'yntin* [*omboté ngahã tapy'yntínamo*] - she transformed them, her relatives [*he omboté nga, gwe'yj*]. They made a wide, beautiful path.

Her brothers went back after her. They wanted to bring her back. They spoke to her, and she sang:

Ji ayvukúamo de tá, gwevi'ga, gwevi'ga.

Ji ayvukúamo de tá, qwevi'qa, qwevi'qa.

The *tapy'yntin* stayed there, far away. The brother said: "Come on! Come on! Let's go [home]!" "I don't want to go!" she replied. "I don't like you!" [*Pehe noarõi jihi.*] Then the man, her brother, said: "If you don't go, I'll kill you!" Then he started shooting arrows, but missed all his shots.

Then her son [Ikatuete's mother's son - i.e., Ikatuete's brother?], a little boy, let fly an arrow. It hit the man, his brother, in the liver, and killed him. *She* had killed him. They all ran about shouting, because she had turned them all into *tapy'yntin* - turned all her brothers [Paulinho said in the second recounting] into *tapy'yntin.* The brothers carry the dead brother back and [in the second version] weep over him.

The mother grieves for her lost son, and "others" reprimand her: "You wanted your daughter back when she died." "I told you, 'bring my daughter

back,'" the mother says regretfully, "and you did. Now she has killed her brother."

The second myth, told on several occasions right after the Ikatuete story, is much simpler.

> Mbahira wants to turn us into *tapy'yntin*. He has hot water, and wants to put us into it. But it's because our chief didn't want to; he was afraid of the hot water.
>
> Mbahira said, "I'm going to throw you all in." But the old chief was afraid, and didn't want to. Mbahira said, "You will all die." Aí, Mbahira called the *tapy'yntin*, and they said, "We want to. We're not afraid of the hot water."
>
> He grabbed them and threw them in. Their skin all came off. That was all [*momina*]. "Now they, when they die, will really die," he said of us.
>
> The *tapy'yntin* were overjoyed. "Hehyhe! Hehe!" Mbahira was happy too.

In the version Paulinho told at the *puxirum* invitation, the rationale of parallelism was clearer: the *tapy'yntin* died and were brought back to life, so now when they die, they are resurrected, whereas the Kagwahiv, who did not undergo this process, *morrem mesmo* (the analogy to a snake shedding its skin, though unstated, seems obvious).

In both these stories, two elements play a central part in the transformation that brings the white man into being: death and a moral failing, or more precisely, death and an excessive emotional reaction to it. In "Ikatuete," a mother's excessive grief over her daughter's death (and grief, as I have written elsewhere, is considered a dangerous emotion - crying too much can kill you) lead her to having an *añang* brought to life. Death is misplaced; the *añang* is brought among the living, and it results in further death: Ikatuete kills her brother. In the other story, it is the *fear* of death that leads the Kagwahiv chief to shrink from jumping into the hot water. Yet the fear of death is misplaced: the *tapy'yntin*, by dying once (losing their skins) gain eternal life; the Kagwahiv, because of their excessive fear of death, bring on mortality: "When they die, they will die indeed."

The two myths clearly depict different sectors of the history of contact. The first represents the socio-economic history of contact with rubber tappers, the first whites with whom the Parintintin entered into contact in the Madeira region. The successive structures of relationships with them (warfare and servitude) are presented in the myth in inverse order: the white man is portrayed (in the persona of Ikatuete) as lying around in the hammock all day, ordering others to do everything for him - a style of supervision which is particularly resented, and is associated with whites (Paulinho himself was the subject of resentful accusations that he used to just sit around and tell others to do things instead of going and working with them - "like a *tapy'yntin*").

The second myth, the washing of Mbahira, presents the religious face of contact. The eternal life which the *tapy'yntin* gain through courageously accepting their deaths (and which the Kagwahiv lose through cowardice), is of course the (Salesian) missionaries' eternal life through salvation. From the Kagwahiv point-of-view, as Paulinho once told me (Feb. 13, 1967), "Before, the *ra'uv* of the *tapy'yntin* used to go up to the sky, and Kagwahiv *ra'uv* would go into the woods, the *ongá* [house or settlement] of the *añang*. Now that the Kagwahiv are baptized, they too go to the sky." (More recently, earlier in the conversation in which he told me the above myths last year, Paulinho repeated this much more skeptically: "You, when you die," he told me, "your soul goes to *Tupa*, up there" (he pointed to the sky). "But I don't believe that," he added. "I think the *ra'uv* comes out and turns into *añang*. *We*, when we die, turn into *añang*.") The Kagwahiv, through their cowardice, die forever (become *añang*), while the *tapy'yntin* died but once, temporarily. And in the end, the creator/trickster Mbahira joins the *tapy'yntin* in celebration.

The two myths also contrast two *views* of death, or two alternative points-of-view on it. Ikatuete embodies the traditional conception that when one dies, one's *ra'uv* leaves one's body and becomes an *añang* (also called a *ha'ugwer*, "former *ra'uv*"), which hangs around the spots formerly frequented by the deceased person; where as the Mbahira story represents the point of view of the church of the conqueror - the belief that the *ra'uv* of the saved go to heaven.

There is one more point of interest expressed implicitly in the first of these two myths. In the story of Ikatuete, the *tapy'yntin* seem to be compared, perhaps satirically, to the adolescent girl in her menarche seclusion, wrapping herself in her hammock, embarrassed/ashamed at the fragile condition which requires her to remain lying in her hammock, near fasting, having others to wait on all her needs, so that her feet will not touch the earth,

which would expose her to the danger of attack by *añang* (only the fasting is not replicated in the myth). When her demands are refused, she runs to the river, where a woman is carried for the ritual bath *with a specially decorated gourd* that ends her puberty seclusion, and flees. From here on, she takes care of herself - but as a man, building her own shelter and killing and eating *jaboti* and *tatú* (the latter, I think, one of the foods - like cayman - reputed to be favored by *Cearenses*).

The parallel to the puberty seclusion implicit in the myth may contain one more allusion to death, for the woman's puberty seclusion is closely parallel to the ritual seclusion undergone by a man who has shed the blood of an enemy.

Interestingly enough, as I have recently learned, a very similar configuration of relations is contained in a Yanomami myth of the origin of "foreigners," as analyzed by Bruce Albert in his dissertation, which Alcida Ramos has kindly shown me. Albert gives a myth of *Le deluge et l'origine des etrangers,* which also involves the transformation of dead Yanomami into enemies, and which *explicitly* highlights the female menarche seclusion ritual. As in the Kagwahiv story of Ikatuete, the catastrophe is precipitated by intrusion of the woman's mother into the seclusion, interrupting it. (In the Yanomami version, it is the husband of the menstruating girl, undergoing seclusion with her, who is compelled by her mother to leave seclusion, to defend her brother in a club duel.)

All these elements parallel the first Kagwahiv story, Ikatuete. In addition, the catastrophe itself recalls the second Kagwahiv myth: the Yanomami died in a *flood* brought on by the interruption of the seclusion, and were transformed by a mythic being (Remori) into foreigners.

The striking parallels between these accounts of creation of strangers (or enemies) also bring out two essential differences. One is in the nature of what caused the calamity: in the Yanomami case, the violation of a ritual obligation; in both Kagwahiv myths, excessive emotional reactions. In the second place, the Yanomami version unites in one story what the Kagwahiv tell as two separate, but apparently complementary accounts.

This latter, peculiar feature of the Kagwahiv account calls for further reflection. I have noted that the two myths present two distinct faces of the contact situation, but why should these two faces of contact be represented by two distinct stories? Why should they not represent the different sides of contact by contrasts within a single myth - like the Apinajê myth of contact discussed on several occasions by Roberto Da Matta, which uses the metaphor of a house with many rooms?

Here some of Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's suggestions about the nature of Tupí social order may be apposite. In particular, the contrast between the Kagwahiv and the Apinajé ways of representing the different faces presented by the white man suggests the contrast between a society that stresses and marks social boundaries, as do the Gê, and a society that *dis*marks social boundaries, as Viveiros suggests may be the characteristic of Tupí societies.

Another point of Eduardo's, made in his analysis of Araweté society, also seems to fit the way in which these myths characterize the relations of Kagwahiv with the enemies whose creation is depicted. Viveiros suggests that the Araweté and other Tupí cultures construct their social order on an identification with the Enemy. This argument applies quite well to the cannibalistic aspects of the Kagwahiv ceremony celebrating the taking of an enemy head. And it seems quite consonant with the depiction of the enemy in these myths. Not only are they *one* with the Kagwahiv - Kagwahiv are transformed into the enemy - but those who become the enemy are at least justified in their actions, even admirable. Ikatueté is not blame; it was her mother who brought her back from the dead, and then failed to fulfill her needs as one in a permanent transitional state; and her brother threatened and tried to kill her before she responded with the much more effective shot. And the ones whom Mbahira transformed into *tapy'yntin* were clearly the more courageous. The enemy is the model of correct social behavior.

One point remains puzzling to me: why are the *tapy'yntin* represented as a woman in the fragile transitional state of menarche, in seclusion for the first menstruation? True, the shedding of blood is a common element, and the ceremony is closely parallel to the seclusion which a warrior performs after shedding the blood of an enemy. (Again, Bruce Albert shows the seclusion undergone by a Yanomami homicide to be a transformation of the menarche seclusion.) But this connection is not sufficient; why stress this particular way of representing the shedding of blood?

I do not have an answer. I could close with a brief evocation of Pierre Clastres' highland-lowland contrasts, pointing out that this way of representing white domination - as the dependence of a fragile being who must have others wait on all her needs - stands in some contrast to the presentation of the conqueror as the return of the Pururaucas, Viracocha's warriors. These seem to suggest marked differences in the perception of authority

and domination. But one must approach such sweeping contrast with caution; the Tupinambá also called the French "Maír."[3]

NOTES

1. I am no longer sure that this fatalistic view is fully correct. Though there are no more practicing pajés among the Parintintin, and the framework of the cosmos in which the pajés operated is no nonger a part of Parintintin consciousness, some elements of an essential Parintintin view of the world persist. This has become clear in the research project in which I am now engaged, which was just being planned in 1986 when this paper was written. Many of the stories about beings that inhabit the world are still told; and even in those who no longer speak the language, basic Parintintin life goals still inform their actions and they still orient themselves by Parintintin assumptions about the nature of the world and of society.

Nor have all Brazilian indigenous groups abandoned their world view in its fully elaborated form. Many, like the Guaraní, sbow remarkable persistence in their cosmology, despite centuries of close contact, even on the coast near Rio and São Paulo. In addition, the imprint of Tupi beliefs and cultural patterns may still be present in many features of *Brazilian* culture. Some are explicit, like the stories of the Iara or Saci-Pereré that many of the Brazilian children are brought up on, or the "caboclo" spirits of Batuque in Amazonas and Pará, and of certain Candomblé groups in Bahia, and the *curupiras* and other malevolent forest spirits ("bichos") actively encountered by northeasterners and Amazonian rubber tappers. But there may be pervasive Tupi influences that remain hitherto undetected: the northeastern proclivity to follow wandering mystic charismatic leaders like Antonio Conselheiro, for example, may well have antecedents in the Tupi *karais*, messianic leaders who wandered from village to village gathering followers to search for the Land Without Evil (H. Clastres 1975). I will elaborate on this in the introduction I am currently working on to Brovender's English translation of Helene Clastres' book.

2. The name Ikatueté means "very beautiful."

3. The creator deity or culture hero of the Tupinambá

REFERENCES

ALBERT, BRUCE. 1985. *Temps du Sang, temps des Cendres: Représentation de la maladie, système rituel et espace politique chez les Yanomami du sud-est (Amazonie brèsilienne).* Doctoral Thesis, Université de Paris X. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

CLASTRES, HELENE. 1975. *La Terre sans Mal.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

CLASTRES, PIERRE
1982 *Arqueologia da Violencia: Ensaios de Antropologia Politica.* São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.

ISBELL, BILLIE JEAN
1978 *To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village.* Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin, Institute of Latin American Studies.

VIVEIROS de CASTRO, EDUARDO
1986 *Arawete: Os Deuses Canibais.* Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Ed.

KANAIMA AND *BRANCO* IN WAPISIANA COSMOLOGY

Nancy Fried Foster
University of Rochester

In December, 1984, a Wapisiana couple came from their home in Guyana for a visit to the Wapisiana village of Malagueta in Roraima, Brazil. A few days after they arrived, the Guyanese couple's infant daughter took ill and then suddenly died. When I asked about it, people were vague or evasive or told me that the baby had died of malaria. Finally an old woman confided that the baby had been attacked by *kanaima* and had died of a broken neck.

That night the old woman was very concerned about her grandchildren, asleep in their hammocks slung near hers. Several times she turned down the volume of the radio to listen for *kanaima*. She was utterly convinced that the infant's death was the work of *kanaima*; moreover, that the *kanaima* had come from Guyana. She pestered her daughter-in-law into getting up several times that night to check on the children and make sure they were completely covered.

Two days later, a three-year-old boy suddenly fell ill and died. He had lived with his parents and five siblings in a farmhouse on a hill in the same village. People who saw him said that his neck had been broken and looked bruised and purple. Jimmy, the boy's father, summoned the school teacher to draw blood and send it to a nearby white settlement for a malaria test. The teacher's wife, herself a teacher and educated in the territorial capital, told me privately that the two deaths were the work of *kanaima*. Later we heard that the test had come out negative.

The next morning, Jimmy, his wife, and the catechist held a small funeral in the *Clube de Mães* ("Mothers' Club") near the church and the school. Standing with the parents beside the coffin, the catechist eulogized their son. He said that God had taken the child away, that it must be for the best, and that bad things happened when whites came into the village and did things they should not. "Nothing happens to the whites," he said, "but the *bichos* are disturbed and take it out on the people of the village."

The focus of this paper is the place of *kanaima* in Wapisiana life and how this form of sorcery, operative in indigenous relations, is used metaphorically by the Wapisiana to define their relations with non-Indians who have established themselves in the territory. Malagueta (a pseudonym) is a Wapisiana village in the Federal Territory of Roraima, Brazil. A wedge of land abutting Venezuela and Guyana, Roraima forms the southwest section of "the Guianas" or "the Circum-Roraima area," a region that spans five nations and has as its focus Mt. Roraima, the stump of the tree of life that two mythical brothers cut down in a fit of cosmic horseplay.

Most of the native peoples of this area are Carib speakers, but Arawakan speakers, the Yanomami, some Tupí speakers, and others occupy large portions (Durbin; Migliazza 1978 and 1980). The Arawakan-speaking Wapisiana, the subject of this paper, live not only in central and eastern Roraima in Brazil, but also in the Southern Rupununi Savannas of Guyana. They build their houses on rises in the vast flatland and make farms on the sides of the few hills that punctuate it. They are slash-and-burn horticulturalists who hunt and fish but increasingly raise fowl and pigs and even cattle. They have lost lands to non-Indian settlers, whom they call *brancos* (whites), and have decreasing access to woods and streams.

The Wapisiana wear Western-style clothing. They listen to radios, cook in aluminum pots, and make frequent trips to Boa Vista, the territorial capital. Their relations with whites are permanent and intense. When they leave their villages, the Wapisiana blend easily into the mass of lower class *Roraimense caboclos*.[1]

The Wapisiana are conscious of their dependence on whites for many basic goods, such as salt, soap, matches, housewares, and clothing. They view most of these items as necessities even though they realize that they have come into regular use only within the last few generations. The Wapisiana have an idea of what life was like before the disruptive arrival of non-Indians. They regret the loss of "tranquility" and abundant food, but they know they cannot return to the past. Frank, a regional leader, explains:

> ... we don't want to return to being naked, but we want to return to the old thinking. Thinking as follows: to live as Indians in the community, for these young people to stay and work in the community. We have to teach all the youths to speak Wapisiana so they may identify themselves as Wapisiana. Because otherwise [our life] will truly stop.[2]

Rapid development of the region, and the restructuring of relations among the old and new groups that inhabit the Guianas, are forcing the Wapi-

siana into consciousness of their changed identity. The identity is new, substantively different, because the lives of the Wapisiana have changed in real ways. The consciousness, too, is new to those Wapisiana, like Frank, who simultaneously embody the Wapisiana identity and view it analytically using information available only outside the traditional body of knowledge.

At the level of the indigenous regional system, the Wapisiana express their consciousness of distinctive group identity through the metaphor of language. To speak Wapisiana is to be Wapisiana. At the higher level of integration, considering the Wapisiana now in relation to all indigenous and immigrant groups in the region, consciousness of the Amerindian or *Indio* identity is not only a response to different cultures and new goods and technologies, but also to the political and economic threats that newcomers pose to the survival of the Wapisiana as Wapisiana. At this level, language establishes a legal identity and rights to land.

Language, however, is only one part of an extensive, complex system of belief and action through which the Wapisiana traditionally kept the world and its inhabitants in order and continued their lives as Wapisiana. Another cultural diacritic is *kanaima,* a critical, pervasive factor of Wapisiana and Guianan social life that figures in all spheres of life, from cosmology to political organization to the organization of production. It is an essential component of the regional system of identification, auto-designation, and the mediation of inter-group and Indian/non-Indian relations. This is fundamental to its more commonly cited function within a system of social control.[3]

The view that Wapisiana individuals take of *kanaima* varies according to their consciousness of how the region works at its highest levels of integration. The more a Wapisiana understands the structure and significance of Indian/non-Indian social relations,[4] the more critically he views the system of beliefs as it had developed before non-Indians entered into the system. Despite this consciousness, even the most aware Wapisiana can be a true believer under the right conditions. This tension between belief and skepticism, a constant of Wapisiana life, emerges in the ambivalence and contradiction of informant statements about *kanaima.*

In normal, everyday Wapisiana life, *kanaima* comes up most often as a cause of death or a source of extreme danger. A 1986 census of Jacamim, a Wapisiana village at the border of Brazil and Guyana, records 46 deaths, 27 of them, or 58%, attributed to *kanaima.*

The word *kanaima* refers to at least three things: a plant; a (conjectural) person who disguises himself as an animal and kills by touching his victim with this plant; and the general phenomenon of death attributed to extreme anti-social behavior. It is rare that one Wapisiana will publicly identify another as a *kanaima* and I have never known anyone to admit or claim to be one, nor has this ever been reported to me. Nor does *kanaima* work through fear or by psychological means. First, a person dies, then the death is blamed on *kanaima.*

According to several early visitors to the Guianas, the Amerindianas once attributed all deaths to *kanaima.* Thus Farabee wrote: "A man never dies a natural death, he is always killed either by the kenaimas or the evil spirits sent by the piazong [medicine man] of an enemy tribe" (p. 75).

Nowadays, the Wapisiana use words like malaria, hepatitis, dysentery, pneumonia, and infection, to identify fatal illnesses. Many Wapisiana realize that they suffer from diseases unknown to their ancestors, and they believe that whites have brought these diseases into the area.[5] Thus, these words often refer to deaths with a non-indigenous cause. In some contexts, however, labeling the immediate cause only masks the real reason for death. For example, a Wapisiana may say that his sister drowned, then months later he explains that a spirit of the water shot her with a little arrow. Although the Wapisiana have learned how to use a rudimentary medical vocabulary, simultaneously they maintain traditional beliefs about illness and deaths. One of these is that death is not the final moment of life but rather the initial moment of its inevitable end. Death is checkmate.

This belief, which can be inferred from how people discuss the deaths of their relatives and neighbors, became evident when a child's pig died. Jesus's pig got into the shed where a woman was preparing farina. It ate a quantity of grated cassava before the woman returned from collecting firewood. She chased the pig from the shed; it was squealing and bellowing. Jesus's parents gave it sugar and water and burned it between the eyes with an ember. An onlooker said this was no use because the pig had already looked at the sky, therefore it was already dead. Nonetheless, she tried to help by beating the pig with a *matapi* (a cassava squeezer). Gradually the pig lost control as the poison attacked its central nervous system. Everyone left it alone. An hour later, after he had seen no sign of life for nearly fifteen minutes, Jesus's grandfather pierced the pig's heart with his knife.

The Wapisiana believe that the period of death should not be disturbed, that death should be allowed to run its course. When a chick drank some *tukupi* (cassava juice) that had dripped from the *matapi* and formed a puddle on the ground, it soon showed symptoms of poisoning. A little boy poked it with his

foot. His grandmother admonished him: "Leave my chick alone. Let it die by itself." She carefully laid it where no pigs could disturb it.

The Wapisiana also act as if they did not believe men could kill each other. They rarely fight; the one place they do is at sports or sprees, drinking and dancing parties, lasting all night, at which each villager and guest consumes gallons of *kari*.[6] Occasionally, two men will get drunk and argue, perhaps over a woman, or when one insults the other's masculinity. If the two come to blows, the other men soon separate and restrain them until they have calmed down, then they send them home. Only one person reported a case of a Wapisiana man killing another Wapisiana: a soldier, married to a Wapisiana woman, went to a *forro* (a party "for all") in his wife's natal village. He got into a fight with his wife's brother, and in the scuffle he was stabbed. Bleeding profusely, he got on his bicycle and rode towards his mother-in-law's house. Halfway there he collapsed and died. Months after I heard the story, I asked her aunt which of the woman's several brothers had killed her husband. She answered that he had died from loss of blood; no one had killed him.

One might expect that people who hunt would know how to kill, but the Wapisiana hunter does not so much kill his prey as let it die. The most popular weapon is a stick or a shovel, and the most popular method is to carve out a burrow and hit the animal on the head, then wait for it to die. Game is only rarely brought down with a shot; when it is, the hunter or his wife does not retrieve it until it is fully dead. Eating meat that was retrieved alive will cause stomach pains.[7] In Wapisiana thought there is an interval between death and the final loss of life, when human agency is minimal, or at least questionable, especially in deaths of other people.

Kanaima killing reveals these general features. Thus, *kanaima* killers fall into a category of non-humans, even though they are (putatively) real people.

A Wapisiana man named Teddy explained *kanaima* this way:

> *Kanaima* originally came from the Makushi Indians. It is a simple thing, a *bina*, just a plant. It is a man just like me, any man. Say a person [feels he has been wronged and wants to get even]. He makes a contract with the [*kanaima*] who kills with the plant. The *kanaima* travels in the wind. He takes the plant and passes it over the soles of the [seeker of revenge], from heel to toe. The person closes his eyes and in a minute he travels miles and miles with the *kanaima*. He hides in the farm with the *kanaima* and points out the man he wants to kill. The *kanaima* sees the victim once and he will remember him forever,
>
> The victim goes out to hunt alone. The *kanaima* and his plant helpers attack him. They attack as human beings but they wear masks on their faces; some paint their faces ugly. A lot of people appear there but only one is a real person; the others are manifestations of the spirit of the plant. One by one they attack with a piece of wood with leaves tied on top. The victim is caught by surprise. They may knock him down. He may bore the spirits with a knife but the *kanaima* gets away. Five minutes later you don't see blood or bodies.
>
> The victim gets sick. The *kanaima* and his plant helpers touch him with the bina and their appearance is frightening. They wear skins of tigers, anteaters, etc. If they touch him with the plant he dies in three to five days. There is no cure for this.[8]

Stories vary, but Teddy's narrative contains many commonly made points. The Wapisiana do not generally distinguish between the *kanaima* and the person seeking revenge, but they universally name a plant as the instrument of death. The *kanaima* is often said to travel great distances instantly; he appears as a wild and horrifying animal; he attacks only when the victim is alone. The victim's symptoms are fever and vomiting. At death, telltale bruises appear on his back and neck. People say the *kanaima* breaks his victims bones and mutilates his internal organs. The victim dies on the third day after the attack, and even a curer cannot avert death.[9]

Rosa, a young woman from a village in which deaths from *kanaima* are prevalent, elaborates:

> When the *kanaima* finds people here he resolves to kill them when they are alone. Now, if you are not alone, if you are with people, he doesn't hurt you. When you are alone he takes you, kills you, hits you with anything, leaves. If you die he does anything he likes to you. He breaks you and blocks your colon. He breaks, dislocates your neck. You get up, go home. You arrive there all broken up. There is nothing you can do. It's like he bites you, does anything he wants. You get home, you have a fever. You stay home with fever; I don't know how many days you have this fever. Then you drop dead. After you are dead you look all broken,

all bitten here, all over. You look like a dog bit you. You're finished.

Kanaima is a person, human. When he wants to kill you he looks like an animal. He has a plant. It turns him into any animal: monkey, anteater. He appears that way to you but he is not an anteater. He is a human on all fours. Then he jumps on you and strikes.

A little over a week ago my brother-in-law died here. My husband's brother. It was *kanaima.* A lot of people here have died of *kanaima.* If you're sick you go to the hospital, the *Casa do Indio,* over there [in Boa Vista]. You come back well. When it's *kanaima,* you get sick and die. Get sick and die. One after the other.[10]

Rosa's wholehearted belief in *kanaima* contrasts with the skepticism of her father's neighbor, Stanley. Ambivalent about *kanaima,* he accepts the effectiveness of Western medicine, rejects shamanic practice, and attributes the power of life and death to "God." "I don't believe in *kanaima,*" he said. "I never saw one, praise the Lord. I've gone alone at night, and in the bush, and I never saw one. But if you believe in it, it happens." But even though he articulates objections, there are times when he reveals himself as a believer. He told me about Rosa's brother-in-law's death:

The man died, but he took a good long time to die, nearly a month. Twenty-seven days this man suffered. Fever. He went 27 days and at last he died. They say he told them that he met some men but he didn't tell them that they did anything to him. He just said that he met three people; "I only saw them and I talked to them," is what the man said.

But when he died, we saw the mark on his back, black and blue, like scratches up his back. In front everything looked all right. That was how I saw this man die. But he suffered. Twenty-seven days suffering before he died.

We Wapisiana people, our parents know about these *kanaima.* Suppose I go to the bush or to the field and when I come back, if they give me anything to eat or to drink I vomit. Anything that I eat, anything that goes into my body, comes out again; I can't keep it in my stomach. That is the first sign of the *kanaima.* Whereas if we get malaria, if we eat our food, or we drink, we will not vomit it out. But if the *kanaima* catches us or meets us up, nothing can stay in our stomachs, nothing at all. A little water, a little tea or a little porridge; you drink it, it must come out of your body. We can't do anything. We can't reverse the work of the *kanaima.* We know that we will die.

Now, if we only saw this *kanaima,* if he didn't do anything but we only saw him, we will get bad fever but we will get better again. But if he does something, if he kills us, we will never live again. So, when we only see this *kanaima,* and he doesn't do anything to us, we get fever, the same as if he killed us, but we won't die. We will be sick for two weeks, suffering, but we will get better.

We remember we have seen the *kanaima* but we won't tell because the *kanaima* blows us before we reach home and prevents our telling. The *kanaima* blows us to keep us from telling our own family. We can't tell it unless we get better. After two weeks, when we are better and there is no more pain, no more fever, then we will say, "I met, or I saw, such and such."[11]

Stanley's story concords in detail with many other versions, but his ambivalence distinguishes him from most Wapisiana. It is the product of his particular experience of interethnic relations. Stanley was born in Guyana where he lived and worked for many years before settling in Brazil. His view of Indian/non-Indian relations differs from that of Brazilian Wapisiana. In Brazil, FUNAI, and other government agencies regulate schooling, health care, social welfare, and agricultural development, and mediate between Indians and white ranchers. By contrast, in frontier Guyana, it appears that government policy is generally ineffectual and Indian/non-Indian relations are more personal and variable. In dealing with government agencies in Georgetown, Stanley learned how to use protective laws to his own and his co-workers' advantage, but he does not speak of land loss or Indian/non-Indian relations in the structural terms of intergroup conflict. Implicitly, Stanley views interethnic relations with a mental map of human and not-so-human groups that non-Indians enter only as individuals.

Each Guianan group traditionally conceived of itself as the most human people, and classified other groups as more or less related and human depending on their customs, where they lived, and what language they spoke.[12] These differences marked the contrast between articulated parts of a system. That is to say that it was only their general similarity and relation, on a large scale, that gave meaning to the individuation of these local or ethnic groups. Through ex-

change, the Wapisiana maintained relations not only with the Makushi, the Waiwai, the Akawaio, and the Patamona, all relatively near neighbors, but also, sometimes through intermediaries, with peoples who lived at a great distance (Butt; Coppens; Thomas). They could classify their social universe metaphorically into those who were more or less human versus those who were animal-like or anti-human. This taxonomy is still evident today in the words of some Wapisiana. One man recalled for me that as a boy he saw two Waiwai given hospitality at his house. The Waiwai man took half a big cassava bread and scooped up a whole leg of bush hog from the pepper pot. His wife did the same and they sat at opposite sides of the room and ate to excess. Gluttony is an affront to the Wapisiana notion of decency, and the Waiwai are cast here as boorish or savage.

Older people, in particular, represent the northern Pemon and Kapon groups as speaking gibberish, looking like *kanaima,* and being greedy or treacherous; all of these attributes are negations of ideal Wapisiana behavior. But other Wapisiana, who are more deeply involved in the effort to protect their lives as Wapisiana and their lands, and who are conscious of their ethnicity as a political identity, may discuss their relations with other indigenous Guianans in vague or conflicting terms. The confusion has several sources. Amerindians must live in smaller and smaller spaces with more and more different kinds of people; intergroup trade and the value of goods produced indigenously have declined; and new intergroup and interpersonal relations have emerged among Amerindians who meet in towns, at hospitals, or at government agencies. Nowadays, many Wapisiana define themselves as Amerindian or *Indio* by contrast to white, *branco,* or black, instead of defining humanity only in terms of Indian/Indian relations and ideal Wapisiana traits.

By contrast to the examples given above, the Wapisiana view of ethnicity can be very subtle and sophisticated. Frank, for example, has attended several national meetings of Indian leaders and anthropologists. He explained Shavante haircuts and personal adornments that he had seen as differences in appearance that made for group identity. "It is not important that our various beliefs are true," he continued, "but that they make a system." Frank's vision is exceptional, but it is the understandable result of wide experience in the world and exposure to great numbers of people and ideas. It is important to note, however, that even Frank reveals himself, at times, as a profound believer in the dangerous nature of the Makushi and the evil power of *kanaima.* According to Frank, *kanaima* is *pajé* (medicine man) and *pajé* is *kanaima.* Wherever there is *pajé,* there is *kanaima.* His list of groups that had *kanaima* was essentially a list of the Amerindian groups he knew in the Guianas. He even claimed that the Yanomami had *kanaima,* but he clearly saw the Makushi as the greater threat.

Over a year after his son died, I asked Jimmy why the Wapisiana and Makushi fought. He answered, "Because they make the *kanaima,* the Makushi people. That is why the Wapisiana people don't like them Makushi people. They are afraid of them." When I asked if the Makushi fought physically, for example if they shot arrows at the Wapisiana, he said, "No. They kill you with *kanaima.*" He explained that if a Wapisiana man went to a Makushi village and married a Makushi woman, he was given a *bina* (a special plant) and he turned *kanaima.* He concluded that intermarriage was a bad thing and that the presence of the Makushi individuals and families in his village frightened him. "Yes, I does 'fraid of them Makushi. Them Makushi people, they like to kill Wapisiana with *kanaima.*" However, he said that the *kanaima* that killed his son was a Wapisiana man from Guyana whom he had hired to work on his farm.

Jimmy had moved from Guyana to Brazil several years earlier to find a better life. "When we were staying at Guyana, we don't get no soap and salt, like this. That's why I come to Brazil. I came here before, me alone. I working here alone six months and then I gone back. When I reach there, I ask her if she want to come to this side." His wife went on: "I tell him I no want to come because I don't speak Portuguese. He said let's go that side because around here plenty *kanaimas.* And then when we come here, our son died."

Jimmy's family live in Malagueta, a village of 34 households, 12 of which include Makushis or part-Makushi Wapisianis. In this village, accusations that individuals are acting as *kanaima* are most often directed to people of Jimmy's description, Guyanese Wapisiana. Most of them know how to speak English, but speaking English creates suspicion and anger. When the Wapisiana hear an unintelligible language, they say the speakers may be planning treachery; this is how many Wapisiana explain the bad relations that are said to exist between Makushi and Wapisiana. But all the Makushis living in Malagueta speak Portuguese and all are hard-working and among the most involved of all the village members in cooperative work projects. Accordingly, *kanaima* is more often blamed specifically on the Guyanese Wapisiana than on the Makushi. Still, relations between Wapisiana and Makushi are not entirely free of strain. A Makushi man who acts as manager of the small Malagueta herd of cattle became very nervous when I asked him about *kanaima* and denied knowing anything. On relations between the Makushi and the Wapisiana he comment-

ed, "I don't know about long ago. You have to ask the old people. But I am in the middle of the Wapisiana. Things are fine between them and me. Everything is OK. There is no distrust on anyone's part." There is a disjunction between the interpersonal level, on which the Makushi are well accepted, and the ethnic group level, on which they are the general object of *kanaima* accusations.

At the more comprehensive level of social relations, the modern regional level, *kanaima* is also operative. The Wapisiana are split on whether *kanaima* can kill whites. Some are sure it can, others say it cannot because whites have more effective weapons with which to retaliate, and this scares the *kanaima* out of action. The Wapisiana from Guyana say that blacks have salty flesh and this repels *kanaima.*

Before whites entered the Guianas, Amerindians defined social relations through trade, language, and beliefs like *kanaima* that stylized and moderated suspicions and other social conflicts. Whites forced themselves into this system on their own terms. The Wapisiana, who call themselves "tame, like horses broken to the saddle," knew no effective response to this intrusion. Some Wapisiana, like Frank, apprehend the devastation of Wapisiana life and livelihood in sophisticated terms of international politics and economics. But others translate their personal experience of whites into the available metaphor of *kanaima.*

Jimmy and his wife say they left Guyana when the goods they had come to depend on vanished and the economy of Guyana began to fail. They also left out of fear of *kanaima.* They moved to Brazil and improved their lives materially, but *kanaima* killed their son. Their bitterness over this implies that *"kanaima"* implicitly glosses the danger they sensed in social turmoil. In his eulogy, the catechist made this clearer, blaming the death on the presence of whites in the village. The intrusion of whites into the Amerindian community, he explained, disrupts relations among Amerindians. Reflecting later on his speech, he explained that whites did not take the form of *kanaima*: "[*Kanaima*] is all on the part of the Indians. The white disturbs things because we have a plan, he arrives with another plan. So we drop our own plans and follow the thinking of the whites." Thus, while whites themselves are not said to be *kanaima,* they have the capacity to activate *kanaima* by creating a breach of the social order that engenders suspicion and mistrust. Ironically, although the Wapisiana cling to their heritage and ethnic identity for survival, many of them realize that traditional knowledge and practice do not provide adequate protection from the juggernaut of regional development. But to step outside the system, as Frank does, is to risk its destruction by departing from the ideal of the Wapisiana person. Frank, in fact, though a powerful leader, is viewed by many Wapisianas as too interested in outside affairs and not attentive enough to internal community matters. The Wapisiana face this paradox continually as they redefine their identity, in their relations with other groups in their region, and in their constant struggle for land and for existence as Wapisiana.

NOTES

Acknowledgements: The material in this paper was collected during three field-trips to Guyana, Brazil, and Venezuela, supported by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, a Fulbright Dissertation Fellowship, and an award from Sigma Xi.

1. *Cabocos,* also known as *caboclos,* are yahoos, or ignorant bush dwellers. The term usually refers to people of indeterminate ethnicity who do not readily admit to being Indian.

2. Taped in Portuguese in April, 1986; translated by the author.

3. Roth, summarizing almost a dozen sources, but himself familiar with Amerindian life in Guyana, suggests that retaliation and revenge are the keys to *kanaima.* Kirke, the sheriff of Demerara in the late 19th Century, calls *kanaima,* "the avenging of blood" (p. 150). Brown writes of "the most cowardly of murderers, the kanaima or secret poisoner" (p. 32). Im Thurm calls *kanaima* a system of vendetta (p. 330).

In Georgetown, a mixed-heritage coastlander, whose mother was part Arawak, explained kanaima to me in terms of structural-functionalism which he had read at the University of Guyana. The functionalist school extended all the way to a Wapisiana village where a twelve-year-old girl explained *kanaima*: "... for example, if I hit you, then you send a *kanaima* to get me back."

4. Throughout this paper, "social relations" refers to social, economic, and political relations among indigenous groups and among indigenous and non-indigenous groups in the Guianas.

5. According to Amodio and Pira (p. 14), there were epidemics as early as the mid-18th century. The illnesses were introduced by the Portuguese, and probably by Spaniards as well, during the *Entradas,* slave raids that also secured the lands of the metropolitan powers.

6. *Kari*, or *parakar'*, known in Brazil as *caxiri*, is a fermented drink made of rotten cassava bread.

7. Similarly, Wapisiana women kill fowl by wringing their necks, but the bird lies on the ground for a good fifteen minutes after it stops twitching before the cook retrieves it for plucking.

8. Dictated in English, in a Wapisiana village in Brazil, in September, 1984, and edited by the author. The speaker, Teddy, is a Wapisiana man sired by an Irishman but raised by his mother in Guyana. He speaks fluent Wapisiana, English and Portuguese. He makes his farm in the traditional Wapisiana way and collaborates in work and leisure with his neighbors. Teddy is not only widely experienced and well-traveled, he is also literate in several languages and a forthright speaker.

9. This corresponds to Farabee's description of *kanaima* for the Makushi, whom he visited in the early part of this century (pp. 74-76).

10. Recorded in Portuguese in March, 1986, in a Wapisiana village in Brazil; translated by the author.

11. Recorded in English in February, 1986, in a Wapisiana village in Brazil; edited by the author. Italics supplied.

12. See especially Audrey Butt Colson's 1983-84 article in which she analyzes the Guianan system of autodesignation and group identification. Such a system is typical of the lowland South American area, throughout which language is a chief marker of humanity and group affiliation. This type system does not imply absolute boundaries between groups (indeed differentiations were made within the group), nor, of course, would it correspond to the taxonomy of Amerindian groups in European conception.

REFERENCES

AMODIO, EMANUELLE and VICENTE PIRA
1985 "Historia dos Povos Indígenas de Roraima: Makuxi, Ingarikó, Taurepang, e Wapixana." In *Boletim do Arquivo Indegenista da Diocese de Roraima (Boa Vista)*, no. 10.

BROWN, CHARLES BARRINGTON
1876 *Canoe and Camp Life in British Guiana.* London: Stanford.

COLSON, AUDREY BUTT
1973 "Inter-tribal Trade in the Guiana Highlands." In *Antropologica*, no 34.

1983-84 "The Spatial Component in the Political Structure of the Carib-speakers of the Guiana Highlands: Kapon and Pemon." In *Antropologica*, 59-62:73-124.

COPPENS, WALTER
1971 "Las Relaciones comerciales de los Yekuana del Caura-Paragua." In *Antropologica*, no 30:28-59.

DURBIN, MARSHALL
1977 "A Survey of the Carib Language Family." In Ellen B. Basso, ed., *Carib-speaking Indians: Culture, Society and Language*, pp. 23-38. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

FARABEE, WILLIAM CURTIS
1924 "The Central Caribs." In *University of Pennsylvania Anthropological Publications*, Vol. X. Philadelphia: The University Museum.

IM THURM, EVERARD F.
1967(1883)*Among the Indians of Guiana.* New York: Dover.

KIRKE, HENRY
1898 *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana.* London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company.

MIGLIAZZA, ERNEST C.
1978 *The Integration of the Indigenous Peoples of the Territory of Roraima, Brazil.* Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

1980 "Languages of the Orinoco-Amazon Basin: Current Status." In *Antropologica*, 53:95-162.

ROTH, WALTER E.
1915 "An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians." Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

THOMAS, DAVID J.
1972 "The Indigenous Trade System of Southeast Estado Bolivar, Venezuela." In *Antropologica*, no. 33:3-37.

HUAORANI AND QUICHUA ON THE RIO CURARAY, AMAZONIAN ECUADOR: SHIFTING VISIONS OF *AUCA* IN INTERETHNIC CONTACT.

Mary-Elizabeth Reeve
University of Illinois-Urbana

The concept of *auca* is one side of a shared European and Quechua/Quichua formulation of the asymmetrical dichotomy between human and not-quite-human beings. In this paper, I examine how this shared concept has helped define the history of interethnic contact between Huaorani (*auca*) and neighboring Quichua peoples of Amazonian Ecuador, a history that has been strongly influenced by the activities of European culture bearers in their territories. The shifting valuation of *auca* from strongly pejorative to positive under certain circumstances, is apparent in an evaluation of this history and has important implications for our understanding of the relationship between cosmology and social action.

One of the contributions of recent work in ethnography has been to acknowledge that cosmologies are dynamic, embedded in and responsive to sociological, political, economic and historical contexts (for example, Camaroff 1985; Hill 1988; Rasnake 1986; Sahlins 1981). Much of the focus to date, however, has been on transformations within indigenous belief systems in interaction with Western society. Where the focus of this paper differs is in its examination of locally derived European belief systems, that are shown to be also dynamic and responsive at times to counter visions of national society, as part of the process through which nationalist ideology is debated and reformulated.

In this paper, I examine the correspondences which persist between the European dichotomy of civilized and savage and the Quechua/Quichua concept of the distinction between people (*runa*) and *auca*. In the European conceptualization, as expressed locally in Amazonian Ecuador, the Indian is contrasted with the *auca*; the Indian having demonstrated both capacity and willingness to become at least partially a participant in national society and economy. The *auca*, in contrast, exists beyond the reach of state hegemony.

In Amazonian Ecuadorian Quichua conceptualization, the *auca* exists beyond the sphere of normal social interaction. Quichua-speaking peoples (who call themselves *Runa*, and who are considered to be "Indians"), distinguish between themselves and *auca* in terms of the idiom of kinship reckoning. The salient definition of *auca* refers to those with whom spouse exchanges are never made. In this context, people regarded by Quichua-speakers in one region as *auca* may be regarded by other Quichua living elsewhere as "like us" and therefore marriageable. I will return to an elaboration of these points after a consideration of Huaorani/Quichua/White interactions in one specific context, that of interethnic contact and nationally and internationally sponsored economic exploitation along the Curaray River in Amazonian Ecuador.

The Quichua-speakers of the Curaray River refer to their indigenous neighbors as the Huaorani, or the *Lluchu Auca*.[1] The Huaorani are interfluvial dwelling hunter-horticulturalists. Huaorani have in the recent past endured intense internal strife, as well as maintained a hostile attitude toward all non-Huaorani, referred to as *cohuori*, meaning non-human.[2] In genealogies covering the past few generations, over 41% of deaths were the result of Huaorani spearing other Huaorani in revenge attacks. An additional 8% were killed by *cohuori* and 9% (mostly women) were captured as slaves by rubber merchants (Yost 1981a:97-100).

The southern boundary of Huaorani territory runs roughly parallel to the upper Curaray River, an area also used by Curaray Runa for hunting and fishing. The history of Huaorani/Quichua contact in this region is primarily one of hostilities and competition for these resources. The Curaray River is the core territory of Záparo peoples (Pierre 1983:85). During the period from 1900 to 1940, the Záparo entered a period of intense intergroup warfare, stimulated by accusations of shamanic killings. At the same time, Quichua-speakers, with a core territory at Canelos to the south expanded northward into the upper Curaray. Rubber merchants enticed both Quichua and Záparo into their service here, bringing in also Quichua from the Napo River to the north and capturing neighboring Huaorani.

Following on the heels of intense strife and the rubber boom, came a series of disease epidemics culminating in the 1930s in a yellow fever epidemic that killed Záparo and Quichua living along the Curaray. The few people left alive fled, leaving river ine environment completely abandoned until the early 1940s (Reeve 1985:113-123).[3]

During the time that the Curaray was abandoned, interfluvial dwelling Huaorani migrated south

and began to exploit the rich riverine environment. As the Huaorani moved into this area, Quichua from the Napo and Canelos areas also resettled along the Curaray, reforming the Curaray Runa settlement. Competition between the two peoples for access to resources resulted in a series of bitter clashes in which Curaray Runa were murdered on game trails or in their *chagras* (swidden gardens). This struggle was exacerbated by the presence of oil exploration teams that had moved into the Curaray and Huaorani territory to the north. Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company, in the 1940s, undertook surveys in the region. As had the rubber merchants before them, the oil teams used Quichua-speakers to facilitate excursions into Huaorani territory. Curaray Runa say that they attempted to placate Huaorani with Western trade goods; however, Huaorani maintained hostile relations with the oil teams up until the mid-1950s.

Curaray Runa recount with fervor the killings along the Curaray, saying that the Huaorani hunted along the river and whenever they encountered Runa, killed them "as if they were animals."[4] On the other hand, some Huaorani, fleeing intense internal strife, sought refuge at the *haciendas* at the periphery of their territory. There they came into contact with Napo and Runa and in a few cases, formed friendships with individual Runa. It is on the strength of these ties that relations between Runa living along the Curaray and the Huaorani gradually eased.

Missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Wycliffe Bible Translators (SIL), had contacted Huaorani in the early 1950s and lost five missionaries to Huaorani spears in 1956. SIL persisted, however, and sustained contact brought a gradual end to most internal hostility as well as eased tensions with outsiders. SIL succeeded in setting up a mission base and establishing an initial Huaorani protectorate (see Yost 1981b:680-687). Shortly thereafter, Catholic missionaries, at times in cooperation with oil companies, began making contact with other Huaorani (Labaca 1988).

Following these peaceful exchanges with *cohuori*, Huaorani began to approach the Curaray Runa on more friendly terms. After a peaceful visit to the Runa mission settlement on the Curaray by a Wao individual known to them, a small group of Huaorani established their own settlement upriver. The Curaray Runa who recount these events stress that the Huaorani envoys making the initial visits had been "calmed" by Protestant missionaries and that the group that settled upriver was "brought there in an oil company canoe." These Huaorani began cautiously to approach their Runa neighbors, first by attending the huge three-day festival during which a Catholic priest makes his annual visit to the mission at Curaray, and later, by trading with individual families. Several Huaorani and Curaray Runa married couples entered into formal friendship ties, through which the Runa household traded Western goods such as cloth, ammunition and cookware for meat and items that could be resold in the provincial capital through the tourist market: spears, blowguns, net bags, hammocks and feather headdresses. Such items were also traded to indigenous merchants who stocked western goods for sale.

In the late 1970s, Huaorani men began joining the oil company crews to earn money, acquire goods and learn about the *cohuori*. By 1980, 60% of adult men had worked for the companies at some point in their lives. Concomitantly, since the late 1970s, there has been a "rush" to form formal friendship ties with Runa families. By late 1979, 80% of married couples in the Huaorani protectorate had established such ties (Yost 1981b:696-700).

Despite the formal friendship ties, uneasiness and mutual fear continue to pervade Huaorani/Quichua relations. In the early 1980s when Huaorani come into Quichua territory along the Curaray, they kept silent and did not acknowledge Runa greetings. The silence, kept out of fear, was interpreted by the Runa as potential hostility. The same interaction characterized encounters while hunting in shared territory. Huaorani might watch a Runa hunting party for several days and then disappear without ever letting themselves be seen. Curaray Runa complained that the Huaorani were killing so much of the fish and game that there is nothing left to eat. They complained that Huaorani use the friendship tie to demand and get anything they wish from them and may not give anything in return. The extent of uneasiness was also manifested in a fear that when the Huaorani visit them, they keep spears hidden in the forest and if displeased with a trading session, could return to kill in the night. During a visit, Curaray Runa anticipated theft by Huaorani of any object left outside the household at night, or of canoes tied at the riverbank.[5]

In any attempt to summarize the history of Quichua/Huaorani interaction on the Curaray, it becomes clear that the catalyst for much of this history has been white exploitation of the region and its inhabitants. Curaray Runa and the Huaorani are both very much aware of this. White missionaries are seen as having "tamed" or "calmed" those Huaorani who fled interethnic strife (as they had done earlier with some of the Záparo). On the other hand, Curaray Runa recount that rubber merchants and later oil company employees sent them into Huaorani territory, stimulating strife between themselves and the Huaorani. This pressure on the Huaorani may also have stimulated internal strife, as had disease epidemics earlier among the Záparo. Finally, diseases introduced by Whites led

to the abandonment of the Curaray and its later resettlement by both Huaorani and Quichua competing for access to resources. Curaray Runa interpret this period of resettlement as *"Huaorani manchana uras,"* "the time when we lived in fear of the Huaorani."

By the early 1980s, despite mutual distrust, Curaray Runa were able to point out that the Huaorani with whom they traded were becoming "like us," building nuclear family homes in Runa style, planting swidden gardens by the river bank and learning to use canoes. Huaorani fleeing internal strife within their own territory had been taught to be ashamed of their *"auca"* heritage, when in the company of Whites or Quichua (Yost 1981b:689-690). They had manifested a desire to acquire western goods through mission settlement or trade with the Quichua.

Auca is a Quechua/Quichua word that has been borrowed into the Spanish language. For Quechua-and-Quichua-speaking peoples of the Andes and Amazonia, it signifies a space outside of human control and the power locked into that space. In Amazonian Quichua thought, this space is linked to the time frame of earliest human beginnings, in which animals and humans lived together and could not distinguish each other (Reeve 1988:25-27).

In myths about the creation of the first humans, Amazonian Quichua peoples express the idea that only through union of diverse aspects of the cosmos can reproduction occur. Within the human sphere, the template is that of reciprocity between male and female domestic domains. Yet this reciprocity is not possible without marriage exchanges with other peoples. To negate reciprocity either through incest at the one extreme or theft and murder at the other, is to be non-human.

Knowledge from mythic time-space references a state in which humans may appear as animals and animals appear as humans. Yet this cosmology recognizes the flexibility inherent in animal-human distinctions. Those who are *auca* are seen as inhabiting this domain, as being of the sphere of non-human/human transformability. Huaorani, as well as other peoples such as the Shuar, Cocama and Whites, lie outside the sphere of marriage exchanges but are considered as potentially human, potentially marriageable. The realm of potentiality gives the Huaorani, as individuals, the capacity to become "like us," by emulating Runa lifeways and marrying into a Runa kin group.

Auca is a pejorative term in both Quichua and Ecuadorian national cultures. The distinction between *auca* as forest-dwelling savage and civilized urban people has pervaded European culture as locally expressed since first contact.[6] When the first Spanish explorers traveled into the Amazonian region, they encountered small, linguistically diverse groups of occasionally hostile peoples living along rivers and separated by vast stretches of "impenetrable" jungle. Reports of fierce and often cannibalistic peoples "without God" (*infieles*) or political organization (*irracionales*) greeted the few intrepid young missionaries who were sent to the jungle. The fate of these missionaries is legend; dead of diseases, or murdered at the hands of their new converts, many never returned from the jungle. Over the past 400 years, the initial impressions of the jungle and its "wild" inhabitants has become deeply ingrained in Ecuadorian national culture. Stories of attacks by yet "uncontacted" *auca* on oil company workers enliven the national press.[7] Yet significantly, *Auca* has been chosen as the name for a nationally prominent soccer team. I shall return to these competing configurations.

The contrast between civilized and savage is also a contrast between human and non-human space, between safety and danger, between the predictable and unpredictable. For the European, civilized space is urban, a space controlled by human institutions of law and governance graced by superhuman sanction. Humans who venture from this space risk death and disappearance of even their corporal remains. Yet all space, including the jungle, is potentially transformable into a human, civilized state. In the eyes of the church and state, it is this noble project that lent zeal to the first young missionaries to enter this space, and that continues to inspire the planners of economic development.

Quichua/Quechua and European cosmologies both converge on the notion of *auca* as potentially transformable. This transformability provides a framework for action. Thus for the Quichua, *auca* becomes human as individuals learn to live "like us, " while for the European, the *auca* is "saved," given "human dignity" by conversion to Christianity. The purpose of this argument, however, is not simply to reify cosmology by demonstrating its relationship to social action, but to examine the interplay between belief and action. At what point does ***auca, as auca,*** become a transformed vision in indigenous and locally derived European cosmologies?

Beginning in the late 1970s, the Amazonian region of Ecuador has seethed with political divisiveness as ethnic blocs struggle to produce their own visions of indigenous self-determination in the face of overwhelming pressure from national and international centers to "develop" and become "productive" - fully integrated into the nation and the world. Early in this perion in one section of the Amazonian region, Quichua clashed violently with colonists in a successful bid to regain land to which they held former but disputed title. Colonists were driven off these lands at gunpoint and the area closed to further entry. The

message behind this action reverberated in the capital city and the national press. Indigenous Quichua peoples, long since believed "tamed," when allied (it was rumored) with the "fierce" Shuar, famous for their former practice of shrinking the heads of their enemies, could still use force to protect their claims.

Political rhetoric between rival factions of the Quichua ethnic bloc heated up, in part over this incident. In the wake of serious fissions between communities and even within kin groups, a plethora of indigenous organizations crystallized internal oppositions (Reeve 1985:235-239; Whitten 1985:217-256).[8] The Huaorani were approached by at least one of these Quichua organizations and asked to join. They refused, replying that their territorial boundaries are clearly established and should be trespassed by no one. Clearly, a positive valuation of *auca* fierceness was emerging among both the Huaorani and Quichua as a viable symbol of self-determination.

If it has no place within the civilized urban sphere controlled by church and state hierarchies, how was a nation to incorporate this re-emerging "fierceness" and indigenous insolence within its own geopolitical boundaries? Simultaneously as indigenous political resurgence in the Amazonian region was gaining national attention, Ecuador and Peru experienced a border conflict. As former conflicts with Peru were remembered, Ecuadorian nationals pointed with pride to the critical role once played by the Huaorani in defense of the nation. It is said that during the 1940-41 war with Peru, the Huaorani defended the entire Curaray River against invasion, killing the Peruvian soldiers who had traveled with ease up much of the abandoned river to within 50 miles of the Andes. As Peru and Ecuador again in 1981 found themselves locked in conflict, people on the streets of the capital and in its army barracks on the Curaray expressed the same sentiment - Ecuador, although short of arms and soldiers, could defend itself because those who fought were fierce, "one Ecuadorian soldier is worth two Peruvians."

During moments of ethnic and national crisis, polarization of symbols of self-hood becomes particularly salient. Synthesis of these polarities provides the establishment of a more inclusive "self," a process relevant equally to indigenous political formation and nationalistic movements in nations with ethnically plural populations (Reeve 1985:227-240). Conceptualization of the more inclusive "self" is one process by which cosmological structure may be (momentarily) overturned. Within Ecuadorian national culture, in times of international conflict, or for that matter, on the soccer field, *auca* fierceness is conceptualized as another source of power that may be harnessed to meet national goals.

More generally, it is suggested that within cosmologies, inherent inconsistencies and contradictions may crystallize as polarities. It is these polarities that interplay with social action such that elements of cosmology are continually reshaped and re-evaluated to account for the experience of the moment. Re-evaluation is a dynamic process. The imagery of the *auca* as non-human savage may again come to dominate interaction between the Quichua and Huaorani, as it may also re-emerge nationally in response to external pressures to become more economically "productive."

Postscript

The original version of this paper was written in 1986. On July 21, 1987, a Catholic bishop and a nun were airlifted by a helicopter belonging to the French oil exploration company C.G.G. to the residence of a group of Huaorani known as the Tageiri. The following day the perforated bodies of the two missionaries, as well as some fifteen spears, were recovered from the residence site by army personnel.[9]

During the past nine years, oil exploration and exploitation in Ecuador's Amazonian region has been greatly accelerated. The two missionaries' intent had been to make peaceful contact with the Tageiri prior to intensive exploration in the area by oil companies. The killings occurred within one of fifteen petroleum exploration blocks currently leased in the region.

The official Catholic Church reaction to the deaths of the two missionaries, as reported in the national press, stressed unanimously that the killings were the result of greatly increased oil exploration and exploitation in the region. The Catholic Church portrayed the two missionaries as martyrs killed by those they were trying to help and asked that there be no retaliation for the killings. The Church stated emphatically that the Tageiri have not "killed as savages," but that all indigenous peoples must be respected by all others, including the oil companies, colonists and the national government.

Indigenous organizations in the region, including the provincial federations and CONFENIAE (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana*) stated that the killings were an act of self-defense of a people subject to genocide. CONFENIAE requested that an adequate territory be demarcated for the Huaorani and that until this is accomplished all oil company activity in the region should cease. They requested that road construction into Huaorani territory be stopped and that no colonization along the existing new roads be permitted. When these requests produced no response from the government, in June 1988 CONFENIAE began physi-

cal demarcation of Huaorani territory, clearing boundary lines in the jungle following a survey of proposed boundaries done previously by IERAC (*Instituto Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización*). The establishment of boundaries by land clearing continued through a coordinated effort among several provincial level Quichua federations.

Revenues from the sale of petroleum represent close to 50% of monies entering the national economy. In June 1988, the national government stated that it will maintain current levels of oil production and has signed new agreements with oil companies to further expand exploration and production in the Amazonian region (*El Universo,* 1988: 4 June, p. 2; 19 June, p. 2; 21 June, p. 1; 6 August, p. 1; 7 August, p. 2; 8 August, p. 2). The Amazonian region is and will continue to be the focus of exploitation with 15 blocks totaling 3,660,000 hectares leased (covering approximately one third of the entire Amazonian region). Several of these blocks are within Huaorani territory. The remainder includes territory of Quichua, Shuar, Achuar and other indigenous peoples, as well as lands set aside for two national parks.

Two major roads are planned that will facilitate exploitation in Huaorani territory, transecting the territory in both north-south and east-west directions. As of 1992, progress on the roads had been stalled, apparently as the result of political opposition by regional indigenous groups.

NOTES

Acknowledgements: This paper was originally presented at the 85th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, in the symposium, "Cosmology, Values and Interethnic Contact in South America." Field research on which the paper is based was carried out principally between 1980 and 1982. I gratefully acknowledge support through doctoral fellowships from Fulbright Hays, the Social Science Research Council and the Organization of American States. I wish to thank James Yost for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this material, as well as for providing me with data from his fieldwork with the Huaorani. For information on events between 1987 and 1988 I am indebted to Dominique Irvine, who brought much of the pertinent information to my attention.

1. *Lluchu* may be glossed in lowland Ecuadorian Quichua as naked, uncovered, as insideness exposed outward. The Curaray Runa distinguish the *Lluchu Auca* from indigenous peoples such as the Shuar and Zaparoans who are also in some contexts referred to as *auca.*

2. The terminology used for the two indigenous peoples discussed in this paper should be understood as follows: Huaorani means people in the Wao language. All non-Huaorani are referred to as *cohuori,* meaning non-human. Huaorani refer to themselves, and are referred to in the literature, as Huaorani. Wao is the singular form "person" and the adjectival form (Yost 1981b:677). In Quichua, *runa* means person(s) and is contrasted with *auca,* non-human. Contemporary Quichua-speakers call themselves Runa and their language *runa shimi.* They name specific groups by location, e.g., Curaray Runa, Napo Runa, Puyo Runa. In discussion of historical events, and in the general discussion, I use the scholarly designation Quichua to refer to various groups of Quichua- speakers. Quichua-speakers living along the Curaray River call themselves Curaray Runa. I use their term Curaray Runa, or Runa, in discussion of contemporary events experienced by this group.

3. The descendants of Záparos living as Quichua-speakers today on the Curaray remember the names and fate of specific groups of Záparos. These Runa descendants say that the Záparos were fierce; strong warriors and powerful shamans, but, because they were too fierce, killed themselves off. Those of their descendants who have become Quichua-speakers, in contrast, are "tame," having abandoned feuding warfare as a way of life. This interpretation of personal history and the polar distinction between fierce and tame, is vital to an understanding of their interaction with Huaorani peoples. Although Zaparoans intermarried and "became Runa" at Catholic mission sites, their descendants retain their own oral history and language at these sites; in some locales openly, at others secretly. Outside of the mission sites live Záparo and other Zaparoan families in isolated settlements within traditional Zaparoan territory (see also Reeve 1985:53, 54, 88-94, and Whitten 1976:12, 13, 202).

4. I present here this history as told by Curaray Runa. A Huaorani history would differ, for example, in stressing that some of their people were captured by Whites along the Curaray.

5. In revisiting the community of Curaray in 1992, I found these fears had been rekindled by the recent Huaorani murder of a Quichua shaman and his family living upriver. The shaman was believed to have caused death in a Huaorani family in which the Quichua wife and child of a Huao died suddenly. Although fear had been renewed, the event did not trigger an overall shift in Quichua relationships with the Huaorani.

6. For a full discussion of the meaning of *auca* see Taussig (1987:93-129).

7. Source: *El Comercio*, 15 July 1980, "Los *Aucas* 'en guerra.'" The Tageiri group of Huaorani did kill three oil company workers in 1977. The Tageiri so named for their leader Tagae, have maintained hostile relations with all outsiders, including other Huaorani, for at least the past 15-20 years.

8. For a complementary perspective on the Shuar Federation, see Hendricks (1988).

9. Sources for the postscript include reports appearing in Ecuadorian newspapers in 1988 (cited), *Survival International News* (1987, no. 18, p. 5, and 1988, no. 20, p. 5), as well as documents, articles and maps reprinted in *CONFENIAE* (1988) and in *Kipu* (1987, 1988).

REFERENCES

COMAROFF, JEAN
1985 *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

CONFENIAE
1988 *La Nacionalidad Huaorani y la Defensa de su Territorio.* Manuscript, pp. 1-45.

HENDRICKS, JANET
1988 "Power and Knowledge: Discourse and Ideological Transformation Among the Shuar." In *American Ethnologist* 15 (2):216-238.

HILL, JONATHAN (ed.)
1988 *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past.* Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press.

KIPU: El Mundo Indígena en la Prensa Ecuatoriana.
1987 (9) 215-278. Coedition M.L.A.L. - Abya-Yala.

_____1988 (10) 157-182.

LABACA UGARTE, Mons. ALEJANDRO
1988 *Cronica Huaorani.* Ecuador: Vicariato Apostólico de Aguarico, Ediciones Cicame.

PIERRE, FRANÇOIS
1983 *Viaje de Exploración al Oriente Ecuatoriano: 1887-1888.* Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.

RASNAKE, ROGER
1986 "Carnival In Yura: Ritual Reflections on *Ayllu* and State Relations." In *American Ethnologist* 13 (4) 662-680.

REEVE, MARY-ELIZABETH
1985 *Identity as Process: The Meaning of Runapura for Quichua-Speakers of the Curaray River, Eastern Ecuador.* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois-Urbana.

1988 "*Cauchu Uras*: Lowland Quichua Histories of the Amazon Rubber Boom." In Jonathan Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous South American Perspectives on the Past.* Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, pp. 19-34.

SAHLINS, MARSHALL
1981 *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom.* Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

TAUSSIG, MICHAEL
1987 *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

WHITTEN Jr., NORMAN E.
1976 *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Jungle Quichua.* Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press.

1985 *Sicuanga Runa: The Other Side of Development in Amazonian Ecuador.* Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press.

YOST, JAMES A.
1981a "Peoples of the Forest: The Huaorani." In Acosta-Solis et al, eds., *Ecuador: In the Shadow of the Volcanos.* Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi, pp. 96-115.

1981b "Twenty Years of Contact of Contact: The Mechanisms of Change in Wao (*'Auca'*) Culture." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., ed., *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador.* Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, pp. 677-704.

WHEN A TURD FLOATS BY: CASHINAHUA METAPHORS OF CONTACT

Kenneth M. Kensinger
Bennington College

The mythology and cosmology of the Peruvian Cashinahua do not contain references to either Peruvians or Brazilians. Throughout my fieldwork I often listened to them discuss, or talked with them about, the problems they had or were having with the traders for whom they worked rubber (*caucho*) and cedar. I was surprised at the frequency with which these discussions digressed, or so I thought at the time, to a recounting of, or a use of elements from, myths about Inka. I will argue in this paper that the Cashinahua used the Inka myths both as models for understanding who the traders were and as models for interacting with them.

Inka and the Ancestors

Although the Inka myths constitute the largest body of texts about any mythic figure (approximately 25% of the corpus), it is unclear whether or not we are dealing with one or more figures, in that the major protagonist has several names and the texts refer to the *Inkabu*, the Inka people. Despite this problem, I will follow my informant's lead and deal with Inka in generic terms, i.e., the characteristics of all the protagonists called Inka in the various stories will be treated as if they are characteristic of a single protagonist. As a result, Inka is a mass of contradictions and thus the object of considerable ambivalence both for the ancestors in the myths and those who tell and listen to the myths.

Inka has been described variously in the texts as human being and as spirit being. As human, Inka is classified as *huni betsa*, "other man," "outsider," vs. *huni kuin*, "real man," i.e., Cashinahua, and thus is like other groups with thatthe Cashinahua interact on occasion or know about, but not *nawa*, "non-human being." Inka wears clothing consisting of a woven loin cloth and a sack-like garment which covers him from shoulders to knees. As a result, his sex was not immediately obvious as the case with the Cashinahua male's belt under which he tucks his penis. He lives in a house in a village surrounded by kin, particularly children. He has a large garden, which several texts cite as exemplary in that it is clear and open, free of weeds and brush. He hunts animals for their flesh. He has a nasty habit, however, of killing and eating people, both kin and enemies; this contrasts with the Cashinahua tradition of funerary endocannibalism. Except for his cannibalism, there is no indication in the texts that his lifestyle is in any major way different from that of other non-Cashinahua peoples, who for the most part are seen as not fully socialized but with the potential to be so. For example, when Inka takes a Cashinahua to wife, he does not reciprocate by giving a sister to his brother-in-law, and responds in anger when his sister is stolen by his wife's brother. He does, however, act like a brother-in-law in that he is a trickster and a joker; his brother-in-law is the target of his shenanigans. As both a wife-giver and a wife-receiver, Inka and his brother-in-law are equals. Inka gave the Cashinahua vegetables and taught them how to make gardens. He also taught them how to make bows and arrows and how to hunt. However, he was not always a paragon of technical knowledge. One story describes him as a stupid klutz who was taught what he knows by a female bird.[1]

Thus, as a human, Inka was an *outsider* but a potential *affine*, the only mechanism for incorporating him into the society. As affine, he was appropriately a *trickster* and *joker*. Although not fully socialized in Cashinahua terms, he was a *family man*. As the source of gardens, vegetables, weapons and hunting techniques, he was an *agent for change*. And finally, he was the agent of death, a *cannibal*.

As a *spirit* being, Inka lived in the sky alone, except for a wife. Although he owned the sun, darkness, and cold, which he kept in bottles, and many other possessions, he was stingy and miserly. He was also the source of illness. His nature as spirit was quixotic, capricious, playful, mischievous, temperamental, and vengeful in turn. The suffering, pain, illness, sorrow, and anguish his acts caused were thus not necessarily intentional.

Traders and the Cashinahua

The Inka myths provided a convenient category for identifying the Peruvian/Brazilian traders when they appeared on the scene. There was some difference of opinion between informants about whether or not the traders were initially identified as *huni betsa* or as *nawa*; that is, if they were human beings, albeit not fully socialized, or not fully human. But more on that later. The traders wore clothing that hid

their sexual identity and given their prudishness, their masculinity was a mystery until they attempted to seduce some of the Cashinahua women. Most were unsuccessful. One trader took a Cashinahua woman with him when he left the village but when the woman's brother visited her, the trader did not behave as a proper brother-in-law should; he did not offer one of sisters in exchange, nor did he share his possessions. Several of the traders were practical jokers and one, based on the descriptions given by informants, knew how to perform some magic tricks. All of the traders were married and had families, which they fed by making gardens and by hunting, although this was not apparent unless the Cashinahua visited the village of Esperanza.

The traders were a major source of goods and new technology. They provided machetes, knives, axes, aluminum kettles, fishhooks, beads, cloth and mosquito nets, soap, shotguns and shells, and rum. They taught the Cashinahua how to make canoes, to work rubber, to skin animals so that the skins were commercially valuable, and to make manioc flour.

During or following every visit from a trader, sickness ensued, often of epidemic proportions. The Cashinahua interpreted these events in terms of Inka as spirit and concluded that the traders were not simply *huni betsa* but *nawa*. On several occasions a trader took one or more young boys away from the village, some of whom never returned, leading to the accusation that the trader was a cannibal: "he has eaten our children."

Discussion

Although the Inka myths allowed the Cashinahua to fit the traders into their own scheme of things and to partially pattern their interactions with them, the Cashinahua were only partially successful for two reasons.

First, the traders operated in terms of a totally different mode of exchange, namely market and debt peonage, rather than the reciprocity that had characterized the exchanges between the ancestors and Inka. This was a continual source of confusion and no insignificant amount of anger to the Cashinahua. One informant angrily told me that one trader told him that he could not accept goods from or for another trader, because "you belong to me." His sense of personal autonomy was affronted.

Second, the traders operated in terms of a hierarchical system and considered themselves to be morally, economically, and socially superior to the Cashinahua. They gave orders and expected to be obeyed, reacting angrily when their wishes went unheeded. This, of course, was incomprehensible to the Cashinahua who, if they give an order, can only hope it will be obeyed. If compliance does not follow, they do not respond with anger and rarely resort to physical, verbal, or psychological coercion. To do so would reflect negatively on them and be largely ineffectual. All of these factors were further complicated by the language barrier. Although the traders picked up a few words of Cashinahua, mostly nouns, and the Cashinahua learned some words and phrases in Spanish and Portuguese, communication between them was extremely limited.

As in the relationship between the ancestors and Inka, the Cashinahua feel considerable ambivalence about the traders. While traders are the source of highly valued goods and tools which have provided greater efficiency in Cashinahua subsistence activities, they have also been the source of sickness and death. More importantly, they are the cause of confusion, discord, and despair. They have exposed the Cashinahua to a world for which their previous experience and myths provide them inadequate guides for defining the situation and deciding the course of future action.

When I was last in the field, I listened to many heated discussions between one group which advocated flight upstream in hopes of avoiding further contact with outsiders and another group arguing for moving downstream, closer to the Peruvian town of Esperanza and to the goods available there. The old headman argued that neither course of action was totally satisfactory. To move downstream would invite further predation, illness, and death, a high price for the goods they would get. But, he argued, the Cashinahua had become accustomed to some of the trader's goods and when their axes and machetes wore out they would want new ones and therefore have to deal with the traders. Furthermore, the foreigners are out there and the Cashinahua know that and are affected by their presence, even if they are not dealing with them face-to-face. "When a man is bathing in the river and a turd floats by, he doesn't have to see who shat in the river to know that somebody is there. He is contaminated nonetheless."

Notes

1. It should be noted that while male storytellers insist that the bird was male, his name is one presently given only to females. Several female informants insisted that the bird was female.

WARFARE AND SHAMANISM IN CENTRAL BRAZIL: THE XINGU NATIONAL PARK AND THE PANARA

Stephan Schwartzman
Environmental Defense Fund
Washington, DC

We've been invited in this session to expand on the ways in which Amazonian and Andean ethnology in recent years have shown the notions of "cosmology" and "values" to be not only inscribed in social action but, as systems of categories or categoric oppositions, constituted by process, in social action. One important way that value was produced in indigenous societies that has been very little studied is warfare, and this is not by accident - our fieldwork takes place almost exclusively where the process of colonial domination has already begun, and the beginning of domination has meant the end of warfare. Pierre Clastres (1977) noted this, in his anarchist inversion of Hobbes, in the essay, "The Archeology of Violence," and while his reading is perhaps over-generic, he has done us a service in bringing up the question again.

The end of warfare is a major change. Recent work on Brazilian Indian societies has shown that the category of "enemy" is central to constitution of identity for a series of Amazonian societies, Gê and Tupi in particular. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (1978) has shown that for Kraho, a Gê group of Central Brazil, an identification of enemies, affines, and the dead as "others," provides the dialectic opposite through which selfhood is constituted - to be Kraho is to be alive, to have a name, to have matrilateral kin. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1984) has shown that for Tupi, incorporation of the enemy, or becoming the enemy, oriented much of Tupi ritual life including formulation of identity in such activities as naming. For the Panara, with whom I worked, warfare was a central moment in rites of reproduction of the social order, which themselves reflected and ordered the processes of subsistence production and production of persons as elders and juniors, male and female, name givers and name receivers, kin and affines. For Panara as for Kraho, to be one's self - to he Panara - was unthinkable and impracticable except in contrast to others - the dead, affines, and enemies - and the process of creating that opposition was, in the case of enemies, warfare.

The geographic location of the Panara at the moment of "contact" was also the historical result of a war that started at least 200 years ago. The Panara, better known as Krenakore, or Kreenakorore, now live in the Xingu National Park, but until 1975 lived near the Peixoto de Azevedo River, several hundred miles to the northwest of the Xingu. Between 1968 and 1975, when they were transferred to the Xingu Park as their lands were opened to gold prospecting, agribusiness and cattle ranching, between 80% and 90% of the population died from introduced diseases, formerly unknown to the Panara and to which they had no resistance. At the time of contact, or "pacification" of the Panara, they were represented in the Brazilian and international press as isolated "stone age" Indians, but linguistic evidence from 19th Century travelers reports shows that the Panara are the same people described in historical records of Central Brazil as Southern Cayapo, who inhabited an extensive area of Goias and Southern Mato Grosso, and fought the Portuguese colonists for decades. The Panara of the Peixoto de Azevedo were most probably the survivors of that war, and their presence there in 1968 was not a fact of nature but the result of their historical resistance to colonization.

Now, warfare was everywhere in Amazonia associated with shamanism, in various ways, and the end of warfare has had differential repercussions in indigenous societies and been figured hy those societies in part according to how shamanic complexes relate to war. In societies like Yanomami or Aguaruna, shamans hattle among one another, sending disease and spirit infestations to enemies, protecting their own villages against enemy shamans, and discerning the origin of enemy spirit attacks to direct retaliation. Warfare in these cases is shamanism. Other groups, like Panara, and like the traditional Upper Xingu society, draw a sharp distinction between internal witchcraft and shamanism and external warfare. The distinction between the two in the Xingu Park has featured centrally in the formulation of a cosmology shared in an uneven, partial way, by the Indians of the Xingu and the national society.

Everyone agrees that the Indians in the Xingu are not wild (*bravo*); that is, they are at peace. Everyone also agrees that Indians in the Xingu have certain shamanic powers, although the content of these has quite distinct significations from different perspectives. The principles of peacefulness and shamanic power are formulated in varying, and at times contradictory, ways by various of the interested actors in the system -

the government, the traditional Upper Xingu peoples, and the groups in the north of the park, like the Panara who were traditional enemies of the Upper Xingu peoples. I want to sketch some of the interests and understandings that have participated in producing that cosmology.

War is as important to the State's characterization of autonomous Indian groups as it is to those groups. The dominant metaphor for the contact of isolated indigenous societies in the Amazon remains "pacification," and the presumed threat of "hostile" Indians continues to cast indigenous groups as a threat to the integrity of the State that ironically inverts the objective forces in play with mythic regularity. The most recent case is perhaps the Brazilian National Security Council's justification of a plan to stimulate settlement and development of northern border areas by setting up military outposts along the Colombian and Venezuelan borders by, among other reasons, the alleged threat of an independent Yanomami nation to be created between Brazil and Venezuela - a Yanomami State - under the leadership of foreign priests (see Calha Norte). Such rhetoric at high levels is nothing new, and should be considered as of a piece with the story that circulates whenever conflicts erupt between Indians and regional populations or landowners: the Indians, so the story goes, have through the agency of shadowy foreign agitators, acquired arms more sophisticated than the army has, and are about to perpetrate a massacre.

The Panara have a more pragmatic reading of "pacification." One of their first contacts in what might be called the modern era of their relations with the national society was with the Army Engineers who were working on the road that penetrated their area in 1968, and Panara who have had occasion to visit cities and towns have had a keen interest in the military and police ever since. One Panara man explained to me:

> In the old days, the Panara were police [*porisa*]. The men would paint themselves black all over and kill witches [he refers to *kA tIk*, the body painting style worn by men for warfare], just like police with their beautiful clothes. Now we're not police anymore, we don't kill witches.

The Panara note and approve of the social intelligibility of police uniforms (beautiful clothes), but also easily read their significance: they, like the black body paint of killers, register the legitimate exercise of violence.

In the Upper Xingu, a multi-linguistic society including speakers of languages in four major South American linguistic families who have for at least the last 200 years shared a single ritual, mythic and social system, warfare is banished among "real people," the Upper Xingu tribes. Intertribal wrestling is explicitly given as a substitute for war, and all the groups emphasize some version of "respect" (as described by Basso, Gregor, and others) as highly valued behavior. The peaceful relations of these groups were appropriated by Claudio and Orlando Villas Boas, the activists who founded the Xingu Park in the early 50s as part of the media strategy for the creation and defense of the Park. Magazine articles, books, postcards, films, and only last year a wildly successful TV documentary series portrayed the peoples of the Upper Xingu as beautiful, pristine primitives, living in a long magical dance, free from conflict and preserved from the ravages of the frontier. The Xinguanos have participated in the formulation of this image, trafficking in images of authentic Indian identity in exchange for trade goods, and certain services. As Viveiros de Castro (1979) has argued, the Indians of the Xingu, unlike groups in other frontier areas, are not exploited for their labor power, but rather for a symbolic capital, by which their autonomous identity is alienated as the image of a benign indigenous policy for the consumption of national and international elites. The highest rituals of the system now routinely include invitations to the President of the Republic and the Minister of the Interior, but do not typically include the groups to the north of the Xingu Park, such as the Txucahamae and other traditional enemies of the Upper Xingu peoples.

The image of the peaceful Upper Xinguano has, in fact, systematically suppressed the history of warfare with "wild Indians" - the groups that now live in the north of the park - which continued at least until the 60s as well as the internal witchcraft killings which 35 years of preaching and persuasion on the part of officials has not succeeded in stopping. Much of the internal politics of the Park still revolves around witchcraft accusations, and shamans, who can find witch objects and identify witches, are powerful figures. Within the park, the power of Upper Xingu shamans and witches earns the respect, if not fear, of former enemies and outsider groups such as Panara, and groups in the north have at times hired Upper Xingu shamans to find witch objects and perform cures for them. Witchcraft has become the instrument of an Upper Xingu cultural autonomy, which remains impenetrable by outsiders even when the curing powers of shamans turned famous on the national (and international) level, as happened last year in a case that made the *New York Times*.

For the Panara, who arrived in the Xingu a small, dislocated, and demoralized group, shamanism and witchcraft had distinctive social meanings. Internal

witchcraft was the leading, and almost the only cause of death before 1975. Shamans and witches were a complementarily opposed pair of social roles. Witches, out of greed and enviousness, caused illness and death, and shamans had the power to discover them and undo their mischief, in the last instance by leading a group of men to kill them. Shamans had special relations with the dead, while witches often had forest monsters (a particular version of enemies), or jaguars as their familiars. Between 1969 and 1975, after the first epidemics but before the transfer to the Xingu, there were many witchcraft killings as the Panara sought those responsible for the new diseases.

In the Xingu, the Panara came to the conclusion that there were no longer any Panara witches, and perhaps as a consequence, no shamans either. "There are no Panara witches," is a declaration of truce, probably essential for the survival of such a small group, and certainly instrumental in the Panara project of reconstituting an autonomous village - so far, a successful endeavor. Witchcraft is still the major cause of illness, in fact, but it is exclusively the witchcraft of other people. This clearly makes sense for the survival of the Panara as an independent group and permits them a level of intra-group solidarity that would be impossible were there current witchcraft accusations. But it also leaves them with little recourse, since as a small group, they would risk disaster by retaliating against their more numerous neighbors. Such direct action would also run counter to the constant reiteration of Park authorities that in the Xingu, all the groups are friends, there is no more witchcraft, there must be unity, and so on.

The Panara also say that there are no more shamans, which follows a similar logic: if there were shamans, they would be inclined to find witches. In addition, shamans were exceptionally wild individuals, prone to outbursts of anger, and "wildness" is a negative value in the Xingu. The Panara, acting with Txucahamae and other groups of the north of the Xingu, have found new ways to capitalize on their "wildness" - always a threat lurking behind the *Pax Xinguanum* - in attacks on ranchers invading the park, the taking of hostages, and other well-publicized incidents which have shocked the nation and gained government recognition of land rights. Peace in this instance becomes part of a political program of internal unity against external threat.

In the Xingu Park, the end of warfare, imposed by the park administrators, has conspired with the traditional Upper Xinguano ideology of peaceful coexistence to produced a multilayered, contradictory cosmology of peaceful Indian society, where various interests - the government's, that of the press, that of the Upper Xingu groups, and that of their traditional enemies, such as the Panara - have for different, indeed conflicting reasons, adopted the overarching cosmology as their own. For the Panara, this has meant not only the end of warfare, but the end of internal witchcraft and shamanism as well. Surely other shamanic complexes in other parts of the Amazon must interact as dynamically with the ideologies of national societies and the transforming interests of indigenous groups in varying relations among themselves, as well.

References

CARNEIRO da CUNHA, MANUELA
1978 *Os Mortos e os Outros: Uma Analise do Sistema Funerario e da Noção da Pessõa Entre os Indios Kraho.* São Paulo: Editora Hucitec.

CLASTRES, PIERRE
1977 "Arqueologia da Violencia: A Guerra nas Sociedades Primitivas." In *Guerra, Religião, Poder.* Lisbon: Perspectivas do Homen, Edições 70 (Paris: Payot, *Libre* 77-2).

VIVEIROS de CASTRO, EDUARDO
1979 "Ao Cair do Mascara: O Que e o Parque do Xingu?" In *Nimuendaju,* Jan-Fev 1979. Rio de Janeiro.

1984 *Arawete: Uma Visao da Cosmologia e da Pessõa Tupi-Guarani.* Ph.D. thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional, Programa de Pos-Graduação em Antropologia Social. Rio de Janeiro.

COSMOLOGY AND SITUATION OF CONTACT IN THE UPPER RIO NEGRO BASIN[1]

Jonathan D. Hill
Southern Illinois University

Introduction

Nearly ten years ago, Victor Turner (1977) asserted that anthropology had moved from a vocabulary of "being" to a vocabulary of "becoming"; from a focus on structure, system, and equilibrium, to a concern for process, change, reflexivity, and indeterminacy. In the same article, he went on to describe the symbolic processes of the liminal stage of ritual as a source of "... alternative deep cultural models... which could be activated in times of crisis" to adapt and situationally adjust to new ecological, social, and historical conditions. The problem with such terms as "models," "belief systems," "programs," and the like is that they can lead anthropologists to unwittingly slip back into the old habit of reifying culture into an abstraction, a coldly conceptual and visual-spatial entity which becomes alienated by the analyst from the people who create, manipulate, transform, and reproduce cosmologies, values, and meanings in objective social and historical conditions. Even when attempting to articulate a reflexive, processual approach to understanding cosmologies and values, anthropologists have often unreflexively reproduced the underlying assumption that the real meaning of collective representations is separate from and prior to the representations themselves, the people who make them, and the social contexts in which they are used.

To offer a brief example of how difficult it is to shed the language of analytical alienation, abstract formalism, and scientism, my own *abstract* (please note the term) for this paper paraphrases Victor Turner's statement on liminality as a source of alternate deep cultural models. My only excuse is that the time pressure of preparing an abstract before the deadline did not allow me sufficient time to reflexively autocritique my own writing. One wonders how much of the perpetuation of formalism is due to external social constraints on ethnographic inquiry and writing, such as the need to produce concise statements reducing complex subjects to a single idea in order to get funded by research agencies, to get published in journals, and, of course, to get invited to speak in sessions such as this one.

In the decade since Victor Turner announced the arrival of a rigorously processual, interpretive, social anthropology, anthropologists have made only little progress in developing a vocabulary of "becoming" which is truly adequate to the task of representing indigenous South American cosmologies and values without reducing them to mere reifications (systems, models, functions of society and ecology, and so on). Ellen Basso's work (1985) on Kalapalo narrative and ritual performances is perhaps the closest we have come yet to such an approach. Basso demonstrates how Kalapalo narrative and ritual performances, and in particular sacred musical performances, can not be understood as a mere process of representing powerful Beings of myth, or of singing to them. Instead, Kalapalo rituals provide a social arena for singing-into-being the powerful Beings of myth. Equally significant for my purposes here is Basso's observation that Kalapalo ritual music creates an emergent community experience, "... allowing intensified production to take advantage of surplus resources available in dry seasons" (1985:257). The social production of a shared universe of meaning is *part* of the economic production of material goods and services, not a mere posterior representation of these everyday processes.

Basso and other scholars working from discourse theory, ethnopoetics, and post-modernist cultural criticism are moving toward a more adequate vocabulary of becoming by showing that interpretation of oral narratives, musical performances, rituals, and ceremonies, bas to begin with a search for more accurate ways of representing the sensuous, empirical processes of narrating, singing, dancing, and acting in general. To arrive at a vocabulary of becoming which is truly grounded in indigenous South American (or New Guinean, North American, African, etc.) interpretations of social "being," or agency, we must become reflexively aware of the pervasive influence in Western social sciences of the logocentric belief that "... the purely intelligible is prior to the merely sensible" (Ulmer 1983:). Again, Basso's excellent scholarship, which is at once richly empirical and deeply interpretive, shows how it is possible to work around the logocentric doctrine by demonstrating the indigenous, Kalapalo theory of degrees of animacy, or social agency, and how tbese concepts are concretely manifested in a hierarchy of sounds (Basso 1985).

In short, we need to be constantly on guard against subtle (and not-so-subtle) influences of epistemological chauvinism, or the systematic mistranslation of other cultures into formal abstractions which, in some cases, can support an ethnocentric dogma of cognitive superiority that serves to ideologically uphold technological and economic power structures (Bousfield 1979). Whether intentional or not, the mistranslation of other cultures into formal abstractions in all cases precludes the articulation of a theoretical discourse that ean represent processes of the social production of meanings, values, cosmologies and knowledge as part and parcel of the manner in which societies produce material goods and services and reproduce political equality and hierarchy.

One of the more subtle forms of epistemological chauvinism, for example, is the "... the tendency of Western philosophy [and science] throughout its history ('logocentrism') to try to pin down and fix a specific signified to a given signifier" (Ulmer 1983:88). This assumption predisposes anthropologists to find imputed contradictions between the intentional meanings of signs as they are used in social contexts and the positional meanings of signs as they form elements of relational sets (see Sahlins 1981). By attributing this contradiction to the nature of signs and meanings, the anthropologist disguises the real source of contradiction in the confrontation between the agents of Western intellectual culture and those of cultures researched by anthropologists.

Another form of epistemological chauvinism which is built into the institutional structure of anthropology is the hegemony of language and formal linguistic models as the basic source of anthropological approaches to meaning. Why is it necessary to have a separate subfield of anthropology called anthropological linguistics but not anthropological poetics, anthropological musicology, or anthropological kinesics? To answer this question requires an auto-critique of anthropology as a discipline which has largely subordinated the study of non-verbal, or preverbal, meanings to the study of verbal meanings and which, with a powerful assist from linguistics, has alienated the study of the social production of meaning from the study of the production of material goods and services, the production of political equality or hierarchy, and the construction of a meaningful historical past.

A crucial element of the shift to a reflexive, interpretive, social anthropology is the recognition that social processes of renewal, redefinition, control, and transformation are inextricably bound up with highly multivocal, iconic genres of activity which resist adequate representation through the more narrowly semantic, arbitrary symbolism of everyday speech and the common sense framework of meanings attributed to basic categories of social being. In other words, studies of nonverbal, or preverbal, iconicity embodied in singing, playing music, dancing, body painting, narrating, and orating as well as house building, hunting, fishing, gardening, and gathering need to break out of tbe epistemological framework of linguistic theory if we are to articulate a more powerful theoretical discourse for understanding the social production of meaning as it orients, and is in turn influenced by, historically specific processes of both economic production and political control.[2]

Pudáli: Socially Constructing the Pre-Sexual, Pre-Cultural Space-Time of Shared Mythic Beginnings

Pudáli is a tradition of ceremonial feasting practiced by the Northern Arawak-speaking Wakuenai of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. In ecological and economic terms, *pudáli* is a redistribution of food and other material resources triggered by the superabundance of food resources in the territory of an exogamous, patrilineal phratry which results in the temporary expansion of the ranges of generalized and balanced reciprocity from within the patri-sib and phratry (*nukítsiñápe*, or "my kin") to potentially dangerous "Others" (*Apána náiki*, or "other people"), or affines from anotber phratry. The superabundance of food most frequently happens at the beginning of the wet season when the various species of *Leporinus* fish spawn and migrate in huge schools into the newly flooded forests, and men block off the mouths of streams with large weirs, or traps. In opening, male-"owned"[3] *pudáli* ceremonies, the group having a large surplus of smoked fish travels to the village of actual or potential affines to offer them the meat. In return, the recipients of the meat are obligated to sponsor a closing female-owned *pudáli* several weeks later in which they prepare and offer a large quantity of processed manioc pulp. In short, *pudáli* ceremonial cycles are a strategy for coping with potentially dangerous "Others," or affines, by offering male products (smoked fish) in return for female products (manioc pulp), thereby creating or renewing a relationship of balanced reciprocity between the two groups.

Ultimately, *pudáli* exchange cycles preproduce, through the symbolic substitution of male and female labor for adult men and women, the exchange of male labor in bride service in return for female labor and fertility as a function of patrilocal residence and filiation of children to their paternal sibs and phratries. *Pudáli* is a social process that coordinates seasonal fluctuations in the availability of local economic resources with human cycles of production, exchange, and reproduction.

The ideological substitution of the products of male and female labor for male and female laborers in *pudáli* is not a simple process of food exchange but a gradual social process of representing the categorical distinction between "my kin" (*nukítsiñápe*) and "Others" (*Apána náiki*), transforming this social boundary, and finally transcending it completely through feasting, drinking, dancing, singing, and playing music together. In the opening dances, the gift of food is displayed on the village plaza, and guest men and women dance around the heap of food. They are strictly forbidden to dance with their hosts. After the formal offering of the food gift, the guests are invited inside to drink manioc beer (*padzáoru*) and sing *pákamarántakan* songs with their hosts. Also, during the late night period of *pudáli*, guests and hosts participate together as groups in large dances around a bonfire. After the redistribution of the food gift to host and guest participants alike in the early morning, individual host men are allowed to dance with individual guest women and vice versa, resulting in a total relaxation of the kin/affine distinction.

Pudáli is thus a collective strategy for coping with potentially dangerous social otherness and transforming it into marital alliance, balanced exchange, and the generalized reciprocity of feasting, drinking, singing, and dancing together. The deconstruction of the hasic categories of kin and affine in *pudáli* is part of a larger musical and choreographic process of deconstructing the cultural separateness of humans from animals and of male from female humans. This process of deconstruction has three basic stages: 1) the imitation of nonhuman (fish) reproductive behavior through musical sounds in the opening dances of *pudáli*, naming of dances and instruments, and gender attributions to material construction of instruments; 2) direct, iconic, multivocal embodiment of non-sexual, non-human (insect) eating-reproductive behavior during the late night period; and 3) improvisatory musical-dances embodying non-human (fish and mammalian) reproductive behavior in the final stage of feasting after the food redistribution. In the first stage, maleness and femaleness are represented as complementary, reciprocal, and interlocking categories of social being, and humanness and animalness are objects of metaphorical comparison through the similarity of the heap of food displayed outside and the large ensembles of guest men and women in circles around the food.[4] In the second stage, maleness and femaleness are transformed into expressions of ambisexuality and non-sexuality. Finally, in the third stage of *pudáli*, maleness and femaleness are transcended in performances which express the concept of pre-sexuality, or the interchangeability of genders.

From Formality to Spontaneity

Viewed as a whole, the collective representations of mythic space-time employed in the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* frame a complex, outwardly and inwardly facing process of deconstructing human cultural separateness vis-à-vis the external world of non-human species and the internal cultural distinction between maleness and femaleness in human society. By connecting the pre-cultural and the pre-sexual into a seamless whole, the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* naturalizes social processes of food exchange and intermarriage. What begins as metaphorical comparison between human and non-human species and between maleness and femaleness is transformed into metonymical inclusion of people and food, or reproducing and eating, into a single, ambiguous totality. The eaters become the eaten, the internal social world becomes the external natural world, and maleness becomes femaleness.

As a musical and choreographic process, the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* is a culturally prescribed ordering of the transformations leading from formality, rigidity, univocality, and relatively arbitrary symbolism to informality, fluidity, spontaneity, multivocality, and deeply motivated iconicity. These transformations are most evident in the musical performances of the late- night, transitional stage of *pudáli*. *Pákamarántakan* songs, for example, allow individual pairs of male and female singers to spontaneously create verbal representations of their social personae within the gathering of people at the ceremony while at the same time casting these verbal, social commentaries within a highly structured, standardized melodic form. In the *déetu* flute performance, a simple, stereotyped imitation of the feeding behavior of *déetu* insects performed in unison by the guest men multivocally evokes the idea of a non-sexual reproductive cycle of egg-laying and metamorphosis, the transformation of the food-to-sex metaphor into metonymy, and the transformational powers of shamanistic journeys to the place of the dead and back through sucking and vomiting. In short, *mádzeru* performances of the late-night, transitional period of *pudáli* embody the tension between rigidity and fluidity, or formality and spontaneity, which serve as the starting and ending points of the ceremony, respectively.[5]

Overall, the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* can be understood as a musico-choreographic process of *enabling* individuals freedom to act spontaneously, to improvise, and to create new cultural forms within the constraints of certain key, organizing metaphors. The cumulative effect of the various sub-genres of *madzeru* performed in *pudali* is to establish the primacy of the

polymorphous, ambiguous space-time of mythic Beginnings.

The musical and choreographic evocation of mythic space-time is not a static, ahistorical process of reproducing a "timeless mythic ordering" of society but enters directly into the social processes of constructing and reformulating a meaningful, remembered past. Oral histories of the Hohódene, a Wakuénai phratry of the Aiary River in Brazil, contain verbal accounts of *pudáli* ceremonies held in the early 19th Century as a means of forging a new alliance with the Waríperídakéna phratry after severe social dislocations in the *descimentos*, or forced labor campaigns (Wright 1981). For the Wakuénai, the remembered historical past includes a period of at least 200 years of resistance and accommodation to the presence of colonial, national, and international institutions and their agents. The *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* punctuates this historical process of external domination by serving as a collective strategy for enabling individuals to act spontaneously and creatively within ambiguous historical contexts characterized by *both* external subordination within national and international power structures and internal autonomy over basic food resources and social relations.

The Musical Choreography of Historical Process

An example of the musical and choreographic punctuation of historical process arose in July and August of 1981, when the Wakuénai and other indigenous people of Punta Danta (a pseudonym) staged a transformed *pudáli* ceremony in resistance to the predatory economic practices of local merchants. Punta Danta is one of the largest settlements along the Upper Negro (Guainía) River in Venezuela and Colombia, and was founded as a Spanish *reduccion* (mission settlement) in the 1760s by the Francisco Solano expedition. Like other semi-urban river ports in the region, the town has its upper-class of merchants, government officials, and *racionales* (the term for individuals of indigenous descent who have completely abandoned their cultural traditions in favor of the national culture). This upper crust of society owns a row of trading posts along the river's edge, while the lower class of indigenous and mestizo peoples live in small, adobe-and-thatch houses away from the river. As in other regions, the poor subsist mainly through bitter manioc cultivation, fishing, and hunting and are economically dependent on the upper-class *patrons* for clothing, soap, steel tools, and a variety of other material goods imported from distant urban centers.

The Wakuénai, or Curripaco, people living in Punta Danta in 1981 had arrived in the early 1970s from their natal village along the Isana River on the Brazilian-Colombian border. The adult men of the family had taken *Yeral* (*lingua geral*, a Tupí-based trade language)-speaking wives, and a number of Yeral affines came with the Wakuénai to settle in Punta Danta. Like other Wakuénai and Yeral peoples who arrived in the lower Guainía region in the early 1970s, they came to take advantage of employment opportunities in the *chique-chique* (*Piasawya* palm) fiber- gathering industry and government-sponsored programs in Colombia and Venezuela, such as the CODESUR.[6] Also, the influx of development funds along the Venezuelan bank of the river led to the abandonment of subsistence farming practices by many local families, creating an opportunity for cultivating, processing, and selling surplus manioc products (see Hill and Moran 1983; Moran and Hill 1984). The early years of Wakuénai and Yeral settlers along the lower Guainía were relatively peaceful and productive. Other families came from the Isana and the upper Guainía rivers to join their relatives in Punta Danta. By 1981, the indigenous neighborhood of Punta Danta included an extended family of about 20 Wakuénai and a larger group of Yeral-speakers numbering approximately 100 individuals.

The recent history of indigenous peoples in Punta Danta is one of the denial of newfound happiness and prosperity. When the first families arrived in the early 1970s, they formed a village immediately downstream of a small trading post where *chique-chique* fibers were deposited, weighed, and exchanged for merchandise. There were no other stores and no public services, which in 1981 included a school, electricity, a doctor, a magistrate, and a dirt airstrip. In addition, by 1981, Punta Danta included privately owned bars, several stores, and a bordello supported mainly by people from across the river in Venezuela. The rapid growth of the town was a response to two factors: 1) the arrival of several extended families of Wakuénai and Yeral-speakers, which formed a new pool of manual laborers for local industries and projects; and 2) the funding of public services for indigenous peoples by the Colombian government. In addition, the CODESUR projects sponsored by Venezuela across the river lubricated the local economy with money. When the population of Wakuénai and Yeral settlers grew during the mid-1970s, several families fissioned off from the parent village downstream of the trading post and formed a neighborhood to the rear of the growing town port.

Problems began to arise in the mid-1970s when a group of new merchants established trading posts in Punta Danta at the same time as funds from the Colombian and Venezuelan governments began to flow into the region. These new merchants began to intercept funds and materials, such as gasoline and

cement, which had been donated by the Colombian government to the entire community, the majority of whom were Wakuénai and Yeral families. The merchants used these economic resources to build their own stores, and they sold the remaining materials to the Wakuénai and Yeral for highly inflated prices. This economic exploitation went on for about five years, and by 1980, the indigenous peoples of Punta Danta were heavily indebted to the merchants for materials which, they felt, had been originally sent into the region as a form of economic aid for them. Thus, their social situation had gone from one of growth and newfound prosperity to debt peonage within a five-year period. The time was ripe for collective resistance.

In early 1981, the local Wakuénai headman of Punta Danta traveled to Puerto Inirida to protest his people's situation in front of authorities from the Division de Asuntos Indigenas (DAI). These officials passed the headman's complaint up to their central office in Bogotá, and within days the flow of funds and materials for development of Punta Danta began to cease. In response, the local merchants cut off electricity to the indigenous neighborhood of the town. The Wakuénai and Yeral families were by this time accustomed to having electricity in their homes, primarily for running lights, stoves, and refrigerators, so they reacted by repairing the electric lines. The merchants again cut the lines, and relations between them and the indigenous families soon intensified into open class struggle. The Wakuénai headman organized a collective work party to clean up the neighborhood as a way of bringing people together and showing the strength of his following to the local merchants. This was the situation in July, 1981, when I entered Punta Danta to attend a performance of the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* dance music. The power had been cut for several weeks, and people gathered at dusk to sing, dance, and play music around a fire.

In addition to his own following of Wakuénai and Yeral families, the headman of the indigenous neighborhood of Punta Danta had invited a powerful shaman (*malírri*) from a nearby village to help lead in the performance of *mádzeru*. A core group consisting of the headman, the shaman, and several other elders performed most of the musical dances, while a large audience of young people listened and applauded at the end of each dance. In preparing for the occasion, the men had made two pairs of *máwi*, or *yapurutú*, flutes, six dance stomping tubes (*wáana*), and a number of small whistle-flutes (*píti*). In addition, both the *máwi* flutes and the dance stomping tubes had been brilliantly decorated with red, white, and black paint, white heron feathers, and sweet-smelling grasses. There were no *kúlirrína* trumpets or *déetu* flutes, and the entire set of performances was held during the night rather than in three stages.

The ordering of *mádzeru* performances was highly compressed in relation to the more gradual transition from opening dances to improvisatory duets in *pudáli* ceremonies. Nevertheless, the performances adhered to the underlying pattern of transformation in *pudáli* from uniformity and large collective ensembles to fluidity and spontaneity in smaller, more individualized dances. The first dance consisted of a lead singer (the visiting shaman) with dance stomping tube, a pair of *máwi* flute players, five male singers with dance stomping tubes, and a second pair of *máwi* flute players. After completing one full circle in a clockwise direction, the male musicians were joined by female dance partners. After a while, the lead singer stopped in place, and the entire procession reversed its direction but without turning around. They returned to dancing forward in a clockwise direction again until the end of the performance. The dance approximated the opening performances of female-owned *pudáli* ceremonies, differing only in the addition of reversing the motion of the procession during the dance, an innovation which helped to create a sense of symbolic reversibility.

Immediately following the opening performance, a pair of *máwi* flute players and their female dance partners performed the *yamúti* duet. In other words, the entire series of transformations within *pudáli* from standardized, opening dances to improvisatory dances of the third stage was condensed into an abrupt transition from the former to the latter. This abruptness, or radical shift from rigidity to fluidity, was a musico-choreographic evocation of chthonian power, or an indigenously defined and controlled power, within a context of external domination. The sudden plunge into the pre-sexual, pre-cultural space-time of mythic Beginnings musically punctuated the historical process of political struggle for control over economic development within Punta Danta.

By juxtaposing the standardized, opening dance music of *pudáli* with the *dzawírra* duet, a quintessential expression of the spontaneously creative power of the pre-sexual, pre-cultural space-time of mythic Beginnings, the Wakuénai and Yeral of Punta Danta created an ironic, musical trope of mythical consciousness. Irony, the most complex of the four master tropes and the only one which cannot be fully understood in purely formal terms (Sapir and Crocker 1977), was evident in the pathetically deformed social context of the *mádzeru* dances held in Punta Danta in July, 1981. In *pudáli* ceremonies, the musical evocation of mythical space-time is triggered by the periodic superabundance of economic resources and results in the extension of generalized and balanced reciprocity

from one's own kinsmen to potentially dangerous "Others," or affines. In Punta Danta, *mádzeru* performances evoking the space-time of mythic Beginnings were triggered by a series of activities which expressed an exceptionally *negative* reciprocity (e.g., the merchants' usurpation and manipulation of government aid to indigenous peoples) and resulted in punitive deprivation. Given this set of social conditions, the meaning of *mádzeru* performances in Punta Danta has to be understood as an ironic trope of the orderly, gradual series of transformations leading from formality to spontaneity in *pudáli* ceremonies. The Colombian merchants, unlike potentially dangerous affines, were the agents of an alien, unsocialized, and destructive power structure which was devouring the indigenous families of Punta Danta by placing them into a system of debt peonage. The dramatic juxtaposition of formality and spontaneity in *mádzeru* performances was an urgent attempt to mobilize the expressive tropes of mythic space-time, so that collective action could be taken at a publicly critical, historical moment.

The Double Contradiction

The irony of the social context of *mádzeru* performances in Punta Danta went beyond the cruel absurdness of the merchants' negative reciprocity to encompass a basic contradiction within the national cultures of Venezuela and Colombia: the irony of official, institutional structures of the national governments (the Offices of Indigenous Affairs) charged with assisting indigenous minorities in the context of a spectrum of other governmental and private institutions which collectively denied the existence, much less the value, of cultural diversity within the two nation-states. What was new in the events that led up to the *mádzeru* performances of 1981 in Punta Danta was not the debt fetishism of the merchants, a system with which the Wakuénai and Yeral had had a long, difficult historical experience. The new element was the emergence of economic aid specifically earmarked for indigenous peoples. The irony of the economic situation in Punta Danta was thus double: the merchants' manipulations and stinginess were negations of an original act of generosity by the national government of Colombia towards the Wakuénai and Yeral families of Punta Danta. It was this doubly ironic social situation of giving with one hand and taking away with the other that the Wakuénai and Yeral families were protesting in their performances of *mádzeru.*

Like the double irony of the social context, the *mádzeru* performances on that night in July, 1981, expressed a two-fold contradiction. The irony of collapsing the beginning and ending performances of *mádzeru* into adjacent musical dances was only the first contradiction. A second, far more serious and paradoxical contradiction was publicly enacted in the next song dance. Five men lined up at the entrance to the fiesta house and began to sing. The powerful shaman, visiting from his village upstream, led the procession of singers in a slow, clockwise circle around the dance plaza. In their right hands, they held *wáana* stomping tubes and beat them in unison with the down-step of the right foot. After completing one full circle, two older women joined the dancers. The voice of the shaman-lead singer was strained and mournful, and the small chorus of response singers answered in similarly subdued, almost pianissimo voices: *"Máariyé, máariyé."* The gathering of people became very silent, and a sorrowful feeling became evident in the faces of performers and onlookers alike. As I stood at the edge of the dancing plaza, I was keenly aware of the collective shift in sentiment which was taking place around me, but it is only now, with the advantage of five years' hindsight and numerous rethinkings of the original event, that I am able to interpret the full irony of the moment.

Most significantly, the song dance accompanied by *wáana* stomping tubes contradicted the basic principles of contextual separation between *pudáli* and *kwépani* genres of *mádzeru.* The song which the visiting shaman performed on this occasion was not one of the *waanápani* songs appropriate to *pudáli* ceremonies but *kápetiápani,* or "whip dance," a song usually performed only in the context of sacred *kwépani* ceremonies and male initiation rituals (*wákapétaka yénpitipé*). The *kápetiápani* song of sacred ceremonies and rituals is performed by groups of men carrying long whips (*kapéti*) in their right hands. Thus, by carrying *wáana* stomping tubes in place of whips and singing *kápetiápani* in the context of *máwi* flute duets and other performances appropriate to the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru,* the Wakuénai and Yeral of Punta Danta were juxtaposing performances from radically different contexts. The Wakuénai regard this overriding of the principle of separation between *mádzeru* performances of *pudáli* and *kwépani* as highly dangerous. Nevertheless, powerful ritual specialists can transcend the categorical distinction between performance genres, just as they can crosscut virtually every other major cultural boundary in Wakuénai society. In the context of Punta Danta of July, 1981, the performance of *kápetiápani* in the context of the *pudáli* genre of music served, among other things, to express in terms of the indigenous performance genres, the extraordinarily dangerous, alienating power of the merchants' activities of usurping economic aid to indigenous peoples.

Kápetiápani dance songs of *kwépani* and male initiation rituals contradict the *waanápani* performances of female-owned *pudáli* ceremonies not only in

terms of the social contexts in which they are held but also in terms of the textual, narrative episodes which they evoke. *Wuanápani* songs of *pudáli* do not explicitly evoke any sacred, powerful beings of myth, even though they implicitly embody some of the same symbolic processes as shamanistic curing rituals (see Hill 1983:350-351). *Kápetiápani* songs, on the other hand, directly evoke the great fiery transformation of the world created by *Kuwái*, the powerful, primordial human being of sacred narratives (see Hill 1983; Wright and Hill 1986). In the narrative cycle, the birth and childhood of *Kuwái* set in motion a musical process of creation in which the miniature, pre-sexual, pre-cultural space-time of mythic Beginnings expanded into the life-sized world of rivers and forests which people inhabit today. The voice of *Kuwái* was a powerful musical sound that opened up the world (*kémakáni hliméetaka hekwápi*) and filled it with living species and natural elements. After a long series of narratives about the events leading up to the first male initiation ritual, the narrative cycle describes how *Kuwái* was lured back to this world from the sky in order to teach *Dzúli*, the first chant owner (*málikai limínali*), how to sing and chant the sacred songs (*málikai*). After teaching his powerful music to *Dzúli*, *Kuwái* was led outside to dance *kápetiápani* around a huge bonfire. *Iñápirríkuli*, the trickster-creator and father of *Kuwái*, pushed him into the fire, and the world imploded, or shrank back to its original, miniature size. The performance of *kápetiápani* thus evokes that very moment in Waukénai cosmology when the great, fiery transformation of the world was about to take place.[7]

When the textual meanings of *kápetiápani* are read into the social context of the *mádzeru* performances in Punta Danta in July, 1981, the implications are clearly that the Wakuénai and Yeral families making up the gathering were representing, both to themselves and outsiders, the radically transformational power of *Kuwái* and his music as an augmentation of the deconstructive processes already at work in the juxtaposed opening and closing performances of *pudáli*. The double contradiction in this performance was ultimately an expression of a deeply felt irony: that in order to spontaneously act in resistance to the negation of generosity by the merchants they had to negate the negation by evoking the catastrophic destruction of the entire cosmos, themselves included. Much like the *dominario*, or *ayllu* ritual, observed among the Canelos Quichua of Ecuador by Norman Whitten (1978, 1985), the performances of *mádzeru* in Punta Danta in 1981 alluded to the possibility that the indigenous society might suffer an irreversible and disastrous loss of social autonomy in the process of struggling to free itself from an unjust form of external domination.

Conclusions

In *The Raw and the Cooked*, Lévi-Strauss (1969) opened the way for an understanding of the complex interrelations between music and myth in lowland South America. Lévi-Strauss's focus (1966) on the tropes of metaphor and metonymy has proven in subsequent years to be one of the most useful analytical elements for ethnologists interested in the interpretation of complex cultural events and processes (Wagner 1972; Sapir and Crocker 1977; Crocker 1984; Hill 1988). However, Lévi-Strauss himself never sought to apply his theoretical insights at the concrete level of narrative and musical performance. Even when dealing with such sensuous, concrete activities as modes of aesthetic perception and expression in "The Fugue of the Five Senses" (1969), the French master of structural analysis ultimately reduced all symbolic interrelations to an abstract, binary opposition between positive and negative modes. By resorting to such simplistic, abstract models, he closed the hermeneutic circle too tightly to allow for any understanding of how myth, music, and other cultural processes serve to orient the activities of individuals, or groups of individuals, in empirical social and historical situations. In short, by failing to come to terms with the morass of social contexts within which myth and music are performed, transformed, and created, structuralists implicitly fetishized cultural processes into reifications that are alienated from the human, social agency which manipulates and creates them (Diamond 1974:301-304).

In this paper, I have tried to show the advantages of opening up the structuralist approach to myth and music by exploring how the Wakuénai have used musical and narrative performative genres as a strategy for coping with social "otherness" through collective constructions of the pre-sexual, pre-cultural space-time of shared mythic Beginnings. This process is basically one of mobilizing the expressive tropes of metaphor, metonymy, and irony not just to represent empirical social realities but to control and change them.

Perhaps the most important generalization to arise out of this extended analysis of Wakuénai musical performances is that the tropes are better understood as essentially syntagmatic processes of coupling and decoupling signs, terms, and meanings (Ulmer 1983:89). The tendency of these processes to become aligned into consistent sets of metaphor, or ideologies (1972), at any given socio-historical moment is only a secondary result of actors' interpretations of the events in which they participate and the doubly interpretive activity of an alien, participant-observer trying to interpret the interpreters.

Wakuénai musical performances, together

with the accompanying choreographic activities of *mádzeru*, lead progressively away from merely verbal constructions of mythic space-time into bodily, preverbal, sensuous activities. Paradoxically, the processes of musically evoking mythic space-time in the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* actively create an arena for fluid, spontaneous, improvisatory social action *at the same time as* they relate this inchoate human sociality back to the key organizing metaphors of Wakuénai social reproduction: male and female productive labor, female fertility, balanced exchange, and control over local fishing and gardening resources. The *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* gives insight into what can be called a musical mode of social consciousness. Unlike mythical and historical modes of social consciousness (see Turner 1988), which are embodied primarily (though not exclusively) in verbal, narrative activities, a musical mode of consciousness rests upon non-verbal, or preverbal, activities which cannot be reduced to the formal, arbitrary symbolic relations of everyday speech and common sense and which bring into play reflexivity, multivocality, and iconicity. It manifests itself primarily through sounds and movements which are capable of expressing sharply defined structural patterns and transformations and yet leave these structural processes open to a theoretically infinite variety of interpretations. A musical mode of social consciousness thus allows actors to create indeterminacy and flexibility in social situations at the same time as it constructs a highly organized, non-referential, universe of shared meanings.

The processes of musically evoking the presexual, pre-cultural space-time of mythic Beginnings in the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* illustrate this dual tendency of a musical mode of social consciousness to open the range of possible, alternative interpretations of empirical social processes, and hence to create indeterminacy, at the same time as it erects a patterned framework for experiencing, understanding, and evaluating the same social processes. Thus defined, musical consciousness is inherently ironic, or "metatropological" (White 1973:37), since it enables individuals to rethink, reformulate, re-evaluate, and comment upon their ability to adequately represent social processes which defy meaningful understanding within the framework of a shared universe of discourse and meanings. The mythical time-space constructed in the *pudáli* genre of *mádzeru* is not a state of being which can be adequately characterized through the referential functions of language, although it can be alluded to in narratives and verbal interpretations of musico-choreographic activities. Instead, the presexual, pre-cultural space-time of mythical Beginnings is a process of becoming, a singing, playing, and dancing into being of primordial formlessness and indeterminacy.

In short, the musical mode of social consciousness which manifests itself in the Wakuénai macrogenre of *mádzeru* acts as a medium for deconstructing the socially shared meanings of being human or non-human, male or female, kin or affine, in order to open up the possibility of redefining the meanings of these basic categories of social being in publicly critical circumstances. As a process of musical and choreographic deconstruction, an ongoing coupling and decoupling of signs, terms, and meanings, the *mádzeru* performances of *pudáli* provide a strategy for *becoming* human or non-human, male or female, kin or affine, in empirical, historical contexts of increasingly dehumanizing, defeminizing, emasculating, and deculturating social processes.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Terence Turner and the participants in the Chicago Conference on Andean and Lowland South American Cosmological Systems, May 16-17, 1986, for stimulating my recent thinking on this subject. I am also grateful to the Social Science Research Council and the Fulbright Program for financially supporting my fieldwork with the Wakuénai of Venezuela in 1980-81 and again in 1984-85. Finally, I am very thankful to my colleagues from the 1984 AAA session, "From History and Myth in South America," for our joint efforts to rethink history and myth. However, the opinions, facts, and conclusions in this paper are my own responsibility and not those of the persons and institutions mentioned above.

2. One possible manner of articulating such a discourse would be through generalizing Terence Turner's theory of ritual (1977) as a process of iconically embodying the social processes which it mediates to the social creation of meaning in general, whether it unfolds in ritual contexts or not.

3. Since epistemological chauvinism is basically a process of systematic mistranslation of terms from other cultures, it is necessary to be extremely careful in translating a term which is as multivocal and significant in Wakuénai social life as *limínali*, or "owner. Ownership (*limínali*, or *límnarru*) in Wakuénai society is a highly restricted term and occurs only with the following nouns: *málikai* (sacred songs and chants), *pudáli* and *kwépani* ceremonial exchanges, *pánti* (houses), and *kiníki* (manioc gardens). Much like the Maori concept of *hau*, or life-force inhering in all objects which people produce and exchange, the Wakuénai concept of ownership does not imply an individual having possession or control over some

external thing so much as the individual's sharing his or her identity with houses, gardens, ceremonial exchanges, or sacred songs.

4. The verb used to describe dancing in *pudáli* ceremonies, *-irrápaka,* is also used to refer to the spawning behavior of fish species. Thus, one of the root metaphors underlying all activities in *pudáli* is the comparison of human activities of food exchange and intermarriage with nonhuman activities through which the *Leporinus* and other fish species sexually reproduce.

5. Goldman (1963) has interpreted the Cubeo *óyne* ceremony as a synthesis of two principles, male formality and female spontaneity. In general, the Cubeo *óyne* moves from formality to spontaneity over a period of several days and nights. The Cubeo *óyne* also resembles Wakuénai *pudáli* ceremonies in the social process of breaking down, or disintegrating, the boundary lines between clearly defined patrilineal groups. These resemblances between Cubeo and Wakuénai ceremonies may reflect historical processes of trade, intermarriage, and even absorption of whole phratries between the two societies (Goldman 1963).

6. The term CODESUR is an acronym which originally stood for *"La Comision para el Desarrollo del Sur,"* or "The Commission for the Development of the South." As of 1980-81, this meaning had been changed in popular memory to *"La Conquista del Sur,"* or "the Conquest of the South." The name change is significant, since it shows how easily the nationalist cultural programs of development can become part of tbe same lexical domain as "conquest," or the imposition of military control over other peoples.

7. The followers of Venancio Camico, the most famous indigenous leader of messianic movements in the Northwest Amazon, performed *kápetiápani* dances at the climax of their movement on St. John's Day of 1858. According to written historical documents left by witnesses to these dances, many of Venancio Camico's followers danced and sang until they died of exhaustion (Wright and Hill 1986). The only musical verse mentioned in the written documents is translated as "Heron, heron." The refrain in *kápetiápani* songs is *"Máariyé, máariyé,"* which translates literally as "white heron feathers" but in the context of *kwépani* and *pudáli* ceremonies refers to the ceremonial leaders, who distinguish tbemselves by wearing white heron feathers all over their bodies.

REFERENCES

BASSO, ELLEN
1985 *A Musical View of the Universe: Kalopalo Narrative and Ritual Performances.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

BOUSFIELD, JOHN
1979 "The World Seen As a Color Chart." In Roy Ellen, ed., Classifications In Their Social Context, *pp. 195-220. London: Academic Press.*

CROCKER, J. CHRISTOPHER
1984 Vital Souls. *Tempe, AZ: University of Arizona Press.*

DIAMOND, STANLEY
1974 "The Myth of Structuralism." In Ino Rossi, ed., The Unconscious In Culture, pp. 292-335. New York: E.P. Dutton.

GOLDMAN, IRVING
1963 *The Cubeo: Indians of the Northwest Amazon.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

HILL, JONATHAN
1983 *Wakuenai Society.* Ph.D dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms.

1988 "Introduction: Myth and History." In *Rethinking History and Myth*, Jonathan Hill, Ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, pp. 1-18.

HILL, JONATHAN and EMILIO MORAN
1983 "Adaptive Strategies of Wakuenai Peoples to the Oligotrophic Rain Forest of the Rio Negro Basin." In William Vickers and Raymond Hames, eds., *Adaptive Responses of Native Amazonians,* pp. 113-135. New York: Academic Press.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE
1966 *The Savage Mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1969 *The Raw and the Cooked.* New York: Harper and Row.

MORAN, EMILIO and JONATHAN HILL
1984 "Subsidy and Resource Use in tbe Rio Negro Basin, Venezuelan Amazon." In R. F. Salisbury and E. Tooker, eds., *Affluence and Cultural Survival: 1981*

Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society, pp. 119-133. Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society.

SAHLINS, MARSHALL
1981 *Mythical Realities and Historical Metaphors.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

SAPIR, J. DAVID and
J. CHRISTOPHER CROCKER, eds.
1977 *The Social Use of Metaphor.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

TURNER, TERENCE
1977 "Transformation, Hierarchy, and Transcendence: A Reformulation of Van Gennep's Model of Rites de Passage." In Sally F. Moore and Barbara Meyerhoff, eds., *Secular Ritual*, pp. 53-69. Assen: Van Gorcum.

1988 "Ethno-Ethno-History: Myth and History in Native South American Representations of Contact With Western Society." In *Rethinking History and Myth*, Jonathan Hill, Ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, pp. 235-281.

TURNER, VICTOR
1977 "Process, System, and Symbol: A New Anthropological Synthesis." In *Daedalus* 106 (3):61-80.

ULMER, GREGORY
1983 "The Object of Post-Criticism." In Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays in Post-Modern Culture*, pp. 83-110. Port Townsend, WA: Bay Press.

WAGLEY, CHARLES
1964 *Amazon Town.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

WAGNER, ROY
1972 *Habu: The Innovation of Meaning In Daribi Religion.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

WHITE, HAYDEN
1973 *Metahistory.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

WHITTEN, Jr., NORMAN E.
1978 "Ecological Imagery and Cultural Adaptability: The Canelos Quichua of Eastern Ecuador." In *American Anthropologist* 80:836-859.

1985 *Sicuanga Runa.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

WRIGHT, ROBIN
1981 *History and Religion of the Baniwa Peoples of the Upper Rio Negro Valley.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms.

WRIGHT, ROBIN and JONATHAN HILL
1986 "History, Myth, and Ritual: 19th Century Millenarian Movements in the Northwest Amazon." In *Ethnohistory* 33:3.

CRACKS IN COSMOLOGY AND INDIANIST DEFENSE

Irene Silverblatt
Duke University

> Tell me, then, where are the souls of your *malquis* [ancestors]? Tell me, where are they? If you do not want to say it, I will tell you clearly. Know, my chil-dren, that they burn in hell... Tell me now, my children, of all the people born on this earth before the Spaniards brought the Holy Word, how many were saved? How many? How many are in heaven? None. How many of the Incas are in Hell? All. How many of the queens, the princesses? All. (Father Hernando de Avendano preaching in the mid 17th century.)

And the response of an accused witch and dogmatizer of idolatries, about twenty-five years after Avendano had visited his village:

> Indians, precisely because they are Indians, should adore their malquis [ancestors] since they are the ones who look out for the fertility of fields and the growth and well-being of Indians; and only Spaniards should adore god and the painted saints which are in the church, since they are the gods of the Spanish...

At the turn of the 16th Century and through over half of the century that followed, the Church launched a massive campaign to extirpate native religion from the hearts and souls of their Indian charges. Propelled by soldier-priests, the Spanish colonization of Peru assaulted pre-Columbian understandings of the world, of humanity and the ethics of social discourse as it assaulted the moorings of pre-Columbian political economy.

Unlike the Incas, Spanish colonists disputed the basic humanity of Andean peoples by labeling them Indians and their gods devils. Yet while the colonization process was inventing Indians and idolatries, while it was actively reaffirming the politics of cultural boundaries, it consistently spawned cultural challenges.

Colonial Andean peasants defied Hispanic distinctions of Indian and Human, just as they scorned the debasement of their ancestors and deities. And in apparent irony of the colonial process, Indians seized on Indianness to extol their humanity while celebrating idolatry as the marrow of an ideology of resistance. So while the genesis of "indians" was rooted in the colonial enterprise, their survival in, accommodation to, as well as their shaping of a Spanish-dominated Peru was linked to the tenacious manipulation of these same colonially forged ideologies. This paper explores the dynamics of Indianness and grounds its formation and transformations to the specific configurations of power which indissolubly bound Andeans to Spaniards.

Colonial Peru experienced grave crises in the 1560s. Royal institutions were insufficient to meet the growing demands of colonial aristocrat-entrepreneurs for peasant labor. *Curacas* and *ayllus* experienced these increasingly illegitimate claims of the colonial establishment through a crisis in faith: *Huacas*, furious with their native constituency for servicing Iberian gods, banished all things Spanish in preparation for the cosmic battle to be fought between the Mountain deities and the saints. Only religious militancy, they proclaimed, could bring about a new age of prosperity for Peru's native peoples. In the face of these crisis, the crown recognized the need to implement new institutions of control. Viceroy Toledo was given the mission to tighten the crown's grip on its Peruvian endeavor, and to consolidate structures through which the state could meet the growing demands for peasant labor. The campaign to extirpate idolatry initiated at the turn of the 16th Century, was part of this concerted effort to augment state command over the countryside.

Experienced changes in the conditions of living over the next century gave a particular shape to the nativistic ideologies of the 1660s. These included a continued demand for withdrawal from Spanish institutions, as voiced by Andean witch-dogmatists, along with the invocation of Andean *huacas* to support native victories in law suits brought by curacas against the crown and other colonial figures of authority. Thus by the 17th Century, dual-pronged theologies, preaching a kind of accommodating resistance to colonial powers, had emerged in the *ayllu*: a cry for withdrawal from Spanish institutions, on the one hand; a claim on Spanish institutions to reform peasant life on the other.

Nativistic ideologies explained the deterioration of peasant living conditions in terms of continued participation in Spanish institutions. Indian ministers were clear that worshiping the gods of the new conquerors were fruitless since "they are no more than

painted and gilded sticks and they are mute and don't respond to what the Indians ask them, like [the] idols... and malquis from ancient times do." Indian welfare, then, was not in the hands of Spaniards, their gods, or their saints. The *guacas* and ancestors of the ancients were now, as they had always been, the principle source of native prosperity; and by ignoring them, Indians had placed their well-being at risk. Yet the militancy of these 17th Century *huacas* paled in comparison to the aggressive gods of the Taki Onqoy. No longer willing to do battle with their Spanish enemies, they only demanded withdrawal from Christian institutions. One hundred years of colonization had taken its toll. Nevertheless, while breaking the colonial grip seemed increasingly remote, acceptance of it was still an abomination.

Community norms, repudiating participation in the Spanish world, shunned Christian contamination: during native ceremonies, Spanish foods could not be consumed, and the Church could not be entered. However, some Christian rituals could not be evaded. Annual confession was one. Resigned (realistically) to the state's powers, Indians cleverly subverted to Catholic rites they were unable to avoid. They were told to confess "Catholic sins" - like eating meat on Friday - to their parish priests, and not real transgressions, like worshiping god. And if they had to break native commandments and enter the church to receive Christian sacraments, they were "to do so halfheartedly," for these sacraments were no more than a joke.

Disdain for Christianity contributed to the vitality of native religion, and to the outrage of the idol-smashers. Andeans didn't brook Catholic conventions regarding death and the Christianity of souls who had been baptized. Whether baptized or not, these were ancestors, and the sacred moorings of Andean place and time. As ancestors, they could not be allowed to suffocate in the Church's graves. So with great celebration, the dead were removed from their underground tombs and reburied in caves where they traditionally rested. Whole communities lauded the histories of those who were reinterred in *machayes*; they knew that in death, life is commemorated. For colonial Indians that meant a way of life, which, deriding the commands of the dominant, vibrantly contended with Spanish attempts at extermination.

Andean peoples were terribly aware of the serious intent of the Church to destroy their religious beliefs, and they could manipulate the surface of Catholic rites to leave room for their own subversive festivities. The commemoration of Catholic saints' days required by the priests, became one more avenue to flaunt Andean customs and ridicule the colonial church and state. The saints had to be worshiped; 17th Century Andeans had to bend that much to colonial will. But Andeans did not have to share Colonial intent.

Any day of forced Christian worship became a time to celebrate the malquis. Thus unbeknown to priests and inquisitors, the imposition of Catholic holidays spurred the adoration of native divinities. Christianity, with its many feast days, encouraged the rejuvenation of native religion. It also continuously inspired ridicule.

And vicious ridicule marked the nativized Christian festivals. Not only did holiday sponsors host drunken reunions in the style of community-wide revelries of pre-conquest days, and not only were *huacas* revered under the guise of Catholic feasts, but saints themselves were blasphemed by Indian ritual. When Andeans celebrated the feast day of Saint Peter, remarked one witness, the native minister would order the festival's sponsor to take the saint to his home, where Indians, dancing and singing, would deliberately make offerings to their guacas, in front of Saint Peter's nose.

In the 17th Century Andes, even as the colonial state was tightening its grip, the *guacas* were strong, still vibrant in spite of all the campaigns (religious and otherwise) to destroy them. The *ayllu*, buttressing itself against the fragmentation which the state and commerce encouraged, offered a resonant Indianist defense against the outside as well as against internal splintering. Anti-Catholic ritual, dominating community life in the 17th Century was, as Stern has reminded us, a constant reminder to *caciques* of the strength of peasant will. Distanced from the *curacas* both economically and culturally, *ayllus* could turn to the cultural symbols which provided Indian identity to capture the loyalties of their potentially wayward chiefs.

Yet while trying to curb wholesale chiefly identification with the Iberian world, peasant communities counted on the Hispanicized skills of curacas to manipulate colonial institutions for their protection. Hence the paradox: Curacas invoked *huacas* for support in court cases defending Indians against colonial abuses.

Curiously, Spaniards living in colonial Peru also turned to witch outlaws for similar ends. While the colonial state severely limited indigenous prerogatives vis-à-vis the balance of forces shaping colonial Peru, they were perceived as having powers, albeit extraordinary ones, to mold the course of government and economy. Some Spaniards, including priests, would employ Indians to use the black arts to further their own political and financial ambitions while others engaged Indians to contravene Colonial law and justice. So Hispanic interpretations of the workings of the

world were colored by their fears and expectations of the capacities of the Indians they dominated but whose hearts and minds they could never completely conquer. Indianness, the culture which the extirpators struggled to eradicate, bore on the consciousness of the governing caste. While Indians spoofed the absurdity of Hispanic claims, they must also have sensed a limited, yet no inconsequential, cultural triumph.

Catholic conversion campaigns met with limited success, at least according to 17th Century criteria of religious orthodoxy. And as Hacas Poma lamented, while some Indians, particularly those who had a toehold in Spanish society, wanted to be Christians, the majority seemed to be confirmed heretics. Nevertheless, the campaign to extirpate idolatry was exacting a price.

Even though much of Andean culture deliberately refuted Catholic dogma, the acknowledgement of Spanish ascendancy could be transformed into an unconscious acceptance of Christianity's power. By the 17th Century, Spain had the upper hand in its drive to colonize the Andes, and just the weight of that appraisal wore away at Indianist culture. Slowly, and in ways only dimly apprehended, Christian beliefs penetrated Andean understandings of social existence and history.

So even in the most militantly nativistic communities, Hispanicized deities began to insinuate themselves into Andean explanations of the fundamental experience of cultural life. The god guari - who brought agriculture and cultural order to Andean people before the Incas - was now a Spaniard, and in Ucros, a powerful Spaniard who could turn Indian ancestors into stone:

> In ancient times, before the Incas, all the huacas were men and women like they are today, but a great giant god emerged from... Titicaca, called Huari Viracocha, who had a beard... and wherever he walked he converted huacas into stone. When the Indians from this province heard about this, they... tried to trap him in a house and kill him... but Huari was very wise and clever,... and he had the guacas come together at the appointed spot in the house [where the trap was] and there he converted them all into various figures of stone.

In spite of their resolute anti-Christian sentiments, Andeans were beginning to conceptualize their very foundation as a culture and as a people in Hispanicized terms. Andean beginnings appear to be tied to a figure very reminiscent of the god of the Spanish. Underneath Indianist militancy, gnaws a Christian origin and defeat of Indian culture. Possibilities of acquiescence take deeper root.

Christian religion had indeed pierced Andean souls, as the pressures of colonialism hispanicized Andean nativism. The Catholic trend of Andean faith could foretell new possibilities of acquiescence not only to Christianity but to the governmental structures it stood for. But as it hinted consent, it also hinted resistance. Although by the end of the 17th Century Andean religion was no longer the object of eradication campaigns, it was, whatever the balance of its interethnic strains, an Indian defense. While only occasionally spurring outright rebellion, it still - through its insistence on Indian humanity - strengthened the sense of entitlement which Indians harbored. This native cultural renaissance limited the demands of the colonial state. The children of a wamani-like god were still god's children, and as such Indians battled and in some cases limited the injustices Colonials would have them bear.

But whenever their genesis, Indianist cosmologies are resisting responses to the state that enshrouds them. And they have never let the forces of dominance, be they 17th or 20th Century ecclesiastical drives, fiscal policies, or governmental terrorist campaigns, erode their profound celebration of Indian humanity. Contemporary mountain gods might have grown increasingly infernal as they reflect the deteriorating conditions of living experienced by Andean peasants. But they have never gone to hell. They might be dominated by God, but their will has never been subjugated: Wamanis rebelled against God, peasants say, and because of that they were banished from the sky and were assigned places in the mountains to live in order to carry out god's bidding on earth. But what is god's bidding? Certainly not that envisioned by colonial clergy or by contemporary church fathers. For from the mountains they speak to us, our little mother and little father, and they tell us they are our protectors and our guardians.

CONQUEST AND COSMOLOGIES[1]

Thomas Abercrombie
University of Miami

Introduction

Cosmology is one of the more vaguely defined concepts in the anthropological repertory, a catch-all category into which we put the most general and encompassing of a society's concepts about "life, the universe, and everything."

In the literature, "cosmology" is often used to cover a culture's own conception of the most inclusive, distant, universal and predictable events and patterns of space and time, which is to say, as a synonym of "culture" or "world-view." When not used so loosely, the term tends to be restricted to mean, roughly, "astronomical regularities as culturally interpreted."

One of the more readily accessible examples of this usage, one that all can agree is appropriate, is the *ceque* system of Cuzco, as reconstructed by R.T. Zuidema (1964), which, in brief, was a projection onto social space (the horizontal space of Cuzco) of culturally informed model of astronomical spatiotemporal regularities, which is to say, a calendar projected as a geography and social system.

Experientially, specific parts of this spatialized calendar obtained their differential values from the system of cultural values attributed to phases of cyclic astronomical processes. This is, of course, a form of fetishism by which the power to produce cultural order is thought to lie outside human control, and the often unpredictable and irregular facts of social life reinfused with regularity by being periodically made to march lock step to the rhythms of "cosmic" events. This process, by which the most characteristically human property (that of making meanings) is ascribed to the least "human" domain of experience, deserves considerably more study in both Andean and Amazonian contexts.

But "cosmology" is too often a static oppositional grid, a symbolic schema that the analyst abstracts from various cultural contexts; in the Andean case, cosmology is often treated as the master pattern of that unitary and virtual order known as *lo andino.*

We are used to seeing, and formulating, diagrams with x number of levels, constructed of sets of binary oppositions, which may then be used as keys for the decoding of multiple arenas of social interaction as so many homologies of one or another basic, underlying form. So in the Andes there are the sky and the underworld, homologous with the structure of opposed moieties, of imperial state and subordinated local group, of Christian and indigenous deities, of male and female. Figure 1 provides a standard-form anthropological diagram of cosmology so conceived.

In K'ulta, the Bolivian Aymara *ayllu* on which my own work focuses, this schema might be said to represent fundamental categorical relations, and the analyst might find it refracted in multiple contexts of social life, from the symbolism of domestic architecture to the seating arrangement in a fiesta banquet, from curing rites to the battle array in inter-moiety land wars.[2] But we cannot be satisfied with this grid-like formalization alone as the goal of analysis. Arbitrarily formulated, it functions only as a self-referential verity, a conservative force in social life and social analysis. Our sources for this diagrammatic representation of social categories universally share a feature not captured by it: an emphasis on action, movement, process, and transformation that escapes portrayal through the use of pseudo-platonic and two-dimensional semantic grids.[3] I would argue that the sources from which we tend to extract such semantically-based models of meaning - social processes, rituals, and stories - are involved in something more fundamental; that is, in the dialogical, negotiated process through which meanings are defined, shaped, and created, the true process of semiosis, broadly conceived to include kinds of pragmatic meanings usually excluded from symbolic analysis.

The homologies among contexts of social life which make our diagrammatic representations heuristically satisfying are not illusory and one does generally find that culture considers its ultimate source of power (and thus model for social processes) to lie in celestial movements and beings (that is, in the very regular processes that are most outside of human control). But to boil such a structure of oppositions down to a single "cultural logic," assumed to exist at some underlying, virtual level as a universal common denominator of cultural meaning, is to reify in one's analysis what is already a form of objectification for the society under investigation. With such a reification in hand, it becomes all too easy to simply attach to it a would-be native exegesis in place of analysis. In this way, the purpose of rituals becomes, for the anthropologist and

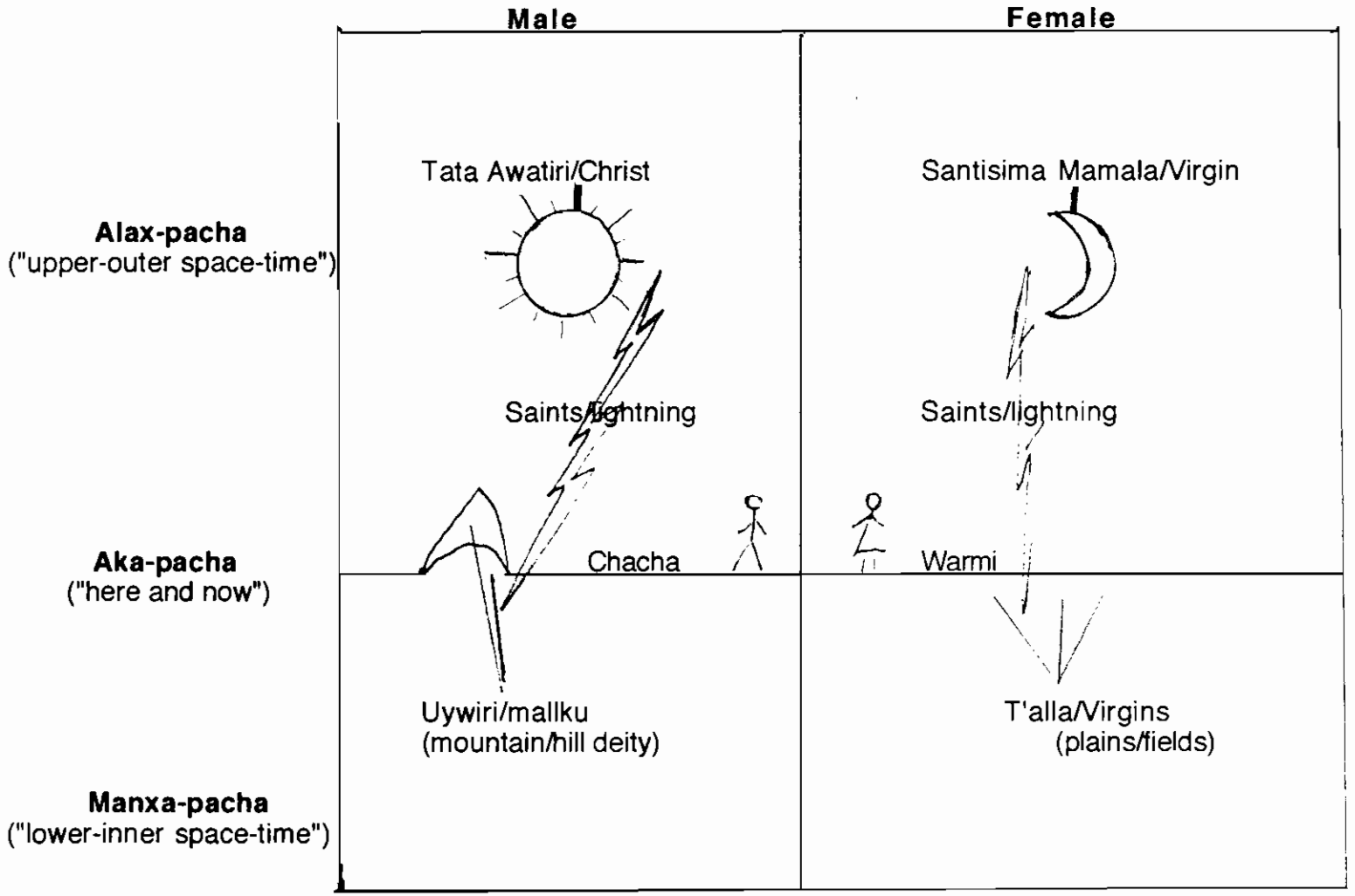
Male
Female
Alax-pacha
("upper-outer space-time")
Aka-pacha
("here and now")
Manxa-pacha
("lower-inner space-time")
Tata Awatiri/Christ
Santisima Mamala/Virgin
Saints/lightning
Saints/lightning
Chacha
Warmi
Uywiri/mallku
(mountain/hill deity)
T'alla/Virgins
(plains/fields)

Figure 1

perhaps for the informant as well, "the feeding of the gods and reproduction of the cosmos."

Some such purpose may well be how Incas and their subject peoples might have justified the rituals through which social forms were cast in the image of that geographically projected astronomical calculus, the *ceque* system. But rites which made use of it, such as the periodic Capac Hucha, in which subject groups sent sacrifice-bearing delegations into Cuzco and then back home again along straight paths, stopping to mark boundaries and the hierarchy of gods, clearly served as tbe vehicles through which ranks and other hierarchically ordered aspects of social relations were stated, reaffirmed, challenged, and re-ordered, througb action rather than words (see Molina 1959:132-141; Hernandez Principe 1923:60-63). Pilgrimage rites like Capac Huaca - and, I would argue, the modern saint-pilgrimages of Qoyllur Rit'i and Copacabana - enact meanings which transform actors (both individuals and groups) while defining and systematizing the constitutive actions ("pragmatic meanings") of social agency.

With these strictures in mind, I now turn to an examination of the practical locus of cosmology in the modern polity of K'ulta, a community of Aymara-speaking herders in the department of Oruru, Bolivia. Rather than to begin by discussing the general features of the K'ulta cosmos (as portrayed in my example of an oppositional grid), which is something the people of K'ulta would never do, I would like to explore a K'ulta idea which is applied equally to myth, libation performance, sacrificial feast, ritual career, life cycle, and calendar. In exploring tbe shared organizational features which make such matters comparable for K'ulteños, we might perhaps tease out of them what we might call an Aymara ethnopoetics, which is at the same time a cosmology, a theory of social agency, and a mode of resistance to cultural domination.

I begin with myth, an aesthetic form which, given the developmental sequence, development of agents through conflict, and internal "cyclic" or episodic structure which characterizes it, might be expected to be considered a calque on the episodic sequences described by heavenly bodies. Analyzed in a paper coauthored with Mary Dillon (1988), the myth in question gives an account of the process of conquest which gave rise to the initial division between spatio-temporal realms (early, autochthonous, inferior underworld and late, exogenous, superior heavens) which is at the same time an ongoing calendrical and diurnal "process," both linear and cyclic.

The story accounts for the arrival of a solar Christ which makes the domination (or conversion) of autochthonous Andeans by a foreign Christ the foundation of the current cosmos, the ground which makes fully social humanity possible. The myth identifies pre-Christian ancestors with other, autochthonous peoples as beings (called *chullpas*) who live in darkness, without herds or cultigens, in a timeless, pre-social condition. The solar-Christ arrives as a man, and after the *chullpas* fail to entomb him, he rises to the sky and dries and buns the *chullpas,* relegating them to the just-created underworld (*Manxapacha*). The myth thus provides a dialogical account of cosmogeny in terms of conquest, by describing the alienation from this earth of the two principal kinds of "others" (formerly human, now "supernatural") which frame the contexts of K'ulta social action. Conquest was not, however, a unique event, and the unfolding of the myth's plot, which is conceived as a linear *t"aki* (the *path* followed by the sun), is repeated in both daily and annual cycles, as well as during the moments when K'ulteños confront the dominating state in their ritual center town.

The story of tbe path (or journey creating a path) of the sun opens a space in which today's Aymara must live. Living between the two zones of a now hierarchically ordered cosmos, it is the task of the tellers of the story to harness and balance what are opposed but complementary extra-social forces, for the purpose of producing society. They must do this by internalizing solar power in order to appropriate the chthonic forces of growth and decay, through rituals which depend on the same terms of transformative bodily encompassment that the antagonists of the myth employed. This is accomplished by recapitulating the actions of the solar deity, making social action an icon of the sun's constituting movement along a path.

As constituted in the denouement of the myth, the solar-Christ's journey takes place simultaneously in both horizontal space (east to west) and vertical space (first above to below [entombment], then below to above [sunrise]). It is in this form that the solar-Christ recapitulates the journey along the path towards and away from the *chullpas'* realm, every twenty-four hours (in setting and rising again), as well as every six months (in ceding to the rains and then overcoming them).

As agents in the story of cosmogeny, the solar-Christ and the *chullpas* carry out their struggle as a social drama, and so cosmological bodies and events continue to be invested with the creative agency and subjectivity of the people who tell the story. As gods (or, like the *chullpas,* "natural" analogues of gods), the forces described in the myth become the ultimate sources of social power and limits to human action; that is, they become a humanized nature which is at the same time outside of the direct control of human agency, but to the cycles of which human social processes must of necessity conform.

As in the case of the Inca *ceque* system, these mythic-astronomical events and orientations must be projected into social space to create the context for human actions to become icons of solar actions (and to index the development of full social agency first achieved by the solar-Christ). So all architectural forms are conceived in terms of spatial and temporal coordinates, and most ritual as well as day-to-day acts are thus aligned. Thus defecation and mourning rites must take place on the western exit to each hamlet, while sacrifices to the sky-deities must be burned or poured facing east or at special altars found outside of the eastern path from the settlement. But the positions of particular architectural, geographic, or social units within the more encompassing hierarchy defined by the conquest cosmogeny are relatively unstable, given that the cast of actors is continuously changing through birth, maturation, and death, and realignments of social relations like marriage, warfare, etc.). Thus the particularities of the local situation must be periodically brought into conformity with the universal structures that give them order. This is accomplished, in K'ulta, through an especially flexible kind of path, integral to all ritual performances.

A K'ulta Ethnopoetics

If the symbolism of paths is central to what might be termed K'ulta's ethnopoetics (and ethno-political science), the *amt'aña t"aki,* "paths of memory," which accompany all rituals are its most expressive and creative form. The "paths of memory" are complex sequences of libations which order social space from the place and time of reference to the insertion of the libators in social and cosmic history. The life cycle is also a path, which begins in the wild of infancy and ends in the western underworld of the dead. In between, during adulthood, there is the "great fiesta path," the ritual careers of public sacrifices to the saints, through which supra-hamlet authorities are created, and the hamlets interrelated (via the paths of the saint images between hamlets and the matrix church). In each of these instances of path symbolism, hierarchy is created through a directional and temporal ordering. Yet the significance of "paths" here cannot be reduced to a ranking based on spatial metaphor: the metaphor itself is, rather, one of process, recursively conceived. In this K'ulta ethnopoetics, ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny recapitulates cosmogeny, and all are cast in the form of social domination.

The history of conquest is present everywhere in the landscape, yet the forces set in motion in the conflict which created the present form of space-time remain, in ordinary experience, just out of one's grasp. Ritual addresses this gap, and provides a manner of restructuring the context of experience so that long past and far away junctures of ordinarily non-present forces can be brought to bear on the here and now (as well as the there and then) of social relations.

Fundamental to all kinds of ritual in K'ulta are both llama sacrifices and dedicatory libations which (though not limited to llama sacrifices) make explicit the motivations and goals of each aspect of offering, as well as the rituals as wholes. Constraints in our space-time prohibit a full reckoning of the social and performance context of the "paths of memory," and a few comments will have to suffice before launching into what is a recreated text.

A *ch'alla,* essentially, is a libation involving the partial spilling (or flicking from the fingertips) of a liquid upon (or towards) a sacred altar, which becomes a channel through which further libations reach more distant beings. Libations are not simply poured out, however, but take place in combination with the utterance of a few words explicitly dedicating the libation to a specific deity. Performances such as the ones to be examined here, in addition, are always parts of rites of passage through which men (and women) become closer to - that is, become more like - the gods.

There are dozens of specified sequences for many kinds of ritual performances, including each stage of the sacrifices which frame all fiestas and rites of passage. Such sequences, as ideal conventional forms (lists of generic deity types) differ in terms of the overall purpose of a particular rite and its specific relationship with aspects of cosmic processes. To give what is perhaps the most commonly performed "paths" in example, all rites of passage (excepting death rites) including the fiesta, are built out of the stages of llama sacrifice, and each stage of the sacrifice has a corresponding libation path to accompany it. Thus, whether in a marriage or a saint's feast, the segments dedicating the animals to be killed (*Uywa Ispira*), slaughtering the animals (*Karwa K"ari*), and dedicating the meat of the feast (*Ch'iwu*) correspond to types of "generic" libation paths which are called upon to frame and order the action; that is, the paths of memory are themselves generic forms, mandatory sequences of kinds of beings, which are filled in during performance with local specifics including names of particular deities and persons. For the moment, I would highlight the term "path." What we have here is a named type of poetic form which, along with narrative (and especially the story of the sun's path), illustrate one of Bakhtin's ideas on literary form (itself taken from Einstein):

> In the literary artistic chronotype, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one careful-

> ly thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. This intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotype. (1981:84)

As developed by Bakhtin, the concept is intended to apply to the novel, or more properly, to particular uptakes of time and history, and their relationship to space and movement, in novels. The definition might also serve, however, for the term cosmology as it is often presented, through privileged metacommunicative genres of structured language and practice like myth, oratory, and ritual.

Memory Paths or libation sequences are composed as a centrifugal movement, a path which progresses even further from the immediate concerns of the household, branching (segmentally) out into ever more distant semantic and pragmatic realms. The libation path organizes space concentrically, focused always on the specific altar of performance and the social unit indexed by it. Recapitulating the internal hierarchy of inclusion of each segment, the progression of segments (and of major chunks of segments) also forms a (concentrically focused) hierarchy of inclusion. Thus the sequence moves from the deities of the humans of sponsor's patriline, to those of his corrals which have a more bilateral affiliation, to the realm of herd animals, to the sources of vegetable food, outside of K'ulta and its ecozone, to the ancestors of the "other world," and finally to "luck" most outside of the control and understanding of the sponsors.

The term *t"aki* (path) is an appropriate one for this progression, as what are "remembered" are actual channels of social transmission, which, like a journey, have both spatial and temporal coordinates. The idea of sequence (of a path with a beginning and an end, or of a journey between near and distant terminal points) also serves to integrate spatial and temporal hierarchies into a single order, since the "path" described by libations is always simultaneously across territory and back in time. This is, however, to simplify (as does the poetics of libation sequence), through juxtaposition (that is, metaphorical equation) of different forms of hierarchical diagrams, each with distinct implications. The vertical hierarchy of inclusion of altar/guardian hill/condor peak conforms to an idea of descent, whereby a single apical "ancestor"-mountain controls and encompasses all of its "lower" descendants. The relationship among corral deities, however, expresses (in connection with herd animals) the matrilateral links which multiply the number and horizontal reach of salient condor peaks. Finally, in the latter segments of the sequence, distance is not correlated with genealogical depth or encompassing height, but with categorical difference.

So far, however, I have treated only a single libation path type in which all deities addressed reside in the underworld. Other sequences, such as those carried out in the ritual center town, include corn beer, exclusively used to honor the gods of the sky, which is to say, the dominant, Christian, inflected order.

The deities to whom *chicha* is thus offered share, in the first instance, the attribute of residing in, or constituting, *Alaxpacha*, the upper or outer space-time which dominates and encompasses *Manxapacha*. They are of course also the deities of conquest, simultaneously of culture over nature, human beings over animals, the present over the past, and of Hispanic society over Indians. The sun is the most distant and foreign agency, a latecomer who became the first cause of a new order wrought in his struggle with the old, but, like the moon, is more distant and less accessible to humans, who must make offerings insubstantial (smoke, breath, etc.) for them to reach *Alaxpacha*. In this respect the celestial gods are quite unlike those of *Manxapacha*, which are everywhere perceptible in the landscape (*layra timpu*; likewise, when all deities were embodied on this earth, lies before one's eyes [*layra*]), directly accessible to offering substances which, like rivers, flow down into the past. Only the saints, who are refractions of the sun and moon, are embodied on this earth, and it is through them that offerings to *Alaxpacha* pass. Saints images are also the channels through which *Alaxpacha* powers descend to the realm of men. As such, they (and the churches and chapels in which they reside) are like embassies of *Alaxpacha*, through which the vertically assigned attributes of gods can be reworked as horizontal (and concentric) relations; that is, among social groups.

The Mediation of Domination

It is clear that the gods of the sky have a quite Christian character. Christ and the Virgin (though thought of as a married couple) predominate, and give rise to a host of saints, who are personal intercessors for men and women.

The male and female saints (which include devotions to the Virgin and Christ, as long as there is an image, in addition to saints per se), are emissaries of the sun and moon, capable of making direct contact with this earth (*Akapacha/Uraqi*). As such they are the *Alaxpacha* equivalents of the condor peaks, the emissaries to *Alaxpacha* from below. Indeed, in shamanic curing (as practiced by a type of shaman known as

ch'iyar yatiri, "knowers of darkness"), the two forms (condor peak as condor and saint, as Tristan Platt has suggested, a kind of Pentecost) work together to make the required interzonal contact through which the hidden becomes manifest and the unknown given words.

Center, Periphery, and Encompassment

K'ulta society may be peripheral to the state and world-capitalist system in which it is located, but it also has a symbolic center, which is the point - in both space and time - at which it articulates with the dominant order, via its gods and state representatives. And to this center - the Spanish-founded town of Santa Barbara de Culta - there is a periphery: the scattered residential hamlets. The opposition between central town and hinterland, in which the cosmological scheme is given another set of spatial coordinates, speaks of a notion of polity and civitas apparently shared by both pre-conquest Andeans and the Spanish conquerors.

Early Spanish sources, such as the Aymara dictionary by Bertonio, and the origin myths collected soon after the Spanish invasion, indicate that the Aymara vocabulary defined fully "social" humans through their opposition to people of the pre-solar, pre-domestication age. These early sources show an identification, in Aymara terminology, of this autochthonous people with their supposed latter-day remnants in the hunting/fishing Urus and Choquelas, as well as in wild animals and birds, all of which lived outside the frontiers of the hierarchical "community" of lords and subjects bound by reciprocal obligations.

Here I must examine these ideas as they are played out in public fiesta ritual. The temporal sequence of a fiesta performance moves from the residential hamlet to the ritual center town (the locus of church and state intervention in K'ulta affairs), and then back to the hamlet. This movement from periphery to center and back is accompanied by shifts in the focus of libations offered by fiesta sponsors. In the hamlet, libations are offered primarily in alcohol, to underworld forces (the mountains, plains, and ancestors that are close by and in which the hamlet is "rooted"). In the town, these libations are greatly attenuated in favor of libations in corn beer (*chicha*) to sky deities (sun, moon, and saints).

Subsistence Production, Social Production, and the Alienation of Generative Power

The contrast between town and hamlet libation performances reveals a division between two aspects of the generative power which is the source of both social form and subsistence strategy. In the case of basic subsistence activity of K'ultas, two models of llama herding exist at opposite ends of the cosmological spectrum. In the infrasocial domain, there are the mountain deities with their "herds," the wild animals which are the *chullpas'* and the mountain gods' analogues of humans' domesticated ones. On the suprasocial plane, there is the solar Christ, herder of a human flock. While the fertility (a kind of "natural" production) of herd and human family derives in large part from the chthonic powers (such as the mountain *Uywiris*, "those who own/raise the herds"), man's ability to control the herd animals - to master the hierarchy needed to appropriate nature for cultural purposes - derives from the solar model.

So it should not surprise us that authorities and ritual sponsors merit the title *awatiri*, "herder of men," given them by their followers, only through a prolonged series of metaphoric, sacrificial equations among llamas, men, and the gods. Hierarchical control of men is gained by internalizing a quality both possessed by the solar-Christ (who is called *Tata Awatiri*, "father herder") and present in the animal world (the *llantirus*, "the herd-leading llamas"): that of the one subsuming the many.

Very briefly summarized, fiesta sponsorship rites begin with a sacrifice of *llantiru* llamas (from Sp. *"delantero"*), dedicated primarily to chthonic *Manxapacha* deities of fertility and "natural" production (the *Uywiris* and *Mallkus*). Through these sacrifices, and hy presiding over the meeting of moieties and cosmic zones in hanquet and *tinku*, the sponsor becomes a *llantiru* of the human herd (the herder of which is *Tata Awatari*). Subsequently offering himself in symbolic sacrifice to the gods of *Alaxpacha*, he is equated with the saint (and the solar-Christ of which the saint is a fragment). The final sacrifice is of the saint image, whose "clothing" is removed and worn bome to the hamlet.

One might argue that the symbolic focus of these collective rites is the projection of the herder-herd hierarchy from the level of ordinary production (man to llamas) to that of production of the society as a hole, in which authorities are called *awatiri* ("herder") and address their followers as *t"ama* ("herd"). But in fact it is the very power of controlling domesticated animals - the basis of civilized (rather than *layra timpu*-type) society - which has been invested in the relationship between *Alaxpacha* (and the state) and *Manxapacha* (and indigenous society); that is, of having come from the domination of autochthonous beings by the solar-Christ.

Wearing home the "clothing" of the symbolically sacrificed saint seems a clear expression of the encompassment and internalization of the hierarchical

power of the Christian *Alaxpacha* (and the social totality) by the partial social units of the *Manxapacha*-associated hamlet. In this scheme, the reproduction of the household and hamlet (and of the very subsistence base) hinges on the creation of authorities, through progressive steps along the "great fiesta path," who can gain such internalized control.

It remains to point out that the internalization of solar (and Hispanic-state) hierarchical power is applied to the relationship between the sexes as well. For in spite of the insistence on the metaphor of herding in the constitution of male authorities, it is women (and children), not men, who actually herd llamas; that is, the power to transform nature into culture hinges on male domination of women, as also symbolized in the circumscription of feminine wild space within masculine outer boundaries in the creation of all forms of social space. K'ulteño men are aware that certain contradictions are involved here: households and hamlets are necessarily exogamous, and control over productive/generative powers depends on the ability of men to become herders of women, and of other patrilines. This is ultimately possible only through building state and Christian hegemony into every form of social space and human relationship.

Hegemony and Resistance

If the rites of authorities represent a kind of submission to state hegemony, their practitioners do not conceive it that way. Moreover, local control of ritual form is a kind of control over the way in which hegemony is expressed, in order to serve local ends. But while ritual sponsors and authorities may mediate between cosmic zones (spaces and times) in order to appropriate from each the powers required for growth, sustenance, and social production, hegemony may be mediated, but it is not abolished. Society's appropriation of chthonic "generative" and colonial "hierarchical" powers remains incomplete, and its maintenance contingent on the repetition of a kind of self-sacrifice in the periodic repetition of the sun's journey of conquest.

Colonial (and Republican) hegemony, for the K'ultas, is an integral aspect of the constituted social whole. The alternating ambivalence toward indigenous deities, on the one hand, and toward Christian sky deities, on the other, precludes either full identification with or complete rejection of either. The antipathy between what are not only opposed parts of the cosmos but opposite sides of a long-running dialogue between "ethnic group" and hegemonic powers, forms a complexly ordered process through which society defines itself.

In colonized societies like those of the Andes, in which a global, dominant order is implicated and presupposed in the local order, and vice versa, we must face the problem of defining the locus of culture, of specifying the social unit sufficient for study. I would suggest that socio-cultural order, in these cases at least, is continually emergent, created at the juncture of greatest potential change and conflict, through metacommunicative or metapragmatic poetics of public ritual, which presupposes the lived meanings of daily practice just as it is capable of re-ordering them.

If a K'ulta ethnopoetics, or cosmology if you will, phrases the acquisition of full social agency from extra-social sources in terms of the process of domestication of animals and control over herds, one may expect that Andean societies which depend on irrigation agriculture rather than herding will phrase it somewhat differently (such as in acquisition of control over water sources and irrigation canals). A state society encompassing both forms of production, of course, may employ both idioms. In the Inka case, the were harmonized in the immense sacrificial system whose armature was the huge spatially projected calendar and calculus of social hierarchy known as the *ceque* system. In K'ulta, the *ceque* system has its corollary in the six ritual paths followed by fiesta sponsors on their journeys to and from the town from their residential hamlets. If one may use the ethnographic example of K'ulta as a guide to understanding Inka "cosmology," then we should understand its concrete attributes (like public architecture and the *ceque* system) as an armature of objectified attributes of social agency through which not just the principles of social action, but effective actors and the hierarchical relations among them are produced and reproduced.

Pre-columbian Inkas and modern K'ulteños are roughly comparable, of course, in spite of the radical disjunctures of the conquest, insofar as both formulate the acquisition of full social agency and the power to reproduce domestic units as dependent not only on extra social forces, but also on the mediation of a dominant state (and its sky gods) between such forces and the local community. This is expressed with particular forcefulness in the strategies of domination (to use de Certeau's phrase) built into state-planned spaces like regional administrative centers (in the Inka case) and Spanish-built towns (in the colonial/modern case), within which the relations of state domination appear as naturally constituted aspects of an extra-human cosmos, and where modeling the production of local social hierarchy (in the relationship between fully developed social actors and others) on an internalization of the control the sky gods exert over the underworld gods, reproduces not only local actors and local hierarchy, but state domination as well.

If projecting the cultural sources of social value and productive power outside of society, and conceiving space-time as a unity are near universals (Western society excepted), what is specifically Aymara or Andean in the cultural order I have described here? The Andean, I would say, does not consist in the notion of cyclic time or the reckoning of human relationships via astronomical ones. It is, rather, in the particular idioms (herding, sacrifice, corn grinding and potato freeze-drying), by which powers of agency and production are conceived, and in the particularities by which aspects or phases of these processes are attributed to certain social roles, genders, and life stages, as well as in the modalities of relation (kinds of reciprocities, etc.) recognized as social or anti-social.

Andean cosmology is the armature of Andean culture, which is, today, an astonishingly complex synthesis of pre-columbian and Hispanic "elements." To abstract what the analyst thinks to be "authentic Andean" elements from the whole in which they are, today, meaningful, is to seriously misinterpret *lo andino* in its modern form. It is also to denigrate the intellectual and synthetic powers by which Andeans interpret the world in which they live today, and by which, in defending their interpretation, they resist European hegemony. It is for this reason that anthropologists must take special care when, as they should, they support Andeans in developing cultural pride. What needs celebration, though, is not only the lost past, but the achieved synthesis. I agree with Frank Solomon that when we congratulate Andeans on their rejection of (or superficial conformity to) Christianity, and celebrate only what we think are continuities with the past, like Pachamama and the mountain apus, we do them a unique disservice.

In K'ulta, I once asked about this *pachamama*, the generalized earth goddess I thought I would find there. I was told, however, that *pachamama* was something that people in cities and the "culturally naked" mestizos or *mistis*, believed in. To pursue her - and the mystical and non-Christian cosmos she has come to represent - without attention to what Andeans do in church and say in their fields about Christ and the Virgin, is to participate in a misti-fication of the Andean cosmos. It is to pursue an anthropological romance that we should, rather, reject.

Notes

1. The present paper is presented essentially unaltered from the draft prepared immediately following the symposium that gave rise to this volume. Some of the issues are developed more fully in Dillon and Ambercrombie 1988 and in Ambercrombie 1991.

2. Fieldwork carried out in 1979-80 was supported by a dissertation research fellowship from Fulbright-Hays. Work in 1982 was made possible by grants from the Center for Latin American Studies and the Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago, from Sigma Xi, and from the Whatcom Museum.

3. For further discussion of the distorting influence of semantic models of meaning in cultural analysis, see Silverstein (1976). Silverstein argues that pragmatic meanings - those established through indexes in speech or action - predominate among cultural meanings, even in language, the domain from which semantico-referential theories were developed.

REFERENCES

AMBERCROMBIE, THOMAS
1991 "To Be Indian, To Be Bolivian." In *Nation State and Indian in Latin America*, Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer, Eds. Austin: University of Texas Press.

BAHKTIN, MIKHAEL
1981 *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bahktin.* [M. Holquist, Ed.] Austin: University of Texas Press.

DILLON, MARY and THOMAS AMBERCROMBIE
1988 "The Destroying Christ: An Aymara Myth of Conquest." In *Rethinking History and Myth*, Jonathan Hill, Ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

HERNANDEZ PRINCIPE, RODRIGO
1923 [1624] "Mitología andina." *Inca* 124-68.

MOLINA, CRISTOBAL DE
1943 "Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas [1575]." In *Los pequeños grandes libros de historia americana*, serie 1 (Vol. IV). Lima: Librería e Imprenta D. Miranda.

SILVERSTEIN, MICHAEL
1976 "Sifters, Linguistic Categories and Cultural Description." In *Meaning in Anthropology*. K. Basso and H. Selby, Eds. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

ZUIDEMA, R. T.
1964 *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca.* Leiden: E. S. Brill.

1982 "Bureaucracy and Systematic Knowledge in Andean Civilization." In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800.* George Collier, Renato Rosaldo and John D. Wirth, Eds. New York: Academic Press.

THE SOCIAL AND COSMOLOGICAL REPLICATION OF THE UPRIVER-DOWNRIVER DICHOTOMY IN INCAIC CUZCO

R. Tom Zuidema
University of Illinois

In this paper, I explore how the Incas in Cuzco employed two, and not only one, upriver-downriver dichotomies, concerning two rivers that go in opposite directions, and this usage in relation to a social, calendrical and astronomical fourfold division that itself was based upon the hierarchical integration of two dual divisions. Working with such an expanding system of dichotomies gave the Incas a cosmological argument for their view of the state as based upon conquest.

The first dichotomy concerns the local river of Cuzco, flowing from northwest to southeast. The Upper moiety, *Hanan*, was located in the valley of Cuzco, north of the river Huatanay and, according to Inca theory, here lived the Inca descendants in Inca mothers. The Lower moiety, *Hurin*, was located south of the river, where the descendants lived in women from peoples outside the valley, conquered by the Incas. The moieties were each divided into sub-moieties or quarters, called *suyus*, of which one was upriver and the other downriver. In *Hanan*, the upriver *suyu* was dominant and the downriver *suyu* subordinate, but in *Hurin* it was the reverse. Downriver was here dominant and upriver subordinate.

In each *suyu* lived three, and thus in each moiety six, local groups - the first five being called *panaca* and the sixth consisting of the pre-Inca inhabitants of the valley - with a hierarchical order reminiscent of the one described by Bidou and Hugh Jones for the intra- and the inter-*maloca* organizations along the rivers of the Upper Amazon. I will describe, as an example, the descending order of the *panacas* in *Hanan* as they were located along the river from upriver to downriver. During a ritual to which I will refer later, each *panaca* burned a tunic in honor of a particular god. Thus:

panaca #10 offered to the Sun god
panaca # 9 offered to the Thundergod
panaca # 8 offered to *Viracocha* (the god related to the rivers)
panaca # 7 offered to the Earth
panaca # 6 offered to the Moon

These connections gave also expression to the following social roles of the *panacas*:

panaca #10 related to rulership
panaca # 9 related to warfare
panaca # 8 related to priesthood
panaca # 7 related to agriculture
panaca # 6 related to shamanism

The social roles were, first of all, observable in calendrical rituals, each *panaca* being in charge of those of one of the five months going from December to April and the pre-Incas of those of May. In terms of political organization and of mythical history, however, the *panacas* were also connected with, respectively, the systems of age classes and of royal ancestors. Their spatial organization operated on three temporal levels (Bidou 1976; Cobo 1956:213; Hugh-Jones 1975:25; Zuidema 1982, 1990a, 1990b).

The second upriver-downriver dichotomy involved the territory where lived the Incas-by-privilege outside the valley. It was expressed by way of the complementary use of two pilgrimages: the first one going to the source of the Villcanota river - which is the continental divide, today called La Raya, but originally, in Aymara, called *Villcanota*, "the house where the Sun is born" - and the second pilgrimage going to the place where the same river passes a gorge and enters lower, subtropical valleys. The two places are located, together with Cuzco, on one southeast-to-northwest axis.

The first pilgrimage used as its beginning and end points two places on Cuzco's eastern horizon. It left from where the Incas made the exact observation of sunrise during the December solstice and it returned to where the sun rises, before and after that solstice, on the two days when it goes through zenith, 30 October and 13 February. In between those dates, the sun at noon passes South of the zenith and not North, as is the case during the rest of the year. The Incas said that during the - let us call it - zenith period the sun does not move. Urton made a similar observation for modern Misminay. The two kinds of solar observations, those of the solstices and of the zenith passages, were the most important and precise ones, made in Cuzco, for obtaining an integration of the astronomical and calendrical systems (Molina 1989:68-69; Urton 1981:72-73; Zuidema 1982).

There is, however, a peculiarity about the

pilgrimage that I have to mention. It was *not* carried out in December or in between 30 October and 13 February as could be expected, but during the month around the June solstice. The interlocal pilgrimage inverted completely the local use of the horizon points. Moreover, the pilgrims traveled first straight through the mountains from the December solstice point south of the Huatanay to Villcanota, but then returned following the meandering river to the zenith sunrise point north of the river.

The other pilgrimage was organized in a similar way, although it reversed the sequence of going straight through the mountains and returning by the river. Now the pilgrims first followed the Huatanay river, down from Cuzco itself, and then the Villcanota river, down to the gorge where the river enters the subtropical country. Then they returned straight to Cuzco, arriving at the Cuzco horizon where the sun sets during the June solstice. This second pilgrimage too was carried out, not around the solstice of which it used a point of observation, but during a full moon in between the dates of the December solstice and the sun's zenith passage on 13 February (Molina 1989:115-116).

We can draw a first preliminary conclusion of these pilgrimages, stating that the second upriver-downriver dichotomy probably was an inversion of the first, induced by the direction of the Villcanota, contrary to that of the Huatanay. In the case of both rivers, the southeast direction is closer to a December solstice sunrise direction and the northwest direction to one for the June solstice. A second preliminary conclusion is that the Incas used the extension of an accidental river direction from northwest to southeast in order to make the precise astronomical observations - in this case of the solstices - that they were interested in. They accomplished this by using two different observatories, shifting them to outside Cuzco in such a way that they could fulfill the requested tasks. The choice of the direction came first, and then its practical and precise uses. This conclusion is important if we compare, for instance, the Inca practice to that of the Bororo, who locate their two moieties on the village circle north and south of the east-west direction, which for them is the road of the sun from sunrise to sunset and the direction of the rivers in Bororo country, also going from east to west. However, knowing such a direction does not necessarily involve a knowledge of the kind of dual division of the year for which it might have been chosen (Fabian 1992).

Here I want to discuss some consequences of this Incaic use of an expanding system of river dichotomies. They deal with the problems of inversion, alternation and ranking of the moieties and with the relations between Incas and non-Incas. In the case of the Villcanota river, even if its direction is contrary to that of the Huatanay, upriver was still superior to downriver. Two myths refine this statement. The source of the Villcanota is mentioned in the myth of an Inca hero, Cusi Huanachiri, who was a conqueror, who invented worshiping of the rising sun (in Villcanota and in general) and the art of ear piercing, and who also had fathered many children in women of conquered peoples. Ear piercing was part of the male initiation rituals and was carried out near sources of water during the December solstice. As it was also tied to the female rituals done after first menstruation, it was a man's introduction to active sexual participation in society. We remember, however, that the myth of ear piercing was related to the June solstice, while real ear piercing was done on the day of tbe December solstice. A second Inca hero, Inca Urco, was defeated near the gorge where the Villcanota river leaves the highlands. One chronicler makes the claim that he died without having any descendants. As his name makes clear, he was sterile. But Cusi Huanachiri, the conqueror, belonged to *Hurin,* the lower moiety, be it to its upper quarter, and Inca Urco, the defeated hero, to *Hanan,* the upper moiety, be it to its lower quarter. The Inca calendar, with its spatiotemporal organization, can explain this situation (Murúa 146, Book 1, Chapter 2).

Although in the valley of Cuzco, *Hanan,* for all practical purposes, was north of the Huatanay, it did include into its territory also the sources of the river. *Hurin,* on the other hand, that within the valley lived completely south of the river, included into its wider territory the sources of the Villcanota river. A similar phenomena occurred with the calendar. *Hurin* time - that is, the half year taken care of by *Hurin* - did not begin on the exact day of the June solstice, but before, with the month including that date. Concurrently, *Hanan* time began, not on the day of the December solstice, but with the month before that date. Thus, Cusi Huanachiri, associated to the source of the Villcanota river, belonged to the *first* suyu of *Hurin* that took care, from June on, of the initial rituals of first irrigation and plowing, while the second *suyu* took care, from September on, of the succeeding rituals of planting and of the first rains; rituals carried out in honor of women, including the women that Cusi Huanachiri had made pregnant. On the other hand, while Inca Urco belonged to the second *suyu* of *Hanan* and was associated with the lower end of the Villcanota, his conqueror, Pachacuti Inca, belonged to *Hanan's* first *suyu* and was associated to the upper end of the Huatanay. From December on, the rituals of this first *suyu* in *Hanan,* including the pilgrimage to the lower end of the Villcanota river, were aimed at reducing rainfall and at ripening plants and seeds. In March

they were followed by the rituals of *Hanan's* second *suyu* that were concerned with the harvest. We can conclude that the rituals of *Hurin* referred to the conquest of the fertile earth, while those of *Hanan* to that of the harvest. Cusi Huanachiri himself was the son of a non-Inca woman and even if he was a conqueror, he was so of an earth that had not produced yet; of an earth called *Pachamama*, "Mother Earth." The second conquest was of the produce of the earth, which then was called *Camacpacha*, "Lord Earth." (For the distinction Pachamama/Camacpacha, see Murúa 1946, Book 3, Chapter 49, Murúa 1987, Book 2, Chapter 28; for the division of the year in Hurin and Hanan time, see Zuidema 1989b.)

The Incas carried out the system of expanding river dichotomies up to the borders of their empire. In my conclusions, I want to mention three examples of it.

First, the axis from southeast to northwest was expanded in the imperial version of the myth of Viracocha from Lake Titicaca to the coast of Ecuador. After the Flood, this god brought forth from Titicaca the Sun and the Moon. Traveling to Ecuador, he brought forth out of the caves the ancestors of the different peoples in the Empire. A river direction was replaced by one between a highland water source, Lake Titicaca, and a lowland one, the Ocean(Betanzos 1987, Book 1, Chapter 2).

Second, while Collasuyu, the first *suyu* of *Hurin*, received the honor of being connected to the origin myth, only Chinchaysuyu, the first *suyu* of *Hanan*, was the scene for the dynastic myth of the conquest of the empire. All successive kings founded here a new city on their road of conquest. Pachacuti Inca conquered Cuzco. His oldest son, Tupac Amaru, was born in Vilcas Huaman. Pachacuti Inca's successor, Tupac Yupanqui, was the founder of Huanucopampa, the city that Guaman Poma called the capital of the *Hanan* part of the empire with Cuzco that of the *Hurin* part. Huayna Capac, his son, was the founder of Tunibamba, present-day Cuenca in Ecuador, and Atahuallpa, the last pretender to the Inca throne, came from Quito. The empire stopped here, in space as well as in time. The most interesting myth about the end of the empire refers, however, to Titicaca, where Viracocha had created the Universe, and to Huayna Capac, the last king to die in indigenous circumstances. The king made in Titicaca a deal with Viracocha - or is it perhaps a deal with the *Viracochas*, the Spaniards? - and he disappeared in the form of the Sun that shines today. Then came the Spaniards. (For the dynastic mythg of conquest, see Zuidema 1983; for the myth of Huayna Capac, taken from Guaman Poma 1991,, Chapter 14, see Zuidema 1992.)

Third, I proposed in this paper a connection between, on the one hand, the fact that the Villcanota river goes in a direction contrary to that of the Huatanay and, on the other hand, the fact that in the *Hurin* part of the valley of Cuzco the downriver *suyu*, Collasuyu, was more important than the upriver one, Cuntisuyu; a situation contrary to that in the *Hanan* part. It is a question of the chicken and the egg to ask what came first, the particular *suyu* situation or the use of the double upriver-downriver dichotomy. We might argue that Collasuyu was more important in the *Hurin* part of the valley *because* it contained in its wider extension the source of the Villcanota river. But phenomena as described here for Cuzco may have existed also elsewhere. Maria Rostorowski argues that in the coastal social organizations of Peru the *Hurin* moiety was more important than the *Hanan* one and, as the myth of Viracocha and Huayna Capac that I just mentioned makes clear, Coast and Highlands, Pachacamac and Titicaca, were in a moiety relationship to each other. On the basis of such data I would argue that the superiority of Collasuyu in *Hurin* was prior to the Inca's use of the Villcanota in their internal ritual organization. Probably we need data from modern Andean and non-Andean ethnography to settle the issue (Rostworowski 1989).

I end this paper with a quotation from Guaman Poma - but about a matter that not only he mentions - that is similar to observations made by modern ethnographers elsewhere in South America. He says that:

> the King always fell in love with principal ladies from the Collasuyus and of the Canchis and Pacajes [provinces within Collasuyu] and [how] in this way he always came back to them, but that he never favored the women of the Chinchaysuyus and that therefore he made the Queen very jealous.

Chinchaysuyu was the quarter of conquest to which belonged both the king and the queen. But there was a balance struck between the roles of *Hanan* and of *Hurin* (Guaman Poma 1987:334(336).

REFERENCES

BETANZOS, JUAN DE
1987 *Suma y Narración de los Incas [1551]. M. del Carmen Martin, Ed. Madrid: Atlas.*

BIDOU, PATRICE
1976 Les Fils de l'Anaconda Celeste (Les Tatuyo). Etude de la Structure Socio-Politique. *Paris: Thèse de Doctorat de Troisième Cycle.*

COBO, BERNABÉ
1956 [1653] *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Vol. 2. F. Mateos, Ed. Madrid: Atlas.

FABIAN, STEPHEN MICHAEL
1992 *Space-Time of the Bororo of Brazil*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA, FILIPE
1897 [1615] *Nueva Crónica y Buen Govierno*. John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno, Jorge L. Urioste, Eds. Austin: University of Texas Press.

1991 [1609?] *The Huarochirí Manuscript. A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*. Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, Eds. Austin: University of Texas Press.

HUGH-JONES, STEPHEN
1975 *The Palm and the Pleiades. Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MOLINA CRISTOBAL DE
1989 *Fábulas y Mitos de los Incas*. H. Urbano, Ed. Madrid: Historia 16.

MURUA, MARTIN DE
1946 [1590] *Historia del Origin y Genealogía Real de los Reyes Incas del Perú*. Constantino Bayle, S.J., Ed. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo.

1987 [1613] *Historia general del Perú*. Manuel Ballesteros, Ed. Madrid: Historia 16.

REICHEL DOLMATOFF, GERARDO
1985 *Los Kogi. Una Tribu de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia*, 2 Volumes. Bogotá Nueva Biblioteca Colombiana de Cultura.

ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO
1989 *Costa Peruana Prehispánica* (1977). Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

URTON, GARY
1981 *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky. An Andean Cosmology*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

ZUIDEMA, R. TOM
1973 "La Quadratur du Cercle dans l'Ancíen Perou". In *Signes et Langages des Amériques*, III 1/2):147-165. Montreal: Reserches Amérindiennes au Québec. [Reedited: Zuidema 1989a, Chapter 8.]

1982 "Bureaucracy and Systematic Knowledge in Andean Civilization." In J. Collier, R. Rosaldo, and J. Wirth, Eds. *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800*. New York: Academic Press. [Reedited Zuidema 1989a, Chapter 13.]

1989a *Reyes y Guerreros. Ensayos de Cultura Andina*. Manuel Burga, Ed. Lima: Fomciencias.

1989b "The Moieties of Cuzco. *In D. Maybury-Lewis and U. Almagor, Eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 255-275.*

1990a Inca Civilization in Cuzco. *Austin: University of Texas Press.*

1990b "The Royual Whip in Cuzco. Art Social Structure and Cosmology". In P. ter Keurs and D. Smidt, Eds. The Language of Things. Studies in Ethnocommunication. In Honour of Professor Adrian A. Gerbrands, *pp. 159-172.*

1992 "Inca Cosmos in Andean Context: From the Perspective of the Capac Raymi Camay Quilla Feast Celebrating the December Solstice in Cuzco". In R. V. H. Dover, K. E. Seybold and J. H. McDowell, Eds. Andean Cosmologies through Time. Persistence and Emergence. *Bloomington, Indiana University Press, pp. 17-45.*

COSMOLOGY, VALUE, AND POWER IN CANELOS QUICHUA ECONOMICS

Norman E. Whitten, Jr.
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Preliminary Remarks

It is somewhat disconcerting to present a paper based upon ethnography at the end of such an excellent symposium. On the one hand, I would like to give you far richer cultural detail than is possible in my 20 minutes' allocation, and, on the other hand, obviously, I feel that I should draw comparisons from various cultural domains exhibited by the bearers of diverse cultures throughout South and Central America. These comparisons, of course, would be based not only on the fine papers with rich materials presented this morning and this afternoon, and also over the past two years since the inception of this important annual get-together, but also on the abundance of relevant literature now available. But I will stay for now with ethnography and ask you to help draw relevant comparisons with regard to South American native cultures and their embeddedness in, and contrast with, environing social, economic, political and cultural systems, and relevant generalizations vis-à-vis anthropological theory. Please bear in mind, however, as I present middle-range generalizations based upon detailed ethnography, that I regard the people whose culture is now to be discussed in this manner:

> The [Canelos Quichua]... are culture bearers of an indigenous Upper Amazonian cultural complex that includes congeners around the rim of Amazonia. They also participate in a pan-Andean-Amazonian socio-cultural complex that ranges through the highland areas of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. If ever there was a full-blown confluence of Andean and Amazonian social and cosmological currents, it would seem to be here, at the foothills of the rugged, verdure-canopied mountains of Ecuador's "Región Amazónica" [previously *Oriente*] (Whitten 1985:19).

For context, then, the material presented here comes from the Canelos Quichua-speaking peoples of Amazonian Ecuador. From some standpoints the people may be seen quite easily as a modern, Upper Amazonian blend of Jivaroan and Zaparoan cultures speaking the dominant Andean language of conquest. From other standpoints, they may be seen as an Andean people adapted to Upper Amazonian habitats. Either perspective is seriously flawed, in that it projects a warped topographical polarity onto a dynamic people, thereby obfuscating the contribution to be made by serious ethnography and ethnohistory of this important sector of South America.

This paper draws from data collected over the past 18 years from approximately 2,000 people strongly affected by their enduring cultural adaptation to Upper Amazonian habitats, and by the radical changes in all spheres of life produced by economic transition from subsistence to capitalist-economy participation. This brief paper seeks, in Gudeman's (1986:26) terms, to

> shift the discussion from a focus on material exploitation and the measurement of value [in economic development studies] to the deeper and more perplexing issue concerning the relation between models and power.

Models and Metaphors 1

I think most of us would certainly agree with Gudeman, whose new book, *Economics as Culture*, clearly influences the structure of this paper, that

> ... humans are modelers... the human is a self-constituting, fully reflexive being, whose behavior is characterized both by hindsight and foresight, so that past activities are at once the objects of critical reflection and models for action. Humans are the products of their past, as well as their consciousness of it; yet this past is also drawn upon when making plans for the future (Gudeman 1986:37).

Gudeman's book generates an ingenious polarity between, rational, western, "universal models" of economics, on one side, and local, indigenous, exotic, models of what may be taken to be "economic" from domains of a people's livelihood, on the other side. As he deconstructs the rational, universal models

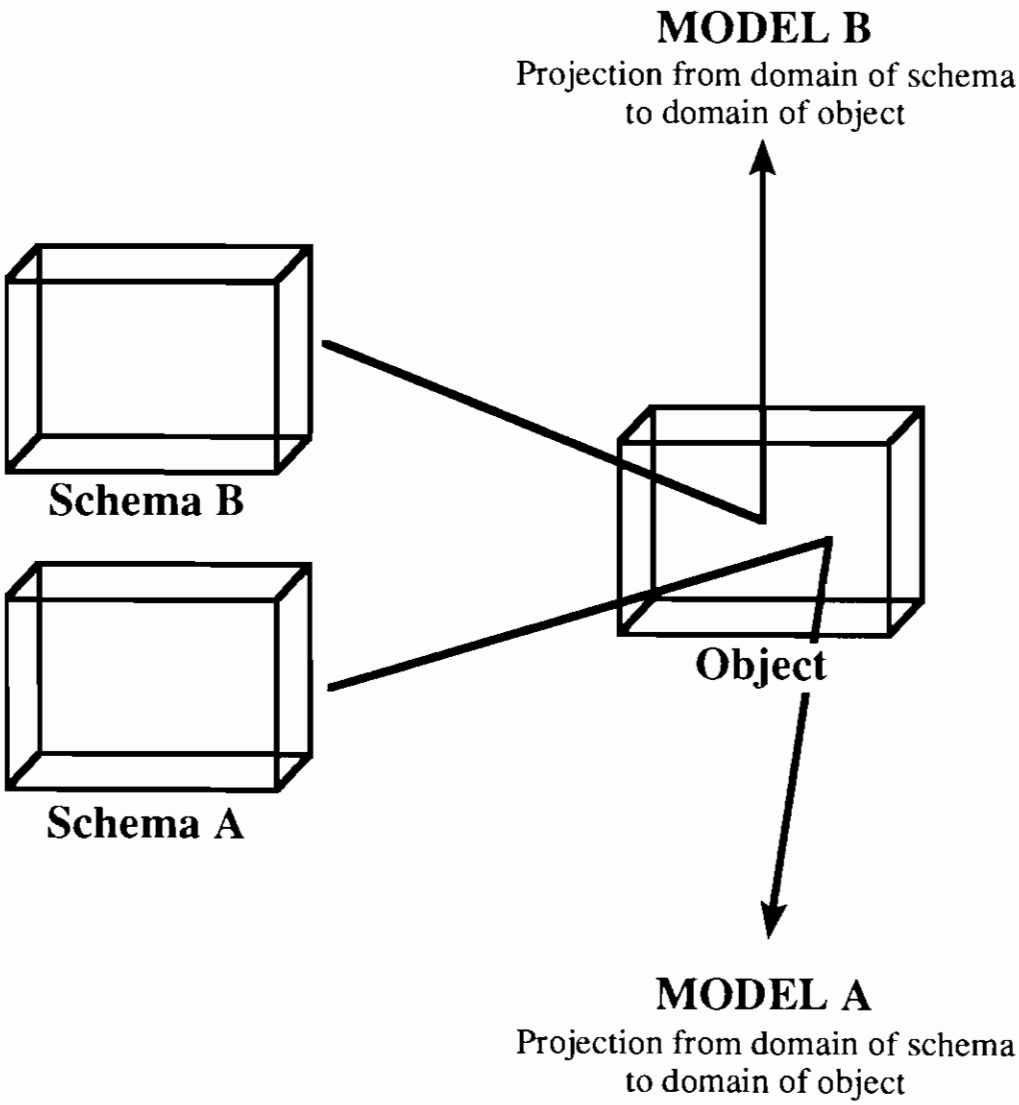

Figure 1. Schemata, Object, and Models

we find them to be quite culturally specific, and by the end of the book he begins to tease out of the models that which must be taken to be universal, if there is to be comparison in cultural anthropology.

I have now embarked on a similar task, of which this paper is but a short statement of a work in progress. In brief, the Canelos Quichua radiating out of the urban center of Puyo actively invoke both local and universal models to project their ideas about their past and their future into domains that we would call economic. Moreover - and analysis of this lies well beyond the scope of the present paper - they construct their universal *and* local models by contrast sets which, significantly, may be paired in metonymic chains linked by metaphoric predication. For example, where a "socialist/capitalist" (today *progresista/gobiernista*) contrast marks a salient feature of an Ecuadorian universal economic model, such a contrast may, in some contexts, be paired with a salient or emergent contrast in indigenous cosmology, such as "careless shaman/teaching shaman" (*yanga yachaj/yali yachaj*).

Think, for a moment, of three-dimensional boxes, such as those presented heuristically by Sapir (1977), Fernandez (1977), and others, as dynamic systems of contrast and complementarity; one box standing for a local model, the other for a universal model. In the former, "activities of livelihood are enacted through a symbolic scheme which is drawn from known features of the social world" (Gudeman 1986:vii); in the latter, direct empirical referents are allegedly absent. As Gudeman presents his fascinating work, each of the models represents a contrastive way by which to project a schema onto that which one wishes to objectify. Ethnographically, at a given point in time, in a given place, one can clearly see these boxes as being separated (and thereby in clear contrast
and comparison with one another). This is crudely illustrated in the following diagram:

But, at another point in time, and/or in another place, one may also see the two models as partially united (and thereby highly syncretic). This paper works its way toward the latter feature of conceptualizations of Canelos Quichua economy to shed light on the subjects of this symposium. The anchoring feature - the *tertium quid* - that allows us to see some consistency in radical change sponsored by real economic transition, is found in core features of indigenous cosmology and in core features of nationalist ideology. We turn first to cosmology.

Canelos Cosmology: Salient Dimensions Related to "Value"

The cosmological core of a local Canelos Quichua model that relates to the concept "value" in Western thought is bound up in the relationship between "beautiful," *sumaj*, and "strong," *sinchi*. These are not free-floating concepts; they are inseparable complements of one another and contexuality is critical in understanding their rhetorical deployment at any given time, in any given place. There is, nonetheless, a consistent patterning of the ideas lying behind the strong and the beautiful. The pattern itself is anchored in a social status, *yachaj*, "one who knows." Moreover, this patterning helps us understand, from the Canelos standpoint, the relationship between "our culture" and "other cultures." The fact that such patterning exists allows us also to see ways by which local and universal models both exist separately and together.

The paradigm to be illustrated in a moment must be understood in terms of a *parallel system of cultural transmission*. Women transmit knowledge to women; men to men. We can illustrate a cultural model with beauty and strength at its core in the manner suggested above.

The primary cultural medium through which these concepts are developed and transmitted by men through men is shamanic activity; the medium by which women transmit concepts of both beauty and power is through the manufacture of ceramics. Both men and women, especially strong, influential, knowledgeable individuals, transmit both beauty and power in their respective domains. Moreover, each is quite consciously cognitively oriented toward the opposite gender parallelism. For example, as a man "sees" in *Banisteriopsis*-induced semi-trance the beautiful, strong, but inchoate image of a being, a woman, usually his wife and/or sister, clarifies the image for him, and names it. As a woman making pottery works with images from many domains of life, constructing an array of pottery styles and designs consciously and symbolically reflective of a microcosmos of a dynamic and changing universe, men comment on the exact designs she imparts to pottery vessels, and even copy some of them, in body painting or dart quiver carved decoration. I wish to underscore the point here, since it has often been missed, that we *must not think that parallelism means that women transmit beauty and men transmit power* (strength). As an aside, it is because of the beauty/power dichotomy expressing (erroneously) female/male transmission systems, that I deliberately developed the concepts of power from pottery making by women, and the concepts of beauty from shamanism by males in my book, *Sicuanga Runa* (Whitten 1985).

The cosmos of the Canelos Quichua is permeated by concepts such as mythic time-space (*unai*), spirit sentience (*supai causai*), human-spirit-nature

Figure 2. Canelos Quichua local models applicable to livelihood

mediation by soul substances (*aya*), overlapping of hierarchies of human shamanic power and spirit shamanic power (*yachaj sami*), and control of power by master spirits: Sungui of the hydrosphere; Amasanga of the rain forest and weather; Nungwi of garden soil and pottery clay. Paradigm manipulation of beauty and strength by men and women involves control of breath, of sound, of self, of spirit, of nature; control of power involves, among many other things, control of transformation and encapsulation of release mechanisms of power, ranging from control of ritual performance to control of physical violence. We come, finally, to a sense of *value* in Canelos Quichua cosmology as this cosmology exists in a contemporary economy characterized by both subsistence livelihood and escalating practical and ideological participation in modern national and international economy.

Value

In traditional Canelos Quichua culture an important dimension of value is bound up in the concept of the reflexive (*randirina*) form of *randina,* to trade or to sell (the verb *jatuna* is known [as *cutuna*] but seldom used among the Canelos Quichua), and *randichina,* to trade or to buy. For an object to "be traded" or to "get sold" (*randirina*), there must be a reflexive relationship of exchange value between the partners to the exchange, and this involves humans and spirits in intricate sets of quotidian and cosmic networks. Although at first blush it would seem that this paper cannot deal with the traditional idea of *randirina,* we do return to it at the end (see Whitten 1985 and Reeve 1985 and in press for more information on these subjects).

Today, in most spheres of Canelos Quichua culture directly articulated to the contemporary market, which is dominated by the cash value of objects, the concept *manavalinchu,* "[s/he, it] is of no value," is all we can derive by way of a designation for worth. Obviously, the phrase comes from the Spanish *valor,* "value" or "worth," and is made negatively ascriptive. This concept is systematically applied to things and people and beings that are not of "our culture" and yet are close to "our culture," or are "part of" us but not "of" us. In a sector of contemporary Canelos Quichua culture, that of organized protest through organizations, federations, confederations, and alliances, the concept *valor,* as in *valorar, valorizar, valorización,* etc., is one of the most salient of concepts in modern indigenous ideology.

To come to grips with the concepts of value applied paradigmatically by Canelos Quichua peoples in various walks of life, and to relate them to economic models reflecting cosmological cores at a time of economic transition, the arena of ethnic, or fourth-world (Graburn 1976), art has been chosen. Information from this domain yields models that correspond very closely to two other salient domains: (1) protest rhetoric and political praxis, and (2) mythic exegesis in ritualized contexts.

Women of Canelos Quichua culture are all potters, and their beautiful, strong, decorated ware is integral to traditional livelihood with fermented manioc mash stored in large jars and served in drinking bowls central to symbolic and practical activity, to ritual performance, and to quotidian life. By the early 1960s this ware entered, on a sporadic basis, the national and international ethnic arts market. In 1976, carving by men of (mostly) balsa birds and animals began, bolstered by the use of imported dyes from Europe. By 1979-80, both pottery and wood carvings had become part and parcel of Ecuador's self-expression as a nation of diverse but united peoples, and of indigenous federations' expression of an indigenous means of auto-financing of nationally sponsored developmental activities and internationally sponsored movements of protest and assertion of indigenous selfhood.

The ideological core of the nationalist model is that ethnic art of genuine value should bring a profit to the artisan, to the trader in ethnic art, and to all national and indigenous peoples. The fundamental core of both socialist and capitalist rhetoric - the pulsating set of oppositions sometimes described as the systolic/diastolic pumping of fluid value throughout the nation's political-economic body - was that native cultures must become *racional* in their own conceptualization of what it is to *ser moderno.*

Canelos Cosmology Juxtaposed to Nationalist Ideoogy

Canelos Quichua core cosmological features with the anchored status of *yachaj* at the center underwent a systemic transformation over the past decade to involve the universal model of a rational, modern economy in need of stylized exotic ethnic art, as projected by national developers and by indigenous political leaders. It may be illustrated in this manner:

Note that, in this transformation, the adjective *sinchi,* "strong," is added to a master potter (vision-filled women, in this instance), and strong shaman. Also note that the strong vision-filled woman is gender-specific; the strong one who knows person (*runa*) is at least potentially male or female or androgynous (remember that these statuses may be of a spirit as well as a human). Also, two statuses are marked as possessive at the threshold of change: *ricsij runa,* one

mediation by soul substances (*aya*), overlapping of hierarchies of human shamanic power and spirit shamanic power (*yachaj sami*), and control of power by master spirits: Sungui of the hydrosphere; Amasanga of the rain forest and weather; Nungwi of garden soil and pottery clay. Paradigm manipulation of beauty and strength by men and women involves control of breath, of sound, of self, of spirit, of nature; control of power involves, among many other things, control of transformation and encapsulation of release mechanisms of power, ranging from control of ritual performance to control of physical violence. We come, finally, to a sense of *value* in Canelos Quichua cosmology as this cosmology exists in a contemporary economy characterized by both subsistence livelihood and escalating practical and ideological participation in modern national and international economy.

Value

In traditional Canelos Quichua culture an important dimension of value is bound up in the concept of the reflexive (*randirina*) form of *randina*, to trade or to sell (the verb *jatuna* is known [as *cutuna*] but seldom used among the Canelos Quichua), and *randichina*, to trade or to buy. For an object to "be traded" or to "get sold" (*randirina*), there must be a reflexive relationship of exchange value between the partners to the exchange, and this involves humans and spirits in intricate sets of quotidian and cosmic networks. Although at first blush it would seem that this paper cannot deal with the traditional idea of *randirina*, we do return to it at the end (see Whitten 1985 and Reeve 1985 and in press for more information on these subjects).

Today, in most spheres of Canelos Quichua culture directly articulated to the contemporary market, which is dominated by the cash value of objects, the concept *manavalinchu*, "[s/he, it] is of no value," is all we can derive by way of a designation for worth. Obviously, the phrase comes from the Spanish *valor*, "value" or "worth," and is made negatively ascriptive. This concept is systematically applied to things and people and beings that are not of "our culture" and yet are close to "our culture," or are "part of" us but not "of" us. In a sector of contemporary Canelos Quichua culture, that of organized protest through organizations, federations, confederations, and alliances, the concept *valor*, as in *valorar, valorizar, valorización*, etc., is one of the most salient of concepts in modern indigenous ideology.

To come to grips with the concepts of value applied paradigmatically by Canelos Quichua peoples in various walks of life, and to relate them to economic models reflecting cosmological cores at a time of economic transition, the arena of ethnic, or fourth-world (Graburn 1976), art has been chosen. Information from this domain yields models that correspond very closely to two other salient domains: (1) protest rhetoric and political praxis, and (2) mythic exegesis in ritualized contexts.

Women of Canelos Quichua culture are all potters, and their beautiful, strong, decorated ware is integral to traditional livelihood with fermented manioc mash stored in large jars and served in drinking bowls central to symbolic and practical activity, to ritual performance, and to quotidian life. By the early 1960s this ware entered, on a sporadic basis, the national and international ethnic arts market. In 1976, carving by men of (mostly) balsa birds and animals began, bolstered by the use of imported dyes from Europe. By 1979-80, both pottery and wood carvings had become part and parcel of Ecuador's self-expression as a nation of diverse but united peoples, and of indigenous federations' expression of an indigenous means of auto-financing of nationally sponsored developmental activities and internationally sponsored movements of protest and assertion of indigenous selfhood.

The ideological core of the nationalist model is that ethnic art of genuine value should bring a profit to the artisan, to the trader in ethnic art, and to all national and indigenous peoples. The fundamental core of both socialist and capitalist rhetoric - the pulsating set of oppositions sometimes described as the systolic/diastolic pumping of fluid value throughout the nation's political-economic body - was that native cultures must become *racional* in their own conceptualization of what it is to *ser moderno*.

Canelos Cosmology Juxtaposed to Nationalist Ideoogy

Canelos Quichua core cosmological features with the anchored status of *yachaj* at the center underwent a systemic transformation over the past decade to involve the universal model of a rational, modern economy in need of stylized exotic ethnic art, as projected by national developers and by indigenous political leaders. It may be illustrated in this manner:

Note that, in this transformation, the adjective *sinchi*, "strong," is added to a master potter (vision-filled women, in this instance), and strong shaman. Also note that the strong vision-filled woman is gender-specific; the strong one who knows person (*runa*) is at least potentially male or female or androgynous (remember that these statuses may be of a spirit as well as a human). Also, two statuses are marked as possessive at the threshold of change: *ricsij runa*, one

Figure 3. Canelos local model juxtaposed to universal model

who sees, and *yuyayuj runa,* one who learns.

Both of these statuses are denied the *sinchi* prefix. People playing the roles, usually hrokerage, of the statuses are usually young men and women, all the sons and daughters of powerful shamans and master potters. Stated in another way, one is most likely to find that the apparently "fully assimilated" Canelos Quichua young men and women who are comfortable speaking Spanish about a universal model of rational political-economic development, and taking serious positions on either side of the socialist/capitalist political spectrum, are very closely connected in their indigenous cosmology to their powerful shaman fathers and master potter mothers.

Such *ricsij runa* and *yuyayuj runa* become nationalist ideologues vis-à-vis their parents, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc., but their valuable knowledge is kept at an equally valued distance. They remain embedded *in* Canelos Quichua culture as valued relatives crucial to adaptation to a modern political economy. But they also become part of *shuj shimiti yachai,* just as their shamanic forebears did. Here, though, unlike their forebears, they are denied *sinchi* status. A cosmological paradigm or schema qua indig enous economic model prevails in pre-structuring the means by which a universal model can be applied to decision-making vis-à-vis cash gain and capital growth, while at the same time anchoring such adaptive processes in traditional livelihood.

Market Value and Cosmological Value

The brokerage functions of "ones who see" and "ones who learn" are tied to a rhetoric of power discussed elsewhere (e.g., Whitten 1985:216-256). Such rhetoric is highly salient in graphic, aesthetic imagery, as mentioned early in this paper and as illustrated elsewhere. Significantly, for the subject of this paper, the *imagery of indigenous power is "validated" when success occurs in the competitive, commercial market* - when products are purchased, when capital gains are returned to artisans and to indigenous marketers of handicrafts (including both traditional and ethnic arts), and when prominent displays of the artwork purchased from indigenous people are made as a nationalist emblem of essentialist and epochalist ethnic distinction, implying - contradictory though this may seem - cultural integration.

Models and Metaphors 2

Data and generalizations presented from sections of Canelos Quichua thought and action with regard to value, cosmology, power, livelihood, and economy lead us to juxtapose the inextricably connected contrast of *ñucanchi yachai/shuj shimita yachai* to the two kinds of models discussed by Gudeman. From the standpoint of a local model a flow of beauty and power must go out to other cultures. Reception by other cultures connects such cultures to "us" but they remain "other." From the standpoint of a universal model, a flow of growing capital representing success must flow back to indigenous cultures. It is no wonder, then, that the more successful the artisan or indigenous trader, the more suspect he is not only in his own growing shamanic power. And it is also no surprise to find that powerful shamans and master potters in the urbanized Puyo area have, indeed, nurtured sons, sons-in-law, daughters, and daughters-in-law to make significant economic gains in the national and international economy.

When young men and women become ill, get into trouble, or experience extreme discomfort in their brokerage roles, their psyches and anima are regulated, so to speak, in shamanic activity and by those who work as master ceramists. These shamans and ceramicists engage in constant modeling and metaphorical activity with regard to quotidian and charged events, whether or not they are in shamanic seance or actually working with clay, water, stone, and fire. They relate their constructive and deconstructive activities to cosmic forces vis-à-vis the disturbances manifest in their offspring and in-laws who are active in value-laden activities outside of the sphere of local activity (see Whitten 1985:106-214). One could say that, if in doubt with regard to the efficacy of universal model versus local model in the minds of those who depend on manipulation of the universal model in their activities, *the local will be chosen every time.* But, the prevailing universal model and its competitor(s) won't be rejected. Such processes are suggested by Figure 4.

It is in the area of "hatching" on this diagram that most of us now work. This is the zone of the inchoate present, *cunalla,* wherein the cultural anthropologist all too often seeks clarity from the reconstructed past, and elegance in the local models of livelihood, and wherein the economic developer imbues the future with a modeled sentience of rationality. But for any people, at any time, caught up in a system of genuine economic transition, the present and the future must blend in *cunalla.* If one looks at this diagram carefully, it tries to suggest that "our culture" and "other cultures," as represented here by contrasting and blending local and universal models of economy, may be seen, paradoxically, to embody the concept of *randirina* as a traditional system of exchange value, while at the same time incorporating a system of *valor* (usually expressed as *valorishca*) as the rational valuation of objects and people. In this hatched area,

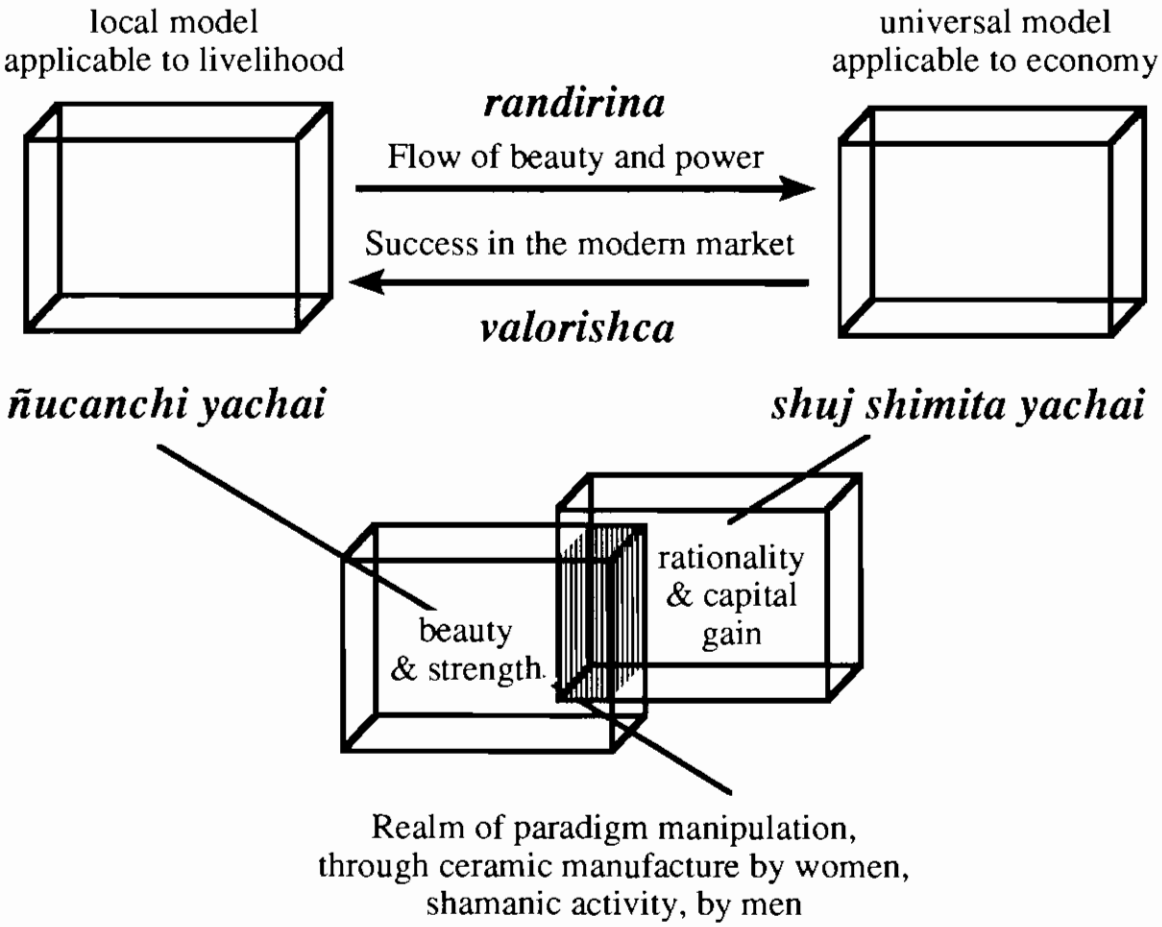

Figure 4. Concepts of "value" constantly imbued with meaning through such paradigm manipulation

however, *concepts of value from local models are generalized and are made holistic, while those from the universal model intensify in their negative ascriptive characteristics.*

Ethnographically specific and cryptic though this paper may be, it is hoped that it does have comparative value for synthesis of comparable processes in South and Central America.

Quito, Revised version for AAA meeting presentation, 1 December 1986; subsequent revision made in Puyo, 2 January 1987. Critical commentary invited.
N.E.W.

Comments and Acknowledgments

This paper was prepared specifically for oral delivery as the final paper in the symposium organized by Terence Turner for the 1986 AAA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. It was revised slightly following that meeting, and is here published as a "working paper" in the true sense of that term. The paper is taken as an analytical and suggestive segment from long-range research that includes an analysis of political economy, power, symbolism, cosmology, ideology, nationalism, and ethnic-bloc formation.

For assistance during the preparation of this paper, I thank Dorothea S. (Sibby) Whitten, Diego Quiroga, and Dee Robbins. Comments at the symposium by Terence Turner and Eric Wolf were much appreciated, as were those made subsequently by Stephen Gudeman. Research leading to this paper was supported in 1983 by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and by a Fulbright-Hays research fellowship. Subsequently, it was partially supported by a modest research allowance attached to the headship of the Department of Anthropology of the UIUC. In 1986, support came from a sabbatical semester, from released time granted by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and from the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies of the UIUC. I am also grateful to the Research Board of the University of Illinois for the assistance of Diego Quiroga and Isabel Pérez, which contributed greatly to the larger project of which this is a part.

Recent results of this research (joint with Dorothea S. Whitten) include the art exhibition *¡Causauchimi! **Arte. Cultura Poder de los Canelos Quichua de la Amazonia Ecuatoriana,*** shown in Quito, Puyo, and Lima during 1987, and *From Myth to Creation: Art from Amazonian Ecuador* shown in Urbana, Illinois, in 1988. The bulk of the material pertaining to art and transformation is published in *From Myth to Creation.* Key previous work includes that indicated below under the authorships of Dorothea S. Whitten, Whitten and Whitten, and my own contributions. Reference to these materials and a few pivotal references that touch on areas in this paper are given below. Thorough exploration of the points covered in this paper will be the subject of sections of the book, *Critical Anthropology: Ethnography for a Modern World.*

I especially thank Marcelo Santi Simbaña, Faviola Vargas Aranda, René Santi Vargas, Rubén Santi Vargas, Delicia Dagua, Segundo Vargas, Balvina Santi, Esthela Dagua, Clara Santi Simbaña, Abraham Chango, Alfonso Chango, and Luzmila Salazar for nearly two decades of sustained research collaboration.

REFERENCES

CROCKER, J. CHRISTOPHER
1977 "The Social Functions of Rhetorical Forms." In J. David Sapir and J. Christopher Crocker, eds., *The Social Use of Metaphor: Essays in the Anthropology of Rhetoric.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 33-66.

FERNANDEZ, JAMES W.
1977 "The Performance of Ritual Metaphors." In J. David Sapir and J. Christopher Crocker, eds., *The Social Use of Metaphor: Essays in the Anthropology of Rhetoric.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 100-131.

GRABURN, NELSON H.J. (editor)
1976 *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions From the Fourth World.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

GUDEMAN, STEPHEN
1986 *Economics As Culture: Models and Metaphors of Livelihood.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

SAHLINS, MARSHALL
1972 *Stone Age Economics.* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

SAPIR, J. DAVID
1977 "The Anatomy of Metaphor." In J. David Sapir and J. Christopher Crocker, eds., *The Social Use of Metaphor: Essays in the Anthropology of Rhetoric.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 3-32.

TAYLOR, ANNE-CHRISTINE
1981 "'God Wealth': The Achuar and the Missions." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., ed., *Cultural*

Transformations and Ethnicity in Modern Ecuador. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 647-676.

WHITTEN, DOROTHEA S.
1981 "Ancient Tradition in a Contemporary Context: Canelos Quichua Ceramics and Symbolism." In Norman E. Whitten, Jr., ed., *Cultural Transformations and Ethnicity In Modern Ecuador.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 349-375.

WHITTEN, DOROTHEA S. and
NORMAN E. WHITTEN, Jr.
1988 *From Myth to Creation: Art From Amazonian Ecuador.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

WHITTEN, Jr., NORMAN E.
1985 *Sicuanga Runa: The Other Side of Development in Amazonian Ecuador.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

WHITTEN, Jr., NORMAN E. (with the assistance of Marcelo F. Naranjo, Marcel Santi Simbaña, and Dorothea S. Whitten)
1976 *Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Ecuadorian Quichua.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.