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Borders and Peripheries in Lowland South America

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Working Papers on South American Indians was established to provide a publication of record for collections of data rich papers written for presentation as part of the Lowland South American Indian symposia. Such papers often languish unpublished in the authors' files because the symposium organizer and/or authors do not wish to go through the laborious editing process needed to transform the papers for publication as a book or a special issue of a journal. This series was, and continues to be, intended to provide an outlet for such materials.

It was my hope that the *Working Papers* would be published within a year or two after presentation. This has proven to be more of a dream than a reality. The present issue has a long and jaded history. The papers were presented at the 1977 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Houston, TX. (Incidentally, another symposium at the same meetings, *Social Correlates of Kin Terminology in Lowland South America*, was published as the first volume in this series in January 1979.) I received most of the manuscripts during the spring of 1983 and scheduled publication for August of that year. That date came and went as I waited for the rest of the papers to arrive. In the meantime I proceeded with Number 5, which appeared in July 1984. The completed manuscript was in hand by early fall 1984 and my student assistant carefully entered it into my new Morrow computer. Some months later we both learned how important it is to back up files on separate floppy diskettes; the diskette was accidently erazed. Redoing the job lost out to the pressures of other work and got "lost" in my files. When I rediscovered it some years later, the balance in the *Working Papers* account was nearly $0.00.

Publication of this issue, and the resumption of the series, has been made possible by a generous gift from an anonymous donor. Despite the long delay, this volume deserves publication, if for no other reason because the data contained herein are valuable and for the most part unpublished. At the same time it will fill in the gap in the sequence that has driven some librarians to distraction.

INTRODUCTION

Jane Fearer Safer
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The idea behind the Fifth Annual Lowland South American symposium was to address problems created by a tendency for South Americanists, consciously or unconsciously, to adhere to the boundaries, peripheries and anomalies implied by the culture area classification. The focus of the symposium was on peoples at the peripheries of the Lowlands and those who have been regarded as anomalies. We also wanted to cross over the boundaries dividing traditional culture areas and initiate dialogue between anthropologists working in diverse regions of South America. The hope was that a new perspective on the comparative sociology of South America would suggest resolutions of some apparent anomalies, uncover unexpected continuities and generate new questions.

The culture areas into which South American ethnography conventionally has been divided are essentially those propounded by Steward (1946-59) in the *Handbook of South American Indians,* namely Andean, Circum-Caribbean, Tropical Forest and Marginal (the latter two now are usually merged as Lowland). These divisions seem to have been so firmly planted in our minds that comparative analysis is rarely done across these area borders. In this classification the Central Andes is the apex and other areas are hierarchically ranked. "To the north and south of areas of nuclear or high civilizations there were secondary or peripheral people, who had received most of their principal culture traits from the nuclear areas (Steward and Faron 1959:14)." Other areas were defined negatively by lack of Central Andean traits. "The tropical forest is marked off from the Andean civilizations by lacking architectural and metallurgical refinements, yet outranks cultures with a hunting-gathering economy... or moderate horticulture" (Lowie 1948:1). The Ceja zone of the eastern slopes of the Andes was regarded as an impenetrable barrier separating Highland and Lowland cultures (Steward 1948:508). Columbia and Ecuador ranked lower in the hierarchy. "Chiefdoms of Ecuador, Columbia and the Circum-Caribbean area did not constitute a major center of inventiveness, but since the Northern Andes... lie in the path of diffusion between North and South America they received many basic . . . traits" (Steward and Faron 1959:451). Even a Colombian specialist like Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (1965:19) described Colombian civilizations as "intermediaries and transmitters of cultural stimuli coming from many sides and at many different periods." All the peoples at the peripheries of, or on the borders between, these culture areas were defined by traits which they lacked; they were regarded as idiosyncratic and not very important. Moreover, as Lathrap (1974:46) points out, "it was argued that only small and simple social units could develop in the harsh environment of the Amazon basin." Such environmental determinism led to the assumptions that "any people in the Amazon basin who exhibited any of the diagnostic traits must either have migrated from outside or been influenced by the high civilizations" (Idem).

The persistence of these rather rigid distinctions has obscured both structural similarities which cut across these boundaries and the considerable amount of interaction between areas in the past.[1] I should point out that in thinking across these boundaries, archaeologists and ethnohistorians are quite far ahead of social and cultural anthropologists. Donald Lathrap in particular has been actively suggesting an alternative view of South American culture history. His archeological and ethnohistorical investigations suggest that the agriculture and crops, ceramics, and religious iconography which we associate with the high cultures of the Andes developed in the tropical lowlands, that the Highland civilization was not a separate development, but derived from the tropical lowlands (1974:145).

Archeological remains indicate that the Ceja, far from being an uninhabited barrier to cultural interchange, was a densely populated region in pre-Columbian times (Lathrap 1970:176). He points out that those who sharply contrast Tropical Forest and Andean or Circum-Caribbean peoples in terms of complexity of their sociopolitical organization ignore early explorers accounts of dense populations, extensive political units, powerful chiefs, priests, temples and idols along the Amazon River (1970:47). And remarkable similarities have been found between pre-Columbian ceremonial and village structures in Real Alto, Ecuador and those of Ge peoples of Central Brazil (Lathrap 1974). Lathrap (1973) and others also stress the extensive long-distance trade networks in pre-Columbian times between the highlands and the lowlands.

Peoples and regions considered in this

symposium include some clearly at the peripheries of the Lowlands: the Saha of northeastern Columbia, the Guajiro of Colombia and Venezuela, peoples of the Argentine and Paraguayan Gran Chaco. Others are regions "in-between" or backwater areas populated by "left-overs": the Llanos of Colombia and Venezuela, the Ceja zone of the eastern slopes of the Andes. Others are regions or peoples considered anomalous: the Northwest Amazon, the Guajiro, the Saha, the Llanos. One paper looks at highland-lowland comparisons from a highland perspective. An effort also is made to ensure diversity of approach: ethnohistory and archaeology, as well as socio-cultural anthropology.

Participants were asked to think across boundaries, without suggesting comparisons at any particular level of specificity, rather what might suggest similarities or continuities across area boundaries or between periphery and center. The responses were as diverse as the participants.

Elmer Miller's paper on hunting and gathering peoples of the Gran Chaco looks at peoples on the Southeastern periphery. His observations about the role of shaman in these societies suggests a need to reassess the role of the shaman as political leader throughout the lowlands.

Gertrude Dole, one of the original participants in the symposium, was unable to give a paper because of the rule limiting participation to one session. However, her abstract was so suggestive and relevant that it has been included here. Dole found linguistic, archeological and ethnohistorical evidence which suggests that the *Ceja de la montaña,* the supposed barrier between highland and lowland peoples, was crossed frequently in pre-Columbian and colonial times.

Netherly's paper views the Highland-Lowland comparison from the perspective of northern Peruvian valleys under Chimu and Inca states. Netherly found considerable congruence of social and political organization between the Chimu and Inca and Lowland groups such as the Bororo and Ge, in the use of organizational principles of duality, hierarchy and gender opposition and political organization based on division of society into ranked moieties.

Jean Jackson's paper looks at the "anomalous backwater" of the Northwest Amazon and raises many different kinds of questions about our classifications and where we locate boundaries and peripheries. She questions our definitions of the boundaries of tribal groups and considers the situation of peoples who are both on the periphery of a national society and located on the boundary between two nation-states, Brazil and Colombia. She suggests that we view the Northwest Amazon not as an anomalous backwater but as a crossroads.

Robert and Nancy Morey's paper examines the Colombian and Venezuelan Llanos which has been characterized both as a backwater and an area populated by "left-overs" from the adjacent Circum-Caribbean and Amazonia. The Moreys' ethnohistorical reconstruction of the pre-Columbian Llanos suggests to the contrary that the area was a crossroads and an area of cultural synthesis, as well as the center of long-distance trading networks that crossed the boundaries of all the culture areas of northern South America.

Benson Saler discusses the pastoral, desert-dwelling, matrilineal Guajiro who are perhaps the most extreme case in South America of a people considered both peripheral and anomalous. Saler suggests a revision of the conventional view, focusing on continuities with other South American groups and discussing ethnohistorical and ecological factors that have accentuated the differences.

In my own paper on the Saha of the northeastern most extension of the Andes I have tried to resolve the anomaly of a people with a "Highland" ecology and religion and "Lowland" social organization, suggesting that this anomaly is found not in the data but in the minds of anthropologists. The discussants for the session were Robert Carneiro and R. T. Zuidema. Unfortunately the session was not tape-recorded nor are there written texts of their comments.

One striking similarity in these papers written by scholars with diverse points of view who had little, if any, previous communication was an emphasis on a dynamic view of social processes: social and political organization has built-in flexibility enabling it to adapt to changes over time; multiple organizational principles exist which can be activated or de-emphasized as conditions change; regions are seen as crossroads, centers of cultural synthesis and interchange; peoples communicate and trade over long-distance networks; ethnohistorical influences change societies over time; fluidity of social organization is seen as the rule, rather than the exception. These fluid and dynamic analyses of inter-connected societies contrast with comparatively static analyses of discrete, rather isolated tribal units more typical of earlier South American studies, whether of the highlands or the lowlands. This perspective from the periphery makes it difficult to continue to think of South America as composed of discrete and unrelated culture areas with "no-man's lands" between them (to use Jean Jackson's phrase).

Several writers address the issue of culture areas directly (Morey and Morey, Jackson, Safer). Certainly no one suggests doing away entirely with the notion of culture area. As Jackson says, "these are useful concepts for specific goals, but they need to be well defined and applied only to these specific kinds of

investigations." She warns particularly against a "tendency to see causal relationships, both historical and functional, explaining observed similarities, when the actual processes bringing about these similarities are much more complex." The Moreys point out that the "so-called 'peripheral zones' are the by-products of the culture area approach" and how in most anthropologists' minds "by definition, peripheral zones are unimportant or they would not be peripheral." Both in our thinking and in inter-action with other anthropologists the culture area concept has too often become a straitjacket. Not only have comparisons rarely been made across area boundaries, but anthropologists tend to read research and discuss the interpretation of their data only with others studying within the same culture area. Even differences in the language used tends to separate: highland groups have priests; lowland groups have shamans, as if these religious leaders belonged to different species. Although Miller suggests comparison only with other lowland peoples, his suggestion about religious leaders and political power might also be useful in a highland context.

This symposium has generated reassessment of anthropologists' own categories and while the papers introduce new ways of interpreting specific data, suggest inter-regional connections and cultural continuities, all raise more new questions to ponder.

* * *

NOTES:

(1) As with any such generalizations there are exceptions. Lévi-Strauss' *Mythologiques* is the most obvious example. In *Tristes Tropiques* he said, "I realize that the Western Hemisphere must be considered as a single whole. The social organization and the religious beliefs of the Ge echo those of the tribes living in the forest and the prairies of North America." (1974:253)

SHAMANISM AND LEADERSHIP IN THE GRAN CHACO: A DYNAMIC VIEW

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The widely accepted distinction familiar to readers of lowland South American ethnography between religious and political leadership, between shaman and priest, misrepresents hunting and gathering societies of the Gran Chaco. This is not to imply that the populations themselves are incapable of making such a distinction since native terms can be found which do. It is my contention, however, that these terms mask the fundamental reality that no leader is recognized as such who does not demonstrate "power," and that the essence of power in cultural terms is a spiritual matter involving "companion spirits" and spatial metaphors associated with traditional cosmology. The long-standing illusion of such a distinction can perhaps best be explained by two observations: (1) ethnographers have allowed their own cultural categories to influence interpretation of the ethnographic record, and (2) Spanish chroniclers imposed the term *cacique,* "chief," on aboriginal leaders without regard to the quality of leadership involved. Furthermore, national governments instituted a chief-like position during the mid-19th Century, commonly called *cacique general,* "general chief," which enabled them to deal more efficiently with the various Chaco Indian societies.

The definition of shamans as religious leaders engaged primarily in curing diseases is too restrictive for the Chaco region. This may well be the case for other lowland South American populations also. Not only have Chaco shamans entered into political, juridical, as well as religious transactions, they have also adjusted their strategies and activities to changing conditions throughout nearly four centuries of contact with Europeans. I will suggest, finally, that a re-examination of the shaman-chief distinction in other parts of lowland South America may lead to reinterpretations of leadership categories in light of the Chaco evidence.

The Gran Chaco region of lower South America is delimited on the east by the Paraguay and Parana rivers, on the west by the eastern ranges of the sub-Andean mountains, on the north by the foothills south of Chiquitos and the Matto Grosso plateau, and on the south by a gradual transition into the Argentine pampas. The area north of the Pilcomayo river is generally referred to as the *Chaco Boreal,* and includes large portions of Paraguay and eastern Bolivia, while the area south of the river is known as *Chaco Austral,* or the Argentine Chaco. The area between the Pilcomayo and the Bermejo rivers in northern Argentina is identified as *Chaco Central* in the Argentine literature.

It should be stressed that my discussion of Gran Chaco shamanism and leadership includes only societies with a hunting and gathering base. It excludes more sedentary groups such as various Guarani populations which settled along the river basins and practiced agriculture. Some horticulture was apparently in effect among Chaco hunters and gatherers prior to European contact, but such cultivation merely supplemented the diet and did not constitute the base of their subsistence. The area traversed by hunting and gathering bands varied considerably throughout the centuries of contact, particularly after the adoption of the horse in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. My own fieldwork (1959-63, 1966, 1972, 1974) was carried out among the Argentine Toba who live in some sixty settlements dispersed throughout the Chaco Austral; they comprise a total population of some 15,000. I also made various trips among the closely-related Pilaga and the Mocovi. Most of the ethnographic examples will be taken from my Toba data. Brief trips among the Mataco south of the Pilcomayo and the Lengua and Chulupi of the Chaco Boreal, along with an investigation of the ethnographic literature on these and other hunting and gathering Chaco groups, have convinced me that these societies all share a similar cultural form and that the Toba categories of leadership are representative of the Chaco more generally.

Traditional Gran Chaco social organization consisted of named bilateral bands, comprised of a varying number of extended families, which wandered over a recognized territory exploiting its resources (see Miller 1973). Leadership was provided by heads of extended family units who developed reputations as shamans based upon their ability to communicate with extra-human power sources in order to cure illness and to resolve crises of various sorts. The most notable occasions involving crisis in addition to those of illness concerned food shortages resulting from the depletion of game and plant resources, and warfare. These same leaders contacted the heads of animal species, animal

lords, in order to gain permission to hunt a given species. They also decided when the game was becoming scarce and it was time to migrate to another locale. Spiritual knowledge of this sort was not limited to males, however; females also communicated with forest spirits in order to successfully harvest the fruits and roots found there. They could also decide when it was time to move camp as the natural resources became depleted or disease-ridden. During warfare the external threat to group existence resulted in increased authority of war leaders who where none other than the same individuals in contact with spiritual powers. Competing leaders sometimes joined forces against a common enemy in a segmental fashion much as that reported for diverse geographical areas of the world.

The nature of power relations and leadership in the Chaco can be illustrated by the Toba case. A key word which expresses the Toba concept of power is *napinshic* (variant *napiishic*), which the Toba translate into Spanish as *poder secreto,* "secret power," or *virtud,* "virtue." The root *-apin* contains the idea of invincibility, that which overcomes or dominates a chosen individual. It is believed that the one who experiences this "virtue" has the ability to communicate it to others with either positive or negative results. This is to say that invincible power can either kill or cure depending upon the form it takes and the manner in which it is deposited in an individual. A person who openly flaunts or demonstrates this power is called *napinshaxaic.* Power of this sort is reserved for shamans associated with illness, curing, and general leadership. It is that which essentially distinguishes a leader from a common person.

Another term expressing the idea of power is *l'añaxac,* translated literally as "his force," "power," "authority," or "fortitude." One who exhibits this sort of strength is called *anaxaic,* "strong," "powerful," or "valiant." This term may also be used to refer to a fine physique or unusual physical stamina and strength, but its primary meaning is associated with the notion of virtue or power under consideration here. A fine physique is itself considered to be a demonstration of the presence of such virtue or power.

In an article entitled, "Shamans, Power Symbols, and Change" (Miller 1975), I described in detail the phenomenal context in which these two terms operate. It must suffice here simply to point out that humans only express power by means of communication with power "beings" which serve as *ltaxaỹaxaua,* "Companion Spirits, " to the individuals concerned. These companion spirits, i.e., power beings, are located in a five-layered universe and consist of three types of beings in the native model: *pigueml'ec,* "sky beings," *'alhual'ec,* "earth beings," and *ne'etaxaal'ec,* "water beings." Sky beings are found on two layers: the Heavens, populated by such power entities as Sun, Moon, various Star Constellations, and the Christian God, and the Atmosphere, populated by such power figures as Northwind, Southwind, Thunder and Lightning. Earth beings are also found on two layers: the Earth Surface, populated by forest beings, field beings, river beings, lagoon beings, and pond beings (further categories are also possible such as dust and grass beings), and the Earth Interior, populated by animals and insects which are ambiguously defined, such as jaguars and snakes, and power beings which are part-human and part-animal. The lowest layer of all is comprised of water and water beings, and contains power characters which are half-fish and half-human. Water also exists on every layer in one form or another, and it envelops the entire universe. Thus, water, along with smoke and, clouds, is a means for transporting beings from one layer to another. Only power beings and human power agents, shamans, can travel among various levels.

My analysis of the power beings found on the five layers shows that they consist of four types: (1) those essentially human in nature and associated with the earth surface level; for example, *no'ouet* whose form is essentially human or of some human part, such as a heart or an eye, which can be encountered in the forest attached to a tree; (2) those which are half-human/half-animal found in the interior of the earth; for example, *salcharo,* described as having a human body with an animal head or vice versa, and *salamanca* (note the Spanish term) found at the lowest water level and comprised of a fish body with a beautiful human female head; (3) those essentially animal in nature; for example, *quiyoclta'a,* "lord of the jaguar," found both on the surface of the earth and in earth's interior; and (4) nature spirits found generally in the upper two layers; for example *qasoxonaxa,* located primarily in the atmospheric level and taking the forms of lightning, thunder, hail, or simply a very dark cloud. The two most commonly mentioned traditional companion spirits are *no'ouet* and *qasoxonaxa.*

It must be understood that these power figures only communicate with humans during times of crisis. Their power is conceived as a force to counterbalance disorder of one sort or another. It is the role of shamans to serve as mediators for the communication of this power in order to restore health, balance, and harmony which are so essential to Toba well-being. Each of the layers of the universe must be controlled and maintained in harmonious relations if health and contentment are to prevail. Illness can be caused, for example, when beings from one layer, such as frogs and snakes from earth interior, move into the earth surface layer where they get into human beings caus-

ing sickness. The role of the shaman is to consult his companion spirit, preferably from ABOVE, which can enable the shaman to excise the foreign object and return it to its rightful abode, thus restoring both health and harmony. Food shortages and periods of warfare represent further examples of disharmonious relations that occur when the natural order is somehow out of kilter. When colonists moved in to colonize the Chaco region in the early decades of this century, shamans were called upon to drive them out and restore traditional order. Their failure to do so was epitomized in a tragic encounter with provincial police in 1924 when some 100 Toba and Mocovi men, women, and children were killed. (The exact number cannot be determined and probably will never be known.) Subsequent to that disastrous incident, which persists to this day in the memory of the Toba, traditional shamans, always individuals who elicited ambivalent attitudes on the part of the general populace due to the ambiguous nature of their power, came to be widely suspect as counterfeits lacking power (the few who escaped were considered slick and untrustworthy). It was in this context that the new shaman-type leaders emerged in the contemporary religious *cult* which I have described elsewhere (Miller 1971).

Further analysis of traditional Toba power specialists identifies three major categories: (1) *pi'oxonaq,* "shamans," whose power can either kill or cure; (2) *natannaxanaq,* "curers," whose power can only cure (probably a recent category adopted from the criollo *curandero*); and (3) *'enaxanaxai,* "sorcerers," whose power can only injure or kill. The major category by far in traditional Toba society involved *pi'oxonaq* and his female counterpart, *pi'oxonaxa,* who heal by incantation. The root of this term *pigoq,* "to suck," indicates the primary activity involved. One may become a *pi'oxonaq* either by inheriting power from a practicing shaman, usually from one's father, uncle or grandfather, or by encountering a power figure who chooses to reveal himself and become one's *ltaxaÿaxaua,* "companion spirit." The first method generally involves the implantation of a power object, frequently during a childhood illness, which grows to maturity along with the individual. This object, called *nshitaxat,* from the root *-shit,* "to place within,' operates irrespective of the individual's skill or desire. However, when one is called upon to harm another individual by sending power objects into his body, some of this power becomes depleted and unless the person dies, in which case the power returns to the sender with increased potency, the shaman is obliged to cure other sickness in order to restore his power potential. This, in turn, depletes the power of another shaman. Thus, power is not simply concentrated in non-human power figures of one sort or another, it can also adhere to objects in contact with human individuals. Nevertheless, these objects have an association with an external power source of one sort or another. Furthermore, the power associated with these objects can lose its intensity or become transferred elsewhere so that a shaman can lose his ability to cure and resolve crises. When this happens, his followers will readily abandon him and attach themselves to a leader whose demonstrated power is still in effect. The revival of power relations in the individual concerned will, however, insure the return of his followers because no one is effective all the time and opportunities come around.

Most contemporary Toba leadership is exercised in the wide-spread *cult* movement. These leaders preach and heal the sick in religious ceremonies which sometimes compete with traditional shamanic healing. More generally, the healing service incorporates elements of traditional healing practices. The new shamans, called *dirgentes,* rely on the *Espiritu Santo,* "Holy Spirit," as their companion spirit. The term *ltaxaÿaxaua* is shunned by these new leaders in their efforts to disassociate themselves from traditional *pi'oxonaq* and to establish themselves as representatives of "true" and strictly positive power involving *salud,* "health" and "wholeness," and *gozo,* "joy," associated with an ecstatic trance.

Several contemporary Toba leaders have acquired the title *cacique* as a result of their negotiations with governmental authorities for legal rights to land and other types of resources. Without exception, however, these leaders were already powerful shamans who had demonstrated their ability to communicate with companion spirits. Thus, a shaman-like quality is subsumed in the *cacique* title, and Metraux' (1946:303) that, "Many chiefs owe their authority to their reputations as shamans," must be modified to eliminate the word "many." The Toba *Cacique General* with whom the Argentine government was wont to deal in the late 1950s and early 1960s demonstrated little or no shamanic power. His leadership was not respected in the communities involved so that he carried little weight as a representative. When it became apparent to governmental administrators that the individual's leadership was ineffective, they abandoned the office entirely and provided him with no further support. Although many Toba complained of this capricious activity on the part of the government, they made no reference to any power or authority exerted by the individual concerned. Instead, they ignored him and spoke of the actual agents of power. Thus, a *cacique* position must be legitimated with a shaman-like quality in order for it to have any leadership significance for the Toba.

The precarious nature of Chaco leadership,

based as it is upon external power sources, is apparently of long-standing tradition in the region. One of the earliest Jesuit writers to comment on Chaco leadership was Padre Lozano who wrote the following in 1733:

> They have no civil government, nor do they practice political life, except that in each land there is a chief for whom they have some respect and reverence, which only lasts until there is some occasion for disgust, for which they readily separate themselves from him. (My translation from the 1941 edition, p. 62)

This observation parallels remarkably that of my own among the Toba in recent times. When a leader fails to demonstrate his ability to mediate between various sources of power by means of communication with his companion spirit, followers promptly abandon him. If a *culto* leader should have the misfortune to become sick for an extended period, his audience will disappear to show up in a neighboring congregation where a recent spectacular healing was reported to have occurred. Similarly, a shaman's reputation is based upon his ability to cure illness on a sustained basis, and if he should experience repeated failures, his followers will turn to another shaman whose power is clearly in evidence.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that Chaco leadership is weak and ineffective simply because followers appear fickle. Successful leadership commands unusual respect and some leaders are able to maintain their power throughout an entire lifetime. Speaking specifically of the Guaycurú (the linguistic group which includes the Toba), Lozano also noted that the chief's orders were sometimes obeyed with "exactness and punctuality" (1941:72). This apparent contradiction is resolved when it is recognized that Chaco leadership assumes a heightened sense of authority during times of crisis. Karsten, who visited the Toba-Pilaga in 1912, observed that "chiefs have power to command, especially in times of war, when their orders are unfailingly obeyed" (1932:45). A review of the ethnohistorical literature indicates that in every generation outstanding leaders emerged who were able to sustain power relations throughout their lifetime. During the Argentine Campaign of 1884-1885 which was organized to pacify the Chaco region and to destroy once and for all the hegemony of Chiefs Cambá and Inglés, it was felt that the destruction of these two leaders would terminate aboriginal control of the region so that it might be settled and colonized (see Victoria 1885). Nevertheless, some thirty years later Niklison visited the area and concluded that the period of the Great Chiefs had finally ended with the demise of the legendary Toba Chief Matolí (1916:173). In each generation the passing of powerful leaders is lamented with the result that their reputations assume a mythical quality in succeeding ones. Subsequent to the 1884-1885 Campaign, several Toba leaders took their bands north of the Pilcomayo into the Chaco interior of Paraguay where remnants of these extended families exist until the present time. Similar Toba groups are also found in southeastern Bolivia where they migrated from northwest Argentina. Thus, the elimination of prominent chiefs did not terminate effective leadership. In each generation leaders emerged who were capable of assuming responsible positions by tapping power sources for the benefit of the common person. The phenomenal quality of leadership varied from period to period depending upon the circumstances at the time: during warfare war leaders took charge, other leaders led their followers to entirely new territories, still others went to new power relations (Pentecostal preaching) in order to restore harmony and wholeness. Such dynamic leadership cannot be considered ineffective. On the contrary, its adaptive quality demonstrates strength and remarkable effectiveness. Leadership which commands authority when needed and which exhibits restraint when authority is not required, deserves respect and admiration.

Not only did the phenomenal character of leadership change throughout the contact period depending upon circumstances, but also leadership varied from one group to another. Not all Chaco leadership was cut over an identical mould. Both Karsten (1932:46) and Metraux (1937:389f) document a Council of Elders among the Toba-Pilaga which was to have confirmed the naming of a new chief and which advised the latter in matters of decision- making. There is no evidence that such a Council played a significant role in Toba-Pilaga leadership generally, and certainly no such Council functions at the present time. The circumstances surrounding such a Council are obscure, but it can be assumed that it was a response to a peculiar situation. Dubrizhoffer's classic study of the Abipon (1784, translated 1822) also identified noblemen and warrior as positions of some leadership significance in the mid-18th century. It is important to remember, however, that Dobrizhoffer lived among the Abipon (now extinct) during a period when they were at the height of their equestrian adaptation. The adoption of the horse gave the Abipon a decided advantage in warfare because they adopted it early and because their location in the southeastern Chaco provided access to a continued supply of horses from the pampas. Thus, the noblemen and warrior categories which Dobrizhoffer documented may well have represented a unique situation of that period. His

analysis of chiefly status and activities clearly indicates that the power of the chief was essentially tied to shamanic skills and powers such as those described here. Just as shamans join forces in order to combine their power to rescue an important personage, or in other ways restore harmony during crisis (such as the 1924 mobilization at Napalpí), so the role of noblemen, warriors, and councilmen must be interpreted as cooperative efforts to respond to crises of one sort or another. No such groups exist in any formal manner at the present time to my knowledge.

It is widely reported in the ethnohistorical literature on Gran Chaco societies that leaders keep their ears to the ground and recommend a course of action which consensus already dictates. My own early writings (Miller 1967) stated this point of view. More recently, however, I have concluded that the occasions eliciting consensus consistently involve actions for which there is no immediate precedent, and actions which do not call for critical response in terms of survival. The only incidents I witnessed which involved collective action of this sort occurred in the naming of regional representatives to the *Iglesia Evangélica Unida,* "United Evangelical Church." These occasions involved a public meeting in which influential leaders spoke at length concerning the positive qualities of the individual selected, even though the selection itself had occurred informally prior to the public meeting. Confirmation was effected, however, only after each elder had spoken in support of the representative selected. On another occasion, the group was unable to agree on the location of a Center for the same religious organization. The result was that no center was named for ten years, at which time a Center was chosen in an entirely different community. The widespread consultation on these occasions may well have been prompted by a lack of precedent (both participants and observers commented on the unique nature of the proceedings), as well as by the absence of a crisis situation which called for more drastic authoritative measures.

Despite variation in leadership arrangements from one Chaco society to another, then, the notion of chiefly status without the legitimation of shamanic power relations is inconsistent with the evidence. Furthermore, reports from particular periods in Chaco history must be interpreted in light of the conditions existing at that time because leadership authority and political arrangements varied throughout the contact period.

When I initiated this paper I was unaware of any other studies which discussed leadership in the terms proposed here. It was, therefore, with considerable pleasure that an unpublished manuscript by Joanna Kaplan (n.d.) was brought to my attention which would seem to be in full agreement with my interpretation of the Chaco data based upon research carried out in another area of lowland South America. Kaplan points out that anthropologists have defined power and authority in such a manner as to exclude leadership in most lowland South American societies. Kaplan and I have both attempted to define power as it is phenomenally grasped by the people whom we have studied. In her words, "Within tribal societies, 'power,' 'authority,' and sanctions, on the one hand, and the spirit world, on the other, cannot as symbolic categories be analytically separated. Moreover, it is frequently the case that 'power over men' and 'power over spirits' are not distinct and separate modes of behavior" (n.d.:2). For this reason, Kaplan refers to societies "where leadership and the religions are conjoined" (ibid). This is precisely the point of view argued here for the Chaco region. The nature of power relations Kaplan describes for the Piaroa compares favorably with what I have observed among the Toba. Successful leadership is recognized by large followings, spiritual power can be used for good or ill, this power is communicated by means of established relations with gods or power beings of various sorts, it is the responsibility of the shaman to protect his followers from danger and to insure the fertility of plants and animals, etc. Despite variations in the location and arrangement of power beings, as well as in the means of communicating with these power sources, the nature of power, authority and leadership in Piaroa society parallels that of the Toba and other Chaco groups.

This observation raises a question concerning the reinterpretation of leadership data from other lowland South American groups. In his classic study of Tapirape shamanism, for example, Charles Wagley (1968, orig. 1943) demonstrates that the responsibility for all essentially good as well as bad experiences are ultimately placed at the feet of the shamans. They are responsible for health, procreation, protection from ghosts and other dangers encountered while hunting and fishing, the protection of crops against capricious natural elements, the assurance of a constant provision of food resources, etc. This is a heavy obligation and certainly one which centrally defines leadership in Tapirapé society. In fact Wagley informs us that the Tapirapé have no chieftains with centralized authority and that, despite the presence of *capitão* (more strictly secular leaders), the greatest prestige is associated with shamanism. In fact, their prestige is such that a separate life is preserved for them in the afterworld. Thus, in Tapirapé society there seems to be no evidence which would contradict the notion of leadership based fundamentally upon spiritual power.

Irving Goldman's (1963) report on the Cubeo

separates a discussion of leadership and authority from religion and shamanism. As Kaplan (n.d.) correctly points out, this separation results in a definition of leadership as weak and ineffective. In describing the principal duties of the headman, nevertheless, Goldman clearly demonstrates that they involve activities which depend upon shamanic-type skills, for example, the stimulation of chicha production. Thus when he describes the shaman as the principal holder of *parie,* "power," it becomes clear that Goldman's distinction between power and authority is based upon his own categories rather than one determined from the Cubeo material. If one begins with an analytic distinction of this sort, it becomes impossible to recognize the unity involved. Thus, the Cubeo would appear to fit the model of leadership under consideration here.

Although Gertrude Dole (1964:53) argues that "formal leadership among the Kuikuru is extremely weak," it might be possible to demonstrate that this statement is based again upon the separation of headman and shaman categories, and that when combined, the weakness disappears. Note the following: "From these instances of divining it becomes apparent that the focal point of whatever legal apparatus operates among the Kuikuru is not the headman but rather the principal shaman. In effect he functions as an arbiter. His effectiveness in this role is based on a belief in the operation of supernatural forces, both through sorcery and through detection by divination" (Ibid:60). Thus, if we abandon the inclination to define leadership in terms of the mobilization of economic resources and political authority irrespective of its connection spiritual power, it becomes clear that fundamental leadership in Kuikuru society fits the model under consideration here.

In a later article, Dole (1966) makes the interesting observation that cognatic groups of the Tropical Forest generally lack central authority. In her words, "The apparent correlation of lineal kinship with effective political organizations among Tropical Forest tribes of South America suggests that political authority may be functionally related to lineality" (1966:83). If land ownership and control of resources are considered the basis for central leadership, it is not surprising that it would not be found where these characteristics are absent or minimized. Furthermore, Dole's suggestion that cognatic groups reflect a type of leadership distinct from that found in lineal systems is suggestive for further investigation. The Chaco groups are basically cognatic, and those materials which compare to the Chaco most favorably are those with cognatic kinship arrangements. In fact, all of the examples thus far, with the exception of the Cubeo, represent cognatic societies. In this regard, Ellen Basso's (1973) discussion of leadership among the Kalapalo conforms to the general type described here. What she describes as ceremonial specialists, ceremonial sponsors, shamans, and village representatives are all leaders, but it appears to be the shamans who exert the most effective leadership in the day-to-day affairs of the Kalapalo. Thomas Gregor's study of the Mehinaku (1977) describes shamans as central to leadership activities in that society.

No attempt has been made here to review comprehensively all of the literature on lowland South American populations. In fact, groups which are not strictly cognatic, such as the Cubeo or Michael Harner's reports on the Jivaro (1968, 1973), also seem to fit a model of leadership as tied to spirit beings and powers. The extent to which this type of power relation underlies leadership authority in other groups noncognatic in nature requires further investigation.

In summary, I have argued here that the distinction between shaman and chief is misleading in terms of understanding the basic nature of leadership in Gran Chaco. I have also maintained that the degree of authority varies throughout the contact period depending upon circumstances. The view of shamans as concerned with individual acts of healing is too restrictive for the Chaco region and, I have suggested, for other regions of lowland South America as well. If the distinction between secular and religious leadership is removed, the authentic nature of dynamic leadership in this region comes to light. Further research is required to determine the extent to which these observations fit the lowland region generally, to say nothing about other major culture areas of the world.

ETHNOHISTORY OF ANDEAN-MONTAÑA CONTACTS: AN ABSTRACT

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The Ceja de la Montaña has long been regarded by ethnologists as a formidable barrier between highland and lowland peoples in western South America. However, a large body of evidence suggests that far more frequent and intensive contacts have occurred between Andean and neighboring lowland peoples than has generally been recognized.

Panoan, Arawak and Tupian languages of the Peruvian Montaña all have numerous terms of cultural items in common with highland Quechua. Many other culture traits, such as back-strap loom weaving of long garments, T-shaped stone axes and even cooper axes, fronto-occipital flattening of neonates' heads with padded boards, and a concept of a white "Wiracocha" culture hero, all characteristic of highlands, are also distinctively Montaña traits in the context of the Tropical Forest culture type. Moreover, native groups in the Montaña believe that numerous culture traits are derived from the Inca; the Conibo insist that they themselves are descended from Inca. In addition, Lathrap and his colleagues have demonstrated very close and continuing relations of long standing between prehistoric cultures of the Ucayali basin and highland Peru.

Investigation of the early written records on the Montaña corroborates these linguistic, archeological and ethnographic findings. Quechua was spoken among some peoples of other linguistic families on the Napo and Marañon at the time of their first contact with Spaniards. Moreover, repeated movement of large numbers of people from the highlands into the tropical valleys long antedates the coming of the Spaniards and continued into historic time. Protohistoric accounts describe vast Inca armies conquering their way into he lowlands and settling among the aboriginal people there. Conversely, other accounts relate that Tupian- and Arawak-speaking groups reached Cuzco and maintained trade relations across the Ceja de la Montaña.

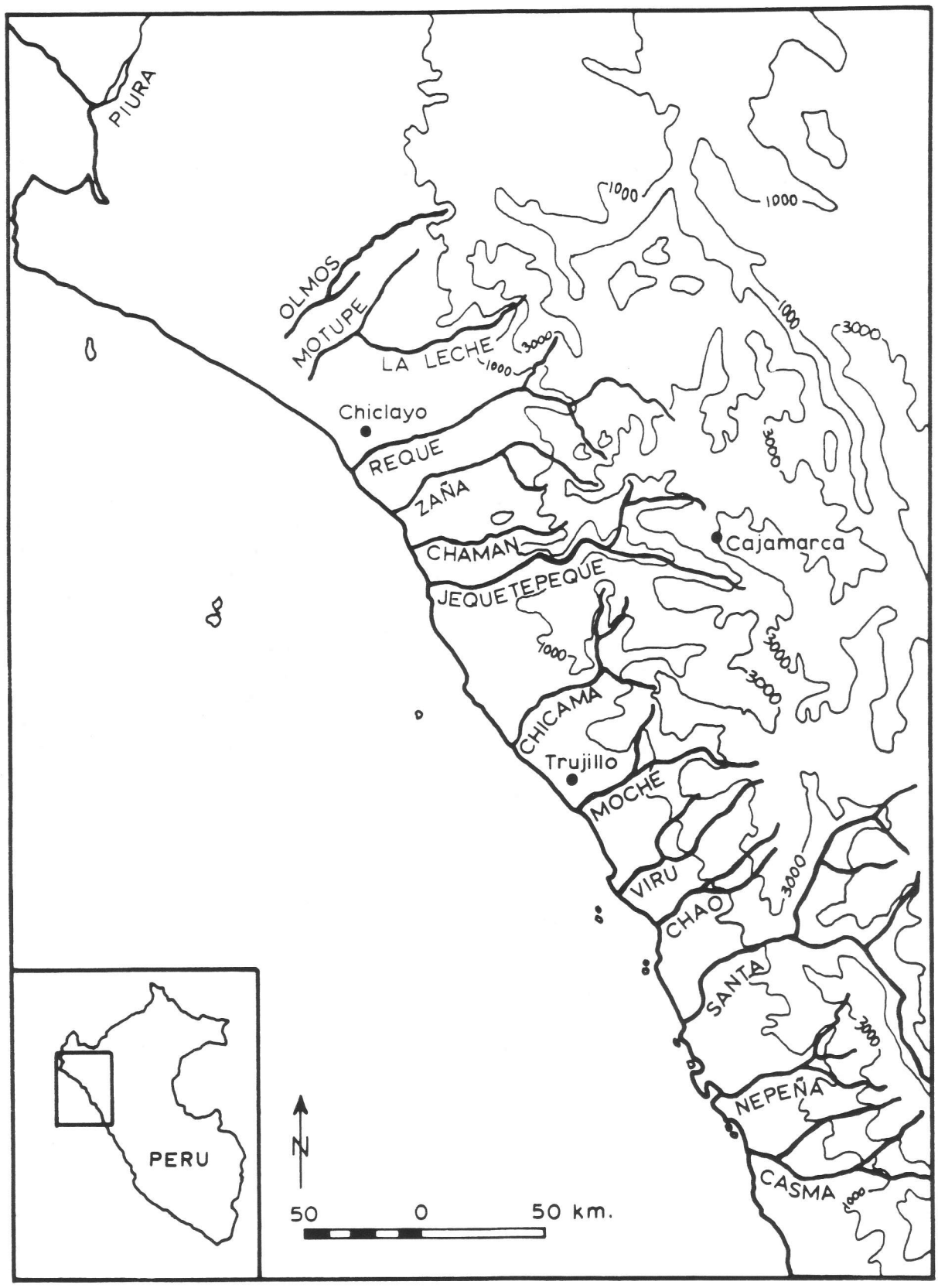

Figure 1. The North Coast of Peru.

ORGANIZATION THROUGH OPPOSITION: DUAL DIVISION AND QUADRIPARTITION ON THE NORTH COAST OF PERU

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The Tropical Forest and the North Coast of Peru

There are many congruences between the social organization of the pre-Hispanic Lambayeque and Chimu societies of the North Coast of Peru and that described for Tropical Forest societies such as the Ge or Bororo. While there is no evidence for a direct link between these particular groups and the 16th century inhabitants of the valleys between Motupe and Santa along the Pacific, I do not believe these similarities are fortuitous.

Decades ago, the Peruvian anthropologist, Julio C. Tello, recognized a Tropical Forest origin for the Chavin cultural synthesis, which he believed to be the foundation of the subsequent Andean civilizations (Tello 1929:212;1960:12-13). Tello saw these Tropical Forest-derived traits extending throughout the Central Andes and as far north as Pasto (1929:152; 1960:16,26,30).

Establishment of the evidence for the influence of cultural patterns of the Tropical Forest on Formative cultures west of the Andesby means of archeological investigation did not come about until some four decades after Tello's first intuitions. Donald Lathrap has demonstrated the Tropical Forest ties to the earliest agricultural societies of coastal Ecuador by means of the stylistic and formal similarities in the ceramics, as well as similarities in ritual paraphernalia such as snuff tablets and shaman's stools, and has argued that these indicate a common cosmology (Lathrap 1973,1974; Lathrap et al. 1975). Most recently the work of Lathrap, Jorge Marcos and their associates at Real Alto has revealed important similarities in the settlement pattern of the Valdivia period at this site and those of 20th century Ge villages (Lathrap, Marcos and Zeidler 1977).

There is also some archeological evidence that the Peruvian North Coast was in contact with the early Tropical Forest-linked cultures of the Ecuadorian coast--a pattern which persisted until the Spanish Conquest. This can be seen in the iconography carved on the gourd bowl recovered from the Chicama Valley site of Huaca Prieta, which was probably a Valdivia import (Bird 1963; Lanning 1967; Lathrap 1973), but also in the extensive movement of *Spondylus* shell from coastal Ecuador to the North Coast.

Additional early routes (Figure 1) of penetration of Tropical Forest cultural traits into the North Coast valleys will undoubtedly be revealed by further archeological research. Already early Formative Tropical Forest-related ceramics have been recovered from pre-Chavin levels at the large complex at Pacopampa, located between two northward-flowing tributaries of the Huancabamba and within 20 km. of the headwaters of the Chancay River of Lambayeque (Shady and Rosas 1970; Fung 1975; Kaulicke 1975). My own field observations have led to the formulation of two hypotheses: first, that for millennia the societies of the North Coast regularly utilized the western slopes of the Andean cordillera to an altitude of 1800 to 2000 meters, and second, that these slopes were discontinuously covered with tropical montane forest of which only small relict patches survive today (Netherly 1977a, 1977b: Vuilleumier 1971). In the lower mountains north of Cajamarca such forest cover persists today at altitudes below 3000 meters. It was probably continuous across the mountains and would have afforded access to an important Tropical Forest econiche, thus facilitating east-west cultural penetration across the continental divide. Further south, contact between the Tropical Forest peoples and those of the Central Highlands took place along the eastern slopes of the Andes. Tropical Forest influence has been noted at Shillacoto, Kotosh and Chavin de Huantar (Lathrap 1971; Izumi 1971; Kano 1972).

Organizational Patterns in North Coast Social Structure

It is now possible to present evidence of a different order for the ties between the Tropical Forest societies and those which developed the regional civilization of the North Coast valleys. My own research on the political organization of the North Coast valleys under the Chimu and Inca states required an understanding of the underlying social structure. I found that the predominate organizational patterns which characterized the social organization of North Coast society were duality and hierarchy. To these may be added a fundamental division between male and female which is frequently used as a metaphor for a hierarchical relationship. The organizational

principles of duality and hierarchy completely dominated the regional political organization.

However, these principles, which must be considered to reflect the social ideology of the coastal societies, including the Chimu, can also be seen in other organizational levels. They are present in two widely diffused versions of the coastal origin myth recorded by Antonio de la Clancha, the seventeenth century Augustinian chronicler. They appear also to be expressed in the admittedly incomplete list of kin terms originally noted by Fernando de la Carrera, the seventeenth century author of the only surviving grammar of the Yunga language.

The myths provide the most coherent use of these principles as explanatory mechanisms by participants in coastal culture presently available. The first, which is long and syncretic, can only be briefly summarized. Calancha reported that it was common from Piura in the north to Arica in the south (Calancha 1638:II,412-414). Tello commented extensively on the structural similarities between this myth and those of the Tropical Forest in which twin culture heroes are opposed to devouring or menacing jaguars (Tello 1923:148-150).

In the myth, a woman who, together with a man who subsequently died of hunger, had been created by Pachacamac, begs the Sun, father of Pachacamac, to send her cultivated plants so that she will no longer have to gather wild foods. The Sun promises the fruits and impregnates the woman with his rays. Within four days the woman gives birth, but her newborn son is torn to bits by a jealous Pachacamac, who nevertheless creates important food crops, including maize and manioc, with the remains. The mother begs vengeance of the Sun, who does not act against Pachacamac, but rather creates a second son, called Vichama or Villama, from the placenta and umbilicus of the dead infant, his brother. When Villama is grown, he leaves his mother to travel the world like his father, the Sun. At this point Pachacamac kills Villama's mother, tearing her to pieces, feeding the bits to the condors and *gallinazos* and hiding the hair and bones on the seashore. Pachacamac then proceeds to create new people: men, women, and lords to rule over them. Villama, on his return, resuscitates his mother from the bones and hair, and pursues Pachacamac, who takes refuge in the sea at the place where his temple was built. Villama has the Sun change the people Pachacamac created into stones; those representing the ruling lineages are subsequently placed in or near the sea and honored as sacred (*huaca*). Villama then asks his father, the Sun, to create the present generation of humanity. This the Sun does by means of three eggs, one of gold from which emerge the ruling elite, one of silver from which come the wives of these rulers, one of copper from which emerge men, women and children of commoner status.

The correspondences with culture hero myths of the Tropical Forest are numerous. Particularly interesting is the role of opposition assumed by Pachacamac, who here takes the role of the jaguars in the Tropical Forest versions of the myth and, like them, is put to rout. About the only feline characteristic he retains is his manner of rending his victims into pieces. There is also an opposition between the Sun and Pachacamac - both creators of men, at the same time that the definition of their relationship as father and son sets up a hierarchical relationship. This variant of the myth may reflect the prominence given the cult of the Sun by the Inca. While twin brothers figure prominently in the myths of the Tropical Forest, one usually dominates or outranks the other as the culture hero. In the myth above, the two full brothers could be considered twins, since one is made of the substance (afterbirth) of the other. Functionally, however, Villama (the culture hero) is paired with the Sun. Villama, who travels over the earth "like his father," may well be the Moon.

Orderly relationships between the various protagonists are established through the use of kinship terms. The Sun is father; Pachacamac is elder brother; Villama as Ego is younger brother. It can be inferred from the surviving kin terms that Ego's elder brother was probably grouped terminologically with the ascending generation. Thus both the Sun and Pachacamac are joined in a super-ordinate position vis-à-vis Villama. Father to elder brother to younger brother was also the preferred sequence of succession to rule among North Coast lords (Netherly 1977b). Zuidema (1973) has shown how often hierarchical relationships were expressed in highland culture by means of the ranking of kinship relations. Rostworowski (1972) has drawn attention to the use of a kinship model to relate the central and subsidiary shrines of Pachacamac to each other, an observation which was originally made in the sixteenth century by Santillian (1879). Zuidema (1973), following Hernández Príncipe (1923), found the same mechanism used to order the relationships among shrines in Recuay. In the foregoing relationship, as in the second creation of Pachacamac from the three eggs, the passage from a dyadic to a triadic relationship is evident (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1956; Zuidema 1964), although I feel a dual template is never altogether absent.

Calancha noted that within the zone of influence of the sanctuary of Pachacamac at Ychma or Lurín, from Carabayllo in the Chillon Valley south to Lurín and the coast beyond, the following variation was found in the creation myth. The second creation was the work of Pachacamac. He sent four stars, two

male and two female, to earth. From one pair descended the rulers and nobles; from the other descended the common people. The stars were then ordered to return to the heavens and Pachacamac commanded that the lords and nobles of the previous creation were to be honored and served as *huacas*.

All of the major themes of hierarchy, duality, and gender opposition are present in this variation of the myth. Calancha (1638:III) repeats this myth in abbreviated form in his discussion of the religious beliefs of the Jequetepeque Valley. The elegance and parsimony of the myth of the origin of mankind from four stars can be appreciated as a highly synthetic statement of the basic principles of North Coast social and political organization.

Figure 2 shows these interrelations clearly. The figure can be read three ways and illustrates the three organizational principles noted at the beginning of this discussion. The pair of stars giving rise to the nobility can be seen as a senior or ranking moiety when contrasted with the pair of stars ancestral to the commoners. The two male stars are distinguished by sex from the female stars and, as males, rank senior to them. Thus, within each moiety division, the male star can be conceived as having higher rank than the female star. Sex, here, while specified for procreation, is a double metaphor. It suggests the union of unlike or distinct parts into a whole. Sex, or more properly gender, is also a metaphor for super-ordination-subordination.

The specification of female stars in each pair raises the possibility, for which there is only indirect confirmation, that - as in the highlands - women were thought to descend from women and men from men. There has been some discussion of Andean parallel descent by Zuidema (1967, 1972, 1973) and Lounsbury (1970), but at this point the possibility can only be raised from the North Coast. A structure of parallel descent does appear in a myth about the creation of the sea by Pachacamac recorded by la Gasca in the sixteenth century. In this account the original couple were punished in the following manner. The man was transformed into a monkey and from him all monkeys are descended. The woman was changed into a fox and became the ancestress of all foxes (Calvete de Estrella 1964:301). Monkeys are prominent in North Coast iconography and their anthropomorphic characteristics would suggest descent from some primal human. Foxes appear to have been held in special regard in the highlands as well as on the coast (Arguedas 1966:27, 37). The incomplete kinship terminology offered by Carrera (1939:16, 68, 69) demonstrates two of the major organizational principles: hierarchy is established by the differentiation in terminology between older siblings of Ego, who are assimilated to the ascending generation, and younger siblings, who are grouped with the descending generation. Distinction by sex in their terminology reflects gender opposition. (Figure 3.)

Thus for a female Ego, *nier* is glossed as "uncle" (surely FaBro) or "older brother," and *chang* is glossed as "younger sister," "younger brother, nephew" (BroSo?), or "niece" (BroDa?). For a male Ego *uxllur* is given as "younger brother, younger sister, nephew" (BroSo?) and "niece" (BroDa?); *co coed* is glossed as "aunt" (surely FaSi) and "older sister."

If a patrilineal bias is assumed for these terms given by Carrera, then the groupings shown in Figures 3 and 4 are obtained. I hypothesize that father's brother and older brother of a male Ego were also referred to by the same term on the basis of the succession data in the lords' lineages, although Carrera is silent on this. The special term for father's sister and older sister for a male Ego may reflect an important role for these senior females in the patrilineage. Some of the unglossed terms in Carrera's list may well refer to matrikin or to sister's children, e.g., *chang coed, pariente,* "kin."

Dual Division and Quadripartition in the Political Structure

The most salient fact for understanding the social and political organization of the society of the North Coast is the use of ranked dual division of progressively smaller sociopolitical units. When it is recalled that the population of the North Coast valleys numbered in the tens of thousand, the size of the population organized in this manner is impressive. It was also understandably complex. These units consisted of bounded, named social groups of varying sizes subject to lords of differing rank.

In the Spanish documents such groups, when they are recognized at all, are referred to as a *parciliad,* which simply means "a part of a whole." Each of these units was usually divided into moieties, led by two ranked lords; had social, economic and religious functions; and provided a social and, at the higher levels of organization, an ethnic identity for its members. A kinship dimension may have existed at some levels; it is seen most strongly through the identification of the deceased members of the ruling lineage as group ancestors (see above; also Cieza 1932:200, 202; Netherly 1977b). Very occasionally in the Spanish documents of the sixteenth century these units are equated with the highland *ayllu* (AGI Justicia 458, f 1942r). This may either be the application of a

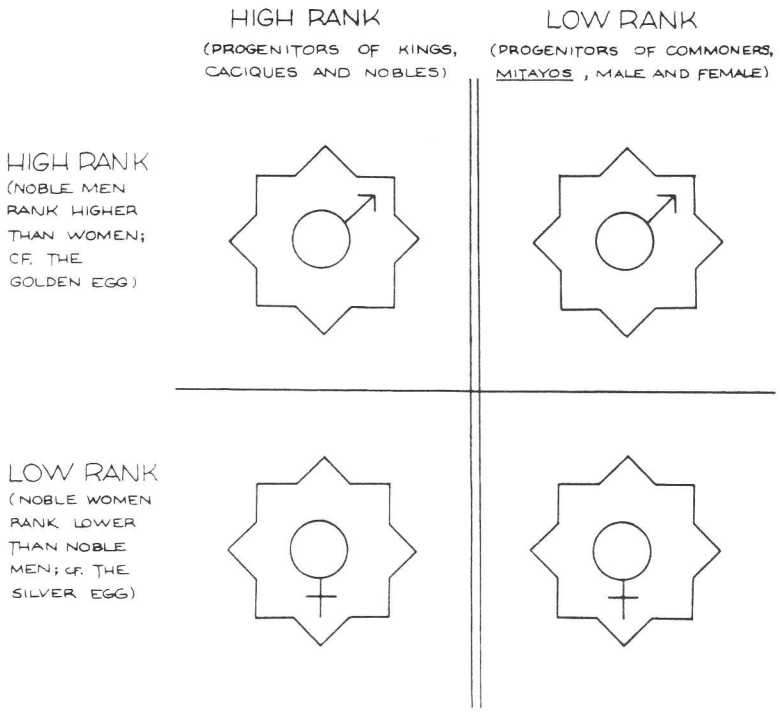

Figure 2. Principles of North Coast social organization evident in the myth of the creation of mankind by stars.

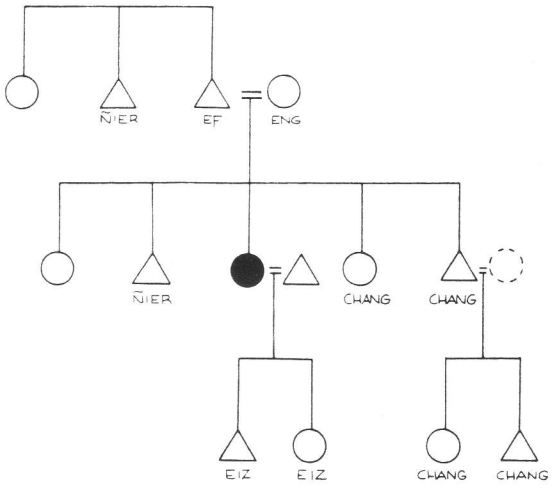

Figure 3. Kinship Terminology: Consanguineals, Female EGO.

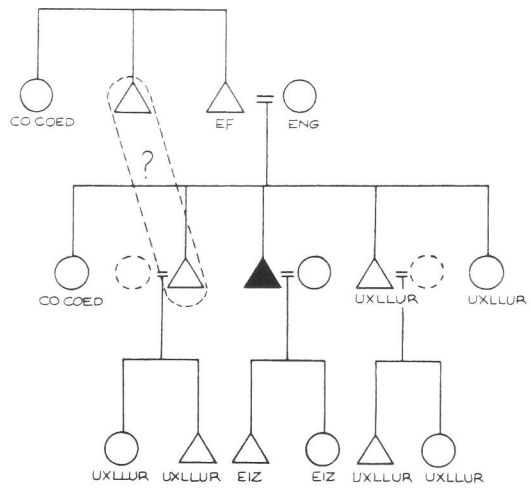

Figure 4. Kinship Terminology: Consanguineals, Male EGO.

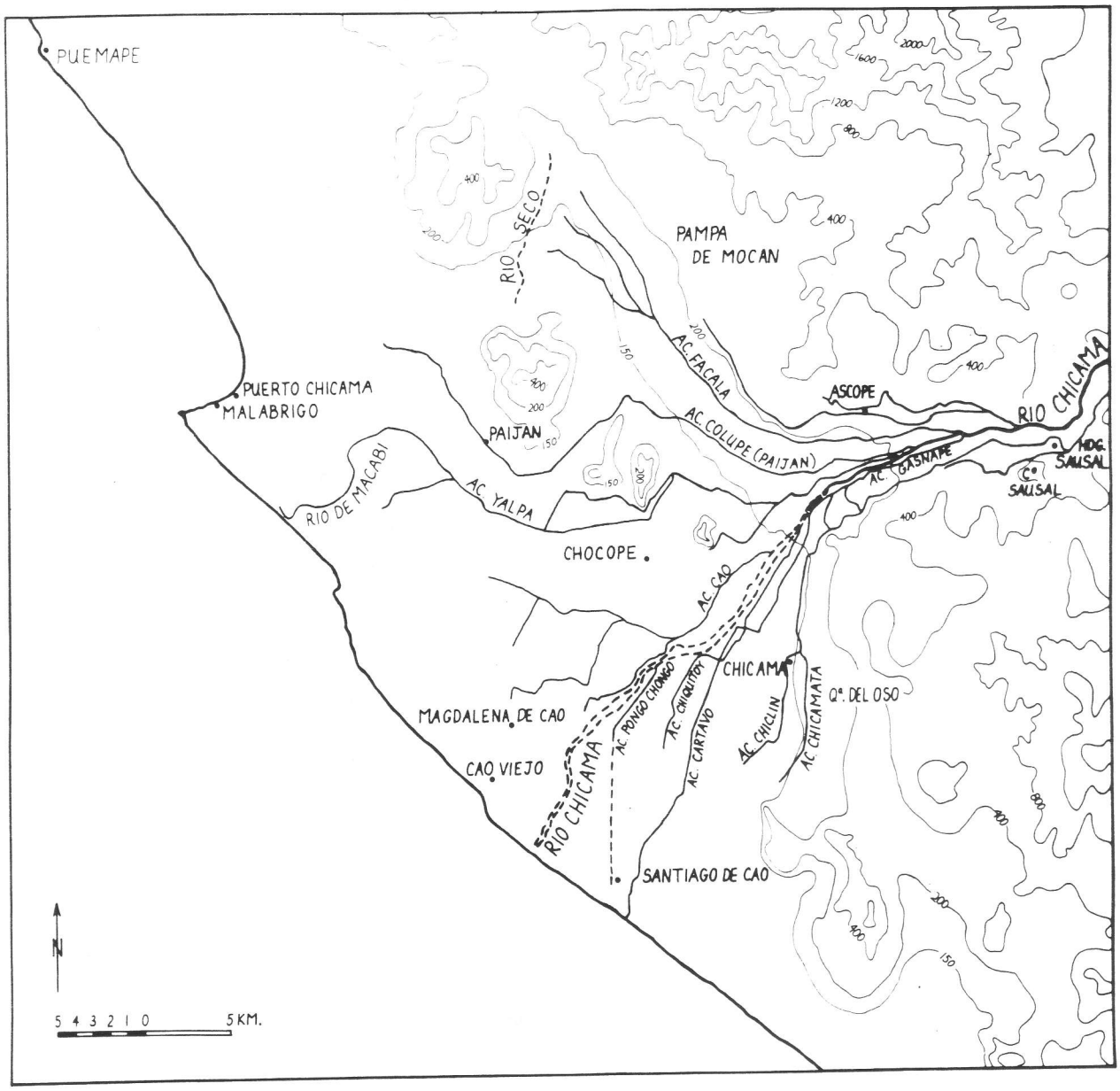

Figure 5. Chicama Valley (canals shown are modern).

highland term to a coastal institution by the Spanish, or it may derive from an attempt to emphasize the kinship dimension of the sociopolitical unit (AGI Justicia 458, ff 1803, 1804, 1834).

Most of these *parcialidades* were made up of farmers. However, other full-time occupational specialists such as fishermen or artisans (potters, metal-smiths, salt-makers, leather-workers, and even specialists in exchange) were also grouped in such units subject to their own lords. These units were in turn integrated into the larger sociopolitical units (AGI Justicia 438, ff 1630, 1784, 1785, 1787, 1823; AGI Escribania de Camara 501A; Espinoza 1967-70; Netherly 1974, 1977b; Rostworowski 1975).

The *parcialidades* of fishermen may have been sufficiently differentiated in a cultural sense from the up-valley groups of cultivators as to be considered ethnically distinct. In addition, they reportedly spoke a different dialect, the *lengua pescadora* (Calancha 1638:606; Netherly 1977b). However, within a *parcialidad* of any size, the presence of both fishing and farming groups was considered to be necessary and an integral component of the larger group. Thus, the resolution of this expression of duality seems to have been by means of integration into more complex units, rather than by organizing the moieties around this fundamental difference in subsistence.

Dualism, a division of the whole society into moieties, cross-division into two different moiety systems (quadripartition) and even further subdivision by halving the resulting parts, has not been noted previously for the North Coast societies and for the Andean highlands. The fundamental dual division of society in the Central Highlands, or better the multiple dual divisions, have been well illustrated by Zuidema (1964, 1973) and Duviols (1973) among others for the pre-Hispanic period. Contemporary ethnographers such as Palomino Flores (1971), Wachtel (1974), Houdari-Morizot (1976) and Platt (1975) have described its persistence to the present time. Despite its evident importance, however, the existence of this principle of dual organization was largely ignored by the Spanish on the North Coast, in contrast to their acceptance of the categories of *hanan* and *hurin* on the Central Coast and in the Highlands.

It is now possible to demonstrate that division of society into two, four, and more parts is also found on the North Coast, although at no point are these divisions referred to by terms analogous to *hanan* or *hurin*. This, and the fact that these divisions were retained long into the colonial period, suggest that they were not an Inca imposition. Even though they are never named in the sources now available, the existence of these moieties can be discerned from the grouping of the lords who headed them. It can be shown that these moieties are composed of ranked *parcialidades*, as these were defined above. The strength and importance of the *parcialidades* and the former regional polities into which they were integrated is clear and was such that they can still be found in Spanish legal instruments of 1580 and later. Indeed, this organization persisted in the form of simple moiety division and named groups throughout the colonial period, despite the cultural and demographic catastrophes of the sixteenth century.

The situation was partially reflected in the terminology the Spanish used to describe the lords. The paramount lord of a possible pre-Hispanic political unit or *repartimiento* was called a *cacique principal*. At the same time this lord was head of one moiety division within the polity, while the second moiety was subject to a lord whom the Spanish called *segunda persona*. This lord also functioned as a lieutenant of the paramount lord in situations involving the entire polity. Almost without exception, representation of the *repartimiento* vis-à-vis the Spanish was assumed by the *cacique principal* and the *segunda persona* in concert. Then,in the Spanish terminology, came a group of lesser lords referred to without distinction as *principales*. These were lords of *parcialidades*, not "nobles" or "notables." It is when the regularity with which these lords are associated with *cacique principal* and the *segunda persona* is examined that the structure inherent in the social and political orders becomes apparent.

Most frequently, two lesser lords are found in regular association with the paramount lord and his lieutenant. In this case each moiety has been subdivided, making a total of four sections. The lesser lords each head the second division within each moiety. If the polity was large, these divisions might be further subdivided into a total of eight parts. In these cases the *cacique principal* and the *segunda persona* are associated with a total of six *principales*.

The kind of structure described above can be seen most clearly in the political organization of the "valley" or polity of Chicama, although it is present in all the North coast valleys. The polity of Chicama did not include all of the geographic valley of that name. In pre-Hispanic times, it had comprised the south bank of the river and the north bank to about Chocope and appears to have extended eastward to approximately Sausal and the intakes of the canals (see Figure 5). The sea formed

the western limit. Lands watered by the Yalpa canal and those to the north of it all the way to the edge of the hills were part of Licapa, a separate polity under other lords in the sixteenth century (ANP AGUAS 3.3.1.10).

The basic quadripartition can be seen in a summary fragment of the census of 1566 made by Dr. Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca as part of his tour of inspection on the North Coast (BNL A574, ff52v-53r). Don Juan de Mora, who had taken the surname of his *encomendero* upon baptism, was the paramount lord. Don Pedro Mache, don Alonso Chuchinamo and don Gonzalo Sulpinamo are all listed as heads of sections or *principales*. In other documentation don Juan de Mora is consistently presented as *cacique principal* and don Pedro Mache is named *segunda persona*, in this way explicitly representing both moieties (AGI Justicia 458, f 1864v). In tasks which were carried out by moiety, such as the planting of fields for the colonial tribute in grain, the lords were listed in the following order:

don Joan de mora alonso sanchinamo don pedro machi

don goncalo

(AGI Justicia 458, f 1845r).

Here the moiety distinction is clear, since the head of each moiety is followed immediately by the lord of the second section in his moiety. The hierarchical relationship of the two moieties is also demonstrated.

In Spanish colonial times the paramount lords of Chicama seem to have been associated with the Spanish *reducción* or resettlement village of Chocope on the north bank of the river (Parish Records, Santiago de Cao). Of the four lords, only don Alonso Chuchinamo is mentioned as being lord of a particular named section, Caux or Cao (AGI Justicia 458, ff 1636, 1783). This section probably held lands along the length of the Cao canal to the mouth of the river on the north bank of the Chicama River. Since both Chocope and Cao are on the north bank, it is not unreasonable to assume that the lands of the sections of the other moiety subject to don Pedro Mache and don Gonzalo Sulpinamo were located on the south bank, with the river as the line of division.

There was a second lord within the Cao section, don Diego Sancaynamu, who never appears, however, as one of the principal lords associated with don Juan de Mora (AGI Justicia 458, ff 1782v-1783r). The relationship is made clear by comparison with that of don Diego Martin Conaman, who styles himself as *segunda persona* of don Pedro Mache, but who likewise never appears in with don Juan de Mora or don Pedro Mache (AGI Justicia 458, f 1765r). If he is not one of the lords of the four principal sections of Chicama, then don Diego Martin's relationship to don Pedro Mache as his *segunda persona* must be within the context of the section of the second moiety subject to don Pedro. This implies a further subdivision, ideally making a total of eight subsections.

Figure 6 shows this in schematic form. The comparable figures found in Zuidema (1964), Wachtel (1966, 1974), Palomino Flores (1971) and Mendizabel (1972) should be noted. It is remarkable that the ideal political structure of the polity of Chicama can be so completely represented. Of the eight projected positions of rank, six of the lords can be identified. Among the 18 other lords who presented petitions to Dr. Cuenca in 1566, are undoubtedly the two corresponding to the empty ranks on Figure 6. Subdivision into two, four and eight sections can also be traced in the "valley" or polity of Chimor in the Moche Valley, once the seat of the Chimu rulers (AGI Justicia 458, f 1803r; Netherly 1977b).

What seems most noteworthy here is that this scheme is infinitely subdivisible and thus could accommodate an extremely large population without reorganization of the basic political structure. One of the characteristics of Andean lordship which is also evident is the retention of lower-ranking positions by a lord of high rank. Thus the same lord, particularly the higher- ranking lords, could operate on several different organizational levels simultaneously, with a correspondingly larger number of subordinate lords and subjects under his direct control (AGI Justicia 458, f 1867v).

Figure 6 also shows two hypothetical moieties: Alpha and Beta. These moieties do not figure in the documents at hand and their inclusion is by analogy to the opposition of duality seen in the creation myth cited above and that seen in Cuzco with the double opposition of *hanan-hurin* and *lloque-yupanqui* (Mendizabel 1972) or in Chipaya (Wachtel 1974). In the event that these moieties were present, then don Juan de Mora would have been the principal lord of the Alpha moiety and don Pedro Mache would have been the second-ranking lord in that moiety. Don Alonso Chuchinamo would have been the principal lord of the second, Beta, moiety and don Gonzalo Sulpinamo, who always follows him in the Spanish lists, would have been the second lord of that moiety. Nonetheless, it is not necessary to postulate the Alpha and Beta moieties to explain the higher rank of don Alonso with respect to don Gonzalo. A sufficient explanation is found in the precedence of the first moiety over the

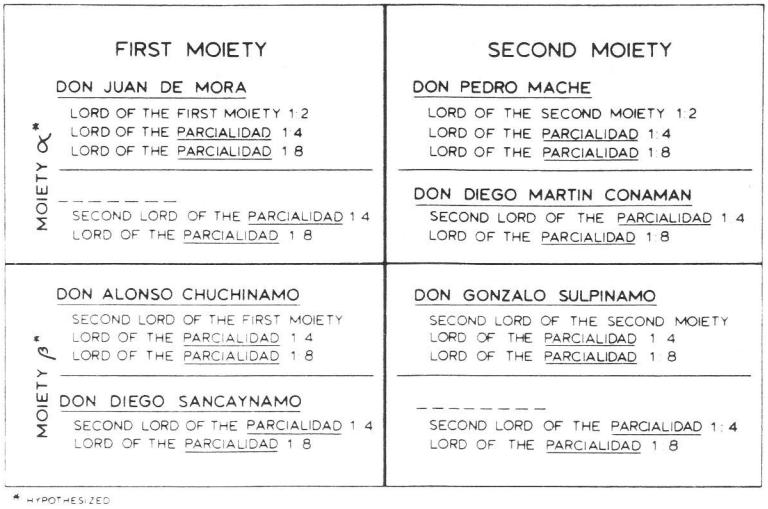

Figure 6. Formal political structure of the polity of Chicama 1566.

second.

Although the systems of numeration given for the Yunga language by Carrera (1939:82-84) are all base ten, it would appear that a decimal organization of administrative categories similar to the Inca system of *pachaqa* (100 heads of household), *waranqa* (1000 heads of household), and *unu* (10,000 heads of household) was never present on the North Coast, even under Inca rule. The key to the resolution of a base ten numbering system with the dual and quadripartite divisions which seem to have existed, is found in the well-known dynastic origin myth from Lambayeque. The founding lord, Naymlap, is said to have brought with him forty principal retainers or lords (Cabello Balboa 1951:327). Such a number would permit the presence of 20 lords in each moiety, 10 lords in each quadripartite division and 5 lords in each division of 1:8. It would also explain the large number of apparently supernumerary lords in Chicama, even taking into account the literal decimation of the aboriginal population of that polity by 1566. Units of forty also appear in the North Coast calendrical system. Rostworowski (1976) has suggested that the nine months of the Chimu year consisted of forty days each, divided into four weeks of ten days duration (AGI Justicia 398, f 9v; Rostworowski 1976:105).

* * *

The organizational principles of duality, hierarchy and gender opposition were present in the social organization of the late societies of the North Coast of Peru. Political organization was based upon the division of the society into ranked moieties which divided the whole into two, four, eight and even more parts. Thus, at each level of organization, these sociopolitical divisions were found in ranked pairs, which together formed a single component of the dual opposition at the next higher level of organization. This sociopolitical structure was infinitely expandable - and thus able to accommodate the large populations of the North Coast valleys - and extremely stable, since each structural component was an integral part of the one hierarchically above it.

Sixteenth century observers such as Carvajal (1955) and those used by Simon (1942) bore witness to the populous, stratified societies which occupied the flood plain of the Amazon in almost continuous succession. Carvajal (1955:78-83) never doubted he was observing groups which were ranked politically, with lesser lords subject to greater, as in the case of the domain of Omagua. The Spaniards, who were chronically hungry, noted again and again the abundance of the resources needed for the subsistence of such large groups. They were also able to note the differences between central and outlying settlements. However, the social and political structure of these groups eluded them completely. The organization of such large-scale societies in the Tropical Forest itself may well have differed in detail from that of the even larger and more complex societies of the North Coast of Peru, but the possibility that common organizational principles were involved must remain open, if unproven.

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"TRADITIONAL" ETHNIC BOUNDARIES IN THE CENTRAL NORTHWEST AMAZON

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Introduction

The papers in this volume demonstrate the inadequacies of the culture area concept as revealed in examinations of "the apparently anomalous and relatively neglected peoples at the peripheries of the lowlands..." (*Abstract* for the AAA symposium). Several papers on specific societies show that "anomaly" is in the eye of the beholder. In this paper I discuss the Central Northwest Amazon (henceforth called the *Vaupés*), a region not usually considered marginal or peripheral. Nonetheless, the Vaupés is peripheral in both a geographical and political sense. The Amazon rainforest extends only to this region; savannah characterizes the landscape to the north and west. Furthermore, the Vaupés delimits the northernmost reach in Colombia of the Amazon drainage, the rivers to the north of the Isana draining into the Orinoco system. In addition, the Vaupés is peripheral to the state societies of Colombia and Brazil, with powerful consequences for its history, social structure, regional integration, and belief systems.

This paper also challenges the applicability of the culture area approach even to regions generally considered to be squarely within a given culture area. Serious debate about classification and delimitation of culture areas has ceased because of the concept's methodological and theoretical difficulties (see Moerman 1965). However, although the culture area concept has been severely criticized, it is still in widespread use - despite a general recognition that co-occurrence of distinctive culture traits with coterminous boundaries or of a kind of "no-man's land" separating culture areas (see Fried 1975:16; Sharp 1958) seldom, if ever, actually occurs in the ethnographic record.[1] But even though the concept as an article of faith is dead, people still use it as a low-level de facto tool for shorthand references to geographical regions, in comparisons (e.g., the Guiana region versus the Central Brazilian highlands), and when talking about the distribution of a particular trait. Such usage will undoubtedly continue, and so while I may appear to be beating a dead horse, it is one that keeps coming back to life.

The weaknesses of this approach include the following. 1) Analytic. "Culture area," "periphery," "marginal," and "boundary" are often loosely defined. The parallel concept of linguistic area, where "languages belonging to more than one family show traits in common which do not belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families" (Emeneau 1980:1), is more tightly formulated, involving the notions of common territory, typology, and traits in common that cannot be explained on strictly genetic terms. It further requires that several features display the same boundaries, "so that there is an approximation to a 'bunching of isoglosses'" (ibid.:2). Subsequently, ideally, a historical inquiry should be undertaken to determine the language of origin of a given feature and how it diffused into the rest of the area. *Culture area,* despite various scholars' attempts to apply precise criteria, can involve all, or some, of the following notions: territorial continuity, ecological similarity, genetic relatedness, and typological consistency. Traits used in the schemes can be positive or negative, cultural or linguistic. 2) Ethnographic. Discussions using this approach often tend to downplay or distort the nature of regional integration, interaction across boundaries, or systemic fluidity and change in either the boundaries or their defining features. Perhaps the biggest problem with the concept is the tendency it fosters to look for mutually exclusive culture areas. 3) Political-historical. At times, the effects of regularized interaction between members of these societies and the agents of the states they are being incorporated into is downplayed, yet these processes sometimes bear significantly on how a given culture area evolved to its present state.[2]

These problems emerge clearly when dealing with peripheral societies. They occur as well, although perhaps initially more covertly, when carrying out research in a "core" area. Although examples here are from the Vaupés, a similar case can be made for the other "core" culture areas elsewhere in lowland South America, regardless of whose scheme is being used (see note 1).

Ethnographic Background[3]

The Vaupés area in southeastern Colombia and adjacent Brazil is characterized by multilingualism, language group exogamy, and the use of Tukano as a lingua franca. The term "language group" refers here to the more than sixteen exogamous patrilineal

descent units, each of which is identified with a distinct language.[4] The inhabitants of the region, here called Tukanoans, speak languages of the Eastern Tukanoan, Arawak, and possibly Carib language families.[5]

The Vaupés lies approximately between the equator and 1° N. Lat., and between the 69° and 71° W. Long. The entire *Comisaria del Vaupés* has a territory of 90,625 square kilometers and the most recent census gives a figure of 13,403, including non-Indians (*Instituto Geografico "Agustin Codazzi"* 1969:xi). Population density is roughly 0.2 inhabitants per square kilometer (*Instituto Geografico "Agustin Codazzi"* 1969:xiii).

The most important geographical features of the Vaupés are a terrain of fairly undifferentiated tropical rainforest, and rivers known for their strong flow and numerous rapids. Tukanoans traditionally live in multi-family longhouses, one per settlement, on or near rivers. Longhouses, as well as the more recent settlement pattern of nucleated villages of one to four small houses, are separated from each other by two to ten hours' canoe travel. In 1968-70, four to eight nuclear families inhabited a longhouse. The men of a settlement hunt, fish, and clear swidden fields in which the women grow bitter manioc and other crops.

In addition to the riverine Tukanoans are the Maku, small groups of Indians who are more forest than river-oriented, who speak non-Tukanoan languages, who do not practice linguistic exogamy, and who enter into various kinds of "symbiotic" relationships with Tukanoans, of a servant-master nature (Silverwood-Cope 1972).

Language groups have usually been referred to as "tribes" in the ethnographic literature on the Vaupés.[6] None of the most frequently used definitions of "tribe" warrants considering the language groups as such, despite the fact that each is affiliated to a distinct language (see Helm 1968; Hymes 1968). The members of a given language group (1) observe a rule of exogamy, (2) terminologically distinguish at this level agnates from other types of kinsmen (however, agnatic terms are sometimes extended to the more inclusive phratric level; see Jackson 1983), and (3) identify with co-members as "brother-people." Other distinguishing features of each group, which are also significant symbols of identity, are (4) a distinct name, (5) separate founding ancestors and roles in the origin myths, (6) the right to ancestral power through the use of certain linguistic property, such as sacred chants, and (7) the right to manufacture certain ceremonial objects. Although all these traits symbolize membership in different language groups, language is at present the most important of these, at least in the Papuri drainage region.

Vaupés social structure is segmentary, following a rule of patrilineal descent at all levels. Its units, in ascending order of inclusion, are the local descent group, the sib, the language group, and the phratry. All Tukanoans share a homogeneous culture. Language and the other differences between language groups do not in themselves indicate that cultural differences separate language groups. Unlike real cultural differences which can be genuine impediments to interaction and communication, the differences separating the language groups in the Vaupés, functioning as markers and sharing a common foundation of social and cultural expectations and understandings, can be seen as facilitating interaction. Tukanoans are all multilingual, and it is rare when a gathering of them does not share a language in common, since Tukano is the lingua franca of the region. Thus, differences distinguishing language groups, while significant, are not necessarily barriers to communication. In their role as emblems of the language groups they aid interaction in much the some way that unmistakably different uniforms aid the interaction of a football game (see Barth 1969).

Vaupés language groups do not occupy discrete territories in any exclusive sense. However, the distribution of local descent groups over the landscape is neither randomly nor evenly distributed with regard to language group affiliation. Specific language groups are clearly represented by local descent groups in some and not other regions of the Vaupés. Nor are language groups corporate groups in any sense. Largely due to the effects of the rule of language group exogamy, the majority of interaction situations takes place between Tukanoans of more than one language group. Membership in these language groups is permanent and public; if anything at all is known about an individual, it will most likely be this aspect of social identity.

Historical Notes on the Vaupés

No archaeology has been carried out in the Vaupés, and it is unfortunate that the earliest travelers, who might have been far more informative about what they saw, were not overwhelmingly interested in ethnographic description. The earliest explorers in the region were the conquistadors looking for the famous "Dorado de Los Omagua" in the first half of the sixteenth century. Since these expeditions left little in the way of any documentation whatever, the information we can glean from the earliest contact situations is scant, imprecise, and, to put it mildly, highly conjectural. It is from them that we have the first mention of the Vaupés Indians, in the form of "Guape Indians."[7]

Doubtless an important factor contributing to

the relative lack of information from earlier explorers in the region is its relative inaccessibility and the extremely inhospitable topography it presented to early expeditions. In contrast, the territories to the north, consisting of *llanos* (savannah) and open, slow-moving rivers, were penetrated by explorers much earlier. The Vaupés is known for its treacherous, rapids-filled rivers which make travel, transport, and communication difficult. A greater amount of exploration occurred to the east of the Vaupés where, although the landscape was a similiar one of tropical forest and yearly floods, the rivers were more navigable. The political boundary as well as the climate and terrain also contributed to the isolation of the region, protecting it from early exploration efforts. All rivers in the area flow east, with the result that until the very recent introduction of airplanes any penetration was from the downstream direction in Brazil, involving expeditions of enormous distance and risk, requiring a great deal of organization.[8] Furthermore, the Vaupés is peripheral to the centers of population in both countries. And, with a few exceptional points in history, the region has been one of relative economic unimportance.

The Northwest Amazon area, while being in the Amazon region and having a basic tropical forest culture, is on the periphery of of the great Amazon-Orinoco basin: savannah borders it on the north and west. It is also a watershed. Many rivers have their headwaters in the area, and its northern boundary is the divide between the Orinoco and Amazon basins. Thus, to some extent the Vaupés is both a refuge area and a crossroads, through which have passed and at times remained many diverse groups, probably even before white contact (see Goldman 1963:1-25). Such environmental and historical conditions favor interchange and cosmopolitanism, both pre- and post-Colombian, and are also perhaps furthered by the social organization found there: a localized clan structure with no centralization and few, if any, corporate groups beyond the local descent group.

Although Dominican and Franciscan missions were founded earlier in neighboring areas, the first mission on the Vaupés River (a Carmelite one) was not established until 1852. All attempts at establishing permanent missions failed until the Dutch Monfortian Congregation founded two missions on the Papuri River in 1914, at Monfort and Teresita. The *Comisaria del Vaupés* itself was founded in 1910. In 1949 the Order of St. Javier of Yarumal founded the *Prefectura Apostolica de Mitu,* which has since administered all Catholic missions in the region. The clergy of this order are virtually all Colombian, many from the region of Antioquia.[9] These Colombian clergy gradually replaced the Dutch Monfortians; today the only foreign order remaining are the Italian Salesians in the Brazilian Vaupés.

Protestantism entered the Vaupés far more recently, but has nonetheless made a tremendous impact. One estimate states that one third of the inhabitants of the *comisarias* of the Vaupés and Guainia are nominally Protestant.[10] This widespread influence has been due to the efforts of the New Tribes Mission, particularly the long-term efforts of the near-legendary North American evangelist, Sophia Muller, and of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.[11]

Missionary efforts have helped to shift populations to nucleated villages and especially to the mission towns themselves - a radical change in settlement pattern.

The rubber boom produced great upheavals in the region. Local groups were scattered by rubber gatherers who recruited Indian labor, often by coercion. Both Brazilian and Colombian police and militia helped rubber-gatherers in their recruiting efforts. However, the armed forces of one country could not legally cross the border into the other. Depending on which country had the most vigorous recruiting campaigns operating at a given time, Tukanoans would migrate into the other.

A fine illustration of this in connection with missionaries is apparent upon examining a map of settlements in the region. The stretch of the Papurí River between Melo Franco and Yavareté serves as the boundary between the two countries. Except for the mission towns on the Colombian side, all Tukanoan settlements are in Brazil - where the Colombian Javerians have no jurisdiction. The closest Brazilian mission is the Salesian one at Yavarete.

One could hardly ask for a more demanding and frustrating task than to attempt to piece together the linguistic and ethnic/cultural history of the area. The lack of good ethno-historical data is one difficulty: one must piece together what the populations of the area looked like from travellers, particularly the naturalists of the nineteenth century, such as Humboldt (1882), Wallace (1889), and Bates (1863). The first systematic work was that of Koch-Grunberg, whose work, though voluminous and impressive in the areas of language surveys, technology and material culture, is not terribly sophisticated with respect to social organizaion. Another difficulty is the complex cultural and linguistic situation, made more problematic by the apparent ease with which traits and languages are picked up and dropped. Goldman calls this cultural cosmopolitanism (1963:17). Koch-Grunberg (1909, II:65, 66, 81) also provides evidence that groups exchanged cultural traits and languages with one another. Almost all recent investigators have expressed dissatisfaction with the culture area approach

and noted how it oversimplifies the Vaupés situation. Indeed, some of the characteristics that distinguish the Vaupés (i.e., multilingualism, language group exogamy, the use of a lingua franca) are themselves evidence of the pitfalls in this approach. The Vaupés is a prime example of the dangers that lie in assuming that applying different kinds of criteria (e.g., linguistic, cultural, interactional) to define local and regional organization will produce isomorphic units.

It is true that cultures vary with respect to their conservatism or openness regarding acceptance of new ideas and customs, and perhaps intrusive cultural and linguistic traditions have been more easily acquired in a situation like the Vaupés. Clearly a traditon of accepting foreign influences has existed for some time in the region (see Jackson 1983:20-21, 97-102). The questions raised when inquiring why the Vaupés is such a problematic culture area are instructive and varied, concerned with function (e.g., why so many languages? Why the association of language with unlineality?) history, ecology, and so forth. Why this sort of cosmopolitanism while in some other regions of lowland South America one encounters much more xenophobia, much more local endogamy? I certainly cannot answer these questions completely but can suggest how these factors might have played a part in creating the regionally organized unit that exists today, which, nonetheless, is so unlike the typical "culture area" of Kroeber or Wissler.

One of the most important results of contact and the disruption it brought in the Northwest Amazon was population decline. Moreover, the Vaupés almost certainly served as a refuge area for groups fleeing white penetration in neighboring, more accessible areas. These two processes resulted in many groups being squeezed together while their respective numbers were decreasing. This decreased their ethnic diversity (as testified to by the present day linguistic diversity linked to cultural homogeneity) and increased their interaction till the current social structure evolved, mirroring the increased integration and merging of cultural differences. Perhaps this process was aided by a long term receptivity to change in the original populations in the region, although this is only my speculation. Thus, the long-standing cosmopolitanism, when combined with the region's increased role as a cul-de-sac or refuge area, resulted in its inhabitants assimilating towards one another, becoming even more flexible and receptive to change, open and outward-looking rather than closed and chauvinistic. This, if the case, is mirrored today in several basic features of the Vaupés's social structure: local exogamy, linguistic exogamy (with the exception of the Cubeo and some Makuna in the Pira-parana), retention of more than sixteen languages, and polyglot individuals. Although loyalty to one's father-language might seem to argue for conservatism rather than receptivity to change, that the languages facilitate, rather than pose barriers to, interaction suggests that language was an important mechanism for pulling these groups together into a single system. These features, then, as well as others in the symbolic arena (e.g., the way the myths of the respective language groups articulate with one another into a single system), can be seen as adaptive reactions to pressures directly or indirectly imposed from external sources, mainly the activities of whites (principally missionaries, traders and rubber gatherers) either in the region itself or in surrounding areas.

The features of Vaupés social organization and Tukanoan attitudes that seem to dovetail with this cosmopolitanism are the above-mentioned settlement exogamy, an interest in travel and visiting (undoubtedly more complicated in the days of raiding and feuding) despite the many rapids in the region's rivers, and Tukanoans' considering themselves to be part of a pan-Vaupés system that encompasses people who are basically similar to each other. Some of the marriages in a given settlement involve partners from quite distant natal settlements. Almost all Tukanoans have impressive knowledge of the region (the Pira-parana, geographically isolated, is something of an exception), and take an interest in the physical and social geography of areas of the region far from their own settlements. They learn by travel and sometimes by living in different places, but they also acquire their knowledge from conversations, committing many details to memory. Other authors have also commented on this broad perspective found in Tukanoans. Distance and differentiation are conceptualized in terms of degrees, not in terms of categorical limits beyond which "we" and "our territory" end, with only enemies and strangers beyond. The Tukanoan conceptualization seems to involve an ever-increasing geographical area even beyond the Vaupés region, with ever- increasing social and cultural differentiation. There are no generally recognized natural or artificial boundaries beyond which live totally different people. Papuri Tukanoans readily offer criteria that exclude whites, Maku, and Cubeo (because they do not always marry out of their linguistic unit) when they are discussing how "real people" ought to live. On the other hand, Cubeo are usually included in the categories of "people." Goldman (personal communication) indicates that the Cubeo, although they conceive of themselves as a tribal entity, also see themselves as only part of a larger entity. And C. Hugh-Jones has states that "Indians conceive of themselves as apart of a social system which theoretically has no social, geographical, or linguistic limits" (n.d.:10).

Thus, we can begin to construct a model of how the specific constellation of features commonly used to distinguish the Vaupés as a culture area evolved into its present form, a model which, ironically, shows the defects of the overly static and rigid culture area approach. The Vaupés is a region characterized by fluid "tribal" boundaries and no political centralization beyond the local group level. These and other traits facilitated absorption of in-migrating groups, a process that in turn altered the social organization and cognitive outlook of Tukanoans vis-a- vis their self-identity and attitudes towards their neighbors. In addition, this process--the assimilation of different cultural and linguistic traditions with the necessary territorial adjustments--was made smoother by the appearance of a rule of local group exogamy, which forced people to seek spouses elsewhere, despite, perhaps, inclinations to marry close (see, for example, Fejos (1943:77) discussing the Northwest Amazonian Yagua's dislike of settlement exogamy). A rule of linguistic exogamy in the Vaupés is one way to foster increased interaction between dissimilar groups, and particularly of the sort found there perhaps increases this tendency, as opposed to cognatic descent, although this is more speculative.

Fruitful areas of inquiry into how inter-regional organization came to be strengthened can also be found in the cosmology, ritual and symbolic systems in the Vaupés. Male initiation ceremonies, the use of the longhouse as ritual center, the meaning of musical instruments and other ritual gear offer intriguing points of departure for such an inquiry (see S. Hugh- Jones 1979:3-17).

Discussion

I have tried to show that a region like the Vaupés has much to teach us about the pitfalls of typical culture area classification schemes. The Vaupés is regionally integrated in a number of important respects,which at first make it seem to be a candidate par excellence for culture area status. The presence of over sixteen languages, particularly when given their role as unifiers in Tukanoan social structure and world view, argues for a more sophisticated approach to classifying the region and comparing it to other lowland South American areas, even multilingual ones like the upper Xingu (see Basso 1973).

As the region evolved into its present state, becoming more and more integrated, some of the heterogeneity of the original groups decreased or disappeared. Other features separating the linguistically and culturally distinct populations continued, but began to play the role of highlighting certain emblematic differences, permitting increased and more systematic interaction, until the situation that presents itself today (ethnographic present of 1970) came to be. To be sure, many intra-regional differences are still to be found, but the inhabitants of the Vaupés at present share a remarkably homogenous culture, and this is almost certainly not true of the past.[12]

It seems clear that acculturation has brought much deculturation, which in part accounts for some of the differences between the Papuri/Vaupés River basins and the Pira-parana. The latter area, different in part because of its location on the periphery of the region, also differs because it is the least acculturated, and in this sense probably reveals some of the complexity that characterized the entire Vaupés but which has been lost in those areas most heavily affected by missionary and other white presence. The Pira-parana appears to be both more complex in its organization of social groups, marriage classes and ceremonies, and also more fluid. Probably in the Papuri region deculturation has brought about a greater rigidity and unmistakable visibility in the emblems and processes, rules, expectations that remain (which is, after all, not surprising: see Barth 1969 on polarization). I suggest that this is an example of general changes that occur when "tribal" territories undergo the process of being integrated into state-organized societies. A rigidification and simplification of ethnic, social, "tribal" boundaries occurs. The criteria used for demarcating these boundaries also become increasingly concretized and reified. Thus, while in a number of important respects the Vaupés situation is fluid, I believe the earlier situation was even more so. I am suggesting that in some cases even the core, the central area, of what we consider a homogeneous culture area may not be an aboriginal condition, but one produced by culture contact and deculturation.

In general, lowland South America's indigenous history vis-à-vis colonization, both foreign and internal (see Colby and van den Berghe 1969), has been one of flight, epidemics, deculturation and depopulation. Cultural extinction, often accompanied by physical extinction has been the fate of hundreds of groups. Latin America, the first region colonized by Europe, underwent vast and repeated upheavals during periods when, with a few exceptions, no amateur social scientist was on the scene to record what was happening. Particularly in South America we are dependent on travellers, explorers, and the like for descriptions of earlier periods. Ethnological studies derived from these accounts necessarily tended towards surveys and culture area formulations. While useful for some purposes, these schemes reveal serious flaws in analytical language, ability to deal with diachronic models, and ability to assess comparability with adjacent culture areas. Moreover, they embody

several questionable assumptions about cultural homogeneity (within their borders) and herogeneity (between neighboring areas).

The lack of adequate historical documentation regarding previous periods in the Vaupés makes this a difficult topic to discuss, yet we do have evidence of the presence of many cultural and linguistic traditions and a relative openness in accepting new ones. It is clearly unwise to assume congruity between units defined in linguistic and cultural terms, social fields of interaction, and self-labelled groups understood by the natives to be related (or, for that matter, unrelated) by common history, territory, descent, or whatever. Cultural, social, and linguistic traditions are easily taught and learned, especially, apparently, in the strongly multilingual Vaupés.

The impact national governments have on small-scale, uncentralized societies of South America when administering these territories has often been ignored or down-played in culture area formulations. Administering these areas requires precise labelling and locating in space, and in certain respects this is more difficult than administering ethnically distinct local groups which are already part of a state society. Cieza de Leon was probably the first to mention this in connection with the conquest of lowland South American societies (quoted in Wolf and Hanse 1972:29-30; see also Lyon 1974:323-34). The nature of interaction between agents of a state bureaucracy and a given indigenous group varies, of course, depending on such givens as ecology and the goals of contact - e.g., religious proselytization, labor recruitment, extraction of raw materials. Invariably, however, certain policies are followed, in the direction of naming, locating, and specifying membership, and, with rare exceptions, achieving increased sendentarization of nomadic or semi-nomadic populations (see, e.g., Chang 1982:269; Hitchcock 1982:223). Sometimes this includes legal procedures, such as assigning birth certificates, internal passports, or citizenship papers. The attempts of the Summer Institute of Linguistics to sedentarize the Maku and increase their horticultural activities is a case in point. To achieve regularized interaction and control one must know one's target population and where it is. The anthropological tradition of classification of an area into culture areas can at times be seen as an instance of this process and one engaged in for similar (although not identical) purposes.[13] As indicated in note 1, such approaches often result in simplistic, overly rigid and misleading representations of reality.

I am <u>not</u> claiming that such schemes are never accurate or useful. They often, however, overly simplify and impede diachronic analysis. Nor am I claiming that native classificatory models of their social order are never rigid and unambiguous. Tukanoan social classification is remarkably rigid at the most abstract level of identification and classification. However, Tukanoan society underneath this surface rigidity reveals a flexibility and fluidity that decreases with every increase of acculturation. True, other types of fluidity and ambiguity appear, but the social and cosmological order becomes simplified and streamlined during the process of turning into ethnic groups.[14] The Shuar Federation in Ecuador (Salazar 1977) is an excellent example of this. The resulting ethnic and linguistic distinctions, whether originally created by the natives in their transformation from tribal people to ethnic group, or by administrators of various sorts, become concretized and function differently. Whereas in previous epochs clear-cut specifications often facilitated the flow and interchange of people, permitting sub rosa adjustments to demographic flux or defusing tension and conflict, after a significant amount of incorporation of such populations into the national society has been accomplished, such specificities become more permanent. This is then projected back into history and a picture emerges of pristine cultures and culture areas, nicely differentiated and demarcated along lines of presence or absence of culture traits that, while true to some extent, is not the whole truth and tends to obscure the interchange of both ideas and people that actually occurred. I am not saying that culture traits do not distinguish populations, synchronically and diachronically. Nor am I saying that the natives don't use such differences for their own purposes. For examples one need only examine the semantics of labels native groups apply to their neighbors, or read why raiding and feuding are self-justified in many parts of the tribal world. But the combatants engaging in Dani warfare relate to each other very differently from the warring factions in World War II, and some of the differences illustrate my point.

The Vaupés is a peripheral area in that it straddles the border between Colombia and Brazil and is far from the centers of population and economic importance, at least in 1970, of these two nations. Some of the seeming confusion and fluidity characterizing its social structure are not due to contact and acculturation, but to the relative lack of it--remnants of the pre-contact situation.[15] While undoubtedly greatly changed, this area is less changed than many other areas of lowland South America, and hence affords us the opportunity to observe how aboriginal groups both classify and manipulate their classifications before acculturative forces succeed in rigidifying previously far more permeable boundaries.

Conclusions

It is clear that culture area, in the old-fashioned sense of the phrase, is at best, a quick and dirty classification scheme. Yet we need some way to talk about areal (and genetic) similarities in culture and social organization. There should be little trouble doing this if we keep in mind that such areas are a) not bounded, b) not the consequence of boundaries and c) conceptual tools, not reality. The problem of boundedness becomes quite apparent when we look at attempts to map out extremely large areas (like entire continents).

Perhaps we should ask, now that the horse is dead, what do we do with its ghost? Perhaps our main task is to use them as an aid in going beyond them, especially overly static culture area formulations, looking for evidence of interaction and areas where one's heuristically constructed "boundaries" do not hold: this is using typological schemes to their best advantage. This is even more important when considering the effects of acculturation, which often times tend to make more visible certain unifying features in a given area while so much loss is occurring of elements that integrate and at the same time distinguish interacting groups.

More attention should be given to looking for regional organization, whether within a traditionally defined society, social field, or straddling the border between two adjacent groups (see Morey and Morey, this volume). This is particularly true for understanding the Vaupés. Concepts such as "culture area" and "boundary," if used with caution and precision, can be useful, for example, in constructing typologies to facilitate reconstruction of historical connections in examining the evolution or diffusion of a particular trait. Dole's (1960) work on the evolution of manioc cultivation and processing techniques is an example. But the risk of over-simplification and reification of traits is great, as is the tendency to see causal relationships in too simplistic a fashion. Studies of culture change adopting a culture area perspective are easily tempted in this direction, since their initial vision of the cultures in contact is usually not complex enough.

NOTES

1. Apart from some island communities and perhaps the Pueblo groups in the Southwest USA--see, e.g., Barth (1969), Leach (1954), Moerman (1965), Fried (1975), Hymes (1968), Owen (1965) and Southall (1970). Culture area classifications of lowland South America populations--which also illustrate, intentionally or not, some of the problems with this approach--can be found in Kroeber (1923, 1948), Wisler (1922), Stout (1938), Cooper (1942), Steward, ed. (1948:Vol. III, 888-9), Murdock (1951), and Steward and Faron (1959:351-5).[1] The term "language group" is not entirely satisfactory, since it usually refers to a linguistic, rather than a social unit. However, use of terms specifically referring to marriage, such as "exogamous group" is not a solution either, since it has not been conclusively established that the language-affiliated units in the Vaupés are coterminous with the minimal exogamous units in the same manner throughout the region.

2. Scholars investigating the absorption--partial or total, "successful" or not--of small-scale societies into national economic and political systems often (although at times unknowingly) illustrate the inadequacy of the culture area concept, for example, Clastres (1977), Cardoso de Oliveira (1968), Cardoso de Oliveira and de Castro Faria (1971), Faron (1961), Jaulin (1970), Kloos (1971, 1977), Ribeiro (1972), and Wolf and Hansen (1972). Bodley (1982), Davis (1977), Jackson (1984), and Whitten (1976) discuss internal colonization of non-centralized lowland South American "tribal" populations.

3. Data discussed in this paper were gathered during dissertation research in Colombia from October 1968 to November 1970 with support from the Danforth Foundation and Stanford Committee for Research in International Studies. The ethnographic present is 1970.

4. The term "language group" is not entirely satisfactory, since it usually refers to a linguistic, rather than a social unit. However, use of terms specifically referring to marriage, such as "exogamous group" is not a solution either, since it has not been conclusively established that the language-affiliated units in the Vaupés are coterminous with the minimal exogamous units in the same manner throughout the region.

5. For further ethnographic information on the Vaupés, see Goldman (1963), Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971), Bruzzi Alves da Silva (1972), Sorensen (1967), S. Hugh-Jones (1979), C. Hugh-Jones (1979), Arhem (1981), and Jackson (1983).

6. The Cubeo (Goldman 1963) are very much like other Tukanoans except that they do not have a rule of linguistic exogamy (many Cubeo **do** marry out of the Cubeo tribe, however). The Makuna in the Piraparana intermarry to some extent, although some of them and other Tukanoans in the area consider these marriages to be improper, since "people should not speak like their cross-cousins" (see C. Hugh-Jones

1979; Arhem 1981).

7. See Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975:62-3) for a discussion of the history of the region. See also Humboldt (1822,7:383;8:145); Archivo de Amazonas (1906); Bauer (1919); Coudreau (1886-7).

8. Examples of the difficulties of travel can be seen in Wallace (1889); Spruce (1908); Coudreau (1887); Bates (1863); McGovern (1927); and MacCreagh (1926).

9. The mission endeavor in the Vaupés is mentioned in Goldman (1948; 1963); *Misiones del Vaupés* (many issues); and Kock-Grunberg (1909).

10. *Misiones del Vaupés* (1965:13), quoted in Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971:7).

11. For a discussion of nativistic movements in the region, see Goldman (1963:16), Van Emst (1966), and Wright (1981).

12. For a discussion of the evidence existing for the divergent origins of culture traits in the region (i.e., Tukanoan, Tupian Maku, Arawakan, and Carib), see Goldman (1973:14-5). Reichel-Dolmatoff (1975:66) also states that a "kernel of historical truth" may be contained in the various Tukanoan origin myths which invariably trace a particular group's history as one of westward migration from downriver sites in Brazil. He suggests that Maku are the earliest inhabitants, "a substratum of band- based hunters," and they were followed by Arwakans, who were consequently invaded by Tukanoan-speakers. Other types of quasi- historical accounts, concerned with much more recent migrations, were collected by myself and other investigators. These probably contain "kernels of truth" as well with respect to actual historical migrations. Such migrations almost certainly were spread out over a number of years, even generations, but are telescoped in the accounts into cataclysmic epics of wars, treachery, and invasions.

13. Hamilton's cogent observations of similarities between native mystifications and anthropological ones apply to more than assertions of patrilineal ideology: ". . . an Australian model of clans is by no means a *fait accompli* in certain parts of Australia itself, and . . . the anthropologists' theorizing (fetishing?) at the ideological level mirrors the efforts of Aborigines in certain areas to construct and impose a coherent theory of patrilineal inheritance to sites and to establish patri-locally organized local groups, at least at their own ideological level." (1982:85)

14. Ethnic renaissance (which has also been occurring in the Vaupés during the 1970s: see Stoll 1982:172-81) of course means that much more of traditional culture is retained, albeit transformed, than happens with simple deculturation, and is preferable by far than total loss.

15. Lathrap (1968) sees this characterizing pre-Columbian lowland social organization as well.

THE LLANOS: THE PERIPHERY AS CENTER

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Traditional South American culture area classifications often tell us more about the history and interests of anthropological research than about regional or continental cultural history. The creation of artificial boundaries and the subsequent focus upon discrete geographical units detracts from our understanding. So-called "peripheral zones" are the by-products of the culture area approach.

The llanos (lowland savannahs) of Colombia and Venezuela form a classic peripheral zone, supposedly occupied by peripheral cultures composed of bits and pieces haphazardly acquired from surrounding neighbors. Culture area schemes usually lump the llanos with Amazonia or the Circum-Caribbean. Each alternative ignores important inter- and intra-regional (cultural) linkages and seriously distorts spatial and temporal relationships.

The *Handbook of South American Indians* and other publications (e.g. Steward and Faron 1959) give the impression that the llanos were marginal, occupied by hunters and gatherers interspersed with a few "Tropical Forest-Type" villagers. Groups such as the Otomaco are viewed as "anomalous" and their presence is explained by probable migration from the Circum-Caribbean or even from Mesoamerica. It is doubtful that the Otomaco, or their llanos neighbors, viewed themselves as anomalous. Overall, the llanos is depicted as a backwater region inhabited by "left-overs" and constantly barraged by powerful influences from adjacent (non-peripheral) regions.

Limited studies of modern remnant populations have done little to change the traditional picture of the llanos. A historical perspective, as Leeds (1964) suggested from the Yaruro, is needed. Modern conditions in the llanos are far different from those which existed at the time of European contact; when the area was not isolated, not peripheral (marginal) and not unimportant. Here influences and people from the Andes, Guyana, Amazonia, the coast, and perhaps even the Antilles, all came together in a network that spanned a large portion of the continent; yet the region has received scant anthropological attention. Why? Although the answer to this question is by no means simple, in part the llanos and the events which took place there have been ignored because of the continued conscious and unconscious anthropological dependence upon the culture area concept. By definition, peripheral zones are unimportant or they would not be peripheral! An argument can be made that as a classificatory device the culture area (and the culture type) points out inconsistencies and therefore provides us with questions to be asked and problems to be investigated. However, the solutions imposed by such a framework are inadequate.

Our initial ethnographic and ethnohistoric interest in the llanos centered upon a single group. This soon proved to be an unrealistic if not an impossible task. Llanos societies were so intimately related and interdependent that no one group could be understood in isolation; nor, as we have indicated, did the contemporary situation hint at the complexity revealed in the ethnohistorical record. It is obvious that the llanos cannot be viewed in isolation any more than a single group within the llanos. We will attempt to illustrate this point by first considering intra-regional system of interaction and, second, show how the llanos system was linked to others, the inter-regional system. In other words, we will treat the periphery as center.

The Periphery as Center: the Regional System

The llanos are a well-defined environmental and geographical unit. We will consider here only that portion of the llanos west of Guarico, Venezuela (figure 1). They comprise about 480,000 square kilometers of which some 85 percent is relatively unproductive grassland (savannah), the remaining 15 percent is piedmont or gallery forest, the most productive in terms of human subsistence: hunting, fishing, collecting, and cultivation. Climatic variations are as distinct as the savannah/forest dichotomy. There are two seasons: a wet season of about seven months and a dry season of about five months. In the wet season huge areas of savannah flood, streams overflow and travel is difficult. Wild plant products (palm fruits) and cultivation are particularly important to indigenous groups during this time of year. In the dry season streams recede, animals congregate, turtles lay their

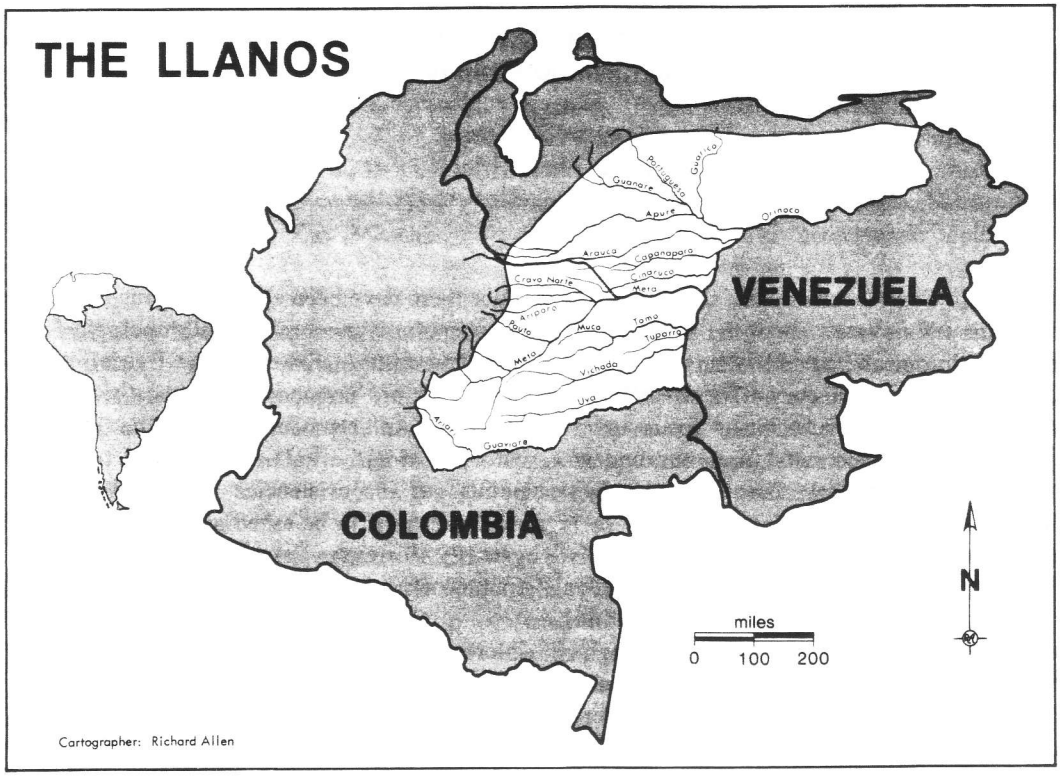

Figure 1: The Llanos

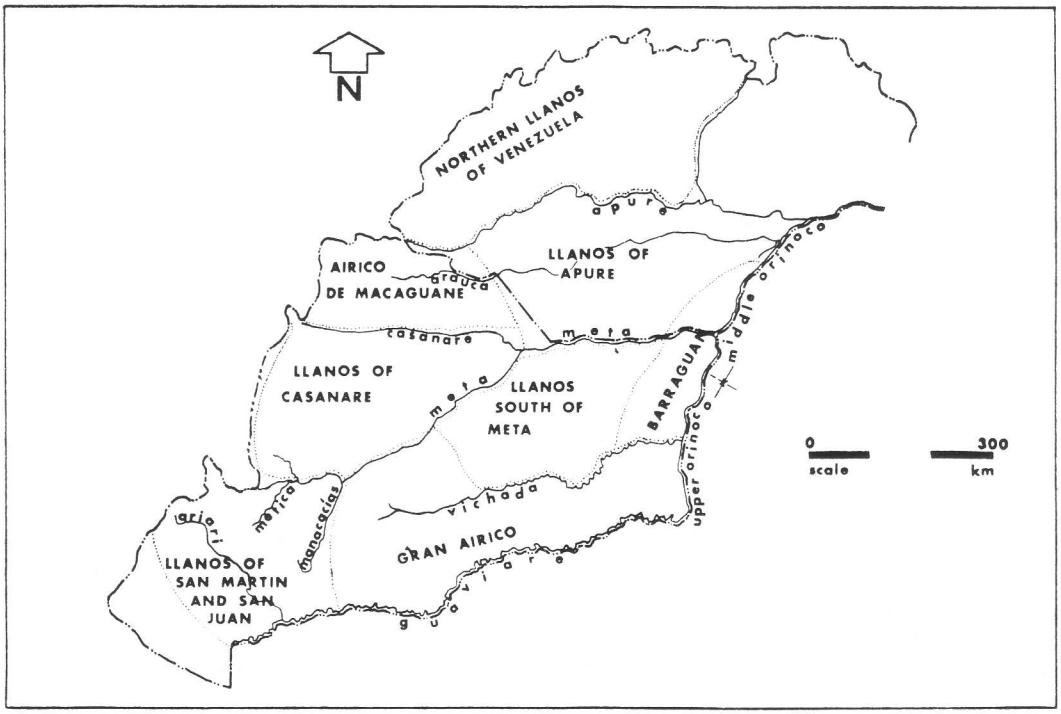

Figure 2: Divisions of the Llanos

eggs, and travel is easy.

Geographical unity does not, of course, produce cultural similarity and there was great diversity in the llanos. This diversity was based upon and sustained by specialization in resource exploitation. We cannot over-stress, despite minute ecological variations, the importance of the limited riparian zones for human subsistence. Without access to the products of the forest and river, human survival would be difficult indeed. Foragers, fishers, and cultivators were bound together in a complex symbiotic system.

We have been able to reconstruct partially the workings of this system and feel confident that we have at least the major outlines under control. To understand these it is helpful to know the locations of the different llanos populations: figure 2 shows the main divisions of the llanos, reconstructed largely from Jesuit reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; figure 3 is a chart showing the locations of tribal groups and their main subsistence emphases. Together these figures give a general idea of the location of the various subsistence groupings. Foragers (hunters and gatherers) were concentrated in interfluvial zones; fishers and cultivators were concentrated on the most important waterways. This reconstruction is meant to approximate as closely as possible the situation at European contact, although we obviously extrapolated much from sources widely separated in time.

Through specialization and exchange the limited forest areas were able to support a great number and a wide variety of populations that occupied and used the land in distinct but complementary ways. Exchange of subsistence products, as well as local manufactures and resources, was common. In the northern llanos Guayquerí fishermen exchanged fish with their cultivating neighbors for all other foodstuffs. The Atures (Adoles) of the central llanos (Middle Orinoco) were so specialized they even received the wood for cooking and smoking fish in exchange for portions of their catch. Nomadic foraging and hunting groups, such as the Guahibo and Chiricoa (known as Cuiva today), specialized in providing wild plant products and game to the Achagua, Sáliva, and other cultivating groups (Morey and Morey 1975).

The operation of this system naturally required some rather delicate adjustments in intergroup relationships, adjustments which did not always prevent hostilities. Interdependence and exchange minimized widespread and maladaptive strife, but common exploitation of the riparian zones and unequal access to resources meant socio-economic competition. It is precisely this subsistence-based conflict that was a key component in the maintenance of the total system. This can be seen in the relationship between two specific groups, the Guahibo and the Achagua.

A striking feature of llanos populations is the large proportion of foragers, especially Guahibo. Hunting bands were at times very large (as many as 300) and found in every section of the llanos. Rivaling the Guahibo in strength and extension were the cultivating Achagua. These two groups maintained a close symbiotic relationship marked by tension and conflict. Relatively good descriptions enable us to analyze their interaction rather fully (Morey and Morey 1973). The picture which emerges appears applicable in general to forager-cultivator relationships and by extension perhaps to other groups as well.

The historical sources are replete with references to bands of nomadic Guahibo trading wild products to Achagua villagers for cultivated foods. It is apparent that particular Guahibo bands had stable and enduring ties with particular Achagua villages. Many of the items provided by the Guahibo could have been procured by the Achagua without resorting to trade, but they were not. Achagua energies were directed toward horticultural rather than hunting and gathering pursuits. The Guahibo nomads were permitted access to the productive riparian zones controlled by the Achagua in exchange for their services as providers of wild resources.

Descriptions of Guahibo visits to Achagua villages repeatedly emphasize the abrasive and aggressive behavior of the nomads. They did not trade peacefully so much as demand and seize what they wanted, including the sexual favors of Achagua women. We originally interpreted such behavior as reflecting European disruption and intrusion upon the aboriginal system. We have now revised our opinion. Reports of Guahibo aggressiveness are too common over too long a time span to be dismissed so easily. They require close and careful attention. We suggest that the relationship between Guahibo and Achagua operated not in spite of but because of such behavior. The greatest danger to the regional system was that horticultural groups had the potential to dominate access right to vital forest products such as game, fish, and fruits. The notorious aggressiveness of the Guahibo must be understood in this light. It sustained the tenuous reciprocal ties between nomad and villager, keeping the cultivators in check ad allowing the hunters and gatherers necessary freedom of movement. Conflict was small scale and limited; the objective was to steal not to conquer. The great mobility of Guahibo bands gave them the advantage in conducting garden raids quickly and efficiently with little danger of direct confrontation. Their renown as raiders gave them an unsavory reputation which they employed to full advantage for intimidation in trade. Trading and raiding were key processes in preserving the precarious

SUBSISTENCE BASE	NORTHERN LLANOS OF VENEZUELA	AIRICO DE MACAGUANE	LLANOS OF CASANARE	LLANOS OF SAN JUAN AND SAN MARTÍN	GRAN AIRICO	BARRAGUAN	LLANOS OF APURE	LLANOS SOUTH OF META
FOOD PRODUCERS	Caquetío Cuyba Jirara	Jirara Betoy Tunebo	Achagua	Guayupe Sae Operigua (Punignigua) Camonigua Churoya (PC) Mítua (PC) Tama (PC)	Achagua Bamigua (PC) Enagua (PC) (Piapoco)	Sáliva Otomaco	Otomaco	No evidence of food producers
FISHERS	Guayquerí Guamontey? Guamo (Quaquaro)	No evidence of fishers	No evidence of fishers	No evidence of fishers	No evidence of fishers	Yaruro Ature (Adole)	Guayquerí Guamo Yaruro	No evidence of fishers
FORAGERS	Taparita Amaiba (Maiba) Dazaro Masparro Guahibo (Chiricoa)	Guahibo (Chiricoa)	Guahibo (Chiricoa)	Guahibo (Chiricoa) (Chucuna) (Amparo) (Catarro)	Guahibo (Chiricoa)	Guahibo (Chiricoa)	Guahibo (Chiricoa) Taparita Amaiba	Guahibo Chiricoa) (Catarro) (Chucuna)

PC--indicates post contact location

Figure 3: Location of Tribal Groups and Main Subsistence Emphases

balance of the region-wide system. Exchange and warfare were major mechanisms of resource distribution throughout the llanos; they provided the basis of support for a large regional population by necessitating maximization of production. In a sense, a group had to produce a surplus; failure to do so would have resulted in the expansion of one sector at the expense of the other. That this occasionally occurred, particularly in relation to cultivating groups, explains in part the historical expansion and assimilation of many groups by the Guahibo. European contact destroyed the sedentary cultivators and disrupted the entire system, but strengthened the aggressiveness and resistance of the nomads by indirectly increasing their overall population. But our concern here is with the aboriginal system as we have reconstructed it.

The inhabitants of the llanos undertook long trading expeditions during the dry season. Sedentary cultivators as well as nomadic foragers visited, exchanged goods, and converged on the Orinoco and other major rivers to trade. Achagua from the Casanare traveled several hundred kilometers south to the Guaviare River. Beaches where fishing specialists set up their dry season camps were favored locations for inter-group contact and exchange. Oils, turtle eggs, dried foods, smoked meats, pottery, feathers, arrow canes, body paint, medicines, and all manner of exotic items were constantly changing hands and moving from one section of the llanos to another.

Federmann, on the first recorded European journey into the northern llanos in 1530, was amazed to discover a rooster and chickens in an Indian village. These fowl had reached the site through trade from the distant south, not from the nearby European settlements along the coast (Federmann 1945:122-3).

Multilingualism, formalized and highly symbolic ceremonies, and a locally manufactured shell money were important factors in this regional system (Morey and Morey 1975). A shell money, known as *quiripa,* was a standardized means of exchange, valued and accepted as payment by almost all groups. It was a distinctive product of the llanos, not coastal in origin as reported by Steward and Faron (1959:357). However, the use of *quiripa* as currency extends beyond the llanos and links the regional system to other areas in northern South America.

Out from the Center: the Inter-Regional System

The most ostensible ties between the llanos and surrounding areas were based on trade. Localized centers of exchange (market centers) served as important links connecting the inhabitants of the llanos with other widely dispersed peoples. So far, we have identified five centers where representatives from different regions came to engage in trade. Although specific local resources made each center distinctive, many different items changed hands during regular "trade fairs."

First, probably the most important "market" center was located at the Middle Orinoco turtle beaches. Thousands converged on these beaches during the dry season when the arrau turtles laid their eggs. They traveled from the Lower Orinoco, from within the llanos, and from the Guiana Highlands and tropical forests of the Upper Orinoco. Second and third were centers located at the turtle beaches of the Middle Guaviare and Inirida rivers. There, groups from the llanos mingled with peoples from the Upper Orinoco and the tropical forests of the Northwest Amazon. Turtle eggs were prized for their oil, but many were also dried and carried away for latter consumption and to be exchanged with groups even farther removed from these rivers. A fourth very important center was located at the Atures Rapids on the Upper (upper Middle) Orinoco. It was presided over by the Atures (Adoles) fishermen. People gathered there from the llanos, the Lower Orinoco and the Guiana Highlands. Many different items, in addition to fish, were exchanged. A fifth center of trade was located somewhere in the Guiana Highlands near the Upper Orinoco where llanos groups attended an annual curare market to obtain this poison and other items.

These five market centers clearly link the llanos with adjacent regions to the east and south. Hints of similar centers to the west and north (the Andes) also exist, but reports are fragmentary, perhaps due to early European disruption of these regions.

Salt and gold were major objects of trade between the llanos and the highlands in the far north (Morey and Morey 1975). Early expeditions also report salt and cotton fabric moving into the llanos from mountain zones farther south. Raw cotton, and probably such exotic items as feathers and resins, were traded into the mountains for these finished products. Slaves may have been part of this network. We know approximately where the main trade routes were, but considerably more ethnohistoric research needs to be done. Given these bits of information, it is not surprising that llanos groups as far east as the Orinoco knew of the existence of the rich lands of the Chibcha. In fact, the Guayupe of the llanos traded with the Chibcha and also traveled far into the southwestern mountains.

It is easy to understand the continued operation of the intra-regional trade system, but the basis of the inter-regional ties is somewhat puzzling. Prior to the introduction of European articles, imported goods appear not to have been crucial to the lives of llanos inhabitants. With the possible exceptions of salt

(which was also artificially manufactured in the llanos) and curare (which was not widely used in the llanos), the items imported appear to have been primarily luxury goods. These included beaded loin cloths, finely woven hammocks, gold ornaments (placer gold occurred in the llanos), and "Amazon Stones"--apparently small jadite or serpentine figurines from archaeological sites in the vicinity of the Tapajos River, Amazonia (David Sweet 1977, personal communication).

Llanos exports are readily identifiable. *Quiripa* was so important as a "primitive money" that Europeans as far east as the island of Trinidad had to adopt it, setting equivalents in Spanish coin. Turtle products were probably second in importance. Oils, drugs, resins, some body paint and, perhaps, slaves moved down the Orinoco. Cotton was in demand in the cooler mountain regions. Final destinations of many llanos items remain unclear.

What induced the llanos residents to export these products? The luxury items traded may have had great value as prestige symbols, but the item most often mentioned as a prestige symbol within the llanos is *quiripa*. Perhaps part of the answer may be found in the identity of the traders.

Carib traders of the Lower Orinoco and the Guiana Highlands, who traveled annually to the llanos with products from these regions, were important middlemen and fashion setters in the inter-regional system. They had great prestige. Llanos people imitated their dress, their hair styles, their ornaments, their actions. Even after Carib slaving began to replace other important trade, they were still granted free access into villages, traveled far inland without fear and had llanos groups competing to provide them with captives. Of course, at this time, their position as fierce warriors and providers of European goods may have distorted their earlier place in the system. However, there is no doubt of the importance of Carib styles and influence in the llanos from an early date.

Raiding paralleled trading as an activity connecting the llanos to surrounding regions. This link was not reciprocal, for the inhabitants of the llanos were the victims not the offenders. The Carib of the Lower Orinoco and the Guiana Highlands represent a special case. Although they conducted annual expeditions into the llanos, they primarily traded, rather than raided, for slaves whom they sold to the Europeans. The most frequent assailants came from the Andes. The Chinato of the Eastern Cordillera near San Cristobal in Venezuela and Pamplona in Colombia, constantly raided into northern Casanare (Airico de Macaguane). They even maintained permanent and well-provisioned routes for their incursions (Rivero 1956:127; Tapia 1966:211). The Pijao of the Central Cordillera conducted raids as far as the southwestern llanos (the Llanos of San Martin and San Juan) (Groot 1956:1:155; Restrepo Tirado 1892:23).

The disposition of populations and linguistic relationships provide additional spatial evidence of widespread inter-regional ties and contacts. Several groups extend far beyond the environmental and geographical limits of the llanos. The Caquetio, Guayqueri, Tunebo, Betoy, Jirajara, and (possibly) Achagua spanned highlands and lowlands, coasts and islands. Others such as the Puinave, Baniva, Pamigua, Tama, Piapoco, and Piaroa, entered the llanos soon after contact or occupied the tropical forest fringes. According to Tax's data (1960) the representatives of five linguistic stocks are found in the llanos: Chibchan, Jirjaran, Guarauan, Macro-Carib, and Equatorial. Among these are speakers of such families as Eastern Chibchan (Tunebo), Jirajara, Guaiqueri (Guayquerí), Cariban (Tamanaco), Arawakan (Achagua, Cabre, Caquetio), Salivan, Guahibo-Pamiguan, and Otomaco-Taparita. These many diverse languages and dialects encouraged the growth of multilingualism. Trade languages, or at least languages that were widely used in specific regions for inter-group communication, were common. Among the Middle Orinoco, Sáliva was used in trade; in the Upper Orinoco, Maipure was employed; and Tamanaco was spoken by groups of the Lower Orinoco and Guiana Highlands (Morey and Morey 1975). Within the llanos, only Achagua approached the status of a lingua franca, particularly in the south.

Archaeological work in the llanos is limited, especially in the Colombian portion, but inter-regional contacts have considerable time depth. We will only sketch in the basic outline here. A brief survey and limited testing along the Ariari River in the southwestern Colombian llanos have yielded ceramic material which suggest affinities with Amazonia rather than with the Andes or the Orinoco. The Grenada phase dated at A.D. 810 falls within the Amazonian Polychrome horizon and is stylistically similar. A Puerto Caldas phase dated at 760 B.C. is more questionable but appears to be of tropical forest origin. The entire Ariari complex seems to be of Amazonian derivation and affinities with the east and the Orinoco (Corobal phase of the Upper Manipiare-Ventuari) are minimal (Marwitt, Morey and Zeidler 1973; Marwitt 1975; Marwitt 1977; personal communication). These conclusions are tentative and much work remains to be done.

Within the last decade, archaeological research in the Venezuelan llanos has substantiated the importance of the area, the complexity of cultures, the size of the populations and the extent of inter-regional connections. This has largely been the result of work carried

out by Alberta Zucchi. In the Barinas region (western llanos of Venezuela) Osoid, a distinctive ceramic tradition of unknown origin, appears at approximately 1000 B.C. Zucchi (1968:136; 1972b:265; 1972c:444; 1975a; 1975b) suggest an origin in southwestern Colombia. There are three features, besides the early occupation, that stand out in relation to the Osoid (Caño de Oso) people. They practiced a distinctive polychrome ceramic tradition, their staple crop was maize, and they were oriented toward the savannahs.

Presently, it appears that Caño do Oso at 1000 B.C. may represent the oldest polychrome pottery in the New World. It is 700 years earlier than the Venezuelan Tocuyanoid (920 B.C. vs 230 B.C.) and the two ceramic complexes seem unrelated in origin. In later Caño de Oso assemblages Tocuyanoid influences are evident. Although there is considerable disagreement, C^{14} dates suggest a spread of the polychrome technique from Venezuela through northern coastal Colombia and into Central America (Zucchi 1968:135-6, 138; 1972a:185-6; 1972c:441-4; 1975b).

Approximately A.D. 500 the last phase of the Caño del Oso complex gradually gives way to the related La Betania complex. During this period evidence for the cultivation of yuca and artificially constructed earthworks appears. These events are interpreted as evidence of influence from the Arauquinoid cultures of the Orinoco, central and eastern llanos. An initial influence and penetration by Arauquinoid peoples was followed somewhat later (ca. A.D. 1000) by an almost full-scale occupation. This "great Arauquinoid expansion" (A.D. 1000 - A.D. 1400) displaced many Arauquinoid and tropical forest groups (Caño Caroní into the llanos. There, in the savannahs, through the use of specialized technique such as the construction of mounds and ridged fields, they attempted to recreate, in so far as possible, the nature of their original habitat (Zucchi 1968:135-6; 1972a:185-7; 1972b:262; 1973:188-9; 1975a; 1975b; Zucchi and Denevan 1974).

While most evidence indicates strong Amazonian influences entering the llanos via the Orinoco and other rivers, prehistoric connections with other areas were not absent. Similarities between pottery styles of the Middle Orinoco and the Lake Valencia Basin have been known for some time (Rouse and Cruzent 1963:88,146). Most recently Adam Garson (1977, personal communication), also working the state of Barinas, excavated a burial containing a serpentine ornament of probable Andean origin (postdating A.D. 500).

In short, despite limited archaeological work in the llanos, there seems very little doubt that the inter-regional system in existence at contact was an historic continuation of widespread relationships that connected all of northern South America.

Conclusions

We have attempted to show that the llanos were an important crossroads of multidirectional cultural interchange and an important zone of cultural synthesis and creativity. The area was occupied by many diverse groups united in a complex system of intra-regional relationships. Ties to this system through inter-regional links extended far beyond the usual culture areas.

It is time we looked beyond (and across) the boundaries of culture areas. Many of the so-called "anomalous" traits found in the llanos, the Sáliva "temple cult" and the "vestal virgins" of the Achagua, are simply misinterpretations of data generated by the culture area mentality. Descriptions of the Otomaco "Circum-Caribbean rubber ball game" and the Achagua "Northwest Amazon ceremonies" reflect rather static interpretations of llanos and South American culture history. Why should these and other such "traits" found throughout the llanos be surprising? Culture area boundaries are barriers which have confined our studies and defined our problems for too long. We must move away from the conceptual frame of boundaries and anomalies. Our task is not the comparative study of culture areas; it is to explain culture processes reflected in similarities and differences. This requires a dynamic approach, an awareness of intra- and inter- regional relationships. Such an approach is likely to provide us with new interpretations of South American societies and culture history.

THE GUAJIRO

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In her review of recent ethnography among Indian populations in the lowlands of northern South America, Jean Jackson did not include works on the Guajiro of northern Colombia and Venezuela. "Space," she wrote, "does not permit discussion... of cattle pastoralism, represented by the Guajiro, a culture differing in so many respects from other lowlands tropical forest groups that it has been excluded..." (1975:311,n.3).

I agree that the Guajiro do differ in striking ways from other Indian populations in the lowlands, and I see the point of excluding them from surveys where practical considerations impose constraints on what might be included. At the same time, however, I think that some discussion of various features of Guajiro society and culture could prove to be of general interest to South Americanists. This is especially likely to be the case, I suspect, in light of some recent research that points towards a fundamental revision of the traditional ethnographic portrait of the Guajiro encountered in the literature. While a revisionist perspective would seem to contribute to preserving the singularity of the Guajiro in comparison to other Indian populations, it throws into sharper focus certain developmental processes that might eventually have a suggestive worth for a broadly conceived comparative overview on lowland Indian societies.

The Guajiro whom we meet in the traditional literature are characterized as pastoralists dependent on cattle and (to a seemingly lesser extent) sheep and goats.[1] Some authors, moreover, freely label them "nomads" or "semi-nomads," although we are not supplied with the details of migratory patterns nor, indeed, are we given much reason to suppose that the usage of those descriptive terms is warranted by a sufficiency of carefully executed case studies.

While some authors refrain from labeling the Guajiro nomads, most stress the importance of matriliny and a concomitant cultural de-emphasis of paternal kinship. Some ethnographers, for that matter, report that among the Guajiro, a person's father is not, in the words of a North American anthropologist, "a true kinsman" (Watson 1967:11-2; see also Bolinder 1957:29, Chaves 1953:155-7, and Guitierrez de Pineda 1950:246).[2] Individuals are represented, be jurally absorbed by, and ideologically and affectively committed to, the corporate matrilineal descent groups to which they are said to belong. Injury or insult to any one member of such a group, the literature informs us, is considered by the Guajiro to be injury or insult to all the members of that group.

I do not want to seem to imply that the authors who have contributed to the traditional ethnographic portrait agree in all particulars. They do disagree in important ways with respect to inheritance practices, residential arrangements, leadership patterns, and so forth. They also differ with respect to the amount of internal parsing or analytical specificity that they have built into their general models of Guajiro social organization. Thus, for example, while older works (such as those by Bolinder 1957, Hernandez de Alba 1936, and Santa Cruz 1960) confront us with rather vaguely bounded and more or less undifferentiated matrilineal groups, Lawrence Watson (1967) constructs a sort of nesting model of functionally differentiated social entities in an increasing order of demographic and structural inclusiveness: nuclear family, matrilocal extended family, minimal matrilineage, maximal matrilineage, and matrilineal sib.

Despite differences among the ethnographic sketches encountered in the literature, the similarities among many of them are nevertheless striking. Salient among those similarities are a strong commitment to descent group models and a monochromatic rendering of the economic landscape. There are, moreover, some other similarities that are worthy of note.

In my reading of the literature, it seems that a number of authors have depended heavily on the testimony of key informants. Various works dealing with Guajiro economy and social organization give little or no reason to suppose that their authors enjoyed an abundance of quantifiable data or that their conclusions were founded on the analysis of detailed case studies. Where a good deal of data has been assembled, and where case studies have been subjected to careful review, the traditional ethnographic profile has sometimes been shown to require substantial revision.

Helmuth Fuchs, for example, collected a great deal of data on Guajiro economic activities, and he took censuses and made genealogical inquiries in eleven Guajiro settlements in different parts of the Guajiro Peninsula. His data have led him to reject "nomad" as a blanket label for contemporary Guajiro. Referring to the "nomadic bands" classification in the *Ethno-*

graphic Atlas, he writes, "The so-called 'nomadic bands' stay normally 25 to 35 years at a place.... Temporary trips in search of water for the flocks admittedly occur" (1971:20). My own data generally support him. While many individual Guajiro do move about a good deal for a wealth of reasons, their movement patterns hardly justify calling them nomads or semi-nomads. Moreover, for reasons too complicated to get into here, I doubt that many Guajiro were nomads in past centuries.

Basic research carried out by me and, more recently, by Jean-Guy Goulet, suggests that the accounts of social organization rendered by Gutierrez de Pineda, Watson, and others are fundamentally inadequate and misleading. We have found, on the basis of detailed case studies of diverse sorts, that genealogical and marital networks and developmental cycles are of great importance for comprehending the organization of Guajiro behavior. The corporate descent group models that others have imposed on the Guajiro are simplistic at best.[3] Statements in the literature to the contrary notwithstanding, we have found that paternal kinship is of great importance for many Guajiro.

Other ethnographers have come across evidence that points to the importance of paternal kinship. All too often, however, they have slighted such evidence[4] or else they have treated it as a artifact of acculturation. By utilizing acculturation to explain away data that might point to the functional significance of paternal kinship, they preserve intact their models of Guajiro social organization. In my opinion, however, paternal kinship has long been an important structural feature of Guajiro society. While acculturation has undoubtedly offered new **justifications** for attaching importance to paternal ties, and while it has served in some cases to intensify such ties, it ought not to be invoked as a god from a basket.

Ironically enough, though acculturation has been employed as a veritable "secondary elaboration" in defense of certain models of social organization, namely models that place great weight upon uterine linkages, the ideal of trans-cultural contacts has been inadequately applied in contexts where it might prove most suggestive and illuminating: in, for example, the study of political relations and a probing of economic considerations that may underlie certain political realities.

A number of Guajiroists seem to have been disposed to treat Guajiro political arrangements as if they could be described in isolation from a larger world - as if, in brief, they are the autochthonous expressions of a "tribal" society that can be studied as a thing in itself. Such authors recognize that the Guajiro originally obtained livestock from non-Guajiron and often enough they mention a variety of economic and other kinds of contacts that obtain between Guajiro and non-Guajiro. But for all that, they seem bent on abstracting the essence of Guajiro culture out of complex matrices, and in apparent implementation of such a desire they fall short of an adequate appreciation of the Guajiros' long-standing and complex linkages to a greater world and the consequences of such linkages. The Guajiro are what they are because of the matrices to which they pertain, not in spite of them. Indeed, Sally Falk Moore's (1973) general model of the "semi-autonomous social field" can be productively applied to the Guajiro case. Within that field, Guajiro clearly possess and exercise rule making capacities. But in a host of subtle and not-so-subtle ways the outside world impinges, and has long impinged, on them.

Economic and other relations with non-Guajiro developed in the sixteenth century and expanded by fits and starts. Trade - some of it labeled "contraband" by Spaniards and criollos - was a particularly important linkage to a larger world. The commerce that some Guajiro carried on with the English and Dutch blossomed into de facto military alliances by the eighteenth century. Numbers of Guajiro were provided with arms in return for provisions and whatever pressures or harassments they might raise against the Spaniards (Kuethe 1970).[5] Powerful brokers, some of whom were called *caciques,* arose in a complex ethnic matrix that offered a variety of economic and political opportunities to those capable of taking advantage of them. Brokerage networks and patronage relations have been of some significance in the Guajira Peninsula since at least the eighteenth century, and they are of crucial importance today for comprehending certain realities of Guajiro life.

Apropos of our comparative interest in lowland Indian populations, there is something that developed out of the concatenations of ecological, economic, and, broadly put, historical factors in the Guajiro that we may deem especially interesting. I refer to marked inequalities of wealth among the Guajiro. These inequalities, and the internal social and political heterogeneity tied to them, are among the most arresting features of Guajiro society when we compare the Guajiro to many other lowland Indians.

A number of Guajiroists have noted that wealth differences have some interesting behavioral correlations. Antonio Santa Cruz (1941), for example, maintained that while a man is generally supposed to be respectful to his mother's brothers, the actual deference rendered is affected both by the relative wealth of the uncle and expectations the nephew may entertain as to inheriting some of the wealth.

In my experience, informants who paint especially vivid pictures of corporateness in Guajiro society tend to be furnishing idealized accounts of how the rich are

supposed to behave. It is wealthy Guajiro who are most likely to participate in matrilineages of some depth and solidarity. Less affluent Guajiro tend to be less motivated, and they are certainly less able, to organize themselves into enduring and sizable descent groups.

The relatively wealthy tend to maintain their association with a given territory for a longer time than do poorer Guajiro, particularly where their wealth depends on traditional livestock operations and the territory they control has relatively good pasture and water resources. Conservation and defense of productive estates promote lineage solidarity and effective leadership; and so, too, in Guajiro history, did effective predations. Economically and politically disadvantaged Guajiro, in comparison, tend to have impoverished kinship ties and shallower depth to their ancestral reckonings; and they tend to move about more, constructing cemeteries in new territories and thus identifying themselves with lands foreign to their immediate ancestors.

It is wealthy Guajiro, moreover, who are most able to give (and to demand) large bride-wealths, to sponsor large funerary distributions of animals, and to do much else that is reported in the literature as being traditional in Guajiro culture. Guajiro of means, furthermore, are best able to patronize sizable numbers of kinsmen and so bind them as followers, for kinship ties are often vivified by gifts and support. The wealthy are likely to be especially concerned with whom their kinsmen marry, in consideration of their concerns for conserving and passing on wealth and effecting advantageous political alliances. And the wealthy tend to be tied into brokerage networks in ways that enhance their power. In sum, the rich often enough really are different, at least in salient degree.

The picture, however, is considerably more complex than this sketch may suggest. Relative amount of wealth is not an all- determining variable, and the consequences of wealth for the social order depend on a host of associated factors. Considerations of where the wealth comes from and how it is used, for example, are of significance.

Wealth derived from livestock is likely to reinforce uterine ties. So, too, may wealth derived from contraband and invested in livestock. But where wealth derived from contraband is mainly invested in trucks and university educations, it may well foster paternal linkages.[6] Yet to illustrate the great complexity of this matter, I can cite some persons who derive large incomes from contraband, who own trucks and send their children to universities, and who still maintain strong uterine ties because doing so in their cases is advantageous politically and in other ways. Diverse existential circumstances in individual cases need to be considered.

Reichel-Dolmatoff once suggested to me that criollos in Colombia generally view the Guajiro more favorably than they do other Indians. While they may look down upon most Indians, they are given to romanticizing the Guajiro to some extent. They suppose them to approximate to what we may recognize as the poetic image of the hidalgo: the Guajiro keep cattle, ride horses, often go about armed, emphasize the honor of their kinsmen, avenge any insult or injury to their kin, put a high value on the chastity of their women, and so forth.

Reichel-Dolmatoff's suggestions as to how a number of Colombians may view the Guajiro strikes me as interesting and probably correct. I suspect that a scholarly probing of criollo attitudes - including a study of novels, plays, paintings, newspaper articles, history texts, floats depicting Indians, and the like - would bear him out.

I want to add that some *Guajiro* also seem to romanticize the Guajiro to some extent. In my experience, bi-lingual brokers who have distanced themselves from many of their fellows are especially likely to exaggerate certain features of Guajiro reality when serving as informants; they endorse Guajiro culture, in a manner of speaking, by romanticizing it. But even Guajiro with less inter-cultural sophistication may sometimes paint Guajiro culture in strong colors. And some Guajiro seem to make efforts to live out their lives in conformity with images that we might deem poetic. Yet while hidalgo-like ideals may be popularly endorsed by both rich and poor, it is the affluent who are likely to come closest to realizing them in behavior.

NOTES:

1. Guajiro cattle herds were probably never as sizable as Indian traditions and some chronicles suggest. Numbers of animals were effectively limited by the water and plant resources available at the driest times of the year (the Guajiro probably did not store fodder, at least not in appreciable amounts). In the twentieth century cattle herds declined owing not only to drought but also to a host of other factors - including alterations in the technology of developing water resources (which had complex ripple effects) and an expansion of the economic alternatives open to large numbers of Guajiro. Sheep and goats vastly outnumber cattle in the Guajiro Peninsula today.

2. Guitierrez de Pineda states, "... el padre as solamente un elemento biologico sin nexos sociales ni familiares con sus hijos... pero en la actualidad el status de tio materno y de padre se hallan en

conflicto... debido al cambio del concepto de parentesco...."

3. The anthropologist's ideal model of a "lineage" is for the most part imperfectly approximated among the Guajiro. In my research (which was concerned with the comparison of several Guajiro populations) one aggregate of Guajiro came the closest to our ideal requirements: the Urraichen Jayaliyu, who were divided into three major branches (each with its own cemetery) but who coordinated the handling of major disputes (homicide and grievous bodily injury) under the aegis of one leader. The more than 200 Urraichen Jayaliyu in the area where I found them are the descendants of migrants into the lands that they now control. Their remembered ancestors entered those territories in a bellicose fashion (and other residents of the general area report them to have been predators). The nearby Mekijanao Jayaliyu, who are long-time residents in the area and with whom the Urraichen Jayaliyu have heavily intermarried, do not constitute a corporate group under a *cacique*. While they describe themselves as a single set of kinsmen connected by uterine ties - a distinct population in opposition to their Urraichen affines and paternal and filial kin - they lack the organizational cohesiveness of the Urraichen Jayaliyu. Divided into two major sub-populations (highlanders and lowlanders), each with a major cemetery (and some smaller burial grounds), the Mekihanayu cluster into small sets of uterine kin headed by petty chiefs each of whom is a senior uterine kinsman in his cluster. I do not have adequate population studies on the Mekijanayu, but I estimate that they number 400 or so in a zone stretching from the Macuira hills east by northeast to the sea.

In the on-going activities of many Guajiro, kinship considerations are regnant over descent principles in the organization behavior. Persons are typically recruited into task-oriented groups in an extensionist fashion, out from a center that characteristically consists of some individual (such as the "victim" or "aggressor" in a dispute) and his or her close kinsmen. Paternal kin and affines are often recruited, and peripheral persons tend to be recruited through their loyalties to persons occupying intermediate linkages in genealogical and marital networks, not because of automatically triggered corporate duties.

4. Thus, for example, when an informant detailing his life history declares that people can be interred in a cemetery belonging to their father's uterine kin - an accurate and important bit of information - this ethnographer feels constrained to insert a note: "This practice seems incredible. The corpse is always buried in his own lineage cemetery. It is possible that the interpreter might have mistranslated the remark" (Watson 1970:65, note 32).

5. During the Seven Years Way, for example, the Guajiro reputedly provisioned the British Caribbean fleet with 600 head of cattle (Kuethe 1970:469).

6. Guajiro men not uncommonly give their children gifts from whatever wealth they control. When a man dies, however, his wealth traditionally passes to his uterine kin (his uterine siblings and/or his sororal nephews). Where the wealth is livestock, that which a man does not give away will normally increase with good care, and his sororal nephews can expect to inherit where the herds and flocks are sizable and increasing. But the value derived from trucks comes mainly from their use, and many truck owners employ their own sons as drivers. While nephews may eventually inherit the trucks, much of the profit from truck usage goes to their cousins (especially when the truck owners are blessed with long life).

THE SAHA: ANOMALIES IN THE ANDES

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The Saha Indians of Northeastern Colombia live on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta from 300 to 10,000 feet. Their language is Chibchan and they have commonly been regarded as the northeastern most extension of Andean civilization (Steward 1949). They are primarily agriculturalists. They grow a variety of crops at different altitudes: potatoes in the highest regions; corn, sweet manioc and plantains at the lower altitudes. Individuals own fields at different altitudes and move up and down the mountains cultivating different crops in a fairly regular cycle. Land, houses, and animals are all individually owned. In religion, too, the Saha appear clearly linked to the Central Andean Highlands. An individual trains for many years to become a priest or priestess (*mamo* and *saga*). There are ceremonial centers high in the mountains. Snow-covered mountains and highland lagoons are sacred places. Offerings are made to spirits of the snow-covered mountains, to spirits of streams, whirlpools, caves; and to spirits of recently dead ancestors. Offerings consist of materials such as stones or shells wrapped in corn husks. Priests and priestesses perform naming ceremonies similar to ancient "baptisms" of the Central Andes, and initiation and funeral ceremonies. Approximately once a week all men of the village gather in the ceremonial house where priests hear confessions (as in the Pre-Columbian Central Andes), offerings are made, myths recited, and the priest also performs civil functions, such as settling disputes.

An examination of Saha social organization, however, revealed forms of what seems quite anomalous for an apparently Andean people. The Saha have named descent groups (called *sana*), membership in which passes from mother to daughter and father to son by the principle of descent that has been termed parallel descent. These armed groups, which incorporated both men and women, regulate marriage. Each group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor who emerged at a particular cave or spring (this place is termed the groups's *leka*). The descent groups claim spiritual ownership of lands near their place of original emergence (but they are not property-holding groups). Each group is associated with a particular animal and members of the group are usually referred to by their animal name. These include not only animals such as red fox, red deer, and spider, but jaguar, armadillo, monkey and tapir of the tropical forest. The most significant social function of these descent groups is regulation of marriage. Members of one descent group are supposed to marry members of another specified groups: jaguars marry armadillos and monkeys marry red deer.

These parallel descent groups are not the only conceptual units of Saha social organization. There is a vertical division of "those of above" (*Saha,* those who live at the highest altitudes), "those of below" (*wiwa,* those in the middle levels) and *"Rosario,"* (those who live at the lowest altitudes). These groupings coincide with degree of acculturation, *Rosario* being the most hispanicized - although they still consider themselves to be Indians. Empirically there is little marriage between these divisions and they form, in effect, endogamous groups.

In addition, the Saha recognize a bilateral kindred. The word *kowa* refers to all kin related to ego by any genealogical linkage. In referring to parents as a couple, they speak of one's *kowa,* stressing the bilateral implications of the word. If a person were asked the term for a particular relative and there was not specific term he would answer "He is just *kowa"* (*kowa, no mas*). The Saha translate *kowa* into Spanish as "my blood" (*mi sangre*) and *sana* (descent group) as "my caste" (*mi casta*).

Saha marriage presents additional peculiarities. Marriage also serves as initiation for both men and women. Virtually every Saha has at least two marriages: the first to a much older spouse when he or she is initiated and the second to a younger spouse when he or she is the initiator. Polygyny is permitted. The most common form is sororal polygyny, but another common pattern is for a man to first marry an older woman and subsequently marry her daughter by a previous husband. These mother/daughter marriages (or stepdaughter marriage) may be either polygynous or in sequence.

The preference for either local endogamy or local exogamy varies from village to village. Where village exogamy is the norm, sister exchange with one other village is the preferred form. The ideal, however, is always to 'marry close,' implying both geographically and genealogically close marriages turned out to be parallel cousins, actual MZD or FBD--20 percent of the marriages in one village.

The kinship terminology of the Saha present an apparent paradox: a people with descent groups formed by a lineal descent principle who use a form of terminology (Hawaiian) usually associated with cognatic descent.

Initially this material seemed so anomalous for a Highland South American people, that I seriously doubted the accuracy of my data. Although eventually I was able to figure out how most of these eccentric elements do, in fact, fit together in a coherent way for the Saha, it was not until I had read some of the more recent Lowland ethnography that I had real confidence in my data and my analysis. When I compared the Saha with the Lowland peoples, I realized to my surprise, that although the particular combination of descent principles and marriage preferences was unique to the Saha, most of the elements were found in many places in the Lowlands. I began dimly to perceive underlying principles that appear to be common to both the Highlands and the Lowlands despite the obvious economic and ecological contrasts. Further, I discovered that both the Highland Saha data and the Lowland data brought into question many of the same assumptions about social systems.

The anomaly of an "Andean" society with "Lowland" social organization is, in fact, more apparent than real. It results from the inadequacies of our conventional mode of categorizing South American societies on the basis of criteria which have long remained essentially unquestioned by social and cultural anthropologists.

For the remainder of this paper I should like to discuss just two of the comparisons between social organization of the Saha and of Lowland peoples which I found relevant and illuminating: first, a preference for marriage with a woman and her daughter; and second, parallel descent.

Mother/Daughter (or Stepdaughter) Marriage

Although preference for marrying an older woman and subsequently marrying her daughter by a previous husband (either simultaneously or in sequence) seems a highly unusual pattern, this preference can be explained in terms of Saha social structure. A man's first marriage is always a marriage of initiation and is to an older woman. Subsequently he marries a younger woman and is her initiator. For a jaguar man, for example, both these wives should be armadillos. Given restricted numbers and the difficulty, therefore, of finding an unmarried woman of the right age and of an appropriate group, mother/daughter marriage assures for the man a young wife of the appropriate group and ensures for the older woman a husband of the correct group to initiate her daughter. In addition, it assures the older woman that her young husband will not leave her to look for a young wife.

However, a survey, admittedly incomplete, of the literature for Lowland South America reveals that mother/daughter marriage is not an uncommon pattern in lowland South America and that such marriages occur and are even common in groups with very different social organization from the Saha and do not appear to be linked to any particular rules of descent or marriage. Several writers comment that mother/daughter polygyny is common among Carib speakers of the Guianas. The Oyana (or Ruouyen) and the Waiwai are often cited (Hurault 1961 and Lowie 1949b:318). Fock (1963:202) says that the Waiwai terminology stresses this form of marriage. Henfry (1964:122-3) cites mother/daughter polygyny as common among the Patamona. For the Trio, Riviere cites the practice as occasional (two cases reported in the past), but he says, "Such marriages are anomalous, being conventionally wrong, socially disapproved, and structurally unsound. They seem based on sentiment and an attempt to maintain pre-existing conditions, a feature characteristic of Trio behavior" (1969:161). Among the Jivaro of Ecuador, Harner says, "Not uncommonly when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter" (1972:94). For the Jivaro this type of marriage has the advantage that a man acquires two wives without having to do bride service.

Lévi-Strauss (1974:353) describes a chief of the Tupi-Kawahib of Central Brazil married to a mother and daughter, but in that case the dominant role in the household was played by the daughter who was considered to be the first wife. Elsewhere in Central Brazil Lowie (1948:30) cites reports of the practice from the Kuliseu River area (Upper Xingu). Patricia Townshend (1973) reports that mother/daughter polygyny occurred frequently among the Arawak-speaking Culina of the Purus River, Brazil, but was disapproved. The disapproval was expressed in terms of the way such marriages were said to "foul up" the kinship terminology. In early reports for the Bororo, mother/daughter polygyny was cited as very frequent (Levi-Strauss 1936). Among Panoan tribes, mother/daughter marriage occurs among the Amahuaca (Gertrude Dole, personal communication, reports one case known), but it is forbidden among the Cashinahua (Kensinger, personal communication). The Siriono of Bolivia also forbid this type of marriage because a man cannot marry the daughter of a woman whom he calls "potential spouse" (Holmberg 1950:64). In the southernmost part of the continent,

mother/daughter marriage was reported as occurring among the Ona (Lowie 1949b:318, citing Lothrop 1928), but was forbidden among the Yamana, because if a man married a woman with children he took on the same obligations to those children as if he were their own father (Gusinde 1961:607).

These are all the instances I have so far been able to find in South American ethnography for either the occurrence or forbidding of mother/daughter marriage. Parenthetically, I should add that Kroeber (1940) has discussed what he termed stepdaughter marriage for North America. He cites 38 tribes in California, Arizona and New Mexico in which stepdaughter marriage occurred. Only among the Navaho, however, was it, as among the Saha, a preferred type of marriage.

I am not trying to suggest any sort of unitary explanation for the occurrence of mother/daughter polygyny in South American societies. What I am suggesting is that what at first appeared to be an odd and unique feature of a particular Highland society, linked to a particular descent principle, when viewed comparatively, turned out to be a not uncommon feature of many differing South American societies. A not particularly systematic search in other parts of the world suggests that mother/daughter marriage as a common or preferred form is unique, or nearly so, to the Americas. If this is indeed the case, I could not at this point even hazard a guess at why this should occur only in the Americas, nor would such an explanation be possible without much more data. But I do suggest that such comparisons might be illuminating and may reveal similarities between groups which have not been analyzed comparatively. Such comparisons of mother/daughter marriage might also reveal something about the nature of the distinction between kin and affine in societies which define stepdaughter as a potential spouse.

Parallel Descent

It has been postulated that parallel descent would be unlikely to exist among any people as the principal mode of descent (Maybury-Lewis 1960; Needham 1974). One of the most interesting aspects of Saha social organization is that parallel descent is the main principle of descent by which Saha society is ordered; it is the principle by which groups are formed, marriage is regulated and by which land, animals and houses are inherited.

Most of the instances that have been termed parallel descent have been found in South America. The most famous instance, the Apinaye *kiye,* as described by Nimuendaju (1939) has been effectively demolished by Da Matta (1973), who has shown that *kiye* membership is not ordered by parallel descent, but derived from a system of what he calls symbolic patrifiliation. An incomplete investigation of South American sources reveals that the principle of parallel descent is utilized by other South American peoples. For the Kogi, culturally very similar neighbors of the Saha, parallel descent is also the primary mode of tracing descent (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51). For several groups for whom data are not entirely clear, parallel descent may be a major organizing principle of the society.. The Culina of Peru and Brazil are reported to take the name of what Townshend (1973) terms 'demes,' boys from their fathers and girls from their mothers. We are told that the groups are named for animal species and have a loose correspondence to territory, but there is no assumption of common descent nor are they either exogamous or endogamous. The precise significance of these groups for the Culina is not clear. For the Cubeo of the Northwest Amazon, whom Goldman describes as having patrilineal sibs and phratries, he also describes "an opposition of parallel descent lines on the analogy of male and female" (1975). For the Oyana (Caribs of Guiana) we are told kinship "is reckoned in two lines, each individual is attached to a patrilineage or a matrilineage (Hurault 1961:152). Unfortunately it is unclear from the ethnography whether parallel or double unilineal descent is meant.

Among peoples of Central Brazil who have many groups formed by different principles of descent, several have group membership or names transmitted by the principle of parallel descent. Wagley (1973:157) reports that membership in the Tapirapé feast groups is transmitted mother to daughter and father to son. Among the Krikati, Lave (1971:345) notes "there is a ceremonial food exchange relationship which is transmitted from a man to his sons and from a woman to her daughters." Among the Kalapalo, *anetu* (village representative) status passes from father to son and mother to daughter (Basso 1973). The Eastern Timbira have parallel transmission of both names and group membership (W. Crocker 1976) while the Nambicuara have parallel transmission of names (Maybury-Lewis 1976).

Evidence for the utilization of the principle of parallel descent is not restricted to the lowlands of South American, Zuidema (1972) has found ethnohistorical documents which describe the Inca as assigning sons to a patrilineage and daughters to a matrilineage. Colonial records showing surnames being passed on from father to sons and mother to daughters have been found in both Quechua and Aymara regions (Zuidema 1972). One of the most essential differences between Highland and Lowland peoples is, of course, that in the Highlands individuals own land, while in

the Lowlands generally neither groups nor individuals own land. In the Lowlands other kinds of property are often so distinctly identified as either male or female property, that parallel inheritance of property is simply male property passing to sons and female property to daughters. In the Highlands, however, both men and women may own the same kinds of property: land, houses, animals. For the Saha, for example, property can be said to be inherited according to the principle of parallel descent. Zuidema (1972) found one colonial Peruvian case of land and surname being passed from mother to daughter for five generations. Isbell (1972) has found parallel inheritance of lands, goods and animals in a modern Quechua community.

Even this cursory survey reveals that the principles of parallel descent has been utilized by diverse South American peoples, speaking unrelated languages, in widely separated parts of the continent, inhabiting totally different ecological habitats and with very different economic bases. Again, I found that what at first appeared to be anomalous and unique to the Northeastern corner of Colombia, could be found all over the continent, although parallel descent appears to have been developed to a greater extent by the Saha and Kogi than elsewhere. The fact that this mode of descent is almost entirely restricted to the South American continent would further suggest some common element or elements in South American social systems to account for this fact.

Structurally the significance of parallel descent is that males and females are assigned to separate and opposing statuses. The structural opposition of male and female is expressed in other modes than parallel descent as well. Such structural opposition of male and female into opposing social categories as a widespread phenomenon in South America.

For example, for the Apinaye, who do not utilize parallel descent, Roberto Da Matta says, "a structurally identical separation occurs between... brother and sister. The basis of this distinction seems to be the result of the application of the opposition between men and women, since Apinaye attribute to women a series of qualities which contrast with those of men. For them men and women oppose each other socially, politically and ceremonially, as well as physically" (1973:280). Similarly for the Bororo, J. C. Crocker refers to a "sharp distinction between the private and public areas of life, which in the Bororo case is a contrast between, respectively, agnation and matrilineal descent" (1971:390). Among the Ge of Central Brazil the contrast is between the male/public domain and the female/private/domestic domain.

Another example of the structural opposition of males and females into opposing statuses is the Mundurucu. Murphy tells us that the physical and social separation of the sexes among the Mundurucu is quite complete. Men eat, sleep, work and relax together in the central men's house. Women live in the households on the periphery. Descent is patrilineal, but the household group is composed of kinswomen related in the female line. In discussing punishment by gang rape for women whose behavior is that which is appropriate to the male rather than female domain, Murphy says, "The (bonds of kinship) become eclipsed and secondary and the maintenance of sex roles and sex groupings can thus be seen as a primary structural element in the society" (1973:219).

Extrapolating from this small and inadequate amount of data, I suggest that it would be useful to explore the possibility that the structural opposition of men and women is characteristic not only of peoples of Central Brazil and Northeastern Colombia, but might be a pervasive characteristic throughout many parts of the continent, highland and lowland, center and periphery.

In addition to these similarities of social organization, comparison of Saha ethnography with Lowland South America reveals the sharing of another important feature. Many of the same assumptions about the nature of social systems which the Lowland data brought into question were also questioned by the Saha. I shall have time to mention only two examples very briefly. First, anthropologists have tended to assume that a society would be characterized by a single descent, but one of the most striking features of Lowland South American ethnography is the utilization of multiple modes of descent for different purposes. One of the themes which emerges most strongly form recent research in the Lowlands, as Jean Jackson has pointed out, is the variability within the systems of kinship and marriage: "One type of variability supplies individuals within a society with a 'surplus' of unambiguously ascribed memberships, statuses, position and structured relationships consequently such surplus . . . allows individuals and groups to assess specific situations and mobilize these relationships, identify components etc. which meet the situation at hand (1975:319)." The recognition by the Saha of both parallel descent groups and bilateral kindred initially appeared to me to be contradictory and unlikely. However, comparison with lowland groups suggested that this was another situation of multiple descent principles existing within a single society, building flexibility into the system by supplying the individual with a "surplus" of ascribed statuses. And not only can multiple lineal descent principles coexist, but the Saha date suggest that bilateral kinship also can coexist quite happily with a lineal descent principle (see also Needham 1974:44-50 and passim).

Second, another theme which emerges from recent

lowland ethnography is the questioning of assumptions about the correlation between terminology and social groups, i.e., the assumption that a lineal terminology indicates lineal descent groups and that cognatic terminology will be associated with a society characterized by bilateral descent. There have been many instances in the South American Lowlands of societies which have two-section terminologies implying a prescriptive marriage rule, i.e., lineal descent groups exchanging women, but which in fact, have no lineal kin groups of any sort. For these societies lineal terminologies are not associated with lineal descent groups.

The Saha case is essentially the reverse: The Saha have lineal descent groups, but the terminology is of a cognatic (Hawaiian) type. I can, in fact, demonstrate that these "cognatic" specifications do correlate with group membership, i.e., MB and FB should belong to the same descent group, FZ and MZ should belong to the same group, and so should parallel and cross cousins. However, the same assumption is brought into question by the reverse of the Lowland situation. Here a cognatic terminology is associated with lineal descent groups on the ground. (Double unilineal descent systems as well may be characterized by this apparent contradiction between terminology and social groups. See Faris 1969 on the Southeastern Nuba.)

These comparisons suggest that the demarcation between Highland and Lowland social organization is not nearly so sharp as has been assumed, and that forms of social organization have been remarkably persistent over a very broad range of ecological settings and systems of varying socio-political complexity. Similarities can be seen not only in specifics such as the use of a rare descent principle (parallel descent) and an unusual marriage preference, but also in the questioning of some of the same basic assumptions about systems of kinship and marriage. Like Central Brazilian systems (as pointed out by Maybury-Lewis 1976) the Saha "show up the inadequacy of some previous concepts and classifications used in the study of kinship."

Although the Saha are at the farthest periphery of both the South American continent and the Andean region, they would appear quite central to an understanding of the relationship between social systems of the Highlands and the Lowlands.

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