Anthropology

Peoples and Cultures of Native South America

Edited by Daniel R. Gross

Hundreds of native peoples are found in South America. They range from simple foraging groups like the Yahgan, who lack agriculture, to the complex theocratic civilization of the Inca. They also provide interesting case studies of warfare, religion, shamanism and sex antagonism.

This reader brings together outstanding contributions in cultural anthropology, archaeology, physical anthropology and linguistics. They were chosen for their coverage of diverse aspects of South American native life and for their important theoretical approaches. Of special interest to South Americanists is the inclusion of hard-to-find material and six original articles (those by Siskind, Gregor, Da Matta, Sorensen, Tavener and Salomon).

Daniel R. Gross received his doctorate in anthropology from Columbia University in 1970. He spent three years doing field research in Brazil. His major interests have been traditional society, religion and socioeconomic change in the arid northeastern region. More recently he has carried out a preliminary study of the ecological adaptation of the western Gaviões, a tropical forest tribe in northern Brazil. He is now teaching at Hunter College of The City University of New York.

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Introduction to Shamanism and Political Control Among the Kuikuru

Gertrude E. Dole conducted field work among the Kuikuru Indians of Mato Grosso in 1953 and 1954, along with Robert Carneiro (see Chapter 7 in this volume). The Kuikuru are one of a number of small, independent tribes which inhabit the upper Xingú River. This area is thought to be a kind of cul-de-sac or refuge area to which peoples escaped from the north, fleeing European contact with all its depredations. Among the linguistically distinct groups living in separate villages are the Trumai (R. Murphy and B. Quain 1966), the Suyá (Schultz 1962), the Mehinacu (Gregor in Chapter 14 of this volume), the Waurá (P. E. Lima 1950), the Camayurá (Oberg 1953) and others (cf. E. Galvão 1953; C. Lévi-Strauss 1948a). Most of these participate in a common "Xinguano" culture, and trade and even intermarry with other villages. Like most of the tropical forest and savanna peoples they exhibit a low level of political development and practically no individuals or groups enjoy privileged access to strategic resources (cf. Fried 1967).

Kuikuru shamans present a partial exception to this statement in that they enjoy a special relationship with powerful spirits which no one else seems to have. People turn to shamans in times of need and believe that they can cure illnesses and solve problems. While this power is not directly converted into "political power" (cf. Fried 1967), Dole concludes that "The shaman tends to preserve the integrity of the society by reducing anxiety and conflict among its members and supporting the social norms necessary for its

political existence." This conclusion would appear to characterize many other societies at this cultural level in South America. For example, Charles Wagley's classic description of Tapirapé Shamanism (orig. 1943) leads to much the same conclusion.

Given this crucial role of the shaman, it is not surprising to learn that shamans and other religious practitioners have considerable power in more highly developed societies in South America. The prestige and supernatural power attached to the shaman at this evolutionary level are then crystallized to true political power at the next level.

Gertrude E. Dole has authored numerous other articles on the Kuikuru, among which the following are particularly valuable: Dole and Carneiro 1958, Dole 1959, 1964a, 1966, 1969. Holding a doctorate from the University of Michigan, she has also carried out field research among the Amahuaca Indians of eastern Peru. She is the author of several important contributions to the study of kinship nomenclature. Gertrude Dole teaches at the State University of New York, Purchase.

17. SHAMANISM AND POLITICAL CONTROL AMONG THE KUIKURU

GERTRUDE E. DOLE

INTRODUCTION

The Kuikuru are a Carib speaking group of horticulturists in the Upper Xingú region of central Brazil. Their settlement is politically autonomous and comprises nine houses, each of which shelters several nuclear families.

The nuclear family is a self-sufficient economic unit except that the cooperation of several men is needed for a few projects such as erecting the frame of a multifamily house and carrying a newly cut canoe from the forest to water. When needed, the cooperation of friends and kinsmen is obtained through the device of throwing a party for the workers. Communal activities are rarely undertaken, but when they are, a similar device is employed to mobilize labor. Whereas in many other Tropical Forest groups in South America the headman organizes communal enterprises, among the Kuikuru the labor for such activities is paid for with food and drink provided by an individual, who is referred to as the owner of the undertaking (Dole, 1959).

As these techniques for mobilizing cooperative labor suggest, formal leadership among the Kuikuru is extremely weak. Very few special obligations and privileges are attributed to the headman. These include titular ownership of the tribal territory, making decisions about when to move the settlement, and choice of its location. In addition a strong chief may call out daily plans for work and may harangue his people about preserving tribal customs. In actual fact, however, it is questionable whether any of these

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functions was performed by the man who held the position of headman when observations for this paper were made.[1]

In theory the position of headman is inherited patrilineally, but in actuality it often happens that when a headman dies his sons are too young to assume leadership. Under these conditions the role passes to an adult male in another family, so that men from several families have assumed leadership over the past few generations and the sons of all of them now have some claim to succession.

The Kuikuru have very few restrictive rules for social behavior. Not only does the headman not control social behavior, but the ceremonial system provides very few regulations. Most of the ceremonies are primarily secular, and there is relatively little fear of the malevolent power of spirits to punish one.

The tribal settlement is agamous, but in recent years spouses have been chosen from within the settlement more frequently than from neighboring tribes. The ideal postmarital residence is virilocal with respect to both settlement and house, but there is no strict rule of residence except that a couple is expected to reside for an initial period of a few months with the parents of the bride. The several nuclear families in most of the houses are closely related to one another, constituting extended families of various types, fraternal, sororal, bilateral, patrilocal and matrilocal. However, nuclear families not infrequently change their place of residence, making the extended family organization of the community unstable as well as irregular. The kinship structure is cognatic and the kinship nomenclature is a variant of the Generation pattern. (See Dole, 1957:359 ff.)

From this brief summary it can be seen that Kuikuru society is very loosely structured. In keeping with the looseness of structure, social behavior is extremely permissive. An example of the permissiveness is the fact that most individuals have several extramarital sex partners without fear of social sanctions, even when the identities of the paramours are known or strongly suspected. (See Carneiro, 1959.) Moreover, infractions of the legal norms often go unpunished. When thefts of personal property occur, for example, the owner has no means of redressing the wrong unless he actually catches the thief in the act of stealing, which is very unlikely. And even if the thief is caught there is no prescribed punishment for such delicts.

Theoretically a person may quarrel with the miscreant, but in actuality even this action is not taken because among the Kuikuru any kind of hostility is taken as evidence of malevolence and an indication that the disgruntled individual may take revenge through witchcraft. It is dangerous to be suspected of witchcraft, because sorcery is one of the few conditions which justify homicide. A few years ago a man was killed because he was thought to be working witchcraft on a number of children. The only close kin of the victim were his two daughters, who did not avenge his death. Some years before that incident another Kuikuru had killed a man from the neighboring Kalapalu tribe who was suspected of causing deaths that led to the extinction of more than one tribal settlement in the region. This killing also went unavenged, and neither of the killers was punished.

Because suspected sorcery is punishable by death the Kuikuru try to avoid being suspected by being genial and noncombative, even when they feel they have been wronged. But the frustration that results from the virtual lack of recourse to legal sanctions in many instances may be very intense. On one occasion, in fact, the frustration was so great that a grown man wept in repressed anger because an irreplaceable item of considerable value had been stolen from him and he had no means of retrieving it or retaliating for the theft.

In view of the lack of effective social control in political and ceremonial structure, the possibility suggests itself that the Kuikuru may resort to other and less direct mechanisms to reinforce norms and preserve social cohesion. Such a mechanism is in fact to be found in shamanism. I will describe Kuikuru shamanism and discuss its function in supplying some degree of social control.

SHAMANISM

The primary function of a shaman is medical; he is hired to cure illnesses which do not respond to the herbal remedies that are common knowledge. A second important function is divining to determine the causes of illness and other misfortunes. The principal techniques used are removal of intrusive objects and trance induced by smoking native cigarettes. A shaman's services are paid for

with beads, which serve as both ornament and currency among the Kuikuru.

Shamanism is not a hereditary role. In fact one shaman indicated that his son would not be a shaman, because smoking is bad for one. Rather a man may be motivated to become a shaman by receiving a "call" to do so. When a man undertakes to learn the secret techniques of shamanism he is tutored by a master shaman, who teaches him chants and the art of inducing trance by smoking. The pupil is secluded for a month in his mentor's house, where he fasts, dreams and practices smoking. In his dreams he speaks with a personal spirit helper, who is said to give him cigarettes and teach him how to smoke. The pupil also goes into the forest and communicates with one of the forest spirits which is visible only to shamans. It is thought that smoking enables shamans to see and hear things that are hidden from other people.

Finally the apprentice undergoes an arduous initiation administered by an established shaman. The body of the apprentice is anointed with a mixture of pulverized tree resin and water, which is rubbed especially on the fingernails and hair and in the ears. Then the neophyte demonstrates his ability to smoke deeply and induce a state of trance, or "die", as the Kuikuru say. When he is revived he drinks tree resin mixed with salt and water. This he must do twice, without vomiting. If he can perform this ordeal successfully he is then considered a full-fledged shaman.

There are five shamans in the Kuikuru society. These men are explicitly ranked as to their ability, and one of them, named Metsé, is said to be a far better shaman than any of the others. Although all of them frequently smoke in the evening "because they like to", only Metsé is called on to conduct shamanistic performances as a rule.

CURING

It is generally supposed by the Kuikuru that exuviae and other material of various kinds can be used to work sorcery, and that malicious persons inject objects into people in order to kill them. Illnesses of all kinds are attributed to this type of sorcery. In curing, the shaman smokes, seated on a log stool beside the patient's ham-

mock. After inhaling very deeply he places the cigarette between his feet to free his hands, and blows smoke into his cupped hands. He then rubs his hands together and strokes the affected part of the patient's body. As he strokes the patient he says "Aakaaaaaaaah!" and then utters a sequence of noises resembling a number of rapid and uninhibited hiccups with alternately ingressive and egressive sound, "‹ï› a ‹ï› a ‹ï› a", etc. Withdrawing his hands from the patient he inspects the contents, which may be a splinter, a piece of wet matted thread, a fishscale or some other very small item. Taking the cigarette from between his feet he inhales more smoke and goes to the thatched wall of the house, where he blows smoke on the intrusive object and blows it away into the thatch. Eight or ten such performances complete the treatment.

One of the lesser shamans threw some light on the nature of intrusive objects produced by shamans during curing ceremonies. He tore a narrow strip from a piece of canvas and secreted it among his private possessions saying he would use it later in curing.

In instances of serious illness several shamans may work together, as they did on one occasion to treat the wife of a minor shaman and mother of a potential successor to the role of headman. The woman had complained of stomach disorder and pains in her legs. At times she appeared to be in a coma. When her condition did not respond to herbal medicine the principal shaman was called in to treat her. With the usual ritual Metsé "drew out" some bits of wet matted cotton thread, which he threw away in the thatch of the house. As neither this treatment nor similar treatment by her shaman husband improved her condition, it was decided that her soul had been taken from her and that this was the cause of her illness. Then all five Kuikuru shamans together with a visiting shaman conducted a curing ceremony for her. They smoked, chanted and stamped rhythmically. In this procedure a special gourd rattle was used. This rattle is so constructed that the handle is slightly loose. When properly rolled against the forearm, the gourd chamber of the rattle moves on the handle, squeaking with each stroke. The squeaking sound is apparently thought to be the voice of a spirit.

Even this performance did not cure the woman, who then became delirious. During her delirium her husband asked her where

she was and what she was doing, in an attempt to learn what she was "dreaming" about. Her answers corroborated the shamans' prognosis that a spirit-being had taken her soul from her. The six shamans then went a short distance outside the settlement and conducted a seance in which they talked with the spirit people. Metsé smoked, "died" and recaptured the lost soul. He wrapped it in a ball with vegetable fibers and held it close to his chest as he returned to the house of the patient. With the ball still held close to his own chest, he placed it next to the patient's chest, in order that the soul might reenter her body.

It may be that shamans are able to convince themselves as well as others that they can hear voices when in a state of trance. I am not prepared to discuss the question of whether or not they do hear such voices. However, the techniques of drama and sleight of hand used in curing are impressive, and they serve an important function in inspiring confidence in the shaman's ability to deal with the supernatural. General belief in his supernatural power does much to determine a shaman's success as a doctor, but it does more than this. Popular faith in a shaman's ability to talk with the spirits is at the base also of his success in divining, since this is what permits him to pass judgments and suggest punitive action without engendering resentment. This fact is illustrated by instances in which Metsé was asked to determine guilt for some misdemeanors.

DIVINING

On one occasion when some stored fruit was stolen, the owner hired Metsé to smoke and divine the identity of the thief. After his smoking seance Metsé named a teen-age boy as the culprit, and the boy's supposed guilt soon became common talk in the community. Although the boy was not confronted directly with the accusation and no steps were taken to punish him formally, the gossip of course served to darken his reputation.

Guilty or not, the boy had no recourse. It is clear that members of the society are thoroughly convinced of Metsé's supernatural power. They also respect and appreciate his efforts in curing and divining. By contrast the boy named in this case was the son of a

couple who were generally disliked by others in the community. In fact a number of Kuikuru thought that his father was working witchcraft against them. The marked difference in prestige of Metsé as a master shaman and the person he named undoubtedly lent support to the verdict. Hence it would have done little good for the supposedly guilty boy to protest his innocence. Moreover, if the boy had argued or openly protested the verdict the community probably would have been inclined to suspect him of witchcraft, a situation to be avoided if possible. Under these conditions the boy who was accused of stealing fruit had no choice but to be amiable in the face of adverse public sentiment.

Another and more dramatic instance of divining to determine guilt was occasioned by a fire. An account of this incident will serve to illustrate both the technique of Kuikuru divination and its sociopolitical role.

At high noon on a hot sunny day one of the nine houses in Kuikuru settlement burned to the ground, apparently set afire through careless use of a cooking fire. House fires are always a major crisis for the Kuikuru because their houses are placed very close to one another. If there is any wind, many sparks fly and the tinder-dry thatch of adjoining houses is ignited. Then the probability that all the houses will be destroyed is very high. In this instance only one house was burned because the day was calm, and the few sparks that landed on adjacent houses were successfully extinguished by beating.

Because it was impossible to save the burning house most of the men merely watched the blaze and discussed its cause as they watched. They surmised that the fire had been caused by a flaming arrow shot into the thatch by someone from another tribe. However, they were not certain of this explanation, and the threat of complete disaster was so disturbing that the shaman was asked to determine the cause of the fire.

Accordingly Metsé divined. He and four other shamans sat on log or bark stools and smoked native cigarettes. Only Metsé inhaled deeply, and as he finished one cigarette an attending shaman handed him another lighted one. Metsé inhaled all the smoke, and soon began to evince considerable physical distress. After about ten minutes his right leg began to tremble. Later his left arm began to twitch. He swallowed smoke as well as inhaling it, and soon was

groaning in pain. His respiration became labored, and he groaned with every exhalation. By this time the smoke in his stomach was causing him to retch. He swallowed with audible gulps in an obvious effort to keep from vomiting.

The more he inhaled the more nervous he became. He rubbed his eyes, scratched his head and chest, blew his nose and wiped his hand on his leg. He took another cigarette and continued to inhale until he was near to collapse. A helper now supported his back as he continued to grow weaker. Suddenly he "died", flinging his arms outward and straightening his legs stiffly. At this point the log stool was removed from beneath him, and three men held his rigid body horizontal about chest high for a few moments. His tendons snapped as he writhed slowly in this position. Soon he relaxed and was lowered to a sitting position on the ground, his head hanging limply and his back again supported by the helper.

During his "death" Metsé breathed continuously, but in a very subdued manner. After some minutes his eyelids fluttered. He remained in this state of collapse nearly 15 minutes. From time to time toward the end of this period he moved his limbs slightly, breathed more deeply, and uttered some incomprehensible noises. As he began to revive, he rubbed his eyes, scratched his head several times and looked about in a startled manner as if listening for something. When Metsé had revived himself two attendant shamans rubbed his arms. One of the shamans drew on a cigarette and blew smoke gently on his chest and legs, especially on places that he indicated by stroking himself. Then Metsé began to speak.

He called to him the owner of the burned house and conversed with him with much feeling, unfolding the account of how the fire had been caused. As he did so the attending shamans, as well as several other male onlookers, commented from time to time on what Metsé had said. He drew out the account of the happenings, almost sobbing as he related parts of the story and apparently deeply moved by the tragedy. This procedure reveals two important techniques of divining which contribute to its success. First, the shaman expresses sympathy for the victims of the disaster, a technique which certainly functions to gain popular approval for his efforts. Second, he sounds out public opinion by exchanging comments with his audience. This device of course makes it possible for him to formulate a verdict which they will accept.

The gist of Metsé's narrative follows: The previous evening three men had been prowling around the settlement. When all the Kuikuru were asleep they had tried to enter Metsé's house in order to place an image of lightning inside it. (This is a form of sorcery which would have drawn lightning to his house and would have resulted in the death of Metsé himself.) Because the door was barred the men were unable to enter his house and entered the adjacent one instead,—the house that later burned. They camped nearby during the night, and about noon the next day they shot a fire arrow into that house. Metsé was unable to learn the identity of the culprits during his trance because they had shirts over their heads and spoke a language he could not understand.

Thus the cause of the fire turned out to be exactly what people had suggested earlier, with one remarkable detail added. This was Metsé's statement that the culprits had tried to enter his own house with an image of lightning in order to destroy him. Although this detail did not seem very important at the time, it suddenly took on special significance two weeks later when lightning actually did strike Metsé's house and set it afire during a thunder storm. Metsé was thrown from his hammock by the lightning bolt and was badly bruised. Within two minutes his burning house collapsed. This double disaster convinced Metsé that he was a marked man.

The next morning, unable to withstand the rigors of divining himself, he asked another shaman to divine for him and find the image of lightning which he believed must have been placed in his house and which was responsible for drawing the lightning. The performance of this shaman tells much about the skill of the primary shaman. The secondary shaman was an elderly man, as Kuikuru ages go, although he was still vigorous and healthy. He was unable to go into a trance, although he inhaled deeply and swallowed smoke. He appeared to become violently ill—hiccups and involuntary retching repeatedly preventing him from inducing trance. After several unsuccessful attempts he moved about in search of the image of lightning but with no success. Finally Metsé himself arose from his hammock, danced about the ruins of the house with a running step and then began to search also. They both failed to find the image, because, it was said, it is very difficult to find such an object in the daylight.

That evening Metsé himself divined. After reviving himself he

reported that the reason the lightning image could not be found was that it had already been removed. He now stated further that the person responsible for both fires was another shaman, a Kuikuru who had left three years previously to marry a woman of the neighboring Kalapalu tribe and had never returned.

This verdict appeared to surprise some of the Kuikuru, who indicated that the culprit had been a good man. But there were social complications which may explain Metsé's reason for pointing the finger at this shaman. The accused had been expected to marry a teen-age Kuikuru girl some time before, but although the girl had waited for a very long time in puberty seclusion her fiancé had made no move to claim her. His failure to fulfill this obligation engendered some resentment among the Kuikuru, where there were several bachelors and no other marriageable girls. Finally Metsé's younger brother had proposed to the girl by leaving firewood at her parents' house. His suit was accepted, but on the very next day the house in which she was secluded burned! About 10 days later she and Metsé's brother began living together as man and wife. A few days after that Metsé's house burned also.

The man who was indicated had only one close adult relative, a very weak and effeminate brother who had recently been living in the Kuikuru settlement. But there was considerable tension between this brother and some of the other Kuikuru,—so much so that he was reluctant to go outside his house during the daylight hours. A few days before the second fire, he too had left the Kuikuru settlement and joined the Kalapalu.

As soon as Metsé disclosed the identity of the guilty person a party of avengers including Metsé's brother set out, *without consulting the headman,* to execute the supposed culprit. This mission was unsuccessful because their intended victim remained inside his house and surrounded by his family. After the return of the avenging party Metsé's fear of the malevolent power of the other shaman intensified. He predicted that fire would strike again. He became ill, seemingly unable to move about, and had his brother carry him to and from the lake to bathe. He remained in this state of debility for several days. Then a second attempt was made to destroy the other shaman. The accused was taken by surprise and killed. Thus a potential rival of both Metsé and his brother was eliminated, and Metsé recovered his strength rapidly.

No retaliation followed the killing. Among the Kuikuru there is no tradition of blood feuds. Moreover, the victim's closest relative, his own brother, did not have sufficient strength of personality to avenge his death.

DISCUSSION

It seems certain that Metsé's family felt some anxiety about taking a girl who had been spoken for by another man. The occurrence of two house fires in close association with the marriage of Metsé's brother to that girl emphasized the rivalrous aspect of the marriage and served to direct attention to the potential rival. Anxiety in this instance could have been alleviated by giving over the girl to her fiancé. But in spite of the fact that her fiancé had not released her from the engagement, there was no indication that he intended or wanted to claim her. Therefore Metsé's family chose to eliminate the source of anxiety by getting rid of the potential rival.

There is little doubt, however, that following Metsé's account of the events, the society viewed the revenge killing as a device to protect their settlement from the threat of more fires and the loss of their principal shaman through sorcery. In this instance, as in the case of the stolen fruit, there was no dissention from the shaman's verdict. 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.

Metsé's influence as a diviner depends also on his personal ability to convince the society of his power to deal with supernatural phenomena. Without this advantage his people would be less ready to accept the judgments he makes and to follow his suggestions to the point of committing homicide. Metsé's performances in curing are indeed impressive and do much to win him the appreciation of his fellow men. Moreover his truly masterful inducement of trance has earned him their deep respect. In addition his skillful sounding

of public opinion helps to make his pronouncements credible. Of course an occasional coincidence of divining which adumbrates actual events adds much prestige to the shaman's performances. Such spectacularly successful predictions are always the most clearly remembered. His impressive performances as a curer and diviner, therefore, have placed Metsé in a quasi political role, and he is regarded as a valuable social servant.

Divination exerts a direct influence on social behavior. Even when no formal punishment is meted out the drama of divination serves to demonstrate the shaman's ability to "see" the guilty one in a supernatural manner, and everyone is thereby made aware of the danger of being found guilty. Fixing blame on a person by divination places him in an uncomfortable position at the very least. Because people wish to avoid this consequence, the knowledge that misdemeanors can be detected tends to deter individuals from breaking social norms.

If a person should be accused of a serious crime, as for example killing others through sorcery, he might himself be killed as a menace to the society. And since antisocial attitudes such as anger are taken as evidence of inclination to sorcery, the Kuikuru are constrained to be genial and cooperative. The ideal Kuikuru personality is very amiable and lacking in aggressiveness. By cultivating such a personality one inspires trust rather than suspicion and is therefore less susceptible to being accused.

It should be pointed out that persons who are killed for supposed witchcraft and those who are accused of minor delicts as well are individuals who lack social support, either because they have no close kin who could avenge them or because they are not well integrated into the society, or both. Singling out such individuals as victims functions to prevent retaliation and feuding. It also fosters social integration. Of course individuals may not be able to do much to insure having strong kinsmen around them, but they can and do cultivate friendly and cooperative relations with other members of the society.

As already suggested, the suspicion of sorcery is always present as an explanation for misfortune and is a major factor in Kuikuru social control because supposed sorcerers may be killed without reprisal. But in spite of the strong belief in sorcery, the actual practice of it does not appear to exist among these people. Informants

had little knowledge of how sorcery was accomplished because, they said, "those who practice it do not tell anything about it". Moreover, there was no apparent fear among the Kuikuru that their own shamans would do harm through sorcery, and when asked whether he could work counter magic on his enemy after the second fire, Metsé himself seemed at a loss for an answer. Clearly if the Kuikuru had had evidence that their very able shaman (said to be more able than his enemy) really could work magic against his enemy, they would not have killed the other man outright. Nor would Metsé have shown such unmistakable terror until his enemy was destroyed.

Reasons for the absence of sorcery among the Kuikuru probably include a high degree of freedom from stresses, which may be attributed to the general lack of either restrictive rules of social behavior or competition for subsistence resources. The Kuikuru do not practice either strict patrilocal or matrilocal residence, customs which have been shown to create special stresses on the inmarrying women and men respectively. (See Titiev, 1951; Schneider and Gough, 1962.) Moreover, their subsistence ecomomy provides an abundance of food and there is no economic oppression or exploitation to generate antagonism. (Cf. Kracke, 1963.)

But if the permissive nature of Kuikuru culture minimizes stresses, the lack of traditionally structured political leadership does create some problems. The use of divination to determine guilt may be interpreted as a substitute for adjudication and punitive action by a political leader. However, political influence such as the shaman exerts is only one of several possible solutions to problems created by a lack of traditional leadership. Another possible solution would be direct retaliatory or punitive action by individuals with or without the consent of the society. If resorted to extensively, this course of action would soon destroy the small Kuikuru society. Another solution would be the actual practice of counter sorcery to avenge antisocial acts. This also would have destructive consequences and might well lead to the disintegration of the society through fear of sorcery and the conflicts that would arise from widespread suspicion. Or, as still another solution, individual families might move away and amalgamate with other settlements in order to avoid or escape from hostility. This

course would surely soon result in the disbanding of Kuikuru society.

All of these possible solutions would decrease the cohesiveness of the society if not destroy it altogether. By contrast divination by the shaman tends to preserve the integrity of the society by reducing anxiety and conflict among its members and supporting the social norms necessary for its peaceful existence. The political role of the principal shaman among the Kuikuru suggests that a comparative study of societies with very permissive social behavior might reveal a correlation between the absence of strong political leadership and the use of shamanistic divination to reinforce social norms.

NOTE

1. This paper is based on notes from field work done by Robert Carneiro and myself among the Kuikuru between August 1953 and March 1954.

PART IV: LANGUAGE

Introduction to South American Indian Linguistics at the Turn of the Seventies

Arthur P. Sorensen, Jr., has written an excellent introduction to the major problem areas of South American Indian linguistics which the alert student of anthropology will appreciate.

The author holds the Ph.D. degree from Columbia University and presently teaches ethnology and anthropological linguistics at the State University of New York in Binghamton. He is a veteran of years of linguistic and ethnographic field work among the Tukano and neighboring peoples of the Vaupés River basin.

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18. SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN LINGUISTICS AT THE TURN OF THE SEVENTIES

ARTHUR P. SORENSEN, JR.

INTRODUCTION

At the outset of the seventies, information on South American Indian languages is best regarded as inconsistent. Data vary in usefulness. Few languages are well described; many languages are poorly described. Figuratively speaking, the linguistic map of South America remains impressionistic at best. While individual languages can be spotted on it, and while obviously similar languages can be combined into modest language families generally acceptable to most linguists, nevertheless the data are wholly inadequate for the rigorous demonstration that they fit into more comprehensive linguistic stocks or phyla. Any large-scale solution of the classification of South American Indian languages is still really premature. This paper is, then, a survey of this shaky setting.

A brief review will be made here on the scope of South American linguistics, and on stereotypes likely to be encountered, explicitly or implicitly, in the literature or in person. The main focuses of the paper will be on some sociolinguistic areas of inquiry, and on problems underlying the description and classification of South American Indian languages. The viewpoints held are that good descriptions of phonologies and morphologies of languages are needed, and that classifications must ultimately be provable by the comparative method.

The major bibliographic sources that list the inventory of South American Indian languages are: Mason (1950), McQuown (1955), Tax (1958 and 1960), and Loukotka (1968). The few maps currently available are Mason (1950: presently unavailable except in reference rooms), Loukotka (1968: available through the Association of American Geographers, 1146 Sixteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $3.00); and the Greenberg presentation of tentative phyla in the Steward and Faron textbook (1959). (See the section on basic bibliography under "Setting Up a Sample Problem" for additional sources.)

SCOPE

Two to three thousand names of languages have been reported in the archival materials. No doubt many of these are alternate names for the same languages; others are probably names of dialectal variants of already accounted languages. Loukotka cites 1492 names of languages. Perhaps 300 or 400 languages are spoken at the present time; a few more are yet to be "discovered." They are distributed among some 65 language families (following Mason 1950, who, however, leaves ambiguous statuses for language isolates–languages that form one-language families in themselves by being apparently unrelated to any other languages: see Voegelin and Voegelin 1965); or among 77 "stocks" and 44 "isolated languages" (following Loukotka as of 1968); or among 4 phyla (Greenberg, in Steward and Faron 1959). Some of these languages are disappearing, or even being eliminated through genocide; a few, such as Quechua, continue to spread to people who previously did not know them; but many–including some spoken by only a few hundred people each–appear to be "quietly holding their own."

Indian languages are spoken on the South American continent from the border of Panama (several thousand Cuna and Choco speakers) right down to Tierra del Fuego (eight people are reported still to use Selknam, the language of the Yahgan, with each other). The aboriginal languages of the Caribbean islands were of South American Indian families; one South American Indian language family (Chibchan) "spills over" into Central America. The geographic distribution of South American Indian languages ranges from a broad, continuous spread covering a sizable–and international–area of the central Andes (largely filled in by Quechua), through more regionally defined areas in Paraguay (Guaraní) and Chile (Araucanian), or along some of the upper reaches of the major rivers of South America–the Amazon, Orinoco, Paraná; to the spotty areas of enclave groups surrounded by Spanish speakers

in the hilly terrain immediately away from the spine of the Andes (e.g., in southern Colombia); to the patches of more and more isolated communities in the remote headwaters of the major rivers of South America.

About the only places where Indian languages are not spoken are in the large cities (but La Paz, Cuzco, Quito, and even Lima are exceptions); coastal areas in general (again with exceptions); in the countryside around most capitals and larger cities (except in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, southern Colombia, and Paraguay); and in a broad belt of European settlement reaching from southern Brazil and Uruguay to Argentina—where, however, such languages as German, Italian, American English, British English are spoken in addition to Portuguese and Spanish. Even in the latter case there are some areas of heavy European settlement where Indian languages may be found after all—Guaraní in Paraguay and Araucanian in Chile being notable examples.

Although they are not Indian languages, certain other languages should be mentioned, at least in passing, for full coverage. Creolized languages are spoken in the Caribbean (including Creole French, Creole English, and Papiamentu), and a creole language, Taki Taki, is spoken in Guyana by the Djuka, a reconstituted African tribal society. There are one or two enclave communities in Brazil (and one formerly in eastern Cuba) where Yoruba and perhaps Ibo, originally brought from West Africa, are reportedly still spoken. There are also sizable communities where such languages as Hindustani, Cantonese, Hakka, and Japanese are spoken. At least one community in south central Patagonia has retained Welsh for slightly over a hundred years now. Arabic, brought by the "Sirianos" or Lebanese, has probably pretty much phased out by now. Dutch is important in parts of the Caribbean and in Surinam. English and German have phased out among some families several generations resident in South America, but still retained by others. A careful compilation of data on non-Indian, non-Latin languages remains to be done.

STEREOTYPES AND MYTHS

Information held by the non-Indian Latin American layman about Indian languages is often engulfed in stereotypes and myths,

many of which have percolated through, affecting the general literature. The anthropological and linguistic fieldworker certainly has to cope with them in explaining his work there. Indian languages popularly are considered *dialectos* by non-Indians, and while the basic colloquial usage of this term refers to forms of unwritten speech spoken in restricted areas and by restricted numbers of people, the connotative extensions of this term suggest ideas of primitiveness (because the speakers have technologically primitive cultures), non-legibility (because the language has not been "reduced" to writing), no "grammar," deficient vocabulary, impreciseness of expression (witness Indians trying to speak Spanish: "*el papa, el mama*" whereas "*el*" should be used only with masculine "*papa*" and "*la*" should be used with feminine "*mama*"), inexpressibility of nuances of thought (no subjunctives), and quaint to objectionable status ("*Le confieso con toda franqueza que mi bisabuela sí sabía hablar un dialecto, y era india,*": "I [must] in all frankness confess [admit] to you that [I had a] great-grandmother [who] did indeed know how to speak a 'dialect'—and was an Indian").

Words that are lacking in the *dialecto* are thought to be borrowed haphazardly from Spanish, grammatical forms to have been modeled from Spanish. One belief in some Colombian non-Indian folklore, for example, is that all babies originally start to speak *castellano* only to be subverted into speaking something else (perhaps, nobly, into speaking English); it is even more strongly held among some Colombians that the adequate learning of Spanish by an Indian will automatically cause him to forget his Indian *dialecto*. A few disappointed Latin American missionaries from Spanish-speaking families who had noted the unexpected clinging of Indians to Indian languages even after learning good Spanish attributed this to Indian stubbornness. This widespread, popular deprecation of unwritten, but spoken South American Indian languages in South America is probably at the base of a prevalent North American myth that the South American Indian "dialects" are nothing but kinds of underdeveloped or even deteriorated Spanish.

Some historically known facts have also provided precedents that have subsequently approached almost mythical proportions in lay thinking, but which are valuable leads for anthropologists. One precedent that influences linguistics and anthropology is based on

the fact that the peaceful Arawak-speaking Indians whom Columbus encountered (though not yet called Arawaks) were actively being encroached upon and preyed upon (and eaten) by the cannibalistic Caribs, and that the Caribs had displaced or replaced the former in the Lesser Antilles during the preceding few generations. The population of a large area of northern South America was thereafter found to speak similar languages—eventually called Arawak—and this area, too, was found to be spotted with Carib intrusions. These accounts led Brinton (1891) to suggest that the attacks of the Caribs against the Arawaks must not only have forced Arawaks to retreat into the Antilles but into remote refuge areas of the continent as well. It was readily inferred that there must have been repercussions all over the lowlands right up to the borders of the highland Inca empire and Chibcha chiefdoms. Long before Brinton introduced the dynamic situation of the Arawaks and Caribs to the anthropological literature, any number of travelers in the Amazon and Orinoco had already recorded their vocabularies with the implicit intention of determining whether they had been dealing with Arawaks or with cannibalistic Caribs. To the colonial Spaniards, *carib* meant "cannibal," and was an excuse for taking slaves.

Ultimate origins of Arawaks from Polynesia (Rivet 1925a, 1925b, *et seq.*) and of Caribs from Melanesia (Gladwin 1947) remain dubious. But newer data and less speculative inferences from the distributions of the languages of both groups make the problem of tracing their origins more intriguing than ever. If the age-area hypothesis applies, then G. Kingsley Noble's survey of Arawakan languages (1965) points to the remotest headwaters of the Amazon in the Montaña of Ecuador and Peru as the area from which proto-Arawakan had spread, because that is where the most divergent (reflecting, hence, the longest isolation and concomitant development or evolution) of the Arawakan languages occur [cf. Lathrap, pp. 92–93—Ed.]. Some anthropologists and linguists might speculate instead that these languages bear witness to the earliest Arawakan-speaking populations to flee from the Caribs. Still others feel that the Montaña represents only an outlying remnant of a much larger original area of prototype Arawakan languages. The latest theoretician to deal with the Arawak and Carib question is Lathrap (1970), who, using his own first-hand archaeological knowledge obtained in the Amazon to reinterpret Noble (1965), suggests that the Arawakan languages spread from the region of the confluence of the Río Negro with the Amazon near present-day Manáus (near to where Noble hypothesizes that the Maipuran branch of Arawakan developed) when the Caribs, who he thinks came from farther downriver, proceeded to attack them.

The dynamic situation of the agricultural Arawaks perennially being chased by the Caribs has been suggested as a central theme for tracing the possible development of agriculture and its diffusion (e.g., among others: Brinton 1891, Meggers and Evans 1957, Sauer 1950, Lathrap 1970).

SOCIOLINGUISTIC INQUIRIES: THE STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL ROLES OF LANGUAGES IN THEIR LARGER SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SETTINGS

South America, to be sure, holds no monopoly in its variety of settings, but the historical background to its political development does seem to predispose it for the stressing of certain dimensions. In order to present a cursory overview of language and culture problems in South America, the writer will set up two dimensions with varying degrees of interplay as a scaffolding on which to locate them. (Intense involvement at a given point in the scale of one dimension does not necessarily mean intense involvement at the correspondingly elaborate point in the scale of the other dimension; rather, the two dimensions should be regarded as reference lines that are separable "near their ends" but that can define areas of probable conflict between some of their stretches.) One dimension will be that of the bilingualism—or *potential* bilingualism—with which the speakers of a given Indian language may be involved: the range of variations of this are monolingualism, diglossia, bilingualism proper, and poly- or multilingualism. The other dimension could elaborately be labeled "politicosociolinguistics," or official policy toward Indian—and other—languages, because the roles of Indian languages in the national societies which claim the Indians speaking them may be presented according to the degrees

of political involvement they are allowed in those nations. The range of variations are: official statuses of suppression and repression, non-recognition, indifference, "reluctant" recognition, recognition to various degrees, full official recognition, and (perhaps in the future) even promotional recognition. Conditioning all this are the degrees of subtlety brought into play in connection with the politicoreligious statuses and activities of linguistic missionaries, which affect the role of the non-missionary anthropologist or linguist who wants to work in South America. Some linguistic missionaries have privileged positions through their private governmental contracts with some South American governments, and may be regarded by some nationals as *de facto* political parties in Indian areas.

Just as the reader may have to cope with skeptical opinions concerning the endowments of "primitive languages," or languages of people with primitive technologies, among educated laymen elsewhere, the reader should expect to encounter anachronistic stereotypes and depreciatory attitudes—and occasional romantic myths—concerning South American Indian languages in South American literature. Such ethnocentric stereotypes lie in the background of whatever political statuses may be accorded to South American Indian languages in some countries. A strong "monolingual tradition" exists in South America: the writer has heard one old-school (and non-linguistic) missionary teacher disgustedly exclaim that the Indians in this region of his country were so backward that their children came to school without even being able to speak their own "mother tongue," Spanish!

Quechua

Quechua is the language of the descendants of the Incas. It is spoken by at least eight million people—several times more than any other Indian language in the Americas. Its main area is in the highlands of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador; the periphery of its area includes southern highland Colombia and occasional spots down along the west coast of Peru; its use has spread to northernmost Chile and Argentina, and is still spreading to people who previously did not know it in the Peruvian and Bolivian lowlands

east of the Andes. In its long history, Quechua displaced many other Indian languages no longer spoken (see Rowe 1954). In the highlands of Peru and Bolivia, it is estimated that 80% of the population speak it or can speak it, and that at least 90% of the population understand it. Maybe some 50% of the population know Quechua only.

The outstanding problem that the speakers of Quechua faced until recently was the refusal of their governments to give any real, operative official status to Quechua—despite the fact that more than half the population in Peru and over 80% of the population in Bolivia spoke it. But in the Bolivian revolution of 1953, Quechua was made a second national language, and speeches can be given in congress in it. And at the close of the 1970 Congress of Americanists in Lima, Peru, President Velasco announced the official beginning of a program in bilingual education—especially in the highlands—in Peru. No one is misled about the difficulties in training teachers and preparing primers for such a system, and it will take years to get it going properly, but the important factor is that now Quechua has official sanction. This does not mean that some degree of bilingual education has not already been going on, especially in the lowest grades, where children are taught Spanish by Quechuas who themselves have learned Spanish.

Quechua has been recognized as a "critical language" in the United States, because it is spoken by over a million people, while very few people in the United States speak it. There are now two or three important centers of Quechua training in the United States, and a number of specialists in it. Peace Corps training for Peru and (formerly) Bolivia includes training in Quechua.

Problems attendant with the developing of national education projects in Quechua are problems of standardization —from which dialect or dialects will the standard form be drawn? —what orthography should be used? —etc. There are already factions and partisans on these issues. There is local pride in Quechua all over the highlands; there is even a sense of a prestigious dialect, that of Cuzco (although even in Cuzco there are subdialects). What should take place is recognition of all regional forms of Quechua rather than the promulgation of a prescriptive norm. But prescription will surely be projected by educators into the problem. Quite a bit of sophisticated work is now being done in Quechua and

its dialects both by Peruvians and non-Peruvians: e.g., Escribens and Proulx (1970), Lastra (1968), Parker (1965), Stark (1969).

Guaraní

Guaraní presents a very different situation. Guaraní is spoken by over two million people in Paraguay and in adjacent portions of Argentina and Brazil; in addition, a dialectal variant of Guaraní, called variously Tupí, Geral, or Nheengatú, is spoken in several places in Brazil—including spots along the Amazon—where it was taken by the early Jesuit missionaries and where it has not yet been entirely replaced by Portuguese. But here we will be concerned with the case of Guaraní in Paraguay.

The unique history of Paraguay lies behind the widespread use of Guaraní there. Paraguay was one place where Spaniard and Indian were compatible with each other and immediately formed a blended society—where the Spaniards actually added to the aboriginal society rather than replacing parts of it after having suppressed them (as elsewhere in South America); it was an economically unattractive area, and soon was left out of the main lines of trade and influence to become an isolated country—and even a forbidden country. In this climate, the use of Guaraní survived. It not only survived, but took a complementary position with Spanish. Almost everybody in Paraguay speaks both Guaraní and Spanish. Both languages, of course, are official; even bilingualism may be said to be officially sanctioned. People alternate between them in conversations depending on the situational context —depending on where they have met, under what auspices, and depending on the topic being discussed (see Rubin 1968). In general, Spanish tends to be used for formal affairs, such as business, and Guaraní for informal affairs, such as friendship and expression of love. Spanish may be used for the formal beginnings of courtship and Guaraní used in the later, more familiar stages. Nevertheless, some families ordinarily use Spanish at home, others Guaraní. If the alternation between using Spanish and using Guaraní in a given situation is not handled properly, the speaker can be identified as belonging to the lower class. It is interesting to note that Paraguayans who speak Spanish at home and who would otherwise greet and talk with each other largely in Spanish in Paraguay will

use Guaraní when meeting each other outside of Paraguay. Paradoxically, despite its comfortably stable position in Paraguayan culture, Guaraní currently is little used on radio or television.

Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon

An extensive multilingualism situation with culturally prescribed polylingualism in the individual exists among the riverine Indians found in the central northwest Amazon (Sorensen 1967, 1971). This area is here defined as the drainage system of the Vaupés River and adjacent areas in Colombia and Brazil, and perhaps southernmost Venezuela. The region is occupied by over twenty-five "tribes," each possessing its own language, e.g., Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Kubeo, Piratapuyo, Tariano, Tukano, Tuyuka, Yebamahsa, and Yurutí among others. (Many of these languages belong to the Eastern Tukanoan language family, on which the writer initiated modern descriptive work; nonetheless, some languages belong to other language families.) Each of these linguistically identifiable units is exogamous—marriage within the "tribe" would be considered incestuous (except among the Kubeo, among whom nevertheless a carefully prescribed system exists [see Goldman 1950, 1963]). This means that every husband-wife pair represents a father and a mother who come from different linguistically distinct groups who then provide their children with a minimally bilingual exposure. In addition, one of the languages, Tukano, has spread as a lingua franca (and not in pidginized form) and is generally known throughout the area. Such languages as Spanish, Portuguese, and Tupí-Guaraní also serve as linguae francae, but they are much less general and each is restricted in its distribution within the area (e.g., Spanish in Colombia and Portuguese in Brazil). There is a strong sense of identification of "tribe" with language that helps support the institutionalized multilingualism.

Sporadic attempts by old-school missionaries in the past to suppress Indian languages on the main rivers only served to reinforce the vitality of these languages. Mission policy has recently changed, due to support of vernacular languages by the Vatican II Council, and the use of Indian languages is now being encouraged; in addition, a group of linguistic missionaries of a rival religion has recently entered the area and has penetrated into the

backriver areas where the established missionaries had met strong resistance, thereby intensifying the creditability of Indian languages. The fact that neither Spanish nor Portuguese serves the entire area as a lingua franca, but that Tukano, an Indian language, does, also reinforces the institution.

Incidentally, the particular patterning of language distribution in an individual's repertoire indicates some rethinking in the extant literature on what is to be implied by "mother tongue." It should be realized that almost every individual among the Indians of the Vaupés has a "father tongue" that is separately identifiable from his mother tongue; that he identifies himself with his father-tongue group; and that because of preferential classificatory cross-cousin marriage he is quite likely to acquire a spouse from his mother-tongue group. Even though a mother uses (primarily) her husband's language with her children (their father tongue)—and her own language secondarily with them—the underlying implications of the multilingual situation preclude calling this language a "mother tongue," nor is it referred to as such by a native speaker.

Other Bilingual and Multilingual Situations

Other cases both of incidental bilingualism and of patterned bilingualism, and possibly of multilingualism, also occur in South America. The best-known of these is the historically reported case among the Carib where men spoke Carib and women spoke Arawak. Of course, each understood the other. The Arawak derived from the many women who had originated as captives taken from the Arawak. The separable use of the two languages became institutionalized along sex lines. Note, however, that the "Carib" spoken by the modern-day Caribbean descendants of these people is an Arawakan and not a Cariban language.

The occurrence of several languages among people who are in contact with each other in the upper Xingú region in Brazil has been reported. The extent of the multilingual situation, and whether its associated bilingualism or polylingualism is incidental or patterned is not known.

A trilingual situation exists in Puno, on the northwestern, Peruvian shore of Lake Titicaca. While in some areas of Peru and Bolivia such trilingualism may be the incidental result of over-

lap of Aymara-Spanish bilingualism with Quechua-Spanish bilingualism, in Puno it more probably represents a modern-day derivative of a more ancient Aymara-Quechua bilingualism with Spanish later added.

Bilingualism involving Quechua is not new. It is well known that the Incas brought Quechua as their governing language to the Indians whom they conquered, and that their Quechua actually replaced a number of former languages (see Rowe 1954). At the present time, as Quechua-speaking migrants continue to spread into the Montaña and lowlands of Peru and Bolivia, the use of Quechua again is spreading, and other Indians with whom Quechua-speakers come in contact can be expected to become bilingual in Quechua. Knowledge of both Spanish and English by modern Carib-speaking Indians in the Guiana highlands area of Guyana, Surinam, Venezuela, and Cayenne has been noted in recent travel stories and in occasional reports. Whether this is incidental or follows a pattern is not known.

Travel accounts indicate that the few remaining Yahgan-speakers also know good English, and that they may know Spanish as well. Southern Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego are, incidentally, areas where the use of English is widespread.

POOR STATUS OF DESCRIPTIONS

The classification of South American Indian languages and the tracing of their origins is hampered by the inadequate, underdifferentiated recordings of the data on which most language descriptions have been based. The archival and published materials which until recently have formed the bulk of these descriptions exhibit the results of falling into all the pitfalls threatening untrained linguists. And some "descriptions" merely amount to brief, poorly taken word lists. Only recently have trained or partially trained linguists begun to work in South America. But even they, while avoiding the classic pitfalls, all too often muddle their descriptions with orthographic and other methodological deviations. In general, the stage of poor, unrepresentative descriptions made by prescientific linguists is now giving way, but only to that of mediocre, programmatic descriptions by partially trained (and sometimes

"mass-produced") linguists. Very few descriptions exist in which complete confidence may be placed.

The problems in poor descriptions may conveniently be etched out under three rubrics: those of phonology, morphology (and syntax), and—obfuscating these—orthography. The major problems in phonology are those of underdifferentiated phonetics, of underdifferentiated phonemics, and of transcriptions which while not narrow nevertheless are sporadically overdifferentiated. The major problems in the orthography of the transcriptions or recordings are those of projections of inconsistent spelling devices from other written languages to form three-way spelling conflicts with phonetic transcription and phonemic transcription. The major problems in morphology are "wild" morphemic cuts; grammatical categories completely missed, or misidentified, or projected from some other language; forced grammatical categories; or even categories derived from their English glosses.

The immediate major problem in phonology is "lack of ear"—the failure to discern all the sounds of a language, and the unwitting readiness to let some subtleties of sound be adjudged as mispronunciations, slurs, or slips of the informant's tongue. Aspirated consonants are regularly missed, or taken as "normal" pronunciations of the unaspirated version of the consonants when in a stressed or emphatic position: [t] and [t^h] are, then, not distinguished. (Some languages, in the future, will be found to contain both unaspirated and aspirated series of consonants.) Consonantal length may easily be missed: [t] vs. [tt]. Some types of spirants are likely to be missed or reinterpreted as slurred pronunciations of their homorganically corresponding stop consonants: [ϕ] and [β] with [f] and [b]; [θ] and [δ] with [t] and [d]. Trills and laterals (various kinds of [r] and [l] sounds) are likely to be confused with dental and alveodental nasals (i.e., with "kinds of [n]"). That nasals may be fortis rather than lenis can be overlooked, such that fortis nasals are likely to be confused with lenis trills (the reverse of the case above): fortis [n] vs. lenis [r]; fortis voiced consonants are likely to be confused with pre-nasalized consonants (fortis [n] with [^{n}t]); etc. Central vowels are likely to be confused with rounded back vowels—what should be transcribed as [ɨ] and [ʉ] (depending on whether they are unrounded or rounded, central, high vowels) may appear as [ü] or [ö]. Some nasalized vowels

may be missed, and most glottalization (or laryngealization) of vowels may be missed. Thus many languages deceptively described as having a simple five-vowel system (i, e, a, o, u) may very well really have nasalized and glottalized series of vowels as well as plain (non-nasalized) series of vowels and additional central vowels such as ɨ and ə. Diphthongs, especially in languages having central vowels, may be completely missed. Tonal systems are notoriously missed; at most they may be very indirectly hinted at by some sort of acute and grave stressed accent system (as in English "hóthòuse"). And stress may be confused with tone.

Phonemic analysis carries its own host of problems. In the first place, more than one feasible phonemic solution is possible in any language (Chao 1956). One always has the privilege of interpreting a nasalized series of vowels, for instance, either as so many more vowels (/a/ vs. /ą/ phonemes), or as the plain vowels plus one phoneme of nasality (/a/ vs. /aN/); (the phonemicist, of course, should be able to posit theoretical reasons for his preference of one solution over the other for the given language). But for the beginning phonemicist there remain problems of unsuspected introjection ("interference") of phonemic and allophonic classes and subclasses from his own language—thus he may fail phonemically to distinguish /t^h/ from /t/ if he is a native English-speaker /ϵ/ from /e/ if a native Spanish-speaker, etc.—and this may appear in his preliminary publication.

One occasional problem of phonemic underdifferentiation may occur in descriptions where the analyzer has been concerned with theoretical models of description in which a morphophonemic consolidation of "sounds" is stressed. On the basis of a premature phonemic solution—an attitude unfortunately fostered by some linguistic fieldwork courses—such an analyzer may overenthusiastically consolidate two phonemes into one "morphophoneme." In one published case an analyst consolidated nasals with their corresponding voiced stops (e.g., what descriptivists would call /m/ and /b/) under the one morphophoneme //b//. Reading his "morphophonemic" transcription for the given language would be like reading English //bæn// as either /mæn/ "man" or /bæn/ "ban" depending on context. The theoretical assumption is that the native speaker-hearer of the language so described intuitively sorts the choices out according to context as he speaks. But a

reader may be left unaware of the phonetic shapes of the implied phoneme-like units in such a description.

Another occasional problem, this time of phonemic overdifferentiation, may occur in descriptions when features of allophonic variation are analyzed as phonemes in their own right. The situation where there is complex allophony taking place in sequential segments may especially entice clever analysis. Such a case could be represented by setting up English aspiration as a phoneme in its own right, /H/, that phonotactically occurs only after voiceless stop consonants and has its own allophony of weaker and stronger stress in syllables of medial and strong stress. "Potato" could then phonemically be represented as /pHətHéytow/ rather than the more conventional /pətéytow/ [pʰəthéɪ̯toʊ̯]. Undoubtedly these solutions are offered as genuine insights; they may even be accepted in orthographic transcription by informants because of the enthusiasm of the linguist proffering them. But more often they are fanciful overinterpretations of the data. One such case has been explicated in a friendly, instructive way by Hockett (1959) in his criticism of the Agnew-Pike report (1957) on the phonemics of Ocaina.

Also to be viewed with caution are suprasegmental phonemic conditioning devices to account for presumed consonantal and vocalic harmony in word-length segments: statements of the sort that the addition of an affix containing a nasal will impose a feature of nasality on all vowels, or even consonants, in a word. Transcriptively this may be signaled with a nasal, prefix-like signature: /dobu/ + /-ni/ = /Ndobu-ni/ for what otherwise could be written as /dǫbų-nį/ or /nǫmų-nį/ (this example is hypothetical but based on an actual case). Such analyses may or may not be overinterpretations of the data. At any rate, their transcriptions make rough going for the reader collecting words or grammatical forms from them.

Two principal types of orthographic problems show up in descriptions. One is the adoption of unnecessary signs in the transcription—superfluous letters—presumably so as to accommodate the spelling of the Indian language to the writing system of the language of the larger society. This results in what this writer calls the "ca-que-qui-co-cu syndrome," where "c" and "qu" both stand for the same sound (conventionally /k/ or [k]).

The other type of problem is the use of digraphic devices either for sequences of dissimilar sounds or for single sounds. A good example of the former is the use of repeated vowel letters not for vowel length but for glottalized vowel, or for vowel plus glottal stop. This is what the writer calls the "Hawaii syndrome," where in the supposedly "correct" pronunciation of "Hawaii" the two *i*'s signal an intervening glottal stop. This is not to say that glottalization may not, in some languages, morphophonemically arise between repeated vowel segments, or be allophonically associated with long vowels. The problem lies in extending such an orthographic convenience to where it may not be appropriate—the usage seems to have spread uncritically as a tradition in much of American Indian linguistics.

The use of digraphic devices for single sounds is common in all the older published materials and persists even in some modern materials. A person doing research in such materials should be well aware of the use of the digraphs "th", "sh", and "ch" for *θ*, š, and č, respectively. Incidentally, š is likely to be represented in older materials by English speakers as "sh", by German speakers as "sch", by French speakers as "ch", and by Spanish speakers as "x" (as [š] was the conquistador pronunciation of this letter). Such problems otherwise belong to the introductory linguistics class.

In the area of morphology or grammar, the problem of its representation in descriptions is just as serious. First, of course, has been the attempt to approximate the grammar of the language being described to some familiar model for the person doing the describing. Suspiciously Latin-like, French-like, or English-like descriptions result. Unnecessary and erroneously identified categories that do not exist in the language may then have been set up, and the real ones missed, or pulled apart and partially and wrongly described.

In some cases, categories have been completely missed—inanimate "it" and "they" in an example just below; indicators of specificity; modal and other types of markers; singularizing markers or generalizers; etc. In other cases, categories have been misidentified—aspect for tense, obligatory plural for optional plural, general imperative for second person imperative, etc. In still other cases, categories have been borrowed from extraneous

languages: subjunctives, for instance, where they do not exist; "here, there, and yonder" distinctions which do not really coincide with the actual systems; etc. And then there is the problem of forced categories: making forms have plurals whether in the language they have them or not; making obligatory singular and plural forms where there is optional number marking; or forcing "adjectives" into a language which does not have any identifiable adjective form class of words.

In one case, a linguist has analyzed participial suffixes in the language he was describing as relative pronouns. It is true that, because English does not have personal participles, we have to translate or gloss forms containing these suffixes as "I who, you who, he who, she who," etc. However, the linguist in question depended on working through Spanish (and consequently got no pronoun forms for inanimate "it" or "they"–forms which this writer has readily elicited for that particular language in the field), and he did not have any spoken control of the language. He certainly failed to distinguish freestanding words from bound suffixial forms in the language.

Some readers utilizing modernly published materials to draw their comparisons might balk at what they might feel to be controversial extensions of meaning. One missionary linguist, describing the "evidential forms" (indicating whether the evidence for the action being reported is known by firsthand witnessing, or by secondhand, hearsay evidence) in the verbs in the language he was analyzing and describing, insisted that verbal forms from the Bible be translated into it in direct, firsthand evidential forms because he, and his potential converts, in their admirable zeal, claimed that they had experienced the Bible firsthand, and that they were not just repeating what the Apostles had reported.

In summary, the majority of South American Indian language descriptions are inadequate. Their transcriptions imperfectly reflect the real data. Some grammatical categories are missed or unevenly reported while others are overplayed. Even modern models of descriptions well suited for languages similar to the ones from which they were developed may prove maladaptive to other languages, and engender analytic improvisations. This problem, of course, is of concern to advanced linguistic theory and its close control may not be expected of a novice linguistic field-

worker. Then, all too many descriptions are deficient in that the data on which they are based are not retrievable ("salvageable") –sufficient data are not provided for the reader to reorder the materials and develop alternate solutions. Yet these are the descriptions that subsequently serve as source data for the reader who depends on published materials. Descriptive preoccupations are prevalent–but masked to the linguistically naïve reader who is confronted by seductively simple recordings.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

Review of Methodologies

It is on these kinds of underdifferentiated source data that current classifications of South American Indian languages stand. The prospect of classification, because of the apparent abundance of data, is tantalizing; the results are premature. What can be established by inspection of similar word lists are language families; what involve increasing amounts of speculation on their establishment are stocks of language families, and then superstocks or phyla containing stocks, language families, and language isolates. Nevertheless, there remains the natural urge to take note of those languages which are obviously similar, to group them into families and stocks, and to try to see if apparently dissimilar languages and their language families aren't really somehow associated in the same phylum after all.

The conquistadores early noted that Maya was not anything like Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, and that neither was anything like Quechua, the language of the Incas; they further noted that the Chibcha spoke something else. Even before this they had already noted that Arawak was not like Carib, even though many Arawaks also spoke Carib. The same measure of empiricism led the academicians among the conquistadores to reject affiliations of any of these languages with Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, even though they exclaimed, for example, that Maya defied the latter three in the nature and degree of complexity of its grammar. (See Newman 1967, for the history of the earliest official Spanish

reaction to vernacular languages, particularly with regard to Classic Nahuatl.) During the ensuing centuries of colonization and missionization, the academicians—usually missionaries—were able to point out groups of languages that were obviously similar to each other, and to differentiate them from other such groupings or families of languages, e.g., Chibchan, Cariban, Guaicuruan, Matacoan . . . These groupings, coupled with the observations of other language families noted by the first scientific explorers in South America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, historically furnished the original base on which linguists could build their classifications.

With the development of more sophisticated techniques of analysis in linguistics in Europe in the late nineteenth century—and particularly of the comparative method (by which the vocabulary and grammatical forms of Indo-European languages were listed in comparison with each other, so that the languages could be set off in groups and subgroups according to their relative degrees of similarity within the group, and so that proto-languages could be hypothesized from which the later languages apparently had evolved)—the promise was there for South American Indian languages to be reviewed to see whether something like this could be done with them. The potential strength of the comparative method, which had linked Germanic, Latin, and Greek with Sanskrit, might now be used to identify possible relations between American Indian languages and the Old World languages, and clarify the problem of the origin of the American Indians.

The full use of the comparative method in American Indian linguistics did not take place until the 1930s when Bloomfield (see Bloomfield 1925, 1946; Sapir 1931; and Hockett 1948) demonstrated its applicability to the central branch of the Algonquian language family in North America. But the initial stage of collecting word lists from related languages potentially for comparative purposes had already been established. The subsequent stage of finding regular correspondences and setting up proto-forms among these word lists lagged. Powell (1891) and Brinton (1891), who made the earliest comprehensive classifications of North American and South American Indian languages, respectively, recognized that they were hampered by underdifferentiated and poorly transcribed data. Rigorous proof of proto-languages could

not yet be demonstrated; in fact, some linguists wondered—a few still wonder—whether the comparative method could or even should be applied to American Indian languages at all. Worse yet, grammatical descriptions of South American Indian languages were either so sparse or so modeled on Latin or modern European languages that grammatical comparisons could not be relied on either, much less made. A divergence of opinion arose among linguists concerning the relative priorities of morphological over phonological similarities in the apparent language families and stocks being posited (see Rowe 1954, Hymes 1956, Voegelin and Voegelin 1965). Brinton "stated . . . that, when the material permitted, he preferred to classify languages primarily according to their grammatical structure because he believed that the morphology of a language is its most permanent feature" (Rowe 1954:19). Powell, instead, gave primacy to the lexicon.

As said before, Brinton's approach was severely limited because of paucity of morphological descriptions; perforce, he had to rely on lexical and phonological evidence. Because of the obscure nature of the phonological data, rigorous reconstruction work by linguists ground to a halt in language family after language family, to start anew each time new data were incorporated, only to stop again. But this approach, referred to as comparative method linguistics, was retained for the procedure it provided, for the rigorousness it promised, and for the weight it might lend to claims of correspondences among the more distant resemblances that were occasionally spotted.

Sapir sought for the reinforcement of lexical criteria by morphological criteria in positing genetic classifications. Even where lexical similarity was faint, if there were morphological similarity he hypothesized ultimate superstock (phylum) membership for the two languages or language families. Thus he was able to reduce Powell's fifty-eight North American Indian language families to six superstocks (Sapir 1929), some based on more apparent lexical similarities and some on more tenuous lexical similarities but where the languages concerned shared general or exclusive morphological features (e.g., of the sort: preponderantly polysynthetic derivational systems as opposed to stem-and-inflection systems).

The promising results of Sapir's theories had led many linguists in their search for lexical similarities to be inclined to accept even

faint resemblances and to posit them as possible indicators of very distant relationships. These linguists felt that if even the faintest outlying languages of stocks and superstocks could be detected, all that it would take would be additional future data to demonstrate that these hunches were right. These collectors came to develop favorite lists of words (for example, Swadesh developed his famous 100- and 200-word lists; see Swadesh 1955); a few used very short lists (Loukotka used a list supposedly of 45, but which in operation varied down to 12 or less)—they had followed a tradition established by Brinton, who had depended on a 21-word list. Some words appeared to have correspondences in a great many language families. Cases where presumed lexical correspondences seemed to crosscut previously delimited language families were felt to provide reason enough to posit still further superordinate superstocks or phyla with the rationalization of several historical layers of borrowing and influencing as underlying the present stages of the languages involved. It seemed, in this approach—now called phylum linguistics—that the evidence worked up in this way pointed to the existence of very few phyla of languages in the New World. Several of them were confined to North America, with an outlier or two in Central America and perhaps even in northeastern Asia. A couple more were confined mostly or entirely to Central America: Azteco-Tanoan, Zoque-Mayan, Otomanguean. One spilled over from South America to Central America: Macro-Chibchan. There seemed to be relatively few more to be yielded by the still rough data in South America: Greenberg (1960) suggests Andean-Equatorial and Gê-Pano-Carib in addition to Macro-Chibchan. One, based mainly in North America, seemed to have outliers in South America as well as in Central America: Hokan. Zoque-Mayan has recently been extended to South America through evidence demonstrated by Olson (1964, 1965) that Uru and Chipaya, in highland Bolivia, are related to Mayan languages.

Divergent positions on these methodological concerns characterize the field of South American linguistics at the present time. (They are explicated in Voegelin and Voegelin 1965.) Linguists can be identified methodologically as giving basic priority to comparative method linguistics or to phylum linguistics, although any linguist is liable to work in both—and to have his own favorite

word list. Anyone doing a problem in South American Indian linguistics will find himself at some point in his work forced to take a stand. However, as the Voegelins point out, the two approaches are not necessarily incompatible. A substantial increase in the demonstrations of language families by the comparative method will be made and wide-scale reconsiderations of the numbers of phyla and of their contents will follow, and we may expect that the results arrived at by either of the two methods will reinforce each other more and more during the seventies.

Current Classifications

The majority of linguistic families were established between the late 1800s and the 1930s by such people as Brinton, Schuller, Schmidt, and Rivet. Most of this work was further reproduced by Rivet and others in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris,* especially between 1910 and 1940. These were the families that John Alden Mason consolidated under one cover in Volume 6 of the *Handbook of American Indians* in 1950, together with the sources that lay behind them and a map. As did Major Powell's classification of North American Indian languages long before, this compilation represents an approach in which only well-demonstrated language families are used and in which phyla are not erected. Loukotka, all during this time, independently was reworking Rivet's and other source materials and consequently presents a classification that resembles but does not always coincide with Mason's. Seen from the perspective of these two classifications, the later Greenberg and Swadesh ones may give the impression of being further reworkings and consolidations of the families already presented by Rivet, Mason, or Loukotka; but they really represent completely new passes at the literature utilizing, perhaps, the former only for their bibliographic resources. Critiques of these various classifications especially in regard to their methodologies are offered in Mason 1950, Rowe 1954, Voegelin and Voegelin 1965, and Wilbert (in Loukotka 1968).

The four classifications indicated above are the ones that currently exert influence in linguistics and anthropology. Two of them represent the comparative method linguistics approach: Mason 1950 and Loukotka 1968; the other two represent the

phylum linguistics approach: Greenberg 1960 and Swadesh (see Swadesh 1967).

Of the four, anthropologists have been most inclined to adopt Greenberg's classification, for a number of reasons: because of its generalizing nature, with only four phyla to cope with; because of the reputation of Greenberg's success in consolidating the classification of African languages; because of the suggestions it presents for reconsidering migrational, diffusional, and other cultural inferences from the distributions of his phyla; and, pragmatically, because of its availability in the Steward and Faron textbook (1959) on South American Indians. Greenberg's classification is based on the technique of mass comparison which he developed (see Greenberg 1959a). It also evidences a dependency on the typological resemblances of the items being compared, while at the same time the procedure of mass comparison tends to educe this inventory of typological resemblances as its own by-product. The rationale behind mass comparison, which worked so well among languages of Africa, is that if any two languages are related to each other at all, there will be some resemblances in their vocabularies, and that if other languages related to either of them are also included in the comparison of vocabularies, even remoter resemblances stand a chance of showing up. Expressed in a slightly different way, if there are resemblances among the vocabularies of two or more languages that amount to more than a certain critical percentage (that might otherwise be due to chance resemblance) then these resemblances need some other explanation to explicate them: if they are not restricted to certain parts of the vocabulary—in which case they would be due to borrowing —then the bulk of them will be due to genetic relationship. Mass comparison is then further used to group languages into tentative groups and subgroups. Only the hard work of comparativists is needed to demonstrate these relationships rigorously.

What has happened is that Greenberg's classification, because of the inadequacies of the source data, has resulted in a typological classification skewed essentially by the underdifferentiations and other inadequacies of the source material. Greenberg claims it to be a genetic classification; he feels that eventually comparativists will validate most of his groups and subgroups. Before continuing with Greenberg, let us examine Swadesh's classification.

Swadesh's consolidation of languages and language families goes one step further. To put it in an extreme form, his opinion is that what most linguists consider "chance" resemblances between two disparate languages in two disparate language families are really not "chance" but are due to an ancient substratum upon which the relationship between the two languages then could be built. Where more than one set of such resemblances could be posited, they were due to different layers of ancient substrata. The antiquities of these substrata could be calculated through lexicostatistic techniques; again expressed in an extreme form, any two sets of word lists could be used to extract figures on the degrees of relationship between the two languages, which can then be recast in terms of centuries of separate evolution away from each other. Swadesh eventually came to view all languages of the world as essentially related; it was just the matter of establishing the degrees of relationships and of divergences that remained—and before his untimely death Swadesh was busy at this. The jigsaw puzzle-like mesh-diagrams of the less distant and the more distant relationships among groups of language families (see Swadesh 1967) suggest to comparative linguists the repeated merging at varying historical depths of family tree models with wavelike models of areal convergence and areal divergence in languages and branches of language families (see Bloomfield 1933). The closer and more recent groupings among these represent phyla, but all phyla, especially in the New World, share intricate interrelationships. Although Swadesh's later hypotheses are largely rejected by linguists because of their overly speculative nature, they are nevertheless heuristic projections of the basic problems of developing genetic models for language classification. And his development of lexicostatistics along with his classification has been of inestimable value.

Returning to Greenberg, if his classification is taken to be an adumbration of the eventual genetic distribution of languages in South America, there are certain precautions that should be voiced so as to be kept in mind. These precautions have to do with inferring cultural and migrational hypotheses from the classification. As broached above, the writer feels that Greenberg's classification is effectively a typological one, more so than a genetic one. This is not because Greenberg's methodology of mass comparison

is faulty, but because he has had such poor data to work with. Greenberg's phyla represent groupings of language families and of languages that among themselves appear to share some feature that in the opinion of this writer may often more appropriately be ascribed to typological rather than to genetic similarity.

For instance, one phylum of languages, the Andean-Equatorial, seems to include or to be based on a morphological criterion of suffixation with a phonological tendency toward simple, open syllabification. Yet if the distribution of the phonological units of a given language is taken out of the phonotactic category of simple, open syllables and put into that of complex, closed syllables by the well-known and frequently opted linguistic alternative of re-interpreting suprasegmental features (e.g., nasalization, glottalization) as segmental, with their resultant effect of mounding within the syllable (e.g., -ka- vs. -kanq-, with nasalization reassessed in the second as a separate n-like phoneme and glottalization reassessed as a separate q-like phoneme), then the language phonotactically could be thrown into another grouping by having a closed-syllable CVCC pattern instead of an open-syllable CV pattern with no consonantal clusters, and would have to be classified in a different grouping of languages. Or to go to an extreme, and perhaps unkind, example, if phonemicized or semi-phonemicized (i.e., wide transcriptive) English data were listed under a non-English language name (as if a non-English-knowing linguist had taken it from an English-speaking enclave group as an Indian language) it is conceivable that it might very well serve to fit in as closely related (typologically, phonologically) to Araucanian, because of the kinds of word-medial consonant clusters shared by both (e.g., -fk-, -nč-, -tr-, -dm-, -lw-, etc.). (Of course, this possibility is unlikely, as the geographical and other known historical considerations of the language would reasonably be taken into account in a fieldwork situation.)

The writer made a cursory attempt to search for cognates between Tukano, his language of specialization (Sorensen 1969), and Quechua, with which it should be relatively closely related according to the Greenberg classification. In addition to some phonological similarities—and some clashing phonological dissimilarities (tones; glottalized vowels instead of glottalized consonants)—the two languages do have a suffixing type of morphology;

in fact, the suffixal system is even more elaborate in Tukano than in Quechua. But the concepts expressed in these suffixes and their location in the series of position classes of suffixes are utterly dissimilar. Attempts to find cognates that could be compared by form and meaning among root or suffix morphemes were unsuccessful. (This is not to say that eventually some bridging language may not be found to provide evidence for a genetic linkage between the two, or that wider bases on which to set up reconstructions for the two might not provide better evidence for their relations [as of the sort between English and Albanian].)

While he kept apart the Arawaks and Caribs by placing them in the Andean-Equatorial and Gê-Pano-Carib phyla, respectively, Greenberg surprised many people by putting together certain unlikely, culturally divergent and problematic populations such as the Gê with the Carib, and the Quechua with the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. The anthropologist concerned with these populations may feel more comfortable if he regards the Greenberg classification purely as a typological one. Nevertheless, Greenberg's work represents an important frontal attack on the problem of classification of South American Indian languages.

SETTING UP A SAMPLE PROBLEM

What procedure should the non-linguistic anthropologist follow who wants to gain a working knowledge of the linguistic background of the people in whom he becomes interested? What language family does their language belong to? Is there ambivalence over this? To what other language families might it eventually be proven to be related? On what kind of raw data is it based? Is it still spoken?—thriving? Who are the people who stand as authorities on this language?—on its family? Is there recent or current work going on in it? Of what caliber? Let us, in the paragraphs below, take up a case for a trial run to establish the barest of working bibliography (and let us follow it up in the last paragraphs by a resumé of a suggested working procedure).

Say that you become interested in the symbiotic social organization that existed between the Mbayá and Guaná, so much so that you want to re-examine the literature on them, and possibly visit

the area to see if the situation still exists in vestigial form, or you want to follow out some other social problem such as why were the two groups seemingly predisposed to such an arrangement and where did they separately come from prior to their mingling. But first (and as a non-linguist), you would like to summon up, among other arguments, what kind of linguistic evidence may be at your disposal for defining the groups, for indicating their possible closer relationships with other social groups, for reinforcing the hypotheses you may make from your other data, or for suggesting hypotheses from possible linguistic cues; you may want to consider how these peoples linguistically may fit in with respect to the continent-wide general theory of Greenberg in case you discuss them with other people who are familiar with it, or in this same regard you may independently want to assess or evaluate the inclusion of either one of these languages in the Greenberg classification. And you stop to wonder, in recapitulating your questions, whether "Mbayá" and "Guaná" *were* actually separate languages, if the people who were called by these names lived so close together and were so dependent on each other.

The first step in the procedure is to go to a reference that serves as a general bibliography, presumably fairly full up to the time of publication. My own preferences are the J. Alden Mason survey (1950) and the Loukotka one (1968). (Rivet 1952 or Tovar 1961 may also profitably be used in these initial steps.) But they are not so exhaustive. Then I study the maps accompanying both these works in order to learn the locations of these languages and what other languages and language families are found in the vicinity. (Mason is inconvenient to use because an index of language names is not furnished in the same volume and one cannot always have the index volume at his disposal; McQuown 1955 may serve as an index.) We soon discover that Mbayá and Guaná are indeed listed as separate languages, and intriguingly as belonging to different language families. And to more than two different families, depending on which reference book we are following. Loukotka lists Mbayá as belonging to the Guaicurú Stock and Guaná to the Chané Group (Branch) of the Arawakan Stock. And we find out that while what was called Mbayá is now extinct, a form of it called Caduveo is still spoken; and that Guaná is still spoken. We go to Mason, and find "Mbya"

listed as a member of the Tupí-Guaraní family, and a footnoted remark: "Distinguish from Guaicuru Mbaya" (p. 237). We excitedly take a moment and check in Loukotka and do find an "Mbyha" listed in the Guaraní Group of the Tupí Stock. This already means some serious searching in the ethnographic literature as well as in the linguistic literature to make sure of which Mbayá we want. But let us check Guaná while we have Mason open. It is not easily found. We finally locate our first "Guaná" (by using the index volume) as the previous name of a language-and-family subsequently renamed Maca, which then is part of a "probably" but not "proved" combined Macaco-Maca set of families. This reference alerts us to check Arawak and Guaná. We make a bypass again through Guaicurú where we find a comment that "some of the scattered groups of *Guana* (q.v.), . . . apparently originally spoke *Arawakan.*" Searching further, we finally find Guaná listed geographically in the Paraná subdivision of the Southern Arawakan languages; we are tantalizingly informed of a terminological "Guana/Chana/Chane" problem. We note that in his introduction to the Arawakan grouping, Mason relies on Schmidt and Loukotka; he mentions that Rivet holds a conflicting view, so we decide we shall also have to check out Rivet in our assignment. All in all, we are well set up in a classic South American linguistic problem where we must first eliminate hypotheses of misidentification while proceeding with the appropriate ones.

Our next step is to locate some basic specialized source on the language families: let us say Noble for Arawakan; Pottier for Tupían; but who for Guaicurú and who for Chané? For the latter, we will have to decide for ourselves from investigating Mason's and Loukotka's bibliographies. We are also aware that we must build up specialized portions of our bibliographies from the above sources, and double-check on what *they* interpret as the relationships of these given languages to their respective families or stocks.

Let us for a moment reflect on what hypotheses the Greenberg classification might provide. We find a "Mbaya" and a "Chane" listed, as Tupí and Chané respectively, which are then in the same group of languages under the Equatorial Subfamily of the Andean-Equatorial family. Just in case, we note that Mataco and Guaicurú are groups under the Macro-Panoan Subfamily of the

Gê-Pano-Carib Family. (Tax 1960 may be used to correlate languages from the McQuown 1955 inventory into the Greenberg classification.)

Our single most important step at this stage of the game is to go to the original data on the two languages involved, then to the reconstructed data (if any exist) of the language families involved or to the raw data of some member of each of these families close to whom the rest of the family is supposed to be based. But of all these, the most important is to see the raw data for Mbayá and Guaná (or the various Mbayás and Guanás until we know which ones we need) and to evaluate these data impressionistically as to how usable we think they really are in the sense emphasized in this paper. Who are the sources? We know we will now find out which sources are primary and which secondary by investigating them all. We have a start in Loukotka; we need now to make longer lists of forms.

What is the recent work on these languages, and on the language families they may belong to? The best place to start checking for recent work is in the indexes of languages at the end of the volumes of the *International Journal of Linguistics*. Neither Mbayá nor Guaná are listed recently; there is no published evidence through this important source of ongoing work. You are now thrown on your own to spot references in new, and probably non-linguistic, literature. You may have to contact some individual personally who you think may be familiar with the Chaco area for leads; etc.

As in other academic problems, you will have to decide where to delimit your inquiry—how far to go in investigating possible leads in other language families—in checking out whether you will accept one interpretation over another, etc. You should not blindly follow one theory, but you should carry the inquiry at least to the first stage of contradiction, because if you don't, the next researcher may. And unless you plan to become a linguist, you must not allow your inquiry to run more than several sessions in the library over a week or two, because the problem can sabotage the rest of your work either by bogging you down in detail or by running you on endlessly into all sorts of related hypotheses to double-check.

FUTURE NEEDS

Many problems are to be found in South American Indian linguistics that need anthropological and linguistic investigation and formalization. A few have been suggested in earlier parts of this paper. A wide variety of sociolinguistic situations are to be found that need documenting: instances of bilingualism; statuses of Indian and other languages in various national settings, especially where some may emerge as politically important languages, e.g., Quechua in the central Andean highlands or Taki Taki in Guyana. More work is needed to ascertain the relationships among languages within language families and stocks so as to provide more substantial bases for critiques on their potential phylum classifications. A great deal of work needs to be done on the ethnographic circumstances of these languages. The discovery and description of language and culture problems in South America has barely begun.

But the writer insists that there are certain very basic needs. Carefully analyzed language descriptions based on skillfully collected data is foremost. (It is a shame that this can be regarded as academically unpopular.) Some fieldworkers—missionaries as well as anthropologists—for whom linguistics is of tedious, secondary interest may be too willing to settle for minimally sufficient attitudes or packaged-product models. The writer recommends that experienced linguistic fieldworkers in particular be better facilitated academically to continue collecting data.

CRITICAL ATTITUDE FOR READER

The critical attitude elaborated in this paper reflects a personal discovery of the pitfalls and shortcomings that menace a researcher particularly in dealing with the linguistic literature on South American Indian languages. It is easy to understand the impatience and enthusiasm of workers in this fascinating wide-open area. It is much harder to realize that the bulk of interpretive statements in it so far have been based on inadequate and underdifferentiated data.

PART V: RELIGION AND IDEOLOGY

Introduction to The Supernatural World of the Jívaro Shaman

The Jívaro Indians of Ecuador are most famous for their practice of shrinking the heads of the people they raid. Some of these heads are to be found in ethnographic exhibits of museums, or in the private collections of people with a sense of the macabre. Contrary to what may be imagined, these heads are not amulets or good luck charms to be kept by the Indian, but rather serve as the temporary prison of the *muisak* or avenging soul of the murder victim. During the brief period it is retained by the killer, the power trapped inside the shrunken head may be used to confer power on females in their agricultural work. But after this power has been transferred, the head is usually sold to a *mestizo* trader who will take it far away (Harner 1962).

The Jívaro explain much of their own behavior with reference to demons, spirits and souls, as do many other primitive peoples. The ethnographic literature is full of accounts of how South American Indians attempt to obtain the co-operation of, gain power from or avoid harm from supernatural figures represented as animals, deceased persons or demons. What has not been given great emphasis is the extent to which visions of and communications with these beings are stimulated by the use of powerful hallucinogenic drugs. Some of these are taken in quantities that would stagger a seasoned acid-head in the United States. Yąnomamö males inhale the hallucinogen *ebene* practically every afternoon and they spend several hours thereafter staggering about wild-eyed with green mucus streaming from their nostrils (Chagnon 1968c).

Michael Harner is one of the few anthropologists who has in-

vestigated the use of drugs by primitive peoples in any detail. He has shown the importance of a variety of hallucinogens in Shamanism, among them the *ayahuasca* drink of the Upper Amazon region (Harner, Ed., 1973; cf. Cooper 1947:525–48; Chagnon, Le Quesne, Cook 1971). In this article, Harner probes the supernatural world of the Jívaro shaman and documents his drug-assisted entry into the complex world of spirits and souls. For further information on the Jívaro, the reader should consult Karsten 1935 and Harner 1972.

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19. THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD OF THE JÍVARO SHAMAN

MICHAEL J. HARNER

The Jívaro Indians of the Ecuadorian Amazon believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. The normal waking life, for the Jívaro, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality view of this kind creates a particularly strong demand for specialists who can cross over into the supernatural world at will to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

These specialists, called "shamans" by anthropologists, are recognized by the Jívaro as being of two types: bewitching shamans or curing shamans. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose Jívaro name is *natema,* in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé,* or *yajé,* in Colombia, *ayahuasca* (Inca "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru, and *caapi* in Brazil, is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis,* a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis,* to produce a tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly dimethyltryptamine (DMT). These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical, to LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

When I first undertook research among the Jívaro in 1956–57, I did not fully appreciate the psychological impact of the *Ban-*

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isteriopsis drink upon the native view of reality, but in 1961 I had occasion to drink the hallucinogen in the course of field work with another Upper Amazon Basin tribe. For several hours after drinking the brew, I found myself, although awake, in a world literally beyond my wildest dreams. I met bird-headed people, as well as dragon-like creatures who explained that they were the true gods of this world. I enlisted the services of other spirit helpers in attempting to fly through the far reaches of the Galaxy. Transported into a trance where the supernatural seemed natural, I realized that anthropologists, including myself, had profoundly underestimated the importance of the drug in affecting native ideology. Therefore, in 1964 I returned to the Jívaro to give particular attention to the drug's use by the Jívaro shaman.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natema* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natema*.

Shamans send these spirit helpers into the victims' bodies to make them ill or to kill them. At other times, they may suck spirits sent by enemy shamans from the bodies of tribesmen suffering from witchcraft-induced illness. The spirit helpers also form shields that protect their shaman masters from attacks. The following account presents the ideology of Jívaro witchcraft from the point of view of the Indians themselves.

To give the novice some *tsentsak,* the practicing shaman regurgitates what appears to be—to those who have taken *natema*—a brilliant substance in which the spirit helpers are contained. He cuts part of it off with a machete and gives it to the novice to swallow. The recipient experiences pain upon taking it into his stomach

and stays on his bed for ten days, repeatedly drinking *natema.* The Jívaro believe they can keep magical darts in their stomachs indefinitely and regurgitate them at will. The shaman donating the *tsentsak* periodically blows and rubs all over the body of the novice, apparently to increase the power of the transfer.

The novice must remain inactive and not engage in sexual intercourse for at least three months. If he fails in self-discipline, as some do, he will not become a successful shaman. At the end of the first month, a *tsentsak* emerges from his mouth. With this magical dart at his disposal, the new shaman experiences a tremendous desire to bewitch. If he casts his *tsentsak* to fulfill this desire, he will become a bewitching shaman. If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak,* he will become a curing shaman.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will tend to become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be strongly inclined to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak.* Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness. The greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natema.* But the supernatural and "true" aspect of the *tsentsak* is revealed to the shaman by taking *natema.* When he does this, the magical

darts appear in new forms as demons and with new names. In their supernatural aspects, the *tsentsak* are not simply objects but spirit helpers in various forms, such as giant butterflies, jaguars, or monkeys, who actively assist the shaman in his tasks.

Bewitching is carried out against a specific, known individual and thus is almost always done to neighbors or, at the most, fellow tribesmen. Normally, as is the case with intratribal assassination, bewitching is done to avenge a particular offense committed against one's family or friends. Both bewitching and individual assassination contrast with the large-scale headhunting raids for which the Jívaro have become famous, and which were conducted against entire neighborhoods of enemy tribes.

To bewitch, the shaman takes *natema* and secretly approaches the house of his victim. Just out of sight in the forest, he drinks green tobacco juice, enabling him to regurgitate a *tsentsak,* which he throws at his victim as he comes out of his house. If the *tsentsak* is strong enough and is thrown with sufficient force, it will pass all the way through the victim's body causing death within a period of a few days to several weeks. More often, however, the magical dart simply lodges in the victim's body. If the shaman, in his hiding place, fails to see the intended victim, he may instead bewitch any member of the intended victim's family who appears, usually a wife or child. When the shaman's mission is accomplished, he returns secretly to his own home.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the bewitching process among the Jívaro is that, as far as I could learn, the victim is given no specific indication that someone is bewitching him. The bewitcher does not want his victim to be aware that he is being supernaturally attacked, lest he take protective measures by immediately procuring the services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike with whom I talked noted that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of the illness can vary considerably.

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk,* can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk.*

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter.

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak,* the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts.

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk,* chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk.* The *pasuk,* being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. The curing shaman, under the influence of *natema,* sees the *pasuk* of the bewitcher in human form and size, but "covered with iron except for its eyes." The curing shaman can kill this *pasuk* only by shooting a *tsentsak* into its eyes, the sole vulnerable area in the *pasuk*'s armor. To the person who has not taken the hallucinogenic drink, the *pasuk* usually appears to be simply a tarantula.

Shamans also may kill or injure a person by using magical darts, *anamuk,* to create supernatural animals that attack a victim. If a shaman has a small, pointed armadillo bone *tsentsak,* he can shoot this into a river while the victim is crossing it on a balsa raft or in a canoe. Under the water, this bone manifests itself in its supernatural aspect as an anaconda, which rises up and overturns the craft, causing the victim to drown. The shaman can similarly use a tooth from a killed snake as a *tsentsak,* creating a poisonous serpent to bite his victim. In more or less the same manner, shamans can create jaguars and pumas to kill their victims.

About five years after receiving his *tsentsak,* a bewitching shaman undergoes a test to see if he still retains enough *tsentsak* power to continue to kill successfully. This test involves bewitch-

ing a tree. The shaman, under the influence of *natema,* attempts to throw a *tsentsak* through the tree at the point where its two main branches join. If his strength and aim are adequate, the tree appears to split the moment the *tsentsak* is sent into it. The splitting, however, is invisible to an observer who is not under the influence of the hallucinogen. If the shaman fails, he knows that he is incapable of killing a human victim. This means that, as soon as possible, he must go to a strong shaman and purchase a new supply of *tsentsak*. Until he has the goods with which to pay for this new supply, he is in constant danger, in his proved weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natema,* tobacco juice, and the extract of yet another drug, *pirípirí*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak,* he can safely cut down on his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natema,* tobacco juice, and *pirípirí* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness.

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun, he alerts his *tsentsak* by whis-

tling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak,* it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak*. He then "vomits" out this object and displays it to the patient and his family saying, "Now I have sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had effected the cure. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak,* of which he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the influence of *natema,* and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his shoulders, and sticking out of his skin. He sees them helping to suck the patient's body. He must drink tobacco juice every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him.

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natema* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of *natema,* these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed toward their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed *pasuk,* he suspects the presence of a *wakani* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura* sp.), an hallucinogen even more powerful than *natema,* as well as tobacco juice, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*pahuri*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak,* the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco juice at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco juice is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares the juice that

keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but regularly, he must drink *natema* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

While curing under the influence of *natema,* the curing shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power, especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus, the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans.

Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natema,* and, using his *tsentsak,* creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the other shaman to suck them back along the rainbow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema.* The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling. Fortunately for anthropology some of these men have chosen to give up shamanism and therefore can be persuaded to reveal their knowledge, no longer having a vested interest in the profession. This divulgence, however, does not serve as a significant threat to

practitioners, for words alone can never adequately convey the realities of shamanism. These can only be approached with the aid of *natema,* the chemical door to the invisible world of the Jívaro shaman.

Introduction to A Visit to God: The Account and Interpretation of a Religious Experience in the Peruvian Community of Choque-Huarcaya

The structural approach to society and myth has been pioneered by Claude Lévi-Strauss. In this selection, Zuidema and Quispe explore the structural implications of a dream recounted to them by an old lady in highland Peru. In this experience, elements appear that reflect centuries-old aspects of Inca religion and social organization. The account itself bears many of the qualities of myths, particularly its universal quality which permits the interpretation made by the authors. The editor believes that myths are born of precisely such experiences which are then recounted again and again across generations, sometimes extensively modified in the telling. The method of interpretation is of as much interest as the material itself. Readers who are interested in learning more about the particular subject matter will want to consult the works of John Murra (1956, etc.) and John Rowe (1946, etc.) as well as the monograph by R. T. Zuidema entitled *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (1964), and Zuidema 1962 and 1969.

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20. A VISIT TO GOD: THE ACCOUNT AND INTERPRETATION OF A RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE IN THE PERUVIAN COMMUNITY OF CHOQUE-HUARCAYA

R. T. ZUIDEMA AND U. QUISPE

During our field work in the River Pampas area, Department of Ayacucho, Peru, we were told by an old lady, Francisca Chaqiri, how she had died when 20 years old and how she had gone to God. He, however, said that He had not called for her and so He sent her back to earth and to life. We also heard elements of her religious ideas and descriptions of similar visits to God on other occasions. What makes her account so valuable is its clearly discernible structure, which relates it to similar ideas in Inca religion and social organization; ideas that still survive, as this account proves.

The Quechua text was collected and recorded in the community of Choque-Huarcaya, near the River Pampas, by R. T. Zuidema and U. Quispe and translated by the latter. The data on the modern culture were collected in Huarcaya by U. Quispe and S. Catacora and in Sarhua by S. Palomina and J. Earls, all students of the University of Ayacucho, on various occasions between April and September 1966. The two communities belong to the district of Sarhua, province of Victor Fajardo, department of Ayacucho.

After a translation of the recorded Quechua text we will give the interpretation of it.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

Sir, when I was a newly wed, I fell ill with flu; three of us got sick, two men and a woman, the first two died but I was set free by Our Lord.

Reprinted by permission of the author and Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands from *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 124 (1968), pp. 22–39. Two figures and the Quechua text have been omitted.

It was as if I was sleeping, like when you dream,–I don't know what it was–I died, I don't know how it was, like when you dream, when I was . . . those who were going to take me were at my side. Straight off they took me; the one who went in front of me was white and the one that came behind was coloured *chiqchi*[1] and this one carried a *chusiq*[2] on his shoulder and was dressed in a robe. Like that with their robes and girdles they took me, Sir.

Like that I went to the centre through a bluish medium. We started off through a flower garden and then reached a village of thorns. After having passed the village of thorns with so much trouble, we entered a place of clear sky that went straight up; there I saw a lot of big dogs, black *tawañawi* with four eyes[3] above the road and coffee-coloured ones below it, they were resting. I think there were four above and four below the path–there they were, those dogs–; so I said 'can I speak?' and got answered 'no, we'll pass in silence, because if you talk they can kill us'. Although it was in such heat that I could hardly walk they told me to hurry. That, Sir, is how we got through that village, how we escaped from those dogs.

On we went then, qiqa machay?, a bit up from Ayacucho it is, Qiqapampa, there we entered; it was *'putya'*.[4] They went very easily while I could hardly walk in the heat–I felt the heat inside me. After this we started over some sand dunes, and I sank as if I were in a moor and because of this my feet got blistered. Uselessly I called: 'What heat!'.

From the sand dunes we went right up to a church, which was apparently in the sky, I was still going in between the two. There from the centre of the church I saw Hell which had a zig-zag path leading up to it. When we were going there Our Lord Himself said to them, to those who were taking me: 'hurry'. The Lord was sitting exactly in the door to Hell, with a beautiful golden beard and with a staff of silver and gold; at His left four beautiful girls were sitting, and at His right there were four gentlemen, thus with the Lord Himself there were five gentlemen. He told me to get out from where I was and to stand in a corner; there in this corner were the most beautiful polished pews, and when He said to me: 'get in' I got under a beautiful varnished pew; there I sat while those that had brought me entered. 'What have you been doing all this time?' the Lord asked them. He knocked one of them over and

hit him with His staff; this one got up straight away and couldn't carry a brick that he had, neither could he get up when he was given the robe that his companion had. Then He made him climb up and enter a dark place. Now He hit the other one and said 'What have you been doing all this time, did I send you for her? I sent you for someone else. Why did you bring me a woman whom I didn't send you to get?' And He sent this one up as well; I just sat there watching.

After they had gone in, Our Lord said to me to return from here without turning my head back, so I left. When I was leaving the church . . . it all cleared up, it was wonderfully white snow, a clear world. I was at the banks of a spring which is on the path to Tomanga where there was a beautiful white china cup with which I drank some water; suddenly it all became clear to me and I spoke: 'please give me water' and they gave me more water and it all cleared up even more. Then I woke up, as from a dream; they told me to say 'Jesus' and I said 'Jesus Taytallay' (Our Lord), and there off I got back all my strength.

So I got to know the other world and came back; Our Lord Himself said to me 'I didn't get them to call you, it was another, and they mistook you for him'.

INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT.

Something that comes to mind immediately in the study of native Andean society, either ancient or modern, is the difficulty of making a clear definition of its basic concepts. Let us take one example: the chroniclers describe the Inca ayllu equally as a group of kinsmen, a lineage, an endogamous group, an exogamous group, or a localized group unrelated to the kinship system. The same can be said for the modern ayllu. To take a few examples just within the department of Ayacucho: in Puquio we have four localized ayllus which are probably neither exogamous nor endogamous; in Huanca Sancos the four are completely unlocalized; in Sarhua there are two ayllus which divide the whole of their society into 'locals' and 'foreigners'; in Huarcaya only on certain occasions do the two ayllus come into being, and then only for ritual purposes, without any apparent relation to the kinship system, or to land or

water rights. Moreover, besides these different types of ayllus, in many communities of the area of the River Pampas the concept of ayllu is known as a specific kinship grouping defined in relation to the position of Ego.

Here we have taken the ayllu as an example, but we could present many more examples taken from the social and political organization or from the economic and religious spheres. Perhaps Andean culture is nothing more than a mere amalgamation of differing types of societies, with no similarity between them. But it could also be—and this seems more probable to us—that we have not yet found the basic cultural elements—in Lévi-Strauss's sense of the words—that would enable us to see these different types of Andean societies as just so many representations of the same structure.

Such being the case, one of our tasks is to study and describe as many of these societies as possible (by means of the chronicles, colonial documents, and field work in the modern communities); choosing for strategical reasons organizations that show promise of practical possibilities for research and seem to be the most typical. At the same time we must look for these basic structural elements—if they exist—that lie behind all these organizations and which each organization illustrates in its own way. In the event of finding these elements we can then understand the differences in the organizations to be not of a basic order, but of a more superficial one, determined by the special historical circumstances of each case. Consequently, it would also be possible to compare the organizations, one to the other, as we would then know how to compare them. Finally we could then study if—and to what extent —the structure of native society has changed since the Spanish conquest.

This search for a basic structure led us to the study of the system of ceques (Zuidema 1964). Another means to arrive at it was found in the diagrams of the chroniclers Perez Bocanegra (1631) and Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (1613). Both diagrams depict the same order between their constituent elements, the former as to the kinship system and the latter as to the Inca religious system. Our task is now to show that the same order exists in the text of this study.

In another publication (Zuidema 1972) we shall study in greater

detail just how the drawings of Perez Bocanegra and Pachacuti Yamqui express most of the basic ideas of the pre-Columbian Andean social and religious structure, but we must now indicate at least some of the conclusions we have reached. Firstly we intend to demonstrate a concordance between Perez Bocanegra, Pachacuti Yamqui and our text. The consequence of this would be—and this is our working hypothesis—that the order that we are going to point out implies a social structure still similar to that of the indigenous communities of the XVIth century. Therefore, we will also mention some elements of the modern culture that express this structure. We cannot study this in its entirety since we still lack a great amount of data, but we hope that this study will act as a beginning and will give us a basis to build on in our future field work, indicating some of the more important elements of the native culture to study.

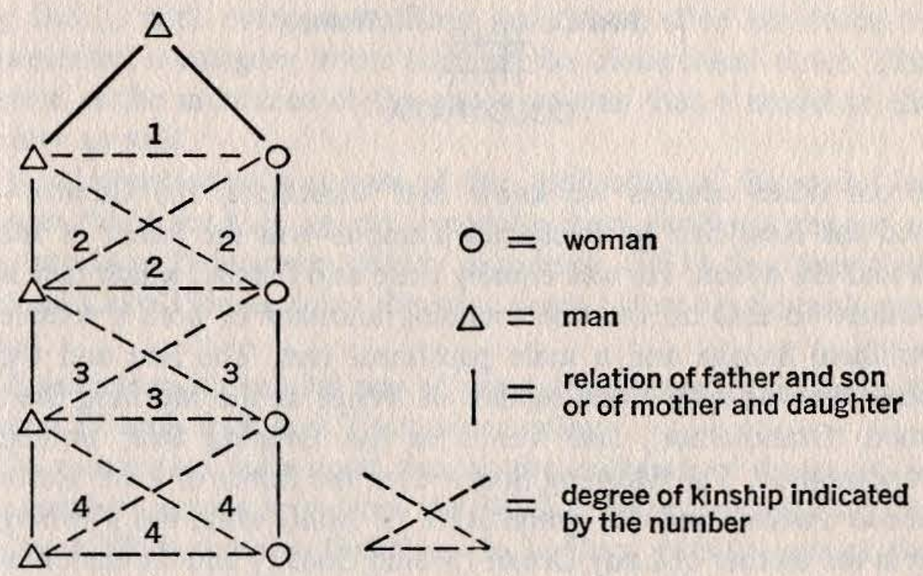
This story of Señora Francisca Chaqiri, of some seventy years of age, was told to us by her as a true occurrence which had happened to her when she was about twenty years old. Apparently she was born in Tomanga, in the same River Pampas area, and her parents had forced her to marry a man from Huarcaya, whom she had not known before and whom she never loved. Now she is a widow and lives in Huarcaya. While she was telling us she would occasionally burst into tears and by the richness of detail in the account of her journey to God, she demonstrated that the memory of it was still very much alive in her. She had no doubt led an emotional life very much closed in upon herself, but this fact does not in any way detract from the general importance of the ideas she expressed about the religion, cosmology and society of her community. Even though her ideas may be considered personal, it is not possible that she reconstructed, consciously and sui generis, a complete cosmological model of pre-Spanish origin. On other occasions we also heard about experiences of people who had visited God. Further, the elements in this account are almost all well-known in these villages. Finally, its internal consistency, which structure is so completely comparable to the pre-Spanish social and cosmological model—as we will prove—induces us to believe that the account can help us to study and interpret the social and religious systems of Huarcaya, Tomanga and Sarhua, all belonging to the same district. We have not attempted to define this story as a

dream, a myth or anything else. At any rate this is not really important; of real importance are the ideas behind it.

Finally it must be added that Señora Chaqiri, while such a good informant in this one aspect, could tell us very little about her other personal memories, or about the culture of Huarcaya in general. She had apparently forgotten. It seems that all her interests were focused on this one experience.

In her account there are three elements of special interest we want to discuss here: the ascent through the five fields, the description of God and His companions and, finally, the Tawañawi dogs. These last are also found in other descriptions of the world of the dead, thus demonstrating that our informant did employ elements belonging to her culture.

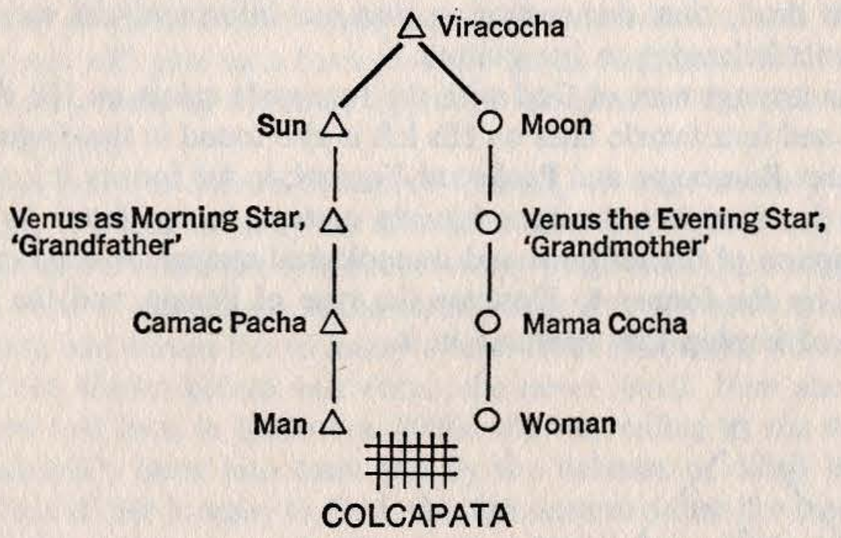
The arrangement of God with the four male saints on His right hand and four female ones on His left is also found in the diagrams of Perez Bocanegra and Pachacuti Yamqui; in the former it is seen when he describes the Inca kinship system, in the latter in his description of the religious and cosmological system. A diagram is given by the former to illustrate the type of lineage and the degrees of kinship that operated in it.



Perez Bocanegra, then, draws two lineages here, one patrilineal composed only of men, and the other matrilineal composed only of women. They consist of four generations, but the two lineages

descend from one common ancestor representing an original marriage. We know that in the Inca family system only the last two people of each lineage were allowed to marry. This includes not only, negatively, the rules prohibiting incest, but in this way also forms—as we will explain elsewhere—the positive basis for the models which the Incas used in describing their social systems. In this system of marriage-regulation then lies the importance of representing four generations of descendants.

The diagram of Pachacuti Yamqui is essentially the same model, but in cosmological form:



From other sources we know that Viracocha, the Creator—called the Real Sun by Pachacuti Yamqui—was the father of the Sun and the Moon. He was equally male and female, which fact is explained in that he was the founding ancestor of both a female matrilineal lineage and a male patrilineal one. The Sun and the Moon were the father and mother of Venus as the Morning Star, termed 'Grandfather', and Venus as the Evening Star, termed 'Grandmother'. The Morning Star is then the father of Lord Earth (Camac Pacha) and the grandfather of Man, while the Evening Star is the mother of Lady Ocean (Mama Cocha) and the maternal grandmother of Woman.

Besides representing the Inca kinship and religious systems, this model also reflects their system of social hierarchy. A datum with respect to this is the organization of the *panaca*. Each king founded

his own panaca, which unit came to be composed of his descendants; he as the founder had married his own sister by both his father and his mother, and because of this he and his sister belonged to a lineage that was equally patrilineal and matrilineal (since all their ancestors had also married their full siblings and thus differed from all other mortal beings). The king then, within the system of social hierarchy occupied the same position as Viracocha in the cosmological hierarchy. The descendants of the king, being members of his own panaca, were pushed down a rank in the social hierarchy with every generation removed, until the great-great-grandchildren became simply nobles 'of the commons', as the chroniclers tell us. Later generations descended no more than this.

In a transformation which there is no need to describe in detail here, we recognise the same model in the way in which, according to Garcilaso de la Vega, the mummies of the kings before Huascar (the last Inca) were placed in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco. The system behind the arrangement of the mummies was such that the older the mummies were, the lower were the positions in the social and cosmological hierarchy that they represented. Whilst every Inca started as a 'Viracocha' (as one chronicler says of the reigning Inca), with every succeeding generation after his death he represented a category lower down in the hierarchical order. This system of the mummies of the ancestors was thus a model of the society as well.

It is important to take note of this application of the model for it is in this form that we can recognise it so clearly in the art of the pre-Inca Tiahuanaco culture (Zuidema 1973) that flourished around Lake Titicaca some thousand years before the Spanish conquest.

Finally then, the model was of great importance to the calendar system of both Inca and Tiahuanaco culture.

To resume, we have good data on the existence of the model in the southern Andes area from the VIIth century up to the middle of the XVIIth century. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) was of the royal Inca line of Cuzco. Perez Bocanegra (1631) presents the model as the kinship system of the community of Andahuaylillas near Cuzco. Pachacuti Yamqui (1613), although writing of the Incas of Cuzco, was cacique of a town half-way between Cuzco

and Lake Titicaca and had Aymara as his native tongue, which language is still spoken around Lake Titicaca. He gives us the model twice, in both its social and cosmological applications, just as the chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (who wrote between the years 1584 and 1614). The latter writes on the basis of his knowledge of the indigenous culture of the present-day department of Ayacucho, where the communities of Huarcaya and Sarhua are found. Finally, the model can be recognised in the art of Tiahuanaco, in the Inca ancestor system and in their calendar system.

The model forms the basis and the point of departure for any theoretical study of social and religious organizations in the southern Andes region of Peru until the middle of the XVIIth century. The system of ceques which we studied in Cuzco turns out to be simply an elaboration of it. Even so, according to the chroniclers, every town and village had its own system of ceques, and in Huarcaya an elemental form of it can be recognised. If then Señora Chaqiri describes the same model in speaking of God and the four male companions at His right and the four female ones at His left, we must suppose that the model is still important in her society.

By the same token, the five fields through which the Señora passed represent an ancient concept. She mentions that she was going uphill, and the fact that the first field was the most watered and the last the driest serves to express this idea. Now the diagram of Pachacuti Yamqui contains one detail that can be compared with these fields. In the first place it is necessary to point out that, according to him, the diagram explained how the different gods were placed in the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, i.e., his diagram represented the temple. Besides the already mentioned details, the lower part contains something that looks like a type of grid with the word 'pata' (quechua) added. This word is employed for 'anden' (terrace used for agriculture on the flanks of hills) and it seems that there he wished to draw attention to a system of andenes, i.e. a series of platforms of differing heights. These platforms can be compared to the five fields: the field of flowers, the village of thorns, the village of dogs, the Qiqapampa and the desert through which our informant passed on her ascent to God.

Nevertheless, we could ask why she describes the third field as a village of dogs and not by its geographic characteristics. Is there

an explanation of why she describes exactly five fields (no more, no less), with the village of dogs on the third? We shall take the last question first. Systems of terraces, often constructed in places that defy economic explanation, also expressed in Inca culture a religious concept which was that of the pyramid. The pyramid as a construction was more important to the people on the coast than it was to those of the highlands. However, for the highland people the *concept* of pyramid was probably just as important in the sense that they transformed the mountains into pyramids by means of terraces. They also constructed artificial pyramids called *ushñu,* though these are not noteworthy for their size. The ushñu of Vilcas Huaman (an old Inca capital some 60 kms from Huarcaya) is the best example of these. Poma de Ayala gives us various drawings of ushñus, including the one at Vilcas Huaman, and they always consist of five levels. This particular number of levels would be the best reason to compare Señora Chaqiri's description of the mountain with 5 levels and the church on top to the pyramid. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that according to the chroniclers the temples of the Sun were also constructed on top of pyramids or on top of hills, which were transformed into pyramids by terraces (the most important example of these being the so-called "fortress" of Cuzco, Sacsahuaman, which was in reality intended as another temple of the Sun).

But there are other reasons for our conclusion and here we have to answer why the village of dogs—of which first she said there were many but later specified four black ones and four coffee-coloured ones—was situated on the third level. First it must be pointed out that although she describes her journey as out of this world—through a blueish medium, as she puts it—in reality she describes the different vegetational conditions that one encounters when climbing from a hot river valley up to the cold heights of the mountains (punas). In the present-day native religion the tawañawi dogs are the guardians of the land of the dead ancestors, i.e. of the Kingdom of God and the Saints. Moreover, it is believed that one should treat one's dogs kindly, since once dead they can help their former owner on his journey to the land of the dead. In many of the pre-Spanish graves dogs were mummified and buried with people, possibly as guides to the land of the dead. The ancient Huancas believed they were descended from dogs. For these rea-

sons we believe that the village of dogs in the story replaced in the supernatural world a village of people, perhaps even Huarcaya or Tomanga themselves. In reality, our informant is quite clear on this point, since when she describes Qiqapampa, the field after the tawañawi, she says it is like the entrance to Ayacucho from the mountains, thus comparing this city here on earth with the village of dogs in the Kingdom of God. Moreover, the communities in the region of the River Pampas are usually situated half-way up from the river to the puna, and this itself might have influenced the origin of the concept of the five levels and the village of the dogs between them. But there is something more fundamental in this.

The chronicler Cabello Valboa mentions as another name for ushñu (pyramid): 'chuqui pillaca'. Chuqui is lance, and as to pillaca Holguín (1608) says: 'Pillaca llayta, llautu (ribbon) of two colors woven in counter fashion, purple and black'. Now in his book 'Tihuanacu' Posnansky reproduces the design on an Inca k'ero (a wooden tumbler) of an ushñu in colors and of an Inca with all his royal insignia. The pyramid has six levels. Placed on the uppermost level is a lance adorned with two ribbons, one purple and one black. The same lances, also with the ribbons, are found on the four corners of the third level of the pyramid. The Inca carried a lance similar to this as a symbol of his dignity. We know that the Inca was seated on top of the ushñu when he dispensed justice (in Vilcas Huaman his seat is still there as described by Cieza de Leon), and thus seated he is depicted by Poma de Ayala. The Inca then occupied the position in the social order that was held by Viracocha in the ancient religious order and by God in the conception of Señora Chaqiri. Therefore we can conclude that the village of dogs occupies the same position as these four lances on the ushñu drawn on the k'ero. Just as the lance of the Inca represented him, so we may be sure that the other four lances also represented social entities. Later we will indicate the modern version of these lances as they still are used. What we wanted to point out here is that the position of the village of the dogs on the third level in our account is not accidental.

> This connection between lance and ushñu or sacred mountain has still been preserved in Sarhua. In the department of Ayacucho these mountains and their gods are called *Huamani* and are especially important in rites related to cattle high up in the puna. On San Juan (24th of June),—the most important feast in Sarhua, which replaced the old Feast of the Sun—one part of the celebration is that people go to the puna and bring from there to the village the *vaquero* who takes care of the cattle of the community. This man has a lance called Huamani. To this he speaks when he wants to communicate with the mountains.

There is still one difficulty in our comparison, however. The ushñu of the k'ero has six levels and not five. Here we note that the church in Señora Chaqiri's story was still further up than the fifth level, i.e. on a sixth level, and thus we must suppose that, in the ushñu of Vilcas Huaman and in the drawings of Poma de Ayala, the seat of the Inca, in reality, represented the sixth level.

> In relation to these special ideas about the third level—in Señora Chaqiri's account and in Inca culture—we wish to observe that Paul Kosok, in his book *Life, Land and Water in Ancient Peru* gives us a model of a pyramid called 'Huaca de los Chinos' of the coastal Tiahuanaco culture in the valley of Moche. It is constructed against a hill with a series of platforms, and consists of six levels with eight houses on the third, four on each side of the stairway that climbs up to the last platform at the top. In Señora Chaqiri's experience there are equally four dogs on each side of the path on the third level.

If it is possible to relate the village of the tawañawi dogs to pre-Spanish concepts concerning the third level of a pyramid, what can be said then about the other fields—or levels—through which she passed? First let us consider the field of flowers. According to an informant in Ayacucho who lived some years in Huarcaya, children who have died go to a garden 'wayta huerta' (flower garden). There the little boys water the flowers and the little girls sweep and clean the garden. In Ayacucho, when a little girl died they used to put a little broom in her coffin so that she could sweep the garden. The field of flowers is related to children, thus mak-

ing a generational distinction between them and older people who were related to other fields or levels.

The field of thorns in the story is described by the same informant as a place on the road towards God. The road to Heaven is dangerous while the road to Hell is pleasant and free of dangers.

> This idea could belong to Christian beliefs where it is said that the road to Hell is broad and that to Heaven narrow. But it is not said that the last road zig-zags and there seems to exist a pre-Spanish tradition about this concept of the two roads: the straight and the zig-zag one. We would like to remind the reader here of the form of the pyramid of Pañamarca of the north coast culture of Moche. Although this culture is older than the influence there of Tiahuanaco, it is contemporary with the classic Tiahuanaco period. The pyramid has six levels, the last of which is hardly visible. A stairway zig-zags up to the top. The pyramid is constructed around a rectangular room as high as its base to which goes a straight and horizontal path. If the top could represent the Upperworld—*Hananpacha* in Inca religion—and the room the Underworld—*Ukupacha*—then we find here the same idea as that expressed by the informant of Ayacucho. This would mean, however, that Señora Chaqiri, in whose version it is the road to Hell that zig-zags up from the church of God has confused this idea.

The importance of the concept of Qiqapampa, the fourth field in her path, can be understood if we take note of the geographic location of her birth place Tomanga. This community is also found half-way in between the river Pampas and the puna. Between the village and the river there are a number of magnificent terraces, probably of pre-Spanish origin. Further up there are pastures. Overlooking the village there is a rocky cliff called Tomanqasa on which another series of ancient terraces is found with the extensive and well preserved ruins of a pre-Spanish town. Between the modern and the ancient town are many caves with, behind walls, bones and mummies of people who were probably the ancestors of the present-day inhabitants of Tomanga. Now firstly our informant speaks of Qiqamachay instead of Qiqapampa. Machay,

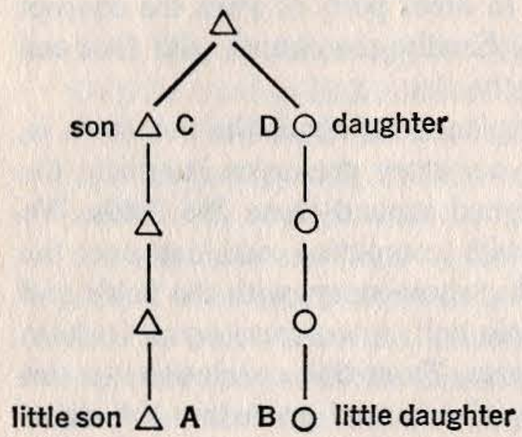
according to Holguín, are the caves where the dead are entombed. Comparing then the village of the dogs with Tomanga, Qiqapampa (or Qiqamachay) is situated at the altitude of the caves. This conclusion is confirmed through the comparison of the desert at the fifth level to the ruins of Tomanqasa, which is the town of the ancestors of modern Tomanga. In other parts of Peru the concept of desert is also related to ruins. Finally, the church with God can be equated with the Temple of the Sun.

More important than these explanations about the five fields is, however, the phenomenon that our story preserves integrally the old concept of the structure formed around these five fields. We have not contended ourselves with comparing odd data; on the contrary, we have shown that the whole story, with the fields and with the church, forms an organic unit, a structure equal in form to that which existed in Inca times. From this conclusion we can draw a practical result, inverting the normal procedure for structural studies. This model of a structure basic to society can be used as a guide in our research into the present-day society and culture of Huarcaya and its neighbouring communities. While the model is basic to Inca culture, as we have shown, our question is then, how has it been possible to preserve this to the present day? Or in other words, what are the elements in the modern native culture that enabled Señora Chaqiri to reconstruct, or preserve, this pre-Spanish model?

Her story proves that these elements must still be very much alive. Moreover it shows us that we still know very little of modern native society and religion. Let us mention some elements of the social organization and religion that could be of help in resolving this problem in the future.

First let us return to the diagram of Perez Bocanegra. In this are described two parallel lineages, a patrilineal one for men and a matrilineal one for women. This lineage system, peculiar to the Incas and some other South American peoples, we find described in colonial documents—including those of Huarcaya and Sarhua —up to the end of the XVIIIth century but not later. It seems that in some communities near Cuzco it still persists, but in those of our study we could not find it. However, according to one informant in Sarhua, the concept of incest prohibits marriage between the descendants of a couple up to the great-grandchildren;

the great-great-grandchildren can marry. This is the same concept of incest, then, as the Incaic one. In any case this modern concept of incest indicates that it is still important to know one's ancestors up to the third generation, i.e. up to the great-grandfather.



(The last two can marry. A, according to this nomenclature, should say 'wife', not only to B but to D as well, and B will say 'husband' to C.)

Another peculiarity of the diagram of Perez Bocanegra is that it describes the great-great-grandson and the great-great-granddaughter (each within his or her own lineage) as 'little son' and 'little daughter'.

Quispe and Catacora found a similar datum in Huarcaya. There a certain old lady addressed a baby, who was a distant relative of hers, as 'husband', and on another occasion a little girl said 'husband' to an old man. In both cases, the ancestor in common was the great-great-grandparent of the younger person and the parent of the elder.

Another organization that might have been the model for the representation of God with His four male and four female companions, is the system of *varayuq* (functionaries of the communities within the system of 'cargos') with the *alcalde de vara* (chief of the varayuq) called *Taytamama* 'father-mother' of the others, these latter dividing into four *regidores* and four *alguaciles*. Their distinction is the *vara* (Spanish for staff). In special ceremonies they use the *alta vara,* a very long and straight branch, with its bark stripped off and painted with ribbons in the colours purple and black. These were also the colours of the ribbons painted on the lances found on the Inca ushñu. So it results that the eight varayuq represent the community—just as the four black dogs and

the four coffee-coloured ones in the account of Señora Chaqiri, or as the four lances on the Inca ushñu represent the community. The *alcalde de vara,* the father-mother, is then comparable to God or to the king in the Inca organization. But perhaps the organization of the varayuq in Sarhua, where there are two organizations, one for each ayllu, and each assigned a set position in respect to the other in the church or out of it, would be a better example.

Perhaps we should look for the Señora Chaqiri's pattern in the internal organization of the church as well, of which we have a good example in Sarhua. In this church the altar, dedicated to God, from which the priest celebrates mass, is in the centre of one end of the church and on the right there are the chapels and pictures of the male Saints and of Jesus Christ, and at the left are those of the Virgin and the female Saints. In this way it appears like the Church of God and His companions in her account. However, we have as yet only found this order in Sarhua.

We have mentioned here some facts of the modern culture in Huarcaya and Sarhua. Their kinship and political systems still preserve traces of the old Inca ones. The organization of the church of God could be related to the one in Sarhua. Also the idea of ushñu still exists, although it now refers more specifically to the bones and other remains of the 'gentiles', the pre-Spanish ancestors, which are found in the caves and on the terraces and are said to be the cause of a special kind of illness if one touches them. But in another village near Ayacucho *ushñu* refers to a heap of stones, i.e. the most elemental form of a pyramid.

We recognise that there is still a great amount to be discovered about the native kinship system, the social and political systems, and religion. The text that we studied can serve us as a guide, indicating what to look for and where. The mere description of a religious model essentially the same as an Inca one shows us that the social and cultural facts in which it is based still exist and that we can find them.

NOTES

1. A black colour with white spots, or vice versa.
2. A small nocturnal bird which announces death.
3. Black or coffee coloured dogs have often lighter coloured spots above their eyes, that give them an appearance of having four eyes; these are called tawañawi.
4. This can be translated as 'craggy', but an Ayacucho informant said that it means 'dusty'; in any case it means that some sort of trouble had to be overcome.

Introduction to Rite and Crop in the Inca State

In this intriguing selection, John Murra shows how ritual and other activities surrounding two important Andean crops reflect a dichotomy in the social life of the Inca state. The pre-Columbian Andeans lavished much more care, labor and ceremonial activity on maize and maize growing than on the lowly potato even though the latter was more likely a staple in the diet of the masses. In his interpretation, Murra emphasizes that maize, probably an intrusive crop, provided a foundation for many of the activities of the state. As an irrigated crop, it probably yielded more reliably than the potato. In addition, maize is more readily preserved, stored and transported than potatoes, facilitating the redistributive function of the state (cf. Fried 1967). Since maize and potatoes thrived in different habitats this exigency made it imperative that firm military control be established over the different ecological zones in which the different crops were cultivated.

Maize was of pre-eminent importance not only in the Andes but also elsewhere in the New World. Many of the societies of southeastern North America relied heavily on maize, and maize storehouses there were often associated with the dwellings and temples of priests and rulers. Another reason for the dominance of maize in the social and ceremonial life of these peoples might be its superior nutritional qualities to those of root crops. Consider the following data showing the nutritional value per 100-gram edible portion of dried yellow corn versus chuño (the form in which potatoes are stored):

	Food Energy	*Grams Protein*	*Grams Fat*	*Grams Carbohydrate*	*mcg. Vitamin A*
Corn:	361 cal.	9.4	4.3	74.4	70
Potatoes:	327 cal.	2.1	0.2	79.2	0

For equal edible portions, corn has nearly four and one half times more protein. Fresh corn enjoys a smaller but still significant advantage over fresh potatoes (INCAP-ICNND 1961). It need not require conscious realization of the superior nutritional qualities of a food for a people to tacitly recognize it in cultural preference.

In any case, Murra's correlation of ecological factors with ceremonial life opens new and interesting questions for study. For example, if it is the case that state formation depends in its incipient stages on central control of granaries, might we not then expect to find a rough correlation cross-culturally between the keeping qualities of staple foods and degree of stratification? Food preferences as expressed in folklore or ritual might profitably be re-examined in terms of nutritional and other advantages they confer on the population which uses them.

John V. Murra is a leading expert on the ethnohistorical study of the Inca, an Andean people who came to dominate a vast empire. His numerous publications include studies focusing on many aspects of Inca life. Murra holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago and is currently Professor of Anthropology at Cornell University.

21. RITE AND CROP IN THE INCA STATE

JOHN V. MURRA

As one reads the sixteenth-century European sources on Inca ceremonialism one becomes aware of a curious and unexpected discrepancy: the ritual crop calendar reported does not reflect either the agricultural realities of that period or the modern patterns of expressing concern over the fate of the crops. The chroniclers of the European invasion and early settlement fill many pages describing peasant- and state-sponsored ceremonies and sacrifices accompanying the planting, irrigating, weeding, and harvesting of maize; they report little if any ritual connected with the many Andean root crops.

Such a discrepancy in reporting focuses attention on the botanical and ecological differences between the two sets of crops: one a locally domesticated, high-altitude series of frost-resistant tubers, of which the potato is only the most celebrated; the other a warm-weather grain, of Pan-American distribution, maize. I hope to show that the chroniclers' discrepancy is also a hint to important cultural and social differences.

At the upper levels of the Andean *altiplano* the alpine root crops —the potato, the *oca,* the *ullucu*—are the only ones at home. Juzepczuk found one wild species of potato blooming at 16,400 feet in an 18-degree frost, and many of the cultivated varieties bear tubers regularly at 14,000 feet. Without them human occupancy in this area would be impossible; "half the Indians do not have any other bread."[1] In pre-Columbian times they were the mountain peasant's staple food crops, so common in the diet that time was measured in units equivalent to a potato's boiling time. In the cold, high steppe known as the *puna,* around Lake Titicaca,

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the chroniclers were surprised to find no familiar grains; they report the area's dependence upon Andean crops. This does not condemn its inhabitants to culture-historical marginality: long before the Tiahuanaco and Inca expansions, the people of the Qollao made the most basic contributions to the possibilities of civilizational development in the Andes through the domestication of alpacas and llamas as well as the tubers.

In our time, Weston LaBarre collected over 220 named varieties of potatoes in the Qollao alone; Carlos Ochoa has more than a thousand stored live in his laboratories near Lima. Most of the names, after four hundred years of European occupation, show no trace of European influence. While some diploid varieties, which botanists consider the more primitive, stick to the *qhishwa,* the protected slopes of the Andean valleys, most of the domesticated varieties are true upland specimens—hardy, frost-resistant and closely dependent on man. In fact, the most frost-resistant, the bitter *luki,* are sterile triploids which will not grow below 8,200 feet and cannot propagate themselves without human intervention. The large number of these hybrid, high-altitude varieties would indicate that throughout most of the history of human occupancy in the Andes, the pressure has been on taming the high *puna;* the steep, lower slopes to the west, which would seem more inviting on first glance, can seriously be utilized only when public works provide terraces and irrigation.[2] As early as 1931 the German geographer Carl Troll had warned that the periods allowed at that time for the development of Andean civilizations were too short. Using botanic criteria, Troll predicted that a much longer chronology would have to be allowed for the domestication and elaboration of Andean crops.

Elsewhere in the world, root crops cannot usually be kept for any length of time. Some of the Andean varieties kept seven, ten and twelve months under *puna* conditions, which have a mummifying effect not only on vegetables but also on llama meat and other tissues. In addition, several processes were developed here which took advantage of the climate to increase storing capacity. Most potatoes could be made into *chuñu,* a substance derived from tubers alternately frozen and dried soon after harvest. The slow-ripening, bitter, high-altitude varieties are grown exclusively for *chuñu,* which can be kept for much longer periods than the potatoes themselves. The process itself is closely dependent on *puna* conditions: cold nights, warm days, and a dry climate. There is no *chuñu* in Ecuador, which lacks a true *puna,* nor was Sapper able to make it experimentally in Germany.

While potatoes have this neat zonal distribution, maize is found on both highland and coast. This has masked the essentially warm climate character of maize; it requires a good deal of humidity and warmth and has a relatively long growing season. But in Andean conditions, the regions with adequate humidity are the very ones most threatened by frosts. It is only on the *qhishwa* slopes, and then not everywhere, that corn can be found as a field crop.

We still do not know when maize reached the highlands.[3] We cannot match for the Andes MacNeish's studies of corn in Meso-America which pushed back the domestication of this crop some 2,000 years. The Peruvian botanists grouped around Alex Grobman have not been able to check through excavation their hypotheses that there was in the Andes a separate center of corn domestication.[4] But whatever their eventual discoveries, it is obvious that in the highlands maize is a vulnerable, handicapped plant.

It will not grow without irrigation in some of the hot coastal valleys where the desert climbs to over 8,000 feet, nor will it prosper where frosts can be expected eight or nine months a year.[5] There are some varieties of maize and occasional propitious ecological islands like the valleys of Chaupiwaranqa or Urubamba or the Callejón de Huaylas where corn could and still is being raised without irrigation. But generally speaking, in both Inca and present times, irrigation was considered highly desirable, even where there was no acute shortage of rainfall. Garcilaso de la Vega tells us that "not a single grain of maize was planted without irrigation," and that given steady watering and the use of fertilizers corn fields "were like a garden". Irrigated fields need no crop rotation, nor must they be left to lie fallow.

There is some indication that the famous Andean state terraces, like those at Yucay, so laboriously constructed of ceremonially dressed stone, were meant to produce maize. The terrace of Collcampata in Cuzco, the garden of the Sun, was planted to corn and Garcilaso had seen it worked in his youth. He is also specific

when discussing terraces in general: "this is how industrious the Inca were in expanding the lands for maize planting." Pedro Pizarro, an eyewitness to the invasion, claims that "all were planted to corn."

While irrigation is one of the factors making it possible to raise the upper limit of corn cultivation, it was rarely used with potatoes and other Andean crops. In part, this is due to the topographic characteristics of the *puna,* with the rivers flowing in deep gorges far below it. As Garcilaso put it, where irrigation did not reach "they planted grains and vegetables of great importance . . . potatoes, *añus, oca.*" Cieza de León saw no irrigation in the Qollao within twenty years of the European invasion, and most of our chroniclers similarly make no mention of Andean crops when discussing irrigation.[6] In modern times, the geographer Schwalm, who did considerable field work in the area, reports that irrigation and fertilizers were applied to maize, while potatoes were grown *de temporal,* depending on rain. La Barre tells us that in Bolivia the high-altitude *luki* receive no irrigation or fertilizers, although some of the other varieties do get such assistance today.

Such rainfall cultivation means that lands planted to tubers must rest between crops. A system of rotation, known variously as *manay, suyu* or *raymi,* had arisen to regulate which area among those controlled by a village would enter cultivation in a given year. Ideally all households had fields, if only a few furrows, in each of the *manay*. After two or three years of cultivation, the *manay* reverted to fallow and "rested" for five, six, even eight years.

Despite such adaptation and probable domestication in high altitudes, not only maize but even the Andean crops failed frequently through hail, frosts and drought. Juan Polo Ondegardo, for many years a colonial administrator in highland areas, claimed that three years in five saw crop failures. Centuries later, a Swiss observer, Tschudi, reported that one good harvest in three was normal for the *puna*. Cabello Valboa, an independent sixteenth-century witness, indicated that famine stalked the land in years when the potato crop failed. At such times the peasants ate wild roots or grasses. In the high Andes the subsistence margin was always quite narrow: fasting, sacrifices and scapegoating were all employed in an effort to mitigate frosts and water shortages.

The botanical and ecologic differences between these two sets

of crops have their economic correlatives: the systems of weights and measures and of land tenure used in the two context differed as well. María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, a Peruvian pioneer in the study of Andean weights and measures, has recently published the 1713 text recording the explanations of Guillermo Gato, an Andean surveyor, used by the colonial authorities. He tried to convey to his employers that there was one measuring unit called a *papa cancha* which

> "is used only in cold potato country where he discovered that when an Indian receives a *topo* it is understood to be multiplied seven times [when granted] in cold country . . . and sometimes by six and at times by ten. And the reason for this is that potatoes are not planted every year in the same plot because the land does not allow it but maybe five years later . . . or after seven in colder places and only after nine in the wilder uplands. If the man were to receive only a topo . . . per Indian for his annual subsistence . . . he could do it only once and the other five he would have no place to plant . . . All the Indian upland measurements must be multiplied at least sixfold."

As with measurements, so with other agricultural practices. Neither the historical sources dealing with sixteenth-century crops, nor the present day agronomists have adequately studied Andean agriculture. I would predict that we are confronting not just two kinds of crops but two distinct agricultural systems with quite different vocabularies used to describe their respective "fields" or "furrows", containers, loads or the varieties of land tenure.

A final observation before returning to the rituals. The existence of two separate agricultures, located at different end points of a vertical ecologic axis does not imply that a single ethnic group did not engage in both cultivations. On the contrary: in the Andes, each ethnic group, be they small polities of two-three thousand households like the Chupaychu of Huánuco or powerful kingdoms like the Lupaqa, on Lake Titicaca, would attempt to control through their own colonists the maximum of ecological floors, available to them depending on the energies they could mobilize. When the polity was small, the pastures, saltpans, maize or coca

leaf fields could be controlled only if they were three or four days' march away from the nucleus. A kingdom with several hundred thousand souls could utilize directly resources fifteen or twenty days away. We thus get a "vertical" pattern of ecologic control, an "archipelago" of ecologic islands widely distributed through the Andes.

In such circumstances we note again how little potato or other Andean crop ritual has been recorded by our chroniclers. As indicated their ceremonial calendars dealt almost exclusively with maize. In our time there are elaborate ceremonies to protect and encourage the potato crop; these have been described in some detail by contemporary observers. Of course, it could be that such practices are post-Columbian; the absence of recorded sixteenth-century Andean crop rituals may indicate lack of anxiety over a local, well-adapted crop. However, this is unlikely since the ecclesiastic writers and idol-burners like Avila, Arriaga and others who turned their attention to the Andean peasant community after 1600, report numerous instances of ritual concern over highland crops, quite similar to modern ceremonialism. Such parallels are also present in the unique early report to have broken through the chroniclers' disinterest: only fifteen years after the invasion a European priest gave in to the urging of his communicants and allowed a potato planting ceremony in his village. There was music and dancing with digging tools and some competitive behavior between the two moieties. A llama was sacrificed, and selected large seed potatoes were dipped in its blood. At this point the padre intervened and stopped what apparently had gone too far. Soon after, Cieza de León came through the region and recorded the priest's story, but it took the chronicler consistently most sensitive to ethnographic detail to get it.

The rarity of potato rituals in our sources may perhaps be due to the fact that the Andean crops, while they may have been staples, were also low status food. In the legends from Huarochiri collected by Avila in the late sixteenth century, potato-eating was considered evidence of low status; a raggedy beggar was known as Huatyacuri, potato-eater. In another story, recorded by Cabello Valboa, the hero is hiding from his enemies among "very poor herders" who cultivate "potatoes, *ullucu,* other roots and grasses." In describing the *puna*-dwelling Qolla, the Andean writer Huaman Poma called

them "Indians of little strength and courage, with large bodies, fat and tallowy because they eat only *chuñu*" and contrasted them with the Chinchaysuyus (northern and coastal Peruvians), "who although small in stature, are brave, as they are fed on maize and drink maize beer, which gives strength."

Despite such attitudes, from all we can gather potato ceremonialism was early and general in the Andes. Why then should our sources miss it?

There is no likelihood that our chroniclers would ignore maize. Grain eaters themselves, familiarized with corn in the Caribbean and Mexico, they reported early and in detail the Pan-American distribution of this crop. Its absence in any given area was noted. Some of them thought of maize as the Andean staple, which is clearly erroneous given the ecologic picture; as Sauer has pointed out, "nowhere south of Honduras is maize the staple foodstuff it was further north." In most of South America it was grown primarily for beer-making and ceremonial purposes.[7]

The chroniclers communicate the feeling that in the highland maize was a desirable, special, and even holiday food as compared with potatoes and *chuñu*. Maize was offered at village shrines. Huaman Poma recorded the text of a lament recited by the villagers "during frost or hail if it [the crop] be maize, when no water comes from the sky." At harvest time the corn was brought home amidst great celebration; men and women came singing, begging the maize to last a long time. The villagers drank and ate and sang and for three nights kept vigil over Mama Zara, Mother Maize, a shrine erected in "every house" by wrapping the best cobs in the family's best blankets.

At the village level, corn was also an integral part of life cycle rituals, even if it was not locally grown. At the initiation of a peasant youth, when his hair was ceremonially cut and his name changed, maize, llamas, and cloth were among the gifts offered by his kinfolk. At marriage, the families of the couple exchanged "seeds" along with spindles, pots and ornaments. Murúa, the sixteenth-century writer with the best information about women in the Andes, specified corncobs as gifts to the bride. At death, corn meal was sprinkled around the deceased. On the fifth day, the widow and other survivors would wash clothes at the meeting place of two rivers where sacrifices were also offered after sowing.

The real contrast between the two crops and their associated ceremonials emerges as we move from the peasant community, where both are known though differentially valued, to the state, Inca level.

A considerable effort, both technologic and magic, was made by the state and its various agencies to ensure the propagation and harvest of corn. The Inca state origin myth gives credit to the royal lineage for the introduction of this grain into the Cuzco basin and refers to it as "the seed of the [Paqaritampu] cave" from which the dynasty was supposed to have emerged. Mama Waku, the wife of the first (legendary) king, is reported to have taught the people how to plant it;[8] ever after a plot near Cuzco called Sausero was devoted to the production of maize to feed the queen's mummy and her retainers. The annual cultivating cycle was ceremonially inaugurated by the king himself, who on the appropriate day during August-September went to Mama Waku's field to break the ground for the planting, with the help of his royal kin. Poma illustrates this inauguration: the king is working, assisted by three relatives to form the usual Inca quartet; an equal number of royal women are kneeling, facing the men, to break the clods, much as peasant women are shown doing it elsewhere in the manuscript. A hunchbacked retainer is bringing refreshments to the royal workers. The king's contribution was accompanied by vigorous singing of digging songs, on a triumphal, military refrain.

The national church and its priesthood, whose top hierarchy belonged to the same royal lineage, also had many duties in and about maize agriculture. Each year the gods were asked if crops should be planted that year; "the answer was always affirmative." Priests were assigned to watch the movements of the shadow at a seasonal sundial near Cuzco to determine the right time for plowing, irrigation or planting[9] and to notify the peasantry of the approaching chore. If one missed the proper moment, the maize crop was in danger. Priests also kept *khipu,* knot records of past seasons showing the succession of wet years and dry. One group of clerics fasted from the moment maize was planted until the shoots were finger high. Cobo reports that the priests gathered at the sundial observatory and "begged the Sun to get there on time." Processions were organized, the participants armed, beating drums, and shouting war cries to scare away drought and frost which threatened the maize more than any other crop. The official state harvest began with the year's royal initiates going to reap on Mama Waku's terrace; then came the fields of the Sun, those of the king and queen. Sacrifices of llamas, fasting, thanksgiving offerings, and requests for future favors were all part of the harvest.

A perceptive observer, Polo noted that there were many more observances and anxious rituals in "advanced" areas, where the population was dense and state exactions numerous, than there were in marginal territories like Chiriguanas or Diaguita. At the symbolic center of the state, at Intiwasi, the House of the Sun, the priests had planted among the living cornstalks golden reproductions, complete with leaves and cobs, to "encourage" the maize. The temple's harvest was kept in heavy silver storage jars. Such attention and "nursery" care made it possible for the priests to cultivate maize at 12,700 feet, at the shrines near Lake Titicaca. They did not do as much for Andean crops; virtually all references to Cuzco ceremonials are about maize; there are none to potatoes in this context.[10]

The existence and survival of a sociopolitical structure like Tawantinsuyu, the Inca state, depends technologically on an agriculture capable of producing systematic surpluses beyond the subsistence needs of the peasantry. Under Andean ecologic conditions the anxiety of the state is understandable, and the solution devised is not always ceremonial. The irrigated coast was a major producer of maize and supplied an important and worry-free quota to the state warehouses. Unfortunately, we lack many details about the special features of coastal land alienation under Inca rule and the extent of the maize-growing corvée.[11] But most everybody has heard of the mitmaq colonists resettled by the Inca for what are usually considered security reasons. I have elsewhere presented the evidence that a major function of this population transfer was actually the expansion of the maize-growing area. In fact, many of these coastal oases had been settled from the highlands on the "vertical archipelago" model, long before the Inca. Such transplanted settlements remained within the jurisdiction of their traditional ethnic lords and provided their kin with corn, cotton, peppers, fruit, and other tropical produce and received llamas, jerked meat, and *chuñu.*

Terracing of the steep *qhishwa* slopes, irrigation works, and coastal fertilizer delivered to the highlands were all similar measures, providing "vertical" revenues of all kinds but with an emphasis on corn. Potatoes and other root crops may have produced the indispensable quantitative surpluses, and *chuñu* may have allowed their storage. However, the keeping qualities of maize are superior to those of potatoes; so is its higher prestige. Grains and stockpiling and the redistribution of status are basic state preoccupations everywhere. In the Inca state many factors made stockpiling a major necessity: a growing court made up of ten to twelve royal families and their thousands of retainers, a bureaucratic and ecclesiastic hierarchy, the military needs of the numerous campaigns which expanded the kingdom from Ecuador to Chile within barely a century.

It is clear that in the minds of those who encouraged the production of corn there were also those other, redistributive considerations: the higher, semi-ceremonial status of maize, inherited from pre-Inca times, would add to the state eagerness to obtain this commodity in the highlands. An issue of the rarer corn porridge would mean more than a dish of potatoes to a conscript soldier,[12] and a mug of corn beer was a morale-building dispensation in a society where patterns of reciprocal generosity were still operative.

It is my contention in this article that in dealing with Inca times in the Andes we find not only two sets of crops grown in different climatic zones, but also actually two systems of agriculture. The staple crop and mainstay of the diet is autochtonous and earlier in the highlands; grown by Andean mountaineers, it consists of plants domesticated locally, laboriously adapted to alpine conditions, grown on fallowed land and dependent on rainfall. The other crop is newer, imported; its culture is of holiday significance and centers around maize, an essentially warm weather crop, clinging to the lower and protected reaches of the highlands, handicapped though highly valued in Andean circumstances.[13]

It is my further contention that tuber cultivation was essentially a subsistence agriculture practiced by lineage (*ayllu*) members who became peasants after the Inca conquest. Maize was undoubtedly known, in a ceremonial way, through the "vertical archipelago" pattern, to the peasant *ayllu* for many hundreds of years before

the Inca, but its large-scale, economic field cultivation in the highlands becomes feasible only when the emergence of a state makes possible such public works as irrigation, terraces, fertilizers from the faraway coast, and gingerly priestly concern. In Inca times maize was a state crop.

The original under-reporting of Andean highland crop ritual, which prompted this inquiry, has become under the circumstances a hint to cultural and structural matters way beyond the actual rites.

The bulk of the sixteenth-century writers associated with few Andeans beyond the royal families, the bureaucracy, the Quisling palace guards. These informants emphasized inevitably the recently obliterated glories of the past, particularly the state machinery; in the process they ignored the Andean village and the many different Andean ethnic groups. Their lack of interest matched that of most of the chroniclers. Only the most inquisitive, men like Cieza and Polo, tried to get beyond this idealized statement of bureaucratic claim. It is only later, when Andean writers begin to comment directly on their own past and when village descriptive material becomes available, that we get a glimpse of what agricultural ritual reveals: not only two systems of agriculture, but significant differences between two ways of life, one of which—the power-wielding Inca state—was in the process of incorporating and transforming the other, a process far from completed when the European invasion arrested its course.

NOTES

1. Cobo [1653]: IV, viii. Acosta reports one variety "accustomed" to coastal heat ([1590]: IV, xvii; 1940:270), and Salaman quotes Russian botanists who found wild varieties in the lowlands (1949:34). While potatoes are known on the coast and are reproduced in coastal art (Salaman 1949:15, 19; Yacovleff and Herrera 1934:299), there is no indication that they were a significant element in the food supply or the economy.

2. Our understanding of the coastal kingdoms, utterly dependent on irrigation, is still elementary. See Schaedel, 1966 and Kosok 1965.

3. In 1969, R. S. MacNeish began extensive excavations in the Ayacucho area of Perú searching for the early stages of Andean agriculture. The sug-

gestion has been made, after Tello, that maize, like the feline deity characteristic of the Chavín period, is of ultimate *montaña* derivation (Strong and Evans 1952:237; Valcárcel 1945:55–71).

4. Grobman 1965. This research was stimulated by Paul Mangelsdorf's early hypotheses that there might have been a South American center for the domestication of maize, independent of the better known Meso-American one.

5. James 1942:150. In the protected bowl of Lake Titicaca, maize was grown in Inca times even above the 12,540 foot level of the lake. In our time, José Matos Mar found thumb-size cobs cultivated for ceremonial and hospitality purposes on the island of Taquile, in the same lake (1957).

6. See the highly revealing legend collected around 1600 by Avila in Huarochiri: Collquiri, a local deity connected with maize and irrigation, tried to reward his affinal relatives by emerging as a spring near their fields. But there was too much water; it threatened to flood their fields and all their *oca* and *kinowa* which had been laid out to dry. Everybody was very mad, shouting "We are used to little water!"; his wife's folk begged him to stop. Collquiri finally stuffed some of his clothes in the spring. (Avila [1608], ch. xxxi; 1967:168–83).

7. Willey dates the beginning of the "Peruvian co-tradition" from the "advent of maize agriculture" (1953b:374). This may indicate some support for my proposed separation of Andean crops from corn agriculture, which is likely to seem artificial to some, particularly North American archeologists who used to do most of their field work on the coast and who tend to think of maize and potatoes as part of a single "complex of traits" (Bennett: 1948: 2–4).

8. Women, and particularly the queens, are credited throughout the Inca oral tradition with the invention of onerous, new obligations to the state. . . .

9. King Pachakuti (see John H. Rowe's article in Chapter 5 of this collection) is credited by most sources not only with reforming the ceremonial calendar but also with the erection of Intiwatana, the seasonal sundial in Cuzco (Polo 1940:131–32). It is likely that such sundials are pre-Inca; see Avila's text which reports that villages in the Huarochiri area had men assigned to watch the sun's shadow and notify the inhabitants. Pachakuti may have set up a *state* observatory which could ignore the different planting times varying according to altitude and ecology. In the Cuzco valley August-September was "right", and it thus assumed the special features of a national event, much as the seeds and tubers from Cuzco enjoyed special prestige in the provinces. Garcilaso [1604] III, xx; 1943, p. 171.

10. Though it may be significant that Garcilaso de la Vega does mention *kinowa,* the Andean grain, as being reproduced in the golden botanical garden of the Sun ([1604] V, i; 1943:227).

11. This point is discussed in Chapter II, "Land Tenure", of the author's unpublished dissertation, *The Economic Organization of the Inca State,* the University of Chicago.

12. Garcilaso ([1604], VII, i; 1943:86–87). In contrast Latcham states that the army ate *cocavi,* a kind of *chuñu,* but indicates no sixteenth-century sources (1936:176).

13. One should not confuse ceremonial limits, such as those achieved by the priests at Titicaca with altitude of effective cultivation. The upper limit of any given crop, and particularly maize, is affected by many factors not all

of which are ecological: the dryness of the southern Andes raises the upper limit at which annuals will grow; topographic features like protection against winds or good exposure to daylight may have a good deal to do with the effective upper limit. None of these compare with cultural motivation: if tended like a rose, maize will of course grow anywhere. See Weberbauer (1945:624); Bowman (1916:52–54); Schwalm (1927:183); Troll (1931: 270).

PART VI: SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction to Race, Culture and Manpower

In order to explain the difference between highland and lowland patterns of race relations in South America, Marvin Harris found it necessary to don the hat of social historian. Although anthropologists by training and temperament are frequently disinclined to deal with historical documents, it has become increasingly clear that ethnohistory is a very important adjunct to anthropological explanation.

Perhaps the most striking regional contrast in South America is that between the Andean highlands (including parts of Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, northern Chile and Colombia) and the tropical lowlands in the east of Brazil, the Guianas and Venezuela. Aside from differences in climate and topography, one notes racial and cultural differences as well. In the highlands, one encounters many people who appear to have American Indian ancestors speaking native languages exclusively (e.g., Quechua, or Aymara). These are often referred to as *indios* while others who may be phenotypically identical but who are bilingual or monolingual in Spanish may be called *ladinos, criollos* or *mestizos*. *Indios* typically live in small, socially ingrown, homogeneous village communities, while *mestizos* occupy a diversity of positions and live in socially differentiated towns.

In the tropical lowlands of eastern South America, by contrast, American Indian phenotypes are not predominant and there are large numbers of Afro-Americans, people of European descent and every possible mixture. These people generally all speak one language (Portuguese in Brazil, Spanish in most other places) so

social differentiation cannot follow linguistic lines. Rather stratification occurs along lines of descent, political and economic status, and skin color and other "racial" characteristics. Except for unacculturated indigenous villages, "closed" communities are not found in this part of South America (cf. Wolf 1955).

To account for these systematic contrasts, Harris has dealt with the economic forces that shaped the history of colonization of South America and particularly the manpower needs and resources of the colonial economies. Ecological and social factors account for the relative scarcity of laborers in tropical eastern South America where colonizers began their extractive and agricultural enterprises. Hence African slaves were imported in great numbers. Practically no slaves were brought to the highlands, however, since large, manageable, native populations were already present to work the mines and haciendas (cf. Service 1955 for a complementary discussion of this question). Harris examines colonial Indian policies in relation to labor needs. He is careful to differentiate between restrictions spelled out in laws and codes and the concrete actions of colonizers for which documentation is much harder to obtain. Keeping the emic and etic data separate has been one of Harris' most important theoretical contributions (cf. Harris 1964a, 1968, 1971).

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22. *RACE, CULTURE AND MANPOWER*

MARVIN HARRIS

The kinds of accommodation which have been achieved by the various racial and cultural components in Latin America are in large measure the consequence of the attempt to harness the aboriginal population on behalf of European profit-making enterprises. It is true, of course, that the New World was richly endowed by nature with fertile soils, a great spectrum of climates, and enormous reserves of precious metals. These resources, however, were in themselves worthless. In order to farm the soil, there must be farmers, and in order to mine the earth, there must be miners. Without adequate manpower, even the fabulous mines of Potosi, still producing after 500 years of intensive operation, would have served no useful purpose.[1] Lesley Simpson's (1960:94) observation that "the Conquest of Mexico was the capture of native labor" applies no less aptly to all of Latin America.

The problem of manpower in Latin America has been resolved in several radically different ways, each of which ultimately depends upon the nature of the pre-contact cultures and each of which in turn is associated in modern times with a particular pattern of race relations.

In the lowland areas the initial labor prospectus was poor indeed. The sparse aboriginal populations, semi-migratory in nature, were almost completely unaccustomed to intensive field labor, or corvée services. Just as the Inca had failed to dominate the tropical lowland peoples lying to the east of their empire, Europeans found it impossible to put the lowland Indians to work, except under a system of direct slavery. Enslavement of the lowland Amerindian

groups, however, did not prove economically viable for reasons which I shall shortly recount.

The failure of the labor regime based upon the enslavement of lowland Indian groups led to the introduction into the New World of large numbers of laborers from Africa. These African contingents were localized in the tropical and semi-tropical lowlands of both North and South America and put to work on the production of plantation crops having high export value in the European markets. Meanwhile, a totally different potential for labor use was encountered in the highlands. There, once the native rulers had been removed or converted to puppets, the mass of commoners could with relative ease be put to work producing agricultural, industrial and mineral products for the benefit of the invaders. As a result, the contemporary population of the highland portions of Latin America exhibits only minute traces of Negro racial and African cultural mixtures. Let us now examine in some detail how this came about.

At the beginning of the conquest of the New World, the Spanish were optimistic about the potentialities of the lowland Indians for slave labor. Columbus himself had argued the feasibility of the enslavement of the Caribbean peoples and had envisaged a thriving slave trade between America and Europe. Enslavement of the Amerindians was easily justified on the grounds that they were not only heathens but cannibals. It was believed that many tribes could not be introduced to the virtues of Christianity or be made to work unless they were firmly controlled by their conquerors under the slave system.

Slaving expeditions ranged throughout the Caribbean Islands and along the coasts of Mexico and North and South America during the last years of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth. It quickly became apparent, however, that Indian slavery was a doomed institution. Expeditions had to range further and further as the originally sparse population was decimated by the raiding, by disease, and by excessive toil. Indian slaves died by the thousands while engaged in labor on behalf of their conquerors. Many committed suicide; others disappeared into the forests never to be seen again. Especially devastating was their lack of immunity against European diseases such as measles, smallpox and respiratory infections. By the end of the seventeenth century,

practically the entire Indian population of the Caribbean had been wiped out.[2] A similar situation prevailed in Brazil. The males no less than the females of the Brazilian coastal tribes turned out to be very poor investments. "The expenditure of human life here in Bahia these past twenty years," said one Jesuit father in 1583, "is a thing that is hard to believe; for no one could believe that so great a supply could ever be exhausted, much less in so short a time."[3]

As the supply of lowland Indian slaves diminished, the Portuguese and lowland Spanish colonists looked to Africa for their labor force. This turn of events, which was to have such long-lasting consequences for the entire world, was not due to any sudden realization that Africa contained a greater manpower pool than the American lowlands. Long before the transatlantic trade began, both the Spanish and Portuguese were well aware that Africa could be made to yield up its human treasure. But in the early part of the sixteenth century the cost of transporting large numbers of slaves across the Atlantic was excessive in relation to the profits which could be extracted from their labor. This situation changed radically when, toward the middle of the century (somewhat later in the Dutch and English Caribbean possessions), sugar cane plantings were begun in Brazil. With the introduction of chocolate (a New World crop) and the spread of the coffee-drinking habit in Europe, the world consumption of sugar had suddenly skyrocketed, and by the end of the sixteenth century sugar had become the most valuable agricultural commodity in international trade. The importation of Negroes from Africa now became economically feasible. Although the costs of transporting Africans across the Atlantic Ocean remained high, the profits which could be wrung from their labor on the sugar estates were still higher. It was thus that the craving of Europe for sweets and coffee wiped out the aboriginal population of a large portion of the New World and condemned millions from another continent to a short and toilsome life.

In seeking for an explanation of why the lowland sugar planters regarded one Negro slave as the equivalent of five Indians, one must guard against interpretations based upon biological factors.[4] It is frequently asserted, for example, that the greater adaptability of the Negro to slavery conditions on the tropical lowland planta-

tions was a result of his ability to withstand the intense heat and humidity of the tropics. There is no reason, however, to conclude that the Indians were biologically any less adapted to life in the tropics than the Negroes were. Nor is there any reason whatsoever to conclude that the Negroes were by nature any more servile than the Indians. In the highland regions, where the culture was different, the Indians were also reduced to servility, and their semi-slave condition has endured into the present century.

There are two other factors which better explain the preference expressed by the lowland planters for Negro rather than for Indian field hands. One is that the Africans had been pre-adapted by their cultural experience to cope with the demands of regular field labor. It is well known that slavery, serfdom and corvée were on-going institutions in many sub-Saharan African societies before European contact. To be sure, the scope and intensity of slavery under African aboriginal conditions were not comparable to the system which developed after the Europeans began to promote slavery and slave-raiding on a massive scale in order to satisfy the labor requirements of the New World. But groups such as those of Yoruba, Dahomey, Ashanti, Ife, Oyo and Congo, from which the bulk of the slaves was probably brought, were societies in which considerable differences in rank existed.[5] Moreover, throughout much of Negro Africa, males made a more important contribution to agriculture than was true among the typical Amerindian lowland tribes.

The second relevant point is that the Negroes, over centuries of indirect contact with North Africa and Europe, probably had acquired immunities to certain common European disease organisms which were lethal to the American Indians. Epidemics of catastrophic proportions kept recurring all through the first centuries of contact between the Europeans and Indians. A third of the population of the Tupinamba in the vicinity of Bahia, for example, was wiped out by smallpox in 1562, and to judge from the modern experience of the Brazilian Service for the Protection of Indians, measles and the common cold were probably just as devastating (Wagley and Harris 1958:26). Recent demographic studies of central Mexico during the sixteenth century reveal that an astonishing decline in population occurred after contact. Borah and Cook (1963) claim that the people of Central Mexico were reduced in numbers from something close to 20 million to about 1 million

in less than one hundred years. It is clear that this decline must be attributed in no small part to the interplay between the new diseases and the general disruption introduced by the invaders.

Also relevant here is the puzzling solicitude which many of the Spanish labor laws display on behalf of the Indians (Simpson 1938:11 ff.). The labor code of 1609, for example, prohibited the employment of Indians at certain tasks connected with sugar processing because of their alleged lack of physical stamina. Indeed, the Spanish and Portuguese generally were of the opinion that the Indians were by nature weaker than the Negroes. But this can only mean (in view of the fantastic feats of stamina characteristic of healthy Amerindian carriers and laborers) that the Indians more readily fell victim to European pathogens. A third factor might also be found in the tremendous incidence of mortality among the Negro slaves during their passage to the New World. The selective effect of this terrifying journey (following upon forced marches to the African slave entrepots) must have meant that only remarkably resistant individuals survived. Furthermore, as suggested by Gonzalo Beltrán (1946:181 ff.) for Mexico, Africans tended to be selected for youth and vitality much more systematically than was possible in the case of Indians. Thus, although African slaves cost five to ten times more than Indian slaves, they were a safer investment. Whatever the reasons for the preference for Negroes by the lowland planters, it is clear that the demography of the New World would ultimately have left them no choice in the matter. Despite their alleged physical inferiority, Indians were employed as slaves on the Brazilian plantations and they continued to be hunted until in effect there were none left except in the most remote parts of the jungle.

At the very time when the African slave trade was beginning to develop into one of the world's most important commercial ventures, the Spanish Crown passed laws prohibiting the enslavement of Indians in its New World possessions. (During the period 1580–1640, when Portugal and Spain were ruled by the same monarchs, these laws also applied to Brazil.) A great deal of romantic nonsense pervades the attempts to explain this paradox. The Spanish Crown is pictured as being influenced by the crusading religious missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas to abandon the policy of Indian slavery in its New World possessions out of humanitarian

and religious convictions. There is no doubt that men like Las Casas, Fray Garcia de Loaisa, and Francisco de Vitoria, who were primarily responsible for the promulgation of the famous New Laws of 1542,[6] were motivated by sincere and deep humanitarian convictions. There is no doubt also that the Spanish Crown was sensitive to moral and religious arguments. However, neither the special pleadings of the clerics nor the sensibilities of the monarchs lacked roots in material interests. The mission of the Church was to save souls. The power of the Church was directly related to the number of converts and hence if for no other reason the Church could not stand idly by while the aboriginal population of the New World was destroyed by the colonists. Furthermore, it was not against slavery in general that the Church fought but rather specifically against the enslavement of Indians by the colonists. On the issue of African slavery, the Spanish Church very early adopted an essentially hands-off position. Few churchmen expressed any moral reservations about the slave trade with Africa. On the contrary, the enslavement of Negroes was frequently viewed as a religious duty consonant with the highest moral principles.[7] This was equally true of the Church in Brazil, where "the Portuguese Jesuits too often demonstrated that they would permit slavery provided they could control it. They owned Indian as well as Negro slaves (Diffie 1945:725)."

The most plausible explanation of the New Laws is that they represented the intersection of the interests of three power groups: the Church, the Crown and the colonists. All three of these interests sought to maximize their respective control over the aboriginal populations. Outright enslavement of the Indians was the method preferred by the colonists. But neither the Crown nor the Church could permit this to happen without surrendering their own vested and potential interests in the greatest resource of the New World —its manpower.

Why then did they permit and even encourage the enslavement of Africans? In this matter, all three power groups stood to gain. Africans who remained in Africa were of no use to anybody, since effective military and political domination of that continent by Europeans was not achieved until the middle of the nineteenth century. To make use of African manpower, the Africans had to

be removed from their homelands. The only way to accomplish this was to buy them as slaves from dealers on the coast. For both the Crown and the Church, it was better to have Africans under the control of the New World colonists than to have Africans under the control of nobody but Africans. This was especially true since the Negro slaves were destined primarily for the use of lowland planters. The importation of slaves from Africa would therefore not interfere with the *modus vivendi* worked out by Church, State and colonists in the highlands. On the contrary, the flow of Negro slaves to the lowlands helped to prevent competition between lowland planters and highland entrepreneurs for control over highland labor.

The success of the clerics in the Court of Spain on behalf of the prohibition of Indian slavery is not to be attributed to their eloquence or to the passionate conviction which they conveyed to the Spanish monarchs. The laws of 1542 were passed because slavery of the highland Indians was a political and economic threat to the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown in the New World. There is no other way to explain the benevolent, pious concern exhibited on behalf of the Indians in contrast to the indifference displayed toward the Negroes.

The New Laws were thus essentially an attempt to prevent the formation of a feudal class in Spain's American territories. This threat had arisen out of the method employed by the Spanish Crown to reward the activities and exploits of its *conquistadores*. The astonishing, almost super-human exploits of the Spanish invaders of the New World were motivated by the promise of extraordinary privileges with respect to the lands and peoples whom they were able to conquer. Although the privilege of taking slaves was of considerable importance in the system of rewards in the lowland regions, outright slavery was a relatively minor aspect of the rewards system in the highlands. In the highlands a much more effective system was employed as the dominant form of labor appropriation. This system was known as the *encomienda*. Its salient feature was that a man who had performed service on behalf of the Crown in the conquest of the new territories was rewarded with the privilege of collecting tribute and drafting labor among a stated group of Indians inhabiting a particular set of villages. Cortes, for example, received an *encomienda* consisting

of twenty-two townships, inhabited by possibly as many as 115,000 people (Diffie 1945:66). The Crown was aware of the fact that such grants of privileges amounted to the establishment of a feudal noble class in the New World and hence it sought to diminish the resemblance between the *encomienda* and feudalism by hedging the grant with various restrictions. For example, theoretically the right of administering justice was to be reserved to Crown officials and to be removed from the sphere of the *encomendero's* authority. It was intended, in other words, that the Indians should remain subjects of the Crown, not of the *encomendero*. The *encomendero* was merely to have the privilege of assigning work duties to the Indians in his *encomienda* or of collecting tribute from them.

Despite these provisions, however, the great *encomenderos,* such as Cortes in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru, quickly acquired the de facto status of full feudal lords, exercising almost unrestricted, despotic control over the populations within their *encomiendas.* In practice it was impossible for the Crown and its representatives in the New World to enforce the safeguards of the *encomienda* system. Hence, the New Laws constituted a package of proposals designed to pry loose the *encomienda* and slave Indians from the tenacious grasp of the *encomenderos* and slaveholders. The laws decreed that the Indians were to be regarded as free men and as vassals of the King of Spain. They sought to prevent the inheritance of existing *encomiendas* and to reduce those of excessive dimensions. Mistreatment of the Indians, their enslavement or excessive brutality toward them were to be punished very severely. When the Crown attempted to enforce these laws in Peru and Panama, it provoked outright rebellions. As is frequently the case in colonial situations, the power of the metropolitan forces was unequal to the power, ingenuity and perseverance of the colonizers who were in direct contact with the native peoples.

Although it is true that the Spanish Crown was largely successful in eliminating Indian slavery, it must be understood that such a statement depends on a highly technical definition of slavery. The *encomienda* and the other systems of compulsory labor which followed it during the colonial and republican periods were certainly markedly different from the arrangement worked out for labor on the lowland tropical plantations. I shall try to describe these differences in a moment, but one must never lose sight of the fact that all through the colonial, republican and modern periods in the history of highland Latin America, the Indian population has been subjected to one form or another of compulsory labor.

As the Crown promulgated and attempted to enforce the laws against the *encomienda* system it introduced a new method of labor use. This system, known as *mit'a* in Peru, *minga* in Ecuador, *catequil* or *repartimiento* in Mexico, and *mandamiento* in Guatemala, was introduced about the middle of the sixteenth century. By 1600, it had become the dominant form of labor recruitment in highland Latin America (Kloosterboer 1960:90 ff.).[8] The *repartimiento* substituted Crown officials for the *encomendero* as the principal agent for labor recruitment purposes. These Crown officials were alone empowered to draw upon the labor resources of the Indian villages. Theoretically, even the owners of *encomiendas* now had to consult the royal administrators and judges with respect to the allocation of laborers on their own *encomiendas*. Although the officials in charge of labor recruitment were instructed to take precautions designed to protect the health and well-being of the Indians under their jurisdiction, there were naturally frequent abuses and disregard of the letter of the law. Private entrepreneurs undoubtedly approached the officials and curried their favor with bribes and gifts in order to avail themselves of the Indian labor under the officials' control. The result was that the *repartimiento* reform did not result in any substantial improvement from the point of view of the Indian laborers. Their situation, in effect, remained unchanged. Indeed, their plight continued to resemble pre-contact times when the rulers of the native states had carried out periodic drafts of Indian labor through the system of the aboriginal *mit'a*. Instead of a native nobility, there were now the representatives of the Spanish Crown and the private entrepreneurs who exercised the right to draw on the manpower of the Indian villages.

The *repartimiento* was probably the cheapest form of labor that has ever been invented. To begin with, and unlike slavery, the system required no initial investment of capital. True, the Crown insisted that the labor drafts be paid wages, but these wages, when they were not withheld through fraud and chicanery, were a caricature of a genuine wage system. In many instances, their only func-

tion was to permit the Indian to pay taxes to the Crown. Unlike the wages extended to even the most defenseless urban proletariat, their level was set below what was necessary to maintain the life of the workers. Indeed, this was the great advantage of the *repartimiento*. Like the modern systems of migratory labor which still exist in Mozambique and Angola, the *repartimiento* exempted the employer from any concern with the subsistence requirements of his employees.[9] This effect was achieved by permitting or compelling the work force to labor in its own *milpas* (farms) for most of the year, from whence came the food by which it subsisted and reproduced itself. In this context, the endlessly repeated refrain, common to both Africa and the New World, that the natives are lazy and do not voluntarily work for wages, acquires a peculiarly poisonous sting. In general, the highland Indian simply could not convert to full-time wage labor and eat at the same time. As J. Phelan (1958–59:191) has said, "The stereotype that the white man found he could not bribe the Indian to work for a wage and so resorted to one form or another of compulsion is false. With alacrity, the Indians took to earning a living in European fashion when they were adequately compensated."[10]

Throughout the colonial period, there were institutions at work which directly and indirectly pressured the Indians both to increase their involvement in this bastard form of wage labor and to convert part of their own agricultural product into money. The greater the involvement of the Indians in a cash economy, the more opportunities there were for other sectors of the colonial population, especially the Church and the mestizo trading class, to share the benefits enjoyed by the agricultural and industrial entrepreneurs who depended on native labor. It was to the economic advantage of everybody except the Indians, in other words, that the Indians enter the market economy to the maximum extent compatible with their primary assignment as subsistence farmers. The famous highland "fiesta complex," to be discussed in the next chapter, was one of the central devices by which this involvement was heightened. The more general ingredient in this peculiar labor syndrome was the system which permitted employers to compel Indians to discharge debts through labor services. This device was introduced at least as early as the *repartimiento*. But it was destined to acquire supreme importance during the nineteenth century in the form of debt peonage. Why this came about, we shall see in a moment.

As part of its plan to retain direct control over the Indian population, the Spanish Crown, throughout the colonial period, systematically gathered the Indians into nucleated villages called *reducciones* or *congregaciones*. Such nucleation was potentially of advantage to all three elements—Church, colonists and Crown—concerned with making profitable use of the aborigines. But the Crown did not stop at merely establishing villages. It insisted that not only ought the Indians to be gathered together, but that land be given to villages under communal tenure. Worse, from the viewpoint of the colonists, these lands were declared inviolable. They could neither be sold nor pawned. As a result of this aspect of Crown policy—one of the most fascinating counterpoints in the long colonial fugue—many fertile and well-watered lands remained in native hands until the nineteenth century. Needless to say, these lands were coveted by the *hacendados*.

In a remarkably parallel fashion, all through the highland area, one of the first actions of the nineteenth-century republican governments, after independence had been achieved from Spain, was the destruction of the safeguards preventing direct access to Indian land and labor. In the name of liberal ideologies, elevating the principle of private property and individual rights to supreme consideration, the governments of the newly established highland republics one after the other decreed the end of the communal land system. All communal properties (including those of the Church) had to be converted into private holdings. Since this conversion required legal expertise, the *hacendados* experienced no great difficulty in gaining title to the Indian properties. What the lawyers could not grab for them, they took by force. The result was that by the end of the nineteenth century practically every acre of high-quality land in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia was part of a white man's or mestizo's *hacienda*.

What happened to the Indians who had lived in these areas? For the most part, they remained in place, since the *hacendados* as usual wanted both the land *and* the labor. Having possession of one, it was easy to obtain the other. The landless Indian now had no choice. He could only gain his subsistence by working for some *hacendado*. This much was guaranteed, but which *hacendado* was it to be? The *haciendas* (which, incidentally, now that the Crown was out of the picture, had begun to attract foreign capital) could ill afford to permit the development of a mobile, free-floating

agricultural proletariat. The laborers had to be fixed in one place if maximum use was to be made of them. The device needed to accomplish this was already present. Food and clothing were advanced to the Indians, and wages were set at a point low enough to insure that the debts could never be discharged. An Indian who had fallen into debt could not quit his job or leave the premises until the debt was liquidated. If a man died before his debt was paid, his children fell heir to the obligation. Thus it was that debt peonage replaced the *repartimiento* as the dominant mode of labor control.

This is not to say that other forms of forced labor more closely resembling the *repartimiento* entirely disappeared. On the contrary, numerous labor recruiting schemes based on arbitrary definitions of vagrancy, criminality and public welfare were prominent throughout the highlands, except for Mexico, well into the twentieth century. In Peru, Ecuador and Guatemala, they still enjoy a *de facto* if not legal existence. It is interesting to note that in Guatemala the influence of heavily capitalized coffee and banana plantations was sufficient to swing the pendulum almost all the way back to a system of the *repartimiento* variety. This happened when the center of agricultural production shifted to areas outside of the control of the nineteenth-century *haciendas*. In 1936, the dictator Ubico replaced debt slavery by a system based upon vagrancy, thereby prying loose the peones from the grasp of the older landed interests (Whetten 1961).

Paradoxically, the removal of the Crown's protective shield from the corporate nucleated Indian villages did not result in the total destruction of the type. Throughout the highlands there survive to this day two distinct kinds of Indians. In the first instance there are Indians who are part of a permanent labor force residing on *haciendas*. In the second instance there are Indians who live in "free" villages. The latter are usually located in the commercially worthless lands adjacent to *haciendas,* on hillsides, or in other areas which were of little use to the *hacendados* during their nineteenth-century rampage.

As Eric Wolf (1956; 1957) has suggested, the perpetuation of these free Indian communities was to a large extent a pattern thoroughly consistent with the needs of the *hacienda* system, especially in its more heavily capitalized phases in the late nineteenth

and present centuries. Since the amount of land permitted the free Indian villages was strictly limited and of inferior quality, the inhabitants remained responsive to labor requests from the *hacendados*. These free villagers were also made debtors to the *hacendados* but by more subtle and intermittent methods. They thus constituted a reserve labor pool which could be drawn upon for intensive harvesting operations and for the construction of roads, canals and other public works (Wolf 1955).

What Wolf fails to make sufficiently clear is that no genuine equivalents of these highland Indian villages are to be found in any of the New World's lowland plantation areas. In lowland Latin America, the same array of powers—Crown, Church and colonists—had also been struggling for the control of cheap labor. In the lowlands, however, the balance struck was earlier and more heavily in favor of the colonists. The virtual extinction of the Indians, and the importation of Africans as slaves, meant the triumph of the colonists over Church and State. Each plantation was a political microcosm in which the slaves were ruled by an absolute despot, their owner. In this context, the development of a corporate village organization similar to that of the highland communities was clearly out of the question. The plantation was the typical lowland form of community. Out from the plantation, with its heavy capital investment, its concentration on single commercial crops, and its sensitivity to world market prices, there flowed a fundamentally different kind of peasant culture and racial prospectus. This contrast between lowland and highland community types is fundamental for an understanding of the contrast between highland and lowland race relations. It will be appropriate, therefore, to take a closer look at the cultural and social heritage of the two labor systems as they are embodied in community life.

NOTES

1. The Spanish invaders were quite aware of the centrality of the labor issue in their colonization program. Ferdinand, King of Spain, declared in 1509 with respect to Espanola: ". . . the greatest need of the island at present is more Indians, so that those who go there from these kingdoms to

mine gold may have Indians to mine it with." (Quoted in Simpson 1950:23.) In 1511, warning against bringing Indian slaves from the New World to Spain, Ferdinand again noted that "all the good of those parts lies in there being a number of Indians to work in the mines and plantations" (Ibid. 1950:27).

2. By 1585, Sir Francis Drake reported that not a single Indian was left alive on Espanola. The Indians of Puerto Rico, the Bahamas and Jamaica were also wiped out before 1600 (Rouse 1948).

3. Quoted in Freyre 1956:178.

4. In Brazil the selling price of an Indian slave was one-fifth that of a Negro (Diffie 1945:696). According to Simonsen (1937:199) Indians were worth between 4,000 and 70,000 *reis* while the Negroes were worth between 50,000 and 300,000 *reis*.

5. Classic descriptions of African stratified societies are Herskovits 1938; Meek 1931; Rattray 1923; Roscoe 1911.

6. The New Laws abolished Indian slavery and severely limited the scope of the *encomienda*. See below.

7. The Jeronymite governors of Espanola in 1517 were eager to solve the Indian problem by importing Negro slaves (Simpson 1950:48). Las Casas himself has been accused of supporting this point of view, but it is clear that the great defender of the Indians was opposed to slavery, no matter which race was concerned (Hanke 1949:95; Zavala 1944). Nonetheless, all of Las Casas' efforts were directed toward the abolition of Indian slavery. Neither he nor the Church attacked the institution vigorously enough to prevent the Jesuits from owning a not inconsiderable share of the Negro slaves in Spanish America (Diffie 1945:473).

8. For a description of *repartimiento* in Peru, see Kubler 1946 and Rowe 1957; for Mexico see Simpson 1938. Whetten 1961 provides a comparable description for Guatemala. In Peru the term *repartimiento* was also used to denote periodic allotments of goods which Crown officials obliged the Indians to buy.

9. A system very similar to the *repartimiento* is in current use in Portuguese Africa. Except for the weakened role of the Church, all the elements of the seventeenth-century situation are present. The Portuguese overseas labor code insists that all Africans are free to choose their mode of employment. Forced labor is specifically prohibited. Nonetheless, no man is permitted to remain "idle." However, the interpretation of what constitutes "idleness" is left to the government's administrators, and the latter are ill paid and remote from higher authority. In order to "civilize" the natives, the administrators must teach them the value of work. Idle "natives" can therefore be conscripted for employment on public works. It is specifically prohibited for the administration to supply such laborers to private interests, exactly as under the *repartimiento*. But the ill-paid administrators are easily subverted by the labor-hungry colonists. Every conceivable kind of "kickback" flourishes. Africans who have been caught sleeping in their houses in the middle of the night are said to be "volunteers" for employment at European enterprises. The entire fabric of laws designed to protect the "natives" turns out to be a sop to legal conscience. Most of the Africans are kept ignorant of their rights, while the unfortunate few who attempt to find remedies against temporary forced labor find themselves declared "undesirable" and are shipped off without trial to permanent forced-labor camps (Harris 1958 and 1959; Duffy 1962; Figueiredo 1961). One would have to be fairly well out of touch with reality to suppose that native rights were any better protected in colonial Peru and Mexico. According to John Rowe (1957:162–63), ". . . the only incentive to take on the job of *corregidor* was the opportunity for graft which the post offered because of the wide powers that went with it . . . Most *corregidores* came to their jobs with one idea, to make a fortune during the brief period of their administration. The only way they could do this was at the expense of the natives." Independently, at almost the same time, I had made the following observation about the administrators of Mozambique: ". . . administrators and chiefs-of-post are notoriously underpaid . . . Obviously men upon whom such extraordinary powers are conferred, do not lack opportunity for personal gain. Although there are many administrators whose personal standards are above reproach, the system invites many others who readily succumb to its built-in temptations" (Harris 1959:10).

10. Queen Isabella wrote as far back as 1503: ". . . because of the excessive liberty enjoyed by said Indians they avoid contact and community with Spaniards to such an extent that they will not work even for wages, but wander about idle . . ." (Simpson 1950:13).

Introduction to The Highland Heritage

This chapter complements the last one and is also drawn from *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (Harris 1964c). Here Harris focuses on some particular aspects of life in the highlands of Central and South America. Much of the social and religious culture of the Indians of these regions has been regarded by anthropologists and historians as pre-Columbian in origin and serving to maintain community solidarity. Even where rituals involved the church, they were regarded as syncretic, containing mainly indigenous elements. Recent research (Foster 1960) has indicated the Iberian origin of many customs previously thought to be native. This discovery has stimulated some, including Harris, to reinterpret some customs, such as the fiesta celebrations, in the light of colonialism, both external and internal. Harris presents a hypothesis in this chapter relating these fiestas not to Indian tradition but to a long tradition of external exploitation and control of indigenous communities. More research is needed to test this hypothesis but in the meantime Harris' suggestion has given invaluable insight to all those who attempt to evaluate functionalist hypotheses. Too often, social scientists have assumed that social solidarity is enhanced by customs which otherwise seem quite costly to the community which practices them. Inability or unwillingness to operationalize concepts like social solidarity has led to skepticism of such hypotheses. The path is now clear to investigate other possibilities such as that the fiesta is essentially an adaptation to systematic exploitation. Stripped of their usual propagandistic uses, terms like exploitation and colonialism may acquire new significance in social science explanation.

23. THE HIGHLAND HERITAGE

MARVIN HARRIS

The distinctive highland Indian villages to which I have been referring have been classified by Eric Wolf as examples of the closed-corporate-peasant community. According to Wolf, the distinctive feature of these communities is that there is communal control of landholdings either through common ownership or by community-imposed sanctions against sale to outsiders. The interest in protecting the community land leads to a life which is saturated by participation in communal political and religious affairs. Other related diagnostics listed by Wolf (1955) include a tendency for an intimate interplay to take place between political and religious activities; an emphasis on prestige derived from community display; culturally recognized standards of consumption which consciously exclude cultural alternatives; defensive ignorance; a pattern of rejection of novelty; a cult of poverty; and a system of institutionalized envy leading to the restriction of consumption standards and the leveling of intra-communal economic differences.

In the highland Indian closed-corporate-peasant communities from Mexico to Bolivia, the distinctive features of the type are best illustrated through the complex of institutions known as the fiesta system. All Indian men are expected to take part in this system. In their youth they are obliged to assume certain menial offices or *cargos,* that is, "burdens," such as carrying messages for the councilmen, serving on the night watch, or cleaning the church. Eventually, each man is obliged to "volunteer" for a major *cargo*. This involves organizing and carrying out the fiesta of one of the saints who is traditionally regarded as especially significant in the

life of the village. As a man moves up through this hierarchy of religious obligations, he is rewarded with increasing amounts of prestige. In addition, everywhere among the corporate Indian villages, satisfaction of religious burdens leads to or is accompanied by parallel progress up a ladder of political offices such as sheriff, councilman, mayor, etc. Thus, the *principales,* or top-ranking Indian personalities, are always individuals who have had a distinguished record as fiesta-givers and civil office holders.

The burdensome aspect of the *cargos* and political offices is that they involve considerable expenditure of time and money. Fiestas are costly affairs since large quantities of food and drink (especially drink) must be dispensed. In addition, the cost of special church services, candles, costumes for dancers and players, musicians, fireworks, bulls and bullfighters, and many other festive items must also be met. In the classic stereotype, it is alleged that the *carguero,* or burden-bearer, frequently cannot meet these expenses out of his normal income and must borrow from friends and relatives, sell or pawn land, or otherwise place himself in debt for a considerable period. "Generally, the higher offices in the hierarchy are the most costly, and economic ruin, at least temporarily, accompanies the acquired social prestige."[1] In order to meet his burden an Indian will ". . . spend all he has, go into debt, and sell his labor for trifling wages even though he ends in virtual slavery."[2]

Many anthropologists view the fiesta complex of the corporate villages as essentially a survival of allegedly aboriginal non-Western notions of economic utility and self-interest. The Indians entertain themselves, gain prestige and venerate the saints by giving the fiestas, and this is to them a more "rational" use of money than investing it in land, livestock, machinery or education. After all, what is so strange about squandering one's money on a good time? Only people suffering from a "Protestant ethic" find this a problem worth bothering about. On the other hand, there are many anthropologists who feel that the fiesta system is a bit "odd" and that it does demand a serious explanation. There are several reasons why the "burdens" simply cannot be dismissed as an example of the whimsical and quixotic (to us) things which men will do in order to achieve prestige.

First of all, recent studies have confirmed what had long been suspected about the origin of the fiesta system's ritual content,

namely that it is almost wholly sixteenth-century Spanish-Catholic. Therefore, to talk about aboriginal survivals in this context is clearly out of the question (Foster 1960:167–225).[3] Secondly, and more important, the irrational, uneconomic aspects of fiesta behavior stand in marked contrast to the economic individualism, constant penny-pinching and obsessive involvement with price which is one of the most pronounced features of highland Indian life. So conspicuous is the highland Indian's dedication to the principles of thrift, investment and *caveat emptor* that Sol Tax (1953) was moved to call the Indians of Panajachel, Guatemala, "penny capitalists." In the Zapotec town in Mexico, Elsie Clews Parsons (1936:12) was overwhelmed by the same pattern: "Mitla is a business town. Trade permeates its whole life; price is of supreme interest to young and old, women and men, the poor and well to do." Once, when Parsons had finished telling a group of Indians how one of her relatives had died in a motorcycle accident, the first question which the Indians put to her was: "How much does a motorcycle cost?" In Yalalag, another Zapotecan village, Julio de la Fuente (1949:44) also gives a picture of total involvement in petty commercial activities. Here the penny-pinching is so obsessive that "brothers cheat each other," families break up over debts (p. 155), and "to ask for loans among relatives is frowned upon because they suspect that you are not going to repay them (p. 148)."

The attempt to explain the fiesta complex has recently focused on the needs of the corporate Indian community to level internal wealth differences as a protective device. Wolf (1955), for example, implies that the political-religious-prestige interplay is an aspect of the community's attempt to increase its internal solidarity in defense of the land.[4] In a somewhat similar vein, but without bothering with a material base, C. Leslie has suggested that Mitla's fiesta system is a check upon the destructive individualistic tendencies of the Mitlenos. The townspeople complain about the burdens of the fiesta system, but according to Leslie (1960:74), the vision that there could conceivably be "no law other than their desires, no limit other than that which they think advisable" inhibits would-be critics of saint's festivals and causes them to go unheeded in the community at large. "Thus families with the values of the market place, and priding themselves as experts in following its

competitive ways, Mitlenos nonetheless subordinated themselves . . . to ideals of proper conduct which disabused all but the most obdurate individuals of the notion that they might live wholeheartedly in pursuit of their own self-interest."

The difficulty with viewing the fiesta complex as an egalitarian device of the corporate peasant community is twofold: First of all, although the fiesta system does tend to place an upper limit upon the amount of capital which an individual Indian can accumulate, it has never prevented the formation of rather sharp socio-economic differences within the Indian communities. There is very little evidence to support the stereotyped version of the *cargo* which causes "economic ruin." In Charles Wagley's Santiago Chimaltenango and Ruth Bunzel's Chichicastenango it was specifically established that most of the people are too poor to be able to afford the major *cargos*.[5] According to La Farge (1947:137), the civil-religious leaders are "in almost every village . . . extremely prosperous." Marked differences in wealth among Indians is also characteristic of Tepotzlan (especially before the revolution), Mitla and Yalalag, and many other, if not all highland Indian communities which have been studied by anthropologists.[6]

I do not mean to say that the fiesta system never forces any Indians into debt. The tendency of this form of conspicuous consumption to induce many Indians to spend more than their resources allow is, as we shall see, a very important function of the system in relationship to peonage and migratory labor. The point is that the *cargos* do not bring economic ruin to everyone. Many of the most burdensome fiestas are underwritten precisely by those people who are best able to afford them. To a *principal* or *cacique,* the *cargos* were not economically fatal. Indeed they were *principales* and *caciques*—"big shots"—precisely because, unlike lesser mortals, they were able to buy enough *aguardiente* for the whole village to get drunk, without having to sell their lands and animals, and without having to work on a "foreigner's" *hacienda.*

Not only has the fiesta system failed to level the Indians into a homogeneous solidary group, but a more inefficient defense against outsiders could scarcely be imagined. It might be argued that the fiesta system has helped to maintain the separate identity of the highland communities, but this is scarcely a result which possesses any clear adaptive advantages for the members of such communities. On the contrary, these communities themselves are the product of a colonial policy whose net result in the long run was the maintenance of the Indians in an "exploited and degraded condition." Far from protecting the Indian communities against *encomienda, repartimiento,* debt peonage, excessive taxation and tribute, the fiesta system was an integral and enduring part of the mechanisms by which these noxious influences gained access to the very heart of the village.

It seems all too often to be forgotten that the closed corporate villages fulfilled certain vital functions with respect to the larger system in which Indian life was embedded. From the point of view of this larger system the proliferation of ceremonies, the burdens of the *cargueros,* and the whole civil-religious hierarchy are nothing but direct or indirect expressions of the economic and political vassalage into which the Indians have fallen. Consider, for example, the way in which one village is closed off from other villages. All observers of highland Indian life agree that an extraordinary degree of local ethnocentrism characterizes these communities. This quaint, introverted focus, expressed in endogamy, distinctive patterns of dress, speech and other customs so dear to the hearts of certain anthropologists, has another side to it. Was this not exactly what was needed in order to stave off for the longest possible time the ultimate hour of reckoning that comes to every political system which mercilessly degrades and exploits its human resources (Rowe 1957:190)?[7] Again, it is no accident that the Indian leader who emerges from the fiesta system is typically one who has no authority beyond his own locality. The highlands had passed beyond the village level of socio-cultural organization at least a thousand years before the Europeans arrived. What else then is the closed-corporate-peasant community, if not an artifact created by the invaders to make certain that the state level of organization would never again fall under Indian control?

Also, it is all too frequently forgotten that in terms of the colonial system, the fiesta complex was a direct expression of the attempt by the Church to maintain control over the highland Indian populations and to derive wealth from them. Although this situation has been drastically modified in many highland countries today, it was clearly a dominant factor in the fiesta complex at least as far back as the eighteenth century. The famous report of Antonio

de Ulloa, who was sent out by the Spanish Crown to investigate conditions in eighteenth-century Peru, contains a clear statement of the functions which the fiesta system played in relationship to the maintenance of Church income. Ulloa was astonished by the number of saint's days which were celebrated in the highland Indian villages. He noted that one of the first tasks which a newly appointed priest undertook was to create additional fiestas, requiring additional outlays for various services rendered by the Church and its representatives. Speaking of the *mayordomos* upon whom the burden of the fiesta rested, Juan and Ulloa (1826) noted that by the Indian's participation in the celebration of the saint's day, he was relieved "of all the money which he had been able to collect during the whole year and also all the fowls and animals which his wife and children have reared in their huts, so that his family is left destitute of food and reduced to wild herbs and to the grains which they cultivate in their small gardens."

To become a *carguero* was far from being a spontaneous undertaking stimulated by deep religious feeling and a sense of obligation. Juan and Ulloa (1826) observed that many of the *cargueros* were simply forced into the position of underwriting the fiesta by command from the priest. "As soon as the sermon of the day is concluded, the curate reads a paper on which he has inscribed names of those who are to be masters of ceremonies for the festivals of the following year, and if anyone does not accept it of his free will, he is forced to give his consent by dint of blows. And when his day comes there is no apology that can exonerate him from having the money ready."

The intimate relationship between the local priest, the village Indian hierarchy, the fiesta system, Church finance and politico-economic control is still clearly visible. In 1960, I had the opportunity to live in an Indian village in Chimborazo Province, Ecuador, and to observe aspects of the modern fiesta system for three months. In Ecuadorian Indian villages, nominations for the fiesta leader are submitted to the parish priest by Indian officials residing within the village. These officials are instructed by the priest, as well as by the local representative of the state, the *teniente politico,* to identify Indians in their village who have given evidence during the past year of being able to support the financial burden of the fiesta. Acting on this information, the priest, backed up by the

teniente politico, appoints the new *cargueros* at the mass on the fiesta of the saint's day (Silverman 1960:40 ff.).

True enough, direct physical coercion is not used as it was when Ulloa observed the system. Nonetheless, the threat of material sanctions does not lie far behind the facade of persuasion and voluntary accommodation. The *teneinte politico* exercises great discretionary powers in relation to the adjudication of land claims, as well as in all processes of a legal nature requiring paperwork and reference to higher authority. Indians who are unco-operative with respect to the fiesta system earn a bad reputation among the authorities external to the village and they are subject to harassment in the form of excessive obligations placed on them for community labor and to unfair treatment in litigation.

According to Nuñez del Prado (1955:17), today in the Andes, "It should be noted that men very rarely volunteer for a *cargo*. In most cases a man is chosen against his will and persuaded to accept it when he is drunk." A poignant description of what appears to be a similar situation is provided by Ruth Bunzel (1952:181) for Guatemala:

> The conventional behavior for candidates for all offices is to refuse to serve, and to have the office thrust on them. Sometimes physical force is used in forcing the insignia of office upon unwilling candidates. At the feast of Santo Tomas I saw the candidates for office for the coming year being dragged forcibly through the streets, kicking and struggling. I saw one of the newly chosen *regidores* (councilmen) bolt for the door, after he had been brought in, like a prisoner, for the notification. All the *regidores* and *mayores* were on hand, armed with sticks to prevent the escape of the candidates. It took over an hour to persuade the candidate for First Alcade [mayor] to accept the nomination.

It should also be noted that the contemporary system depends to a great extent upon the consensus among the members of the Indian village that those who shirk their burdens as *cargueros* ought not to receive the respect to which those who have accepted the burden are entitled. If one has given a fiesta and suffered the economic consequences, he does not view with equanimity the

prospect of others in the village failing to assume their proper share of the burden. Thus, a good deal of the pressure for the maintenance of the system apparently arises spontaneously from within the Indian village itself. However, this is a superficial interpretation of the forces which are at work. At the outset, to follow Antonio de Ulloa's lead, the fiestas functioned primarily to drain off a portion of the community's wealth in support of the Church bureaucracy. At the same time, the associated civil-religious hierarchy was a tool of the colonial government. The *caciques* and *principales* were puppet leaders who in return for collaboration in the work of recruiting for *mit'a* and *catequil* were vested with some semblance of local authority and power. In this context, it should be mentioned that one of the major rewards of office-holding has always been exemption from forced labor.

In modern times the draining of community wealth through the mechanism of the fiesta system is no longer primarily destined to benefit the Church. In the nineteenth century, during the course of the establishment of the liberal republican regimes, the Church suffered serious setbacks and was reduced to a position of secondary importance in the control of Indian communities. After the passing of restrictive legislation and the expropriation of Church lands, the Church ceased to be the primary direct economic beneficiary of the fiesta system. This position was now taken over by the *haciendas* and the *hacendado* class and the fiesta system became an integral part of the mechanisms by which Indians, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were enticed into debt on behalf of the system of debt peonage.

Left to their own devices, the Indians were perfectly capable of maintaining a level of consumption realistically adjusted to the marginal wages which their labor commanded. The fiesta system, however, compelled them periodically to acquire goods on a scale which was far above their normal needs. In Guatemala, as recently as the 1930's, the fiesta system was deliberately used by the *haciendas* to recruit Indian labor. *Hacienda* agents were sent out to scour the countryside for prospective workers for the plantations. These labor recruiters sought out the holders of *cargos* and offered loans on deceptively friendly terms (Whetten 1961: 66 ff.). In addition, it is clear from numerous community studies carried out in the highland region that the non-Indian

sectors of the population, in general, stand to gain from a continuation of the fiesta system, since the celebration of fiestas provides the principal occasion for the purchase of non-subsistence goods. Wagley's (1957:275) comment, "These days are very lucrative for the Ladinos of Chimaltenengo," is applicable to most highland fiestas. Generally speaking, throughout the highland region, fiesta buying involves the Indians in transactions with non-Indians who control the commercial sources of non-subsistence commodities. The entire non-Indian sector of the highland countries, therefore, maintains a powerful vested interest in the preservation of the fiesta system. The system prevents the rise of genuine native leaders, because it drains off the excess wealth of Indians, cutting short the prospects for the accumulation of capital resources among the Indians in the village. The wealth that is drained off is used to support the Church hierarchy and to stimulate the entrance of the Indian into the extra village labor market. It is also used as a stimulant to raise the consumption standards among the Indians and hence to increase the rate of commercial transactions between non-Indians and Indians.

Those who doubt the fundamentally repressive and abusive character of the classic fiesta complex should compare the celebration of fiestas in Indian communities with the manner in which devotion to saints is practiced in non-Indian villages. Moche, a mestizo community in Peru, also has many saint's days. The people of Moche become *carguerosy* and they give relatively expensive fiestas. However, the *carguero* in the non-Indian community is not at all subject to the financial burdens which must be shouldered by the Indian *carguero*. On the contrary, the fiesta is viewed in Moche as a means by which the saints may be venerated and the pocket of the *carguero* swelled. Far from incurring crushing financial losses, the Moche *cargueros* emerge from the fiesta with a handsome profit. This profit is gained by soliciting financial contributions from all of the townspeople by carefully gearing expenses to income (Gillin 1945). Thus, although the non-Indian fiestas are phrased in a fashion quite similar to that characteristic of the Indian fiestas, the primary functional significance is drastically different. No Moche *carguero* ever needs to be dragged screaming through the streets to the ceremony of his installation.

I have, perhaps, failed to make adequately clear that the Indian's burden in the fiesta system is not restricted merely to the expenses which must be met in the course of carrying out the celebration of the saint's day; the really critical involvement may in certain cases be the necessity of secular duties which the *carguero* is also expected to assume. In the classic form of the Indian fiesta system, appointees to *cargos* are automatically expected to serve in the village council. This requires their presence in the village away from their farms for a good portion of the year, and in many cases represents a greater sacrifice than the actual expenses of the fiesta. This aspect of the fiesta system also tends to be absent among the non-Indian communities.

It should be mentioned that many non-Indian fiesta complexes in Latin America do not derive their principal impetus from the entrepreneurial advantages accruing to the specific individuals who undertake the fiesta. There is also a very widespread pattern in which the fiesta is essentially geared to the marketing and commercial requirements of the mestizo or *ladino* community as a whole. Under such circumstances, the fiesta is advertised by the *ladino* town council in neighboring communities, and the spectacular nature of the proposed entertainments and festivities is offered as an attraction for the largest possible number of visitors to the community on the saint's day. These fiestas are really fairs, designed to stimulate the commercial life of the town, or to make the town conspicuous in the hope that its products will achieve widespread popularity. Under such circumstances, the fiesta is merely an adjunct of the market. For example, in the community of Tzintzuntzan, located in highland Mexico, the day of the town's most important fiesta is likewise the day on which the greatest market is held; since the people of Tzintzuntzan specialize in making pottery, they are most eager to have the largest possible number of prospective buyers of their wares present at their fiestas. A considerable proportion of the town's annual ceramic output is sold to the 8,000 or so people who attend the great celebration of their town's patron saint (Foster 1948). One fact which has tended to obscure the functional analysis of the fiesta system in highland Latin America is that the pattern which I have been identifying especially with the mestizos or *ladinos* actually occurs among many Indian villages as well. This is particularly

true of Mexico, where after the 1910–20 Revolution, political and religious reforms made it possible for the Indians more closely to approximate the position of the mestizos within the total national economy and polity.[8]

In addition to the fiesta complex, there are many other characteristics of the corporate villages which are part of the heritage of the colonial and republican systems for making use of the labor of the highland Indians. The Indians everywhere tend to occupy the more marginal lands; they tend to produce subsistence crops rather than commercial crops; they tend to have a higher rate of illiteracy; a high rate of infant mortality; a shorter life expectancy; and a lower per capita income than the non-Indians and *ladinos* or mestizos who live in the same communities; the Indians tend to be politically subordinate, and they are subject in many instances to outright discrimination in terms of housing and social etiquette. For example, in highland Guatemala communities, it is not unusual for Indians to be obliged to step off the street in order to make way for *ladinos* (Tumin 1952). In rural highland Ecuador, it is expected that Indians will yield positions on public conveyances to *ladinos* (Ziff 1960:20), and in Peru and Ecuador it is not rare for *hacendados,* in collaboration with the local police, to use brutal methods for the suppression of Indian "deviants." In Guatemala, there is segregation in housing, street corner gatherings, recreation and leisure, local and national fiestas, social visiting and friendship units, school functions, weddings, baptisms, wakes, funerals, eating and marriage (Tumin 1952:189–208). Throughout the highland region, with the possible exception of certain social strata in Mexican urban centers, the *ladinos* or mestizos tend to regard the Indians as inferior creatures and harbor many derogatory stereotypes with respect to them. Speaking of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, Nuñez del Prado (1955:3) notes that "in all three countries contempt for everything Indian is habitual . . ." In Guatemala the Indians are said to be "stupid," "without shame," "like children," "dishonest" and "not deserving of respect" (Tumin 1952:117–18). I believe it could easily be shown that all of these manifestations of prejudice and discrimination against Indians are consequences of the labor policies pursued since the conquest. Certainly, the central feature of this

highland pattern of prejudice and discrimination is the application of harsh labor laws exclusively to Indians.

The pattern of prejudice and discrimination against the highland Indians bears certain resemblances to the system of race relations involving whites and Negroes in the United States. As in the United States, the population is sharply divided into two major groups, one of which is subject to flagrant mistreatment at the hands of the other. Furthermore, as is true of every society in which discrimination is practiced on a systematic and intensive scale, identity in the subordinate group(s) is firmly and unambiguously established in local daily life (Harris 1964b). In the United States, one is either white or Negro, and in much of highland Latin America, one is either mestizo (*ladino, blanco,* according to the country) or Indian.[9]

The similarities between the two systems of race relations, however, do not extend much beyond this point. Several striking differences must be noted. In the first place, the two systems treat the half-castes or hybrids in diametrically opposed ways. In the United States, all persons with any demonstrable degree of Negro parentage, visible or not, fall into the subordinate caste, according to the principle which I have elsewhere labeled "hypodescent (Harris and Kottak 1963)." This has meant that from a biological point of view, the whites in the United States have remained relatively "pure," while the Negroes have become genetically less and less like their African forebears. In the Latin American highlands, however, there has never been a time when the hybrid types were automatically lumped together with the Indian. True, there had been a time when the Crown was intent on clearly separating all three types, i.e., whites, mestizos and Indians, and on assigning special privileges and obligations to each. But this system was always more of a legal fiction than a social reality.[10] Ever since independence, the highland populations have consisted of two major groupings: Indians and non-Indians. (Negro slaves, in small numbers, would make a third group, the lowest caste of all.) The Indians were subject to the special legal disabilities relating to labor while the whites and mestizos enjoyed the benefits therefrom. The superordinate caste of non-Indians did not enjoy their superior status because they looked Caucasoid or could actually demonstrate only Caucasoid descent. On the

contrary, many of those who escaped the worst features of the labor laws were genetically more Indian than the *principales* or *caciques* of the corporate villages. To be an Indian in the highlands, as we shall see in a moment, is to be someone who lives like an Indian.

Who then are the mestizos and *ladinos?* Mestizos and *ladinos* are non-Indians. They are the lower, rural, peasant portion of the superordinate caste. But they are part of that caste, not outside of it. They are not to be thought of as structurally intermediate to the European group.[11] The labor laws did not apply in halfway measure to the mestizos;[12] nor did the mestizos live in communities which were halfway between Indian and European communities. Of course, marked difference in power and style of life prevailed among the various strata and rural and urban segments of the superordinate non-Indian caste. But as far as the dominant land and labor issues in the relationship between aboriginals and invaders were concerned, the lower segment—the mestizos—was structurally aligned with the higher segments: the European—and American-born Caucasoids. The only sense in which they were intermediate was in terms of color prejudice. Caucasoid physical features were generally preferred by all strata of the dominant caste; hence the more Indian-looking, the less desirable the mestizo type. This, however, did not prevent many non-Caucasoid individuals from rising high in the colonial and republican aristocracy, although the highest economic and political positions tended everywhere to be monopolized by persons who showed the least genetic debt to the Indians. Eventually, in Mexico, the upper and lower strata of the superordinate caste came into conflict and fought a class war in which the more Caucasoid elite was defeated. The result is that in modern Mexico many of the highest economic and political positions are now in the grasp of people who could pass for Indians, if there were any reason for them to do so.

Thus racial identity in the highlands is established on quite different premises from those in the United States. The highland Indians are not usually distinguishable from non-Indians simply on the basis of physical appearance. From a purely physical point of view, most of the highland Indians could easily be taken for *ladinos* or mestizos, since the latter possess a considerable amount

of Indian genetic admixture, while equally substantial frequencies of Caucasoid genes are found among the "Indians." Instead of depending upon physical appearance, Indian racial identity flows from the fact that one lives in an Indian community, speaks an Indian language, speaks Spanish with an Indian accent, wears Indian-style clothing or participates in Indian-type fiestas. The status of being an Indian, in other words, is essentially a matter of behaving according to patterns which are locally recognized as being Indian specialties.

Another contrast is that it is possible to admit that one has an Indian ancestor and still regard oneself and be regarded by others as a non-Indian. (No one can admit Negro parentage in the United States without thereby affiliating himself with the Negro group.) Indeed, in upper-middle-class Mexico City, to have an Indian ancestor is a source of considerable pride. Elsewhere, however, it is a source of amusement, and mild depreciation. As Nuñez del Prado (1955:3) suggests, "It is very nearly an insult to suggest to a mestizo that he has an Indian relative"; very nearly, but not quite.

A corollary of this difference in the mode of establishing racial identity is that "passing" is based primarily upon exposure to similar cultural conditioning rather than upon intermarriage and genetic change. Theoretically, it should be easier to "pass" under these circumstances than when marked physical differences are backed up by a rigid descent rule. Such seems to have been the case for Mexico at least, where the percentage of Indians in the population has declined from almost 99 per cent in 1600 to less than 11.5 per cent in 1950. Since the total Mexican population has risen during the same period from about 2 million to over 30 million, without appreciable foreign immigration, it would seem likely that passing from Indian to mestizo status has been largely responsible for the failure of the Indian population to keep pace with the growth of the non-Indian sectors (Wagley and Harris 1958:81–82; Lewis 1960:289–90; Kubler 1952:65–66). It is possible, however, that large-scale passing is a relatively recent phenomenon associated with the Mexican revolution and the destruction of the *hacendado* class. Elsewhere, the disparity between the enculturation experience of Indians and mestizos has led to a much slower change in the balance between the racial

segments. Unfortunately this is one of the many aspects of Latin American race relations which have yet to be the object of systematic and quantitative research. Such research is needed before a clearer picture of the tendencies toward and the barriers against the assimilation of the highland Indian can be drawn. In some regions, as in central and northern Mexico, the assimilation of the Indian is proceeding at a very rapid rate, while in others, the corporate villages appear to be clinging to their Indian identity with great tenacity.

I would offer the hypothesis that these rates of assimilation reflect varying local disparities between lower-class mestizo and Indian standards of living. It must be remembered that all of highland Latin America is characterized by a rigid class structure among the mestizos themselves, in which the lower class leads a life no less degraded and precarious than that of the Indians. Although the highland Indians are surrounded by mestizo populations which in general tend to enjoy a superior standard of living, there are many specific local contexts in which the situation is reversed. In Mexico, for example, it has been estimated that at least 100,000 Indians live better than the bulk of the mestizos (Cline 1953:78–79). In Ecuador, the case of the Otavalo Indians is relevant [see Chapter 25, this volume—Ed.]; these people have become remarkably skilled in the manufacture and sale of woolen garments (Collier and Buitron 1949), and their wares have acquired a national reputation. Indeed, Otavalo Indians have been seen selling their blankets as far away as Rio de Janeiro and Panama City. Under these circumstances it would seem highly unlikely that Indians would want to exchange their identity for that of mestizos. Among the Otavalos it is the other way around. Mestizo weavers have recently been trying to pass themselves off as Otavalo Indians. Apparently many Indians could, if they wished, abandon their native village, learn to speak Spanish, and dress in the costume of the mestizo and thereby pass into the mestizo or *ladino* group. But many prefer to remain Indians. Apparently many Indians could, if they wished, abandon their native village, learn to speak Spanish, and dress in the costume of the mestizo and thereby pass into the mestizo or *ladino* group. But many prefer to remain Indians. Apparently the rate of passing

is limited by the fact that in many instances there is very little improvement to be gained from such a transition.

Rather than compete with the mestizos for what must in any event be a very low rung on the ladder of the social hierarchy, many Indian communities seem to prefer instead to turn inward and to reduce social intercourse with people outside of their villages to the absolute minimum required by the fiesta system and by the apparatus of national government. It is in these intensely involuted highland Indian villages, withdrawn from effective participation in the life of the nation, that one finds the most drastic results of the 400 years of repressive systems to which the highland Indians have been subjected. Everybody who comes from outside the village, with the exception perhaps of the priest, is viewed as a potential threat to life and property. In the experience of these people everything that originates outside the village inevitably results in severe restriction of liberty and economic well-being. Many lay and professional observers forget that these fears are grounded in historical fact. It is not without historical justification that the Indians of highland Ecuador kill several census takers every time the national government attempts to count the villagers. The observer who is unfamiliar with the historical background of these villages is often perplexed by the reluctance of the Indians to accept medical and technical aid. But their caution is an adaptation that has resulted from 400 years of broken promises.

First came the *conquistadores* to liberate them from the oppressive rule of the native bureaucracy; the result was the *encomienda.* Then came the Crown, to liberate them from the oppression of the *encomienda;* the *repartimiento* followed. Then there followed the wars of independence and the promise of liberty; the result was the *hacienda* system and debt peonage. In modern times, with the abolition of formal debt peonage and the modification of the power of the *haciendas,* a considerable lapse in time must be expected before the Indians come to the point of fearlessly accepting the new offers of assistance which their national governments are now making.

Many persons in the employ of national and international development organizations are prone to regard the withdrawal of the Indians and their rejection of outside assistance as an indication of their infantilism or perversity. The friendly agronomist is

rebuffed when he offers the Indians seedlings for reforestation. Why have the Indians driven him out of the village? Because they suspect, possibly with some substance in fact, that the ultimate results will be even worse than what they have now. After they have lavished care on the seedlings and after the trees have matured, how can they be sure that someone else will not come along and cut them down?

A case from highland Ecuador involving an offer of Merino sheep may perhaps illustrate this point. At first the Indians refused to listen to the advice of the foreign specialist who had been hired to improve the aboriginals' livestock. The native sheep were indeed scrawny, of little use for food, and producing only scanty amounts of wool. The specialist urged the Indians to interbreed their sheep with the sheep he would make available to them at no cost, and he promised that they would soon enjoy the benefits of animals at least twice as productive in terms of meat and wool. No one would take the offer. At last in one of the remoter villages a sole Indian who saw no danger in the situation yielded to the seductive proposition of the international expert and accepted several of the Merinos.

Returning to the village after a year had gone by, the expert was greeted by the usual shower of stones. At last, he managed to prevail upon the villagers to explain to him what had happened. It was as he had said; the sheep which had resulted from the cross with the Merino were twice as large and twice as woolly as the native flocks. They were in fact the finest sheep in the region. But this phenomenon had not gone unnoticed by the mestizos who lived in the valley below the community. They had driven up one night in a truck and had herded all of the poor fellow's sheep into it and driven off. The Indian who had departed from the ancestral patterns now found himself without any sheep at all.

Attempts to extend medical assistance to highland Indian villagers frequently result in similar disasters. With their long-established reluctance to enter into relationships with non-villagers, the Indians initially suspect the offers of medical assistance and refuse to reveal who is sick. In desperation, however, when the patient is near the point of death, the villagers will avail themselves of the offer of medical help. The doctor is then pre-

sented with a case in advanced stages of deterioration and he urges the immediate removal of the Indian to a hospital. In a high proportion of the cases such treatment is followed by the death of the patient and the spread of the myth that the hospital is a place to which the whites take Indians to die. Even when the doctor finally manages to gain the confidence of the village and is permitted to see patients whose disease is not in a terminal phase, the results are frequently unenviable. The doctor prescribes a remedy which can be purchased only at the drugstore. The drugstore, however, may be anywhere from 10 to 20 miles distant from the village. The drugs are expensive. The trip is costly in time lost from the work of the fields. But the hope of relieving the suffering of his loved one persuades the Indian to depart from his better judgment. He trudges off to town, buys the medicine and returns. He administers the medicine according to directions. When the bottle is empty he stops. The patient grows worse and dies. The next time the doctor appears, which may be anywhere from a month to half a year later, his inquiry about the welfare of the villagers is greeted by silence or else by fervent assurances that no one in the village is sick.

During 1960 a campaign was mounted in Chimborazo Province, Ecuador, to inoculate 80 per cent of the Indian villagers in the hope of eradicating smallpox. The vaccination teams were greeted in some of the villages with stones; in others they entered unmolested, only to find the houses abandoned and the Indians fled to the hills. In some villages, success was achieved only by prevailing upon the parish priest to invite the unsuspecting Indians to attend a special Mass. When everyone had entered the church, the doors were locked and the inoculations were started. Still unable to obtain the 80 per cent necessary for eliminating the disease as an endemic feature of the area, teams of vaccinators, sometimes disguised as Indians, took up stations in the various markets of the region. When an Indian passed whom they suspected of not having been treated, they seized him, and by force, if necessary, proceeded with the inoculation. This produced the counter-intelligence among the Indians who had yet to be inoculated that the whites, no longer satisfied with the theft of Indian lands and Indian waters, were now attempting to steal their blood.

NOTES

1. Camara 1952:156, speaking of Mexico.
2. Rubio Orbe quoted in Nuñez del Prado (1955:5).
3. Carrasco (1961) minimizes the cultural heritage but recognizes important structural continuities.
4. Carrasco claims that the "ladder system" has "survival value in that it holds the community together by checking the internal economic and social differentiation that tends to disrupt the community . . ." (1961:493).
5. "The high *cargos* are restricted to those who have sufficient lands and whose livelihood does not depend on wage labor." (Wagley 1957:257.) "The chief *mayordomos* [i.e. cargueros] must be chosen from wealthy families that own or have access to town houses" (Bunzel 1952:190).
6. "Class distinctions were marked" (Lewis 1951:51).
7. "Spanish colonial rule was characterized by economic exploitation and personal degradation of the natives. Both features were carried to an extreme which is difficult to credit unless one is familiar with the closely similar conditions in which the Inca of today live under the domination of the descendants of their colonial masters."
8. A study of the changes which occurred in the Mexican fiesta system after the 1910–20 Revolution is badly needed.
9. Historically, the situation was much more complex. In Mexico, for example, there was official concern with the problem of distinguishing Spanish-born whites from American-born whites; whites from both Indians and Negroes; and Negroes from Indians (see Beltrán 1946:199 ff.). Neither in the United States, nor in highland Latin America, are there only two racial segments to be considered. Nonetheless, the evolution of these systems has been in the direction of a clash between two large, well defined social groups with identity in one or the other associated with marked differences in political, economic and social behavior. It is the sharpness of this division and the social consequences of belonging which need to be stressed. In local situations, there is no doubt about who is or is not an Indian, and there is no significant status which is intermediate between Indian and non-Indian. I admit, however, that this pattern may be changing in some highland countries where the emergence of an intermediate group called *cholos* is reported (cf. J. Fried 1959). Greater ambiguity of identity will probably follow upon the achievement of social reform everywhere in the highlands, but this is a field in which there has been little methodical inquiry.
10. Beltrán (1946:175 ff.) describes how the Spanish attempted to keep track of all the permutations and combinations of the "castas" without success.
11. This is a mistake made by Ralph Beals (1955:417) and others who try to analyze the highland racial situation. The mestizos are rural, economically depressed and closer to the Indian physical type. Structurally, however, the greatest social cleavage has always been between Indians on the one hand, and mestizos and Europeans on the other.
12. Referring to Guatemala's vagrancy law of 1936, Whetten notes that the law was interpreted as applicable mainly to Indians (1961:66 ff.).

Introduction to The Karajá and the Brazilian Frontier

The following article analyzes the contact between a moderately acculturated Indian group, the Karajá of central Brazil, and Brazilian national society. In exploring his subject, Tavener provides us with an objective look at the motivations, goals and behavior of all the significant actors in the drama of contact. In many respects he follows a model developed by a number of Brazilian anthropologists in the last decade (Oliveira 1964, 1972; Laraia 1965; Laraia and Da Matta 1967; Da Matta 1963; Melatti 1967; Ribeiro 1970, *inter alia*). In these studies they have established several important points. First, one should not only talk of Indian/non-Indian relations in general. Such relations actually differ from region to region, as both traditional Indian cultures and national fronts vary (cf. Service 1955). Secondly, today one can rarely analyze contact as a simple confrontation of two distinct groups. Regional interethnic sociocultural systems have emerged in which the culture of the component ethnic groups reflects considerable borrowing and other forms of mutual adjustment, co-operation and competition. Finally, in characterizing much contact as a form of "internal colonialism," R. C. de Oliveira (1972: ch. 6–8) emphasizes that contact cannot be adequately explained if we regard it simply as a product of the immediate actors —Indians, frontierspeople, a handful of government agents. The situation is invariably more complex, and the domination of the local scene does not end with the activity of the frontiersmen. The presence of Indian agents, for example, intimates that the policies of remote governmental agencies may have decisive in-

fluence upon the local scene and the life and death of the Indians. Other pressures derive from commercial enterprises, typically based in distant cities and responsive primarily to the exigencies of international trade. They may be interested in exploiting territory occupied by Indians for agriculture, cattle raising, mining, extraction of wild produce or communication links. Sometimes they want land, sometimes Indian labor, as for collecting rubber (Murphy 1960) or Brazil nuts (Laraia and Da Matta 1967).

This third point raises certain methodological problems. At the same time that these field studies have refined our understanding of contact, they have increasingly emphasized the impact of such remote influences. These are hard to investigate fully from the field, and harder still to predict and account for within a model of a regional interethnic system.[1] While Tavener's study recognizes the important effects of outside influences, we must place it alongside other articles in this section in order to approach a better model of what must be known to understand the pervasive and practically ubiquitous changes going on in South American societies. The two articles by Marvin Harris provide a global outlook from the point of view of political economy on relations between colonizers and indigenous peoples.

But all the facts of a particular contact situation cannot be generated from this higher level of analysis. An examination of global political economy gives us a glimpse of an inevitable future which we can use to predict the direction of cultural change and acculturation. However, in order to understand the content of a given system we need to look also to the past, to the influence of traditional culture. Following Tavener's article, which examines a lowland society on the basis of contemporary ethnography, Frank Salomon treats sociocultural change in a specific highland society from an ethnohistorical point of view (Chapter 25).

Finally, it is necessary to go *below* the level of analysis that is used in many studies of contact. While the Brazilian anthropologists mentioned above have broken down the phenomenon of

[1] In this respect it is interesting that Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira notes (1972:9) that it was not so much the work of Brazilian anthropologists so much as the scandal in the national and international press in 1967–68 over the record of the S.P.I. that made Brazilians realize that the Indian problem is not a mere backwoods affair but a national problem.

contact into regional varieties, they have nevertheless depended largely on one accepted anthropological view of culture. This view emphasizes the shared and learned qualities that characterize human culture. Tavener's study, by contrast, emphasizes variation within a single culture, and regards the acceptance of this fact as necessary to the understanding of the particular contact situation with which he is concerned. Perhaps this approach entails the danger of overparticularization, but it reflects certain truths. If we are to understand culture as behavior which, among other things, has adaptive value, then it follows that a society's potential for future survival depends as much on the maintenance and multiplication of diversity as on the reproduction of uniformity (cf. Wallace 1970). Furthermore, in a situation of contact and acculturation, where much is new to both societies and especially when the participants may literally be fighting for survival, perhaps it is particularly appropriate that culture should be regarded less as a tradition and more as a means of adaptation.

We badly need further careful comparative and particular studies of contact, integrating the various levels of analysis outlined here. Not only will such work provide us with an improved basis for explanations and predictions regarding culture change, one also hopes that such studies will serve as lessons to those empowered to direct or oversee situations of contact and change. The failure to adopt humane solutions in the near future will surely result in the cultural or even physical destruction of most of the surviving native peoples of South America.

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24. THE KARAJÁ AND THE BRAZILIAN FRONTIER

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This article examines the impact of Brazilian national society on the Karajá Indians of the Araguaia River in central Brazil, and focuses in particular on the role of the government agency charged with responsibility for Indian affairs. It is based on fieldwork done in 1966, 1968, and 1969.[1] I mention the dates because in 1967 this agency ceased to be called the Indian Protection Service (S.P.I.) and was reconstituted as the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). I will generally refer to it as the S.P.I., which, after all, played the major part in the region up to 1969, rather than use both acronyms with chronological exactitude. I am not doing this for simplicity alone. By April 1969 (which was perhaps too early to judge) I could see little change in government activity or personnel on the Araguaia. Obviously the disassociation of the present Brazilian regime and its agency, FUNAI, from the sorry record of the S.P.I. must depend not on the mere extinction of a name and the replacement of some incumbent bureaucrats, but on visible achievements for and among the Indians.

The S.P.I., which was founded in 1910, established a post among the Karajá only after it had gained more than twenty years of experience among other Indian groups. But in 1932 Peter Fleming passed St. Isabel on the west bank of Bananal Island in his search for Colonel Fawcett and found this post, with its sewing school, deserted (Fleming 1942). This might have been taken as an omen, but President Vargas, apparently touched by the Karajá children whom he saw on his extraordinary visit to St. Isabel in 1940, decided to strengthen the Service (Ribeiro 1970:147). Another post was built for the Karajá at the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Today there are more than a dozen personnel at five posts, since two have been set up among the Javaé, the branch of the tribe

now found on the eastern bank of Bananal, and one far to the north in the one remaining village of the other branch, called Ixã-biawa by the Karajá proper.

For a century now, the Karajá have been neither hostile nor particularly remote. The middle reaches of the Araguaia valley are flat and open, easily traversed on foot or horseback and even by jeep. Although they may be flooded at the height of the six-month rainy season, at this time one can use the river, which, lacking rapids, is never difficult to navigate. Civilian and government planes arrive weekly at St. Isabel from Goiânia and Brasília, and there are airstrips near three other posts. The climate is tolerable; in the dry season it is splendid enough to attract tourists from São Paulo and even New York.

Since there are a few more than one thousand Karajá, almost all concentrated in eight villages around Bananal, it might seem that sufficient time and opportunity have been available for the S.P.I. to have achieved something for them. But when FUNAI took over, even local officials who stayed on acted, and with reason, as if they would have to create new programs rather than continue with any old ones.

One can regard the lack of services rendered to the Karajá as a local expression of inherent weaknesses in the ideology and structure of the S.P.I. as a whole. These have been admirably examined by Darcy Ribeiro (1962, 1970: part 2) and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira (1972: ch. 1–5) so my analysis of them here will be purposefully summary. Almost from its inception the S.P.I. has been hamstrung by lack of funds, and since 1934 it has lacked political autonomy, having been subordinated to the interests of the ministries of the army, labor, or agriculture. This subordination has continually hampered the development and efficacy of a group of experts, so that the successes of dedicated individuals, such as José da Gama Malcher, who fought for the creation of the Xingú National Park, appear as the exception rather than the rule. Besides, the mandate of the S.P.I. itself has never extended beyond the Indians despite the fact that in dealing with pacified groups it faces social systems and problems that include Indians and non-Indians alike. This last point brings us to the ideological contradictions of S.P.I. policy, which might hinder the development of effective

action even if the requisite human, political, and financial resources were available. The Service was founded upon the ideal of respecting Indian culture, both by preventing incursions upon their traditional habitat and by limiting the activity of the S.P.I. among the Indians only to such humanitarian assistance as might maintain or ameliorate their standard of living without disruptive socio-cultural consequences. Yet, at the same time, due first to Positivist philosophy and later perhaps to the necessity of appeasing those from whom it must obtain a mandate and funds, the S.P.I. accepted the premise that any Indian, given time and opportunity, would inevitably develop into a good Brazilian citizen. Thus, it follows that the best Indian program must be almost no program—and one that would take generations to implement at that—and the process by which an Indian becomes a citizen remains, like the S.P.I. philosophy, something of a mystery.

Let me illustrate what these basic weaknesses in policy and structure mean at the local level. The first example shows the relationship between the lack of sufficient legislative and executive power and the S.P.I.'s duty to defend the Indians' traditional habitat. Karajá villages are situated on both banks of the Araguaia and were before Brazilians settled the area. But only one post has been built on the western side, and for some years it has been under pressure from a powerful real estate and cattle company, which bought the land on which the post had been established despite Article 216 of the Brazilian Constitution. And despite pleas from the agent in charge of this post, the S.P.I. had not, by 1969, effectively established the Indian patrimony. Only on Bananal do the Karajá seem to enjoy protection under the law. In 1959 it was made a national park (Decree 47-470), and as such is administered under the New Forest Code of 1965 (Law 4.7771). This code establishes the principle (Article 3, ¶1) of maintaining the environment necessary to the life of Indian populations. Since Indians in Brazil are not legal persons, but wards of the S.P.I. acting for the federal government, the application of such a principle ultimately depends on the authority or local power of the S.P.I.[2] Unfortunately, the decree of 1959 gives authority over the park not to the S.P.I. but to the Parks Section of the Forest Service. Only these functionaries have the authority to punish the exploitation of the natural resources of national parks, which is expressly

prohibited in Article 5 of the Code. Since there are only two officials of the Parks Section on this island of almost eight thousand square miles and they have no transportation, they can do precious little. The cattle of Brazilian ranchers graze the savannas with impunity in their tens of thousands, and the fish in the island's lakes and streams are similarly exploited, sometimes by dynamite. One would think that fish were both a natural resource and part of the environment necessary to maintain the life of the Indians, since the Karajá depend on them for protein and income. However, being neither man nor beast, the fish are protected neither by the S.P.I. nor the Forest Service but, I was told, by a Department of Inland Fisheries, which has never to my knowledge made its presence known on the island. Furthermore, it happens that the only people living within walking distance of the station of the Parks Section are the Karajá of a large mission village, and they, unlike any Brazilians, are prevented from exploiting certain natural resources. The trees they wish to cut down are part of a riverine forest. Such forest is specially protected under Article 2 of the New Forest Code. Unfortunately there is only riverine forest on Bananal. I think this amply demonstrates how the lack of authority hinders the S.P.I. in their basic task of preserving an environment in which Indians might survive. Furthermore, it suggests that without a corps of functionaries expert in local conditions, the promulgation of appropriate laws and systems of administration is unlikely.

Similar shortcomings limit the ability of the S.P.I. to maintain or improve the Karajá's standard of living. For more than a generation, commercial fishing has flourished on the Araguaia. The Karajá have developed this traditional expertise rather than gardening[3] to provide them with most of their small cash income. With this they buy cloth, tools, and items valued by Brazilians such as shoes and coffee cups, which not only give them pleasure but allow them to save face. Although they still depend on their gardens for root crops and fruit, for them commercial fishing has become a way of life. But it is a livelihood that they do not control because, since the fish is destined for urban markets, the enterprise demands considerable investment by middlemen in riverboats, storage facilities, and trucks. Because of this the middlemen must operate on a considerable volume, so they buy from both Brazilians and Karajá, and not only fish, chiefly *pirarucú* (*Arapaima gigas*) and

some giant catfish, but also the skins of two species of caiman (*Melanosuchus niger* and *Caiman sclerops?*) and jaguars and wildcats, which command relatively higher prices. Although I do not have exact figures, it is clear that the enterprise depends on Brazilian participation, since there are only about two hundred adult Karajá men and the Brazilian population of the riverine counties of this area is over forty thousand.[4]

It is a classic example of what Cardoso de Oliveira calls regional interethnic systems, and with reference to the role of the S.P.I. in such a system, it is interesting that he notes that they often reflect the phenomenon of "internal colonialism" (1972:97–100 and ch. VI).[5] In this case the development of a new frontier fails to raise the local standard of living because it is dependent upon, and ultimately controlled by, the more developed, metropolitan sector of Brazil.

Although local officials can and often do protect the Karajá in their transactions with middlemen, at least at the posts, the organization in no way controls the system as a whole. The point here, however, is not that the relative weakness of the S.P.I. at the federal level contradicts the thesis of "internal colonialism." In fact, in June 1968 yet another branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Brazilian Institute of Forest Development, passed down an executive order (No. 253) which may seriously affect the economy of the Araguaia. It was directed to an admirable national goal—that of limiting hunting of all fauna to authorized areas, species, and quantities (which remained unspecified), and strengthening animal husbandry as a means of deriving income and protein from animals. Such a goal makes ecological and financial sense in the long run, and it should be remembered that at the time the world press was suddenly concerned with vanishing animal species, and the Brazilian press with the declining proportion of meat in the Brazilian urban diet at a time when the economy was apparently developing.

But the final beauty of the order, from an administrative point of view, may also be the ruin of this local fishing industry, for the funds for the development of animal husbandry are to come from a 10% tax on income derived from hunting. It is not clear whether all involved—the hunter/fisherman, the local collector, and the middleman-trucker—must register and pay the tax. There is

no doubt about the latter, since those who demonstrate investments in the legal hunting zones ("natural nurseries") can discount them against the tax. But middlemen were talking in 1968–69 of turning to other pursuits, as such tax advantages would be blunted by the further stipulation that any authorized zone must, after a specified period, remain a biological reserve for three consecutive years.

I think one could safely predict that without middlemen the industry must die, and that Karajá and Brazilian fishermen would probably suffer a diminished standard of living. Unfortunately I left the field before the hunting season of 1969, when the order was due to take effect. It is possible that the rumors and the threat died in the face of the difficulty or corruptibility of administration. Further research would be interesting. In any case, I saw no efforts to develop an alternative, such as animal husbandry, for those involved in the industry. It is hard to see how this could be accomplished. If the hunting and fishing complex is stricken here and in other similar situations, where will the money for such development come from? Furthermore, I would estimate that such investment as occurs will tend, for economic and political reasons, to remain close to the cities in projects like intensive pig and cattle raising.

So it seems that the Karajá standard of living is threatened by forces beyond the control of the S.P.I., by choices made by different interest groups in the federal government. Local officials were mostly unaware of the order, although one paragraph refers specifically to Indians. It says that "Indian populations are permitted to sell animal products and sub-products through the S.P.I. posts." If "through" is liberally interpreted as "under the moderately blind eye of" the posts, then in theory the Karajá could go on as before. But we have seen that this looks like a hollow concession. If it is interpreted narrowly as "only to" the posts—and the S.P.I. has often attempted to run posts as commercial enterprises (cf. Cardoso de Oliveira 1972: ch. VIII)—then the onus is squarely on the S.P.I. to provide the means for the Karajá to continue commercial fishing. Again, I saw no signs of any such activity one month before the fishing season of 1969 was due to begin.

However, it is true that in the spring of that year officials at St. Isabel, but at no other Karajá village, were spending considerable sums to create non-fishing jobs. Two characteristics of these

jobs deserve to be noted. First, they seemed temporary. The Karajá were immediately involved in providing materials for, and building, sheds for a sawmill and a tile plant. One wonders what will happen when the buildings have been constructed and the scant supply of local timber and the small local market for tiles exhausted. This program resembles the schools which have been opened at several posts only to be closed, except when run by missionaries, because the S.P.I. seems unable to find a use for a literate Karajá. In sum, this new program seems like another example of my point that for the S.P.I., trying to resolve or avoid the contradictions inherent in its basic philosophy, too often the best program is no program at all. The second point is that within a month these jobs were creating considerable resentment among local Brazilians as rumors and facts circulated about the wages paid. Although they were rarely higher than the legal state minimum, wage work is scarce on the Araguaia. Undoubtedly, these two facets of the program are connected. Had the S.P.I. mounted a more significant program for the Karajá, local Brazilian resentment would have been stronger. As Cardoso de Oliveira has pointed out, any administration divided on ethnic lines will inevitably run into this problem in the face of an interethnic regional system, as we know in the United States (1972: ch. III and pp. 115–20). But the response of the S.P.I. must not be to minimize its Indian programs. It must struggle to find a solution for both Indians and local Brazilians alike, and in this case I believe that commercial fishing could be the best answer.

My final example illustrating the basic weaknesses of the S.P.I. as they affect local situations is in the fundamental field of medical care. If indeed it is committed to sensitive programs of acculturation and integration that might take generations to fulfill, then knowing full well the pitiful lack of tolerance for Old World diseases that Brazilian Indians suffer, the S.P.I. must surely be committed to a sound medical program. But among the Karajá the same masterful inactivity prevails in health care. In an emergency, in 1950, the S.P.I. called in a doctor who diagnosed the presence of tuberculosis and gonorrhea at St. Isabel (Cândido de Oliveira 1952). He recommended a regular visiting doctor, better medical supplies and facilities for isolation at the posts. In 1952, Dr. Noel Nutels recorded 71.1% positive reactions to tuberculosis tests at

the same village, and recommended a national program to defend the Brazilian Indian against tuberculosis (Nutels 1952). In 1956, Darcy Ribeiro, once an official of the S.P.I., published his horrifying and detailed account of the medical and demographic effects of contact, which included data on the Karajá. The Protestant mission near the station of the park officials keeps excellent medical records which they willingly let me read. Of thirty-seven deaths recorded at the village between 1958 and 1968, ten were due to tuberculosis. Fifteen were ascribed to "causes unknown." It is possible that many of these were complications of malaria, which is the disease most frequently recorded in their treatment book, but is not identified as a cause of death. Of the thirty-seven who died, eighteen had come from other villages for treatment, occasionally from villages with S.P.I. posts. All these facts and recommendations were available to the S.P.I., but by 1969 only St. Isabel had received medically trained personnel, and these intermittently. Only St. Isabel had facilities for isolation. Two other posts lacked malaria pills. Their stock, apart from worm medicines, consisted almost entirely of free samples meant for urban practitioners and mainly appropriate for the treatment of nervous disorders. The results of such inattention are that in the thirty years since Lipkind conducted his census (Lipkind 1945) and the S.P.I. established its permanent presence, the Karajá population has diminished by almost exactly one third. Most of this loss has occurred among the Javaé where there are no mission villages. The population of the Karajá proper has remained stable, although it has been replenished by Javaé immigrants. It is not enough for local officials to argue that the Karajá are difficult to treat, because the missions have achieved somewhat better results. For instance, the proportion of children to women of reproductive age in the three Karajá villages of more than one hundred Indians is higher at the two mission villages than at the S.P.I. post of St. Isabel. One mission even supports a launch stocked with medicines that makes periodic trips up and down the Araguaia, offering some treatment to Indians and Brazilians. The failure of the S.P.I. in this field extends beyond the local level, in failing to use available information and to obtain adequate funds and personnel.

One might also measure the failure of the S.P.I. to fulfill its mandate by noting the fact that in the same period a large part

of Karajá religious and ceremonial life, described by Lipkind (op. cit.) as the cult of the dead, has withered away or disappeared. Since these rituals are not actively discouraged, except at one mission, one could argue that their desuetude indicates that they no longer stand in a sensible relationship to the rest of Karajá life whereas until recently they were of central importance. *Heto-hokã* (big house), the most important of the four feasts which Lipkind regards as comprising this cult, served to symbolize and validate not only the ideal relations between the living and the dead, but also those between shamans, leaders, and ordinary men, between men's groups, between adults and initiates to the men's house, men and women, village and village, and people and animals. It involved a large number of people, including visitors from several villages, the elaborate use of body-painting, costume, dance, singing, buffoonery, and ritualized fighting, the building of special houses and enclosures, the preparation and consumption of a feast, the exchange of goods and services, including the lip-piercing of a set of young boys and the haircutting of the age set they were replacing, and many other things. The preparations took several weeks, the feasting at least two days, and the *rites de passage* of the latter set of boys into the men's house several days more.[6] This feast took place only once, in one village, during the time I was in the field. There were no visitors, costumes, feasting, or lip-piercings, and it was all accomplished in two hours. Admittedly this festival probably took place once in about four years in any one village, but the others in the cult were apparently annual. Of these, I witnessed an attenuated version of but one. The other Karajá ritual complex, the masked *aruanã* dances (Karajá, *ijaso*), survives. I do not think that these dance festivals, unlike the *heto-hokã,* ever *necessarily* involved inter-village cooperation (but see below, p. 450). The masks represent animal supernaturals, but for many Karajá today the significance of the festivals is limited to the manipulation of relations with women to the advantage of men. In other words, although the form remains and the dances still provide Karajá men with enormous physical exhilaration, here too their area of meaning has diminished. It should also be noted that the *aruanã* dance ceases when there is a death in the village, so in this case one can see that there could be a direct relationship between its continuity, both immediately and in a larger sense,

and the quality of medical attention provided in any particular village. I found the *aruanã* dances extraordinarily beautiful, and so I regret the disappearance of Karajá ritual, probably more, I realize, than many Karajá for whom it has lost its meaning. But I am not arguing that the S.P.I. should do better for the Karajá in order to preserve their rituals, for they would become artificial.[7] I have discussed the decline of traditional ritual for two reasons. First, it is simply another part of the whole complex of rapid change that has occurred in Karajá culture since the arrival of the S.P.I. Secondly, I believe it is some measure of Karajá awareness of other changes, as those who no longer find sense in the rituals fail to participate.

It should not be any surprise, at this point, to learn that the typical Karajá opinion of the S.P.I. is *"não presta."* In view of my characterization of the basic failings of the S.P.I., the best translation of this phrase might be "good for nothing." Certainly I never heard a positive evaluation. I did hear the Karajá, not only when drunk, curse out all *torí* (non-Indians) in the area. However, despite their low opinion of it, I never heard them calling for the S.P.I. specifically to withdraw. Evidently it offers them something.

The answer to this paradox lies in the complexity of the total contact situation. The Karajá are no longer in a position to choose between life under the S.P.I. and their traditional independence.

This might seem surprising, as the Araguaia valley between Barra do Garças and Conceição encompasses some fifty thousand square miles, and the non-Indian population density is probably a little less than one person per square mile.[8] But the river dominates the settlement patterns of both populations. Any location on its banks provides competitive advantage, not only in terms of trade, transportation, and communication, but also in access to garden lands. All settlements of any size are situated on the riverbanks. However, every rainy season the Araguaia floods the countryside in all directions, so that the sites on its banks dry enough for permanent habitation are few and generally far between. Today each of these permanent sites is occupied, with the result that almost all Karajá settlements must be attached to some distinct segment of the Brazilian front—not only to S.P.I. posts, but also to missions, townships, and cattle farms.

The structure and designs of these Brazilian communities differ considerably, each affording different opportunities and problems for the Karajá. Consequently, while they cannot avoid contact they can at least, or perhaps I should say at most, choose between a variety of face-to-face contact situations. An analysis of shifts of residence has shown that most Karajá prefer missions and S.P.I. posts to cattle farms and townships, but when missions and posts are equally available, more choose the missions.[9] If, as the examples already given ought to have shown, the posts offer little, then perhaps one should conclude that the Karajá tolerate the Service either for its effects on the rest of the contact situation, i.e. outside the posts, or because the little offered at the posts is better than what must be suffered elsewhere. I am suggesting, in other words, that an evaluation of the S.P.I. as "good for nothing" may have another meaning beyond the two I have already illustrated. The second part of this paper will be concerned with demonstrating and analyzing the facts and opinions contained in this paragraph.

In support of my assertion that the Karajá seem to prefer the missions and the posts to townships and ranches, it is necessary to review some historical and cultural facts.[10] If the situation is hard for the Karajá today, they have suffered more in the past from private individuals, government agencies, and missions. In the eighteenth century the Karajá were raided for slaves by *bandeirantes* from the south. In the early nineteenth century, military posts were established along the Araguaia to hold political prisoners and common criminals and to control the relations between the Karajá and the *bandeirantes*. They often failed to control the latter, but decimated the Indians with diseases. When the posts were withdrawn, only a few hundred of perhaps more than ten thousand Karajá survived. When the first mission on the Araguaia was founded at Conceição by the Dominicans, many Karajá migrated there only to find that the mission was not able to protect them from raids by the Kayapó. Disease again was a serious problem. Records indicate that after the Karajá population reached its nadir around 1820, it probably increased quite rapidly during the rest of the nineteenth century when there was only intermittent contact, only to be cut back again around the turn of the century

when permanent settlers, on whose heels the Dominican mission had followed, first drifted in from the north.[11] Since the current posts and missions have been established at least the Karajá have been free of concerted raids by Brazilians or other Indian groups, and the medical picture, while far from satisfactory, is undoubtedly better than it was.[12]

To say that the missions and posts do better today than missions and government agencies of former time does not demonstrate that the Karajá prefer them to the townships or ranches. But this can be inferred from other facts. Again, the historical record is illuminating. Despite the attacks they suffered, there is only one recorded instance of open hostility. Otherwise the Karajá seem to have sought out Brazilian settlements. Eighteenth-century accounts place the Karajá and the Javaé on the banks of Bananal and nowhere to the south of the island. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a steamship began to run down the Araguaia in an attempt to open up an internal trade route for Brazil. It was based in a town now called Aruanã, far to the south of Bananal. Many Karajá came to attend a school built there, and new villages sprang up all along the river, presumably at the fueling points between Bananal and Aruanã. Apparently the Karajá freely offered their services, acting as pilots and providing wood and material for repairs. Later, as I have mentioned, others moved north to the mission at Conceição. This was situated on a stretch of the Araguaia previously dominated by the Kayapó, or at least not occupied by the Karajá and separating them from the northern branch of the tribe, the Ixãbiawa. Many Ixãbiawa moved south to attend school at the mission, and when I visited them in 1966 I found some who knew even some Latin.

One can discern similar patterns in the more recent Karajá migrations. The villages established in the south remained there until very recently, becoming attached to small Brazilian townships on the riverbanks as peasant farmers, fishermen, and diamond panners slowly pushed downriver from the headwaters of the Araguaia in Goiás and Minas Gerais. In the north, however, no other villages were established much beyond Bananal, and when the activity of the mission at Conceição was curtailed the Karajá left the area and returned to Bananal. The difference between the south and the north followed from the different character of the Brazilian

front in each zone. In the south, Brazilians engaged in mixed subsistence farming and diamond panning and so settled along the river. Thus they were accessible to the Karajá, and it was here that commercial fishing began. In the north the front was based on cattle raising, which demands little labor and encourages a dispersed pattern of settlement over the savanna regions away from the river.[13] Furthermore the Karajá retreat from the north coincided with the meeting of both fronts at the center of Karajá territory along the island of Bananal, so this move need not be seen as a retreat but as a continuing search for new opportunities. I think it is clear that the Karajá have actively sought out such opportunities throughout a century of contact, so their presence at missions and posts today need not be interpreted as a passive acceptance of inevitable necessity.

The current distribution of the Karajá population also indicates Karajá preferences. There are five S.P.I. posts and two mission villages, but there are more than a dozen small townships between Aruaná and Conceição and many more cattle farms and ranches. Between the two Javaé posts alone there are ten cattle farms. But there are few more than one hundred Karajá in the townships and less than half that number at cattle ranches, i.e. a total of about 15% of their population.

The Karajá only settle at large cattle stations. Since one or two men can manage up to five hundred head during most of the year and each animal needs up to fifty acres of pasture, there is little demand for Brazilian, let alone Karajá, labor, especially where cattle are only raised in small numbers in conjunction with subsistence agriculture (i.e. on cattle farms). At the ranches, which are typically financed with metropolitan capital and are rapidly displacing the mixed farms of the unprotected Brazilian peasant-squatters, there are enough cattle to create at least a seasonal demand for Karajá labor in such tasks as branding and repairing corrals. There is also a nucleus of ranch hands ready to buy fish from the Karajá for immediate consumption, since these cattle are never slaughtered locally but saved for the urban markets. Moreover it is only at the ranches that the owners find it pays to fence the cattle at all, so that it is only here that Karajá gardens and settlement sites can enjoy some protection from the cattle without considerable extra effort. It is doubtful that a large independent village could

be set up at a private cattle ranch. There would be too many conflicts over the use of the pockets of forest above the level of the floods, which are necessary for both gardens and cattle pasture in the wet season. I heard several such disputes at cattle ranches where there were but a few Karajá, and it was a frequent issue at the larger villages at the posts and missions. These also raise cattle, although unlike the private and secular establishments, they recognize some obligation to put Karajá interests on a par with those of the cattle. Finally, the owners of the cattle ranches tend to treat other resources such as timber and fish as private property, often so that they can hunt and fish for sport. Although as we have seen the legal right to such tenure in traditional Indian territory is dubious, the S.P.I. has never challenged such *de facto* control of large areas of the Araguaia valley. Moreover, though they probably do not know it, the owners of private rural properties are entitled under Article 15 of another executive order of the Brazilian Institute for Forest Development (No. 252, June 1968) to prohibit any hunting on their lands. So it is no wonder that there are no large Karajá villages on such cattle ranches, and that all Karajá who choose such a place of residence are either refugees fleeing the threat of assassination in other Karajá villages, or marginal Javaé who have only recently moved to the main stream of the Araguaia.

The townships at which the Karajá live are, with the exception of Mato Verde, also on the fringes of Karajá territory. The Karajá living at such sites consistently have strong reasons for avoiding other Karajá, like fear of vengeance by witchcraft or assassination, or even of particular Brazilians living around Bananal. As on a ranch, the number of Karajá at any one township is small. The problem is competition for dry land for housing, since the resident Brazilian population is larger. Karajá houses tend to be at the end of the street where the levee begins to drop, and if there are more than one or two they are noticeably crowded. A feature that makes some townships unattractive is the frequent lack of medical help, and especially the fact that the available medicines are not free.[14] That the townships as a whole attract more Karajá than the ranches must be explained by the larger market for fresh fish, the greater opportunities for day labor throughout the year, and the easier access to the goods of civilization, from canned food to prostitutes.

The townships are also the only true Brazilian communities in the area with churches, elementary schools, stores, political activity, and so on. They lack the "greenhouse" atmosphere of the posts and missions (cf. Cardoso de Oliveira 1972:135), the cultural desolation of the ranches, and the obvious subordination to the limited interests of a few *torí* that characterize all three. Karajá residents generally take part in the *movimento* of the townships, and while some Brazilians are derisive and hostile, others act as good neighbors.

Ultimately it is not the missions nor the S.P.I. posts, but the townships and the ranches that represent the future of the Araguaia. So they must be regarded as a significant resource for the Karajá. Not surprisingly, the Karajá resident at the latter locations are more Brazilian in their dress, manner, and speech. The fact that they are often refugees should not mislead us; many other Karajá refugees simply move to other post and mission villages. Those that have chosen the townships and cattle ranches often struck me as more than usually industrious and enterprising. There are a few drunkards and some whom the townspeople regard as parasites, but it should be remembered that even in the townships job opportunities for anyone are not great.

I hope that in the last few paragraphs I have not only shown that the Karajá believe that the missions and posts offer them something—or at least that nearly 85% have good reason not to opt for the ranches and townships. There is still a handful living on isolated sites free of any Brazilians, but even these are engaged in commercial fishing, and because of the flooding and Brazilian immigration, such isolation is no longer an option for any significant number of Karajá. As I have said, today they can only choose between a variety of contact situations.

I also hope it is becoming clear that it would be wrong to evaluate the role of the S.P.I. by considering the S.P.I. and the Karajá alone. A few other local institutions should be mentioned at this point. There are airstrips not only at the posts, but also at some townships. Occasionally tourists and buyers arrive from the city, to whom the Karajá are able to sell clay dolls, feather headdresses, and miniature canoes and weapons as exotic souvenirs. The center of this activity is St. Isabel, where there is a surprising first-class hotel complete with air conditioning. The Karajá provide the hotel

with fish and occasionally act as guides on fishing parties. St. Isabel, the original and senior post among the Karajá of a service dedicated to gradual change, is also an air force base, a stop for the National Airmail (CAN), and a base for the Central Brazil Foundation. This last was set up under Vargas (the president who is said to have wanted to strengthen the S.P.I.) as part of a campaign to open up the interior for Brazilian use. The Foundation now comprises a small colony of Brazilians right next to the Karajá village. Finally, a strange echo of the nineteenth-century steamboat can be found in the Botel, a floating hotel carrying mostly North American tourists gently downriver for a week of adventure and hours of importunity from Karajá souvenir salesmen. So the Karajá and the S.P.I. are not alone in a tropical paradise, but are bit players in a Wild West drama—complete with cowboys and fortune hunters, revivalists and renegades, homesteads and large ranches owned by absentee landlords, dame schools and whorehouses, with an occasional twentieth-century audience of tourists and the Brazilian armed forces, but largely without the law.

The diversity of the Brazilian front is matched to some degree by diversity within Karajá culture. Some of this variation has arisen out of the contact situation. In order to earn cash the Ixãbiawa, unlike any other Karajá, have turned to gardening. Remote from the established trade routes for dried fish, the Ixãbiawa produce manioc flour, which is less perishable, and fruit for the local market. Since trading is a male role on the Araguaia, Ixãbiawa men are more involved in gardening than even their Javaé counterparts, who have been regarded as the gardeners of the Karajá. Even unmarried men make gardens, to the amusement and consternation of Karajá bachelors. Their village is devoid of "traditional" artifacts; instead of making combs or dolls, women weave hammocks, again for the local Brazilians. This should be explained by the lack of tourists and buyers, for they exhibit a lively interest in non-salable traditions such as recounting myths. In St. Isabel, by way of contrast, one finds a false archaism. Much time is devoted to making dolls and feather headdresses and other decorative items. Here there are the largest numbers of tourists and buyers, but it was at St. Isabel that I observed the impoverished version of the *heto-hokã* feast (at which none of the participants wore costumes) and found the largest number of males engaged in non-traditional

pursuits, acting as cooks, motorists, and odd-job men for the sundry local Brazilian interests.

Other differences between Karajá villages seem to have an autochthonous origin. As local natural resources vary, so does the advantage of developing certain skills and specializations. One finds larger and more elaborate sleeping mats in the northern part of Bananal, where informants say the *buritĺ* palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) is easier to find. Since mat making is extremely time-consuming and *buritĺ* fibers much finer than alternative materials, one can safely say that women in this area devote much more time to it than any others. The Karajá say that it is only near the mouth of the Tapirapé that there are stands of *taquarí* (*Chusquea* spp.), which they regard as better for arrow shafts than the more common *taboca* (gen. *Guadua*), and also supplies of *imbé,* an aroid, which makes the best binding for arrows. Here Karajá will lay up stores of these materials when they plan to visit other villages. Farther upstream there are the best supplies of canoe wood, and here men will make surplus canoes for sale or exchange. The quality of the oil-producing *babaçú* nut (*Orbignya oleifera*), of clay and coloring materials, of bow wood and bowstring fiber all vary from place to place, leading to a degree of village specialization and intervillage trade and thus affecting the allocation of time to other pursuits.

Thus Karajá in different villages have rather different interests, depending on the character of the natural and social resources. At the same time as we have seen, there is considerable migration from village to village, from post to mission, from township to cattle ranch, and so on. This suggests that while every site has a distinct potential, each site can tolerate only a small number of permanent inhabitants.

Nor is this situation merely a contemporary and transient phenomenon. Certain traditional aspects of Karajá culture indicate that the Araguaian environment has long discouraged permanent local settlements of any considerable size, even when fewer demands have been made on it. One can surmise that Karajá culture has contributed to the successful adaptation of the Karajá within the Araguaian ecosystem over many generations. Linguistic evidence shows that the Karajá have been a distinct population for more than a thousand years,[15] reflecting perhaps their specialization in

fishing when compared to the other more closely interrelated tribes of the Macro-Gê stock who, while also horticulturalists, hunt in the surrounding savannas. When contacted, the Karajá were numbered in the tens of thousands. However, their villages were limited to a maximum of a few hundred inhabitants, divided into temporary fishing parties every dry season and relocated permanently at least at the death of certain ceremonial leaders. Individuals and related family groups must have moved more frequently. The Karajá like to move away for at least a season when there is a death in the family, or even before, since they tend to have more respect for a shaman's curing abilities the farther he lives from them. They lacked leaders with permanent secular authority, so leaving the village was the easiest and often the only way to resolve individual or factional disputes without bloodshed. Delicate rituals of hospitality indicate that the reception of visitors and political refugees was a common and critical occurrence. One could even argue that the elaborate intermittent inter-village *heto-hokã* feast on the one hand and the fastidiously replicated, continual, role-providing character of intra-village *aruanã* ritual on the other facilitated the exchange not only of goods but also of *personae* between villages differing in resources and opportunities, thereby creating a larger and more resilient socio-economic system. All this points to the conclusion that on the Araguaia where the flood waters limit and separate habitable sites, permanent and peaceful settlement at any one location is not likely to be viable in the long run without reliable ties to other populations, which can be activated in times of stress to provide refuge or materials or some other means of relieving pressure by abuse or population growth upon local ecosystems. Like the dominant feature of the natural environment, population movement must be fluid and escape valves must exist to relieve temporary blocks in the system.[16] This may sound more like plumbing theory than anthropology, but I think the simile is apt.

It is now possible to evaluate the role of the S.P.I. posts. What is the major concern of the *encarregado,* the head of the post? Not Indians, but cattle. Although we have seen that the interests of the resident Karajá vary, at each and every post the *encarregado* is responsible for a herd of cattle which is expected to raise money

for the S.P.I. Perhaps the herd was originally meant to provide work for the Karajá, but it would take an enormous herd to employ a significant number of Karajá, and they have preferred to earn money by fishing, making artifacts, or even gardening, in all of which ventures the S.P.I. has remained totally uninvolved. The failure of the S.P.I. to support rationalized commercial fishing is particularly unfortunate. It is of passionate interest to the Karajá, it has involved both Indians and Brazilians, it has encouraged the development of trade throughout the Araguaia valley, and finally it is the one area in which Brazilians show interest in and respect for Karajá skills since nets, guns, and motors demand more capital than a bow and arrow and a canoe and have disastrous ecological side effects which soon lead to diminishing returns.[17] Meanwhile, unfortunately, the lesser *encarregados* often show more than professional devotion to the cattle. Since their pay is miserable and never delivered to the post, they must find some local source of income. Some therefore raise their own cattle among or even out of the S.P.I. herd. This is hardly their fault, but it gives the Karajá a pretext for cynicism. So the Karajá and the S.P.I. are separated and not united by their labor. Cattle raising also serves to exacerbate relations between the posts and local Brazilian peasant farmers, most of whom are engaged in the same pursuit and are in competition for pasture.

As a junior member of a bureaucracy, the *encarregado* must also do paper work. It not only takes time, but tends to make the *encarregado* more attentive to the demands of his superiors and less so to the desires of the Karajá. This is especially true at St. Isabel, through which messages from the smaller posts must pass. Such work serves again to oppose the *civilizado* to the Indian since it has not occurred to the S.P.I. to train literate Karajá for such tasks, thus giving their spasmodic school programs some point. After all, at the age they finish school Karajá youths would not be required to work at traditional tasks, but they often desire income before their marriage, so it is possible that such jobs would be welcomed.

At the larger posts the *encarregado* is freed from some tasks by assistants such as cowhands and mechanics. But so long as they fail to attract Karajá to these jobs and have to bring in other Brazilians, the *encarregados* have to worry about making extra

gardens to feed them or at least about obtaining land for the employees to work. When only swidden agriculture is possible and there is little suitable forest away from the riverbanks, every additional resident at a post makes considerable demands on local resources. Again, this can only serve to create hostility between Indians and S.P.I. officials, which will grow in proportion to the size of each population. At St. Isabel this is especially clear because there are many other Brazilian residents beyond the S.P.I.

It is fortunate then, in some respects, that the S.P.I. does provide but few personnel. But this is no advantage unless these few are extraordinarily trained in medicine, anthropology, agronomy, etc., so that a number of necessary roles can be performed by one or two individuals. Experience in cattle raising or estate management, which were the only obvious qualifications apart from connections of FUNAI appointees at St. Isabel in 1968–69, are simply not enough.

Even if it manages by default to limit its own population to a tolerable size at most posts, the S.P.I. tends to attract too many Karajá to reside permanently at a given site. This is a characteristic which they share with the missions and seems to arise out of their similar institutional structure. It is not simply because they are both there to attend to the Indians, and that doing a good job is easily confused with dealing with the largest possible number, which of course is easier if the Indians can be attracted to the posts. It also derives from the fact that for a post or mission, personnel are necessary. To keep the personnel, a certain minimum of facilities is necessary. The less the personnel have in common with the Karajá, i.e. to the degree that they come from the city or even the United States, the more expensive these facilities. Having tied up appreciable capital in fixed assets, neither the S.P.I. nor a mission is anxious for the Karajá to move away. The S.P.I. can use some legal authority to this end, if necessary, having little else to offer than the occasional slaughter of a cow from the post's herd. Missionaries may appeal to personal Christian ethics, and for those whom they cannot reach in this manner they too have cattle but more importantly good, free medicine. As of 1969 the S.P.I. posts had no mobile services; the Karajá had to come to them, and not vice versa.

To the degree that posts and missions remain fixed, there are

and will be undesirable ecological, economic, and political side effects. At one mission garden land is almost exhausted and the situation can only deteriorate as the population grows. As long as the mission stays put, fresh forest land will be difficult to acquire because on one bank it is protected by the neighboring Parks Service (see above, p. 435), and on the other it has been cleared for pasture for a vast cattle ranch, driving local peasants onto the nearest available sites up- and downstream. At St. Isabel, some Karajá must be transported to their gardens by truck as they are now so far from the village. Here fishing too is becoming difficult; the Karajá eat species that elsewhere are passed over and buy and sell fish among themselves whereas in other villages they are freely exchanged. One ceremonial leader, in order to honor the request of guests for turtles, could only get them by sending trade goods by government plane to the Xingú! Another point that the S.P.I. does not seem to consider is that as it concentrates Karajá in one place, it becomes hard to find jobs for them all either at the posts or in local townships, and this generates conflict among the Karajá. Also as long as the posts remain fixed, the *encarregados* concerned with their cattle, and the Service as a whole without adequate transportation, communications and authority, it is very hard for S.P.I. officials to devote time to the delicate business of discouraging the settlement and growth of Brazilian populations on neighboring or distant sites, with reserves of forest for garden land, that might act as safety valves against some future crisis.

The *encarregados* actually worry with more immediate problems such as fencing cattle. The cattle must be kept out of the gardens and the village. There are never funds to fence the pasture. The only cheap solution is to fence the village, giving it the air of an internment camp designed to keep the Karajá in rather than the cattle out. The fence also serves as a visible barrier between the Indians and the local Brazilians, and symbolizes the S.P.I. tendency to treat Indians as exotic growths even in well-established interethnic regional systems. Cardoso de Oliveira has described this tendency as the "greenhouse" syndrome (1972:120).[18] I would like to draw attention here to something I shall call the "greenroom effect." These transparent yet significant barriers remind me of the theater. Some S.P.I. villages have the air of a row of dressing rooms as the Karajá, hearing a boat or jeep approach,

rapidly don their showiest clothing and emerge ready to play some appropriate role. These roles are frequently more embarrassingly false if the Indians come out through the gates, like actors in the modern theater stepping into the audience. For us, the barbed wire backdrop would seem to denote a stark tragedy. But the Karajá play such scenes as if they were a comedy of manners, with reason, as we shall see, for the barrier is an accepted convention and this one is simply in the wrong place. For the outsider, however, their traditional life within the new confines of the village now seems, by contrast, less real, a worn-out convention, or, remembering Kroeber's famous opinion of Gê culture, as impalpable as a play within a play.

The *encarregados* see the fences as a tolerable necessity and point out with pride that they have encouraged the Karajá to maintain the traditional village plan. This is a long straight line of dwelling houses running parallel to the river, with an isolated men's house lying a good fifty yards behind, connected only by a dance track running back perpendicularly from the village. In effect it is a simple T-shape, but it is also a grid which provides the Karajá with what one might call a sense of moral geography. While men move freely up and down its vertical axis (the dance track), such movement is dangerous to women, who may not enter or even approach the men's house under pain of rape or of being ascribed the status of a village wanton. It is this danger and opposition which gives the *aruanã* dance its character and excitement, as women, respecting the authority of the spirit-masks, are enticed farther and farther away from the village. On the other hand, the horizontal axis of the T (the line of dwellings and the street running between it and the riverbank) is the one along which only women freely move.[19] If a Karajá man cannot conduct his business with other men at the men's house and finds it necessary to visit a home down the street, he finds it easier to approach via the men's house taking two perpendicular paths rather than a direct horizontal one.[20] This symbolizes that his business in the other home is purely business, i.e. a male activity, and that he is not there for amorous reasons. So when the *encarregado* for economy or his convenience decides to run the fence between the village and the men's house or to place the only gate at the end of the village street near his home, he is unwittingly complicating the maintenance of traditional

Karajá values even though the alignment of the village maintains its original form.[21] This is unfortunate, for S.P.I. officials often show an easy tolerance for Karajá rituals, values, and institutions such as the dances of the animal spirits, the village wantons, and the greater use of the sexes at the expense of the nuclear family as a basis for the organization of economic and ritual activity, all of which some missionaries openly regard as heathen abominations. But by their practice *encarregados* become less easily distinguished from missionaries, despite their good intentions.

What then is the answer to the original question of why the Karajá tolerate the S.P.I. despite their low opinion of it? Is it because of the quality of life at the posts, or because of the effect of the S.P.I. on the over-all quality of the contact situation? Framing the question more theoretically, is it the manifest or the latent function of the institution which offers the Karajá more? The posts do provide space for a greater number of Karajá than the townships and cattle ranches, so that some semblance of traditional village life, which demands at least about fifty people, is possible. And despite their lack of funds and training, some personnel demonstrate a level of sympathy and concern without equal among their local Brazilian counterparts. The posts also offer a minimum of medical and legal protection and occasionally other goods and services, at least more than the Karajá can find in the towns and ranches. But in all these qualities, with the exception of their tolerance and legal authority, the posts are outclassed by missions, and in other fields, as we have seen, the posts are far from perfect.

Is the manifest function of the posts more valuable? This might seem improbable. I have characterized the situation that they face as, broadly, a society of considerable diversity, delicately integrated in some respects and full of antagonism in others. One can summarize the activity of the posts within this system as an inappropriate replication of uniformity, a uniformity based on cattle raising and inadequate management that seems only to separate and antagonize the various participants in this interethnic system. While I believe all this is true, I would still maintain that the S.P.I. has a certain value for the Karajá and a function within a larger system, simply *because it is there* or rather because it is there and so are the missions. These two institutions are basically similar in

structure and in their relations with the Indians, for whom therefore they must compete. For instance, missionaries seem to grow more tolerant in time. Undoubtedly there are human reasons for this, but I think the missionaries also fear losing the Karajá to the posts, where, as I have said, the personnel are more tolerant of, if only unconcerned by, certain aspects of traditional Karajá culture. At the same time the missions provide a level of services which the S.P.I. must try to emulate, for this is a cheaper solution than taking over the missions entirely.

One must not forget, however, that both institutions are ecologically, economically, and politically inadequate, whatever one may think of their values. So it is unwise to rest upon the conclusion that at least they do better for the Karajá than the townships and the cattle ranches. Unfortunately the latter, with all their poverty and injustice, represent the future of the Araguaia, as far as one can see. Brazil must achieve a major transformation of its rural sector. Otherwise the prospects for the Karajá and millions of others look extremely bleak, and the idea of regarding the transformation of Indians into Brazilian citizens as progress seems like a horrible joke.

NOTES

1. The research was funded first by the Frontier Research Project of the Latin American Institute, Columbia University, and then by the Doherty Foundation. I would like to thank all those whose help and encouragement made my fieldwork possible: Charles Wagley, my sponsor, and Robert Murphy, my advisor at Columbia, Eduardo Galvão and the staff of the ethnology section of the Museu Goêldi, Belém, Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, George Kimon of the Brazilian Foreign Office, and above all David and Gretchen Fortune of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Brasília, and those friends on the Araguaia who would prefer to remain anonymous. I would also like to acknowledge the helpful discussion and criticism of all the members of the New York Seminar on South American Indians of an earlier version of this paper, especially that of Daniel Gross.

2. Under Law 5-484 of 1928. For a discussion of the confusion surrounding the civil rights of Indians, and their guaranteed and inalienable possession of traditional territory (Art. 216 of the Federal Constitution of 1946), see Ribeiro 1970, pp. 197–214. In October 1970, the President of Brazil

handed down a new Statute of the Indian, which while it may clarify Indian rights, does so largely by limiting them much further in the interests of national development. At the time of writing this statute had not yet been ratified by the Congress.

3. With the exception of the Ixãbiawa; see p. 448.

4. Based on figures from the 1960 census kindly provided by Sra. Magdalena Viera Pinto and the Information and Documentation Office of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

5. For ethnographic accounts of such systems see Melatti 1967, Laraia and Da Matta 1967, and Cardoso de Oliveira 1964.

6. Baxter n.d., which is based on the field notes of Kozak, who witnessed a *heto-hokã* feast in February 1954. See also Dietschy 1959 and 1962 for analyses of this feast based apparently on informants' accounts; and Dietschy 1960 for a rather different approach to the *aruanã* dance.

7. The S.P.I. has encouraged the Karajá to perform the *aruanã* dance for a Brazilian audience in Brasília. This I would regard as a doubly artificial form of the preservation of ritual.

8. See p. 437. Official figures actually indicate a population density considerably less than one person per square mile.

9. Tavener 1966. For instance, as an old village in the north of Bananal broke up, three quarters moved to a mission, one quarter to a post less than a day's journey away. In the central reaches of Bananal, villages average only thirty miles apart; I have known a couple paddle their sick family more than seventy miles downstream by nightfall. Neither inaccessibility, nor lack of resources (see p. 449 ff.), nor the persistence of old quarrels can explain this choice, since the mission village is split into factions. It seems that the explanation must be sought in the differences between posts and missions. Farther south, about three times as many Karajá have moved recently to Fontoura rather than St. Isabel, which again are close to each other, from other sites. The total number of inhabitants does not differ so widely. There are only three Karajá villages which have maintained a more or less continuous existence around one local site, or series of such sites; all the rest are recent settlements and resettlements.

10. These are taken from Krause 1911:173 ff., and the inferences on population growth and decline come from his sources and census, and also that of Lipkind 1945.

11. For an account of the early days at Conceição and particularly their effect on the Karajá see Ribeiro da Cunha 1945.

12. With the exception of the Javaé. I believe that, unlike the rest of the Karajá, the Javaé avoided contact during the nineteenth century, moving away from the banks of the eastern branch of the Araguaia into the center of Bananal. Thus it is only recently, as they have returned to the riverbanks to take part in commercial fishing, that they have been heavily exposed to non-Indian diseases, and are now suffering the sort of population decline suffered by the rest of the Karajá some generations ago.

13. For a sociological and historical account of this northern front, see Moreira Neto 1960, which is especially interesting for its description and analysis of the antagonism between townspeople/creditors and outback cowhand/debtors.

14. The Karajá who have recently arrived in St. Isabel from southern villages are often sick and seeking treatment. Cf. Cândido de Oliveira 1952.

15. David Fortune, in a personal communication, has told me that this can be calculated by glotto-chronology. For further information on the relationship of Karajá to Gê languages see Greenberg 1960, and on the interrelatedness of Gê, see Wilbert 1962.

16. In discussing the interethnic situation which involves the Tukuna, another Indian group living on a large river, Cardoso de Oliveira also introduces the concept of the S.P.I. posts as safety valves (1972: ch. III).

17. *Pirarucú* take five years to mature sexually, and lay relatively few eggs. The survival of the next generation depends a great deal on protection of the young by at least one parent. Shallow water is preferred for breeding, so on the Araguaia *pirarucú* are often found not in the main stream but in closed lakes or small inlets. For all these reasons, and of course their size, only a few will be found, and even fewer must be taken, at any one location. See Fontenelle n.d. The Karajá did use nets when the *pirarucú* was consumed at *aruanã* feasts. Presumably this was suitable when the demand was so limited. Since the advent of competitive commercial fishing, which lacks such ritual controls on demands, they have not used these nets. See Schultz 1953.

18. Cardoso de Oliveira implies earlier in the same article (1972: ch. VII "Problems and Hypotheses Concerning Inter-ethnic Friction") that such a greenhouse is, of course, the creation of the gardener, not the plant, with the implication that the significant differences to be seen inside a post greenhouse do not derive from the variety of exotic Indian institutions, but rather from the culture of the Brazilian authorities/gardeners. Thus as a mission or post grows, and becomes more of a Brazilian community, institutions like the patron-client relationship appear, implying of course a number of competing patrons, each with his subordinate and competing clients. At St. Isabel, where this is most developed, there must be at least half a dozen Karajá clients, each looking to his particular patron for support and to other Karajá for followers. Even in the smaller villages, the appointed chief can be seen as a client of the *torí*, competing with traditional officeholders and their factions. Cf. Cardoso de Oliveira 1972: ch. VII, 93–97, and ch. VIII, 136 for a fuller discussion of the problems of patronage, power, and conflict in these situations, and for Brazil in general see Leeds 1964. Leeds mentions the crucial importance of journalists in the informal Brazilian political system: it was a journalist who was the patron of the Karajá Arutana in the following story, whose implications I shall allow to speak for themselves:

THE NEW YORK TIMES
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1967

BRAZILIAN INDIANS
OUST TRIBAL CHIEF

BRASILIA (Reuters)—The world's most unpublicized coup d'état has taken place on Bananal, a jungle island deep in the interior of Brazil.

Arutana, a tribal leader, ousted his cousin, Ataualpa, "dictator" of the Caraja Indian tribe for the last 26 years, as ruler of the island.

Brazilians learned about the change when Chief Arutana described the coup on a television program.

He said that the Caraja tribe had a tradition of choosing its leaders for skill in hunting and fishing, but Ataualpa was old and almost blind. Ataualpa, he added, was appointed chief in 1940 by the late Getulio D. Vargas, then President of Brazil.

Arutana said that he had been voted into office on a three-point program—no drinking of cachaca, a fiery cane spirit, good relations with white men, and no exploitation of the island by outsiders.

Bananal, with a population of 1,500, lies in the Araguaya River, a tributary of the Amazon.

19. Residence upon marriage tends toward matrilocality. Karajá women are not only more likely to be related by ties of kinship than the men of any one village, but they will emphasize that they are related in this way, whereas the men play down their kinship ties, and validate their membership in a particular village by emphasizing their participation in non-kin-based men's groups and men's house activities. Cf. Murphy and Da Matta in this volume.

20. For discussion of the deceptive use of pathways for similar reasons among a Xingú tribe, see Gregor 1969.

21. For discussions of the significance of village shape among South American Indians see A. G. James 1949; among the Gê, Lévi-Strauss 1963: ch. VIII, and among the Karajá, Dietschy 1962.

Introduction to Weavers of Otavalo

Too often when we read about native peoples in South America and elsewhere, we are confronted with a virtual obituary of that people as a distinct entity or we learn of the factors which are leading to its imminent demise. Many readers will be pleased by this relatively optimistic report on the Otavalo people of Ecuador, a highland group which has exhibited great vitality and strength against seemingly insuperable forces. In his original article, Frank Salomon gives us a sensitive and very complete account of this people from the earliest known sources to the present. In his conclusion he not only challenges some commonly held notions regarding the inevitability of assimilation or destruction, but he also suggests some of the reasons why the Otavalo have been able to survive as a cultural entity. He also injects some very relevant opinions regarding the nature of contemporary culture change.

When dealing with the indigenous societies of South America, just about the only thing of which we can be absolutely certain is change. This applies as much to societies like the Otavalo who have been incorporated within state-organized societies for hundreds of years as to tribal Indians living deep in isolated jungle areas in the Amazon basin. All anthropologists accept the notion that the nature of a particular culture is intimately bound up with the environment in which it lives. Some believe that culture itself is best explained as an adaptation to environment taken in its broadest sense, including not only the natural habitat but also surrounding societies and technology.

It is now evident that environmental change is taking place at an unprecedented rate throughout the length and breadth of South

America. These changes include sociopolitical changes at the national level, the expansion and intensification of agricultural and extractive economies, the construction of new communications and transportation links, the increasing availability of manufactured items, changes in diet and the transmission of communicable diseases. There is not a single region of South America untouched by one or more such changes. Insofar then as their cultures are adaptive to environment, all the peoples of South America, primitive and modern, urban and rural, are undergoing cultural change.

For those societies remote from urban centers still organized primarily as tribal peoples these changes are often abrupt and brutal. The very physical survival of the culture bearers is often threatened and outrageous incidents of exploitation, official indifference and even massacre have been reported. In those areas where traditional peoples are living in permanent contact with national societies, speak the national language and are enmeshed in the national economic system, the impact of change is different. In addition to incidents of discrimination and exploitation, traditional societies are undergoing a process of assimilation whereby they become a part of the national rural lower class. Along with this comes a process of cultural homogenization in which centuries-old traditions and customs are set aside in favor of "modern" customs.

The modification of distinctive native lifeways is, to a large extent, irresistible, given the inevitability of environmental change just mentioned. But a few voices now raise the question of whether *complete* assimilation and the resulting extinction of native lifeways is desirable or beneficial to the peoples involved. Curiously, strong arguments for the preservation of diversity have more frequently been made by environmentalists concerned with the extinction of non-human species. The question of cultural survival is scarcely touched in much of what is written about South America or the environment in general. Are there any arguments in favor of striving to maintain cultural diversity and autonomy among human populations for their own sake? Do we count among basic human rights the right of a people to remain different? The rapid spread of a relatively homogeneous culture associated with urban-industrial society poses this question very urgently. How shall we respond as anthropologists and as human beings?

Frank Salomon was an undergraduate at Columbia University and did graduate work in sociology at the University of Michigan. Salomon became interested in Otavalo while staying at the Universidad Central del Ecuador in Quito during 1967. Primarily interested in ethnohistorical research, he is now pursuing further graduate studies at Cornell University.

25. *WEAVERS OF OTAVALO*

FRANK SALOMON

"I never saw a race of finer looking people than an assembly of Otavaleños on a Sunday," wrote an English visitor to the Ecuador of a century and a half ago (Stevenson 1825: vii, 347), and many other travelers in the Ecuadorean highlands, from Cieza de León in conquest times up to the anthropologists of our own, have likewise admired Canton Otavalo as the home of a people whose prosperity and ethnic pride stand out handsomely amid the Andean spectacle of misery. Today textile merchants from Otavalo, neatly dressed in white pants and shirts under gray or blue ponchos, wearing broad-brimmed hats over long braids, travel as far as Argentina, Colombia, Panama, and even Miami in the conduct of a weaving economy which has distinguished Otavalo as far back as documentation reaches. Yet Canton Otavalo, a spacious, fertile valley about thirty-five miles north of the capital city of Quito, looks like anything but a modern manufacturing center; its textile economy remains firmly embedded in an indigenous ("Indian" by the local criteria, Quechua speech and dress) peasant culture which cottage industry has strengthened rather than supplanted.

This symbiosis of a manufacturing economy tied into national and even international market structures with a localistic agricultural system and a community structure that resists out-marriage, permanent out-migration, and the erosion of native norms, is not entirely unique. Several other peoples of the Ecuadorean sierra have invented functionally parallel adaptations to repeated conquest (Salz 1955:128; Casagrande 1969:6–7) and, like the Otavalans, have intermittently resisted Hispanic domination with violence. But this best-studied and best-developed example of a smallholding-cum-cottage industry adaptation offers a particularly impressive instance of the occasional ability of small-scale social

and economic formations to survive, and even take advantage of, a ponderous succession of superimposed large-scale systems of domination.

So Otavalo is of double interest to the people of the world's richest nation. First, it serves as a counterexample to the popular stereotype of Indian societies as hermetically sealed, static, and historically doomed, a stereotype which the anthropologists' preference for remote and unacculturated societies has done little to erase. Otavalans, like the vast majority of both South and North American Indians, belie this notion. They are not a tribe but a regionally distinct ethnic group with a four-century history of intimate culture contact; to study them is to see that, increasingly, indigenist studies must belong to the social anthropology of complex societies. Second, Otavalo contradicts the steamroller image of modernization, the assumption that traditional societies are critically vulnerable to the slightest touch of outside influence and wholly passive under its impact, devoid of policy for coping with it beyond a futile initial resistance. The view of modern forms of social organizations as a dynamic force acting on the inert mass of older societies, however benevolently voiced, is a reflection of imperialist ideologies of "progress." A post-imperialist social science must embody the view from the village as well as that from the metropolis; it must recognize the possibility that what looks like irrationality or conservatism from the master's point of view may be, from the victim's, an activist response to the social problem posed by conquest. Otavalo demonstrates particularly clearly the dynamism of some outwardly traditional societies.

My study of the Otavalan adaptation began with an attempt to gather from ethnographic sources more than what my short visits could teach me about the textile industry in its present form, and the resulting synchronic view forms the first part of this article. But in following up the origins of market weaving it became clear that the Otavalan market of today is a successor to a long history of local textile economies. The region's cottage industry has been drafted into the service of each of the imperial and national systems that have in turn subjugated native Ecuador. Yet in certain ways Otavalo's productivity, at the same time as it has beckoned exploiters, has enabled it to endure oppression and contempt more successfully than most Indian cultures. This history is the subject of

the rest of this paper; the emphasis of the historical presentation is upon pointing out events which have contributed uniquely to Otavalo's integral survival and on suggesting the conditions of its relative good fortune in recent times.

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATION

Aníbal Buitrón, Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, Elsie Clews Parsons, and the collaborators of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía have supplied a quartet of thorough Otavalan village ethnographies; the first two are native sons of the area, and, by their sensitivity to the differences among the Canton's villages (*parcialidades*), afford not only representative or typical community portraits, but also explain the directions and range of variation among communities. Joseph Casagrande and his associates have, since 1966, been furthering the comparative study of highland Ecuadorean villages. From these and many less comprehensive sources there emerges a composite picture of the Canton as a many-sided reality. Depending on what interests us, we can see it as a vast multitude of tiny family subsistence units, each striving for autonomy, or as a constellation of village communities, each an endogamous band of families, or as a single centralized market system in which all the villages act as specialists in a regional economy, or as a regional unit, political or economic, integrated into overarching national and international institutions. To accommodate all these realities, I have pictured it as a nest of systems-within-systems, a set of concentric productive and political units with the nuclear family at the center.

It is a commonplace of political science that the building of national political and economic institutions demands the integration of old, local systems into bigger, newer ones, even at the price of violent and politically explosive breakup and reconstitution. If we look at the process from the point of view of the traditional peasant, however, and not from that of the state-building elite, the problem appears quite different: how can local collectivities—the family, the village—arrange their relations with the spreading and deepening national institutions in such a way as to protect their own independence and security? What appears to urbanites

as traditionalism, stubbornness, or irrational identification with the land is simply the peasants' way of doing exactly what the nation-builders are also trying to do, namely, restrict their dependence to resources over which they have some influence. This is the question to which the Otavalan farming-manufacturing complex is an answer. In the terms of the nest analogy, how is the tiny central unit to relate to the changing demands of the larger systems around it?

I. The Farming-Weaving Household. Canton Otavalo comprises a high, well-watered valley, walled by extinct volcanoes and freshened by deep, cold lakes. A railroad and a highway connect the city of Otavalo, administrative seat of the region, with Quito to the south and Colombia to the north. Most of the city's 8,600-odd people are white (*blanco,* more a cultural than a racial designation) or mestizo. The remaining 37,000 Otavaleños form an overwhelmingly agricultural and Indian population dwelling on family farms in rural *parcialidades* (Jed Cooper 1965:15).

The farming-weaving household, at the center of the nest of structures, is the smallest and the most enduring of Indian socio-economic institutions. Almost as in Incaic times, families cultivate their plots with wooden spades, digging sticks, and hoes that differ from their ancient prototypes only in their metal sheathing. Dependent on the plot for all their food except spices and a few vegetables, they devote tireless labor to its intensive cultivation. The commitment to land is fundamental; other involvements in larger systems "succeed" only insofar as they enhance and protect the family holding. Husband and wife own the plot jointly and each wills half of it to his or her chosen heirs. Land is alienable property in a sense similar to the white understanding of property, but its emotional and prestige value is so great that families almost never sell out. Children live with parents until they inherit land or marry an inheritor. Those who lack land or cannot farm attach themselves to landed households in a variety of adoption relationships appropriate to paupers, orphans, infirm people, or the very old (Rubio Orbe 1956:372–76; Parsons 1945:33–38).

The farming household, which we have been considering as the smallest unit of the subsistence economy, is also the unit of textile production; weaving takes place almost exclusively within the walls of the home. In weaving, unlike farming, technology is varied and as modern as circumstances allow. For traditional-style woolens

weavers use a belt loom of pre-Hispanic design, but families which weave for the market as well as for village consumption also own wooden frame looms, and most augment the portable spindle with Spanish-style spinning wheels. Families divide the labor roughly by sex and age (for instance, spinning on the wheel is a masculine job, while spindles are women's tools), but each individual can do several tasks. The day's work consists of many short shifts at various textile and agricultural jobs: "for them, rest consists of exchanging one task for another" (Buitrón 1947:52). (A fine photographic record of weaving technique appears in a children's book by Bernard Wolf, *The Little Weaver of Agato.*) Some families especially active in the textile trade hire help, usually landless neighbors, to do piecework, and a few maintain workshops in town near the market, but the true textile factories (Otavalo has had three in recent times) are always *blanco*-owned. Indian factory hands also own or rent family plots; there is as yet no Otavalan textile proletariat.

Technical arrangements and the division of labor within the family do not vary much from place to place within the region, but the prosperity of families and the degree of their involvement in textile trade do vary a great deal, not only between *parcialidades,* but even within them. In some places the typical home is a spacious building with a tile roof and broad fields, while in others the landscape of thatched huts and exhausted plots hardly differs from the scenes of misery characteristic of debt peon settlements. The overall differences between Otavalo and poorer regions, as well as the differences in wealth between and within its settlements, all arise from Otavalo's complex land tenure situation.

The parts of the valley vary sharply in the extent and quality of farmlands. Valley-floor land is the most fertile, producing squash, vegetables, corn, and beans; higher slopes yield wheat and barley, while the cold, foggy grasslands over 11,000 feet are good only for quinoa, tiny potatoes, and pasture. Nowhere is land abundant enough for weavers to grow their own wool; it is brought from regions farther south (Parsons 1945:16–26; Collier and Buitrón 1949:33). Position in the valley powerfully affects the fortunes of a family or village, specifically, the degree to which it can enter into the cottage manufacturing economy. Farmers whose holdings extend up the poorer slopes must sow and harvest different fields

at different times. Extra work then consumes time potentially useful for weaving, and poverty precludes saving money for investment in crafts supplies (Buitrón 1947:45–67). Buitrón holds this to be the chief determinant of the growth of cottage industry. Within the single parish of Ilumán, the weaving industry sorts itself out into weaving households dwelling on the lower, richer fields and families upon the higher slopes who spin thread to sell to weavers (IEAG 1953:163).

Although the area overall can be considered a zone of smallholding peasantry, land is far from uniformly distributed, and the quantity as well as the quality of land a family owns affects its place in the textile economy. Not all Otavalan farmers own the land they cultivate, and although nearly all those who do own land fall into the *minifundio* bracket—holdings too small to yield a complete livelihood for a family—there is plenty of variation within that bracket. For instance, Gonzalo Rubio Orbe found that in Punyaro, a *parcialidad* where land is scarce, "the distribution of lands is irregular: while there are families having two, two and a half, or three *cuadras* [that is, 1.4 to 2.1 hectares], many have a quarter, or less than a quarter, of a *solar* [that is, under .04 of an acre]." There are 23 landless families (in Punyaro), sixteen of them homeless and dwelling two or three families to a roof (Rubio Orbe 1956:31 and 108n). Seventy-six percent of Punyaro families have less than half a *cuadra,* that is, under .36 hectare (Rubio Orbe 1956:108).

Those who own only *microparcelas* too tiny to live off make do with a variety of other tenures. Some rent extra plots; a more common arrangement is *partido,* sharecropping for an absentee owner. "Collective or communal property is completely unknown in regard to land," Rubio Orbe reports, because, given the custom that only landholders or renters are marriageable, "there is not enough land to provide any. Punyareños consider some brushland in the ravines communal, so as to avail themselves of the firewood. But it's not unusual for a neighbor to declare himself the owner" (p. 31). Pasture land must be sought afar, usually at a price.

In Otavalo as elsewhere minifundism goes hand in hand with latifundism. Yet Otavalo's latifundia appear scarce and precarious when compared to those farther south in the Andes. Several big farms employing landless Indians do own tracts of the valley's

finest land; in Punyaro when Rubio Orbe studied it, for instance, absentees owned (but did not cultivate) fields so rich and convenient to the city of Otavalo that Punyareños had no hope of buying them (Rubio Orbe 1956:110–11). And in the 1940's even Peguche, among the most prosperous *parcialidades,* had a few families that farmed only *huasipungos,* small plots of hacienda property allotted in payment for heavy hacienda labor obligations (Parsons 1945:8). In spite of these facts, however, big valley farms stand out by their growing weakness more than their power. Buitrón (n.d.:36) sums up this situation, so contrary to Ecuadorean and foreign stereotypes of highland agriculture: "A good part of the most fertile and best situated lands still belong to the haciendas. But little by little the Indians are buying them up, first the high grasslands, later the hillsides around the valley, and finally the valleys themselves, in short, the whole hacienda . . . abandoned and uncultivated for a long time, [hacienda lands] have been plowed and sown at once on passing into Indian hands." In another study (Buitrón and Buitrón 1945:196) the same observer illustrates the momentum of advancing minifundism: "The Indians of Pucará (another *parcialidad*), with a white man from Otavalo as an intermediary and backer, tried to buy the hacienda of Santa Rosa. They had already offered the hacienda owners 130,000 sucres, a pretty high price in the opinion of everyone. While the sale was being negotiated, to the intermediary's great surprise, about a hundred Indians came to his house to see him one afternoon. They had come from the *parcialidad* of Cumbas, near the hacienda in question, to tell him that they did not want Indians from other places in their territory, much less whites. Each of the hundred had contributed 2,000 sucres and they had already bought the hacienda for 200,000 sucres." In Punyaro, on the other hand, local bidders lost out to people from the textile-wealthy *parcialidades* of Peguche and Ilumán in nearly all of the seven hundred transactions that dismantled a neighboring hacienda; this suggests, as we will see later, that the wealth generated by weaving produces social stratification among localities. Otavalo has moved so far in the direction of minifundism that, in 1946, only 31% of residents surveyed did any work on land other than their own, while for the highlands as a whole, about one third of the population works *exclusively* on land owned by others; many more work both their own and rented

fields (Salz 1955:32, 36). But the reasons for the breakup of haciendas, a tendency of which Otavalo is only the most conspicuous example, are not well understood. Beate Salz (1955:41) offers three explanations. First, haciendas are in general low-profit businesses because of high irrigation and other service costs, hazardous production, and scarce labor (crafts, urban labor, and seasonal work in the lowlands all compete for the land-hungry worker's time). Second, the farm products market is unstable (less stable, for instance, than income from city rental properties). For instance, in 1942 the coincidence of new price controls on meat with rising corn prices gave incentive for a shift in land use from pasture to crops, but, since an independent farmer can hardly be persuaded to turn peon, hacienda owners failed to raise from the countryside labor forces adequate to the greater need for field hands. Third, cultural change has demoted the hacienda owner; today, "everyone wants to have a Chevrolet and live in Quito." The knowledge that Indians will pay high prices for land encourages landowners to follow this impulse. It might be added as a fourth reason that Ecuadorean legislation now mandates the government to redistribute underused lands, a law which, even when not immediately applied, acts as an incentive for absentees to sell while the selling is good.

The flow of land from latifundists to Indians has taken place through money transactions, typically with *blanco* intermediaries such as lawyers, banks, or government agencies. Thus land hunger, an expression of desires for local autonomy, has paradoxically brought Otavaleños into closer contact with the large-scale institutions of the nation-state. It has put them in need of large amounts of cash and given a seeming incentive to mestization or abandonment of the community. It has erased all possibility of a retreatist or enclave adaptation. Yet, unlike similar encounters in other places, it has not weakened the land-based household by draining its manpower or vitiating the commitment to Indian-ness; and this rare outcome, as we will see later, arises from the historical opportunity to turn a craft tradition of long standing to a new end, the piecemeal reconquest of the land.

II. The Parcialidad. Although it approaches economic independence, the farming household has economic as well as purely social ties to the *parcialidad* (village, a local usage) of which it

forms a part. At harvests and house-raisings it depends on cooperative work parties. Reciprocal arrangements also take care of many smaller tasks. The *parcialidad* is an inward-looking system. Buitrón and Buitrón (1945:205) found that, of civilly registered marriages (which include virtually all marriages), 93% of those contracted between two Indians united a man and a woman of the same parish, while the comparable figure for *blancos* was 45% and for mestizos 25%. The parish (*parroquia*) encloses several *parcialidades,* but most marriages occur within one village or between contiguous ones. By contrast relations between non-neighboring *parcialidades* are remote; the weekly market in Otavalo City affords an exchange of greetings and specialty products, but villages have ideological traditions of localism, and the entire history of the region is full of intervillage conflicts, some legalistic, some violent. Ritualized fighting between villages is a feature of the largest annual festival.

The *parcialidad* as such is not an administrative unit, but an unofficial subdivision of the *parroquia;* the nine parochial towns in Canton Otavalo form subsidiary centers of non-Indian population and minor governmental and commercial centers. The bulk of Indians live in *parcialidades* of eighty people to several thousand, each consisting of a tract of land with houses scattered among the fields rather than forming a nucleated village. Footpaths, ravines, or rows of cabuya plants demarcate *parcialidad* and property boundaries. Buitrón and Buitrón (1945:192) takes a rigidly indigenist approach in defining the *parcialidad* as "a portion of territory perfectly delimited, whose inhabitants form perfectly homogeneous groups, not only in regard to material culture, but also in social and economic organization." In fact, however, many *parcialidades* also house a culturally distinct mestizo minority which rarely joins Indian families in marriage or cooperative labor. In many places, the mestizos are poorer than Indians and looked down on with the same contempt that Indians endure in most of Ecuador.

The *parcialidad* is held together largely by kinship and cooperation; its authority structures are few and not mandated to exercise control outside their narrow specialties. In no single individual are power and authority decisively combined; even the landlord, if the area is one where much land is rented, exercises domain only

in specifically economic dealings, a sharp contrast to the status of the *hacendado* ["landlord"] as ultimate secular authority observed in other parts of Ecuador (Casagrande 1969:5). The magic power of the *brujo* ["healer"] commands respect in personal matters, but he is no politician. Insofar as the *parcialidad* has any general authority roles, they are representative of more encompassing social structures, the state and the church. Traditionally, each village had at least two *alcaldes* ["mayors"], *"de doctrina"* or religious, and *"de justicia"* or political. These unpaid part-time officials, appointed by the priest of the parish and the *teniente político* ["political chief"] respectively, were to extract labor for various imposed duties such as maintaining churches and roads, and intervene as justices of the peace in minor disputes, tasks which earn more opprobrium than authority. The village *cabildo* or council of aldermen, which the *alcaldes* were supposed to organize, rarely functioned well and in some places became a dead letter (Rubio Orbe 1956:337, 341).

III. Regional and National Integration. Looking at the social location of the Otavalan as a spot in the center of several nested systems of trust, power, and authority, there appears a discontinuity between arrangements at the village and at the regional and national level. Even when deeply enmeshed in extralocal markets, the locality functions not as a political subsystem of the bigger system, but, as much as possible, in isolation from it. This preference finds face-to-face expression in the social distance norms Indians uphold (and which white Ecuadoreans are in no hurry to ease) in dealing with white officials and buyers at market: stiff, taciturn courtesy and a complete absence of spontaneity or joking prevail. The relation of local community to the state remains passive and peripheral.

So long as land supplies could meet the demand posed by natural increase, this preference for enclave living was nonproblematic. However, land hunger profoundly endangers autonomy, and the *minifundio* complex here, as in many parts of Latin America, seems to generate irreversible social change. New plots can be obtained in only a few ways: increasing sharecropping and peonage; land invasions and political revolution, as occurred in Cochabamba, Bolivia; or purchase of lands on the open market. The first implies loss of autonomy; the second a gamble on the

chances of violence or politics, and, in the event of victory, a commitment to national political institutions; the third a commitment to whatever will give the community a reliable source of cash. The first of these alternatives has been the commonest all over the Andes, while the second stands out much less in Ecuadorean history than in that of Boliva or Perú. But Indians in several parts of the highlands besides Otavalo have moved in the third direction. Ralph Beals (1966:78) describes a village near Quito which adapted to a land squeeze early in the twentieth century by turning to the growing of fruit and vegetables for the city market, so as to expand enough to remain self-sufficient. In Cañar and Azuay provinces during the 1940s Indians developed the manufacture of what the world knows as Panama hats in order to escape from desperate landless poverty (Salz 1955:104n). Throughout the Ecuadorean sierra, Indians have entered onto the stage of national history almost exclusively in economic roles.

In contrast to its weakness as a political center, the city of Otavalo, and especially its market place, has long acted as an economic nexus unifying the whole Canton. Before dawn every Saturday, families from every *parcialidad* hike into town with their week's production of textiles, basketry, pots, and produce to do a few intense hours of business and then enjoy an afternoon of drinking, dancing, watching medicine shows, socializing, and eating meats or other delicacies at the stalls in the plaza. Insofar as this exhaustingly lively gathering exchanges mostly local specialty products, it functions as what Eric Wolf calls a sectional market (Wolf 1966:40), a central point among interdependent but autonomous villages "scattered around it in a radial fashion, like the planets of the solar system around the sun." Like planets with satellites of their own, the parochial towns conduct smaller markets, partly remnant sales, the day after the Otavalo City market (IEAG 1953:65). But the weekly market also works as a link integrating the villages into the larger economic system from which they are politically and socially separated by a racial animosity even more intense than that familiar to North Americans, as well as by class and language barriers and the Indians' own disinclination to take part. Buyers of Otavalan craft products include Ecuadorean mestizos, both as consumers and as middlemen, some *blancos,* and an ever-increasing number of foreign, chiefly

North American, tourists. In turn, manufactured goods from other countries and other parts of Ecuador—pots and pans, glazed stoneware, dyes, sewing machines—find Indian buyers, although the average rural family buys only one of each item per generation (Rubio Orbe 1956:49–58). Most prominent among extralocal goods are the raw materials of weaving, tools, and trimmings.

At the market the display of village-made products far exceeds that of manufactured goods; Indians have not followed the mestizos in becoming eager consumers of *blanco*-style goods. Money made at market tends to be saved for land buying. Otavalans deal regularly with mestizos and *blancos* of all classes. They travel all over Ecuador and into neighboring countries, even overseas, as traders and lately as textile experts; in 1950 a delegation from Peguche visited UN headquarters in New York to speak for and about Ecuador (Rubio Orbe 1957:331). Hardly any indigenous people has had more opportunity to become acculturated, at least in terms of consumption patterns; yet the one point on which all accounts of the region agree is that Otavaleños have adopted a limited body of *blanco* material culture and, aside from religion, little of the non-material. Often traits actively promoted by whites are taken in only reluctantly and slowly. Indeed those writers who, like Rubio Orbe, believe that a quicker pace of acculturation would be to the Indians' advantage find this reluctance problematic and explainable only in terms of a generalized traditionalism. Yet how can one attribute generally conservative attitudes to a social system which has innovated so aggressively in its external relations?

In "Tappers and Trappers" Robert Murphy and Julian Steward (1956:353) have posited what they consider to be a universal rule: "When goods manufactured by industrialized nations with modern techniques become available through trade to the aboriginal populations, the native people increasingly give up their home crafts in order to devote their efforts to producing specialized cash crops or other trade items in order to obtain more of the industrially made articles. The consequences of this simple though world-wide factor are enormous, even though they vary in local manifestation. The phenomenon is of such a high order of regularity that special explanations must be sought for the few departures from it." Apparently Otavalo is such an exception.

Buitrón (1962:315) remarks on the Otavalans' "great attachment to their traditional garments . . . The young Indians who have been drafted and who for a year have worn military uniforms, on returning home abandon all these new garments . . . to return to their pants and shirts of white cotton and their ponchos." But is the explanation needed special, or can we take the Otavalan experience to mean that Murphy and Steward's generalization is true only given conditions which need to be specified?

Manufactured goods as such possess no special virtue. Sol Tax, working from Guatemalan highland evidence, holds that even when Indians accept many non-indigenous practices, "they have nevertheless maintained a total pattern that is distinctively their own. The evidence appears to be that the major changes occurred in the first generation after the sixteenth-century conquest, and that the new pattern crystallized early and has maintained itself since with relatively minor changes. It seems easiest to explain this history on the hypotheses that alternatives were presented in large numbers when the Spanish first came, that the Indians adopted many, and that in the ensuing hundreds of years few new alternatives appeared. Colonial Guatemala settled down to a fairly stable set of Indian cultures coexisting with an equally stable Ladino culture" (1957:150). We cannot account for acculturation by reading into Indian behavior pro or con value judgments about white practices as things in themselves; rather, we have to interpret selection and rejection of practices as expressing estimates of their usefulness in living out already held values. If a change seems useful, Tax observes, it will take hold fast, not slowly.

Otavalans too show a "total pattern that is distinctively their own" in production and consumption. The list of definitely exogenous practices, gathered from several writers, is not very long:

> Government by *alcaldes* and *cabildo;* recognition of state power.
>
> Baptism and *compadrazgo;* other sacraments; certain religious beliefs.
>
> Civil registry of marriages.

Use of European-design looms and other weaving techniques; chemical dyes.

Settlement of disputes in court.

Free choice of spouse (not always practiced).

Divorce (very rare, perhaps deviant from the Indian point of view).

Certain children's games.

Residence in towns (rare).

Tile roofing of houses and use of furniture within.

Ownership of certain manufactured goods: metalware and pottery are common, radios, bicycles, sewing machines are rarer. Rental of automobiles.

Attendance at schools.

Some folk tales.

Use of manufactured textiles for home-made clothes. The factory-made reversible poncho. Manufactured beads.

Bilingualism.

(Rubio Orbe 1956:389–91 and 1959: 318–34; Buitrón 1962:314–20; IEAG 1953:143; Parsons 1945:181, 190)

If one accepts Murphy and Steward's generalization it becomes hard to see how the lines between acceptable and deviant acculturation are drawn, or why different populations in similar situations of culture contact draw them differently. In Nayón, a formerly Quechua-speaking community near Quito, land-poor Indians turned to truck farming, trading, and outside wage labor in the early twentieth century, and since then have acculturated so rapidly that Ralph Beals (1952:73) sees them as virtually bypassing the mestizo stage altogether. Men of Nayón wear suits and short hair, while in Otavalo, which has been in at least as favorable a position to buy into *blanco* culture, Indians draw the line at the use of factory-made ponchos of characteristically Indian design. Apparently the desirability of white-style goods cannot be considered self-evident, even when, as in Ecuador, fidelity to indigenous culture invites oppression.

The most parsimonious explanation of the Otavalans' choices among available innovations (excluding the first three listed, which have a history of compulsion), as well as of the persistence of villages as enclaves in the political and social nation in spite of their economic involvements, is that economic security and autonomy in the form of land ownership is paramount over the enjoyment of consumer goods. Historically, the reason is not hard to see; the loss of lands to *blancos* has almost always left Indians dependent and defenseless. Given this criterion of usefulness, Tax's theory yields cogent explanation of the choices. In an example from Rubio Orbe (1956:216), a young man who could have supported his future wife well in the city was refused until he agreed to go back to farming. Innovations which further the quest for land are welcome, on the other hand; Buitrón (1956:228–93) reports that when a North American textile expert introduced a simple device for making wide cloths more easily, it was not Indian conservatism that prevented wide distribution of the invention—the device was eagerly received—but the non-cooperation of Ecuadorean and foreign officials.

The harnessing of cottage industry to the national market for the purpose of buying land is the current solution to problems of long standing, the problems of achieving independence in the face of subjugation. Twentieth-century circumstances, as we will see later, have made the craft-marketing adaptation outstandingly successful in recent times; but even in the region's worst periods of oppression, its ancient preeminence in textile-making has paradoxically acted as a buffer against total cultural demise at the same time that it has invited exploitation. The historical record, incomplete as it is, allows us to glimpse several successive relationships between Otavalo and its conquerors.

WEAVING IN OTAVALAN HISTORY

Archaeological evidence shows that Otavalo between A.D. 500 and 1500 was the home of a people dwelling in small city-states,

socially stratified to about the same extent and in the same manner as the Chibchans to the north (Murra 1944:792): "The chief and his retainers, priests, and various craftsmen probably lived in a town supported by the produce of farmers scattered over the surrounding countryside. The latter came to town to exchange goods at the market, to participate in festivals, and to offer prayers and sacrifices at the temple" (Meggers 1966:159). This population, known historically as the Cara tribe or nation, was linguistically similar to the Cayapa-Colorado Indians to its west; both peoples' tongues are of the Barbácoa Chibchan group, related to Colombian, not Peruvian, speech (Loukotka 1968:250).

Incaic and Spanish superimpositions have made it hard to reconstruct Cara socio-political arrangements. The only history of Cara territory written before the extinction of the Cara language in the eighteenth century, that of the Jesuit Juan de Velasco, sets forth a picture so rich in extravagant but undocumented detail that its portrait of the Cara as empire-building centralizers must be discounted as mostly regional chauvinism (Szászdi 1964).

One of the few aspects of Cara civilization of which we can be fairly sure, however, is its craft life. "The textile culture of the Otavaleños goes back to the earliest history of the Andean Indians. Before the conquest, before the coming of the Incas, the Otavalo . . . were weaving blankets and cloaks from cotton they obtained in trade with the people of the Amazon jungle" (Collier and Buitrón 1949:163). John Murra writes (1944:794) that "Trade relations were maintained with the peoples of the eastern lowlands, who brought achiote (a red coloring powder), parrots, monkeys, and even children to exchange for blankets, salt, and dogs. Cotton was also imported from the east." The corregidor Sancho de Paz Ponce de León, whose 1573 report to the crown is the best early Otavalan document, says that Indians of the area carried on trade with "pagan Indians from lands which have not yet been conquered." Traders enjoyed special prestige, according to Ponce de León: "In the old days, the people of each town or village in this entire *corregimiento* (of Otavalo) had their *cacique* who governed them as a tyrant, because he was the most able and valiant. They had him for a master, and obeyed and respected him and paid tribute; and the Indians owned no more than what the *cacique* might let them have, so that he was the master

of all that the Indians possessed as well as of their wives and children. They served him as if they were his slaves, *except the merchant Indians, who did not serve their chief like the others, but only paid a tribute of gold, blankets, and red or white bone beads*" (Ponce de León 1897:111; italics added).

No single pre-Incaic political unit ever dominated the area north of Quito; even after the Incaic conquest, wars between localities persisted (Cieza de León 1959:22). Nonetheless this region resisted the Peruvians' offensive more tenaciously than any other except Araucanian Chile. Inca invasion of the area began about 1450, but when Huayna Capac's troops finally subjugated it, forty-five years had elapsed and Columbus had already set foot on Hispaniola. As a result, the Inca period in Otavalo lasted only some forty years, and although the Inca empire concentrated much manpower and administrative attention on integrating this rich area—a much more fertile and inviting zone than Cuzco, the seat of the empire—its impact proved, in some respects, shallow.

Among towns in the Cara region, only Sarance—the modern city of Otavalo—and Caranqui became Inca administrative centers. Accounts of the building of a formidable temple and a northward extension of the imperial road through Sarance (which must have meant mobilizing large numbers of locals in labor brigades), the removal of local nobles to Cuzco to be trained in Quechua language and imperial ideology, and the reshuffling of land tenures in order to impose the famous tripartite management basic to the integrated Andean economy all suggest that conquest must have completely rebuilt Cara society. But some indicators point in the opposite direction. The large-scale killing of captives suggests an uncertain hold on the political structure, as do the introduction of *mitimaes,* transplanted labor forces, from long-subdued Bolivia and the erection of a fortress in Sarance "to deal with revolts in time of war and peace" (Cieza de León 1959: 21). Quechua language did not fully replace Cara for another two hundred years, and the ideology and mythology expressed in it never took root at all; Otavalan folk tales mix pre-Incaic with Spanish, but not Inca, content (Buitrón and Buitrón 1966:55–79). It is true that the region paid tribute heavily and regularly, and that the upper levels of Cara stratification merged with the middle

levels of the Inca hierarchy. Yet, "The Inca conquest had not caused major changes in the autochthonous nuclei of population . . . [or] destroyed the social and economic organization of the conquered peoples" (Vargas 1957:71). Apparently, as one descends from wider levels of coordination to local structures Inca control becomes weaker, so that while Sarance became an Incaic outpost, villages bought relative autonomy by rendering tributes in kind. The introduction of wool-bearing llamas by the Incas must have greatly enhanced Otavalo's productivity in this period (Buitrón 1956:287) and its value as a revenue source. There is a parallel to the modern system in this acquiescence to the material demands of large-scale structures as a proxy for social involvement in them. The price of the accommodation in both cases is the yielding up of whatever is produced beyond subsistence, whether to a market as today, or to a fully managed economy as under the Incas. Otavalo has worked hard to remain on the periphery of the political world.

The demands of the next wave of invaders, the Spanish, were far harsher. Aside from the most obvious causes of misery, disease, and brutality, the Spanish conquest created a situation which, even with the best intentions, had to hurt. A fast-growing Spanish immigrant population, largely urban, had to be fed by a labor force which at the same time was being drained by the headlong expansion of mining enterprises. Moreover, the system contained the seeds of its own deterioration in that it drained off in the form of goods and metal exports to Spain much of the value created by Indian labor. The exploitation of the natives did not even succeed in capitalizing the colonial economy with money or social-overhead goods; instead it created a society addicted to the buying of European products. As a result the answer to every economic problem was to squeeze still greater production from Indian labor. Otavalo fared better in this bind than many other places, but colonial times brought terrible suffering to the region (Reyes 1938: vol. 1, 345–57), first through the exploitation of its labor and later through the piecemeal theft of its lands.

Sebastián de Benalcázar and his followers, who conquered modern Ecuador in 1534 in the wake of Pizarro's assault on the war-torn Inca empire, were disappointed in their hopes of finding another gold-rich Perú. Throughout colonial history Ecuador remained politically an appendage to the viceroyalties, first of Perú and after 1720 of New Granada (modern Colombia). This reflected its economic status as supplier of goods to other parts of the empire. Nonetheless the institutions of conquest, and many of their results, resembled those in more politically potent colonies: the evolution of land tenures from usufruct grants to latifundia, and of Indian labor obligations from *encomienda* to *mita* to debt peonage, parallels Peruvian developments.

The newly founded *cabildo* (city council) of Quito granted three forms of agricultural land tenures, limited, from 1535 onward, to fairly small holdings: *solares,* gardens in or near the city; *estancias* for the encouragement of livestock growing (which proved so successful that seventeenth-century Quito was famous for cheap livestock); and *tierras para sembradura,* land for crops. Not landholding proper, however, but rather the exploitation of a non-territorial grant, the *encomienda,* yielded up early colonial fortunes. The *encomienda,* consisting of the assignment to a Spanish *encomendero* of a varying number of Indians to be protected and catechized, and, in payment for these services, to pay him tribute in goods or labor, specifically required that the *encomendero* should not live on the lands of his *encomendados.* But many managed to acquire land grants neighboring their *encomendado* villages and to extort excessive labor from them under the name of tribute. Otavalo fell into the hands of a violent and adventurous conquistador, Rodrigo de Salazar, in one of the earliest and largest *encomiendas,* and the surrounding *parcialidades* were divided into a series of much smaller ones. Because the terms of *encomienda* granted the privilege for only two generations, these first grants reverted to the crown relatively early (Salazar's in 1581). The crown chose to set aside this community, so rich in skilled labor, as a crown tributary area. That Otavalan Indians became workers for the Spanish state instead of being reassigned in new *encomiendas* is one reason for their relative good fortune in this era (Reyes 1938: vol. 1, 315–22; Vargas 1957: 160–62).

Since the Otavalo area is poor in minerals and under pre-automotive conditions not advantageously placed for truck farming, *encomenderos* and officials extracted private wealth and crown revenue from the area chiefly by putting the yoke of forced

labor on the indigenous textile culture. The highly successful introduction of sheep to the Andes and the expansion of cotton growing and other fiber culture in the lowlands supplied Otavalo with the raw materials for making a very large part of the colonial world's supply of textiles, from rope and sackcloth to fine handkerchiefs, but above all, of ordinary shirt cloth, woolen blankets, and ponchos. Tribute laws of 1612 required every man of eighteen through fifty years to render two white cotton cloaks to the crown as well as money and livestock payments (Municipalidad de Otavalo 1909:35–36). Textiles from the Ecuadorean highlands clothed the mine labor forces of Peru and Colombia and paid for the wine and imported goods that Quiteño Spaniards enjoyed; indeed the cloth trade, as John Phelan explains in his admirable history *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century* (1967: 66–85), became the backbone of Ecuador's colonial economy and made it "the sweatshop of South America."

The Spanish achieved the expansion of weaving from a local craft to an export industry not chiefly through technological reorganization (although the use of the Spanish frame loom did take root quickly throughout the Andes) but through the concentration and merciless overworking of Indians in primitive factories, or *obrajes,* where amid filth, darkness, and hunger, overseers forced them to work hours far beyond what royal legislation theoretically permitted. *Obrajes* ranged downward in size and quality from those operated as crown enterprises (later leased to contractors); to viceroyally-licensed private shops, some of which were assigned quotas of forced *mita* labor while others hired weavers; to unlicensed shops run by *encomenderos,* city entrepreneurs, powerful Indians, and not uncommonly, religious orders. A few *obrajes* belonged to corporate Indian communities which used them to pay their tributes. The most concentrated area of *obraje* production was not Otavalo but Riobamba, a region south of Quito where sheep raising flourished. After the *encomienda* including Otavalo reverted to the crown in 1581 the large *obraje* in Otavalo City was reorganized as a crown enterprise and under corrupt management declined; but when a change of royal policy in 1620 put it on the market as a leased concession, it quickly appreciated and by 1623 had become the most valuable

in Ecuador (Phelan 1967:69–74; Vargas 1957:235, 303). Also in 1620, another crown *obraje* was opened at Peguche.

The continuing struggle which crown officials waged to put limits to the abuse and wastage of life that colonists were always ready to visit on the King's Indian subjects was resisted tirelessly by colonists who saw no other way to wring a decent living from Ecuador's soil. Amid this conflict, conditions in the *obrajes* proved a perennial bone of contention. From the earliest times of the Ecuadorean *Audiencia* (the ruling body immediately subject to the Viceroy of Perú), royal correspondence deals with the issues of non-payment of weavers, overwork, child labor, the question of whether *obrajes* should serve as debtor's prisons, usurpation of Indian lands by *obraje* owners, and myriad forms of cruelty, starvation, and neglect (Landazuri Soto 1959:28, 31, 32, 75–76, 82). Otavalo, by virtue of its status as a crown holding, repeatedly had the good luck to become a test case in *obraje* reform, the decision to lease it in 1620 being one such experiment.

The Otavalo reforms of 1620, planned by the dynamic president of the *Audiencia,* Dr. Antonio de Morga, constituted one of the earliest and wisest plans for Indian reconstruction. Its terms included the restoration of all lands whether stolen or bought, provision of a plot and a house for every Indian, exemption from the forced labor of the *mita,* segregation of non-Indians and traders in the town of Ibarra, and a number of measures to insure administrative honesty and efficiency (Phelan 1967:76). But subsequent presidents could not make them stick, and abuses recurred; a 1648 royal order refers to Otavalo Indians fleeing to the mountains for fear of debtor's prison or because their lands had been stolen (Vargas 1957:95). By 1680 mounting protest prodded the Bourbon king Charles II to a Draconian reform which would have decimated textile production by destroying all unlicensed shops. President Munive of the Quito *Audiencia* convinced the crown that this reform could only wreck the economy (Phelan 1967:78–79), but in doing so he admitted that the crown tributary areas once again needed protection if they were to prosper: "[Weavers at Otavalo] live in and are accustomed to the city of Otavalo with their homes and their families there, going to work without any coercion or violence, which condition does not prevail at the *obraje* of Peguche because

of the inconvenient distance of 6 to 9 miles from the villages where they live to the workshops, where they enter at four in the morning and leave at six in the evening, resulting in the harm and nuisance of having to walk 18 miles every day to and from work, without a chance to rest . . . they despair . . . three of them threw themselves under a bridge and were pulled out dead, and so I propose to Your Majesty that the only remedy is to demolish this *obraje* . . ." (Landazuri Soto 1959:144–45). The crown *obraje* at Peguche employed 200 workers; that at Otavalo, 498. The abuses which these workers suffered were far less horrible than those inflicted on inmates of some private shops (Landazuri Soto 1959:171–72).

During the same period, the crown, by cumulative partial measures, was abolishing the *encomienda.* Earlier measures such as the (rarely enforced) ban on tributes payable only in labor and the non-redistribution of *encomiendas* had not brought labor conditions up to the standards of Spanish law, and during the period 1690–1720 the remaining holdings were reclaimed as crown lands or sold and the institution liquidated (Vargas 1957:163–65). Instead of relieving the Indians of their exploiters, however, this change gave Spaniards and *criollos* ["mixed bloods"] an incentive to invest the profits from *obrajes* in land purchases or to indulge in seizures of land which the increasingly corrupt *corregidores* (officials charged with the protection of Indians) could be persuaded to tolerate. It is in this period—not the conquest—that we find the seeds of latifundism. Otavalo had and still has some sizable latifundia, but these did not, as happened farther south in the Andes, convert whole villages into captive colonies of landless debt peons; rather they have bordered on freehold *parcialidades,* so that *huasipungeros* of the big farm nonetheless remained socially attached to independently landed neighbors. Possibly because Otavalo's relatively gentle climate allows farming high up on the mountainsides, and consequently permits victims of land-grabbing to resettle, latifundia of the Otavalo region have had to rely on hired labor done part time by *minifundistas* and less on fixed colonies of indebted Indians than those elsewhere.

The decline of the *encomienda* also heightened the demand for *mita* labor. The *mita,* an Incaic institution of which nothing Incaic but the name remained by 1700, had become a form of slavery.

Every village had to supply a quota of workers conscripted for a fixed period (six months was the legal limit) who were marched off to mines or *obrajes,* usually far from their homes, and exploited mercilessly. According to Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa (1918: vol. 1, 288–316), visitors to Ecuador in 1736, few survived the hunger, brutality, and exposure to cold inflicted on *mitayos;* and although a minor debt or offense might incur conscription, it amounted to a sentence of death. "Often on the roads one meets Indians with their braids tied to the tail of a horse, on which a mounted mestizo leads them to the *obrajes;* and this perhaps for the slight offense of having fled . . . for fear of the cruelties (their masters) inflict on them" (Juan and Ulloa 1918: vol. 1, 311). *Mita* gangs had long been assigned to some licensed *obrajes,* but after 1700 the abolition of the *encomienda* obligation created pressure on the authorities to grant many more operators conscript labor, pressure which they could hardly resist without endangering Quito's place in intercolonial trade.

Even while *obraje* production and the *mita* drained their work force, however, eighteenth-century Otavalans were able to do independent business, and it is in another report of Juan and Ulloa (1806: vol. 1, 301–2) that we first hear of Otavalans as adapting to domination and the theft of their resources by becoming suppliers to a supra-local open market: ". . . a multitude of Indians residing in its villages . . . seem to have an innate inclination to weaving; for besides the stuffs made at the common manufactories (i.e. *obrajes*), such Indians as are not Mitayos, or who are independent, make, on their own account, a variety of goods, as cottons, carpets, pavillions for beds, quilts in damask work, wholly of cotton, either white, blue, or variegated with different colours; but all in great repute, both in the province of Quito and other parts, where they are sold to great advantage."

During the century following Juan and Ulloa's visit latifundism sank deep roots in the highlands. The traveler William Bennett Stevenson (1825: vol. 2, 348) tells of haciendas with four or five hundred Indians attached either to their fields or *obrajes,* and reports that near Otavalo the Count of Casa Xijón had "brought several mechanics and artisans from Europe for the purpose of establishing a manufactory of fine cloths, woolens, and cottons;

also for printing calicoes, and other goods," but the *Real Audiencia* forbade his plan and forced him to send the mechanics home.

The Creole elites of the Otavalo area sided for the most part with the forces of independence in the war against Napoleonic Spain, and "from its famous workshops came the cloaks that warmed the army in its campaigns" (Jaramillo 1953:4, 22). From them also came the porters of the independence armies' cargoes, abducted from their villages in what is still remembered as the *cogida de gente*—the seizure of people—(Rubio Orbe 1956: 29) which caused a mass flight to the mountains.

Newly independent and until 1830 a part of the federation of Gran Colombia, Ecuador suddenly became an open market for imports from England, and the resulting flood of cheap factory-made cloth dealt a blow to the *obraje* industry from which, Phelan says (1967:68), it never recovered. Nonetheless several nineteenth-century land magnates tried to revive local weaving in competition with English industry by combining technical modernization with the cheap labor which debt peons provided. Among these was the grandson of the Count of Casa Xijón, Don José Manuel Jijón y Carrión, whose prosperous Peguche hacienda the United States diplomat Friedrich Hassaurek visited in 1863. Here hacienda peasants made ponchos and shawls for Indians as well as material for European vests and pants on modern looms, all for shipment to Colombia or the Pacific coast (Vargas 1957: 122; Hassaurek 1967:151). Two other latifundia, the Quinta Otavalo and the Quinta de San Pedro, were equipped with European machines, for weaving and for thread-making respectively; an earthquake in 1864 destroyed much of this machinery (Municipalidad de Otavalo, 1909:294). An unmodernized *parcialidad*, Cotacachi, was doing well with coarse ponchos and silks (products without industrial competition) for sale in other parts of Gran Colombia, while nearby a landowner had imported an industrial cotton mill from New Jersey, but gone bankrupt on the venture (Hassaurek 1967:175–77). Thus in the later nineteenth century Indian weavers working outside hacienda workshops could profit by the making of clothes for other Indians, but the technologically fortified vestiges of the *obraje* system still dominated whatever share of the city clothing market had not fallen to the English.

The farming-weaving complex in its modern form did not arise until the early twentieth century, when villagers found that the duplication of machine-made luxury textiles on primitive equipment enabled them to undersell the quality import trade even though they could not compete in the making of cheap stuffs. Once introduced, this business became the mainstay of cottage industry. The weaving boom of this period reflected the mounting urgency of land problems and signals the beginning of the land-hunger dynamic described above.

For Otavaleños to own land has double importance: first, it is the only reliable and autonomous way of earning a living; and second, it is a *sine qua non* of full participation in Indian society, since the alternatives are to abandon the community, become a permanent debtor, or live as a burden on another household. In order to provide every family with a plot, parents will their land partibly, that is, divide it among all the children. We do not know when this practice began, though Murra (1944:794) thinks the system "was greatly influenced by post conquest ideas." But we do know how it worked in the time of the childhood of Elsie Parsons' informant Rosita Lema, when quarter shares of already tiny plots might be all a person inherited. And we know from her testimony how partible inheritance, after centuries of slow population increase, produced a land crisis: "Formerly, my mother tells as her parents tell her, there were not as many families as today, and only two or three little straw houses. The families cultivated land according to their capacity, the rest was common land, untilled, unenclosed, an enormous plain. As the families increased it was customary to upturn land as a kind of deed, always with witnesses or the *curaca* (village headman) to direct it. This made a man owner and lord of this land where he built a house and lived independently of his parents. In the course of time, ambitious for land, families spread over the whole plain, becoming landowners, *and there was no longer common land to turn up*" (Parsons 1945:186; italics added).

This must have occurred in the middle or late nineteenth century. From the time when lands gave out, the ability to save cash and buy land became the prerequisite for survival as a free peasant: "Then those who had too much land or for other reasons would sell land, a cuadra for five pesos, ten pesos, twenty pesos

according to the situation or fertility. Today (1945), if the lot is located on the main street and the soil is fertile, it costs 1,500 sucres; a lot less fertile and far from the main street will cost as little as 400 sucres" (Ibid.). By 1909 the trend toward land-buying by Indians had gone far enough to alarm the anonymous author of Otavalo's municipal history, who saw things from the latifundists' point of view: "By forming societies they have bought *fundos* of the value of twenty-three thousand sucres, of twenty thousand, et cetera . . . Day by day, the Indian is taking over the lands of the Canton, albeit by fair purchase; having taken possession of them on a larger scale, by cultivating them with care he will achieve a well-being that will make him scorn the laborer's wage. Then who will till [the latifundists'] fields? . . . Even now . . . the Indians do not volunteer for government works; it is necessary to round them up with the *alcaldes* or the police, or take their belongings hostage [*quitarles prendas,* an abuse still practiced by townsmen], or threaten to throw them in jail, in order to force them to work" (Municipalidad de Otavalo 1909:254–57).

Into this environment of land hunger and rising prices, local *blancos* in 1917 introduced the germ of the modern textile trade. A lady of the hacienda of Cusín, bordering on Peguche, gave her Quiteño son-in-law, F. A. Uribe, a beautifully woven poncho as a wedding gift. Impressed with its quality, rivaling that of costly imported clothes, Uribe sought out its maker, a Peguche native named José Cajas, and offered him the use of a Spanish loom to try his skill at making fine fabric after Scottish patterns. Cajas found that he could profitably undersell imports with his imitation tweeds (*casimires*), and soon had a business in Quito; his descendants are still among the leading weavers of the area (Parsons 1945:25–26).

Thus Otavalo smallholders found a major entrée into the money economy at the precise time when it served to defend, not supplant, the bases of the local economy (IEAG 1953:98). In subsequent decades the *casimir* trade has spread to many other villages, although by no means all (in reading Collier and Buitrón's 1949 optimistic account of the weaving renaissance one must bear in mind that the weaving boom has left some *parcialidades* still land-poor and overworked). Since the Second World War the growth of Ecuadorean textile factories has greatly weakened

Otavalo's position in the market for suit fabrics; but the burgeoning of the tourist market in autochthonous and not so autochthonous designs has offset this damage considerably.

Both the Ecuadorean indigenist movement and United States foreign aid agencies have sought to encourage cottage industry in capturing foreign money, the former through the programs of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, which have encouraged the weaving of authentic rather than imitative designs for the market (Salinas 1954:315–26), and the latter through the *Centro Textil* in Otavalo City, which Ecuadoreans have consistently criticized as poorly integrated with village life and in fact of use only to mestizos. (Rubio Orbe 1957:335–60 offers a detailed critique.) Other recent innovations in textile economy center on marketing; Otavaleños own several shops in downtown Quito while others crisscross the country as traveling merchants.

Because of this interest in modernizing business technique, the children of weaving families have begun to appear in public schools (though the great majority of families still prefer home training). Travel needs have involved some villagers in local transportation businesses; others have learned skilled and semi-skilled agricultural jobs, or become mechanics in textile factories; and the first generation of Indian nurses, teachers, and lawyers is starting to emerge from universities (Jed Cooper 1965:45–56; Buitrón 1962; Casagrande 1966:9). Most of these changes, large or small, can be understood in the light of Sol Tax's observation that "traditional" populations will innovate readily, provided that innovation promises to be useful within the context of already accepted norms.

But can Otavalo continue to turn large-scale societal conditions to its own local advantage without suffering unintended consequences that will gradually take the pace and direction of change out of the reach of its own mechanisms of social policy? Points of stress are already visible. It may be true that the organization of production in household units sets limits on the scale and complexity of production (Nash 1966:71), but nothing has prevented some families from developing as adjuncts to the household workshops approaching a factory form of organization (Casagrande 1969:4). As a result the textile industry has probably increased rather than moderated the inequality of landholdings and stand-

ards of living. It is true that the employment of land-poor villagers by other Indians as spinners, weavers, or farm helpers may share out some of the wealth, but the ascendancy of a few entrepreneurially active families in business is conspicuous. If most textile wealth continues to go into the buying-up of lands, partible inheritance and the deprecation of greed central to Otavalan ethics may not prevail against the dynamics of private ownership, and the Indian communities will have agrarian problems of their own. Second, although Otavalans have usually relied on judicial rather than political resolution of power and property struggles, both the increased integration and visibility of the community and the trend in law toward the inclusion of Indians in the effective electorate will bring the area more, though not necessarily more beneficial, government attention. Can the combination of market integration with socio-political isolation endure this?

It is by no means a foregone conclusion that any such change would do the *parcialidades* harm, or at any rate harm enough to outbalance the enriching benefits to an impoverished country that ideally follow from the modernization of production and the penetration of the nation-state into previously isolated localities. But the human costs of these changes weigh heavy on every people that has undergone them. Early industrial society everywhere seems to be inseparably connected with traumatic reorganizations, brutal demands on workers, and wholesale loss of much of what men live for. Humanly satisfying and varied labor, the solidarity and continuity of small communities, and the preservation of old, local cultures whose rationality is not that of maximizing production at the expense of everything else are the first casualties of every industrial revolution. While the "Awakening Valley" looks poor in the eyes of visitors from the United States, it is not only a fortunate place compared to almost every other Andean region, but also compared to areas in the throes of early industrialization. The pride of manner and handsome appearance of its men and women testify to a relation to the modern world that deserves more recognition. It is a great feat to modernize rapidly and dynamically; it is also a great feat not to.

Both sides of this paradox find expression in North American youth politics, a politics growing in response to the apparent exhaustion in our country of the very same notion of development

that the United States government promotes in places like Ecuador. The Marxist left, proclaiming itself an ally of the Third World, advocates the redistribution of industrial wealth and the seizure of control over its machinery and resource bases by neo-colonized peoples within and without the U.S.A.; the central aim is to counteract the growth of inequality between rich and proletarized countries and make of the industrial revolution a worldwide egalitarian revolution. But, uneasily in step with the Third World movement, cultural revolutionaries follow a post- or even anti-industrial vision. Seeing industrial society as a Frankenstein monster capable only of following an inflexible track to complete wastage of man and earth, they concentrate on ways of liberating people from the life of economic rationality itself by inventing social forms which can break production into decentralized operations, automate and cleanse industry, and make room for those who want to subsist outside the orbit of modernity altogether. Their mutual lack of confidence reflects a real dilemma; given industry as we know it, how are we to put machines at our service without becoming servants of machines?

Equations of the North American new left with Latin American revolutionary nationalism, and of neo-tribal communes with indigenous peoples, are obviously specious. Yet the comparison is of some interest. Ecuador is still far from facing any post-industrial problems; but already the question arises of how Ecuador's Indians—nearly half the nation—can be enlisted in the struggle to raise national productivity (under any political regime) without making the supposed beneficiaries mere tools of the effort. Beate Salz (1955:215–19) has answered by proposing, as an alternative to a smallhold agrarian reform which would still further restrict productivity to household subsistence, the implanting of "interstitial industry"—small industrial enterprises which would fit into the "interstices" of rural economy by employing the land-poor while giving them plots as a job benefit. This plan seeks to avoid abruptly destroying rooted social units and agrarian bases, the guaranteed availability of which would form an incentive for workers to stay "until they have sloughed off a traditional predilection for cultivation of land." Thus from a modernist point of view the idea is to uproot tradition in a humane way.

But the Otavaleños have, in effect, carried out Salz's plan of

their own accord, for the reverse purpose; they have used an "interstitial" industry, weaving, as a way of preserving their rooted way of life. It may come to pass that the dynamics of their industrialism will eventually weaken land-based organization, as Salz foresees. But this would not signify the loss of local society, for the change could be achieved at least in part on the people's own terms. The significant point is that Otavalans have found an alternative to exploitation and cultural extinction on the one hand and dire poverty on the other, by creating a nationally integrated small industry distinct from the *Gesellschaft* model. From this both the Marxist and the culture-radical may have something to learn.

In the development-versus-stagnation stereotype, too much is taken for granted. Otavalo, with a minimum of technological aid and little outside sympathy, has succeeded in creating a flexible technology tailored to the changing needs of small groups. Once technologists produce a range of tools suited to small projects, and revolutionaries make their use a high priority, places less historically fortunate may have similar opportunities, as may communal alternatives in rich nations; a broader conception of industry will afford broader alternatives of engagement and autonomy. In both the most advanced and the newest industrial economies, smallness of scale, far from signifying obsolescence, has rationality of its own, based on the social satisfactions of the producers and an economic flexibility that can withstand certain hazards of early interdependence such as market and supply fluctuations. In the economies of rich nations communal forms have begun to find a niche by providing labor-intensive products (crafts) and, increasingly, services (such as experimental and special education) to the larger whole on a basis of partial autonomy; the technical and economic possibilities of these forms are just now coming into view. For revolutionists and technicians, it will be time to cease thinking of how to manage other peoples' livelihoods, and to begin thinking how livelihood can become less a matter of management and more a fruit of local creativity.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Researchers and teachers frequently decry the lack of adequate published ethnographic material on South American Indians. However, great progress has been made in filling this gap. Any program of reading devoted to a particular region or people should include one or more detailed ethnographic studies. The following is a partial list of such studies, available in English, most of them in print, many of them available in inexpensive paperbound editions (indicated by a p, preceding the author's name):

p N. Chagnon (1968a)
p L. Faron (1961c)
L. Faron (1964)
p L. Faron (1968)
p Garcilaso de la Vega (1961)
p I. Goldman (1963)
p M. Harner (1972)
p J. Henry (1964, orig. 1941)
p A. Holmberg (1969, orig. 1950)
p F. Huxley (1966, orig. 1956)
D. Maybury-Lewis (1967)
R. Murphy (1960)
G. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971)
P. Rivière (1969)
p E. Thurn (1967, orig. 1883)
p J. Wilbert (1972)
p P. Young (1971)

The following, while not specific case studies, will be of great value as well:

p J. H. Hopper (Ed. and Trans.) (1967)
p C. Lévi-Strauss (1963, 1964, 1969a, 1969b)
p D. Maybury-Lewis (1968, orig. 1965)
p B. J. Meggers (1971)
J. Steward and L. Faron (1959)
H. Valero (1971)

A number of studies in prehistory are also available:

p W. Bennett and J. Bird (1964)
p G. H. S. Bushnell (1963)

p E. Lanning (1967)
D. Lathrap (1970)
p K. Macgowan and J. A. Hester, Jr. (1962)
p J. A. Mason (1968)
p J. Rowe and D. Menzel (Eds.) (1967)
G. Willey (1971)

A NOTE ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is by no means exhaustive on any aspect of South American Indians, but I hope that it will be of use to students and scholars interested in further reading on some of the topics presented in this book. Most of the references listed here are citations from the articles reprinted and constitute documentation of some specific point. Others are of more general interest. These include both works cited by the authors of articles and by me in my introductions.

If the reader is particularly interested in a particular people or question discussed by one of the articles in this volume, I suggest that he first consult the items that were cited by the author of the article and then the suggested readings below. If the reader is interested in deepening his knowledge of a particular society, I suggest that he consult one of the specialized bibliographies, O'Leary (1963) or Baldus (1968). O'Leary's bibliography is very thorough up to about 1962 with listings by tribal names subdivided into regions. Readers who are familiar with Portuguese (often a knowledge of Spanish is a help) can profit from Baldus' annotated bibliography. Baldus frequently summarizes the article. The bibliographies in the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1944–49) will also be of great use to serious students, although, of course, they are now far out of date. The reader is also urged to consult the references cited by recent books and journal articles on the subject or people he wants to investigate.

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