

2008 SALSA CONFERENCE  
PANEL AND PAPER ABSTRACTS  
Oxford, England & Paris, France

Panel: Symbolic ecology, plant knowledge, market and property rights - organized by Marc Lenaerts

If the treatment of animals has received wide coverage in Amazonian anthropology, such is not the case for the plant world. Yet, studies of cultivation practices, plant knowledge and plant symbolism indicate an extraordinary wealth and diversity of plant/ human interactions in Amazonia. Moreover, plants play a key role in the economic and cultural survival of many indigenous economies in the region. This panel will examine the complex links between thought and practice as they relate to plant symbolic ecology, inter-cultural exchanges of plant knowledge, and conflicts arising from diverging understandings of the nature of plant knowledge, as well as of its ownership.

Fernando Santos-Granero (Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute)  
The virtuous manioc and the horny barbasco: sublime and grotesque modes of transformation in the origin of Yanéscha plant life

Yanéscha people, like many other Native Amazonians, conceive of plants and trees as having been primordial humans transformed into their present form at the end of the mythic times of indifferentiation. The events that led to their transformation differ, however, substantially. Following Joanna Overing's categorization of Piaroa narrative genres, these events can be described as 'sublime' and 'grotesque' modes of transformation. Plants that underwent a sublime process of transformation include manioc, the Yanéscha staple, as well as tobacco and the hallucinogenic *Virola*, both of great importance in shamanic practices. These plants assumed their present form as the result of the self-transformation of powerful demiurges; a luminous, contained transformation that privileged the sensual capacities of the upper body, especially those attributed to the heart. In contrast, the process of transformation of most other plants, such as barbasco, coca, hot peppers and yam, falls on the side of the grotesque and involves the baser activities of the lower body. Because of their immoral way of life –expressed in extreme forms of genital, oral and anal incontinence– these primordial humans were separated from humanity and transformed into the plants they are nowadays. This latter kind of transformation was always violent; a form of 'alterization' that appears as the dark side of the process of 'ontological predation.' In consonance with the 'constructivist' character of Amerindian ontologies, the coming into existence of plants –as well as that of humans, animals, and objects– involved important processes of bodily constitution and de-constitution; processes that will be discussed through the analysis of Yanéscha myths.

Brightman, Marc

Ownership and trade of persons and plants in Guianese Amazonia.

Zanotti, Lia

Gendered perspectives on landscapes in the Central Brazilian Amazon.

Cabral de Oliveira, Joana

A sociology of cultivated plants: plant exchange among the Wayãpi from Amapari.

Hill, Jonathan (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale)

Fashioning plants: an Amazonian materiality in three movements.

One of the most obvious yet subtly elusive features of Amazonian social worlds is the extent to which human technologies rely on fashioning plants into a variety of artefacts: tools, weapons, traps, flutes, trumpets, baskets, manioc presses, and so on. This paper will focus on different wild plant species in the Upper Rio Negro region of Venezuela as the key materials allowing indigenous Wakuénai (Curripaco) people to effect three kinds of social transformations. “The Gift” explores the uses of máwi (*Astrostudium schomburgkii*) palms to make blowguns, fish weirs, and ceremonial flutes into cultural tools for transforming wild animal nature into products that are fit for social consumption and exchange. “The Secret” looks at púpa (macanilla; *Socritea eschorrhiza* Spp.) and other plant (hardwood bark and vine) species used for making sacred flutes and trumpets that capture the sounds of animal and bird species as part of a broader process of creating secrecy through privileging hearing and ‘speaking’ over seeing and being seen. “The Meal” surveys the many uses of pwápwaá (tirita; *Ischnosiphon* spp.) in making baskets, manioc presses, guapas, and other artifacts in which plant foods – primarily manioc flour and breads but also wild palm fruits – are contained, sifted, transported, or otherwise processed into foods for domestic production and consumption. Finally, an overview of ceremonial trumpets called kulirrína (or surubí, a species of large catfish with large black stripes) will demonstrate how all three kinds of plants come together into the fashioning of a single artefact that encompasses “The Gift,” “The Secret,” and “The Meal.”

Panel: Amazonian Anthropology General Panel I--organized by Laura Rival

Carlos Fausto

The animist’s mask: complexity and transformation in indigenous America

It has become common to say that Amerindian peoples attribute subjectivity to objects, and that some objects present, rather than represent, spirits and animals in ritual contexts. Such conflation between image and prototype, as well as that between subject and object is commonly seen as the result of an

ontological fluidity characteristic of Amerindian ontologies. The aim of this paper is to develop an alternative way of approaching ritual objects: rather than seeing them as illustrations of general ontological premises, I look for formal features that make them ritually effective, and then ask what sort of subjectivity is attributed to them. In order to develop such an approach, I will focus on masks of the Alaska, British Columbia and Amazonia, with an excursus on trophies and flutes.

Luiz Costa (Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale – École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris).

Our body is our owner and our chief: relations of asymmetry among the Kanamari of western Amazonia.

The Kanamari word –warah expresses the active pole in an asymmetric relationship between subjects. It can, in some contexts, be glossed as ‘master’ or ‘owner’. As such, it is a type of term that is widespread in Amazonia and whose template is often the relationship between master and pet. In this paper, I want to analyze the –warah through a specific ethnographic example: that of the Kanamari chief. A study of the Kanamari chief will make evident two specificities of the –warah that make it somewhat different from analogous concepts from other parts of Amazonia. First, the term –warah is also used to refer to living bodies; indeed, ‘body-owner’ is a more accurate gloss for it. Second, that it is a concept that re-emerges at different scales, replicating itself throughout the cosmos. A study of chieftainship therefore requires that the –warah be ‘scaled up’ beyond the chief’s body, which must be rendered as a transformation of the very relationships that constitute the world.

Zilberg, Jonathan

Petroglyphs and the extension of Amazonian cosmology and ritual in the Pre-Columbian Diquis chiefdoms of Southwestern Costa Rica

This paper (or alternatively poster) would consider how the iconography of the petroglyphs of the Diquis region can be interpreted as records of the northernmost extension of a pan-Amazonian cosmological system. Through discussing the similarities in petroglyph iconography and cosmological imagery and through bringing into relation archaeological data of the Pre-Columbian Diquis chiefdoms with the mythology of the Cabecar and Bribri peoples of the Talamancan region, this paper will describe the salience of Reichel Dolmatoff’s work on petroglyphs in lowland South America to the interpretation of petroglyphs in this region. It will discuss the evolution of research on petroglyphs in this part of Costa Rica over the last sixty years and present a structural and semiotic analysis of the representational rather than abstract geometric imagery in the Diquis petroglyphs, the petroglyphs composed of spirals and curvo-linear lines which in contrast remain out of the bounds of our interpretive reach.

Rosengren, Dan

Religious conversion and cosmological consistency: on Matsigenka Christianity.

Marcelo Fiorini (American University in Paris)

Women's power among the Nambikwara

This essay introduces women's agency among the Nambikwara. It begins with the scene of Tuirá, the Kayapó woman who brandished her machete on the face of the Eletronorte entrepreneur during the Altamira summit against the construction of the Xingu River dam in 1989. In anthropology, Amerindian women's participation in political life is more often seen as merely accessory, as in Timothy Ash's *The Axe Fight*, in which women are shown to move men to action. But instances when women may seize control of political agency or assume the reigns of leadership are rare in the literature. I argue that while women may vent their grievances in public, they more often wield their political power by relying on a social domain that I term the publicly and politically unspoken: a sphere of action that lies halfway between the public and the so-called domestic arenas or what is usually construed as the political. This concept differs from Taussig's "public secret", since the emphasis is not on the information being withheld, but on the subversion of power itself by the use of undisclosed channels of action. In light of this, women are not seen as acting from the backstage, as Gregor has portrayed them, as dwellers of the trash-yards or belonging to the periphery or to the domestic arena. Instead, women are thought to occupy or fill the blind spots of the political scenario. From this undisclosed, yet public domain, women manage to direct, guide, or influence community affairs, often in secrecy, but with an adroit ability to negotiate social dynamics and critical political processes that might outdo male leaders, even the most persuasive.

I review two cases histories that illustrate how Nambikwara women orchestrated decisive political actions: in the first, a wife decides to quit having sexual relations with her husband because of two previous breach births. She also does not take contraceptives. She then retaliates against her incestuous husband, who makes her own daughter pregnant, by sleeping with his worst enemy and then compelling him to raise the child born from her adulterous relationship. She thereby regains her power in her marriage as well as socially. In the second case, two women plot to seduce and poison a man instrumental in the killing of two of their family members almost ten years earlier, not only assuage their emotional and personal loss or aid the family head in his revenge, but also, in the case of one of them, to affect changes in political life that may ultimately lead to the fulfillment of her inmost desire for ridding herself of her own present husband. My purpose is to contribute toward a re-evaluation of women's social position and the potential expressions of their agency in egalitarian societies, to avoid the tendency to relegate women to secondary roles, as actors merely responsible for moving men to action or capable solely of

instigating events, rather than proactively engineering their outcome, direction, and affecting the chain of consequences due to emerge from them.

Gutierrez-Choquevilca, A.-L.

To imitate or to "perceive as"? Couvade misfortunes among lowland Quechua of the Peruvian Amazon (rio Pastaza).

The paper discuss the implications of the rites associated to child birth among the Quechua of the peruvian Amazon (Pastaza river). Among the rites described under the term of "couvade", the most salient ones are associated to the constant necessity of dealing with infantile illnesses, trying to avoid the baby's death. The analysis of baby's illnesses requires the understanding of the relationship with animals-spirits, which are in most of the cases identified with pathogenic agents causing somatic troubles. Starting from ethnographic data about the treatment of illness, we discuss the importance of the pragmatic structures of "imitation" in the process of representing invisible spirits as intentional agents. Our special interest lies on sounds and acoustic aspects described in the aetiological discourse relating to the physical transformation of the baby. Sounds give in the Quechua case an insight of the symbolical efficacy of these representations. The frequent use of sound symbolism is compared with other enunciation contexts, in particular within a context of initiation and learning of hunting skills (imitation of the game's voice, ritual songs addressed to the game master), showing the close relationship between the hunting practices and the rites associated to child birth.

Bathurst, L.

On the border's of indigeneity in Northern Bolivia's Amazonia.

Swierk, K.

Who are the kogapakori for the Matisgenka users of this term?

Beatriz Perrone-Moisés (DA/USP; NHII/USP)

Renato Sztutman (DCS/UNIFESP; NHII/USP)

Tamoio, from rebels to confederates

Amerindian confederations, as described in accounts of various historical periods, challenge the major division between societies "with" or "without" State. Pierre Clastres, who questioned this divide gave close attention to a certain number of transformations undergone by the Tupi in the 16th century, which might be at the basis of the emergence of "more complex" — so to speak — political forms. Two movements were there stressed by him: those led by war chiefs and those led by profets. Inspired by Clastres' "insight", we propose to revisit a famous chapter of brazilian history, not yet properly analysed from an ethnological perspective, the so-called "Tamoio confederation". What has also been called the "Tamoio War" was a movement against the portuguese

colonials uniting various coastal Tupi groups and leaders, in the region disputed by the French and the Portuguese, between what are now the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Was this "confederation" a novelty in terms of tupi politics, engendered by the colonial situation, that might eventually lead to a radical change towards a centralized form of political organization? Or should we, on the contrary, understand it as a possibility already (always) present in "traditional" tupi political forms of organization and action? These are the guiding questions of our inquiry, which we intend to address using both the information given by historical sources and the solid ethnological knowledge on Tupi-Guarani peoples developed by various authors in the last decades.

James Fraser and Charles R. Clement

The swidden cultivation of manioc (*Manihot esculenta*) in one of the richest environments in Amazonia: the case of dark earths and the floodplain on the Middle Madeira River

Manioc (*Manihot esculenta* Crantz), one of the most important staple crops of the humid tropics, is famed for its ability to grow in the nutrient-poor acid Oxisols and Ultisols characteristic of these regions. A corollary of this is that manioc is often conceived of as a crop suitable for cultivation only in infertile soils and does not yield well in fertile ones. While various commentators have shown that some manioc landraces perform poorly in rich soils, this is certainly not true of all landraces. Much of the genetic diversity of manioc was probably lost during the centuries following European conquest, especially the part maintained by the chiefdoms along the floodplains. Therefore many of the landraces cultivated on the terra firme in Amazonia and those which have spread across the tropical world are adapted to growth in nutrient-poor environments.

Panel: Indigenous societies of the Guiana shield - Panel organized by Janet Chernela

DISCUSSANT: Peter Rivière

Oxford University has played a historically prominent role in the development of Amazonian anthropology. This is well represented in the classic works of Audrey Butt-Colson and Peter Rivière, as well as in the large Arawakan and Cariban artefact collections of the Pitt-Rivers Museum. In honor of the notable contributions made by these Oxford scholars to the ethnography and ethnology of lowland South America, this panel will explore themes in the anthropology of Guianese societies, principally membership and society. In so doing, this panel will provide a meta-commentary to ongoing debates in the field regarding the relationship of ethnography to ethnology and the self to the collective.

Stéphen Rostain (CNRS/Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Paris)

Guianas chiefdoms: did they really exist?

From 600 AD to 1400 AD, the Guianas coastal zone was inhabited by Arauquinoid groups. They had a common tradition but each culture had its own characteristics. Their common aspects are settlements on sandy ridges or artificial clay mounds, specialization of specific activities, trans-cultural trade in a commercial network, common pottery style and similar ceremonial artefacts. The most striking feature is permanent agriculture on artificially raised fields. Most of the flooding coastal savannas are covered by thousands of these structures. The use of this agricultural technique seems to correspond to a high population density. Several data suggest that Arauquinoid people were organized as chiefdoms, but other data are contradictory. This paper will propose hypotheses on the social organization of these communities.

George Mentore (University of Virginia)

Grace and disgrace in Amerindian societies of the Guianas

I would like to present the theme of the transcendent yet intervening state of the divine when, as grace or disgrace, such an invisible spiritual virtuosity makes its presence or absence felt and understood through human embodiment. Indigenous Amerindian ideas and experiences about such sentiments have been shown to take the form and to be the source of an appropriation by their particular polities. Within the research of some, in the Oxford School of Lowland South American scholars, this tactic has been identified as the force of an expressive power to fracture village community relations and to be the ingredient for new politico-religious formations. My presentation will attempt to foreground the ethnographic findings on these issues among the Akawaio, Trio, and Waiwai. My principal argument will be that, despite what appears to be the obvious evidence to the contrary; such an immaterial element like grace is variously utilized by Amerindian peoples to orchestrate their social and political lives.

Schuler Zea, Evelyn (DA-USP/NHII-USP)

Exceeding appropriations: meanders in the field of Waiwai translations

As there are many and specific *yesamarî* (ways, paths, or detours) connecting one household to another building the so called Waiwai communities, there are also many and specific ways and detours to shed light on the so called Guianese societies. In this paper, my aim is to follow Waiwai ways of knowing, with special attention to their understandings of forms of translation between many beings who live close or far to them, permanently or temporarily, humans and non-humans. In Waiwai translations, a direct and immediate relation, if it still can be called a relation, constitutes a minimal form, a kind of level zero of relatedness and not much more than the instance from which knowledge only starts to develop. There is no knowledge without translation – this is the maxim that seems to prevail among the Waiwai. It builds the core subject to be

discussed in this communication, in which also the main presuppositions of the concept of "appropriation" will be reviewed. Since, far from being a pour of possessions, Waiwai translations renounce to the logic of property – and its compromises with substantial forms of identity – to expose themselves to "transformation" (Derrida) and to achieve modes of "afterlife" (Benjamin). Supplementary, through this Waiwai way of translating a third instance is introduced in the complex net of relations between different forms of memberships and collectivities in the Amerindian context of the Guiana shield.

Heinen, H. Dieter, and Rafael Gassón (Centro de Antropología, Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas – IVIC)  
Amerindian institutions and the development of socialism of the 21st century

After a short introduction pointing out that the present opposition between Capitalism and Socialism is not the crux of the matter (which we define), we propose moving beyond European “Enlightenment Institutions” in order to search for institutional arrangements that could be adapted to help us in our present search for solutions in defining an “Alternative Modernity.” We describe two institutional configurations present among the traditional morichalero Warao of the Central Orinoco Delta. First, regarding the difficulties of gender relations, we point to a solution found through an indigenous marriage system. Of more theoretical interest is the indigenous institution of regarding work as a “public good.” We discuss the advantages and some possible difficulties in the present socio-economic situation.

Ernst Halbmayer (University of Vienna)  
Socio-cosmological differentiation, partial encompassment and Amerindian politics of interaction.

Based on comparative research on Carib-speaking Indians from in and outside Guiana this paper deals with the common problems concepts like society (and nature or the individual), the social (and the asocial), the self (and the other), but also the body (and soul) pose for Amazonianists. Rather than taking such concepts as useful shortcuts and arguing for specific relations and hierarchies between such entities it is argued to ask for basic forms of socio-cosmological differentiation. This brings the resulting recursive similarity across different scales, e.g. from houses, to the person, the landscape and the cosmos into the focus and enables to identify a specific form of differentiation that goes hand in hand with a partial non-totalizing and temporary form of encompassment. Everyday life among Carib-speaking groups deals with the resulting temporary entities and overlapping forms in strikingly distinct ways. The need for an active management of such encompassments becomes a central expression of politics, enacted as avoidances, incorporations or separations across and beyond humans.

Jean Jackson (MIT)

Images of Amazonian women in Colombian national newspapers

This paper applies critical discourse analysis techniques to representations of Amazonia by Colombia's two daily national newspapers from the 1980s to the present. Imagery intended to signal exotic "otherness" reveals familiar orientalizing and naturalizing tropes employed by both journalists and photographers. Portrayals of indigenous women contain far more "othering" than is the case for men, and photographs will contain a far greater amount of it than the texts they accompany. At times photographs have obviously been chosen for their exotic, often sexualized nature because they have no connection to the article's subject matter. Findings like the fact that indigenous women are quoted far less than men, and that the ratio of women appearing in photographs as compared to text is much higher than that for men, lead to a general conclusion that the journalistic agendas underlying depictions of Amazonian women differ significantly from those that lie behind depictions of men. Despite what must be a substantial number of female readers, the two newspapers are clearly oriented to a male audience that comprises what we might refer to, employing Rivière's notion, as an all-male moral community. This results in Colombia's indigenous women and women of other minorities (e.g., Afro-Colombians) being doubly erased and "male-gazed" into what is at times a parody of themselves.

Catherine Alès (CNRS/Paris)

Personhood, self, and society among the Yanomami

This paper will be focused on the relation of the self to the collective. It will analyze the idea of belonging to a whole through the conceptions of the person and other aspects of ritual and political organisation. In common with many indigenous societies of the Guiana shield, the Yanomami place a high value on personal autonomy and non-coercive forms of authority. This is achieved through belonging to a community or local group that gives the means to reduce, in a way, the use of social constraints in an intimate social environment, with people who like each other, share the same aims and have a mutual interest in living peacefully together. The fact that Yanomami communities frequently split and recompose themselves is the sign of their autonomy to choose a harmonious social environment as often as necessary. In this context, individual autonomy is encompassed in a wider collective autonomy of communal houses, which are the basic economic and political units among the Yanomami. Moreover it is particularly striking to see how the ritual system and conception of the person correspond to a degree of encompassment, both of individuals and groups, to a superior level. This matter will lead us to examine in more detail the Yanomami conception of the individual and the construction of the person. This paper will analyze ideas on collectivity through conceptions of ritual, political organization, and personhood.

Renato Athias (NEPE/UFPE)

Territoriality and identity among the Hupdah and Arawak groups in the Uaupés basin.

This study is exploratory in character. The questions raised here arose from the field work carried out amongst the Hupdah-Maku that live in the region between the rivers Tiquié and Papuri, tributaries of the left bank of the Uaupés in the Upper Rio Negro, in the State of Amazonas. The idea of this exercise is to indicate elements for a possible analysis of the concept of territoriality used by the Indians that live in this region. The discussion and analysis developed in this paper are exclusively restricted to the River Uaupés Basin (Amazonas, Brazil), in the Northeastern Amazon, on the Colombian border. It should be said that in the traditional areas of other Maku' speaking groups, like the Dow, the Nadöb and the Nukak, for example, there is not the presence of the Tukano or the Arawak groups, since these are not inhabitants of the hydrographical basin of the River Uaupés. The Hupdah model is closely associated to the forms of mobility and relations maintained with Tukano and Arawak groups, there being potential for a great variety of forms of territorial occupation. What I am interested present in this paper is to state that the notion of ownership and the use of a specific territory depends almost exclusively on the relations maintained with their neighbor and debate the case of the Hupdah of Iauareté that have been in contact many years with the Tariano and their relation with the Arawak groups.

Faulhaber Barbosa, Priscila (Museu Goeldi)

Ticuna knowledge, star movements, and subsistence activities

The most significant of the celestial bodies depicted in the iconography of artifacts used in the Ticuna puberty festival – “the Worecü\* stars” - can be related to several aspects of indigenous mythology, as expressed in ritual songs and speeches about Ticuna constellations. In this presentation, I establish a comparison between my own ethnographic observations – recorded during my fieldwork from 1997 to 2002 - with the ethnographic information of the German ethnographer Curt (Unkel) Nimuendaju during the dry season of 1941 and the rainy season of 1942 I focus on Ticuna expectations regarding the inter-relationships between the annual movement of the stars in the sky and the influence of the rainy and dry seasons for subsistence activities. Nimuendaju collected Ticuna artifacts the iconography of which is related to the proximity of three “Worekü stars” to Coyatchicüra, a constellation which appears in the beginning of the rainy season and is located in the sky area that we know, conventionally, as Taurus Constellation. In my analysis of the significance of the proximity of the “Worecü stars” to Koyatchicüra, during a festival I attended in 2000 in the Indian Land Evare II, I correlate them to the Ticuna interpretation of the astronomical and meteorological phenomena significant for their female

puberty ritual. \* Worecū is a Ticuna word the meaning of which is associated with the girl for whom the initiation is being performed.

Panel: Amazonian Anthropology General Panel II—organized by Laura Rival

Harald E.L. Prins (Kansas State University)

Anthropologists and the International Hylea Amazon Institute (1947–1952)

In early 1947, UNESCO initiated its first major project—a multidisciplinary research and social-economic development project in the Amazon tropical lowlands of South America, an area the New York Times identified as a “titanic laboratory.” Devised to challenge “scientific imperialism” by wealthy industrialized countries in the “new world order,” the project was the brainchild of Brazilian biochemist Paolo de Berredo Carneiro. Heading his country’s delegation at the 1st Session of UNESCO’s General Conference in Paris, he envisioned an international scientific research institute involving countries whose adjoining territories collectively comprise the “Hylea Amazon”—Brazil and Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, as well as Suriname, French and British Guyana. A UNESCO memorandum noted that it “is concerned with the maintenance of peace through international co-operation in education, science and culture. The need for such work in the Hylean Amazon, where men of the Stone age meet (and may be overwhelmed by) men of the Atomic age, is plainly apparent.”

To implement this project, an International Institute for the Hylea Amazon (IIHA) with headquarters in Manaus was planned. Swiss-American anthropologist Alfred Métraux would be heading its “Ethnology and Anthropology” section. The major intellectual force behind the 5-volume Handbook of South American Indians, he was deeply interested in the problem of disappearing indigenous peoples and “urgent anthropology.” This IIHA project also involved other anthropologists, including Heloisa Alberto Torres, Paul Rivet, Charles Wagley, Eduardo Galvão, Bernard Mishkin, and Anibal Beltran. Discussing this international cohort of anthropologists in the context of IIHA’s planning, challenges, and failure, this paper seeks to contribute to the intellectual history of Amazonian anthropology.

Rogalski, P.

Construction of Arabela society through joking interactions.

Krokoszynski, Lukasz

What happened to the Remo tribe? Identifications and identities in the Sierra del Divisor (Eastern Peru).

Villar, Diego and Lorena Córdoba (CONICET, Argentina)

Some aspects of marriage alliance among the Chacobo.

Panel: Market and non-market exchanges in Amazonia – Panel organized by William H. Fisher

The co-existence of long-distance and intra-community exchange has a long history in Amazonia and surrounding regions. Market exchange from the very beginning has been grounded in complex motivations and collective projects embedded in inter-group relations and village dynamics. Indigenous peoples' attempt to acquire industrial goods has been analyzed through a number of different lenses, from political economy to perspectivism. The panel considers the consequences of participation in a market on Amazonian societies and cultures both contemporaneously and/ or historically. Papers that discuss the way anthropological analyses of indigenous symbolic and practical economies interact with the claims for resources, rights and services being put forward by indigenous people themselves are especially encouraged.

Hornborg, Alf

An attempt to understand the history of Panoan identity in relation to long-term pattern and transformation of regional exchange.

Killick, E.

Debt-Peonage and subprime mortgages: A consideration of debt and bondage in Amazonia and beyond.

Harry Walker (Oxford University)

Owners and devils: the Urarina attraction of foreign goods.

This paper examines the strategies employed by Urarina of Peruvian Amazonia to acquire foreign goods, in relation to the traditional subsistence economy. These centre on the cultivation of relationships with itinerant traders, assimilated to the category of powerful spirit Owners, but also subject to processes of taming or familiarization. Consistent with a construal of game animals as divine gifts to be solicited, and of power as attractive in nature, this cannot be conceived as a form of predatory appropriation. I argue that to view debt as a mechanism for harnessing indigenous labour is inadequate for comprehending the wilfulness with which Urarina indebt themselves, both to outsiders and to each other. The activation of credit should instead be comprehended in terms of local theories of agency and the emphasis on materialising, or “making visible,” subjective relations and hidden resources. Foreign goods, while highly desirable, are intimately associated with images of the devil, by whom they are created and owned inalienably, and who punishes users by fire at their death. This brand of commodity “fetishism” embodies a negative moral evaluation of the commodity form, though one based less on its rupture with more personalised modes of exchange, than with conventional notions of fabrication and territoriality.

Opas, M.

Devil's market: Catholic and Protestant conflict among the Yine.

Ribeiro, Fabio.

The political economy of green market in indigenous Amazonia: The Asuriní, the Amazoncoop and the Body Shop in the Middle Xingu.

Forline, L.

Rational fools and practical players: The dynamics of reciprocity and exchange between Brazil's Indian Service (FUNAI) and the Guajá Indians.

Pimenta, J.

From traditional trade to 'sustainable development economy.' The notion of 'project' among the Ashaninka of high Juruá.

Freire, Germán

Indigenous market strategies in context: Amazonian 'capitalism' in the Venezuelan frontier.

This paper explores the articulation between indigenous and western economies in peripheral market situations. Drawing from a Venezuelan example of forest cultivators, the Piaroa, the paper suggests that many indigenous market attitudes are consistent with the socio-economic context indigenous peoples encounter as they move close to national society. However, by focusing on indigenous peoples' "folk" responses to external –and somehow imposed– market forces, studies of market integration tend to underestimate the relevance of their particular experience of the state and the market in the construction of indigenous peoples' views and strategies. The paper thus aims to move away from classic representations of market and state penetration, which have traditionally revolved around hard distinctions between indigenous and western economic rationales, focusing instead on the historic articulation between the two in the formation and practice of "the state," "the market," and "monetary economy" at the local level.

Lowrey, K.

Turning ways of life into means of livelihood: Observations from the South American Chaco.

Panel: Amazonian peoples' visual and material worlds – organized by Elizabeth Ewart

If the centrality of the body in Amazonian cultures is no longer to be demonstrated, the ways in which artefacts are mobilised in the making of persons and social groups are still largely unexplored. Given what we know of their distinctive values, the Kayapo's infatuation with videos and other modern

image-making techniques, or the Tukano's passion for writing down their clan tradition in books are not surprising to us. But many aspects of the relationship between humans and artefacts (babies and hammocks, shamans and their rattles, hunters and their weapons, or women and their pots) have yet to be explored. Similarly, the nature of the visual and the interplay between visible and invisible domains of Amerindian lifeworlds – in everyday as in ritual contexts – may be usefully explored.

Suzanne Oakdale (University of New Mexico)

A Kayabi shaman and his transnational assemblage

The importance of artifacts such as rattles and cigars has long been recognized in a variety of lowland shamanic traditions. Using autobiographical and biographical material about one relatively famous and well documented Kayabi shaman from Brazil, I focus on the role of artifacts within one Tupian shamanic tradition as this man has interpreted it during the period from the 1950s to the 1990s in the Xingu Indigenous Park. Objects played an important role in this man's version of the Kayabi shamanic project of making the invisible aspects of the cosmos visible for the unempowered. They were, however, also a key means by which this shaman participated in a state sponsored project of reservation building and ethnic group construction. The disparate logics of Kayabi shamanism and museum display of ethnicity intersect in this man's lifelong interest in artifact collection. As such, this material points to the possible significance of objects which do not have local provenance and may even be industrially manufactured in the contemporary reworking of lowland shamanic traditions.

Margiotti, M.

Visualising relationships: aesthetic and kinship in Kuna women's clothing.

Lagrou, E.

The invisible net made visible: Images and artefacts among the Kaxinawa.

Augustat, C.

Material culture and cultural memory: Jan Assmann in the Amazon.

High, C.

'Like the ancient ones': material worlds and political engagement in Amazonian Ecuador.

Lea, Vanessa (UNICAMP)

Cultivating triangles: text, images and recordings

As an anthropologist researching the Mebengokre Brazilian Amerindians for almost three decades, it has frequently struck me how different aspects of

reality lend themselves to distinctive modes of representation. In some instances the written word can rival the artist's palette to render the subtlest of nuances. When it comes to communicating the complexity and aesthetic qualities of body painting, choreography, or material objects, then nothing can surpass images; in this context the written word is clumsy and convoluted. Ceremonial wailing, song and chanting lend themselves neither to written words nor to images; they need to be heard to be fully appreciated.

This paper proposes to discuss a series of black and white, and colour images, technical diagrams, indigenous drawings, plus a recording of wailing, and a brief verbal demonstration of poetics, in order to argue that this intermeshing of media enhances what the anthropologist is trying to get across to an audience. With the exception of writers like Gell, illustrations tend to be downplayed in anthropological publications. But at the same time images tend to be overvalued, as it becomes politically correct to seek authorization for using them to a greater extent than for describing, or for quoting, one's interlocutors.

Laura Graham (University of Iowa)  
Indigenous video as collaborative process

Critical reflection on my involvement in and association with indigenous media (video/film) projects among Xavante (Gê, central Brazil) and Wayuu (Arawak, Venezuela and Colombia) shows these to be collaborative in nature. This paper discusses collaborations involved in the production of three Xavante films (*One Must Be Curious*, 1995, Dir. Caimi Waiassé, *Video in the Villages*; *Wapté Mnhõnõ: The Xavante initiation*, 1999, Dirs. Patira, Bartolomeu, Caimi Waiassé, *Divino Tserewahú*, Jorge Protodi and Winti Suyá, *Video in the Villages*; *Darini: Xavante spiritual initiation*, 2005, Dirs. Caimi Waiassé, *Divino Tserewahú* and Jorge Protodi, *Nosso Tribo*), the Venezuelan ViveTV series *Noticeiro Indígena*, and the collaboration between myself, David Hernández Palmar and Caimi Waiassé in the production of *Owners of the Water: Conflict and Collaborations over Water* (2008). The latter is explicitly framed as a collaborative endeavor, both within the film itself and in metadiscursive practice. These cases provide data with which to interrogate Clifford's proposition (following Foucault and Said) that access to and capacity for the use of new media technologies provides a means for indigenous peoples who have previously not had a voice in public spaces to "dismantle imperialist discourses and break from the discipline and confinement of outsiders' definitions, representations and textualizations." The cases examined reveal distinct configurations of outsiders' participation and involvement in indigenous video/film collaborations. I argue that greater transparency regarding the nature of outsiders' involvements, in all phases of production, is necessary in order to move toward greater understanding of ways that new media forms enable greater indigenous authorship within representational forms and ways that it may create new dependencies.

Fortis, P.

Carving wooden statues among the Kuna of Panama: the problem of 'giving shape' in an Amerindian ontology.

Gow, Peter (University of St. Andrew's)

Francisco's canoe: transforming transport media in Peruvian Amazonia.

In the early 1960's, an Amahuaca man from Varadero in the headwaters of the Inuya, a tributary of the Urubamba, made a canoe as a gift for his father-in-law. The Amahuaca did not make or use canoes, and the technique was almost certainly learned from the neighbouring Piro people, a classic riverine people. The paper explores the general sociologies of the canoe in the region as an 'operator' in Lévi-Strauss's sense, and as a 'material symbolic form' in Munn's sense, and gives renewed analytic vigour to Father Cooper's classic distinction between "foot Indians" and "canoe Indians".

Cesarino, Pedro

Between the verbal and the visual: a study of Marubo poetical formulae.

Course, M.

Amerindian power and the metalinguistic imagination.

Conklin, Beth (Vanderbilt University)

Technovangelism: tangible attractions of the material praxis of Christian modernity among the Wari' of Western Brazil

The wave of conversion to evangelical Protestantism that has swept through the Wari' population over the past decade and a half is heavily tied to access to new technologies and the mastery of relations with specific foreign material things. Within communities, electronic music-making (keyboards, synthesizers, amplifiers, electric guitars, and microphones) has opened into a plethora of experimentation with new forms of individuality and communalism that reflect, cut across, and disrupt prior gender, age, and authority relations. Between Wari' communities, and in relations with foreigners indigenous and non-indigenous, intensified infrastructures for travel and long-distance communication are feeding a heady whirl of conferences, meetings, collective worship services. and forms of socializing that plunge individual Wari' into radically new contexts for their presentations of self and group identity. The technopraxis of conservative Christianity, Wari'-style, overlaps in disconcertingly unpredictable ways with the discourses of indigenous self-determination and possibilities for indigenous empowerment introduced by progressive NGOs since the 1990s. Out of this convergence come spurts of indigenous critique of missionary evangelicalism. This paper explores these forays into new indigenous modernities that coalesce around the meanings, motivations, and personal Wari' experiences associated with these two poles of material practice,

Christian electronic music and travel to Christian gatherings. It examines how these forays into self-making through engagement with new technologies and the alternative identities and forms of indigenous modernity they posit—still nascent, unstable, and indeterminate—relate to older Wari’ patterns of sociality, performativity, and bodily, spiritual, and social relations with material objects. And it asks why, for many of the most committed and articulate Christian converts, new technologies and material practices are central to their visions of desirable futures for themselves and their kin and communities.

Bilhaut, A.-G.

Produire ses archives, rêver la tradition chez les Zápara d’Amazonie équatorienne.

Les Zápara d’Equateur sont réapparus sur la scène indigène régionale il y a maintenant une dizaine d’années. Voulant se démarquer des Kichwa dont ils parlent la langue, et s’inscrire durablement dans le paysage ethnique, ils tentent de reconstituer leur tradition. Pour cela, ils opèrent une « ethnologie de sauvetage » et enregistrent des paroles et des images. Ils collectionnent aussi un ensemble d’objets hybrides (livres, cassettes audio et video) et d’artefacts laissés sur le territoire par les ancêtres. Dans cette communication, je compte montrer comment un peuple qui semble disparaître définit son patrimoine et produit ses archives. Pour cela, les rêves et les pierres sont des véhicules pour accéder à la connaissance du passé et renouer avec le patrimoine immatériel.

Bacigalupo, Ana Mariella (University at Buffalo)

Spiritual kin and masters of animal souls: the personhood of Mapuche shamans and their horses

I show how spiritual kinship ties and relationships of mastery between Mapuche shamans (machi), their horses and spirits reflect historical ethnic and national relationships, social and gender dynamics, and complex understandings of personhood. Machi’s spiritual relationships with horses are shaped by the gendered power dynamics of colonial mastery and domination, possession and ecstasy, and hierarchical kinship systems. These relationships reflect a complex understanding of personal consciousness in which shamans are agents of their actions but at the same time share self with horses and spirits. Machi gain varied forms of knowledge and power through the exchange of bodily substances with horses as well as through spiritual means. In doing so, they offer a new perspective to current discussions among anthropologists about embodiment, ensoulment, and personhood.

Virtanen, Pirjo

Embodied indigenous traditions and indigenous youth.

Miller, Joana (UFRJ-Museu Nacional)

Things of the shaman: reflections on objects and personhood among the Mamaindê-Nambikwara.

The Mamaindê, a Nambikwara-speaking group (Mato Grosso, Brazil), assert that they have both external and internal body ornaments. The latter can only be seen by shamans, who make them visible to others during curing sessions. Both inner and outer ornaments are generically called wasain'du, 'thing,' a term also used to refer collectively to all the belongings of a person.

Many illnesses are described by the Mamaindê as a theft of their body ornaments by other species of subjects who also possess ornaments. In these cases, they claim that the person who had her ornaments stolen has lost her 'things'(wasain'du) or her 'spirit'(yauptidu). Part of the process of shamanic curing consists, precisely, in recuperating stolen ornaments and replacing them again within the patient's body.

Focusing on shamanism, this paper will show that, for this Nambikwara group, objects, and more specifically body ornaments, are related to a system of exchange that points towards ontological, rather than sociological, distinctions. Objects are here immersed in an economy of subjectivities, being conceived as subjects or as constituents of persons, in so far as they relate the latter to other species of subjects. Therefore, a description of the mechanisms that produce the person in this ethnographic context requires us to consider forms of production and the conceptualization of the object.

Praet, Istvan (Oxford University)

The axe and the marimba: Chachi artefacts as markers of the human and the non-human.

Along the Pacific coast of Ecuador, Chachi people are renowned as expert canoe crafters and as virtuoso musicians. Handling an axe and playing the marimba are particularly highly valued skills. However, these respective activities take place in very different circumstances. While men use their axe almost every day, the marimba only appears at very specific occasions such as funerals or weddings. Moreover, crafting canoes is actively discouraged whenever marimba music is performed. The paper seeks to elucidate why axes and marimbas are 'mutually exclusive'. It is suggested that this particular case teaches us a great deal about how people like the Chachi envisage the human and the non-human, the visible and the invisible. The findings will be discussed comparatively, especially with regards to recent insights from Amazonian anthropology.

Bacchiddu, Giovanna

Changing values: mobile phones and soft drinks in Apiao, Chiloe, Southern Chile

Galli, E.

Spirits and pots: Runa's ceramic production in urban context.

Sorhaug, Christian (University of Oslo, Museum of Cultural History)

From the wetlands to the wastelands and back again

The Warao is a indigenous population living in Venezuela, Orinoco Delta. They have been protected by the lack of accessibility of the Orinoco Delta, within a matrix of forest swamps and marshes, palm-clusters of morchales and mangrove forest. In these myriads of rivers and channels the Warao villages is only accessible by boat. The soil in the delta consists entirely of alluvial deposits and peat. The houses are built on stilts to stay clear of the tidal waters. Further living a life on the rivers edge, surrounded by water swamps, the Warao are dependent on their canoes to move about, making it an essential part of their life. Hunting, fishing, gathering foodstuff in the woods and getting root crops in the garden, all implies using the canoe in these wetlands. Though there is a relatively small cash flow in the village of Hobure where I did my fieldwork, I was surprised to see the amount of goods with origins exogenous to the delta. Goods like watches, radios, flashlights, batteries, cooking utensils and toys were abundant. When asking where these things originated I usually got the answer "la basura", which means garbage in Spanish, and "Cambalache". After a while I found out that these types of goods came from a garbage heap, called Cambalache, situated outside of a major city further up the Orinoco in Amazon state called Ciudad Guayana. I would say that Cambalache can be called a "wasteland", in the meaning of "an ugly often devastated or barely inhabitable place or area" (Merriam-Webster). Ciudad Guayana is a company town with close to a million inhabitants, and was founded in 1960s as a planned community. Big cities like this have grown up in many parts of the Amazon, and the garbage they produce has ended up being important residues of wealth for the poor, and sometimes the indigenous populations. Gathering is broadly defined as anything taken from the surrounding and used in everyday life. Among the Amerindian population Warao migration to the garbage heap a relatively new contribution to their economic and material life. The garbage collected is integrated into Warao everyday life, making out a substantial part of their access to modern consumer goods. The gathering action at the garbage heap, in the wastelands, is similar to the gathering action in the forested wetlands. Gathering should also be viewed as a way of engaging with other beings, not just as a mode of production. Gathering in the forest or at the garbage heap is about engaging in social relations with relevant others. To walk about in the forest – cutting down trees, fishing, hunting, amassing foodstuff means that you have to engage with a multitude of different spirits, like the river people nabarao. Walking about at the garbage heap is also about engaging with the hotarao, the Creole. Not just at the garbage heap, but also when they are going to church, shopping in the big cities, entering public buildings, all involve engaging with the Creole.

Mader, Elke

The art of giving birth: female mythscape and generativity among the Shuar

Although vision quest rituals are performed by Shuar men and women, and are related to diverse social contexts, they have been primarily associated with masculinity and warfare. Shuar female mythscape and visionary experiences, however, provide insight into a set of values and skills vital for Shuar lifeworlds. The paper will look at two genres of narratives referring to female visionary experiences. It will present a group of myths that tell us about various events related to the creation of female power and agency in mythical time. In the following, these stories will be compared to accounts of arútam vision experiences by Shuar women. Focusing on the story of katip (mouse-woman) who instructed Shuar women in the skill of giving birth I will explore the relationship between visible and invisible domains in the framework of female generativity, and discuss them in the context of gender relations and conviviality.

Cohn, C.

Adornments and toys: Mebengokré-Xikrin children and their objects

Grotti, Vanessa (Cambridge University)

Extended bodies: personal histories and the circulation of objects

This paper is based on my field research with the Trio and Wayana in southern Suriname and French Guiana, who in the past generation or two have concentrated in sedentary settlements around health and education providers. Within this relatively recent context of sedentarisation, I will analyse relationships between bodies and across social spheres by taking the viewpoint of the interplay between the seen and the unseen, and by focusing on the circulation of different bodies, their flow and accumulation, their interaction and decoration, and the way in which some bodies manage this circulation in a way which allows them to be more 'social' than others. I will focus on personal histories in terms of nurturing relationships between affines and trading partners, and how these can tell us about the Trio and Wayana relation to the bodies that surround them in their everyday environment. I will argue that by controlling the movement, or flow, of this wealth, a person visibly manifests the extent of his or her socialisation and therefore his or her innermost humanity. This becomes salient if valued and meaningful objects such as body parts, memories, woven artefacts, money, processed and manufactured foods, or people's names were all to be considered as wealth, measured according to the kind of flows they allow and the potential connections to ever-widening relations they signify. This means that personhood can be distributed through objects, and the accumulation of things contributes to the socialisation of the individual who thereby gains control of their movement. This paper will ultimately argue for a re-evaluation of the importance of objects and their use in the making of social life and personhood in northeastern Amazonia.

Barcelos Neto, Aristoteles (UEA)

Apapaatai: defaced masks and the commerce of cultures

Based on a recent film about Wauja masks (Apapaatai), this paper discusses the meanings that emerge when ritual objects are intentionally situated at the crossroads between native therapeutic endeavours and commercial transactions. It also analyses the material properties of some Wauja masks and the defacements inflicted to them as a way to include them within a wide system of objects, such as museum and art collections.

Viegas, S.

Materiality and sociality: Non-archivist memory among the Tupinamba of Olivença

Londoño Sulkin, Carlos

Chachi Amazonians and the material forms of virtue

The adjective chachi—a term presumably originating in Scott Baio’s character Chachi in the 70’s sitcom ‘Happy Days’—is used in North America to describe individuals who ‘try too hard’, unpersuasively and self-consciously, to look, speak, and act as if they were another person whom they find admirable or for some reason desirable to emulate. Taking my cue from studies that focus on the felicitous and infelicitous gender performances of individuals who subvert normalizing gender categorizations in their societies, I identify the gestures of certain individuals of People of the Center (Colombian Amazon) as chachi and treat these as distilled citations of forms deployed by other individuals deemed in some way virtuous. I discuss how these forms—and locals’ occasional explicit evaluations of them—enact and speak eloquently of People of the Center’s understandings of moral selfhood and sociality.

McLachlan, Amy

Monkey in the middle: deep play in an Amazonian market place.

Hussak van Velthem, Lucia (MPEG/SCUP – MCT)

Sobre demiurgos, serpentes e homens: a cestaria Wayana.

A comunicação abordará a categoria artesanal da cestaria, entre os índios Wayana (Estado do Pará – Brasil), e que constitui uma esfera do saber masculino. Especial ênfase é atribuída aos artefatos confeccionados com arumã (*Ischnosiphon* sp) uma vez que esse vegetal constitui a própria essência dos Wayana, pois a mulher primordial foi tecida com essa matéria-prima pelo demiurgo que a criou. Artefatos de arumã são valorizados por sua capacidade transformativa e de síntese cosmológica. Constituem a reunião de uma matéria-prima capaz de reproduzir pele, humana e sobrenatural, de uma técnica que é demiúrgica e, portanto, metamórfica, e de elementos que constituem a própria decoração da serpente sobrenatural *okoimë*. Este aspecto é crucial, uma vez

que os objetos são compreendidos como recriações (de atos criativos dos tempos primordiais), mas o elenco decorativo configura uma transposição (dos padrões da pele pintada do sobrenatural). Proponho-me a analisar os diferentes sentidos wayana de “criação”, “recriação” e “transposição”, em sua articulação com a cestaria, e assim descrever a complexidade existente nas formulações desses ameríndios a respeito da produção e utilização dos objetos trançados.